POLITICAL MARKETING: A STUDY FROM THE INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Submitted by

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Though formally a few names are recognised, every research work is the result of direct and indirect involvements and supports of many individuals. It was quite challenging for me to keep the interest and excitement of this research work alive for a considerably long period of time while conceptualising the topic, accumulating and tabulating responses, analysing the data, writing the thesis, and ultimately making major and minor corrections before submission. I could face this challenge only because of different kinds of supports and encouragements from my supervisors, teachers, friends, acquaintances, family members, relatives, and my wife.

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Marketing is all about offering to the maximum extent possible what customers are looking for in order to ensure their satisfaction. The ‘production concept’ at the initial level gradually developed into ‘marketing concept’ and ultimately to ‘holistic marketing concept’ through the phases like ‘product concept’ and ‘selling concept’. The focus of business was mainly on product initially. With the passage of time transformation took place in the business environment and the changing conditions forced the business houses to change the way they used to deal with the situations. As the economies of different countries progressed towards development, the service sector emerged as one of the main sectors in business. As a result, the field of marketing considered service, apart from physical product, as one of the important things to be marketed. Separate marketing theories were developed specifically for service and emerging service organisations started formulating strategies to be successful in the marketplace. Experts like Ben M. Enis believed that the broadening of the concept of marketing is not as simple as it appears. The multiple dimensions of it comprised the extension of economic product and services to anything of value, consideration of any kind of payoff apart from profit as objective of exchange, extension of the concept of target audience from customer to any “public” related to organisations. It was an effort to relate abstract ideas to different situations of marketing in a way which was useful to take decisions at the organisational level and at the macro level or in both the situations (Enis, 1973). Other experts also supported the extension of field
of marketing to diverse areas (Keith, 1960; Kotler & Levy, 1969; Shostack, 1977; Arndt, 1978). The inclusion of the term “idea” in the list of things to be marketed in the definition of marketing by American Marketing Association paved the way for different fields to become open for the application of marketing tools and techniques. The application of marketing was getting extended in different other fields which were never thought to be under the purview of marketing. As competition intensified, there was a need to satisfy the customers better than the competitors. Long term relationship with the customers was very much needed to create mental attachment between the business organisation and the customers. The field of marketing shifted its orientation from transaction to relationships. It was a paradigm shift and this new relational paradigm led to the concept of Relationship Marketing, a new school of thought (Sheth & Parvatiyar, 1995). As the time passed, different organisations other than purely profit-making ones adopted the concept of marketing. Eminent researchers like Kotler and Levy (1969) opined that Marketing was not only concerned with the selling of tangible items like soap and toothpaste. The principles of traditional marketing could be applied in marketing organisations. These developments in the concepts paved the way for application of marketing in the field of politics. It paved the way for political organisations i.e., political parties to market themselves to voters. This application was formally known as political marketing. Experts like Newman (2002) was of the opinion that political marketing had emerged as a separate academic discipline over more than two decades and the publication of the Journal of Political Marketing played a pivotal role in the advancement of this academic field (Newman, 2002). Several research studies on political marketing show that the process of application of marketing tools and techniques in the field of politics, formally known as political marketing, began in America and in European countries. The political parties in other countries became aware of this new application of marketing and started adopting it and used it after making required
modifications on the basis of the political conditions of different countries in order to get electoral success. In India, the concept of political marketing was not much evident in the past. Professional outlook towards dealing with the electoral activities of political party like Congress in India was observed in the regime of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the former Prime Minister of India. But the application of political marketing in the Indian context was not observed to be prevalent across different political parties. The reason may be the reluctance and lack of awareness in applying the tools of marketing in politics. However, Indian political parties cannot have a ‘tunnel vision’ in the era of globalisation. The parties need to accept and embrace the realities and imperatives of political marketing in view of its increasing relevance in the global context. However, considering the contextual and unique aspects of the Indian socio-political milieu, there is need for need-based improvisation in adopting the essence of political marketing. In this perspective, one important question that might crop-up in the minds of researchers and political analysts is what constitutes political marketing.

In this background, views of social scientists and journalists may be taken into consideration to identify what needs to be considered and assess whether political parties in India have really started to embrace the concept of political marketing. Some of the Indian political parties in recent past tried to adopt this concept, but only political campaigning was the main area where application of marketing was evident. All the aspects of marketing were not taken care of. “India shining campaign” and propagation of “feel-good-factor” by BJP during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004 are the examples where huge amount of resources was expended to promote socio-political achievements. As per information available from reliable sources, the Indian National Congress party made significant amount of expenditure on publicity before the Lok Sabha Elections, 2014. The Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) used a number of tools and techniques of marketing in this same period. A dedicated team comprising professionals created the brand ‘Narendra Modi’ and most of the marketing activities
revolved around him. Promotional campaigns including meticulously prepared advertisements for electronic and print media by well-equipped professionals and consultants, well-designed hoardings keeping in mind the effective communications with the voters, record number of well-decorated election rallies using the latest 3D technology to connect with the voters in a way which is difficult to forget, the initiative called “Chai-Pe-Charcha” to influence common people, several public meetings to affirm the political stand to the voters, unprecedented presence in and effective and efficient use of the social media with the help of experts on this field in order to establish a link with the young generation were conducted to achieve electoral success. In all these cases, political parties in India spent huge amount of money on promotions and marketing activities revolved mainly around promotions. Though the mainstream political parties like BJP, Congress and other political parties in India tried to address the popular issues before elections, they seemed reluctant to acknowledge in a scientific way what voters were actually looking for. They only promoted themselves to the voters. Instead of conducting intensive voter opinion survey, they mainly believed in the capabilities of leaders at different levels in measuring the pulse of the people through their experience, contact, and expertise. Apart from that, political parties in India concentrate in and invest on marketing activities before elections. But in order to embrace the philosophy of marketing, the activities should be spread throughout the year. The dynamic nature of marketing is to be considered. The change in the test and preferences and the resultant political opinion can be monitored properly if political marketing research activities are carried out continually. It is specifically a part of political marketing intelligence. If marketing philosophy is to be conceptualised property in politics, the satisfaction of voters should be the prime objective. Since voters are the end users of political services offered by political parties, they can be considered as political consumers and the characteristics of offerings to the voters by political parties are quite similar to the characteristics of services. Thus, political parties can be considered as service organisations and the
principles of service marketing can be suitably applied in formulating strategies to market political services to voters. With this in mind, the extended marketing mix or the service marketing mix, instead of traditional marketing mix, can be conceptualised to analyse the activities in the Indian politics. Just like consumers in commercial marketing, voters also perceive a political party on the basis of some signals and cues sent by the political parties while performing diverse political activities, taking a political stand at different points of time and many others. In order to get the knowledge of those signals and cues, a thorough analysis of the opinions of the voters is very much required. Moreover, the proper understanding of the factors in the political environment which voters give importance to is very important for political parties to know if they really want to satisfy voters with their political service. The important facets of political marketing can be identified from existing literature and coverage and analysis of different political activities in news and articles available from varied sources. The opinions of the experts on the relevance of identified facets in Indian context and how much the identified facets are practised by political parties can be helpful to identify the important factors in political marketing in India. It can also be found out from the opinion as to whether there is any gap between the relevance and the practice of the different aspects of political parties in India. Political marketing from an Indian perspective can be better understood on the basis of the insights from marketing professionals, political scientists, sociologists, and journalists who can be considered as experts because they are in a position to judge from a multifarious perspective. In order to implement the marketing philosophy in politics, political parties should not restrict their activities by persuading voters through heavy promotional efforts to support the activities, policies, etc. They should seek the opinions of the voters before any activity, policy announcements, or important political step and act accordingly. In political marketing, the perspective of political consumers or voters needs to be accommodated in the right perspective. The voters may be asked to give their opinions on the importance of each identified factor and more
specifically in their final voting decision. If there is any gap between the importance in these two situations, the influence of situational factors would be evident. The presence of situational factors can be helpful in describing the complexities of political environment in India. This can also be very helpful for political parties to formulate strategies to persuade voters. The issues discussed are to be seriously considered if any comprehensive study on political marketing from the Indian perspective is to be conducted. The study can be better performed if the important factors of political marketing in India are identified in beginning of the study.

Existing literature on political marketing shows that research works on this aspect are mainly available in America and in European countries. There is paucity of research studies on political marketing from Indian perspective involving the opinions of experts and voters. These issues have motivated the researcher to study political marketing in the context of Indian politics. It is initially very difficult to construct the format of the study which can deal with the relevant and important aspects of political marketing in India. Moreover, the study on political marketing cannot get a holistic structure without considering the opinions of political consumers or voters. So, any study on this area should cover the country-specific factors and address the heterogeneity and enormity of voters. It is also difficult to reach out the voters who live in remote villages of our country. As already mentioned, research work on political marketing from Indian perspective is very less in number. Keeping this in mind, an initiative has been taken to find out the important facets of political marketing from the available foreign literature. Since the facets are identified from foreign literature, the relevance of the facets in the Indian context needs to be judged and opinions on whether the identified facets are being practised by Indian political parties are to be collected from the experts for validation. The marketing experts are the first choice since it is a study of marketing. So, the researcher intends to get the opinions of these marketing experts. Moreover, the topic “political marketing” is very much related to the field of political science because the literature also says that political marketing
is interdisciplinary in nature involving the amalgamation of political science and marketing (Scammell, 1999). Theories of political science and marketing are used to conceptualise the theory of political marketing. Sociology is another field of study which can consider political marketing from social point of view. Journalists are always in touch with politics and they monitor and analyse the political activities of the political parties on a regular basis. The relevant aspects of political marketing from the Indian context can be judged by the journalists considering the hardcore reality of Indian politics. So, political scientists, sociologists, and journalists can also be considered as experts of political marketing. They are supposed to see political marketing from a different perspective. Questionnaire can be a suitable tool to get the opinions of the experts of marketing and the other group of experts. Same set of questionnaire may not work because the perspectives are different. The facets of political marketing identified from the foreign literature can be validated on the basis of the aspects conceptually attached to political science and sociology. Since political marketing does not deal with a tangible product, the characteristics of service marketing seem to resemble the characteristics of the offerings of the political parties. In the Indian context, the 7Ps framework of service can be contextualised and tested whether these same facets are practised by the Indian political parties. Facets will be presented to marketing experts with respect to relevance and practice of the identified facets.

Insights from marketing professionals, can be considered in order to recognise the important factors in political marketing in India. It is important in the Indian context because some of the facets of political marketing may be very much relevant but the relevance may not always mean that the Indian political parties are attaching necessary importance to it. It creates a gap and may act as hindrance to proper application and success of political marketing in Indian context.

After analysing the expert opinions in the context of political marketing, voters are to be taken into consideration. Insights from voters’ opinion can be drawn in order to examine the importance of the factor in
general and the importance of the same factor while taking the final voting decision for all the factors identified. It can reveal whether there any gap in assigning importance to the factors in two different situations. The gap, if found out, will explain the impact of situational factors on final voting decision and it has important political marketing implications. In a country like India where people are suffering from different kinds of personal, social, and economic problems, situational factors play an important role. A voter may assign a very high importance to a factor in general, but while taking the final voting decision different factors suddenly may become very important considering the change in personal, social, or other spheres. Knowledge about the situational factors will help Indian political parties to innovate marketing strategies before elections.

In the light of the above backdrop, an effort has been taken in this research work to examine the various issues associated with political marketing in terms of ‘tetrad’ comprising contextual, contributing, fundamental and manifestation perspectives of political marketing.
CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter throws some light on the emerging significance of political marketing. In the light of the insights drawn from the first chapter, an effort has been made to carry out an extensive review of literature in a better way in order to conceptualise and contextualise the research perspective. Literatures published in different academic journals and books will be reviewed in this section to underscore the theoretical background and to get an idea of the prevalence of political marketing in different parts of the world. Existing literature will help us understand how the concept of political marketing has developed gradually in different countries and how different political parties in different parts of the world started embracing this idea and implementing it in the dynamic perspectives of the socio-political environment in order to get electoral success.

In this chapter, initiatives will be taken to find out the extent to which the area of political marketing was getting accepted in existing literature. Here an initiative will also be taken to see through the available foreign as well as Indian literature to find out the extent to which the theoretical concept of political marketing has been taken care of and given importance by experts in their different research works. It will also be explored whether this concept has been accepted by political parties of India and, if accepted, how the political parties used this concept in reality to become successful in elections.
Literature will also lead us to get acquainted with the techniques of implementation of the idea of political marketing in different parts of the world. The views of different experts/researchers will be analysed through critical dialogue with the existing literature. The basic objective of this chapter would be to identify the different facets of political marketing from available literature. The chapter has been organised into different sections. At the outset, the evolution of marketing concept discussed in research articles and books will be presented. Subsequently, the discussion will focus on the extension of marketing concept in diverse areas. How the field of marketing gradually incorporated areas which were never considered to be included will be discussed on the basis of the insights from existing literature. The gradual acceptance of application of marketing concepts and tools in politics will be discussed with the help of existing literature in the last part of this section. The next section deals with the development of the concept of political marketing and its applications in different situations as indicated by experts on this field. The third section of this chapter focuses on the definitions and conceptualisation of political marketing. The theoretical works in this field will be critically evaluated with the help of available literature in the fourth section. The last section of this chapter presents some empirical works and methodologies available in the existing literature of political marketing. Research gap will also be identified after examining the literature at the end.

2.2 Unfurling the evolving nature of marketing concept

One of the important insights that can be drawn from existing literature is that from a generic perspective, marketing is all about satisfying customers’ needs (Birn, 2004; Rix, 2007). Thus, marketing is successful when a marketer can sense the customers’ needs and wants and accordingly responds in order to satisfy these needs and wants. However, marketers must satisfy the needs and wants in a profitable way. The marketer is not just required to find out the right customers for his products, but to find out the right products for his customers. In other
words, he should know his customers’ needs and wants and offer the product/service accordingly. Though the term “Marketing” is perhaps very much familiar in common parlance, its connotations and sphere expanded gradually with the passage of time. Marketing is rooted in all the activities we are involved in, formally or informally. Good marketing has become an essential part of success in business. There are different domestic and multinational organisations that performed excellently through effective marketing. These successes have not come suddenly as an accident, but these are the results of successful planning and execution. In the opinion of experts, marketing brilliance is very hard to achieve (Kotler et al., 2007).

Marketing was not very much prevalent in the early stage of industrial revolution. Production concept was the main driving force initially. According to experts, marketing concept could be considered as a ‘business philosophy’ and we found its origin, as a business belief, even when the emphasis was on production. The ‘current belief which considers customers’ needs responsible for long-term success also embraces the essence of marketing. The transformation of this concept in a steady manner was very much visible (Keelson, 2012). Higher level of production leading to economies of scale and consequent lower price was the main focus. The assumption of the production philosophy was that the customers were mostly satisfied if the products were available at low prices and so the objective of business organisations was to go for cheap and efficient production and ‘intensive distribution’ (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2009). Gradually the focus shifted from production to product.

The product concept used to take the upper hand in the marketing philosophy during the last end of 1900s and continued up to 1930s (Keelson, 2012). Industries could realise that mere higher level of production was not enough to fulfil their objectives. The importance of the production of quality product was recognised. Production of quality products, as per the specifications and set of standards of the industries, became the main focus. (Kotler et al., 2007). A company recognised that it could produce what was most suitable for the consumer because it had the
expertise in making the product. This concept forced the companies to improve the quality of the product and add new features to augment the product. So companies started producing the product without consulting the customers and simultaneously found it difficult to get the views of the customers on the features of the product. This viewpoint was very much prevalent even after the industrial revolution (Keelson, 2012).

This ‘product concept’ was followed by the selling concept which focused on taking some substantial initiatives on the part of the industries to push sell the products to the consumers (Kotler et al., 2007). This concept started dominating the industrial arena around 1930 and was very much prevalent until about 1950s (Keelson, 2012). According to this concept the products would not be sold automatically if consumers were not communicated the benefits of the product properly and were not convinced through proper selling efforts (Kotler et al., 2007). Experts argued that the selling approach was adopted aggressively and the era was considered for some features which were not very healthy for business. The focus of the company was on selling, not on “customer satisfaction” (Miller & Layton, 2000).

The marketing concept which is considered to be a revolution or a beginning of a revolution by some experts in the field of marketing came after the selling concept. There were people to resist its basic idea. As soon as this revolution got momentum, some more changes were bound to take place. Most of the marketing concepts (i.e., market distribution format, retail penetration, mass media advertising, demographics and segmentation) the marketers use today were propounded in the late 1940s and 1950s (Schultz, 2006). Customer would be at the centre and business would adjust to address the changing needs of the customer (Keith, 1960). This philosophy was in full force during the 1950s and continued until this century. Here the focus shifted from product to the customers. According to this concept, marketing was treated as a philosophy, not merely a function (Keelson, 2012). This concept emphasised on defining the quality of the product not by the manufacturers but by the consumers. The focus shifted
from marketers to customers and from transactions to interactions. So, it was considered as a dual transformation from current generation marketing to next generation marketing (Sheth & Sisodia, 2003).

The marketing concept focused on taking the opinions of the consumers regarding the features, ingredients and other things so as to incorporate those in the product before the production as far as possible. So, the process of marketing started much before the production (Kotler et al., 2007). Levitt (1960) clearly indicated the difference between selling and marketing. According to him, selling mainly concentrated on the needs of the seller and marketing, on the other hand, focused on the needs of the buyer. Selling focused that the sellers needed to convert product into cash and marketing was preoccupied with the idea of meeting the needs of the customer with product and array of things associated with the creation, delivery, and final consumption of it. This marketing philosophy expected contemporary firms to be market-oriented in order to succeed in business. It is true that new concepts developed after the emergence of marketing philosophy but the concept which dominated and become the primary objective of business was to create and retain customers who were profitable (Levitt, 1960). There were differences in opinions regarding the question “what is marketing.” According to Lusch (2007), this difference in opinion only strengthened the point that marketing was no longer a simple activity; rather it was something to be discussed keeping in mind its complexities, nature and meaning. Lusch (2007) also argued that marketing thought and practice passed through three stages over last 100 years, namely, “to market”, “marketing to”, and “marketing with”. In the first stage the objective was to make the product available in the market. The objective of the second stage was to identify the customer and to market the product to them. “Collaborating” with the customers and “co-creating the value” were the missions of the third stage (Lusch, 2007, p. 261).

Marketing concept was a significant departure from the selling concept. The gradual departure from production concept to marketing concept seemed to get accepted by the researchers (Sheth, Gardner, &
Garrett, 1988). Most of the big organisations started following the concept of marketing and became successful to some extent. They spent huge amount of money to get the opinions of the customers through innovative as well as scientific marketing research techniques. Experts believed that Marketing was a dynamic process. Marketing practices were continually getting refined and reformed in almost all industries to cherish the desired success in this highly competitive market (Kotler et al., 2007). Companies were always eager to know the changes in the demographic, psychographic and behavioural profile of the consumers so that they could change their offerings accordingly and could make the consumers feel that they are being offered the product they were looking for. The philosophy behind the concept of marketing was that want and satisfaction of the customer were actually the social and economic justification for an organisation to exist (O’Cass, 1996; Lamb, Jr., & McDaniel, 2012). The researchers were of the opinion that it became difficult for the organisations to sustain both economically and socially without embracing the marketing philosophy. Since marketing needed to address the dynamic nature of the market, same set of concepts and theories kept on changing with the passage of time. So, the concept of marketing was being refined progressively after considering the complex changes in the business environment. There was thus a need for new set of beliefs and practices which was superior to the traditional marketing concept. Burton (2005) tried to showcase through his analysis the different kinds of discussions which mainly focussed on the development of the theory of marketing. The holistic marketing concept surfaced in 21st century (Keelson, 2012). It considered that every business activity, even the non-marketing activities, mattered in marketing. According to Kotler and Keller (2009) it was not a concept or business philosophy, rather it was an “embodiment of marketing practice”. Marketing activities initially were relevant mostly for the tangible items. It gradually extended its applications to the areas which were never considered to be marketed. Researchers argued that marketing concept was applied in different areas other than narrowly defined business activities.
Marketing was not merely selling of tangible items like soap, steel or toothpaste. It was substantially much more than that. It was a social activity which pervaded deep into different kinds of social activities and transactions. When political parties fought against each other, it seemed like candidates were marketed like soaps. Student admission processes followed by different colleges gave us an impression that higher education was marketed by educational institutes. ‘Causes’ were even marketed when fund-raising activities took place. All the marketing tools appeared to have similar applications in non-business activities of the organisation and the domain of marketing got extended to include non-business organisations, persons, and ideas (Kotler & Levy, 1969). Marketing could be seen as a task, quite organised in nature, with the objective and intention of getting desired response (Kotler, 1972). So, these eminent researchers emphasised the extension of marketing concept to different fields. The inclusion of “idea” under the purview of marketing actually extended the scope of marketing manifold because idea was something which could incorporate the areas never even considered before. At the same time, whether this extension could be considered as “an integral part of marketing” was doubted by some of the researchers as well. Arndt (1978) argued that marketing got the potential to be applied in higher-order fields like “social engineering”, “transactional sociology”, “relationics”, and “exchangeology”. He also argued that all the exchanges that were taking place were not marketing exchange, per se. Marketing would cover only those exchanges that were related to the “economic” need and want of the society. On the other hand, Enis (1973) argued that concept of marketing should be applied wherever they were useful. He also argued that things exchanged needed to be economic goods or services and exchange activities had social implications in recent times and it was very visible and important. Bagozzi (1975) considered exchange as a central concept in marketing. It was also argued by the experts that churches, welfare agencies, cultural agencies, labour market, and stock market would not be under the purview of marketing because marketing was not supposed to include the exchanges in
non-economic areas (Arndt, 1978). Experts in this field also opined that management scholars took marketing for business purpose and applied it to the non-profit areas and research followed the use of marketing in the areas such as university recruitment, fund-raising, transportation, public services and churches (Marshment, 2003). Similarly, marketing concept was argued to be a philosophy which was useful and could have been applied on both profit and non-profit organisations (Brownlie & Saren, 1991). Here the researchers seemed to differ with Kotler in the sense that he considered every exchange needed to be included in marketing (Kotler, 1972). Other experts talked about the elements of the marketing mix that were used in performing the functions vital to make the exchange take place. They called these functions “generic” (Waterschoot & Bulte, 1992). Some researchers even criticised and indicated the deficiencies in the widely accepted 4P classification of marketing mix proposed by McCarthy (McCarthy, 1960). Waterschoot & Bulte (1992) proposed an “improved” classification of marketing mix. They criticised 4P classification for not being “explicit enough” and pointed out three fundamental flaws mainly related to promotion. They used the term “promotion” instead of “sales promotion” to broaden the scope of sales promotion. They proposed “basic mix” and “promotion mix” and argued that promotion mix with its complementary instruments would support the basic mix on a temporary basis. They introduced, along with several new elements under promotion, “publicity promotion mix” which was used to stimulate positive publicity. Hunt (1983) pointed out that the interest to develop marketing theory was increasing. He tried to find out general theories in marketing which would explain all the events within one of the four sets of “fundamental explananda” of marketing proposed by him. Some researchers went beyond it and started advocating for the inclusion of service in the framework of marketing. These researchers specifically mentioned five phases of development of service research chronologically and indicated its development in different areas. Phase I (pre 1988), as per their observation, saw a considerable impact of service industries on developed economies but
lack of research related to services. They also indicated the prevailing perception that services could only be considered as an “add-on” to marketing of goods. This perception changed gradually and service research became responsive to different changes in social, economic, and technological environment (Baron, Warnaby, & Hunter-Jones, 2014). Shostack mentioned decades ago that services exerted their increasing dominance in the US economy but basic texts were not ready to accept it in a marketing context. He also argued that product and services should not be distinguished only on the basis of intangibility. There were other differences which had significant implications. He suggested that proper expansion of conceptual boundary of marketing needed a framework that recognised intangibility, not refuting it. Recognition of intangibility by the researchers in the list which could be marketed actually increased the scope of inclusion of many other spheres in the area of marketing. Service marketers started finding the concepts and priorities that were in tune with their actual experience and need (Shostack, 1977).

It is quite evident from the above discussion that barring some exceptions, researchers advocated in favour of expanding the domain of marketing. According to the researchers, the confinement of application of marketing in some specific areas would only act as hindrance to the development of this discipline. O'Cass (1996) accepted the theoretical proposition that marketing could be applied in politics and argued for extended domain of marketing. He indicated the need for empirical research to find out the extent to which political parties adopted marketing concept and whether political parties could be considered to be marketing oriented. As per the findings of this research, the implementation of the marketing concept within a political party does not necessarily mean that the persons responsible for adopting and implementing the concept have the knowledge of the objective and the concomitant process. He identified several factors which acted as barriers for proper implementation of the marketing concepts and the development of market orientation (O'Cass, 1996). It was even argued by the researchers that political parties should definitely
understand the basic elements of marketing to become successful in the long run (Niffenegger, 1989). Avraham Shama (1973) and Philip Niffenegger (1989) pointed to the fact that the very concept of candidate and the way political parties interacted with the electorate signified marketing and this marketing aspect could not be avoided. Marketing was not expected to cure every problem but following the process of marketing political campaigns could be designed and implemented more effectively and efficiently.

Lees-Marshment (2003) highlighted in his article that political marketing was a “groundbreaking” new field and having the capability to lead the study of politics and demonstrate the wider applicability of marketing and it could go a long way to improve the understanding of political behaviour and political organisations to the extent of advising and recommending to the organisations and actors in the political sphere how to act to present and respond to the demands of the “citizenry”. Experts also argued that in the field of political marketing, not only the large number of theories of marketing could be used, but the theories of political science and related areas could be integrated. In this context it was felt that the development of theories and concepts of political marketing depended on how well the theories of both marketing and political science were borrowed and adapted (Scammell, 1999). These arguments and finding actually reinforced the viability of application of marketing in politics. Researchers even thought about the blending of marketing and political discipline through change in traditional political phrases (Marland, 2003). Lees-Marshment (2003) also pointed out that the next step after bringing non-profit organisations under the ambit of marketing was to apply marketing in political communication and it enhanced the profile of political marketing. There were some reservations on the part of marketing purists but the believers of “broadening” the marketing field began to attempt to clarify, redefine, and establish political marketing as a sub-field (Wring, 1997). Scholars like Avraham Shama and Philip Kotler took the initiative to develop theoretical foundation of political marketing
and experts in Europe started considering the political dimension to marketing believing that an exchange relationship existed between “democratic elites” and their voters. The importance of the emergence of this new area was confirmed by the steady stream of research on this topic by the mid-1980s (Mauser, 1983). It was also observed by the researcher that many books and articles of political science used the term “marketing” while presenting the accounts of elections and marketing scholars too showed interest but social scientists & journalists seemed to have accepted that marketing was an activity which was indulged if politicians found it appropriate and it’s application was largely confined to the period of “the campaign”(Butler & Collins, 1996, p. 32). Same kind of arguments were presented by Newman in 2002. He mentioned that the field of political marketing had grown significantly over the past two decades and matured into a separate field. He pointed out that publication of several books in the U.S. and Europe, including the special issues of widely recognised academic marketing journals on this subject, indicated that the field matured into a separate field (Newman, 2002). Wring (1999) held three factors responsible for the emergence and the acceptance of political marketing as a separate field in the late twentieth century. According to him, the growing recognition of visible rise in voter volatility in political sphere over the last few decades and the application of “rational choice theory” to the study of electoral behaviour were the first factors. The foundation of this belief laid in the resemblance of competition for vote to the capturing share of a consumer market. The factors came second were the greater role of the service sector within the economies of major western countries such as UK after the industrial change during the 1980s and consequently the consolidation and advancement of cultural importance and power of marketing. This change led to increasing influence of advertising and market research agencies over society and political process. The third factor was the significant growth in the public sector marketing, politics being the key dimension of this trend. The analysis of the existing literature indicated the acceptance of political marketing as a separate field
and this acceptance was the result of the expansion of the marketing concept with required modifications in different areas which were never considered to fall under the purview of marketing. The arguments and proposals by researchers for the intangibles to be included in the list of things to be marketed seemed to pave the way for political parties. While explaining the characteristics and distinct features of political marketing researchers mentioned that in commercial campaigns, certain products, ideas, and services were promoted to the consumers to enhance the awareness about the offerings and to reestablish the distinctive competitive brand positioning. Here the aim of the marketer was to maintain the market share and the levels of profit. On the other hand, in case of political campaigns, candidates, political parties, political causes and agenda were promoted. Here the target was voters, not the commercial consumers and thus the objective was to increase awareness, generate votes and enhance the chances of winning elections (Kotler et al., 2005).

Another kind of argument was presented by other experts in this field. While applying political marketing some adjustments had to be made in commercial marketing in order to develop a system of political marketing where collection of politicians represented the industry. Here ideas were communicated to the collection of voters by the politicialns with the expectation of securing votes in return. In order to fulfil this expectation, politicians needed information about the needs and wants of the voters. This information was available with the help of marketing intelligence (Nor et al., 2006). Political marketing is actually a societal process of political exchange and political marketing management explains the art and science of successfully managing this exchange process (Kotler, 2003). Researcher like O'Cass highlighted that the extended domain of marketing embraced politics because an exchange actually took place when a voter cast his or her vote for a specific candidate. Here the voter was in a transaction and exchanged time and support for the services the candidate promised to deliver through good governance after elections. As transactions occurred, marketing is applicable to political process (O'Cass, 1996). It has also been
argued that candidates of the political parties are transacted more like a service provider than like a physical product and the researcher advocated for meaningful integration of electors and political actors, implementation of “military strategies”, as used by commercial marketers, and introspection of the long-standing electoral jargons and concepts to offer traditional political campaign a marketing perspective which is considered to be meaningful and relevant (Marland, 2003). Lees-Marshment (2003) considered political marketing as the most exciting new area of study and mapped a route for political marketing to reach its full potential. He suggested a comprehensive approach where political marketing would not only apply itself just to party-electoral behaviour but it would extend its application to legislatures, local governments, the media, and public services in the way of adapting concepts and techniques from marketing and having integrating the understanding from political science literature and management studies. Another researcher research study asserted that political marketing was an “established scientific discipline” and there was fusion of the knowledge of marketing and “politology”. Political marketing was determined on the basis of the politics in a liberal market economy. Political parties and public policies conducted by them were products, the voters were the market and products were sold here like every other market (Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2015). Newman (2002) also argued that political marketing encompassed a broad range of concepts and theories which traditionally had been used by both profit-making and non-profit-making organisations to offer their goods, services, and ideas to a varied range of consumers and audiences. He also claimed that modern leaders must rely on marketing both to win elections and to become successful as a leader after entering office. Kotler and Levy (1969) argued that political contests should be a key interest area for the professionals in marketing. In 1999, Kotler also mentioned that conceptual framework of brand management could be applied to understand and manage the attitudes and behaviour of the voters in a political context without much modifications (Kotler & Kotler, 1999).
So, it is palpably clear from the above discussion that the concept of marketing was reconceptualising itself and its domain spread in every possible fields. The application of marketing in politics and the trend to study this application in a separate academic field called “political marketing” seem to get accepted by reputed researchers in this field.

2.3 The Emergence of the Concept of Political Marketing

The concept of political marketing is the result of idea to market political parties to its voters by using different tools and techniques of marketing. The origin of political marketing can be traced in the writings of Aristotle where the importance of language and modes of persuasions to humanity and human progress respectively was emphasised. In recent time, role of political communication in making use of and in influencing communication, political science, and sociology has been recognised. Leaders in the field of political marketing have developed this as a domain for scholarly work. They argue that setting a narrow format for its contents will be a mistake (Denton, 2002). Political marketing emphasises on the use of methods and approaches of marketing to enable the politicians and political parties in building relationship with the voters. More study on political marketing is becoming visible and these studies have tried to combine marketing theories in political life. The process involves the initiatives taken by many political parties and candidates to exploit the campaign strategy in political marketing to get political support during elections and to maintain the image where there is no election (Hayati & Purnama, 2016). Some modifications of the systems of mainstream marketing are needed to apply it in the field of politics. In this context experts opine that in political marketing, the industry is the collection of politicians (Bhagyaraj & Dhinakar, 2017).

In 1985, the American Marketing Association (AMA) decided to reorient its main part and added the crucial word “ideas” to the list of things which could be marketed. Seymour Fine considered this addition as a revolutionary step to incorporate social as well as political issues into
mainstream marketing arena. The definition mentioned about the satisfaction of the individual and organisation. (Fine, 1992). In spite of various complex arguments, this modification in the definition started getting acceptance in the literature. Chartered Institute of Marketing (CIM) in Britain supported this revision made in the British version of American Marketing Association (AMA) in a sense that both the definitions mentioned organisational success as final achievement. Firms do not satisfy customer selflessly. The intention is to fulfil the goal of making profit. Both the American and British definitions opposed to the belief that marketing was simply firms providing the customers with what they wanted. This over-simplistic belief might convey clarity but it could not unearth more complex truth. Though people in the other disciplines conceptualised marketing in this over simplistic form, relatively few sought to use marketing as a tool for the analysis of elections (Wring, 1997). It is to be mentioned that the theory and concept of marketing have gradually developed over the past decades and this development is evident in different schools of thoughts in the field. This is exactly not the case of political marketing. Theoretical development and the initiation of research in the area of political marketing are the by-product of debate and arguments over broadening the sphere of marketing. This debates opened the doors for research in political marketing and serious research work focussing on it stared in the 1990s and the research in this field started getting institutionalised from 2000. Since the development of marketing as a theory provided political marketing a logical framework, it is essential to link between the research in political marketing and the theory of marketing embedded in it (Henneberg & O’shaughnessy, 2007). Other researchers opined that the debate on marketing in the 1970s by eminent scholars helped generate the idea of political marketing and the literature in this field was further nourished by the work of reputed scholars in 1990s (Mone & Bazini, 2013).

It is quite evident from the observations that practically everything on the earth could be marketed, be it product or service or experience or
information or many others. Not only product or service is separately marketed. Different combinations of product and service are also being marketed. Political parties also use marketing tools and techniques to attract voters. Here, actually the bundle of services and hope that is marketed. Behind every marketing activity, the most important thing is innovative idea. The idea can include any area to be marketed by applying marketing tools and techniques in a different way. It is in this perspective that the concept of political marketing comes into focus. When each and every organisation is thriving to motivate and convince the customers to purchase their offerings, how do political parties remain unmoved? It has become indispensible to incorporate a marketing orientation when activities of the political parties are in full force. Marketing now-a-days has significant influence on politics and technological methods used by organisations to market products and services and the political parties and candidates to market them and their ideas are same. Political leaders of the modern age must depend on marketing not only to win elections but also to become a successful leader after winning elections and taking over charge (Newman, 2002). So, according to experts, the application of marketing in the field of politics is very much evident.

Though marketing seems to be overwhelmingly product-oriented and many service-based companies are confused about the applicability of product marketing, and more than one attempt to adopt product marketing failed (Shostack, 1977). The application of marketing concept now-a-days is not only restricted in case of consumer products and services. It is viewed that marketing is a pervasive societal activity that goes considerably beyond the selling of products like tooth paste, soap, and steel. The ever expanding domain of marketing reminds us that contesting candidates are marketed through political contests like the way soaps are marketed (Kotler & Levy, 1969). Many argued that the trend that the public’s perception of politics as part of its regular cycle of consumption changed the nature of politics and political parties were redesigning themselves and their messages to fit in with what the voter wanted. They were adopting, in other words, a
marketing approach to politics (Lilleker & Negrine, 2006). The concept of marketing is so flexible that it can be extended to any field where human beings are involved. Because understanding of the behaviour of the human being is a major task of marketing. Marketing pays continuous attention to the changing needs of customers and the development of new products, with product modifications and services to meet these needs (Kotler & Levy, 1969). To know the changing needs of the voters, political parties must undertake political marketing research. Without the extensive research, it is very difficult to understand the actual needs of the voters. Findings from the different qualitative and quantitative research should be analysed to make the required modifications in the different marketing tools. Political parties’ campaign strategies and party leaderships increasingly need market research to construct a more comprehensive picture of an uncertain political environment. Political parties are employing qualitative research techniques in order to obtain more information than they have traditionally collected from quantitative polls (Sparrow & Turner, 2001). The field of political marketing is emerging gradually as a separate field of study but there are some areas of political marketing which should be intensively backed by theory and development of new concepts. The important point which is to be clarified is that whether there is any generic concept of political marketing. There are researchers in political science who are sceptical about the concept of political marketing. They believe that concept of political marketing is irrelevant in the mysterious field of politics. There are also researchers, like Henneberg, who believe that political marketing should be given prime importance while analysing modern elections and conducting government and democracy. In this research paper they talked about nine categories of content which are neglected while developing a political marketing as a “rigorous branch of non-profit making theory” and “complementary and relevant field of political studies”. Politics is the area where political parties are in direct contact with the human being, the people, and they seek support from the people by making them feel satisfied through different political and promotional activities. To satisfy the people
and voters, in particular, political parties are using the basic concept of marketing with required modifications. Basically, people attached to political strategy making make use of solicitation techniques from commercial marketing. Techniques are sometimes targeted ones like direct mail or it may be general ones like television commercial of 30 second duration. Apart from that, political strategists take up strategic and operational concepts like segmentation, and techniques of market research from the field of consumer marketing (Henneberg & O’shaughnessy, 2007). The win of New Labour Party in Britain in 1997 and again 2001 was the result of successfully embracing and utilising marketing techniques and in the same way the literature was accepting the significance and its application in the field of politics (Savigny, 2004). Political parties have started realising the importance of observing and analysing different activities of the voters and changes in the political market from the marketing perspective. Examining political processes and electoral behaviour from a marketing perspective may offer new insights into the behaviour and performance of political parties (O’Cass, 1996). Harrop also suggests that a marketing perspective offers an inclination towards understanding electoral change [cited in Butler & Collins, 1994]. Since marketers have developed a body of knowledge and technical expertise directly related to the analysis and persuasion of large group of people, the field of marketing can contribute to an understanding of politics (Butler & Collins, 1994). Experts believe that the total political market is segmented. Thus, proper understanding of the important segmenting variables and resulting well defined segments in the political market would be useful to identify the target market. Once the segment is identified, political parties are required to perform all sorts of activities to occupy some place in the minds of the voters of that segment. This is, in other way, the application of positioning strategies in the political arena. It is observed that political parties are very much in search of the factors that determine the voter behaviour. In this perspective, the concept of internal marketing is a very important activity of the political parties. Concept of Internal Marketing is
used in politics. From the very inception of electoral politics, politicians realised the importance of the support from the internal part of the organisation to get the support of the electorate in the field of politics (Bannon D. P., 2005). It has been observed in the literature that the voters can be considered as consumers. The body of literature indicates that in some cases, the roles of the voters and consumer are similar, but there is clearly a contextual difference between the contexts of an election and consumption. There are differences in formation of attitude and decision making in case of attendants (Lock & Harris, 1996). Once the voters are considered as consumers, the application of marketing tools and techniques in the political arena becomes comparatively easy. Branding is the another concept which is widely used in marketing commercial goods and services to consumers and also in marketing political parties, politicians and political agendas to voters. The idea of branding is applied powerfully in the political arena. If political parties are conceived as a brand then enhancement of loyalty to a party during the election and in the non-election periods is feasible. It can be argued that for many individuals the loyalty to a brand of commercial product is less permanent and more abstract than loyalty to a political party. But the reverse is also true and valid for other individuals. As an example it can be said that an individual casts vote for different political parties in different elections but when it comes to purchase a brand of product, the same individual purchases same brand repeatedly throughout his/her life-time (Peng & Hackley, 2009, p. 174). The in-depth analysis of the activities of the political parties, both regional and national, can reveal the application of all important marketing tools and concepts-concept of 4Ps, branding strategies, and internal marketing- in the politics. Views highlighting the application of specific marketing tools and techniques will be discussed in detail in the next section.

As highlighted in the previous discussion, the concept of marketing is getting extended in the field of politics and this extension is now formally known as political marketing. There are many reasons for the gradual rise
of political marketing in past few decades. The credit for this rise goes to the facts that the press has become more investigative than before over the years, loyalty to a political party is declining, there are significant changes in systems of politics and elections, and most importantly the impact of television has increased manifold (Newman, 1994). With the rise in political marketing, political parties are projecting themselves as a product which can be considered as a combination of party image, leader image, party manifesto, and the activities they perform for the development of the support base.

The explicit use of techniques in politics which can be described as marketing was observed in Britain in 1920 (Wring, 1997). In real terms, we have seen that different political parties have used different marketing strategies and tools before elections to get the electoral success. This process started in America and in Europe. Kelly (1956) gets the credit to use the term “Political Marketing” for the first time (Harris, Lock, & Nievelt, 2002; Newman, 1994). John Backley is identified by US literature as one of the first political consultants (Menon, 2008, p.6; Harris, Lock, & Nievelt, 2002). In the presidential elections in America during 1940-60, the campaigning was predominantly focused on product approach in the sense that the intention of the promotional activities was not to assess voters in terms of their needs and wants, rather to make sure that the names of political parties and candidates were recognised through heavy promotional campaign. Campaigning was oriented heavily towards sales management in the 1960s and people responsible for preparing campaigning started developing meticulous plans which ultimately led to embrace scientific methods to study the opinions of the voters. Information from voters were collected with the help of polling to analyse how the voters were affected at different stages of political communications. Moreover, the people responsible for organising the activities started to consider segmenting and targeting the voters with the help of demographic variables using the appropriate techniques. Though this approach of selling when applied in case of managing elections, the aim was to present the message to the
audience which is now defined in a better way, the ultimate objective was to maximise the exposure of the politicians to the voters (Wring D., 1996). Nimmo, one of the experts in the field of Political marketing, mentioned that different election campaigns fought with each other primarily on the themes, not on issues. The objective was to present the complicated public issues in simple and easy-to-understand statements. This was actually beneficial for the candidates to address common people [cited in Butler & Collins, 1994]. “The 1980s were pivotal years in the development of political marketing in Britain. When Conservative Party hired Saatchi’s in 1978, it was headline news. By the end of the 1980s it would have been just as big news if a majority party had chosen not to use professional marketing expertise in an election. The execution of the 1983 and 1997 general elections in Britain consolidated the idea that marketing consultants were becoming an indispensable part of the modern electoral process. The turning point in this transformation was the favourable reception given to Labour’s campaign in 1987 (Harrop, 1990, p. 277). In these two general elections, a good deal of election coverage became increasingly preoccupied with the perceived domination of style over substance and image over issue (O’Cass, 1996). This signified that by the end of the decade, parties had achieved widespread acceptance across the political spectrum through use of marketing techniques (Harrop, 1990, p. 277). From the literature it is evident that many marketers came to believe that there was a direct transference of their concepts and tools to the political arena (Lock & Harris, 1996). Experts even demanded that political marketing as a growing field and most of the political parties were competing in elections with the help of some of the tools of political marketing just to understand their market in a better way and to compete in a more effective manner (Lees-Marshment, 2009).

There were some reservations on implementing the marketing tools directly in the field of politics. Critics of political marketing argue that it has replaced ideology with opportunism and downgraded the role of party members, exacerbating the crisis of support and legitimacy currently facing
political parties (Lilleker D. G., 2005). This argument has also been given that intrusion of marketing in the arena of politics was not welcome universally and this intrusion raised the eyebrow of many who though that the purpose of politics was beyond merely ensuring profitability from the commercial point of view and putting the importance of style above the substance. It was even argued that too much orientation towards voters would only result in populist policies and programmes (Butler & Collins, 1990). Since President Eisenhower used television commercials in his 1952 presidential campaign in the United States, academics and critics expressed their concern that politicians were marketing themselves alike products 'like soap' or were somehow devaluing the democratic political system. Since this time, politicians have started employing the media in many and wide-ranging contexts, apparently using it to create as well as develop their images, explain their standing, and communicate different types of messages to the public (Kates, 1998). In an interesting article, Kotler and Levy (1969) supported in favour of elections to be considered as one of the new fields which could catch the attention of marketing expert because political contests reminded that candidates of the political parties were marketed just like soaps. The use of the term “political marketing” was not recorded in any of the formal management studies before the famous work of political scientist Stanley Kelly talked about the emergence of industry in United States which professionally managed the political campaigns (Wring, 2002). While discussing on the first election consultancies, Kelly wrote: “The team relies heavily but not entirely upon their own intuitive feel for providing political marketing conditions. They provide themselves on having “good average minds” that help them to see things as the average man sees them” (cited in Wring, 2002). Kates (1998) argued that Political campaign advertising continued to be a controversial policy topic in advertising and marketing research. His study employed a qualitative research methodology in order to explore voters’ intimate and subjective views about politics, candidates, and political advertising. The findings included emergent themes relating to significant media rituals in voters’
lives, the cynical perspective of politics as a ‘game’, and the widespread disapproval and suspicion with which voters regard negative political advertising. American scholars such as Avraham Shama (1974; 1976) and Philip Kotler (1975) were in favour of developing the theoretical foundations of political marketing by the mid-1970s. As about the same time experts in Europe began to consider the political dimensions to marketing (Wring D., 2002).

2.4 Political marketing: Definitions and Conceptualisation

Conceptually, “political marketing” is a process of combining the concept of politics and marketing. It is basically the application of marketing tools and instruments in politics. Newman (2002) mentioned that in the first formal collection of different works in the field of Political marketing entitled “Handbook of Political Marketing”, political marketing was defined in the preface of the book as the implementation of the principles and procedures of marketing by individuals and organisations at the time of political campaigning. He also opined that the procedure followed by political parties, governments and other interest groups comprised responding to the needs and aspirations of the targeted group of people in the society by analysing, developing, and managing the strategic campaigns in order to create the opinions of the public, to propagate the ideologies or to pass legislation whenever required. Political marketing is the result of the “marriage between marketing and politics” and it enables us to get the insight of the behaviour of political parties (Lees-Marshment, 2001). There are divergences of opinions as far as the definition of political marketing is concerned. There are contemporary discussions on the definition of marketing without the proper mention of the goals and objectives of this concept. The issues which are not analysed in contemporary analyses mainly include the confusion regarding the achievement when there are attempts to apply the concept of marketing to the arena of politics and the need of marketing (Johansen, 2005).

Political marketing has been defined by different experts at different
points of time. Some important definitions available in the literature have been highlighted below:

...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. (Wring, 1997, p. 6).

Political marketing has also been defined as:

...the study of processes of exchanges between political entities and their environment and among themselves, with particular reference to the positioning of those entities and their communications. Government and the legislature exist both as exogenous regulators of those processes and as entities within them. (Lock & Harris, 1996, p. 21).

Clemente's definition of political marketing which is considered by some writers as starting point for analysis is

Political marketing is the marketing of ideas and opinions which relate to public or political issues or to specific candidates. In general, political marketing is designed to influence people's votes in elections. It is different than conventional marketing in that you are selling concepts as opposed to products or services. Political marketing, however, employs many of the same techniques used in product marketing: paid advertising, direct mail and publicity. (Clemente, 2002, p. 308).

Political Marketing is also defined by another eminent researcher as

...a complex process, the outcome of a more global effort implicating all the factors of the politician's political communication. (Maarek, 1995, p. 2).

In the definitions stated above, it is observed that political marketing is being considered as a vital part of political communication. This however, doesn't imply that political communication becomes synonymous with the whole marketing process since it involves a large number of issues and considerations. These definitions mostly signify the importance of the analysis of the environment and the voters to get electoral success. Experts on this field have emphasised on the different techniques and concepts of
marketing which can be applied in the field of politics. Marketing is not only considered as one of the functional areas. It is an orientation of the organisation. So the proper adoption of marketing concept in politics requires the change in orientation of the political parties. If marketing philosophy is to be applied to influence political behaviour, then it is not enough for the political parties to change the way parties develop strategies and communicate those. Party leaders and strategists should also change the way they think. Political marketing strategies can be implemented only after the changes of orientation of balance of power (Lilleker, 2005, p. 573).

From the theoretical perspective, political marketing can be presented with its roots in rational choice theory and it is capable of describing the electoral behaviour (Savigny, 2004). Researchers also talk about the various modes of engagement with the markets and show when and how the initiative to engage with the market can be political in nature and there are resistances against engagement in case of politics (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2010). The proper application of marketing concepts and tools is possible if conceptual clarity is present. If the exchange process in political marketing is to be understood, we must have the concept of the difference between exchange and transfer in case of commercial marketing and its applicability in the exchange process in political marketing. In this perspective, experts are of the opinion that transaction may not always take place while exchange is underway. In case of voting, extended time period may be required before the voter actually makes the transaction with political party (Bannon, 2005).

Existing literature vividly distinguishes between political marketing and product or service marketing. Lock & Harris (1996) pointed out some fundamental differences between product or service marketing and political marketing very clearly. In their opinion, firstly, in the elections, all choices of the voters are made on a single day, barring some exceptions such as postal and proxy vote. This is almost impossible to find out a purchasing decision which is similar to the above characteristics and affects as large number people as in case of voting decision. Secondly, there may be
arguments that enduring individual costs and disappointments are attached
to a voting decision, but no one can attach price directly or indirectly to a
voting decision. Thirdly, until and unless voters are forced to immigrate
after vote is over, no direct price is attached to voting. The uniqueness of
the voting is that the voter has to accept and bear the choice made
collectively by the electorate even if the choice differs. This is a completely
different situation compared to consumer market. Fourthly, in case of most
of the elections, a winner takes all whether it is an election for individual
constituency or a general election. But this is not the case in consumer
marketing until and unless there is monopoly. Fifthly, since it is difficult
for the voters to segregate the intricate intangible product like the
candidate of a political party or the party itself, they take decision on
overall message or the concepts coming in packages. There are some
complex products and services that consumers find difficult to segregate,
but the complexities and range of concepts and issues in case of political
product and services differentiate consumer and political products and
services. Sixthly, almost like the modifications of product or brand
extension in case of commercial marketing, direction of a local or a national
party can be influenced but chance of introducing a new party as a new
brand is distant. Experts made the difference from the angle of number of
market players. There is only one supplier at a time. It is the government
in the power (Harrop, 1990, p. 279). Branding is the core concept of
marketing and the researchers argued that the concept of brand was widely
used in the marketing of both the commercial goods and services to
consumers and the political parties, politicians, and political agendas to the
voters. They also argued in their research paper that political parties and
commercial firms employed marketing techniques which were similar in
nature. Their observation revealed that the similarities between voters and
consumers was more visible in the study at the macro level than at the
micro level. They also indicated the paucity of definite empirical studies on
this aspect and concluded with the help of the study that practices in
political and marketing communication are interchangeable. Voters are
influenced both by a politician’s image or the brand image of the political party and by a brand image of the service or product at the same time. “Voters” and “Consumers” do seem to share some resemblance in their affective, cognitive and behavioural responses to advertising, which is perhaps unsurprising, since political parties and commercial entities do sometimes employ similar marketing techniques. But some responses displayed by the voters have sometimes differentiated them from consumers (Peng & Hackley, 2009, p. 172). Voting is considered as transaction, not a transfer, in its true sense and it is to be converted into an exchange transaction process where the value of both voter and political parties is maximised. Political parties must consider relationship as a vital and core asset of any organisation and should emphasise on building the relationship. Conceptual clarity about the political market and market for consumer product and services can lead to the proper and effective implementation of the marketing tools. Before that, the distinction between political market orientation and political marketing orientation is to be understood. The marketplace for politics was described by researchers previously as highly regulated and having “poligopolistic” characteristics because there were few number of firms competing with each other to deliver government services once elected through a process similar to the process of bidding for exclusive franchise rights (Baines, Harris, & Newman, 1999; Baines & Egan, 2001; Baines, Payne, & Egan, 2001; Baines et al., 2003). Political marketing orientation involves the management activities within the marketing functions of a political party like employing professional polling experts and advertising agencies from outside. This orientation has both short-term and long-term elements. As far the political market orientation is concerned, it is a long term perspective because the structure of the organisation of a political party and the orientation of party members towards the people in the ambit of politics will not change in the short-run. There are some important issues that actually affect how well the political parties and candidates take advantage of the political marketing orientation. The issues are difficulties in controlling
symbolisation and personality, abnormalities of the symbol and the value, unpredictability of public mind, and the power of negative advertising to corrupt the environment (O’Shaughnessy et al., 2012). It has been observed that there is a misconception regarding what are the different components of political marketing. Political marketing does not only mean the promotional activities like advertisements in the media, broadcasts of the political party and election addresses. The concept of political marketing is much broader than this. Political marketing does not only mean the enquiry into the activities related to promotion like advertisements in newspapers or election addresses and political broadcasts by political parties. It also covers the details of positioning of the party to the electorate. More vital for the electoral success of a political party is its overall strategy (Harrop, 1990, p. 277). The differences between these two markets need to be realised to make the required modifications in the tools and techniques. In the political market people cannot expect the service from all the parties at a time. The party which forms the government is supposed to serve the people. Although some candidates from the opposition win in some constituency to serve people, the overall responsibility is shed on the government. The opposition leaders claim not to get the desired level of cooperation from the government. The party in power or the government can project competence by being competent but oppositions can only do so by claiming competence. So, the governments and the oppositions need a different marketing strategy. The crucial phase for a government is the pre-campaign period, when sound government is in the advantageous position. If a government does fail during this phase, the opposition is taken more seriously. As a result, opposition party gets the advantage of being judged on the basis of how it has managed itself and its campaigning activities and thus opposition party seems to gain more from the campaign (Harrop, 1990, p. 279). Some authors have also given the view that there are some common elements between political marketing and public sector marketing. It has been argued in the article that the similarities are not reflected in the contemporary literature. Both political
marketing and public sector marketing are the sub disciplines but are mutually isolated (Collins & Fellenz, 2007). There was an attempt by the researcher to compare between business marketing and Political Marketing. The diagram through which comparison was made is given below:

![Diagram of Business Marketing vs. Political Marketing](source)

*Figure 2.1: Business Marketing vs. Political Marketing*

*Source: (Kotler, Overview of Political Candidate Marketing, 1975, p. 763)*

The political marketing process comprises four components, *viz.* the party organisation (or candidate), the environment in which the party develops, the strategic mix it adopts, and ultimately the market in which it undertakes its operations (Wring D., 1997).

The political marketing process can be explained with the help of 4Ps concept of marketing. Political marketing is supposed to make communication with party members, media and potential sources of funding as well as the electorate (Lock & Harris, 1996). As in product and service marketing, political parties can use product strategies, pricing strategies, distribution strategies and promotion strategies to get accepted by the voter and to get this acceptance reflected in the ballot-box. In this context, one single vote can be compared with one single purchase decision. As discussed in the previous sections, the concept of marketing can be applied in diverse areas. The broadening of the marketing concepts demands wide application of other marketing concepts like concept of buyer and seller, product development, definition of product, consumer
behaviour, promotion, brand loyalty, distribution which were mainly applicable in marketing commercial goods and services (Shama, 1975).

One of the main actors of political marketing is the political party. Political parties are supposed to implement the concept of political marketing. One seminal work in the field of political marketing claims that political parties can be categorised into three types in terms of the marketing process they follow and hence they can pursue product orientation, sales orientation, or marketing orientation in order to reach their goal (Lees-Marshment, 2001: 28-40). A product-oriented political party does not change its ideas and products in the belief that voters will ultimately consider the ideas of the party as correct and vote for the political party. This kind of a political party follows a marketing process involving 5 stages: product design, communication, campaign, election, and delivery. The political party which follows sales orientation believes that voters will not be automatically influenced by its product design made without consulting the voters. The political party uses the latest promotional techniques to persuade voters that the offering is right and the party does it after getting feedback of voters about the activities of the party with the help of market intelligence. The marketing process of this kind of a political party includes 6 stages: product design, market intelligence, communication, campaign, election, and delivery. Thus, a market-oriented party is required to ensure that its behaviours result in the satisfaction of the voters. Market intelligence is used first to understand the demands of the voters and product is designed accordingly to address those demands. This kind of political party does not pay effort to change what voters think, rather it ensures the delivery of the product as per the need and want of the voters. Moreover, it tries hard to ensure that it delivers the product which was offered. Because the party knows that if it fails to deliver, the resultant dissatisfaction of the voters will hamper the electoral outcome of the party in the long run. The marketing process of this kind of party involves 8 stages: market intelligence, product design, product adjustments, implementation, communication, campaign, election, and delivery. Another
research article tried to identify the competitive resources of political parties. The research work tried to explore the resources of a political party which can give it a sustainable competitive advantage. The resources of competitive advantage included the tangible, intangible and organisational assets which are used during political campaigns. This exploration was made possible with the application of Resource Based View of Strategy Development, but it was also argued that the basic competitive resources cannot totally explain the electoral success (Lynch, Baines, & Egan, 2002).

Some researchers are of the opinion that in order to achieve electoral success, political parties should be market-oriented. The political party which is oriented towards market improvises its behaviour to ensure satisfaction of the voters. The party uses market intelligence to guess the demand of the voters and the behaviour is moulded to address the demand. A political party does not thrive to change the way voters think, rather deliver what voters are looking for (Lees-Marshment, 2001). What appears from literature is the fact that a clear concept on the difference between political market and market for product and services can help the marketers modify their instruments of political marketing. In case of political market, there are some typical characteristics of electorate which have ramifications in marketing (Butler & Collins, 1994:25-26). Firstly, the process of voting is “charged ideologically”. In some parts of Central and Eastern Europe, opinion poll data reveal that the voters pay more interest in the political party than the particular policy and candidates. Secondly, voting is something more than any other consumption activity. Here voting can be considered as “social affirmation”. In reality, votes are divided on many issues, sometimes on a religious issue in some countries or sometimes issues like identity and language get more importance than the economy in general and unemployment in particular. Thirdly, the concept of “counter consumer” may not be very much relevant in the other areas of marketing but in case of political market, there are some groups in the electorate which are not interested and do not support a particular party but prevent other party or candidate to win elections. This objective may be achieved
though negative communication. It is generally believed by experts that political evaluations and votes are influenced by consumer confidence and consumer confidence, in turn, is influenced by conditions of the economy. But some of the important political events and other changes in the political environments, apart from changes in the economic environment, do have effects on the sentiments of the consumer. Thus, in order to understand the political economy and the behaviour of the voters, more focus should be on the causal relationship between politics and economics (Boef & Kellstedt, 2004).

Some discourses on political marketing orientation are available in the literature. The statement which is very much used in political marketing literature is that orientation towards market and it is considered to be a vital step for a political party aspiring electoral success (Lilleker D. G., 2005, p. 584). Basic differences between market orientation and marketing orientation have been emphasised. O'Cass proposes a semantic redefinition of the marketing management paradigm for the political context as “the analysis, planning, implementation and control of political and electoral programs” but he does not really discuss the differences between the business and political marketplaces. Since significant pressures are being placed on political parties and politicians by voters, business and lobby groups, various stakeholder groups’ influence on political parties is acknowledged, but only the party or voter exchange process is investigated with the emphasis of his research being on the use of traditional marketing tools to attain party objectives (O'Cass, 2001). Lees-Marshment is of the opinion that a market-oriented political party passes through a process during the period of elections which began with the market intelligence generated through informal and formal sources using both party members and professionals. He also took the view that political marketing is concerned with “the relationship between a political organisation’s ‘product’ and the demands of the market”, and that “the basic argument of a market orientation is to follow, rather than lead, voter demands” (Ormrod, 2005, p. 50). According to Ormrod (2005:50), a political party following the
market-oriented approach should recognise the needs and wants of the voters at the beginning with the help of market intelligence. The information collected through intelligence are circulated at all levels of the party. The product is then designed to meet the needs and wants of the voters and to satisfy them. The whole process is supported and implemented by internal organisational structure and the outcome of the process actually delivers input to the government (Ormrod, 2005, p. 50). This is also mentioned by the researcher that there are different conceptual articles which deal with the concepts of strategic political marketing and political market orientation and their relations. These articles also privided foundation for further empirical studies. Depite this, the above concepts have not been integrated properly to give a comprehensive framework which can be utilised by the practitioners of political marketing in order to develop strategies and offerenings for the fulfillment of their organisational goal (Ormrod & Henneberg, 2010). Researchers acknowledged the paucity of reseach on strategies of political marketing except some notable work by Butler and Collins (1996), Baines et al. (2003), Baines and Lynch (2005), Henneberg (2006). This reseach examined the issue of strategic postures and its underlying mechanisms and mentioned that these were mainly relevant in case of commercial marketing and the political market orientation. But, they agued that the underlying mechanism of strategic posture could be used to explain the strategies of positioning of political actors. Different constructs of political marketing orientation proposed by other reseachers have also been explained. It was ultimately concluded that there should be an integration between the concept of political market orientation and strategic political postures. It was claimed that this integration will help get a complete picture of the interactions between the competitive positioning of the political party taken as a whole and the structure of its organisation in terms of behaviour and attitude (Ormrod & Henneberg, 2010).

After reviewing the existing literature on different concepts related to political marketing, it is now appropriate to analyse the concept of
marketing mix, segmentation, targeting, positioning and branding from the political marketing perspective. The analysis of these and the concepts analysed previously from the perspective of political marketing with the help of available literature will help build a conceptual framework. Moreover, the research on political marketing will help develop these concepts and formulate better strategies in the competitive environment in the field of politics. The area of political marketing has been undergoing changes for decades after the emergence of internet marketing, as one of the components of direct marketing, and the variety of methodologies of marketing research. Variety of marketing research methodologies applied in politics and the result obtained through these research methodologies (like surveying and methods of focus group), result of the opinion polls, are becoming the attractive content for the media (Sherman & Schiffman, 2002). The same researchers in another article claimed that political polls were something where marketing research tools were applied to gauge the intentions and attitudes of the potential voters with respect to a candidate or a political issue or other, but this was not the only application of marketing research in politics. There were other forms of research techniques and formats which are developed and applied to measure the impact of complex political issues and to develop and test hypotheses (Sherman & Schiffman, 2002).

Marketing mix for product marketing comprises four elements namely product, price, place and promotion (Kotler et al., 2007). In case of service, marketing mix includes another three elements namely physical evidence, process, and people. This is actually extended marketing mix for services (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2016). The leading paradigm of political marketing to date is the adaption of ideas and frameworks of marketing for consumer goods, specifically the marketing mix concept, to the field of politics (Baines, Brennan, & Egan, 2003). When marketing mix is discussed with reference to political marketing, there are some complexities which need to be contextualised when applied in politics. Moreover, the empirical analysis shows that marketing mix has an impact
on the decisions of the voters (Hayati & Purnama, 2016). A political product combines three key aspects: “party image”, “leader image”, and “policy commitments”. Using survey data, Worcester pointed out the extent to which each element of the product influenced opinion amongst different groups of voters. Thus, whereas one segment might be susceptible to primarily issue-based appeals, the others will display a preoccupation with the dimensions of leader or party image (Wring, 1997). There is a notion that emanates from the writings of experts that politicians are increasingly using appeal based on the promotion of image at the expense of issues. But Philip Kotler commented that “voters rarely know or meet the candidates; they only have mediated images of them. They vote on the basis of their images” (Kotler, 1982). The political product is not considered by researcher as simple as consumer product. It is actually the amalgamation of different benefits. Voters believe that the benefits will ultimately materialise if the candidate is elected. The promises of benefits are formally communicated in the platform of the party to which the candidate belongs, in the paid advertisements and in the coverage of public appearance of the candidate. The expectation of the voters of potential benefits from the candidate is influenced by the past records and personal characteristics of the candidate. Image of the party sometimes is transferred to a candidate and as a result the image of the candidate is influenced. In political marketing, the job of managing the product i.e., making the changes in the product as per the requirements of the target segment is done by political consultants. They provide all sorts of candidate services comprising management of campaign, advertising, public relations, fund raising and many others. (B. Niffenegger, 1989). The components of the products may change in different countries in tune with nature of the political market and the perception of the voters about the politics, the political leaders and the political activists. Once the market-oriented approach is adopted by the political parties, the political product is communicated out to voters at all points on the electoral cycle so that come election time, “The actual
election campaign is then almost superfluous to the requirements but provides the last chance to convey to voters what is on offer” (Lees-Marshment, 2001, p. 211). It is argued that, rather than being ‘sold’ like a product, candidates are instead ‘marketed’ like a service-provider such as a real estate agent (Marland, 2003). Political parties fail to consider the issues like segmentation and product differentiation in political markets because there are clearly insufficient discussions on the nature of the political product (Baines et al., 2003). The nature of the offerings of the political parties, as argued by some researchers, resembles more a service than a product. The next sub-section deals with this debate.

2.4.1 Product and Service aspects of Political Marketing

There are many similarities between the selling of politicians and the selling of certain products. We have seen how politicians try to get accepted by the voters by promising the different development works, by wearing the types of clothes the people of the constituency prefer and speaking the language of the people of that constituency. They actually thrive to create a sense of belongingness. Politics sell an abstract and intangible product; it is value-laden; it embodies a certain level of promise about the future, some kind of attractive life vision, or anything whose satisfactions are not immediate but long-term, vague and uncertain (O’Shaughnessy, 2001). As far as the nature of the electoral market is concerned, the most important constant in the electoral market is that the political parties offer a service of governing the country. Marketing a political party has similarities with marketing of services such as accountancy and legal advice than with selling physical products (Harrop, 1990, p. 278). So, researchers are of the view that marketing activities of the political parties are very similar to marketing of services because here political parties offer something which resembles the characteristics of service. Researchers argued that there was paucity of discussion on the service components of the offerings of the political parties. In their opinion, concepts like homogeneity, perishability, intangibility, and
variability—which are mainly associated with the marketing of services have been used in politics (Baines, Payne, & Egan, 2001; Newman, 1988). Researchers also argued that citizens are now evaluating political parties closely on the basis of the output which is measurable and not vague. (Dalton, 2002). As a result, the community expects politicians to change the way they present the ideology, and serve them. In this changing scenario, the concept of service delivery is very important. Since voters are increasingly becoming more concerned with the service delivery than the political ideology, political parties and politicians should concentrate more to show to the voters that they can manage the delivery of the service in a better way than the competitors in the context of the management of public services. There were also initiatives on the part of the researchers to analyse the anatomy of the service aspect of political product. The researcher tried to represent the features of political service in UK by dividing the political service in three components namely, core, actual and augmented. The core aspect comprised the technical features like representation of the constituency by the Member of Parliament at the local level and raising the voice for the constituency at the national level. Actual aspect of service included functional and technical features like the communication of the values, policies and statements of the party to the voters, the politicians, the commitments made in the manifesto of the party and the ability of the party to fulfil the commitments to build trust for the party. The last is the augmented aspect of the political service. The functional and technical features which come under this aspect are membership of the party, conferences organised by the party, and commercial sponsorships. It is also demanded that the analysis of the political service in an elaborated way can provide conceptual clarity to understand the basic reasons of the existence of political parties. (Baines et al., 2003). The figure showing the different features of the political product is given below:
Features of the Political Service

![Diagram of Political Service Features]

**Figure 2.2:** Features of the Political Service, Source: Adapted from Baines P., Worcester, Jarrett, & Mortimer, 2003

Existing literature also mentions different strategies of political marketing considering the offerings in politics as political service-product. It argues that service marketing techniques can be applied in case of political campaigning. There are different available marketing strategies in the hands of political marketers. It includes the strategies to tangibilise the intangible aspect of political offering by presenting more physical evidences, to ensure the management of customer service by an effective and satisfactory interface between candidate and the political party, to manage demand by providing necessary information to the stakeholders, and to oversee whether everybody inside the political organisation and in different ancillary service agencies interact with the voters in a consistent manner to ensure proper implementation of internal marketing strategy (Baines, Brennan, & Egan, 2003).
Price is conceptually the most difficult component while modifying the 4P classification for political market. The price of a candidate can be thought of as the total number of costs associated with the candidate’s selection. Costs may be economic (e.g., possible tax increases, increase in interest rate, cuts in government benefits), psychological (e.g., uncomfortable feeling with the candidate’s religious or ethnic background). Possible national image effect is another cost area (e.g., expectations from the leader about bringing in increased national pride). Hopes and insecurities attached to voting for a particular political party can be considered to be another element of cost (Niffenegger, 1989, p. 48). Price is paid by the voters when they vote for a political party. Defining price as a cost or a psychological involvement is not satisfactory. Voting is an uncertain event and there is no guarantee that the candidate one supports will win the election and if the supported candidates win, there is no guarantee that promises will get fulfilled. From this perspective voting resembles gambling and the price paid is one’s stake in this process where the outcome will determine the win or loss (Baines, Brennan, & Egan, 2003). It may therefore be considered as an investment of trust in a political party and a significant part of the destiny of the voters is in the hands of the same party (Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2015). The pricing enables a commercial firm to develop a strategy which will help maintain competitiveness and profitability in the marketplace. The concept of pricing in political marketing is not very much apparent, but somewhat implicit. Some electoral commentators have discounted the pricing element in the belief that it adds little to the analysis of campaign planning and implementation (Wring 1997). Price is very difficult to determine because here vote can be considered as a “psychological purchase”. Niffenegger (1990) presented the justifications for the relevance of pricing in political marketing and mentioned different parts which constitute pricing in the field of politics (cited in Wring, 1997).

The place or distribution aspect of the 4P classification can be effective if the grassroot level party activists keep in touch with the voters
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on a regular basis. This aspect deals with the availability of the product to the target market. In this context existing literature highlights that campaign delivery and offering delivery are the two aspect of distribution function. Campaign delivery function ensures that voters have access to all pertinent information—political product, main party policies and programmes. Apart from that, this function is responsible for placing the candidate in appropriate channel and makes sure that ideology of the party goes well with the distribution channel. The complexities of this function enhance with the advent of new forms of media. The second aspect of the distribution function, namely offering delivery function, deals with the fulfillment of the promises made by the political parties and candidates. This function becomes very vital if the political party is in power (Harrop, 1990; Palmer, 2002; Mone & Bazini, 2013). Activists in the local offices can create a positive image among the voters by helping them whenever they are in problem. The ideology of the party is positively transmitted more by the grassroot activists than by party leaders. Political leaders can charm people through their charismatic presence in the media or in a public meeting, but this charm can only be converted into a positive response in an election if the local activists are active and attached with the voters in everyday activities. The place strategy or the distribution strategy deals with the methods or channels used to get the candidate across in a personal way to the voters. A successful place strategy involves both a personal appearance programme and a volunteer worker programme. The personal appearance programme consists of the candidate's reaching for the voters at rallies, club meetings, dinners, and even factory gates. A volunteer programme is used to extend the candidate in a personal way into local markets, through canvassing, putting up signs, registering voters, and soliciting funds. A candidate can extend himself in a personal way by using party members as surrogates to speak on his behalf (Niffenegger, 1989). Distribution strategies refer to the network of regional suppliers. In this context, parties are concerned with grassroot-level activities. It is important how the local activists of the
political parties involve themselves in canvassing, leafletting, keeping constant touch with the voters of the respective areas and ultimately, in mobilising votes on the polling day. In this context, it is observed that the activists do not only meet the confirmed supporters of the party, but meeting all the persons in a locality is the most beneficial. Just like maintaining long term satisfying relationship with the customers in product or service marketing, keeping constant touch with the people of the respective localities by the party activists will bring the desired result in the elections.

Some experts are of the opinion that promotion is the most effective and dominant instrument of the marketing mix in the context of political marketing. However, models of political marketing mostly suggest that politicians realise electoral success by following those strategies which are formulated for consumer products, and the importance of the active role of media is neglected to some extent. The intervention of marketing in the political process is urgently required when politics and politicians fail to arouse the voters. Some experts are of the opinion that it is secondary to analyse whether marketing is mainly applied in case of political campaigning where the primary consideration is the reality that marketing and political campaigns are inseparable and no political party can ignore the role of marketing in the process of political campaigning (Baines, Brennan, & Egan, 2003). The importance of media of varying characteristics plays a pivotal role to frame, transmit, defend and fight for and to challenge the message of political actors. However, some experts argue that the models of political marketing which do not address these in an effective way are actually flawed (Temple, 2013). With the unbelievable spread of electronic media, political parties have no other option but to rely on it. In the presentday perspective, the electronic media is more powerful than the print media. The reach of the electronic media in the remotest part of the country, its lively audio-visual presentation showing the actual incident, if not manufactured or distorted, its conduct of different political debate on the burning issues with the presence of the
representatives of the different political parties, its news items showing different activities of the political parties, the pre-poll analysis by the panel of experts, the paid advertisements are expected to make the people take the voting decision sitting in their home. Authors like Mick Temple argued in his research article that the traditional methods to communicate the electorate seemed to fail to connect the people. Based on the results of a survey where it was found out that respondents paid more attention to the debates on the television than on the poster campaigning and advertisements published in the newspapers and shown in the television, it was concluded that the claim of direct applicability of marketing models for consumers to political marketing gets weakened. In this perspective, one article mentions that PR experts consider paid advertising in the form of different kinds of posters as an actual waste of money (Temple, 2013). Authors like Kates did not subscribe totally to this view and mentioned that paid advertising is only a part of the political promotion mix and it is now being used by most of the political parties throughout the world to make their presence felt. Political advertising is believed to work under certain conditions for certain types of voters and for certain types of purposes such as image development, agenda setting, or attacking opponents (Kates, 1998). There was an interesting research study on young American voters. The study tried to examine the impact on the attitudes of the American young voters if certain political beliefs were endorsed by the celebrities. The result of the study showed that when position celebrities endorsed, young voters agreed with that position. The paper also suggested political candidates need to be cautious before selecting a celebrity for endorsement. Because the match between the idea to be promoted and the image and credibility of the endorser is of very high importance when it comes to influencing public opinion (Jackson, 2008). The ethical perspective of political advertising is also seriously taken into consideration by some researchers. Kaid (1991) reviewed various pertinent issues relating to the ethical nature of political ads, the truthfulness of the ads, their manipulative qualities, and their deceptive technical attributes.
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cited in Kates, 1998). Waller (2002) considered the attitudes of Australian advertising agency executives and politicians towards ethical issues relating to political advertising. Waller and Polonsky (1999) argued that accusations of dishonest behaviour by politicians have led to some poor attitudes towards politicians in general and cross-culturally (Waller, 2002). Some studies have also been conducted to get the perception of the people about the trustworthiness of the politicians before elections. One Australian study based on survey found that 84% felt that federal politicians lie at election time to win votes; 79% felt federal politicians can’t be trusted to keep election promises; 67% felt federal politicians do not usually tell the truth; and 56% claim that they had lost faith in the political system (Waller, 2002). Publicity, on the other hand, consisting of free campaign coverage by the news media, greatly extends the reach of the candidate. Many media experts feel that the television coverage does more than just document a candidate's position. They feel that it actually moulds public opinion through the delicate selection and repetition of visual images (Niffenegger, 1989, p. 49). Political campaign is considered by some researchers as the combination of all the promotional activities used by the political parties before the elections. Campaign is an amalgamation of various components like political ads, media coverage, other campaign activities (such as debates and leaflets), and a number of other potential influences (Kates, 1998). It was asserted that the political campaign might be viewed as a marketing effort since it involves an exchange of the candidate and his or her platform for votes. There was attempt to theoretically think how the professional campaign strategies for candidates were made and it was also tried to build a theoretical foundation of how campaign strategies were developed. This work was based on the interviews of different consultants and the people attached with the implementations of the campaigning. The concept of “deliberate priming” was introduced in this theoretical research paper. It was argued under this concept that a political candidate tried to focus only those issues which would work in their favour and undermine those that would
not (Rust, Bajaj, & Haley, 1984, p. 45). Since every candidate has an
advantageous position with respect to a policy issue and typical trait of the
character, the professional campaign managers determine which issues and
traits are to be given importance and how these are to be framed in a
campaign. The issues which can make the candidate distinct and are given
high priorities by the voters are taken up and a campaign theme
comprising various messages is ultimately developed and disseminated to
attract the distinct groups of voters. It is done with the objective of making
the voters utilise these issues to select a candidate among many (Medvic,
2006). Baines & Egan (2001) argued in his paper that the academic
development of the political marketing discipline was at an early stage
and, as yet, there is still much debate over the nature of the role of
marketing and its applicability in political campaigns. They sought to
discuss that role in more detail by considering three arguments. The
arguments were: (i) Marketing is incompatible with political campaigning
(ii) Political campaigning is not a free market phenomenon and (iii)
Marketing is incongruously applied to political campaigning. These
arguments are based around whether the use of marketing in political
campaigns is inappropriate and, therefore, the two are mutually exclusive
or whether marketing methods need to be adapted for political markets
because they are either restricted or different and, therefore, marketing
and political campaigning are exclusively mutual in the sense that they
require the development of new marketing theories and concepts.
Promotion is the most obvious part of political marketing.

It is quite evident that political parties, as we have seen, give
considerable emphasis on this aspect to market themselves to the electorate.
Though advertising is the most recognisable tool of communication, some
commentators sometimes seem to raise the importance of advertising to the
extent as if it represents the entire gamut of marketing process. Such a
mistake fails to appreciate the complexities of a complete strategy, not to
mention other parts of the promotional mix. This is more relevant in the
context of political marketing. As far as the promotion strategies are
concerned, free media plays a vital role in formulating and implementing different promotional tactics. Free media refers to the publicity which parties receive but do not buy. Different political parties can exert lesser control on free media than on paid media (Wring D., 1997). Butler and Collins (1996) mentioned about the strategic directions that campaign managers should follow. To this end, four strategic positions of the political parties like leader, challenger, follower, nicher were identified and the strategic direction of the parties were decided to be based on the market position of the party.

Branding and brand loyalty and customer value concepts of marketing are observed to be applied in politics in different literatures. A brand is defined as a name, term, sign symbol or a combination of these that identifies the maker or seller of the product (Kotler et al., 2007). Although the concept of branding is being increasingly utilised in the field of political marketing, academicians have given limited attention to branding in political science and public policy and there is a debate whether the branding of politics can be considered as positive development (Marsh & Fawcett, 2011). In order to test the existence of brand in the field of politics it is required to know how much familiar and recognised the political parties and politicians are, the extent to which political parties and politicians are associated with the mind of the voters, and how much differentiated and clear the associations are in the minds of the voters (Schneider, 2004). When a voter casts a ballot (uses the “product”), he or she selects a “brand” (the candidate), and takes out an option on it. If enough people take out options on the same “brand” and their candidate wins, then their options become a completed purchase (Rust, Bajaj, & Haley, 1984, p. 45). In this perspective, some conceptual discussions are available in extant literature. Needham (2006; pp.178) argued that incumbent political parties, like the providers of commercial goods and services, are seeking to secure repeat sales at a time when consumer loyalty is under threat from proliferating choice and social realignment. As with large and infrequent purchases, parties need to use marketing not
only to win a sale (an election) but also to minimise post-purchase dissonance and encourage brand loyalty so that consumers will buy their product in the future. He also argued that successful parties develop brand attributes in their leaders to maintain relationships with supporters beyond the initial transaction, although in doing so they create problems for leadership succession. Needham (2006; pp.184) concluded that voters used brands in politics similar to how consumers use brands in marketplace to reduce complexity in an environment of proliferating choice and information. His second conclusion is that brands are the basis of ongoing relationship marketing through which incumbent parties can keep their winning coalitions together in order to ensure repeat sales. The third conclusion is very fundamental in nature. It says that the successful party leaders have sought to promote personal brands by focusing on a small number of key attributes and by using policies as signalling devices. He observed that successful leaders are those who are able to offer personalised brands, with simple aspirational and consistent messages, built on a small number of symbolic policies rather than a broad legislative programme. Customer value concept is very much important in marketing. This concept is also adapted in the field of political marketing. Brennan & Henneberg (2008) investigated the feasibility and usefulness of adapting the concept of “customer value” from commercial marketing for use in the field of political marketing. It was found in the study that an analogous concept of “voter value” can be delineated and is the basis for a promising approach to the development of political marketing strategy. In this context, the concept of customisation is considered to be relevant by some of the researchers. Scammell demands that as business firms are making the customisation possible in this digital economy at a rapid rate, politics cannot be kept away from it. Politics in recent times is allowing the political marketers to tailor the environment of political interest to individual taste more than before. In politics, voters are the political consumers and they are now dictating terms, rather than getting dictated. Alike commercial business, the balance of market power has shifted from
producers to consumers in case of politics too (Scammell, 2003). A research study on undergraduate students of business studies revealed that honesty, uniqueness, and personalities had greater impact on the identity of the political brand than the commercial brand (Smith, 2009). The unsystematic literature on branding and politics only concentrates branding of the political parties, politicians and government, but there is no doubt that the intersection between branding and politics encompasses much more than that. Branding and politics are intersecting each other in mainly four ways: branded products or services produced by private or public sector are used by different sectors within the government; countries, states, cities, and government departments and agencies are branded; political parties, politicians in political parties and governments are branded; public policies are also branded (Marsh & Fawcett, 2011). Other researchers have gone a step further and have advocated the branding of the state. They argued that there is an intersection between marketing of political parties and the branding of the state. This intersection suggests that the modern study of politics cannot ignore the role of the people who are supposed to organise, plan and manage the communications of the actors in politics and there is a divergence between what leaders think and what they say. This makes the people think negatively about the political leaders (Rose, 2010).

The dual concepts of segmentation and targeting are considered to be very important as far as the success of political marketing is concerned. It is evident in political marketplace that loyalty and attachment to one party or another for the lifetime is decreasing and the consequence is the formation of a segment comprising floating voters. This segment needs to be strategically targeted by the implementation of political marketing (Lilleker, 2005). Bannon (2004) opined that there is no guarantee that all the voters in a constituency have equal probability to vote for a political party which is following the strategy of mass marketing. Every voter has some unique characteristics like level of loyalty, relationship status in a society, and likes and dislikes. So it is not expected that mass marketing
stimuli will elicit same kind of response from every voter. There is a need to segment the voters as it is performed in commercial marketing for commercial goods. A significant portion of the literature on market segmentation, even those associated with political markets, focused mainly on the perspective of product marketing. Here all the methods of product market segmentation like demographic, psychographic, geographic, and behavioural have been used (Smith & Saunders, 1990). But there is a divergent view as well, wherein political parties are considered as service organisations and bases for segmentation used comprised behavioural, geodemographic and psychographic (Baines et al., 2003). This is because service organisations are mainly inclined to use demographic and geographic segmentation methods (Palmer, 1994). It can also be argued from the insights from literature that political parties are not very much worried about the solid support base comprising loyal and confirmed supporters. Political parties look for that segment of politically ‘not-so-conscious’ voters who change opinion frequently and respond to political campaigning. These voters are also influenced by the activities of the opposition parties. To attract this segment, political parties must find out the particular facilities and benefits the segment is looking for and position the party as the provider of these facilities and benefits.

It appears from the literature that political marketing strategies must be flexible, because strategies change according to the voting system. In different countries different voting systems are followed. To become successful, strategies must be modified to include the changes in the segmentation procedure, target segment etc. So, political parties need to pursue system-specific strategies.

2.5: Theoretical Models of Political Marketing

A particular stream of literature indicates some conceptual models showing the fundamental components and their interactions with social, behavioural and attitudinal variables. These models are theoretical in the sense that the models are not developed based on market surveys and
statistical tests have not been carried out to examine the model. However, these models are useful in developing theories. Models mostly make modifications in the marketing concepts and tools and propose a modified form applicable in the context of marketing of political product. The use of marketing instruments by political parties is usually analysed and categorised with the help of 4P classification of marketing mix concepts (Henneberg, 2003). Accordingly, an alternative perspective to describe the requirements for successful political marketing activities that are fulfilled by using certain political marketing instruments has been highlighted. In this context, eight generic functions of political marketing which are concerned with exchange relationship with several stakeholders operating in several sub-markets, have been identified in this model. These functions are product function, distribution function, cost function, communication function, news-management function, fund-raising function, parallel-campaign management function, and internal-cohesion management function. Such a functional analysis provides political marketing theory with a prescriptive instrument to conceptualise a political marketing instrument. This functional view directly relates political marketing with an assessment of management performance. He considered it as a different marketing mix.

Ormrod (2005) proposed eight constructs of a conceptual model of political market orientation, founded on the relationship marketing paradigm and took inspiration from the business and political marketing literature. Four of the constructs—information generation, information dissemination, member participation, and consistent external communication are ‘behavioural’ in that they aim to describe the process of how information flows through the organisation. The remaining four constructs—voter orientation, competitor orientation, internal orientation, external orientation are attitudinal, designed to capture the awareness of members to the activities and importance of stakeholder groups in society, both internal and external to the organisation. It is claimed that the conceptual model is designed to be used by all types of political parties regardless of ideological persuasion or electoral system, and to be used
independently of the position in the electoral cycle.

Bannon (2004) tried to introduce a generic tool for targeting and to consider the process in the context of political marketing. He considered campaigning efforts of the majority of the political parties to be undifferentiated, except manifestos which appeared to be an attempt at product differentiation. He argued that at national and constituency level targeting was evident and the most obvious evidence of segmentation was the targeting of constituency, and canvassing this targeted constituency was regarded by most parties as a worthwhile activity. He presented a form of political marketing segmentation by social group behaviour.

It is sometimes difficult for the political marketers to determine who the stakeholders are and which stakeholder is to be given priority. To examine this, Hughes & Dann (2009) incorporated stakeholder benefit and stakeholder theory to examine the implications of political marketing. This paper proposed the adaptation of four existing stakeholder identification and classification framework to produce a preliminary political marketing stakeholder list. The paper examined the political stakeholder identification process through the use of three commercial marketing stakeholder frameworks. In this perspective, Neville, Menguc and Bell’s (2003) stakeholder salience model; Mitchell, Agle and Wood’s (1997) generic stakeholder types; Grimble and Wellard’s (1997) passive-active dichotomy; and Scholem and Stewart’s (2002) stakeholder mapping process model come into sharper focus (Hughes & Dann, 2009). These models claimed that, using the components of the four models, generic stakeholder types (e.g., media, unions) could be classified by their influence role (active/passive/switch), source of influence (power, urgency, legitimacy) and generic stakeholder types (dominant, dormant, discretionary and demanding). This model attempted to present a preliminary group of political marketing stakeholders based on the combination of the four theoretical frameworks mentioned above. The types of passive stakeholders were identified as government (parliament), government (public service), society/citizens/ community, Party members/
supporters/volunteers, and political opponents. Active stakeholders were classified as political candidates, private lobbyists, social pressure lobby groups, industry lobby groups, party donors, media, electoral commission and unrepresentative splinter interests. Switch stakeholders were voters (between elections), voters (election time), unions (to pro union party) and unions (to anti-union party). Requirement for further research to identify and categorise different political marketing stakeholder groups according to each political organisation was also mentioned.

Niffenegger (1990) used a theoretical model to show the political process. In his work he showed that by using the four main weapons of marketing i.e., product, price, place and promotion, political parties formulated their marketing strategy and this strategy was applied in the market comprising committed voters, floating voters, opponents and prospective voters. Before applying the strategy in the market, the analysis of environment was done and the result of the analysis might motivate the political parties to make some necessary changes in the four weapons and consequently in the strategy. Workers of the political parties, through their direct contact with the people, also provided valuable information to the strategy makers and this inflow of information from a reliable source might lead to modifications of the strategy. Different political parties now-a-days believe in surveying the market or in conducting market research to obtain the real information regarding the perception of the voters about the political parties in general or about the single party which is conducting the research in particular. The results of environmental analysis and market research were communicated to the competent authority of the political parties. This process can again be considered as the cause for the further modifications in the marketing strategy (Wring, 1997).

One research study was conducted based on the observations of the elections in New Zealand in 2008. This research work tried to integrate and make use of those theories which were very relevant for this election. These theories were used to create some principles of political marketing which could be used to find out the extent to which political parties in New
Zealand utilised political marketing. The identified political marketing principles were—

1. Adoption, maintenance, or re-gaining market-orientation
2. Development of the broad political product while responding to markets
3. Targeting the products, resources and communication
4. Managing the competition in an effective manner
5. Emphasis on market delivery
6. Utilisation of market-oriented political communication
7. Utilisation of e-marketing
8. Adaptation of solutions from global knowledge transfer

It was concluded that both the political parties used the principles of marketing but the difference in the quality of applications of principles had an impact not only on elections, but also beyond the period of elections (Lees-Marshment, 2009).

The neglect of regularity of human behaviour in the research on how the advertising, the role played by media, and the influenced voter behaviour as a result of the perception about the reality was mentioned in a theoretical model by Falkowski & Cwalina. The model claimed that the image and the people’s feeling about a politician are related to each other and these two influence each other while experiencing political advertising. The choice behaviour of a voter and the perception about the media regarding its function in political advertising are determined by this mutual and causal relationship. In this research article, two approaches, namely, realist and constructivist were tested through a theoretical model, with the help of causal analysis. The research work conducted in Poland and the United States to study the voter analysed all the issues discussed above with the help of two models. The sequential model analysed how voting behaviour is influenced by advertising and the structural model focused on choice behaviour of voters (Falkowski & Cwalina, 2012).
2.6: Political Marketing: Methodological Issues and Research Findings

The researcher has mainly come across the quantitative and qualitative studies by the experts in the field of political marketing. In this section, only those studies will be considered that involve surveys with the help of questionnaire or with the help of interviews and other techniques. In other words, literature highlighting some empirical research works which have been undertaken on the basis of primary data have been surveyed. In this exercise, the methodological issues have also been explored in order to get an insight into the exact nature of research methodologies used in some important research works. The research findings of the different studies will be reviewed in this section.

Newman & Sheth (1985) developed and tested a model of voter behaviour in a primary election. This model integrated several schools of thought that have tried to explain voter behaviour. They claimed that the model is tested by predicting the behaviour of the respondents based on the model and validating the results with the actual behaviour of the respondents. This model is based on a generic model of individual choice behaviour proposed by Seth (1975) (Newman & Sheth, 1985). The model includes seven components namely issues and policies, emotional feelings, candidate image, current events, epistemic issues, social imagery, and personal events. All the seven components are having impact on primary voter’s choice behaviour. In order to test the predictive and explanatory power of the model, a discriminant analysis was carried out for the republican party. It was found that the issues and policies and social imagery components were the most significant discriminating variables and dominated the model.

Kates (1998) employed a qualitative research methodology in order to explore voters’ intimate and subjective views about politics, candidates, and political advertising. In this study, ten participants, five men and five women, all of whom are eligible voters in the Canadian system, were selected through personal contacts of the author. Care was taken to ensure
that the participants came from diverse ranges of ages and occupations. After selection, long interviews (one per informant) of approximately one hour and a half to two hours were conducted by the author. After reading and interpreting the data and comparing the various interviews, a number of coherent themes were suggested. These themes or patterns constitute the underlying ideas or central topics of interests which are shared by the majority of subjects. The objectivity emerged as a central feature and a necessary condition for communication ethics in political advertising. Participants agreed that for a communication to be “okay” or moral and its sponsors to be behaving in an ethical manner, the information contained therein must be perceived, to a significant degree, as being free from bias. Most interestingly, it was agreed among participants that the news provided much more in-depth and objective issue coverage and analysis than political ads do.

Waller (2002) tried to find out the attitudes of Australian advertising agency executives and politicians towards ethical issues relating to political advertising. A sample of 101 advertising agency executives and 46 federal politicians were compared and attitudinal differences were ascertained. The survey questions for the politicians were identical to those asked to the agency executives so that direct comparisons could be made. The attitudes of advertising agency executives and politicians towards ethical issues relating to political advertising were obtained by responding to a Likert-type scale in the questionnaire. Factor Analysis of Likert scale statements relating to ethical issues was undertaken to identify the main underlying factors in the data. The two factors identified were accountability and honesty. ANOVAs were used to compare the means of the two samples’ attitudes towards ethical issues relating to political advertising. A comparison of individual variables indicated that three of the five items presented had resulted in a statistically different response from the two groups - agencies and clients. The study found that advertising executives believed more strongly that political advertisements were frequently misleading, and were far more in favour of political advertising being
accountable and liable to the possibility of prosecution if deceptive.

Another study was conducted to challenge the theoretically justified conclusion that negativity gets more attention than positivity and negative advertising contains more issue-related information than positive advertising (Stevens, 2012). Respondents were exposed to positive advertising having same kind of issue information as negative advertising. The effect of exposure was very little. It was also found out that partisans were less affected by political advertising than the independent people. Moreover, difference of effects of positive and negative advertising was more in case of independent respondents than the partisans (Stevens, 2012).

In their study from the Indian perspective, Subramani & Parulekar (2009) examined the applicability of the concept of brand extensions to political parties. They used in their qualitative research the Indian National Congress (INC) and other parties containing the word ‘Congress’ as part of their names. They found positive correlations on all ‘party image’ dimensions and low correlation on ‘candidate image’ dimensions thereby confirming the existence of a brand extension type of phenomena. This study may be criticised on the ground that the tendency of the political parties using the name ‘Congress’ with their party name can really be considered as brand extension because brand extension is the case when the same brand name is used in the other product fields.

Rust, Bajaj, & Haley (1984) compared three advertising media as to their efficiency in reaching voters. Readership of newspapers and magazines is found to relate positively to voting participation, while no strong relationship was found between television viewing and likelihood of voting participation, with the exception that the heaviest television viewers are less likely to vote. The study employs both simple descriptive statistics and log-linear analysis. In another paper, Nickerson (2006) demonstrates that young voters are equally responsive to blandishments to vote as mature voters, but that they are roughly three times more difficult to contact.
Haynes, Flowers, & Gurian (2002) considered three types of messaging strategies in the perspective of political communication. The messaging strategies are frontrunner’s messaging strategy, substantive messaging strategy and competitive messaging strategy. They suggested that one messaging strategy would dominate each campaign and that this strategy would be determined by the candidate’s position within the field of competitors. In order to validate the argument, they conducted a field survey. The data for this study were generated by a content analysis of individual Republican candidates’ press releases issued during the 1996 presidential nomination campaign. They took the sample of 315 press releases representing the five major Republican campaigns. One of the observations of the study was the uniform dominance of competitive messaging among the candidates. The overall findings suggested that the messaging strategies that candidates engaged were diverse in nature.

Nickerson (2006) performed a meta-analysis of six randomised controlled experiments. He demonstrated in his paper that young voters were equally responsive to blandishments to vote as mature voters, but that they were roughly three times more difficult to contact. Another empirical study was conducted with the help of panel survey using telephonic interviews with voters who voted before the Election Day and on the Election Day in 2002 in the USA. The objective of the study was to determine the effectiveness of the early voting campaigns on both early voters and Election Day voters. Telephonic interviews were conducted in three stages. In the first stage, 2000 registered voters were interviewed. In the second stage, 1200 voters, out of 2000 voters who were interviewed in the first stage, were again interviewed. In the third stage, 1000 voters were contacted. In total, 4200 interviews were conducted. Demographic and attitudinal information of the respondents was collected through series of interviews and the responses were analysed. Preference for issues was also analysed. It was concluded that there is not much difference between early voters and Election Day voters. There was no strong evidence that preference for issues of early voters change over time but it was revealed
that once the final decision is taken by them, they tend to stick to the
decision. It was also concluded that campaign for early voting is not so
effective in ensuring new voter and in changing the minds of the voters
(Kropf et al., 2008).

O’Cass (2001) presented the findings of an exploratory research
project carried out in Australia. Different issues were measured through a
five point Likert-type scale. A survey questionnaire was sent via mail to a
sample of key decision-makers within the identified political party. The
results indicated that key political marketing decision-makers within the
party often had a limited understanding of the processes and activities of
marketing and the philosophy or adoption of the marketing concept. They
acknowledged on their part that such a philosophy would prove valuable
for the success of political marketing.

Merritt (1984) conducted a survey as a part of a research work to
examine the effects of negative political advertising. Respondents were
constituents of a state Assembly district in which candidates employed
negative appeals. Results indicated that negative political advertising
evoked negative affect toward both the targeted opponent and the sponsor.

Klein & Ahluwalia (2005) mentioned in their research that prior
research had demonstrated a clear negativity effect in the evaluation of U.S.
presidential candidates in each of the past six elections analysed. In their
study, they questioned the robustness of this finding. Two studies were
conducted for this purpose. In the first study, they reanalysed the 1992 NES
dataset, along with new analyses of the 1996 NES data. The NES database
contained 2485 interviews for the 1992 election and 1714 interviews for the
1996 election. The findings of the first study indicated that a negativity
effect is not a characteristic of all voters. Only those who prefer the
opponent, weigh a candidate’s weaknesses more heavily than his strengths.
Thus, negative information about a candidate appeared to be given more
weight only when it was preference consistent. Although there was a slight
tendency for strong opponents to show the greatest negativity, this effect
was also significant for weak opponents, which suggested that any level of
opposition makes negative information preference consistent. The second study was conducted through telephone interviews. The sample size was 2076 respondents. The study found that the aggregate-level negativity effect was likely a function of the proportion of strong opponents. Findings of the second study actually supported that only voters who are inclined to dislike the candidate exhibited a negativity effect in their evaluations.

Lilleker & Negrine (2003) conducted interviews with those active in politics and argued that the centralised model had become unpopular. The finding of their study motivated them to support the model that allowed communication to be managed at the local level and for the candidate to interact with the local context. They also argued that an effectively marketed, locally contextualised strategy allowed politics to connect with the electorate and would become more widespread with the realisation that top-down politics did not engage with voters.

Harris, Lock, & Nievelt (2002) presented the results of a study of perceptions of political marketing in local elections in Norrkoping, a middle-sized Swedish town. Firstly, a series of structured interviews were carried out with the party leaders of the 5 largest parties and with the journalists who reported local politics in the town. These included questions aimed at establishing their level of understanding of political marketing. Secondly, two focus groups interviews were carried out with voters in the town, which included an exploration of their experience and perceptions of electoral campaigns. The findings were that the politicians thought they were doing well, the focus group interviews showed levels of distrust on politicians, and the journalist interviews suggested that media communication was also poor.

Hughes (2007) examined in his paper the current state of personal brand theory and the relationship between personal brands and political marketing from an Australian Political Marketing context. He found that personal brands were very noticeable in political marketing where the leader of a party was a personal brand and was used as part of a co-branding or individual branding strategy and the leader was more part of
the party brand and therefore acted as more of a celebrity endorser for the party brand.

Kaid (2002) carried out an experimental research and compared exposure to presidential ads via the Internet versus traditional channels in the 2000 presidential campaign in USA. The results indicated that undecided voters exposed to Internet political advertising changed their vote choice to Al Gore, whereas undecided persons who viewed the same spots on television changed their preferences in favour of George W. Bush.

O'Cass (2002) in his study focused on issues related to political advertising and electoral behavior through an examination of political advertising believability, the perceived value of information sources available in election campaigns, voter involvement, confidence, and emotion. The study was undertaken in a state election in Australia. Data were gathered from a sample of registered voters and analyzed using partial least squares. The results indicated that the negative campaign run by the opposition was believed as much as the positive campaign run by the incumbent government. It was also revealed that voter involvement, satisfaction, and emotion affected the believability of the positive campaign, but only involvement and satisfaction affected the negative campaign. The findings also indicated that non-paid media (television, newspapers) were valued more as sources of information by voters than were political advertising and the Internet.

O'Cass (2001) presented in another paper the findings of an exploratory research project carried out in Australia on the philosophical basis and operationalisation of marketing in politics. A survey and in-depth interviews were undertaken to explore issues related to the application of market orientation and its relationship to the marketing concept in political marketing. The findings of this research provided initial evidence of the relationship between marketing philosophy and application in politics via the political marketing concept and political market orientation. The findings indicated that marketing’s emphasis on voter needs and their satisfaction appears to be important in the minds of political party
managers. The results indicated that those who are in decision-making positions within political parties in Australia did have a degree of understanding and positive view of philosophical basis of marketing applied in politics and it was also indicated that acceptance did not vary according to one’s position in party hierarchies. Overall, the relationship between the political marketing concept and its perceived value and application was quite strong. It also appeared that an existence of strong negative relationship between the political marketing concept and its application and value caused some conflict. The authors argued that the more it is applied and seen as delivering value the less conflict is seen internally within parties.

O’Cass (1996) examined the issues related to the marketing concept within a political party in Australia. The issues examined were expressed understanding of the marketing concept, attitudes towards it, and influence and applicability of it within a political organisation. The methodology adopted in this research consisted of a case study utilising both qualitative and quantitative data gathering phases within a political party in Queensland, Australia. The data were collected through non-structured and structured in-depth interviews in stage 1 and mail survey in stage 2. Interview results of the stage 1 indicated that those who were in the highest position within a party and who were responsible for political marketing decision-making and management had a minimal understanding of the marketing concept. Findings of stage 2 was that the marketing concept and its adequacy showed a high level of agreement towards the objectives of the marketing concept. At the same time, there was a belief that there would be a level of conflict between voter needs and political objectives which would impact on using this philosophy.

Shachar (2009) carried out a study which showed that political participation rate is higher in close elections. This study showed theoretically and empirically that closeness did not affect the turnout rate directly but rather it is affected through the marketing activities of the parties. This was because close elections attracted higher marketing
spending, which in turn increased turnout. The data on the 1996-2004 presidential elections in the United States were used to examine the model and its implications and supported the model and its implications. This study used counterfactual experiments to show that if the marketing activity had been cancelled in the 2004 election, the number of voters would have decreased by 15 million.

Wood & Herbst (2007) used a sample of first-time voters from the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election and examined the extent to which celebrities influenced voting while specifically assessing whether celebrity influence was greater for the Republicans or the Democrats. Respondents for the research work were recruited from a medium-sized private university located in the northeast of the United States. E-mail invitations were forwarded to a random sample of currently registered undergraduate students. Participation was voluntary and responses were anonymous. A total of 506 responses were received. Data were collected using an online survey exploring the factors influencing candidate selection. All participants reported their political party of preference (i.e., Republican, Democrat, or other) and their primary reason for voting. In addition, on seven-point scales where 1 = Low and 7 = High, all respondents were asked to identify the extent to which family and friends, celebrity-facilitated advertising campaigns, and celebrity-attended events (e.g., concerts and rallies) assisted them in making the decision as to whether they should vote, and for which specific candidate they should vote. Participants were also asked to recall the names of celebrities who encouraged them to vote in general, and to indicate which of those listed celebrities encouraged them to vote for a specific candidate. The researcher applied t-tests and examined other simple effects via the use of Chi-square analyses. Participants indicated that community events and advertising involving celebrities were least likely to influence their decisions. It was also revealed that first-time republicans tended to vote based on the fact that they believed it was their duty as a citizen and first-time Democrats claimed to vote because of the issues involved in the election.
Smith & Hirst (2001) identified the segments of the British electorate by using an appropriate database and statistical approach. The latest available data from the British Social Attitudes Survey were used to segment the political market. As the database was so large, the first step was to use principal component analysis to reduce it to more manageable proportions. This analysis left 16 variables that were then used to cluster respondents. Ultimately, seven distinctive segments were identified. The segments were understandable and offered an opportunity for each political party to communicate their policies more effectively to the electorate. Seven clusters/segments that had resulted reflected the overall popularity of the Labour party.

One research study by Auerbach & Yehuda claims to have found out for the first time the relation between electoral system and political marketing by examining the effect on the marketing strategies of two large parties in Israel during 1988-2003 due the change in electoral system from parliamentary to presidential. This study used both the qualitative and quantitative methods. The political marketing broadcasts of the two main political parties, Likud and Labour Party, were analysed during the phase when electoral system changed to presidential, continued with the change and came back to the parliamentary system. Two campaigns during parliamentary system, two campaigns during presidentary system and one campaign after coming back to parliamentary system were analysed. Out of 670 broadcasts of political marketing during five electoral campaigns, the study analysed 207 campaigns. Because of the impossibility of conducting random sampling technique, quota sampling method was used. Findings of the study showed that broadcasts were significantly influenced by the change in electoral system. The broadcasts which mainly focused on personalities during parliamentary system started changing the focus towards centre of the political map. The broadcasts again changed their focus to personalities after the electoral system changed to parliamentary form (Auerbach & Yehuda, 2010).
The effect of celebrity endorsement on the attitudes and perception of young voters has been studied in one of the research works. The study revealed that when a particular idea was promoted and endorsed by the celebrities, it became more believable to the young voters. The study also suggested that political candidates need to become more cautious before selecting a celebrity endorser (Jackson, 2008). A same kind of empirical study was undertaken in the United States of America to see how much value celebrities could create in return to the significant amount of time and money that are spent to make their endorsements public. This study with the help of sample of undegraduate voters was conducted during 2004 the US Presidential election to also find out the comparative effects of the influence of celebrities on Democrats and Republics. The study revealed insignificant influence of advertising using celebrities to generate support for a candidate of a political party. The voting behaviour was found to be influenced more by family and others (Wood & Herbst, 2007). Another study based on comparative analysis of three countries—Poland, France, and Germany, tried to find if there was any role of advertising in creating the image of the politicians. The numerical result of the study actually validated the theoretical model where dependency was described. Three kinds of impacts of political advertising on voting decision were concluded based on the result of the study. Political advertising was found to strengthen the former preference of the voter, weaken the former preferences or reverse the former preference and to have little impact on preference (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Kaid, 2000). Another study which also studies the promotional aspect of political marketing was conducted to assess the impact of political marketing on the outcome of the campaigns. It was actually the comparison between the similar kinds of elections across different time periods and demographic levels. This study acknowledged the difficulty in measuring the effects of political marketing but at the same time inferred that the improved evaluation of the effects of political marketing was possible if the research design doesn’t involve high-end statistical analysis or controlled field experiment, but remains very
structured and the investigation is in-depth in nature. This study also demonstrated how candidate positioning had impact on outcome of the promotional activities of the political parties (Burton, 2008).

### 2.7 Some of the important facets of political marketing identified from literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facets Identified</th>
<th>Reference of the literature where facets were identified</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concept of Physical Evidence</td>
<td>B. Niffenegger (1989; pp. 49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept of process</td>
<td>Niffenegger (1990), Lilleker &amp; Negrine (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept of People</td>
<td>Niffenegger (1990)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internal Marketing</td>
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2.8 Conclusion

We have observed from the literature surveyed that a growing body of literature highlights the proliferating acceptance of political marketing concept across the different developed nations. The different aspects and facets have also been effectively delineated by the researchers. However, no substantial literature involving political marketing in India could be identified. Since Indian politics is no longer insulated from international trends and practices towards adoption of marketing concept in politics, the growing necessity of political marketing in India is unavoidable. In the past, different promotional tools were applied by Indian political parties just before the elections but total marketing effort was not evident. This has also not been observed in literature and political parties were not very much conscious about the applicability of the marketing concept in politics. Moreover, some political parties were having reservations on the application of marketing in politics. They considered this to be the erosion in values and ideology. But it has been observed in the last few years that political parties in India have started realising the significance of political marketing, but proper inculcation of this concept is seriously missing. The implementation is in the stage of infancy and blind application of marketing tools in the politics can bring ineffective results for the political parties.

It is also evident from the literature that there is necessity for making required modifications in the marketing tools in order to make it successful in Indian context. In order to make the modifications effective, one has to have proper understanding of Indian society and the marketing concept. The research work on political marketing from the Indian perspective is terra incognita. The paucity of research work on political marketing from the Indian perspective would motivate researchers to undertake research from Indian perspective. In this perspective, the nature and degree of application of political marketing in the Indian perspective would be effective in understanding the context in a better way. This can be coupled with a study involving the viewpoint of voters who are considered as political consumers in the perspective of political marketing.
3.1 Problem Identification

With the changes in the dynamics of Indian politics coupled with the global trends, the emergence of political marketing seems to be imperative in India. The study on existing literature on political marketing reveals the fact that there is paucity of research work on political marketing from the Indian perspective. It has already been observed that there are several theoretical and empirical research studies carried out in different countries outside India on political marketing. However, the researcher is of the opinion that any research on political marketing in India needs to be considered from a holistic perspective by considering the country-specific contingency factors. Accordingly, the research work needs to be structured in order to consider the multiple perspectives. A rational series of steps needs to be adapted. Firstly, in view of the non-availability of literature on political marketing in India there is need to identify its various facets that are relevant vis-à-vis the Indian perspective. This can largely be undertaken on the basis of insights from extant literature in the international perspective, coupled with the domain knowledge in the field of marketing. Furthermore, some facets need to be modified and incorporated since the perspectives from developed countries may not be relevant to the Indian context. Thus, the researcher feels the need to improvise the facets and develop them into proper research constructs. In this context, the research plans to first contextualise political marketing in India on the basis of secondary data sources. Secondly, in view of the non-
availability of the facets with respect to the Indian perspective, there is need to obtain opinions from experts. Thirdly, we could not find any study which tried to identify the factors which are responsible for influencing the final voting decision. No research work from the Indian perspective considering voters as political consumers could be found in existing literature on political marketing. This research gap is very important to conduct studies on the behaviour of political consumers (voters). A proper research study to determine the factors influencing consumer behaviour is very important for commercial marketers to formulate strategies. Thus, the present research study also intends to determine the factors determining the voting behaviour of political consumers. This would also enable the political parties to formulate effective political marketing strategies.

In the light of the above perspective, the following research questions have been identified:

1. What are the different important trends and patterns of Indian political environment from the point of view of political marketing?
2. Can we relate the facets of political marketing with the Indian perspective?
3. Are the facets relevant from the perspective of Indian politics?
4. What are the different aspects of political marketing that are relevant with respect to the Indian perspective?
5. Is there any difference between the relevance and practice of political marketing in terms of the identified aspects?
6. Can we identify the latent dimensions (factors) involving the variables that signify the relevance of Political Marketing in India?
7. Is there any divergence of opinions between groups of experts on the identified aspects of political marketing in India?
8. What is the degree to which voters attach importance to the various factors associated with political marketing?
9. How much these factors are important while taking the final voting decision?

10. Is there any difference between the importance of the factors in general and while taking final voting decision from the perspective of political consumers (voters)?

11. Is there any role of situational factors while taking the final voting decision in the context of political marketing in India?

12. What are the imperatives for the mainstream political parties in India vis-à-vis political marketing?

3.2 Research Objectives

1. To identify and contextualise the important facets of political marketing in the light of the political scenario of India.

2. To categorise the facets on the basis of relevance and applicability in the Indian context with the help of the opinions of the marketing experts on one hand, and social scientists and journalists on the other.

3. To find out the factors responsible for influencing the voting decision vis-à-vis political marketing with the help of suitable statistical techniques.

4. To examine whether there is any divergence of opinions between social scientists & journalists and marketing experts on some selected common factors on political marketing.

5. To examine whether there is any statistically significant gap between the relevance and the practice of the identified factors on the basis of the opinions of marketing experts.

6. To examine, on the basis of the opinions of the political consumers or voter, whether there is any statistically significant difference in the minds of the voters between the importance of the identified factors based on the opinions of marketing experts in general and while taking final voting decision.
7. To develop “Ideal-Actual Gap vis-à-vis Political Consumers’ Choice” with the help of an index to determine the role of situational factors.

8. To suggest the imperatives for the mainstream political parties in India vis-à-vis political marketing.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is considered as a framework or blueprint for conducting research. It details out the procedures necessary for obtaining the information needed to structure or solve research problems. A research design lays the foundation for conducting the research work in an effective manner. A good research design will ensure that the research is conducted effectively and efficiently. Furthermore, a research design involves the researcher developing an understanding of the type of data on which the decision-makers have confidence in, plus an understanding of how respondents may respond to different techniques (Malhotra & Birks, 2006:58). Accordingly, a research design that would enable the researcher to address the research questions and objectives stated in the previous sections has been developed. In order to comprehend the research perspective in a better way, it is hereby proposed to pursue a two-pronged approach in addressing the research questions. For this, a mixed research model involving qualitative and quantitative research methods has been preferred by the researcher. The utility of blending qualitative and quantitative research in marketing has been underscored by scholars and accordingly the need for developing an appropriate research design has been highlighted by the experts (Harrison & Reilly, 2011). It makes more sense to apply mixed research methods in the study of political marketing because scholars are of the opinion that though mixed research methods are not used widely, they are quite effective in studying opinion research and political communications by political parties. Data on spending of political parties in campaigning can act as a vital source of information to conduct studies on political marketing (Marland & Giasson, 2013). Coupled
with a mixed research method, the present research work is exploratory in nature. The major emphasis of exploratory study is on the discovery of ideas and insights. As such, a research design suitable for exploratory studies need to be flexible enough to provide opportunity for considering different aspects of a problem under study. Inbuilt flexibility in research design is needed because the research problem, broadly defined initially, is transformed into one with more precise meaning in exploratory studies, which may necessitate changes in the research procedure for gathering relevant data (Kothari, 2004:36). The present research study is thus exploratory in nature because new ideas can be developed only after analysing the secondary data sources like newspaper articles on Indian politics, government reports on Indian elections, articles published in different reputed websites, interviews of political leaders and experts of Indian politics published in different newspapers and websites, authentic data on Indian elections available in the website of Election Commission of India (ECI), analysis of election expenditure and electoral outcomes published in reputed newspapers and websites. It has already been mentioned while defining the research problem that it is important for political marketers to find out the factors which influence the behaviour of political consumers or voters. Thus, in order to contextualise the perspective in a better way and to obtain the required information, we have initially taken the help of existing literature on political marketing.

As has already been discussed in the chapter on literature survey, since there is paucity of research work from the Indian perspective on this topic, the important facets of political marketing have been identified from literature highlighting works on other countries. This would provide opportunity to the researcher to contextualise and improvise the facets in the light of the Indian perspective. To carry forward this exercise, the identified facets have been contextualised with respect to the Indian context with the help of qualitative data comprising information from articles, news on political events in different national and regional newspapers, political articles in different national and regional magazines,
political discussions and coverage of political events in different websites. In this analysis, political marketing has been contextualised with respect to the 7Ps framework of political marketing. Considering the additional variables in the context of service like simultaneous production and consumption, and intangibility apart from the variables considered under product marketing, service marketers have conceptualised an expanded marketing mix for services. This expanded marketing is also known as service marketing mix or the 7Ps framework of service marketing. This framework takes into account additional 3Ps namely, physical evidence, process, and people apart from the 4Ps namely, product, price, place, and promotion considered under marketing mix for products (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2016). These aspects have been examined and related with respect to the prevailing dimensions of political marketing in India. This, therefore, becomes the first perspective which has been named as the Contextual Perspective of the present research scheme. After contextualising the identified facets in Indian context, there is a need for validating the facets with the experts’ opinions. Given the multidimensional and interdisciplinary nature of political marketing, perspectives from two different groups of experts would enable in addressing the research problem in a better way. For the two groups of experts are (i) Social scientists and journalists and (ii) Marketing experts. This has been addressed in Perspective II and Perspective III which have been named as Contributory Perspective and Fundamental Perspectives respectively. It has already been discussed that no research work from the Indian perspective considering voters as political consumers could be found in existing literature on political marketing. Considering this research gap in mind, an effort has been taken to study the behaviour of political consumers (voters) in perspective IV named as Manifestation Perspective. This has been considered in view of the fact that any study on marketing remains incomplete if the views of the consumers are not taken into consideration. In the context of the present research work, voters are the political consumers (Lytle, 2006). Hence the need to obtain the views of
the political consumers or voters has been felt in order to give a holistic shape to the research design. Thus, the opinions of the political consumers or voters are included in perspective IV. The framework of the research work is exhibited in Fig. 3.1.

![Figure 3.1: Research Framework on Political Marketing in India](image)

As shown in figure 3.1 of the research framework, contextualisation would enable in relating the facets of political marketing with the Indian context. For perspectives II & III, *viz.* Contributory and Fundamental perspectives, two sets of questionnaires have been prepared for two sets of experts. The first questionnaire has been prepared for social scientists & journalists. The different aspects identified from literature and the issues that are relevant from the Indian perspective have been presented in statements and experts have been requested to give their opinions on the
relevance of each statement on a 5-point continuous scale. The second questionnaire has been prepared for obtaining opinions from marketing experts. Considering political parties as service organisations, on account of the resemblance of their ‘offerings’ with the characteristics of ‘services’, the identified facets have been presented in statement form keeping in mind the 7Ps framework of service. Based on the perspective drawn from the analysis of response to the questionnaire for marketing experts, a third questionnaire has been developed which would be administered among the political consumers or voters. The dotted lines in diagram of the research framework indicate the indirect relationship and the straight arrows indicate direct relationship. Since the questionnaire for political consumers will be derived directly from the opinions of the marketing experts, and indirectly derived from the contextual and contributory perspectives, straight arrow and dotted lines have been used respectively. Furthermore, the interlinkages between the first three perspective have been identified through two-way arrows.

3.4 Research Instruments

As already discussed, three questionnaires have been designed in order to address the basis research questions identified in section 3.1. The first questionnaire is associated with the Contributory perspective has been developed in order to elicit the opinion of social scientists and journalists. The Fundamental perspective involves a questionnaire survey directed towards experienced marketing professionals and faculty members. The Manifestation perspective comprises an analysis based on a third questionnaire that has been developed to draw the opinion of voters or political consumers across India. The details of the sampling design for the respondents have been delineated in section 3.5.

3.4.1 Questionnaire I associated with the Contributory perspective of Political Marketing

Under the Contributory perspective, social scientists and journalists have been considered as experts because they have the acumen to identify issues related to politics which would enable the researcher to align politics
and marketing. We have observed in different literature that political researchers are conducting research to relate between politics and markets. Political communication is another research area in political science. Social scientists deal with these areas and latent use of marketing tools in politics are also implicit in these areas. So, opinions of social scientists regarding the relevance of the application of marketing in the field of politics from the Indian perspective are very crucial. These experts possess the competence to opine on the impact of the relevance of the application of marketing in the field of politics and analyse political phenomena from the point of view of sociology. So, if there is any emergence of a new field combining politics and marketing, the ramifications of this upcoming field of study need to be recognised from sociological perspective. Social scientists can conceptually judge the relevance of the application of marketing in the field of politics. Political journalists, on the other hand, can analyse this application from the perspective of ground realities of politics. The activities of the political parties are constantly monitored and reported by the journalists. They can very closely observe the different kinds of strategies that are formulated and assess how innovative promotional tools are used to implement these strategies before elections. They are also in a position to analyse the extent to which these tools of marketing are used by the political parties. This knowledge of journalists makes them capable of judging the relevance of marketing in the field of politics. In the light of this, the questionnaire for tracking the opinion of this group of experts has been developed. These experts have been presented with some statements constructed on the basis of the facets identified from existing literature, newspaper articles, and the activities in Indian politics published as news in different newspapers. Experts have been requested to mention the relevance of each facet in the Indian context on a 5-point continuous scale, where 1 represented “not at all relevant” and 5 represented “fully relevant”. Experts have been requested to specify any value between 1 and 5. Now, the facets in the form of statements in the questionnaire will be considered and inclusion of the facets will be justified.
Questionnaire I associated with the Contributory perspective comprises 56 statements. In the first statement the impact of honesty and clean image of the party leaders on voting decision has been considered. Honesty and clean image, in general, is considered as a virtue but it is important to identify how much the image of honesty affects the final voting decision. Honesty has many dimensions. All the dimensions of honesty are considered in this statement. Some people may have the opinion that the work done by the political leaders is more important than their honesty. Ballard and Suedfeld (1998) opined that there was a chance that too much or extreme honesty could be considered as an indication of incompetent personality pattern for prime ministers (cited in Suedfeld, III, & Eichhorn, 2001: 15). The second statement is associated with the influence of welfare activities of the political parties at local and national level on voters. Existing literature highlights the existence and importance of welfare and social activities by political parties. Supplying basic necessities like food, shelter from the resources of the political party, offering employment related services, are some of the factors considered under welfare (Janda & Colman, 1998). The third statement in the questionnaire deals with the participation of party leaders and sympathisers in electronic media. This statement has been considered in view of the fact that political leaders and sympathisers participate in different debates and political discussions in electronic media. Since electronic media has pervaded even to the remotest part of the country, huge number of people are expected to get exposed to these kinds of programmes in the electronic media. Existing literature also supports the importance this participation. Electronic media has an impact on political leaders and the personality and presentation of the political leaders, in turn, influences the electorate. How the information is presented in the electronic media also influences the viewers. Since, electronic media presents the information with the help of visuals, it is becoming easier for them to disseminate information more effectively and viewers find it easy to relate with the politicians who appear in the television. When the
electronic media projects the personality of different political leaders, the concept of “political priming” becomes relevant. In case of “political priming” the political leaders are evaluated on the basis of their performances on the issues which are considered by voters as very important. Political priming is used by the electronic media very frequently when there are burning political issues before elections which are easier for voters to understand. In such cases, voters can easily evaluate the political leaders on the basis of how the political leaders handle these not-so-complicated issues. Sometimes it is observed that the electronic media decides which news needs to be given more focus and which news is to be suppressed. Electronic media is also sometimes criticised for promoting a political party by focusing on those news that are beneficial for that political party and by suppressing those news which can hamper the image of the same political party (Mcallister, 2007). There are number of examples from the Indian perspective where different burning political issues were addressed by media before elections. Accordingly, statements 2-5 in this questionnaire deal with these aspects.

It is sometimes alleged that the media gets aligned with some political parties. There are articles which claim that some top newspapers of India favour some specific political parties (Thakur, 2013). There are also arguments that some of the top Indian TV channels are owned the politicians of India (Thakur, 2013). If television channels are owned by the politicians as claimed by different articles, there is a possibility that the channels owned the politicians will promote those political parties to which the politicians belong. Statement number 6 deals with this aspect. It has been observed that political parties advertise frequently before elections. They spend huge amount of money for their promotional expenditure. Advertising has an impact on voting behaviour and this impact is sequential in nature (Falkowski & Cwalina, 2012). This aspect is covered in statement number 7. From a socio-political perspective, party workers are supposed to be in touch with the local people throughout the year to know their problem. It also helps them understand if any negative feeling is
developing against the party. A long-term relationship is also expected to develop and it can have a positive impact on voting decision. Disciplined behaviour of the party workers can help develop positive feeling about the party too. Overall activities of the local leaders and activists create an image about the political parties. Help from the party workers is expected to be taken positively by voters but whether they will accept the interference of the party in the private affairs. ‘Hooliganism’ of the party workers in the locality is observed and reported sometimes from some states. It can also have some effect on the voters. These aspects have been covered in statement numbers 8, 9, 11-14 and 29. Party organisation has been found to be another factor which is important for political marketing in India. Political parties can control the activities of the party workers, or take action at the right time if different kinds of problems arise in any of the constituencies. Strong organisation can help implement the party strategies and communicate the necessity and benefit of the different decisions taken at the higher level of the party. Development of organisation of a political party can be considered as an important factor not only for propagation of ideology but also for the success in elections. Success in election depends on the perception of the voters about the organisational strength of the political party (Golosov, 1998; Shastri, 2013). This part is covered in question number 10. It is a general perception that the political party in power should maintain peace through a good law and order situation by using the administration in a best possible way. If law and order situation deteriorates, people may think negatively about the party in power. The deteriorating law and order situation actually tarnishes the image of the party in the minds of the electorate (Shastri, 2013). Activities and life style of the top party leaders and workers can have some role in creating image of the party in the mind of the electorate. This part is covered in statement number 16 and 23 in the questionnaire. It has been observed that different political parties of India involve themselves in some activities which show their concern for nation. Since people are very sensitive about the pride of their nation, political parties may think that
these activities can improve their image in the minds of the voters (Chalam, 2017). Just like commercial firms, political parties are observed to get inclined towards the celebrity endorsements to gain the attention of the voters. Political parties frequently use celebrities before elections and include celebrities in the party organisation by nominating them for some constituencies. Political parties devote considerable amount of time and money to use celebrities as endorsers for their candidates (Wood & Herbst, 2007). This part is covered in statements 18-20 in the questionnaire.

Natural disasters like flood, earthquakes, cyclones are very common in India. Many people die because of natural disasters every year and those who survive lose everything. Different organisations extend their helping hands to offer some remedy for those who suffer. Role of different political parties is very important in this aspect. Political parties are supposed to be the uniting force and they are capable of helping the sufferers with the help of their organisations. When a natural disaster strikes in some places of USA, only The President has the power to declare that site as disaster area and then every kind of help becomes acceptable for that site. But the analysis of such kind of decision for 10 years shows that this declaration depends on the number of voters and the political competitive structure of that area. Decisions are taken keeping in mind that opposition party does not get the sympathy of voters and gets electoral benefits by offering help and assistance to the affected people in that site (Tarcey, 2004). This issue is considered in statement numbers 21 and 52 in this questionnaire.

It is quite evident in Indian politics that different political parties make alliances before and after the elections. These alliances formed in the expectations of some political benefit in general and electoral benefit in particular. The present NDA government in the centre is actually a coalition government where BJP has formed alliance with the other parties. Previous UPA government was also a coalition government where Congress made alliances with the other political parties. Pre-election alliances take place when two or more political parties in a constituency decide not to nominate candidate against one another. Different political parties in an
alliance decide to share the seats and nominate one candidate from the alliance in each constituency. Alliances are formed with the expectation that they will consolidate the support of the voters of multiple parties for the single candidate and at the end the likelihood of winning will increase for the candidate of the alliance (Ziegfeld, 2016). Statement number 22 deals with this issue in this questionnaire. The way political leaders address the rallies and mode of talking may have some impact on the voters. This issue has been addressed in statement number 24 and 42. Participation of political parties in social, cultural and sports activities and fight of the party for social cause are addressed in statement number 25 and 38. It is observed that political parties organise blood donation camps and different awareness camps in different localities. Ideology is another aspect which is also important in the context of Indian politics. Ordinary people do not pay much attention to the debates on ideology. Changing political stand with the changing reality has become a trend. In some cases, political leaders change party as per their convenience and political parties are also ready to accept the people and leaders from the other parties. There are very few leaders who stick to their ideologies and remain loyal to political parties. Experts believe that politics on the basis of principles which was evident in 1950s has transformed into personalised politics (Singh, 2012). This issue is touched in statement number 26. There is a general perception among the people that relatives and personal friends of political leaders get the favour in every sphere of life not because of their abilities but because of their relationship with the political leaders. Sometimes it is felt that political nepotism is hugely practised in India. Here, in India, talent is subordinate to lineage and it is the truth that different political family cartels bring family members in politics and impose on the people. There are many examples of such kind of cartels (Bisati, 2018). This aspect is covered in statement number 27. Corruption is something which is given importance in politics. In the last Lok Sabha election in 2014, corruption was one of the main issues. Worst form of political corruption is evident in India. Political corruption is the dominant mode of corruption in recent
time. Lack of political will is actually responsible for non-removal of corruption in India (Quah, 2008). This is covered in statement number 28. Some political parties in India are criticised for maintaining strong link with the mafia and corrupt businessmen. There is a general perception among the voters that sometimes political parties use the mafia link to win elections by intimidating the opposition force in different constituencies. There are allegations that there is a link between politicians and corrupt businessmen. These links are used by the political parties to get funds for elections. So, experts believe that everything is not well with the Indian political system (Shubhojit, 2014). It is observed in Indian politics that some burning issues related to corruption suddenly come on the surface and creates huge hue and cry among people. (TNN, 2001). This issue has been considered in statement number 31. Promise of industrialisation and consequent employment generation is one of the very common promises made by most of the political parties in India before election. Since a significant portion of youth in India is unemployed, most of the political parties expect this promise to be effective in influencing young voters. This aspect is addressed in statement number 32. Election rallies by political parties in India are very common before elections. Big attendance in the election rallies is expected to catch the attention of the voters and the presence of the political parties is communicated to voters. Overall campaigning activities include mainly the election rallies but other campaigning techniques like road shows and campaigning involving different campaign materials are also visible before elections. These aspects are covered in statement numbers 33-35 in the questionnaire. The mainstream political parties in India publish manifestos before election to communicate with the voters regarding the previous achievements, future plans, the current position, and the commitment of the party to the voters. Voters are expected to go through the manifestos and make opinions about different political parties. Manifestos are sometimes prepared keeping in mind the popular demands. It is not always considered whether the promise made in the manifestos can be fulfilled by the political parties with
the available resources. On the other hand, it is also said that manifestos are not so much influential (Kavanagh, 1981). This issue is covered in statement number 36.

The role of charismatic leaders in the electoral success cannot be ignored. Loyal voters may not change their final voting decision because of charismatic leaders but there is a chance that that the floating voters may get influenced by the charisma of some political leaders. A study on Dutch election tested the charismatic leadership hypothesis and concluded that charismatic leadership does not have direct impact on electoral outcomes (Brug & Mughan, 2007). In order to contextualise this issue with the Indian perspective, this aspect is considered in statement number 37. There are supports from literature that political parties fight for a social cause (NIELSEN, 2011; Ananth, 2016). This issue is considered in statement number 38. Emergence of social media as the mode of communication with the mass is the reality of today’s world. Political parties are also using this tool to communicate with voters. Twitter can be considered as an effective platform for its users to communicate their opinions on politics or activities of the political parties with the help of their networks. Political parties have also started using Facebook pages or groups in order to enter into a direct dialogue with the people and to encourage people for more political discussions (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013). This context is covered in statement number 39. The emergence of mobile phone technology has affected politics in many ways, be it the influence of mobile phones in politics in terms of building networks or mobilising activists (Hermanns, 2008). Political parties make personalised phone calls and send personalised messages to voters to develop the network of voters. This aspect is covered in statement number 40. Discipline within the political party is considered as one the facets of political marketing. Discipline of a party can ensure command of party over its leaders and activists (Kothari, 1970). This issue is covered in statement 41. Political interference in education is considered as another important facet of political marketing. Political parties are reported to interfere in education. The existing
literature also supports the fact that there are interferences of political parties in education system. Political parties are blamed for making changes in the textbooks and sometimes these changes are alleged to be politically motivated. Efforts were made to find out how far the political orientation of left front government was reflected in the latest textbooks (Banerjee, 2007). Statement number 43 addresses this issue. The results of the local body elections are considered as one of the facets of political marketing. Here, municipal corporations, municipalities, and panchayats are considered as local bodies. This is considered in statement number 44. People are generally peace-loving. They prefer a good law and order situation. So the existing law and order situation can be used by them to evaluate the performance of the ruling party. The performance of a political party may be positively evaluated by the voters if the party in power is able to improve the law and order situation. This is actually a part of good governance. Political leaders frequently make promises to improve law and order situation because they understand that deterioration of law and order situation will hamper the image of the government and the ruling party (Rediff, 2013; Wyatt, 2010). Statement 45 and 46 of the questionnaire deal with this issue. Facilities and opportunities given to a particular community may be termed as appeasement. This has been considered as one of the facets of political marketing. Political parties are sometimes criticised for appeasements of different groups based on caste, religion etc. The mollifications can help create image about the political parties in the minds of the electorate. This is similar to the targeting and positioning approaches in the context of marketing. Opposition to minority appeasement continued to be main agenda of the campaigns of political campaign in India (Kantha, 1997). Accordingly, this issue has been considered in statement number 47 of the questionnaire. In India, ruling political parties are criticised for controlling the administration. Moreover, if the administration is obedient i.e., under the full control of the ruling party, the credibility of the administration and consequently the image of the ruling party are expected to get affected. The structure of the Chinese administration ensures the
control of the ruling party over the bureaucracy of the state (S.S. Meenakshisundaram, 1994). This aspect has been covered in statements 48 and 49. The role of print media in creating image of the political leaders and parties cannot be ignored. The images of the political leaders, articles favouring a political party or criticising the opposition party, manipulations of news in favour of a political party may create image of the political parties and in turn influence the voters. A study showed that photographic images used by the political parties in print media to catch the attention of voters serve as a vehicle to persuade voters by changing their perceptions (Padil & Azahari, 2014). This issue has been addressed in statement number 50 of the questionnaire. In the present day perspective, we are witnessing that political parties are promoting themselves more than before in order to get the attention of the voters in this competitive political environment. Accordingly, their expenditure on promotion is also supposed to increase. They are not only promoting in conventional and social media, they are communicating with the voters in all possible ways. Campaign materials in different constituencies including posters, hoardings, flags, and road shows, rallies, are some of the methods to communicate with the voters. Because of the extensive use of these methods, election expenditure for political parties is increasing.

If a political party is in power for a significant period of time, anti-incumbency factors may become operative. People may start thinking negatively about the ruling party and also consider giving the opposition parties/alternatives a chance to govern. This issue is considered in statement number 53 of the questionnaire. Electoral malpractices like rigging in elections in India are controversial issue in elections of India. It has been reported many a time that political parties blame each other for rigging and booth capturing in elections. Sometimes, ruling parties are mostly criticised by the opposition parties for controlling the administration in their favour. The purity of election is the sign of democracy but it gets affected by the cases of rigging reported to Election Commission of India (Palekar, 2017). This issue is addressed in statement
54 in the questionnaire. In present time, we are witnessing the increasing popularity of opinion polls before elections and the results draw considerable public attention. Hence this issue can be related to political marketing and hence has been considered as one of the aspects of political marketing. It is observed that different organisations conduct opinion polls before elections and results of the opinion polls are sometimes divergent and sometimes all opinion polls indicate more or less same results. The “bandwagon effects” and “underdog effects” are the two terms which are very appropriate in this context. The “bandwagon effect” refers to a situation where the information on the opinions of the majority motivate some people to go with the majority opinion and the “underdog effect” is prevalent when some people adopt the view of the minority. So exposures to the results of the opinion polls have impact on the general people (Marsh, 1985). This aspect is covered in statement number 55 of the questionnaire. It has also been observed that different political parties use different kinds of campaign materials like flags, posters, wall paintings, hoardings in the constituencies to establish their predominance. Sometimes competitions among the political parties in terms of campaign materials are evident. Supporters of a specific political party may get assured and feel confident about the prospect of that political party. Studies on the effect of campaign materials show that campaign materials have minimal effect on the voters. Campaign materials can rarely change the minds of the voters because voters already possess the existing information and prejudices (Brady, Johnston, & Sides, 2006). This issue is addressed in statement number 56 of this questionnaire.

3.4.2 Questionnaire II on the Fundamental Perspective of Political Marketing

The second questionnaire has been prepared keeping in mind the 7Ps framework of service marketing (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2016). The statements have been grouped as per their relations with the 7Ps framework. The marketing experts have been requested to assess each statement in terms
of (i) the relevance in the Indian context and (ii) Extent to which the facet is practised in Indian political context. The opinions of the experts on both relevance and practice have been obtained on a 5-point continuous scale. Literature says that researchers are increasingly taking help from the theories of relationship marketing of service industry to develop models related to politics because the dynamics of the exchanges in politics have similarities with service marketing where the product is elusive, multifarious, and not easily understood by customers (Scammell, 1999). Accordingly, the different statements in this questionnaire have been framed keeping in mind the 7Ps framework of service marketing. The statements have been formulated after identifying from the existing literature, newspaper articles, political news published in reputed newspapers the different facets in the political environment which could fit into the 7Ps framework of service marketing. As previously discussed, since the literature is mostly from countries outside India, dependence on important articles and news published in newspapers have been considered useful to identify the facets from the Indian perspective. Each and every statement has been related to any of the 7Ps of service marketing.

In this section an effort has been taken to discuss the statements considered in the questionnaire and their inclusion will be justified as well. Some of the facets which are common in both the questionnaires have already been taken care of while justifying the inclusion of facets in case of the first questionnaire meant for experts of Political Science, sociology, and journalism. In the first statement, the past credentials and credibility of rank and file of the political parties have been considered. Rank and file actually represents the political party at the grass root level. So rank and file of the political party actually means the cadres. If political parties are considered as service organisation, rank and file or cadre actually signifies the “people” aspect. The activities over the years and the credibility of the rank and file can help inculcate trust in the mind of the electorate. Literature says that cadres interact directly with the voters and party’s campaign message is personalised by them. As a result, efforts of the cadres
are very important in influencing the response of the voters (Marvick, 1970). The second aspect covered in the questionnaire relates to the contents of the manifesto and statement number 2 and 38 of the questionnaire deal with this aspect. Contents of the manifesto have also been considered in statement number 36 of the previous questionnaire. However, the perspectives are different in two cases and the basic intention of the researcher is to examine this difference in perspectives. Social scientists and journalists are likely to consider the contents of the manifesto and its relevance in voting-decision completely from the political and social perspective. They can actually get an idea on the direction of the party by analysing the contents of the manifesto. Marketing experts, on the other hand, consider contents of the manifesto as one of the components of political product and judge its relevance and practice purely from marketing perspective. Existing literature considers manifesto, containing the name of the political brand, as one of the components of political product (Lock & Harris, 1996). Statement number 3 in this questionnaire and statement 1 in the previous questionnaire are similar in nature. In the previous questionnaire honesty and clean image of the party leaders have been considered from the perspective of how it can affect the voting decision of the voters through the changes in the political landscape. In the questionnaire for marketing experts, this has been considered as to how party leaders symbolise the party and create expectations about the performance of the party and the extent to which this aspect is relevant in the light of 7Ps framework of political marketing. This is included because leaders are very important component of product. Literature says that it has become very normal that popular focus is on leaders in majority of parliamentary systems and there are also examples from the past where popularity of the leader surpassed the popularity of the party. Results of the campaign studies show that major leaders of the political parties gain more recognition as election day(s) comes closer (Mcallister, 2007). The role of party policy and ideology in creating identity of the political party has been considered in statement number 4 of this questionnaire. The role
of manifesto was also considered from different perspective in statement number 36 of the previous questionnaire. When manifesto was considered in the previous questionnaire, the basic intent was to judge the relevance of it from political and sociological perspective. In this questionnaire, manifesto is considered as one of the components of political product and here the role of manifesto is to contribute in creating the overall image of the intangible political product. Party policy has also been included with the manifesto in statement number 4 of this questionnaire. Creation of identity is a very important aspect in marketing if an organisation wants to take a place in the minds of the consumers. Here in politics, creation of identity for a political party is helpful to get the attention and importance from the voters. Literature says that most studies on voting recognise the more influential role of preference to a party policy than of the image of the political party. Literature also says that voters are expected to support that political party whose profile of policy is closer to their own (Harrop, 1990). Research is another area which is very vital for the success of political marketing. Literature acknowledges the importance of research in political marketing (Wring, 1997; Caywood & Laczniak, 1989). This issue is addressed in statement number 5 of this questionnaire. Segmentation is considered to be a very important strategic area of marketing. Segmentation is carried out to serve customers in a better way. In the field of politics, the concept of segmentation is applied by the political parties to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the electorate better than the competing political parties. Literature also acknowledges the development of the concept of segmentation in the field of politics. Previous research works showed that voters were segmented with the help of suitable database and appropriate statistical tools (Smith & Hirst, 2001; Newman, 1994). These issues have been considered under statements 6-8. Value proposition by the political parties is actually the different promises made to different groups of voters segmented on the basis of important and relevant variables. Literature claims that the concept of customer value was taken from the field of commercial marketing to the field of political marketing.
in a modified way and a new concept of “voter value” is applied in the field of politics to segment the market and ultimately to form a political marketing strategy (Brennan & Henneberg, 2008). This issue has been covered in statement number 9. Party workers need to understand the ideology and the direction of the party. Different kinds of decisions taken by the party leaders at the higher level are ultimately implemented with the help of party members or workers at the ground level. If party members or workers do not have proper understanding about the justification of different programmes to be organised and the decisions taken at different points of time, it will be difficult for them to communicate the voters a standardised message. If the message is not standardised, voters may get confused and develop a negative feeling about the party. So party workers should be given training on a regular basis. Literature says that imparting training to party workers is one of the components of enormous resources that are invested for local campaigning (Denver & Hands, 2007). Statement number 10 of this questionnaire takes care of this issue. The role of party organisation has been addressed in statement number 10 and 20 of the previous questionnaire and this issue is addressed in statement number 11 and 45 of this questionnaire. In case of the previous questionnaire, the basic intention is to understand how social scientists and journalists considered party organisation from their perspective. In case of this questionnaire marketing professionals have been requested to assess the relevance and practice of party organisation in reference to the 7Ps framework of service marketing. Literature acknowledges the importance of the organisation of a political party (Wring, 1997). Experts also consider organisation as one of the elements of the structure and process of political marketing and identifies the problems in the structure of the organisation when political marketing is adopted by political parties (Butler & Collins, 1994). Literature also gives importance to maintenance of contact with the electorate by the party leaders (Norris, 2004). Addressing the problems of common man is a technique adopted by the political parties to get the attention of significant portion of the voters.
People are very much sensitive about the image of their nation. If political parties are associated with the activities which enhance the reputations and image of the nation, there is a chance that voters will develop positive perception about the political parties. Literature says that when five nuclear bombs were tested in Pokhran, by BJP-led Government to showcase India as a nuclear power and to initiate a new era of age-old fight between India and Pakistan on arms, all the parties, from right to left, supported it and the results of opinion polls showed overwhelming support for it. In the domestic field, BJP was considered as a defender of national pride (Hansen, 1999: p. 3). This issue is considered in statement number 13 of this questionnaire. Statement number 14 of this questionnaire and statement number 32 of the previous questionnaire deal with the promise and actual creation of employment through industrialisation. In the previous questionnaire, issue of employment was considered as a political weapon and its relevance in political marketing from the Indian perspective. Here, in this questionnaire, the issue of employment is considered as one of the elements of 7Ps of marketing. Literature says that any kind of promise made by the political party must be kept in future to get the support of the voters in the marketplace of politics and to fulfill the objective of voter satisfaction. The relationship with the voters will not be enhanced if promises are not fulfilled (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2015; p.247). Statement number 15 and 30 deal with other kinds of promises: promise to improve law and order situation and promise of good governance. This statement is also covered under the literature mentioned earlier in case of statement number 14 of this questionnaire. Issues addressed in statement number 16 and 57 of this questionnaire are similar to the issues addressed in statement number 21 and 52 of the previous questionnaire. Helps from the activists of the political parties in difficult times are considered as one of the political functions and the relevance of this political function in the light of political marketing in India was considered in the previous questionnaire. But, here in this questionnaire, the help from the party activists is considered in the light of 7Ps framework
of political marketing. Literature says that welfare activities are very important but it will be difficult for political parties to perform these activities if they are not guided by political ethics (Jha, 2012). Party conferences and summits actually show the presence and discipline of the political parties. These can also be considered as internal marketing functions performed by a political party as a service organisation. Literature considers conferences as one of the features of service of the political parties (Bhagyaraj & Dhinakar, 2017). This issue is covered in statement number 17 of this questionnaire. Political parties need to consider how the important political decisions are to be effectively communicated to the voters. Otherwise, voters may get wrong impression about the political parties. Sometimes voters expect clarification or justification of some political decisions which have further consequences on society in general and on economy in particular. Both the political leaders at the national level and local level have some role to play to communicate decisions properly to the voters. Importance of communication in political marketing is acknowledged by literature as well. Literature says that communication with the electorate is now possible in a very sophisticated way through media and voters can make their decisions on the basis of the information received through media. Continuous communication with the voters is now given more importance. Sometimes, political parties try to involve the people with different affairs of politics (Durmaz & Direkçi, 2015). Statement number 8 of the previous questionnaire also dealt with communication and this has been considered as a part of political communication process. But here in this questionnaire, communication has been considered a part of service marketing framework. Statement number 18 and 19 deal with this aspect. Campaign materials are extensively used in Indian elections to reach out to voters. Indian elections are actually converted into festive occasions where different kinds of communications are used. Posters, banners, and wall writings are the indications that elections are ensuing. Huge cut-outs of political leaders and candidates of the political parties are placed at the strategic points of cities, villages, and
town to make the people familiar with the party leaders, candidates, and symbols (Karan, 2008). Statement number 20 and 22 of this questionnaire deal with this issue. The same issue was addressed in statement number 56 of the previous questionnaire. In the previous questionnaire the perspective was purely political and social. Here the intention is to judge the role of campaign materials in terms of their role in political communication. But in this second questionnaire, campaign materials are considered as one of the promotion tools of a political party which is treated as a service organisation. Political leaders are frequently criticised for using controversial statements to energize the atmosphere and to get attention. War of words is very common in Indian politics before elections. In some cases, political leaders cannot control their emotions and use some controversial words or statements. People may treat it with disdain and voters make their decisions based on that. Individual political consumers are also negatively influenced by the controversial words and statements used by political leaders (Saxena, 2017). This issue is addressed in statement number 21 of this questionnaire.

It is observed that political parties advertise frequently in both electronic and print media before elections. The reach of the media has gradually increased over the years and now it covers almost all parts of the country. This is possibly the reason why political parties advertise themselves in media to reach out to maximum number of voters. Literature says that electronic media including radio, television, and internet bring advertisements to the voters. Huge amount was spent on television advertising in The United States in 2008 and television advertisements increase voter knowledge (Kaid, 2012). Recently, this trend is observed in India as well. This aspect is covered in question number 23 of this questionnaire and statement number 7 of the previous questionnaire. In the previous questionnaire, advertisements in different media are considered as a part of political communication and in this questionnaire, it is considered as a part of service framework of political organisations. As discussed in the literature review chapter, political parties, like the
commercials firms, formulate a media mix strategy and allocate their budget in different kinds of media to meet the objective. Literature says that it is the characteristics of political marketing to promote political candidates with the use of communication media. Political parties adopting the political marketing philosophy utilise media schedules and media mix to effectively reach the target voters (Shama, 1975). This aspect is covered in statement number 24 of this questionnaire. Election rallies are very common phenomenon in Indian politics. Most of the political parties organise election rallies to show their presence and power before election. Big rallies organised by political parties are expected to catch the attention of the voters. Election rallies are very common in Indian politics. Huge number of people sometimes attend these election rallies. The type of people present in the rally can give an impression about the composition of the support base of the political parties. There is a chance that people can perceive positively or negatively about a political party looking at the type of people present in the election rallies. Literature says that communication through social media by political parties is becoming very important in today’s world but it is not going to replace the traditional form of communication like election rallies with the voters. Statement numbers 25 and 42 of this questionnaire and statement numbers 33, 35, and 42 of the previous questionnaire address this issue. In case of previous questionnaire election rallies are considered as one the political functions and in this questionnaire election rallies are considered as one the components of the promotion within the framework of service organisation. Creativity in communication is used frequently by political marketers. Advertising is the most significant element of communication mix. So creativity is frequently used in different advertisements of political parties. Political parties frequently take help of the different reputed ad agencies to communicate their message to voters in a creative way. Literature acknowledges the importance of creativity in political advertisements and innovative promotional activities (Peng & Hackley, 2007). Roles of ad agencies in promotion of political parties have already been discussed. Statement
number 26 and 32 of this questionnaire deal with this issue. In India, the political consumers, i.e. voters are not homogeneous in nature. Diversity is the identity of the Indian culture. Voters can be categorised on the basis of demographic, geographic, psychographic, and behavioural aspects. Political marketers are required to understand this reality. So, they need to realise that same value offerings to all the voters may not be beneficial. Political marketers therefore need to understand the need and aspirations of different segments of voters and propose value accordingly. Different kinds of values are to be communicated with differentiated promotional strategies. Literature argues that though segmentation methods were used in the past using demographic, psychographic, geographic, and behaviourial techniques, more focus on the differentiation of the product than on market segmentation will be fruitful in securing more vote (Baines, Worcester, Jarrett, & Mortimore, 2003). Statement number 27 of this questionnaire addresses this issue. Statement number 28 of this questionnaire and statement number 37 of the previous questionnaire deal with the issue of the presence of charismatic leaders in political parties. In the previous questionnaire, the issue of charismatic leaders has been considered completely from the point of view of political and social process but in this questionnaire the presence charismatic leaders is considered in terms of service marketing framework. Literature also acknowledges the importance of charismatic leaders. Literature says that political parties prosper under the charismatic leaders but when a charismatic leaders leave party, it becomes difficult for the party to continue with the success (Needham, 2006). Symbols of the political party create an identity for the political parties. People can recognise a political party looking at the symbol. In this perspective, literature says that symbols do not earn competitive advantages to the political parties. But in some democracies like India, symbols can play an important role. Here, symbols are recognised more than the party names (Lynch, Baines, & Egan, 2002). Statement number 29 of this questionnaire considers this aspect. Acceptance of social media among people is increasing at a fast pace. It
has made the interactions with the mass very much convenient. Political opinions posted in social media help political parties analyse the reactions of the voters on different political and social agendas. As a result, different political parties are now promoting themselves through social media with the expectation that they will reach huge numer people more conveniently and at a lower cost. Literature says that the advent of mobile internet has given a boost to social media and political paries are trying to take advantage of it but most of the political parties cannot use social media for their benefit because of improper strategy. Now the question arises whether the promotions through social can influence voters. Literature also says that in Netherlands, social media could not influence the voting behaviour in a significant way but in national elections, political parties which engaged themselves more in social media secured more votes (Effing, Hillegersberg, & Huibers, 2011). It would therefore be interesting to track experts’ opinion on this issue. Hence, this issue is considered in statement number 31 of this questionnaire and statement number 39 of the previous questionnaire. From a rational point of view, the perspectives are different in the two cases. In case of previous questionnaire, the issue of social media was considered as a part of political process and in this questionnaire, social media is considered as one of the promotional tools of a political party as a service organisation. Personalised phone calls and messages are considered in statement number 33 of this questionnaire and statement number 40 of the previous questionnaire. This aspect has been considered in the previous questionnaire. The impact of phone calls and messages on political process and system has also been considered in order to understand the discernment of experts in the field of politics. But when it is considered in this questionnaire for marketing experts, this activity has been considered under direct marketing activity of a service organisation like a political party. Directing marketing is a part of service promotion. Literature highlights the use of phone calls and personalised messages to communicate with the voters in Indian politics (Karan, 2008). Another aspect that appears to be relevant in the context of political
marketing pertains to the lifestyle of the political leaders and the relevant issues as identified from literature have been considered in statements 34, 35, 39, and 41 of this questionnaire. This issue has been considered in the previous questionnaire in the perspective of political culture in India and the role of this issue. Accordingly, experts have been requested to give their opinions on the relevance of this aspect in the light of political marketing in India. But the issue of lifestyle of party leaders is considered as one of the components of 7Ps framework of service marketing (Zeithaml et al., 2008). With increased proliferation of electronic media, the presence of political leaders in different political debates in electronic media has become very common in India. Since the electronic media has gradually pervaded the remotest part of the country and reached maximum portion of the population, political leaders take it as an opportunity to communicate with the voters using the reach of electronic media. Performance of the political leaders in the debates can have some influence on the voters. Political parties prefer to promote their policies by familiar and accepted leaders in different political debates and interviews in the electronic media than in other media and publication of policy documents. It is more influential because voters prefer to hold individual leaders responsible for the performance of the political party (Mcallister, 2007). Literature also acknowledges that personal characteristics and style of leaders moderate the preference of the voters and there are reasons for its justification (Grbesa, 2004). Statement number 36, 37, 53, and 55 of this questionnaire and statement number 3 of the previous questionnaire address this issue. Perspectives are different in the two questionnaires. In the previous questionnaire, this issue has been considered under the influence of political leaders on media and the role in political marketing. In this questionnaire, this same issue and its relevance are being considered under the framework of service marketing. Furthermore, languages and phrases used in the campaign materials become important when something has to be communicated effectively. There is need for political parties to be cautious about usage of sensitive words and
languages before communicating anything to the voters. Some words and phrases which are acceptable to a group of voters may not be acceptable to the other groups of voters. Communication with the electorate by using unacceptable words or phrases may create negative perception about the political party. Literature indicates that in 2000, during the Canadian election campaigning, messages of the campaign and appropriate languages for the campaign were developed before circulating those to the voters (Marland, 2003). This issue is addressed in statement number 40 of this questionnaire. In some cases political parties, mainly the party/parties in power, are criticised for giving some facilities to the corporate sector in terms of tax relief and other benefits at the cost of the development activities for the common people. Literature accepts the relationship between political parties and corporate sector. This relationship may have positive or negative effect on economy and politics (Gomez, 2002: p.3). This issue is considered in statement number 43 of this questionnaire. Political parties are also sometimes criticised for favouring a particular religion or community for securing votes and literature highlights the issue of religious appeasement (Sarwate, 2008). This issue is considered in statement number 44 of this questionnaire and statement number 47 of the previous questionnaire. When this issue was considered in the previous questionnaire, the perspective was political and social but in the second questionnaire the perspective is different. Here this issue is considered in the light of service marketing framework. The relevance and practice of this political action by political parties have been considered from the perspective of 7Ps framework of service marketing. Statement number 46 of this questionnaire and statement number 28 and 31 of the previous questionnaire are associated with the issue of corruption of party leaders at all levels. Corruption has long been a debatable issue in general and before elections, in particular. Political parties fight against each on issues relating to corruption and frequently vouch before elections to get rid of corruption. Literature accepts that corruption is prevalent and it is observed both in individual and and among people. Corruption is the result of ambition and
political leaders are definitely not free from it (Harris, 2001). It is observed that political leaders and activists of some political parties exhibit indiscipline in different forms.

Since a political party is represented by its leaders and activists, the act of indiscipline among leaders and activists can hamper the image of the party among the voters. If strong action is taken against those involved in indiscipline, a positive signal is expected to be sent to the voters and there is a chance that the image of the party would improve. Literature says that dispute at the time of nomination of candidates is difficult to avoid and it may lead to indiscipline within the leaders and members of the party. The same literature also claim that indiscipline is one of the reasons for the electoral defeat of Congress in West Bengal and no effective action was taken to resist the indiscipline (Gupta, 1989). Leaders within a political party sometimes give divergent opinions on some political issues. If leaders express different opinions, it can confuse voters and negative impression may be created among voters. It does not also facilitate discipline within the political party. Literature also supports the importance of discipline and talks about different degrees of disciplines and agreement by all party leaders (Krehbiel, 2000). Statement numbers 47, 51, and 54 of this questionnaire deal with this issue. Another issue that needs to be considered is the issue of inter-party alliance and collaboration which is a common trend in contemporary Indian politics. Alliance with the other party or parties is very common in Indian politics. Literature also supports that alliances between political parties takes place (Badigannavar, 2016). Political alliance has been considered in statement number 48 of this questionnaire and statement number 22 of the previous questionnaire. In the first questionnaire, political alliance is considered as a part of political process. In case of the second questionnaire, political alliance is considered as a part of service marketing strategy of a political party. Good governance encompasses different aspects and it is expected to earn positive impression for the government. Good governance is another issue which is addressed in statement number 49. Good governance is mainly applicable to a ruling
party. Voters can also compare between the governance of previous government and the existing government and make up their mind. Literature points out the problem of good governance (Eshuis, Braun, & Klijn, 2013). It is a matter of concern in Indian politics that educated and unblemished people of the society are not getting inclined towards politics and on the other hand, in some cases, people with questionable background are coming into politics. It again sends a wrong signal to the voters in general. It is expected that presence of educated and unblemished people in the party administration may improve the image of the political parties in the minds of the voters. Literature also highlights the need for more educated people in politics and government (Albritton & Bureeku, 2007). Statement number 50 of this questionnaire deals with this issue. Workers of different political parties are sometimes reported to get involved in different kinds of violence. It may be harmful for the image of the political parties. Statement number 52 of this questionnaire and statement number 54 of the previous questionnaire deal with this issue. When this issue was considered in the previous questionnaire, violence was considered as one of the elements of political process and as the consequence of political process on society. The relevance of violence in political marketing in India was also considered. In this questionnaire, relevance and practice of involvement of party workers in violence is considered in the light of service marketing framework. Literature also accedes the presence of political violence (Urdal, 2008). No one would want political parties to intrude in the private affairs expect the case where individuals want the political party to get into the private sphere and try to solve their private problems. Political parties are occasionally criticised for getting into the private sphere of the people in the locality in the name of understanding the problems of the local people. Literature says that in certain rural pockets, in India, in all kinds of disputes, including family disputes, political parties have been observed to play the role of a moral guardian in public sphere and sometimes deal with the intimate private matters of the families (Bhattacharyya, 2009).
3.4.3 Questionnaire III on Manifestation Perspective

The final questionnaire has been prepared on the basis of the responses to the second questionnaire after identifying dimensions (factors) from second questionnaire. The basic objective is to validate and relate the dimensions based on the response of experts in the field of marketing. Since there is non-availability of literature highlighting empirical research in the Indian perspective, the researcher intends to obtain the views of voters (political consumers) on the basis of experts’ opinion in the field of marketing. Voters have been asked to give their opinions on the factors identified after analysing the responses of the marketing experts. The opinions of voters have been obtained on two aspects (i) Importance of each factor in general and (ii) importance attached to the same factor while taking the final voting decision. The basis objective is to examine voters’ behaviour i.e. political consumers’ behaviour. The questionnaire comprises the identified factors after analysing the response. Through this questionnaire, the researcher aims to assess if there is any gap in importance when a factor is considered in general and when the final voting decision is taken by the voter.

3.5 Sample Frame and Data Collection

As previously discussed the present research work involves a design comprising four perspectives. Barring the first perspective which involves qualitative analysis based on secondary information/data sources, the three other perspectives involve questionnaire survey. The sample design/frame for Perspective-II, III & IV namely, Contributory, Fundamental and Manifestation comprises questionnaire survey involving experts and political consumers (voters) for the third questionnaire.

As already discussed, the Contributory Perspective is concerned with a questionnaire survey of social scientists and journalists. The sample set for the expert group under this perspective comprises the faculty members of political science, sociology, and the journalists of the reputed media houses. Departments of political science and sociology of all the
Universities and Institutes of India have been assigned serial numbers and were randomly selected following the accepted procedure. Information about the faculty members of the disciplines mentioned above has been obtained from the websites of the universities and institutes. Contact details have been obtained from the websites of the universities and institutes. All the faculty members were given a serial number. Accordingly, 150 faculty members were randomly selected following the random sampling technique. The questionnaire has been sent to all the randomly selected faculty members either via e-mail or through post. Personal visits were also conducted in some cases in order to enhance the response rate. In addition to the faculty members, journalists have also been considered. A list of journalists has been prepared using the databases of the press clubs. Journalists have also been assigned serial numbers and 50 journalists have been randomly selected following the random sampling technique. All the randomly selected journalists have been sent questionnaire mainly via e-mail and personal visits were also conducted in some cases.

As previously discussed, the Fundamental Perspective is concerned with a questionnaire survey comprising faculty members of marketing and marketing professionals of different organisations. A list of universities with management departments and institutes offering marketing courses has been prepared. The list of all the faculty members of marketing of the selected universities and institutes in India has been prepared from the information available in the websites of the universities and management institutes. The faculty members have been assigned a particular serial numbers. Eventually, 150 faculty members have been randomly selected using random sampling technique. All the randomly selected faculty members were sent the questionnaire either via e-mail or by post. Personal visits were also conducted in order to enhance the response rate. In case of marketing professionals, the list of companies based on overall performance was prepared. Each company has been assigned a serial number and 20 companies were selected from the list using random
sampling procedure. The names and contact details of the marketing professionals of the randomly selected companies have been obtained from the company websites. Each and every marketing professional was given a serial number. 65 names were randomly selected from the list of marketing professionals. All the 65 marketing professionals were sent the questionnaire by e-mail and by post.

The Manifestation Perspective is concerned with a questionnaire survey comprising political consumers (voters) in general. It is quite a difficult task to obtain response of the voters across India. In order to convert the mammoth task into a manageable one, all the states of India have been assigned a serial number. Following this approach, 9 states were randomly selected using random sampling procedure. In the second stage, the list of all the major cities of the selected states was prepared. Each and every city was given a serial number. 10 cities were randomly selected from the list using appropriate procedure. In the third stage, snowball sampling technique has been used to get the responses from the voters of the 10 selected cities. In this exercise, voters were selected/chosen on the basis of prior experience of voting in different elections. An approximate number of 1200 questionnaires were sent to voters to collect the responses using e-mail, WhatsApp, Facebook, and post.

3.6 Analytical techniques used

Different analytic techniques have been employed for addressing the basic research questions identified in section 3.1. The four identified perspectives have been examined in the light of the relevant analytic techniques identified. As already discussed, the Contextual Perspective largely involves qualitative analysis. In this context, content analysis has been primarily employed (Krippendorff, 2004; Riffe, Lacy, & G. Fico, 2005). Content analysis is one of the reliable research techniques which is capable of making replications and drawing inferences from different texts which are valid. Qualitative approaches to content analysis involve minute reading of small amount of textual matter and interpretation of that small
amount of text to give a new narrative. In general, content analysis is a
collection of different methods of research which promise to draw
inferences from all kinds of verbal, picture-based, symbol-based, and
communication-based data (Krippendorff, 2004). The technique of content
analysis would enable to address the basic objective aimed at identification
and contextualisation of the important facets of political marketing in the
light of the political scenario of India. Here, inferences have been drawn
after analysing the articles on Indian politics and political news published
in different reputed newspapers and websites, interviews and statements of
political leaders of different political parties at different points of time,
authentic data on Indian elections published by Election Commission of
India (ECI), government reports, data on promotional expenditure by
Indian political parties and on electoral outcomes published by different
reputed organisations.

For Perspectives II, III and IV involving three sets of questionnaires,
appropriate statistical techniques that would best address the identified
research questions have been employed. In order to address the second
research objective, aimed at categorisation of the facets on the basis of
relevance and applicability in the Indian context with the help of the
opinions of the marketing experts in one hand and social scientists and
journalists on the other, we have employed factor analysis separately for
the two questionnaires. In other words, Contributory and Fundamental
Perspectives of Political Marketing have been addressed through factor
analysis which would enable us to determine of the factors or dimensions
of political marketing from two different perspectives. Since the basic
objective is aimed at reducing a large number of aspects into factors
connoting the dimensions, factor analysis has been preferred as an effective
tool. In the process of carrying out factor analysis, principal component
analysis using Varimax rotation has been preferred (George & Mallery,
2006; Field, 2009). The extraction of the number of factors has been
determined on the basis of Kaiser’s criterion which involves factors above
the Eigen value of 1 (Kaiser, 1960; Yong and Pearce, 2013). In this exercise,
factor analysis has been carried out in an iterative manner and on the basis of the values of factor loadings (< 0.5), items have been dropped and eventually, the dimensions have been finalised when all the values of all the identified aspects of political marketing have factor loading greater than 0.5. In this context, factor loadings connote the correlations of each variable and the factor. Factor loadings signify the degree of correspondence between the variable and the factor. The higher loadings indicate that the variables properly represent the factor. Accordingly, lower factor loadings have been removed to ensure that the variables properly represent the factors derived through the analysis (Hair et al., 2006). In carrying out factor analysis, values of anti-image correlation obtained from anti-image correlation matrix, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity have been appropriately addressed following standard procedure (Hair et al., 2006). Anti-image correlation matrix shows the partial correlation values among variables after the factor analysis is carried out. The values in the matrix actually represent the extent to which factors derived through the analysis explain each other in the results. Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity, on the other hand, is actually a statistical test to measure the overall significance of all the correlations shown in the correlation matrix. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy tells us whether the distribution of values is adequate for using factor analysis. Any value greater than 0.5 is acceptable and signifies that the sample is adequate. The greater the value, the higher the sampling adequacy (George & Mallery, 2006).

3.7 Reliability and Validity

Measurement of Reliability and validity of research instruments is very crucial part of an empirical research work and experts are of the opinion that questionnaires must be “reliable and valid” so as to give confidence in terms of obtaining consistent and pertinent response. Measurement of reliability is applied by the researcher to judge whether the research instruments give same result as and when it is administered
on the same set of respondents and in the same background (Cortina, 1993; George & Mallery, 2006). However, in the present research work, instead of measuring the overall reliability, the reliability values of all the extracted factors have been separately computed using Chronbach’s Alpha (George and Mallery, 2006). Chronbach’s Alpha measurement, which is a popular measure of reliability, has been used in measuring the construct reliability of the items of the factors extracted with respect to the contributory and fundamental perspectives. Values on the higher side signify higher “internal consistency” of the item used in the questionnaires. Researchers are of the opinion that it is to be considered within the acceptable range and the value of Chronbach’s Alpha is accepted up to 0.6 (Hair, et al. 2006). The computation of the reliability of the dimensions would in other way, signify the strength of a particular factor of political marketing. It is also opined by the experts that validity of a research instrument can be assessed with the help of non-quantitative techniques. Here, the researcher has preferred to use “content validity” (Kothari, 2004). Since the questionnaires have played a very important role in this research work, content validity is found to be the most appropriate one in assessing the degree to which research instruments cover all the aspects of this study.

3.8 Other Analytical Techniques Used

With respect to the objective of examining the difference in the context of contributory and fundamental aspects of political marketing vis-à-vis the political scientist and journalists and marketing point of view, we have on the first hand identified the common items associated with questionnaire 1 and 2 and we have 23 items common to questionnaire 1 and 2. Although the items are common, in order to examine the exact nature of difference in the context or viewpoint with respect to political science and marketing, we are inclined to test whether there is any statistically significant difference in opinions of social scientists & journalists and marketing experts. For this we have carried out independent-samples t-test to find out the statistically significant difference in opinions between social scientists
and journalists and marketing experts. Independent samples t-test is supposed to compare the means calculated from different samples. The two different samples have some variables of interest in common but the membership of the two samples does not overlap (George & Mallery, 2006). Since social scientists & journalists and marketing experts are two completely different groups and our objective is to find out whether there is any divergence or convergence of opinions between these two groups, independent-samples t-test appears to be the most appropriate test in this context. In carrying out independent-samples t-test, we have considered Levene’s test for equality of variance to identify whether variances in the opinions of the two sets of experts differ significantly (George and Mallery, 2006). Levene’s test for equality of variances is considered and the result give direction on applying equal variance t-test or unequal variance t-test. If Levene’s test for equality of variance indicates the existence of significant difference, then we are required to use unequal variance test, otherwise equal variancetest is applied.

With the reference to perspective III, i.e., Fundamental perspective, opinions of the marketing experts in terms of relevance and practice of the identified facets have been analysed. This analysis is also in reference to the 3rd objective. As already mentioned in the first part of this section, factor analysis has been carried out to determine the factors responsible for voting decision as per the opinions of the marketing experts. As previously discussed in the section on questionnaire construction, the marketing experts have been requested to give their opinion on a particular statement. Moreover, efforts have been made to find out the difference between the relevance of the identified facets and the practice of the same facets. It has already been mentioned in the previous section of this chapter how the questionnaire was constructed to get opinions of the marketing experts in this format. Paired-samples t-test was carried out to test whether there is any statistically significant gap between relevance and practice of the identified facets. Paired-samplest-test is usually carried out on individuals of groups who undergo both conditionsof the variable of
interest (George & Mallery, 2006). Since opinions of only the marketing experts on relevance and practice have been considered, Paired-samples t-test appears to be most appropriate statistical tool in this context. The difference between relevance and practice of the identified facets from the marketing point of view would indicate that what is relevant from a marketing point of view may not be practised by the Indian political parties. This, would in other way, enable us to identify the gaps in political marketing practices in India.

Perspective IV i.e. Manifestation Perspective is concerned with the identification of statistically significant difference between the importance of the factors in general and while taking final voting decision from the perspective of political consumers. As already discussed in section 3.4, a questionnaire comprising different factors associated with political marketing extracted from the opinions of marketing experts has been developed. In this questionnaire, two statements have been framed corresponding to each factor wherein voters have been requested to give their views with respect to a particular factor in terms of the importance they attach to the particular factor (i) in general and (ii) while taking final voting decision. Now, in order to identify the statistically significant difference the importance of the factor in general and the importance of the same factor while taking final voting decision, we have carried out paired-sample t-test. Since opinions of only the political consumers or voters on importance of a particular factor in general and while taking the voting decision is considered, Paired-samples t-test appears to be most suitable statistical tool in this context, in view of the large sample property of the dataset. The need for obtaining the opinions of the voters with respect to the importance of factors in general and while taking final voting decision is more befitting in the Indian context since voters get influenced by the situational factors prevalent at the time of voting. Thus, although voters may assign high importance to a factor, the same importance may not be manifested at the time of voting. This appears to be a phenomenon of a country like India having heterogeneous voters, many of whom are not
educated or aware and therefore get influenced by situational factors. It would, therefore, be interesting to statistically measure the gap, if any, between the importance of the factor in general and while taking the final voting decision. The final objective associated with perspective IV is the computation of “Ideal-Actual Gap vis-à-vis political consumers’ choice” with the help of an index. In this exercise, mean values of the factors identified through Factor Analysis of the opinions of the marketing experts have been calculated for each individual expert. So, the number of factor means for each expert will be equal to the number of factors identified. Factor means are denoted as $\bar{U}_i$ (where $i=1,2,\ldots,n$). Now to apply Thurstone’s Method of Paired Comparison, a matrix with $(n+1)$ number of rows and $(\binom{n}{2}+1)$ number of columns has been formed, where $n=$ number of factors. The responses of each individual expert are considered and entries have been made in applicable cells of the matrix. Factor means are there in the rows and all possible combinations of factor means are there in the columns. Now factor means for each expert is are considered one by one. For example, in case of the first expert, if $\bar{U}_1>\bar{U}_2$, 1 is put in the intersecting cell of $\bar{U}_1$ and $\bar{U}_2$. Otherwise 0 (zero) is put in the same cell. It is done for all combinations of factor means and all factors in case of first expert. This procedure is repeated for all marketing experts. So, all applicable cells will have entries equal to the number of experts and all entries of an applicable cell are added to get the score. Following this procedure, we get the score of each applicable cell of the matrix. This process is carried out to determine the weights of each factor mean. Summation of scores of applicable cells in the first row yields score of the first row. Applying the same process, scores of all rows are calculated. Now the weight of $\bar{U}_i$ (where $i=1,2,\ldots,n$) is calculated by dividing the individual row score by the summation of all row scores. The weight derived with the help of this process is denoted as $W_i$ (where $i=1,2,\ldots,n$).

The values of Pearson’s correlation coefficients between the importance of factor in general and importance of the same factor while taking the final voting decision are calculated for all the factors and for all
the responses. After the computation of correlation coefficients, the previously calculated weights of the factor means have been multiplied with the corresponding correlation coefficients. For example, weight of U_i i.e., W_i is multiplied by the correlation coefficient for first factor i.e., Cor (1_a, 1_b) where “a” is the importance of the factor in general and “b” is the importance of the factor while taking the final voting decision.

Finally, the Ideal-Actual Gap vis-à-vis Political Consumers' Choice has been calculated as follows:

\[
\text{Ideal-Actual Gap} = 1 - \frac{\sum W_i \times Cor(ia, ib)}{\sum W_i}, i = 1, 2, \ldots, n.
\]

The gap will be zero in an ideal situation. Further, Cor (ia, ib) is 1 in an ideal situation when a voter is not dissociated from the ideal voting decision. But due to the prevalence of situational factors, there is likely to be a deviation which we are intending to measure. This measure of gap is being proposed in order to measure the deviation from the ideal situation.
4.1 Primer

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to analyse the identified facets of political marketing from the perspective of Indian political environment. This chapter addressed the contextual perspective of political marketing in India. Moreover, the relevance and practice of each and every facet in Indian politics have been examined after considering the information available from various secondary sources including articles, news from newspapers and website of repute. Thus, the objective of this chapter is to validate and contextualise the facets identified mainly from the literature outside India, with the help of reliable information available on Indian politics from authentic sources. In this exercise, the contemporary issues have been considered and emphasised and perspectives from the existing political parties and their leaders have been examined.

Indian parliament is bicameral. It has two houses, namely, Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha. The single political party or a coalition that commands majority in the Lok Sabha gets the chance to form the central government. In a multi-party democracy, like India, winning elections was not a cakewalk for any political party even during the early period of independence when the number of political parties was comparatively less. But, each and every party had their own agenda. The first General Elections in India were held between 25th October, 1951 and 27th March, 1952. The Indian National Congress was successful in winning 364 out of 489 seats. About 1874 candidates and 53 political parties contested for the elections. The population of India was 360 million and only 173.2 million population was eligible for voting. The second general elections of India took place in 1957.
The number of voters in this election was around 193.7 million. Along with the four national parties, namely The Indian National Congress, The Communist party of India, Praja Socialist Party, and The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, there were 15 political parties which contested this election.\(^2\) As the number of political parties, voters, and the contesting candidates increased with the passage of time, the electoral complexities also grew significantly. It was getting difficult for the political parties to project their distinct identity and vote shares of main political parties were getting divided among the newly established political parties. Moreover, with the increase in the size of the electorate, political parties found it very much difficult to reach out to the enormous number of voters who are heterogeneous in terms of religion, caste, language, geographical location, educational status, behaviour, etc. Table 4.1 shows how the number of parties, candidates, and voters changed from the first General Elections to the latest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of General Elections</th>
<th>Number of political parties participated</th>
<th>Number of candidates contested</th>
<th>Number of voters (in millions)</th>
<th>Voter turnout in percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>173.2</td>
<td>45.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>193.7</td>
<td>47.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>216.4</td>
<td>55.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2369</td>
<td>249.0</td>
<td>61.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2784</td>
<td>274.2</td>
<td>55.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2439</td>
<td>321.2</td>
<td>60.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4629</td>
<td>356.2</td>
<td>56.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5492</td>
<td>379.5</td>
<td>64.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>6160</td>
<td>498.9</td>
<td>61.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>8749</td>
<td>498.4</td>
<td>55.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>13952</td>
<td>592.6</td>
<td>57.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>4750</td>
<td>605.9</td>
<td>61.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>4648</td>
<td>619.5</td>
<td>59.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>5435</td>
<td>671.5</td>
<td>57.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>8070</td>
<td>717.0</td>
<td>58.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>8251</td>
<td>834.0</td>
<td>66.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Compiled from Electoral Statistics, Pocket Book 2017 published by Election Commission of India, pp. 36-42

The table 4.1 shows number of voters has increased significantly from 1951 to 2014. There was mammoth 775% increase in number of

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1. [Link](https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/general-elections-308073-2016-02-10)
political parties participating in general elections in the same period. The increasing number of candidates shows the enhancement of competition in the field of Indian politics. The table also shows that the number of candidates in general elections increased by 335% from 1951. In the initial elections, number of political parties was not very high. In 1989, the number of political parties increased rapidly and after that it increased steadily. The number of voter also increased at a very high rate from 1951 to 2014. Number of voters increased by 381% during 1951 and 2014. Since competition heightened and the number of voters increased significantly, political parties started promoting themselves to fight with each other and project their identity to the voters.

With the passage of time, things started changing gradually. New political parties were formed and coalition of different parties made things more complicated. It actually increased the political competitiveness. Apart from that, with the advent of new technology and because of other social, economic, and cultural reasons, different political parties started realising the importance of promotion. This has been reflected in the increment of election expenditure by national parties combined together in last three general elections. As per the report published by Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR, 2015), election expenditures of national parties in General Elections 2004, 2009, and 2014 were 269.42 crores, 875.81 crores, and 1308.75 crores, respectively. The report also shows that expenditure on publicity (promotional expenditure included) by national parties in those years were Rs. 115.9 crore, Rs. 403.89 crores, and Rs. 858.97 crore respectively. Thus, we observe that there has been 741.13% decadal increase in publicity expenditure of political parties with respect to the last Lok Sabha elections 2014. These figures are a testimony to the fact that promotion and campaign are integral aspects of marketing activities of political parties. In the light of this perspective it would be interesting and academically rewarding to relate the different aspects of Indian political environment with a holistic framework of marketing.

Analysis of Funds Collected and Expenditure Incurred by National Political Parties –Lok Sabha 2004, 2009, &2014- A report by Association for Democratic Reforms and National Election Watch dated 02/03/2015
4.2 Political Marketing in India vis-à-vis the 7Ps Framework

4.2.1: Background

We have observed in recent past, how political parties in India have started to apply marketing tools to influence the electorate. However, this is not a deliberate attempt of applying marketing and the approach is apparently covert and imperfect in nature. We have already identified through existing management and other literature, the presence, importance and relevance of political marketing and the implementation of marketing tools in politics in countries other than can be validated on the basis of the information on Indian political environment. In this exercise, political parties have been considered as service organisations because the characteristics of offerings of political parties to voters like intangibility, heterogeneity, perishability mostly resemble the characteristics of services. As previously discussed in section 3.3 of the methodology chapter, the service marketing mix or the 7Ps framework of service marketing has been conceptualised here. This expanded form of marketing mix gives more clarity to service marketing in terms of understanding the uniqueness of service and formulating specific marketing strategies for services (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2016). Since the 7Ps framework is applicable in case of service marketing, the identified facets have been considered as elements of 7Ps framework. Efforts will be made to identify through different incidents and activities in Indian politics how the 7Ps framework of service marketing has been implemented, overtly or covertly, by political parties in India. Mainly the activities of national political parties as per the definition given by election Commission of India (ECI) and some important regional parties have been taken into consideration in this analysis.

4.2.2 Promotion by Political Parties: The Core Aspect of Political Marketing in India

Advertising is the most important element of promotion in service marketing. Same is true for political marketing. Although the tradition of promoting a political party started much earlier in several European countries than in India, the concept of political advertising can be traced in
India in an uncooked form in the seventies when the former Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi surfaced the slogan “Garibi Hatao” (Poverty elimination). But, India saw actual political advertising in 1980 when, for the first time in India, the Congress party engaged an advertising agency, namely, Graphic Ads, for making promotional activities. In 1984, after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took over as the Prime Minister, implementation of marketing principles started to pop-up in political arena (Kumar, 2012). During the tenure of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Congress party signed up with a number of famous advertising agencies. The table 4.1 also shows that the number of political parties, candidates, and voters increased significantly and the resultant increments in promotional activities by political parties were also observed. After these initial trends of political promotion, different political parties gradually started coming out from their fixed mindset that marketing principles were difficult to apply in politics.

We have observed in recent times, how political parties have realised the importance of promotion and they have increased their spending on publicity accordingly over the years. Here the expenditure on all the elements of promotion are considered under the heading “publicity expenditure”. As per the report published by ADR (Association for Democratic Reforms), it is seen that the expenditure on publicity by the national parties increased significantly from General Elections 2004 to 2014. In General Elections 2004, the total expenditure on publicity by national parties was Rs. 115.9 crores. The expenditure on the same item increased to Rs. 403.89 crores in General Elections, 2009. Expenditure figure on publicity by national parties touched a whopping Rs. 858.97 crores in General Elections, 2014. If we consider the General Elections, 2014 alone, we can see that, among the national parties, BJP spent highest amount of Rs. 463.17 crores on publicity and CPI spent lowest amount of Rs. 0.72 crores under the same head. Congress expended Rs. 346.41 crores on publicity and took the second position. If we compare the amount spent on publicity materials alone between BJP and Congress in General Elections, 2014, we observe that BJP spent Rs. 31.35 crores and Congress spent Rs. 24.11 crores on publicity materials. CPI spent the lowest
amount of Rs. 0.15 crores. So, it is evident from this data that two main political parties of India realised the importance of campaign materials in different localities as a persuading factor.

Every time a consumer sees a brand name whether in hoardings or in posters, brand contact takes place and the chance of brand awareness and consequently brand recognition increases. In the same way, the presence of posters, hoardings, and wall graffiti of political parties in the locality and in the surroundings mainly before elections and on non-election days actually increases the mental contact of the electorate with the political parties. More numbers of campaign materials of a particular political party exhibit its dominance over others. Predominance of materials of a political party gives the confidence to the voter in general and loyal voters in particular. The campaign materials show the presence of the political party and through the comparisons of number of campaign materials, voter can easily guess the strength of different political parties. In commercial marketing, sometimes consumers tend to skip the hectic pre-purchase stage by selecting the most famous and strongest brand. In case of voting, some voters tend to vote for that party which is the strongest and has the highest chance of winning.

Expenditure figures on publicity by national parties in the last three General Elections are shown in the table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Publicity Expenditure General Elections, 2004 (figures in crores)</th>
<th>Publicity Expenditure General Elections, 2009 (figures in crores)</th>
<th>Publicity Expenditure General Elections, 2014 (figures in crores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>49.31</td>
<td>180.87</td>
<td>463.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>62.77</td>
<td>207.88</td>
<td>346.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>8.46</td>
<td>12.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCP</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>30.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>4.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Report published by Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)
It is quite clear that all the national parties, except NCP, increased their expenditure on publicity in 2009. It might be the result of gradual realisation that promotion is very important element for the success in elections.

In commercial marketing, advertising is the major element of promotion mix. Marketers make use of the elements of promotion mix to communicate with the consumers. There are two broad objectives of advertising: sales objective and communication objective. Sales objective believes on the immediate impact on sales and communication objective expects consumers to have positive feelings about the offerings and to make the final decision to purchase after going through some cognitive stages (Belch & Belch, 2004). So, differing objectives of advertising pave the way for different kinds of innovative advertising with the expectation to touch the different emotional chords of consumers of varying segments. Political parties also prepare advertising for different segments of electorate with the help of appropriate segmenting variables. It is observed that some political parties prepare different kinds of advertising to address burning as well as popular issues and to attract different demographic and psychographic segments. Political parties seem to utilise all possible elements of promotion mix in different proportions to get the desired effect of integrated marketing communication (IMC). In this context, political parties need to keep in mind before preparing an advertisement that the same content can be communicated in a number of ways having varying impact on the audience. Here, “how you communicate” is much more important than “what you communicate”. So creativity in political communication has its role to play.

We have seen in recent times that like commercial advertising, creativity is being used by political parties in their advertisements. The advertisement prepared by Congress party with the punch line” Haar Haath Shakti, Har Haath Tarakki” (Every hand is Strength, Every Hand is development) targeted the young educated youth and in that ad, the words which are appealing to the youth were used with subtle background music. Congress positioned itself as a political party which young educated generation could identify with and relate to. Another ad prepared by BJP is a kind of
storytelling where a father observed good habit in his son and the son claimed to have been taught these habits by his mom, sister, and grand mom. At the end the child was seen to take some leftover food out to give it to a homeless person on the street. He looked at the billboard displaying a BJP candidate and his promises after being asked who taught it (Chaudhary, 2017). The promise of the candidate of eliminating hunger is immediately flashed on the screen. Despite being a bit crude, the message was properly communicated. Next advertisement of BJP to be considered is a very popular ad where all possible aspirations of different demographics are showcased and it ends with the promise of the candidates to put an effort to satisfy all these aspirations. The choreography and execution were good and a candidate was shown as a solution to all. The creative backbone of the party’s campaign was Mr. Piyush Pandey, executive chairman and creative director for South Asia at Ogilvy and Mather. One advertisement of Telegu Desam Party (TDP) addressed the ethical issues of elections and tried to touch the emotional chords of the voters. In this advertisement, a candidate was shown to distribute money to the voters of a village to buy votes and while doing this he reached an elderly lady and she started protesting vehemently after the money was offered. Moreover, the elderly lady loudly and aggressively told other not to vote for this candidate and ultimately the candidate along with his companions ran away after the lady had picked up stick to bit them. The background, music, acting and drama are of so high standard that the ad gives an impression of a real Telegu movie (Chaudhary, 2017). In West Bengal, the slogan ‘Maa Maati Manush’ has been conceptualised on the basis of the prevailing political reality of the State and was successfully communicated by the TMC during Assembly Election, 2011.

Apart from the creativity, continuous display of advertisement of political parties with catchy slogans in popular TV shows or during important cricket matches can create an impact on voters, just like names of the consumer products stay in the minds of consumers through continuous advertisements. The advertisement, “Abki Bar Modi Sarkar”, a 15 second ad, prepared by BJP, was shown numerous times during the T20 world Cup,
especially during India’s matches. It has been reported that roughly Rs. 44 crores were spent just to display the ad during T20 world cup.\textsuperscript{4} Data on advertising expenditure can give an impression about the importance different political parties and government assign to advertising. In order to ensure broadcast of continuous advertising in electronic and other media, political parties and different governments spend huge amount from their election funds and public funds respectively. Mr. Shailesh Gandhi, the former Chief Information Commissioner, once said that any government’s advertising expenditure is mostly influenced by the political party in power. As per the data obtained under the Right to Information Act (RTI) by The Indian Express, the Maharashtra Government under the leadership of BJP spent Rs. 6.61 crores on advertising during the period April to December, 2015. This amount is 50% more than what the erstwhile Congress-NCP government spent in last three fiscal years.\textsuperscript{5} Major political parties spent huge amount for election campaign in recent elections. The increase in the amount is quite significant. Out of total election expenditure, the share of media advertising has also been increasing. General Elections in 2014 are considered to be the most expensive elections in India till date. As per the contribution report submitted to the Election Commission of India (ECI) by the BJP on January 12, 2015, Rs. 714.28 crores were spent by the BJP on 2014 general elections campaign from the date of announcement of elections till its completion. This amount is about Rs. 200 crores more than the amount the Congress party spent during the same period for 2014 polls. The Congress spent Rs. 516.02 crores in 2014 general elections. Combining the expenditure together, BJP and Congress spent Rs. 791 crore in The 2009 General Elections. In General Election, 2014 BJP spent Rs. 304.5 crore only the on media advertising which is much more than the amount Congress


\textsuperscript{5} http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/bjp-govt-spends-50-per-cent-more-on-advts-in-8-months-than-what-congress-ncp-spent-in-three-years/
spent in the 2009 General Elections. BJP seems to get the return in terms of huge increase in the number of seats won. It was the most successful mandate for a single political party since 1984.6

Proper media planning and decision on media-mix are very vital for the success of overall promotional campaign. In case of commercial marketing, total promotional budget is allocated in different media after deciding on media mix. Many critical factors concerning demography, psychography, and consumer behaviour, pros and cons and reach of different mediums are considered before making a media plan. The plan is executed only if it is approved by the top management. Companies are always in search of an optimum media mix. Some political parties in recent past have been observed to behave almost in the same way as far as media planning is concerned. Political parties are also observed to make media plan and to decide on media mix based on the characteristics of the electorate in different regions and the reach of different media. The plan is executed after the approval from the top leadership. Before the 2014 general elections, BJP tried to make a media planning after taking help from the experts and the plan was executed with utmost sincerity. It has been reported that Mr. Sam Balsara, chairman and managing director, Madison World, handled the media planning of BJP and moved as per the approved plan. Advertisements exhorting people to vote for the BJP and its prime ministerial candidate Mr. Narendra Modi were observed in leading newspapers, popular TV channels, popular FM channels, and the hoardings on the side of the important highways and roads. As per the version of one of the media planners from Madison, planned spending on different media was almost Rs. 4500 crores and the objective was, apart from carpet bombing voters with the BJP message, to block out all other political parties across the print, television, online and offline media. BJP used time slots of electronic media very smartly. It has also been reported that BJP spent less

6 Information on election spending obtained from:
https://qz.com/327771/it-cost-narendra-modi-100-million-to-win-the-indian-election-heres-how-he-spent-it/
amount of money in print media compared to the amount spent in General Elections, 2009 and Gujarat Assembly Elections, 2012. Moreover, delayed appearance of Mr. Modi in news channels was another marketing ploy to increase the curiosity.\(^7\) It is also believed by some experts that it was this same media planning which was responsible among other factors for the defeat of BJP in the General Elections, 2009, after investing huge amount in “India Shining” campaign. From a marketing perspective, there was nothing wrong with the communication strategy and segmentation procedure but the probably the leaders associated with media planning of the party could not decide effectively on the allocation of amount on different promotional tools and the media reach for an incumbent party. So, media planning can bring both success and failures depending on the implementation of it. This leads us to a conclusion that media planning has become very vital so far as political marketing is concerned. However, there are other contingency factors that influence the relationship between media planning and electoral success. Most political parties have started realising the importance of proper political communication and the result is the formation of in-house teams, often called media cell, comprising current and former journalists and small number of political communication experts to establish, maintain, and improve the image of the party and to advertise it in professional political communication (Ahluwalia, 2008). All these relate to promotion aspect of political marketing.

In this section an effort has been taken to examine the case of the successful media planning which, according to experts has reached its peak during the General Elections, 2014. Since it has been opined by experts that media planning played a pivotal role in the electoral success of the BJP during the last General Elections in 2014, the details highlighting such planning as reported in a reliable source is summarised in table 4.3.\(^8\)

\(^7\) [http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/brand-modi-a-political-marketing-revolution-7516](http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/brand-modi-a-political-marketing-revolution-7516)

\(^8\) [http://www.hindustantimes.com/india/bjp-s-advertisement-plan-may-cost-a-whopping-rs-500-cr/story-y8x34eYh26xwoAxeRuaCoO.html](http://www.hindustantimes.com/india/bjp-s-advertisement-plan-may-cost-a-whopping-rs-500-cr/story-y8x34eYh26xwoAxeRuaCoO.html)
4.3 Media planning of BJP in 2014 general elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Planning</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoarding</td>
<td>15,000 hoardings across India for up to three months were booked</td>
<td>Rs 2,500 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print</td>
<td>BJP bought the most prominent ad slots across national, regional and vernacular newspapers for 40 days. 50 top national and regional newspapers across India were chosen and plan was to release about four to five ads everyday till the end of the election process.</td>
<td>Rs 500 crores for newspaper and Rs 150 crores for magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>BJP bought about 2,000 spots a day across Hindi, English and regional news, general entertainment and sports channels.</td>
<td>Rs 800-1,000 crores(A spot in most popular entertainment channels cost about Rs 80,000 per 30 seconds.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online and Radio</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs 35 crore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* http://www.hindustantimes.com/india/bjp-s-advertisement-plan-may-cost-a-whopping-rs-5-000-cr/story-y8x34eYh26xwoAxeRuaCo0.html

Election rallies and meeting before the election are considered to be very important to change the perception of the voters with the help of persuasive communications. Important leaders of various political parties participated in different election rallies and meetings to convince the voters about the excellent performance if their party is allowed to be in power or to criticise the ruling government for miserable performance. In both the cases, “promise to perform better on important aspects after coming to power” is something very common which is repeatedly communicated. It is almost like companies beef up their promotions many a time before festivals and occasions. Promises by the political leaders resemble the sales promotions offered by the companies before any big event. So rallies and meetings before elections by the political parties can be considered as the part of promotion. The number of rallies and meeting is reflected in the
expenditure under the head “Travel”. The expenditure on Travel by the national parties in last three General Elections is given in the table below. 9

**Table 4.4: Expenditure on travel by the national parties in last three general elections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel Expenditure General Elections, 2004 (figures in crores)</th>
<th>Travel Expenditure General Elections, 2009 (figures in crores)</th>
<th>Travel Expenditure General Elections, 2009 (figures in crores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>INC</td>
<td>BSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.25</td>
<td>64.55</td>
<td>159.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.92</td>
<td>116.65</td>
<td>129.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>17.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>3.855</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


BJP leader Mr. Narendra Modi participated in record number of election rallies and meetings before the General Elections, 2014. Mr. Modi travelled throughout India to address rallies and meetings. As per the version of Mr. Amit Shah, the important leader of BJP, Mr. Modi addressed 437 big rallies, participated in a total 5827 public interfacing events and travelled over 3 lakh kilometres across 25 states from September, 2013 to May, 2014. 10 Maximum number of rallies was conducted in Uttar Pradesh, keeping in mind the importance of this state in determining overall electoral success. The process of connecting with the people was very innovative. Huge number of 3D rallies using 3D technology across the nation were organised. Thirty eight (38) mega rallies were conducted and those covered 21 states of India. Mr. Modi even covered those states where position of BJP was not very strong. 11 It is almost like marketing penetration by companies through innovative promotional offerings. During this period, interactive sessions with the common people were organised in the name of “Chai Pe Charcha” (chat over tea). It was the process of promoting himself as the representative

9. A report by ADR and National Election Watch
of the common people, capitalising the common perception that no one thinks about common people. *Chai Pe Charcha* was organised across 4000 locations in 24 states in various rounds. It was organised internationally too. People assembled at tea stalls and could see and talk to Mr. Modi over a webcast and sip tea in paper cups having the picture of Mr. Modi. This activity even caught the attention of the people who returned home from their workplaces after spending hectic long hours in office. It was not bad for them to park the vehicles aside and look at the screen showing the discussion and sip a cup of tea. It was a great idea to involve those people who never thought of getting exposed to the marketing activity of a political party. Almost 10 lakh people joined it. It created curiosity and interest for the party among illiterate and less literate people.\(^2\) It was an effective promotional effort because of its capability to involve common people through a very common drink liked by most of the people during discussion. The effort was to make the common people attach mentally with the *Chai Pe Charcha* event using the image of Mr. Modi portrayed intentionally as a tea seller in the beginning of his career. The image of a tea seller actually symbolises a common man. So the event became attractive as well as believable to the mass. Apart from that, 196 numbers of Bharat Vijay Rallies were organised in 5 states.\(^3\) The promotional effort in the form of outreach programme by Mr. Modi to connect himself to the people everywhere is very much reflected by the increased travel expenditure of BJP from Rs. 64.55 crores in 2009 to Rs. 159.15 in 2014. The figure is more than doubled. This is shown in Table number 4.4. On the contrary, Indian National Congress, being in the power at centre for last 10 years, could not impress much with its promotional activities. The Party unsuccessful to project a prime ministerial candidate as strong as Mr. Modi. Moreover, the advertisements of the party in different media were not enough to impress the electorate. So, from the marketing point of view, BJP did not have to face significant competition from the

\(^2\) [http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/brand-modi-a-political-marketing-revolution-7516](http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/brand-modi-a-political-marketing-revolution-7516)

existing competitive environment. In case of congress, travel expenditure increased more than eight times from 2004 to 2009. But same kind of increase was not evident from 2009 to 2014. All the national parties increased their travel expenditure from 2004 to 2009 but this same expenditure decreased from 2009 to 2014 in case of NCP, CPI, and CPM. It is shown in the Table number 4.4. This may be because of the importance attached to promotion in the virtual world.

It would be interesting to conclude this discussion by comparing and contrasting the political marketing perspectives of two different political parties, Congress and BJP, in 2009 and 2014 general elections. The Congress led coalition UPA-I was in power and Dr. Manmohan Singh was the Prime Minister. In the later half of the existing coalition government, the composition of the coalition changed when the left parties withdrew their support opposing the controversial “Indo-US Nuclear Deal” and the Trinamool Congress (TMC) became the new member of the coalition. Congress projected Dr. Manmohan Singh again as Prime Minister in the General Elections, 2009. The Indo-US Nuclear Deal was highlighted as an issue of national interest and attracted the attention of the electorates. Though, economic apprehensions of citizens, basic services, welfare policies and public security were highlighted as important issues influencing voting decisions (Rai, 2009). The BJP, on the other hand, projected Mr. L. K. Advani as their Prime Ministerial candidate. Both the political parties prepared themselves in terms of promotion. Both the parties were very meticulous in selecting ad agencies. BJP was mainly concerned with the positioning of Mr. Advani as the next Prime Minister. Congress was concerned with the implementation of three strategies namely, woman and youth, clean governance, and restoration of the confidence of the people after the terrorist activities in Mumbai (Nair, 2009). Both the parties tried to hedge their marketing bets. In both 2009 and 2014 Lok Sabha Elections, the challenge of BJP was to position different faces as Prime Ministers. But Congress positioned the existing Prime Minister in both the elections. In 2009, Dr Manmohan Singh was better competitively positioned and was
projected as BJP spent less amounts in publicity in comparison to Congress in 2009 but higher amount on the same in 2014 than Congress. While in 2009, the expensive marketing efforts of Congress were successful, the huge marketing efforts by BJP in positioning and creating Mr. Modi as a brand were successful in 2014. In both the elections, political marketing, though applicable mainly in case of promotion, was evident and it can apparently be concluded that publicity expenditure is directly proportion to the success in elections. But, situational factors played an important role in determining electoral success. Table 4.5 provides a comparative perspective of the Publicity Expenditure and Percentage of Votes of the two major parties (2009 and 2014 General Election). It is apparent from the figures that the party spending more on publicity have secured greater percentage of votes during the last two general elections. Thus, from a simplistic perspective we can possibly argue that publicity expenditure yields better returns and electoral success to political parties. Therefore, we conclude from the analysis of General Elections, 2009 & 2014 that political marketing has a definite role to play in facilitating electoral success and is an integral part of elections, though situational factors eventually determine the electoral success of a political party.

**Table 4.5: Publicity Expenditure and Percentage of Votes of two major parties (2009 and 2014 General Election)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Publicity Expenditure (Crores¹)</td>
<td>Percentage of votes secured*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
<td>207.88</td>
<td>28.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharatiya Janata Party</td>
<td>180.87</td>
<td>18.80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** (i) Publicity Expenditure data from Association for Democratic Reforms (https://adrindia.org/content/analysis-funds-collected-and-expenditure-incurred-national-political-parties- lok-sabha-2004) (ii) Data on Percentage of votes secured obtained from the website of the Election Commission of India (www.eci.nic.in)*Over total votes polled

As time progresses, the modes of communication also undergo change with the help of Information and Communication Technology (ICT).
Different companies are trying hard to make use of these new modes of communication to reach out to their customers and communicate more effectively and in more innovative ways. Social media is one of the emerging platforms which is used by companies to advertise their products and communicate with the existing as well as prospective customers. Political parties, just like commercial organisations, have started using social media extensively. The young generation has become very much habituated to and comfortable with any kind of communication in social media. Accordingly, political parties have realised the importance of social media to reach out to electorate in general and young people in particular. The steadfast victory of The Aam Aadmi Party in Delhi Assembly Elections, 2013, is a good example of how social media can play a pivotal role in shaping the opinion of the electorate in the complex Indian political environment. So far as online battle of political dominance is concerned, BJP has been way ahead of its competitors in General Elections, 2014, after learning a lesson of resilience from the consecutive defeats in General Elections, 2004 & 2009. In recent times we have observed that, over the years, BJP has become successful in utilising the new age media to the best of its potential. In 2014, BJP leaders left no stone unturned to make sure that they stayed connected with the common electorate at numerous touch points with integrated tone of messaging. BJP took the help of interactive website, dedicated volunteer’s dashboard, mobile applications, Google Hangouts, Facebook Page, Twitter, Youtube Page, WhatsApp to engage the electorate as much as possible. This is the reason why a report by “Blogworks” mentioned that Mr. Narendra Modi was the name taken most on Social Media in India.\(^\text{14}\)

Social media is gradually become a strong communication tool. People, especially the young generation, now prefer to connect to each other through social media. As far as social network penetration in India is concerned, Facebook and Youtube, the most popular social networks,
have 30% penetration rate. WhatsApp was ranked 3rd with 28% reach as of the third quarter of 2017. Active social networking penetration in India is 14% of the total population.\textsuperscript{15} Commercial companies are using social media to communicate with the prospective customers. Political parties which believed in traditional forms of campaigning have now started using social media to communicate with the voters. This does not mean that the old methods are redundant. Political parties in urban areas are becoming tech savvy and they have understood the importance of social media to connect with educated, smart, and expressive youth. BJP lost in General Elections, 2009 despite using social media to some extent but it has now gone deeper to exploit the benefits of social media more than before. BJP has a team of 20 members led by Mr. Arvind Gupta to look after the digital operation of the party. According Mr. Arvind Gupta, all young and educated people are online and more interestingly aspirational India is online and these people want to understand the ongoing activities of the Indian politics. He also mentioned that social media was very helpful to directly connect with the voters because here the communication is two-way. Many of the national level leaders like Mr. Rahul Gandhi, Mrs. Sushma Swaraj, Mr. Arun Jaitley, are also very active in social media. Mr. Narendra Modi has been using Twitter for long and he has 3,078,832 followers on the site. Congress, has also realised the importance of social media. Now the party has decided to put its act together to get the benefit of social media which was conspicuous during the Assembly Elections, 2018 in Karnataka.\textsuperscript{16} The party has plans to increase its social media presence through a network of 6.5 lakh booth-level committee members. Another political party which is strongly present in social media is the Aam Aadmi Party. Mr Arvind Kejriwal, the main leader of the party, has over 9,00,000 followers in Twitter. AAP spokesperson acknowledged that social media was the most important tool of their promotional campaign.

\textsuperscript{15} https://www.statista.com/statistics/284436/india-social-network-penetration/
\textsuperscript{16} http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/congress-to-scale-up-social-media-presence/article19730132.ece
Mr. Dilip Pandey, the strategist of AAP’s social media cell informed that the party tried to read the mind of the common people through the social media. Among the other parties, Trinamool Congress is very active in social media as well. In the Facebook Account, there is a page devoted to supporters and fans. This page gives regular updates of the events. Ms. Mamata Banerjee, the main leader of the party, maintains a Facebook account to communicate with the netizens. Parties like AIADMK, Assam’s All India United Democratic Front, Biju Janata Dal maintain active Facebook pages.  

As per the formal definition given by the American Marketing Association, marketing is an organisational function and a set of processes that are responsible for the creation, communication, and delivery of value and for managing customer relationship in a way beneficial to both the organisation and its stakeholders (Kotler et al., 2007). In case of political marketing, each and every political party is considered as an organisation and the electorate in general is the stakeholder. Creation of value is successful if the activities and policies conceived and implemented by the political parties are valued highly by the electorate. The chance that the policies and activities will be valued by the electorate increases manifold if the opinion of the electorate is suitably considered before implementation. The creation of value is the first step toward the success of political marketing. The communication of value is the next step. The electorate will not be aware of the value offered by the political parties if it is not communicated properly. Political parties communicate with the help of the instruments used mostly by commercial marketers. There are different kinds of communications as well. When one kind of communication just makes the electorate aware, the other kind of communication tries to persuade the electorate. If we observe political communication used by BJP in their campaign in last General Elections, the similarities with the marketing communication are very much evident. BJP tried to
communicate different kinds of values with the help of different activities and campaigns. At first, voters were analysed and segregated based on the value they give importance to. Functional value was communicated through the use of concept of *Swadeshi* and its fruitful relation with globalisation, free market, and foreign policy. Social values were communicated through the promise of *Dharam Rajya*, secularism, security, justice and efficient development. The party tried to communicate emotional and conditional values through “*Hindutva*” and other temporary events. Innovations, varied orientations, and incumbency factors were used to communicate ‘epistemic value’. Mr. Prashant Kishor, an Indian political strategist, was the main brain behind the innovative campaign strategy of BJP in General Elections 2014. He was also behind the campaign strategy of Mr. Nitish Kumar in the Bihar Assembly Elections, 2015 and the projection of “Brahmin” face for chief ministerial candidate from Congress. He, along with his team comprising lawyers, web professionals, and financial managers, has shown how marketing strategies can be effectively and judiciously implemented in political campaigning, catering to both young and the aged (Gautam, 2017).

In commercial marketing, the objective of promotion is to communicate the value offerings to the consumers in a way that is very much attractive as well as easy to understand. Long communication is not always acceptable now. People do not have enough time to go through or watch long communications. To make the communication effective and keep the audience interested during communication, creativity of communication is very important. At the same time, too much creativity may not always help build desired connect. The determination of the proportion of creative aspects in the communication is something which needs expertise. This is the reason why commercial marketers take the help of creative people and agencies to send the message across following innovative and creative path. The same logic is applicable in case of political parties when they need to communicate with the voters with the help of available communication tools. While communicating with the
voters, political parties now take the help of creative people with the expectation of better response. The backbone of all the creative communications of BJP during campaign for General Elections 2014 and Assembly Elections in Haryana and Maharashtra was Mr. Piyush Pandey, The Executive Chairman and Creative director for South Asia at Ogilvy and Mather. The objective was to translate the language of the people in a creative fashion.\(^{18}\) Personalised phone calls and messages are also occasionally used by political parties to establish a direct connection with the voters. It is very similar to direct marketing by commercial firms. In the campaign of General Elections, 2004, the strategy of making phone calls to the voters was implemented. After picking up the phone call the person on the other side could hear the voice of the then Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, highlighting the achievements of the government.\(^{19}\)

4.2.3 **Political Product: Party, Ideology, and Leadership**

While analysing the service aspect of political marketing, it has been kept in mind that the political product here is not just a physical entity. It is an intangible one and combination of different elements like the party policy, impression of the political party, and the history of the party. Image of the party leader is the central issue related to the idea of political product (Henneberg & O'shaughnessy, 2007). Different degrees of these aspects actually determine the strength of the product of political marketing.

History and the impression of a political party certainly include past credentials and the credibility of the rank and file. It is valid in the Indian context as well. Credibility of the rank and file is one of the very important aspects through which the history a the political party is made and the

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\(^{18}\) [https://www.livemint.com/Politics/r8mrxPeaMsUR7IfLQGSTgL/The-ad-agencies-behind-BJPs-successful-campaign.html](https://www.livemint.com/Politics/r8mrxPeaMsUR7IfLQGSTgL/The-ad-agencies-behind-BJPs-successful-campaign.html)

\(^{19}\) [https://www.livemint.com/Consumer/5HG6ozPQITQqLHM6MhOfzN/The-BJPs-mobile-strategy.html](https://www.livemint.com/Consumer/5HG6ozPQITQqLHM6MhOfzN/The-BJPs-mobile-strategy.html)
impression of political party is created in the minds of the voters. Though there is no perfect uniformity across different states of India, credibility of the rank and file is specifically important for those political parties in India which are cadre-based and have a strong mass base. However, in this regard, state-specific contextual factors play a very important role. As far as past credentials of the political parties are concerned, the role of Indian National Congress cannot be ignored. Some are of the opinion that the nationalist legacy of Congress and the charismatic leadership of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru helped the party ensure a strong command in Indian politics just after the independence. Leading role in freedom struggle and the involvement in national movements after the independence in 1947 enabled the Congress party to attract a significant section of the society (Swati, 2012). Apart from that congress was in power at centre for a long period of time and was actively involved in different ups and down in all spheres. During this long attachment and involvement, several activities and the steps taken by Congress were criticised but the past credentials cannot be ignored. Credibility of a political party is established in the minds of the voters if promises made by the political parties are fulfilled. Land reforms movements by Left parties after they came in power in 1977 in West Bengal paid dividends for a long period of time. This fulfilment of promise played a very important role in terms of satisfying and getting confidence of the voters and is another important element of a political product. Promise of industrialisation and consequent job creation is very much wanted in Indian context. Parties which could even fulfil a part of it really got the support of the electorate. Ms. Mamata Banerjee, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, promised before the Assembly Elections in 2011 that no agricultural land would be acquired by force when her government would come to power. She came to power with huge majority in 2011 and the first decision of the first cabinet meeting was to introduce “Singur Land Rehabilitation Bill” and it has been decided to return back the acquired land to the farmers. It can be taken as the example of fulfilment of promise.

Contents of the manifesto actually portray the vision and ideology of
a political party. A political party may be treated as a party of rich and upper middle class if most of the promises mentioned in the manifesto actually are going to benefit the creamy layer of the society. It is detrimental for the political future of the party. So, most of the political parties try to strike a balance by giving promises for all sections of the society. Promise in the manifesto is a part of the political product and is very much similar to the value propositions by the commercials firms before coming up with a new product or service. Commercial firms propose different kinds of specific tangible and intangible benefits which ultimately lead to value. Political parties, in the same way, offer specific benefits to the voters. Manifesto of BJP before General Elections, 2014 proposed to implement different issues like minimisation of black money, setting up of single National Agricultural Market, greater decentralisation through smaller states, massive infrastructure development in North-East region, Uniform Civil Code and many other (Correspondent, 2014). Some of main promises made in the manifesto of Congress party included right to health, women’s rights, protection of minorities, and employment (Varma, 2014). Since a significant portion of the population in India is illiterate, written manifestos are of no use to them. Political parties should take the responsibility to communicate the promises and their implications to the illiterate people through leaders and activists in different local areas.

Leaders of the political parties are the central element of a political product. They symbolise their respective parties. This is a very common phenomenon in Indian politics. We have been observing this trend since independence. The sacrifices, honesty, standard of living, bravery, charm, effective communication of the party leaders most often attract the electorate. Positive and strong image of the party leaders actually strengthens the product aspect of political marketing. Public perception about the party improves and the electorate starts believing on the basis of the image of the party leader that the promises made by the political parties before election would be mostly fulfilled if they come in power.
Several examples from the Indian politics can be highlighted. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and her daughter Mrs Indira Gandhi, during their tenure, represented the Congress party and their images were perceived to be the image of the Congress. Subsequently, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi also created an image and symbolised the congress. In case of BJP, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee is a famous leader who had the capability to attract people in all parts of the country with his powerful oratory and his poetic expressions added to this attraction. Mr. Narendra Modi came after him and he is now the main face of the BJP leadership. All the promotional activities of BJP before Lok Sabha Elections, 2014 revolved around Mr. Narendra Modi. Mr. Modi was already established as a brand during campaigning for Gujarat assembly elections, 2012. Modi, for the first time in Indian politics, showed that a political leader could be effectively used as a brand. He also became the brand ambassador of industrial development in Gujarat and was identified with the term “development”. While the electronic media was creating both positive and negative image of Mr. Modi, the social media was mainly focussing on his positive aspects. Mr. Modi was following the marketing principle that publicity, positive or negative, ultimately got the attention of the voters. Another reason for Mr. Modi becoming the youth icon is the fact that he encouraged youth section of the society and explained how power of youth could be harnessed to develop India. The result is the effective and believable communication with the youth. The result of accepting Mr.Modi as the main leader of BJP before General Elections, 2014 was the significant victory of BJP in the elections.20

Some of the leaders of the regional and region-specific parties have had significant impact on national politics and started making their presence felt at the national level on the basis of some regional issues. For many of these leaders, niche marketing appears to be relevant. These parties wanted to satisfy the target electorate by highlighting some issues

20 http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/brand-modi-a-political-marketing-revolution-7516
which, otherwise, might not have been given importance at the national level. We have seen Ms. Mayawati adhering to the issues related to the Dalits which, in Uttar Pradesh, had been playing a vital role in electoral success. Ms. Mayawati was very successful in targeting a niche group of electorate to which she actually belongs. She projected herself as someone who can raise voice against the oppression of the lower caste and give them justice. Analysts consider brand Mayawati as a marketing success in election arena. This is because she mixed relatively new political idea with her support for development-oriented economic policy. The new political idea was in the form of a rainbow coalition led by Dalits and comprising deprived caste, classes, and upper caste poor across India (Lakshmana, 2008). This strategy can be part of STP (segmenting, targeting, and positioning) of service marketing in the sense that this particular homogeneous segment of voters was identified and positioning strategies were implemented to cater to this segment of voters in an efficient way. Another leader Ms. Jayalalithaa, on the other hand, addressed regional issues of the Tamil Nadu. Here, instead of targeting a particular group, she considered the state-specific contingency factors and addressed the mass issues. Creation of this identity helped her win elections. As far as political branding is concerned, very few politicians in India can match Ms. Jayalalithaa, the former Tamil Nadu chief Minister. Ms. Jayalalithaa, fondly known as “Amma”. Different schemes, products and establishments like canteen, salt, water, vegetable shops, parks, gyms, cement, grinder, mobile, marriage halls, and even fans were given the brand name Amma. The buses undertaken by the Tamil Nadu State Transport carried the image of Amma. Ms. Jayalalithaa had the capability to measure pulse of the poor and underprivileged. When prices of the essential commodities including food items shot up during UPA-2 government, Ms. Jayalalithaa started Amma canteen which served staple food items at subsidised price. These subsidised canteens actually mocked the UPA-2 government and no other chief minister could show the guts to run canteens like this. One of the brand gurus, Mr. Harish Bijoor, said that Amma was ubiquitous and
she was ahead of her time as far as political branding is concerned. He also said that Amma used political branding very effectively and created an umbilical link between herself and people of the state (Lulla, 2016). Ms. Mamata Banerjee, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, is another exemplar of creating, nurturing, and running a party called Trinamool Congress (TMC). Ms. Mamata Banerjee is fondly known as “Didi” and the perception about TMC is built her around. The lion share of the vote that her party gets in any of the elections is the result of her image created through honesty, simple lifestyle manifested in her very ordinary attire, communication with the people in different political rallies with the help of the words used mostly by the subaltern class, habit of rushing to political and other victims without wasting time. She was successful in establishing a new image as a rescuer of farmers and ate the vote share of the Left-Front government. After coming to power, she tried to strengthen her image of leader and rescuer of the poor. After coming to power in West Bengal, Ms. Mamata Banerjee’s initiative to provide food security under the scheme called KhadyaSathi, Kanyashree scheme, which offered monthly scholarship of Rs 750 specifically to girl students from financially weak families and the ‘SabujSathi’ scheme, under which bicycles were distributed to students, added to her popularity. Before the Assembly Election in 2016 Ms. Mamata Banerjee’s well-accepted and strong image and charisma enabled her party to win and she effectively communicated to the voters that she was the candidate in all 294 assembly seats.\footnote{\textsuperscript{21}}

Mr. Arvind Kejriwal, the Chief Minister of Delhi, is another contemporary influential leader who symbolises the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP). He is highly educated and used to be a civil society activist earlier. He was accepted because he had some new ideas and his intentions were...
not perceived to be false. The people from the middle class supported him because he spoke their languages, voiced their insecurities and concerns (Mishra, 2012). Mr. Kejriwal initially focussed on some basic problems of the citizens of Delhi, the problems of insufficient water and electricity, corruption and price rise were four of them. His campaign did not use “traditional and disjointed” tactics commonly used in Indian politics. He segmented the people into different clearly defined voter groups. The segments even comprised people who were from untouchable community and unlike opponent political parties he took up issues which mattered most to the common people. The Aam Aadmi Party is the result of the movement of Mr. Anna Hazare and Mr. Kejriwal had the capability to translate the “India Against Corruption” movement into a political party which positioned itself for the mass market. Mr. Kejriwal talked about the concept of “change” and repeated the message of change over and over again so that the potential voters started identifying him with this concept. He used social media very effectively. NRIs posted video messages in YouTube in favour of the party and other social media like LinkedIn and Google+ were meticulously used. In order to demonstrate transparency, details of the donations received from different corners of the country and abroad were shared (Chakraborty, 2013). Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, the former Chief Ministers of West Bengal, became a brand for CPI(M) during 1980s and 2000s in West Bengal. Although they belonged to the same political party, they positioned themselves in two different ways. While Mr. Jyoti Basu was perceived as an astute politician and a very strict administrator, Mr. Bhattacharyya’s image as a reformist and industry-friendly person caught the attention of the people of West Bengal. Mr. Bhattacharya in an interview with “Business Line” was of the opinion that that his government was investment-friendly but he also acknowledged that there was an image problem of the government in various parts of the country and abroad.

Charismatic leadership is an important aspect in understanding political leadership in the Indian context. Charisma of Mrs Indira Gandhi
had been used by Congress for a long period and got the reward. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was truly a leader of international stature and raised her voice for Third World countries. Her intervention during 1971 war in support of Bangladesh Liberation Struggle is still considered one of the achievements in foreign and security affairs. Everyone, including the opposition and harsh critics of her, admired her for this step. Charisma of Ms. Jayalalithaa is also something to be acknowledged. She had the capability to make the people follow her blindly. She knew how to draw out charisma from humility. Ms. Jayalalithaa was the last mass leader in Tamil Nadu. The charisma of Narendra Modi was used before Lok Sabha Elections, 2014. The charisma was so meticulously used that significant portion of the voters started believing strongly that the promises related to industrialisation and consequent employment, corruption, black money, governance would be fulfilled. He tried to remove all the barriers and space when he connected with the people. This belief was reflected in the result of the election. The strength of a political product enhances with the presence of charismatic leaders in the political party. South India has also seen some charismatic leaders like Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, Mr. Karunanidhi, Mr. Chandrababu Naidu and Mr. K. Chandrashekar Rao apart from Ms. Jayalalithaa. Leaders like Mr. Naveen Patanaik of Orissa, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav of Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Nitish Kumar and Mr. Lalu Prasad Yadav from Bihar have been in focus and can be considered as the other state leaders with national stature. Political parties make value propositions and it is made believable by these charismatic leaders with their presence, image, and communication with the voters using different modes of communications.

Party policy and ideology can be considered as other element of political product. It can be compared with the mission and vision of the

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22 https://www.inc.in/en/in-focus/the-charismatic-leader
23 https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/queen-charisma-jayalalithaa-was-last-mass-leader-tamil-nadu-53891
business organisations. The mission and vision of a business organisation can show the organisation’s direction and strong faith on it helps the organisation not to deviate from its path. In the same way, ideology of the political party gives it a guideline to proceed further. Alike commercial marketing where each and every company wants to get a unique place in the minds of the consumers through differentiation strategies, distinct party policy and ideology can help political parties secure a distinct place in the minds of the electorate. The content of the policy and ideology must sound beneficial to most of the electorates. Otherwise, this distinct aspect will only motivate some part of the electorate and earn the political party vote share not sufficient to win elections. It almost resembles the fact that commercial organisations differentiate on that aspect of the offering which is beneficial to the consumers. Ideology of Congress was motivating to the significant portion of the electorate and as a result, the party was in power for long. Congress repeatedly emphasised on the value like Nationalism, Secularism, Inclusive Development, and Social Justice. It was acceptable and believable to the electorate to a great extent because the name of Congress is attached with freedom struggle of our country. Emergency declared during the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi seemed to affect the image of Congress as the believer of democracy. Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) is having a distinct ideology and their emphasis is on ancient Indian culture and Hinduism attracted many people. Article IV of the BJP’s Constitution says that Party is committed to *Gandhian approach* to socio-economic issues, positive secularism and value-based politics. According to the national website of the party, *Hindutva* and *Integral Humanism* are other two components that constitute the ideology of the party. The BJP positioned itself among the electorates in a way that is competitively different from other parties. Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the other Left parties do have strong ideological background and the strong believers of this ideology seem to constitute the loyal voter base for Left

25 Website of Indian National Congress (http://inc.in/about-congress/mission)
parties. Moreover, from a political marketing perspective, ideology of the political parties must be understandable, preferably free of jargons so that it can be intelligible to the voters. Otherwise, electorate will develop a confused idea about the party. Therefore, political parties should take an initiative to explain the ideology to the electorate in a lucid way in order to enable them to take decision about the party properly. It again resembles the fact that when a commercial firm proposes value to the consumers and the consumers are confused about the benefit they are going to get from the offering, consumers cannot take positive decision about the offering.

4.2.4 Price in Political Marketing in India

Identification of important factors influencing the image of the brand and consequent buying decision is an important task of the marketer. In marketing, the quality of the market offerings is sometimes judged by the customers through some signals and cues. Marketers always try to manipulate those signals and cues in a way which is very much acceptable to the target customers. In the political arena, activities and steps taken by the political parties send a signal to the electorate and an image is created about the political parties. Political parties are in search of those factors through which electorates develop an image about different political parties. There are some common social and economic problems which, if seriously addressed by any government, will be considered as significant job done by that government. Unemployment, inflation, law and order situation, corruptions, education, and infrastructural developments are some of the issues to which electorates in India assign importance. Most of the political parties promise to address these issues if they come to power. These promises are almost like value propositions made by the commercial marketers before coming up with a new or improved products or services. In politics, promises can be divided into two: before and after the code of conduct comes into play. Promises after the code of conduct comes into play are made mainly through manifestos. BJP promised to create IT jobs in the rural and semi-urban areas in their
election manifesto for General Elections, 2014\textsuperscript{26}. In Uttar Pradesh Assembly elections, 2012, BJP promised, in its election manifesto, 1 crore jobs in next 5 years and industrialisation to ensure that people do not migrate to cities like Delhi and Mumbai in search for jobs. The party also promised allowance of Rs. 24,000 to unemployed youth. Indian National Congress also promised to create 20 lakh jobs in Uttar Pradesh in its vision document. BJP also promised to provide tablets and laptops to the students at Rs. 1000 and Rs. 4000 respectively. Indian National Congress promised security to the students instead.\textsuperscript{27} One of the main agendas of BJP before 2014 general elections was to remove corruption and BJP tried hard to make their claim believable through several promotional activities. It seems to have paid dividend in terms of gaining majority to come to power in the centre. Local problems sometimes become very important. Electricity, water supply have been two very important issues for the people of Delhi. Aam Admi Party (AAP) emphasised on these two issues and most of their promotional activities revolved around these. They also promised to implement Delhi Jan Lok Pal Bill and Swaraj Bill, regularisation of fees for private schools, to make 200 new schools and 20 new colleges, and provide free Wi-Fi and e-governance.\textsuperscript{28} This again paid dividend and AAP came in power with absolute majority in assembly elections in 2015 in Delhi. Just like success of marketers depends on how correctly they can understand the priorities consumers assign to different attributes of products and services, AAP’s success was the result of proper identification of the issues the electorate gave maximum importance to. Moreover, AAP’s youth manifesto for Punjab Assembly Elections, 2017 vouched to make the “Jan Lok Pal Bill” bill effective and promised to make the state corruption-free. Apart from that, the manifesto also promised to create 25 lakh direct and indirect jobs for youth, Wi-Fi

\textsuperscript{26} http://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/bjp-manifesto-10-promises-that-can-change-your-life-if-implemented/

\textsuperscript{27} ibid

\textsuperscript{28} http://www.ndtv.com/assembly/up-polls-top-10-promises-by-bjp-congress-571251?browserpush=true
hotspots for villages and cities without any charge, creation of very strict special law for drug dealers, free laptop for every student from class IX onwards (Brar, 2016). All these promises made by the political parties actually come under the price aspect of a political party when considered as a service organisation. Here the price is psychological in nature. People can consider price as an economic cost when a party comes in power. If a party promises to curb corruption, this promise can make the voter think of reduction in economic cost and hazards. If the promise is to improve law and order situation, the voter can convert the freedom and peace of mind as a result of better law and order situation into economic cost.

All kinds of promises actually make the voters feel that fulfilment of these promises can minimise the economic cost. Good governance, higher employment, protection of women will make the country a better place to live. It can be considered as reduction of cost. Since price cannot be directly attached to services given by political parties and it is to some extent psychological in nature, the price is to be derived indirectly. Fulfilment of promise has already been discussed in the initial part of this chapter while examining the importance of the credibility of political parties. Since promises of different nature constitute an important facet of political marketing from Indian perspective, it is separately discussed here. All the political parties in India make several kinds of promises before elections. Promise of good governance, employment, corruption-free political system, better law and order, protection for women are some of the very common promises made by the political parties. It is similar to the promises made by the commercial marketers before coming up with a particular product or service. BJP promised good governance before coming to power at the centre in 2014. Mr. Narendra Modi claimed to implement “maximum governance, minimum government”. After the election, Mr. Modi admitted that good governance is a key to nation’s progress and claimed to fulfil the promise made before the election by

offering an open and accountable administration. He also talked about
government process re-engineering.\(^\text{30}\) BJP also promised to create jobs after
coming to power before General Elections, 2014. Mr. Narendra Modi, at a
rally in Agra in 2013, promised to create 10 million jobs. He also criticised
UPA government for not keeping the promise to create jobs. The manifesto
also mentioned that there would be an economic revival of higher degree
and high priority would be given to creation of jobs and opportunities for
entrepreneurship.\(^\text{31}\) These promises can be linked to “price” aspect of
service organisations like political parties.

Quality service is perceived by the voters if good governance is
observed by them. In a service organisation, quality service generates
through quality process and efficient people and other factors. If
governance is good, the hazards of common people reduce. Improper
governance can make the people pay price for it. In political marketing,
price is not directly or indirectly attached to a voting decision (Lock &
Harris, 1996). But price can be measured in terms of psychological and
economic cost (Niffenegger, 1989). Sufferings of the people because of bad
governance may be considered as paying higher prices by bringing a
political party in power. Paying bribe to government officials and clerks to
get the work done because of bad governance can be considered by voters
as cost. After Mr. Nitish Kumar became the Chief Minister of Bihar, there
was substantial improvement in governance. The improvements were
manifested in the construction of 10,000 kilometres of roads, 2100 bridges,
creation of 4.2 million jobs, hiring of more than 1,00,000 teachers and
many others.\(^\text{32}\) Mr. Narendra Modi said at a public meeting that good
governance is the key to all-round development and people should not
think about personal gain while drawing up public schemes.\(^\text{33}\)

\(^{30}\) https://www.livemint.com/Opinion/ PKlzMrPIoTIELzvkGx7V oK/ Is-Narendra-Modi-
abandoning-his-promise-of-good-governance.html
\(^{31}\) http://www.rediff.com/news/report/good-governance-day-modi-promises-open-door-
administration/20141225.htm
\(^{32}\) https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/three-years-of-modi-govt-job-creation-promise-
falls-short-as-unemployment-rate-up/story-NiJ519kWe56MjNCfMt gEeO.html
4.2.5. Distribution in Political Marketing in India

The political parties are doing their promotional activities with the help of some well accepted promotional tools like advertising, broadcasting, public relations and in some cases the direct mail to communicate the voters about their product. It has been observed in the last General Elections in India how different national parties used the above promotional tools to communicate with the voters. The commitments made by the political parties in their promotional drives can only be made acceptable and believable to the voters if local activists of the party take the initiative to convince the reliability of the commitments and canvassing is done in a strategic way. The visit of the charismatic party leader in the locality will reinforce the belief of the voters. So the performance of the local activists, canvassing, and the tour of the leader are the elements responsible for proper “distribution” of the “political product”. It is very much similar to one of the Ps, “Place”, in service marketing. In case of political marketing the determination of price is conceptually difficult. Price paid by individual voters cannot be calculated accurately.

4.2.6: Physical Evidence in Political Marketing in India

In service marketing, because of intangible the character of a service, customer frequently rely on tangible cues, or some physical evidences to assess and evaluate the service before they purchase it or to measure the level of satisfaction related to the service during and after consumption (Zeithaml et al., 2008). In politics, voter can also look for some signals and cues to evaluate the service before the actual delivery. Political debates and panel discussions in electronic media throughout the year or before elections are very common in India. Since huge number of people have access to electronic media, the impact of these debates and panel discussions on different regional and national TV channels cannot be ignored by political

33 https://www.huffingtonpost.com/marielou-fernandes/good-governance-matters-i_b_792071.html
parties. The rural and urban viewers of television are 343 million and 331 million respectively (Dasgupta, 2016). Every night we can see faces representing different political parties on most of the popular news channels. We can see them shouting, arguing while making point or to discuss an issue. Mr. Qamar Waheed Naqvi, Editorial Director for Aaj Tak and India TV said that communication and the way an idea is explained are of prime importance in today’s world. He also said that people form a perception about the spokesperson in particular and the political party in general on the basis of the behaviour and the body language of spokesperson participating in political debate or panel discussion on TV (Datar, 2014). It is argued that these kinds of political debates on TV influence the voting decision of both urban and rural people to a great extent. Political parties are gradually realising that they need to consider these political debates or discussions on TV as one of the promotional tools. In political marketing, the quality of service to be offered by political parties cannot be judged beforehand. Voters try to judge the quality of service looking at some tangible evidences. These debates can act as one of those tangible evidences. So, political parties should decide about the leaders and sympathisers representing the party in debates and discussions on TV after analysing the acceptance, communication skills, convincing ability, and appearance of the leaders and sympathisers. Interview of the political leaders on TV before elections is also one opportunity for the political parties to promote the election agenda and to clarify the political stand clearly to the voters.

Voters, just like consumers, are always in search of physical evidence. Approach and mode of talking of party leaders are the other evidences through which voters get the perception about the political parties and their promised services. It has already been discussed how party leader symbolise the party in many cases. Each and every step taken by the important leaders of the party has impact on voters. The way political leaders communicate with the party workers and voters and the general behaviour of the party leaders create an impression about the political party which the leaders belong to. If the leaders are not comfortable
communicating with the language used by the common people, there is a chance that distance is created between the leaders and the general voters. Approach of the leaders can create expectations among mass and promises seem believable. Personality of the leaders also plays an important role. The approach, language, the choice of words, and the mode of talking of Ms. Mamata Banerjee are very similar to that of the common people. This is one of the reasons why Ms. Mamata Banerjee has remarkable acceptance within the general people. The personality and appearance of Ms. Jayalalithaa had a huge impact on her followers and voters in general. The oratory and innovative change of presentation and choice of words on the basis of type of audience have made Mr. Narendra Modi a capable leader who has influence on voters. There were many leaders in the past who had the same kind of capability to identify with the voters with their appearance, approach, and oratory skills.

The type of people attending election rallies for a political party can give an impression about political party to the voters. General voters are expected to have regards for intellectual class. If representation of the intellectual class is high in an election rally for a political party, educated people develop a positive feeling for that political party. These people from the intellectual class become the brand ambassador for that political party and the party enjoys the dividend. On the contrary, if most of the people in an election rally of a political party are of dubious background, negative feeling about the political party is expected to develop among the general voters. Apart from that, if the independence of intellectuals is affected by the political interference, the image of the ruling party is hampered in the minds of the educated voters and intellectuals (Azim, 2016).

4.2.7: Process in Political Marketing in India

In service marketing, the process is the way through which service is delivered. It is the combination of actual procedures followed, different kinds of mechanisms, and the flow of activities (Zeithaml, Gremler et al., 2008). In politics, the services to the voters by the political parties are
ultimately delivered through different procedures, mechanisms, and activities within the political parties. Training of the people in marketing is an important feature of a good organisation. If sales and marketing people are not trained on regular basis about the organisation, its mission and vision, the product and services, the techniques to present in front of customers, the organisation is bound to fail in the long run. The same is applicable to political parties. Regular training of party workers ensures the consistency and better service to the electorate. BJP launched an ambitious four month long training programme in 2015 to educate cadres about the ideology of the party. 100 million party workers, who enrolled themselves from November, 2014 were the part of the training programme. Communist Party of India (Marxist) regularly conducts party classes for its members to educate them about the ideology of the party and the party programmes to be conducted in future. The political parties are expected to get the benefit if the training of party workers becomes the part of the process.

Conferences and summit organised by Indian political parties to discuss future plans and ideological standpoint and to critically analyse the previous activities actually strengthen the party image in the minds of the political consumers. It is the part of brand management process of a political party when compared with a service organisation. If conferences are organised in a systematic manner on a regular interval, the discipline and democracy within a political party is perceived by the voters, credibility of the party is expected to increase, and an image of transparency of the political party is created in the minds of the voters. This, in turn, leads to positive brand image of the political party.

From the service marketing perspective, the organisation of the party falls under the “process” in a 7Ps framework. Strong organisation of the political party is a prerequisite for proper functioning and consequent electoral success. Political parties with strong organisation can reach out to
the people in a better way. Success of party programmes depends on the strength and spread of the party organisation. In commercial marketing, creation, communication, and delivery of value are three important parts. Marketing objectives will not be fulfilled until and unless all three parts are completed successfully. In political marketing, party organisation does the function of delivering the value with the help of party workers and activists. Value is offered to the voters by the leaders of the political party, and the value is communicated through promotional activities of the political party, but the delivery of value is possible if the activists at the grass root level work hard to ensure the delivery. If a political party promises to improve the law and order situation, the promise can only be fulfilled with the active involvement of party workers in different localities. If there is any confusion or grievance about any step taken by the party, it is the responsibility of the local level leaders and activists to make the people understand the justification of the step. If confusions or grievances are still there, these can be communicated to the higher level and corrective actions can be taken. It is almost like feedback coming from lower level to higher level in commercial marketing. All these are possible with strong organisational back up. CPI(M) ruled for 34 years in West Bengal. One of the reasons was the strong organisation. The cadre network helped the party win in successive elections (Bose, 2011).

Generation of quality service in a service organisation is the result of many factors. The process through which service generates is one the main factors. A political party is also supposed to give service to the electorate, whether it is in power or not. A quality of service from a political party is assured if party can control its leaders, activists, and workers. Taking strong action against indiscipline is one of the ways to make the voters believe that the party can give quality service. Different incidents are reported where party leaders and workers show gross indiscipline and examples are also there in which political parties warn to take strong action against indiscipline and actions are also taken. For example, the Congress Chief Minister of Punjab mentioned that zero tolerance will be shown in
In West Bengal, during distribution of party tickets for the municipal elections in 2015, the then West Bengal BJP president was gheraoed by rebellious party workers. He told after this incident that no dissent and indiscipline would be tolerated and strong action would be taken. Mr. Rahul Gandhi, the Congress president, while addressing the party workers in 2016 before Mumbai Municipality Corporation Elections, warned that strong action would be taken against indiscipline. The state president of BJP, Mr. Kummanom Rajasekharan, made it clear in a Facebook post in 2017 that indiscipline would not be tolerated. This was posted one day after a disciplinary action was taken by BJP against V. Rajesh, the state secretary, for leaking an internal report on a controversial issue. The Rajasthan unit of BJP suspended 38 workers and office-bearers in 2009 for the period of six years for their involvement in indiscipline during the state’s 13th Assembly Elections in 2008. From a political marketing perspective, all these actions are taken to send positive signals to the voters.

Commercial business organisations go for joint ventures to exploit opportunities of dynamic environment of business. Joint venture is a strategic move to make up the weakness in any area with the resources of the other organisations. This strategic move is actually a risk reducing mechanism and it is frequently made by the business organisations to penetrate in new markets or to pool resources for large projects. The disputes in operational control, distribution of profits, equity ownership and differences in company ideology, mission, and vision are some of the problems which may arise because of joint venture. Joint ventures do not

last for long period because of these problems. Service organisations also go for joint ventures for the same reasons. This is the part of the service process in case of a service organisation. In political markets, the alliance between two or more political parties resembles the joint venture in case of business organisations. Political parties in an alliance support a single candidate in a constituency. Political alliances, pre-poll or post-poll, are made in expectation of an enhancement of support base which increases the chance of winning in elections. Just like joint ventures, political alliances present some problems. If different parties with divergent ideology form an alliance, it is not expected to last in the long run. Different kinds of demands by political parties in an alliance create problems when it becomes impossible to accommodate variety of demands, the alliance becomes weak and ultimately it breaks down. We have seen several coalition governments in India and their temporary existence. If alliance is based on strong ideology, it exists for long. We have seen a number of alliances leading to coalition governments which survived for a very short period of time. Coalition government led by Janata Dal where Mr. Viswanath Pratap Singh was the Prime Minister, lasted for less than one year (December 2, 1989—November, 10, 1990). This government came in power by highlighting the corruption issue. Subsequently, Mr. Chandra Sekhar, Mr. H.D. Deve Gowda and Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral became Prime Ministers with temporary support from Congress for short periods. This reveals that political alliances are not always sustainable and if different parties with divergent ideology form an alliance, it is not expected to last in the long run. Furthermore, a perception might have cropped up in the minds of the electorates that larger parties signifying big brands in Indian politics are more suitable to provide a stable government. In case of West Bengal, different Left parties formed an alliance named Left Front and this alliance was sustainable for a long period of time. One of the main reasons for the success of this alliance is that the parties in this alliance share

40  http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/314HND01.htm
similar ideologies and one party had a dominant role to play.

Invasion of politics in education is another aspect which is not accepted positively by people in general and intellectuals in particular. Some are of the opinion that unwarranted political intervention is detrimental to the development of India's higher education. Different plans in the past to increase high-quality research-oriented Higher Educational Institutes (HEIs) could not be implemented properly because of the intrusion of politics in the location of some of the new HEIs. Some are of the opinion that HEIs were placed in inconvenient and remote places to serve the interests of the powerful section and it resulted in the paucity of effective research HEIs. Moreover, huge number of ineffective and inadequately funded colleges established by politicians to enhance the base in those areas in order to influence local people (Altbach, 2013). These incidents send wrong signals to the voters through which they form an image about the party responsible for this kind of intrusion. Since political parties offer intangible service to the voters, these signals play very important role.

4.2.8 People aspect in Political Marketing in India

In service marketing, “people” means all human actors who are the part of the delivery of the service and consequently can influence the perception of the buyers. Since the delivery of service if affected by the role played by the customers, “people” comprises both the firm’s personnel and the customers in the service environment (Zeithaml et al., 2008). In politics, the proper delivery of service is assured by the role played by party workers. Maintaining a long term sustainable relationship with the customers is the main objective of relationship marketing. Companies take the help of latest available technology to keep in touch with the customers. Political parties also devise strategies to remain aware of the problems of the local areas through different contact programmes. Different political parties operate through party offices spread over local areas. Party workers are instructed to stand by the local people and help them if there is a need.
Different kinds of supports from the party workers in the locality improve the perception of the local electorate about the political party as a whole. The success of these contact programmes depends on how much control political parties can exert on their workers and cadres, just like the success of any company's customer relationship management depends on the monitoring of the employees assigned for it by the company. In marketing, keeping contact with the prospective customers through various modes of communication and engaging them in different activities of the company is expected to create a bonding which can bring fruits in the long run. In the same way, political parties try to maintain contact with the electorate through different party programmes. The contact can be maintained through different modes of communications. Meeting at the local level to share the problems of the locality or invitation to participate in different programmes organised by the political party can enhance the effect of communication. Effective communication will allow voters to reveal their real mental status and the perception about the activities of the political party. The engagement of the electorate with the party activists can create loyalty for the party in future. It again relates to the “people” aspect of political party when considered as a service organisation.

Companies need to continuously communicate with the customers and get constant feedback from the market to remain aware of the changes in the minds of the prospective customers and accordingly changes in the offerings are made. In the same way, political parties must keep themselves close to the electorate in order to understand the needs and aspirations of the electorate and to monitor the reactions to any kind of step taken by the party. Political parties take some important decisions or steps at different points of time. Without the proper communication of these decisions/steps, there is a chance that the electorate in general and supporters in particular, may misperceive this decision. The implications of the steps taken at the top level of the political party are difficult, sometimes, for the poor and illiterate people to understand. It is the responsibility of the party workers and cadres to communicate the positive implications of the decisions to the
electorate at the local level throughout the constituencies. Otherwise, the opposition parties will get a chance to communicate the negative implications of the decisions. The decision of the CPI(M) to withdraw support from UPA-I government on account of Indo-US Nuclear Deal issue was not positively taken by general electorate, including the party supporters. The CPI(M) seemed to fail miserably to convince the electorate about the negative aspects of the deal through different party activities like street corner, local level contact programmes et.al. This relates to “people” aspect of the political party when considered as a service organisation. From service marketing point of view, there is a lack of coordination between upper level and lower level management. The people of service organisations will ultimately give services to customers. So, they must always be informed and trained about all the activities required for giving service to the final consumer. In case of political parties, the leaders and activists at the local level will deal with the voters directly. If they are not aware and convinced by the justification of a particular decision given by top leadership, they cannot communicate the decisions properly to the voters. People of the party organisation should be informed and trained about the activities required to deal with the voters directly.

In both the product and service marketing, preserving the image of the organisation is very much vital for the creation of a sustainable brand image. In case of service organisations, the employees or the people, among the other vital elements, have an important role to play. The behaviour, attitude, the choice of words, sophistication, courtesy, are the factors important for making an overall impression about the service customers are offered with. In case of political marketing, the culture of any political party is reflected by the words used by its leaders and activists. We have seen several instances wherein different political leaders used abusive, harsh, and unsympathetic words and languages against the political leaders of the other parties or against some sections of the society. The use of derogatory words or sentences used by political leaders against someone, or on some issues, or on some sections of the society may change the
perception of the electorate about the political parties.\textsuperscript{41} It has been reported that one national leader of Samajwadi Party, in 2012, opposed the women reservation bill by saying it would not benefit the rural women because they were not as attractive and rich as urban women and subsequently criticised capital punishment for rape by saying that rape was just the mistake from the boys. These kinds of utterances can create negative image amongst the electorates. It has also been reported that BJP’s Uttar Pradesh vice-president Mr. Dayashankar Singh used very much abusive words against other leaders, following which, he was removed from his post. While criticising the student protesters after the Delhi bus-gang rape case in 2012, one political leader used sexist word “dented and painted” against the ladies in the protest rally. Other instances of using abusive language have also been reported. It has been reported in literature that once a congress leader said that most of the rape cases were consensual. After the Mumbai 26/11 attacks one of the eminent leaders of BJP said that women who wore lipsticks and power were like J&K terrorists. Another BJP leader and MP once said that every Hindu woman must produce at least four kids to protect Hinduism (Das, 2015). These incidents can have some impact on educated class, specially educated and independent women. This impact, in turn, may affect the voting decision. It also relates to ‘people” aspect of political parties. These incidents show the inability of the political parties to control their leaders.

Corruption is another issue in Indian politics which can influence the image of the political brand. It is almost like image of the brand in commercial marketing is hampered by the activities of the organisation and the performance of the brand. Corruption charges against political leaders are very common in Indian politics. Different leaders in the past were put behind the bars on corruption charges. If good number of leaders of a political party is charged with corruption, the image of the political party in the minds of the voters gets hurt. Some of the corruption cases which rocked...
Indian politics are electoral corruption in 1975, oil scam in 1976, Bofors scam in 1987, 2G scam in 2008, Commonwealth Games scam in 2010, Coal scam 2012 where coal blocks were allocated in a way beneficial for some specific enterprises and cash-for-vote scam in 2008.\footnote{https://www.businessinsider.in/9-of-the-biggest-corruption-cases-that-rocked-Indiaduring-Congress-rule-right-from-Indira-Gandhis-time/Commonwealth-Games-2010/slideshow/55898083.cms} There are many other corruption charges against leaders of the other national and regional parties. These corruption charges are the signals through which voters develop a perception about the political parties. This is almost like the way people judge the quality of a brand through some signals and cues. Commercial marketers try hard to make sure that positive signals are sent to prospective consumers. Political parties should also make sure that positive signals are sent to voters. The strong and believable efforts on the part of the political parties to curb corruptions in the party and in the system can send positive signals to the voters. From the perspective of 7Ps framework of service marketing, this problem of corruption is related to “people” aspect.

The people aspect of service marketing is very important. In a service organisation, service is ultimately delivered by the people of the organisation. Quality of service also depends on how the services are delivered to the customer. Since service is intangible in nature, customers, before deciding about the service provider, try to get an idea of the level of services offered by different service organisations by considering some tangible elements. The behaviour and etiquette of the people in a service organisations make the people perceive positively about the service offered by the organisation. In case of politics, the presence of the educated and unblemished people in the party administration helps develop a positive feeling about the political party. People have regard for educated persons and unblemished politicians. So, the presence of these people will change the perception that most of the persons in today’s politics are corrupt though there are highly educated people in different political parties. Contemporary politicians are concerned about the issue and have
emphasised the need to change the perception of politicians in the mind of people. They argued that there was wrong belief that politicians need to be cunning and or street smart and their academic excellence and hard works are often underplayed or not considered. It is frequently argued that since educated people are not coming in politics, the quality of politics is deteriorating in India.

Involvement of party workers in violence is another factor which hampers the image of the brand as result of improper management of “people” aspect when a political party is considered as a service organisation. If workers of the political party who are supposed to provide voters with service are directly involved in violence, the basic credibility and faith on the party come under scanner. There are many incidents reported in newspapers where party workers are involved in violence. It happens during political clash, at the time of filing nominations, during elections and because of many other reasons. As per the data released by National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB), there were 2400 victims of political violence in 2014. Political parties accuse each other for political violence but voters make up their mind after analysing the incidents in their own way with the help of information collected from varied sources. Opposition parties attacked Congress in 2017 over the violent political clashed in Punjab after new congress government had taken charge. Ms. Mamata Banerjee, while in opposition, accused the ruling party for inciting violence in West Bengal during Left regime. Incidents of political violence have been in the limelight since the 1970s and they are still being reported.

Local party leaders and activists are actually the “people” who are in constant touch with the voters and offer services to local people. Local people
do not have direct access to top party leaders and ministers. Local leaders and activists become the party for the people in the locality. Local people expect local leaders and activists to help when there is need for it. Local leaders and activists generally operate through party offices or through their privately run set-up. In some state there is a culture that local people come to the offices with their problems and party workers are supposed to listen to these problems and communicate the same to the higher authority for solution. The way problems can be solved is instructed or advised by the higher authority and local leaders follow these instructions and advices in order to solve the problems. Here, local leaders and activists, just like service organisations, are responsible for distribution of service in local areas. If this process runs smoothly, local people are expected to get satisfied with the activities of the party leaders and activists in the locality. In reality, there are many divergences. In many cases, the attitude and behaviour of the local leaders create such an environment where people are afraid of sharing their problems. Local leaders are not ready to accept negative feedback about the party activities from the local people and, as a result, real feedback of the party activities is not communicated to the higher authority. Local leaders try to please the higher authority by camouflaging the real position of the party in the locality. In certain cases the top leadership of the party tries to obtain hands on experience and test the ground realities. For example, Mr. Amit Shah, the President of BJP, tried to establish an integrated chain of meetings at national, state, and district level to ensure a seamless flow of messages from the top level and feedback from the ground (Sahasrabuddhe, 2017). In some cases, the life style of the local leaders and activists alienates the common people in the locality. Local leaders are also criticised for creating an intimidating environment in the locality to make sure that everyone in the locality accepts whatever is done by them and no one dares to point fingers. The result of this suppression is the development of anger for the leaders in particular and their political party in general. Another issue which makes the local people irritated and angry is the intrusion of party leaders and workers in private affairs. This is a phenomenon that is
more prevalent in the rural areas. No one wants to reveal the problems of private affairs unless it becomes impossible to hide. If local leaders and workers constantly interfere in private life, negative perception is bound to develop because this interference is considered by common people as violation of independence. One political leader mentioned that unnecessary interferences had turned the common people against the party and the consequences are reflected in the results of different elections. The interference in private life was one of the reasons why civil society silently started voting against CPI(M) and ultimately the party was defeated in Assembly Elections, 2011. On the other hand, help from the party leaders and activists in the locality can satisfy the local people. Common people in the locality want the political activists to help when it is very much needed. Admitting a serious patient in hospital with the reference of the ministers, offering help and support to the local people suffering from natural disasters, extending helping hand to local people when criminals in the locality disturbing people in different ways are some of the activities of the local leaders and activists in the locality which can create positive image about the party. Some leaders want party workers to be sensitive to the agonies of the underprivileged class and to be responsive to the aspiration of all (Sahasrabuddhe, 2017).

In commercial marketing the decisions taken by the top management after consultation with the people of different levels have to be followed by the employees. If decisions are not followed by the employees, there will be chaos within the organisation and the image of the company in the eyes of the customers will get hurt. This is equally true for all service organisations and this problem again relates to the “people” aspect of the organisation. Political parties also play the role of a service organisation. In political parties, the decisions taken by the top leadership has to be followed by the leaders of the local levels and the party activists. If leaders at different levels start opposing the decision or criticising the decision openly in

47 https://www.telegraphindia.com/1110325/jsp/bengal/story_13763146.jsp
media, a negative image about the party is likely to be created in the minds of the voters. Political parties try to make sure that leaders do not criticise the decision openly. The incidents of open criticism by party leaders and activists generally happen if leaders of different levels do not get the freedom to express their opinions as openly as possible within the party before final decision is taken. But once the final decision is made, everyone has to follow that. We have seen at different times that party leaders openly criticising the important decision taken by the party and in some cases flout not to follow the decision. In 2016, in relation to the selection of candidates for Rajya Sabha in Chhattisgarh, a section of Congress leaders openly criticised the decision of the party to nominate a particular candidate for Rajya Sabha. Party leadership of the state admitted that a section of the party leaders were opposed to the move (Das, 2016). Several Congress leaders in Kerala including the state Congress vice-president openly criticised the top leadership of the party for its soft approach towards corruption and communalism (Philip, 2016). There is a chance that disagreement between party leaders hampers the image of the party. Senior BJP leader Mr. Yashwant Sinha, the former union finance minister, criticised Modi government a number of times. In 2017, he attacked economic policy of the Modi government. Mr. Shatrughan Sinha, the actor-turned-politician is also a constant critic of Modi government and stood by the side of Mr. Yashwant Sinha. It has been reported that leaders like Mr. Arun Shourie and Mr. Subramanian Swamy criticised different decisions taken by the Modi government (Shekhar, 2017). All these controversial arguments presented against the government by leaders of the ruling party can hamper the image of the party.

4.3 Political Marketing Research by Political Parties in India

Following scientific research process is another facet identified from literature. It is the strategic part of political marketing. In business organisations, scientific research is conducted on any important aspect of business. Research can be conducted on product or service, price,
distribution channel, promotion, or on any other thing. In politics, research can be conducted on political product, price, promotion, or any other relevant aspect. Most of the reputed business organisations invest significant amount of time and money to perform business research. Business organisations often take the vital business decisions on the basis of the findings and recommendations of the business research. Research is equally applicable in the field of politics. Political parties in India can get the reactions and opinions of the voters on various important aspects. Important political decisions, if taken on the basis of the political research or voter surveys, can improve the quality and effectiveness of decisions. There are some evidences when some of the political parties resort to scientific research techniques to understand the intentions of the voters.

We have seen the campaign by BJP before the General Elections, 2014. This “new face of election campaign” took the help of digital channel which was previously avoided by political parties because of the predominance of rural areas in India. They might have thought that this would act as hindrance for these digital channels to reach out to the maximum part of the population. This campaign significantly used data of social media to target the voters and, in turn, to market the candidates. The campaign was 18-month long and it was the result of meticulous research of 3-4 years duration. Mr. Narendra Modi appointed Mr. Prashant Kishor, the political strategist, to manage the campaign. The team headed by Mr. Kishor went on collecting and analysing huge data across different demographics. The team could micro-target the audience and tailor messages for most of the demographics. The party used the data of all the Lok Sabha constituencies and could find out the number of mobile and internet users and specifically social media users for each constituency. Apart from that, BJP used holistic marketing approach through its slogan “Ek Bharat, Shreshtha Bharat” (One India, Great India), making use of the fundamental idea of holistic marketing—“everything matters in marketing” and refuting the marketing

48 https://callhub.io/changing-face-political-campaigning-strategies-india/
principles of the political marketers to serve different segments differently. It is also argued that the reason accepted by party leaders for the dismal performance of the Congress in General Elections, 2014 was the lack of communication with the voters, the inability to give importance to the feedback of the voters, and non-maintenance of the long term relationships with the voters and this led to the failure to read the mindset of the nation.49

Commercial marketers test the acceptability of the product/service before launching it in the market. This is referred to as market testing of product/service. Since product is tangible in nature, market testing is comparatively easy. In case of service, it becomes very difficult to follow the process of market testing, because nothing tangible can be shown to the prospective customers to get their opinions. Proper opinion can only be given after the consumption of the service. Since political parties are almost like service organisation, the service of the political party to be offered to the voters cannot be shown till the time a political party starts operating after winning elections. Candidate is one of the tangible elements of political product/service. So, testing candidates before giving nominations can be carried out. Asking the voters about different candidates and selecting the one who is the most accepted among all can be possible for political parties. Since the process is very time-consuming and it has to be completed within the specified time period, not long enough to complete the process smoothly for all constituencies, given by Election Commission of India (ECI), political parties make some internal arrangements to select candidates for different elections. The selection of candidates is mainly decided by the higher leadership of the political parties in consultation with the leaders and activists at the local level in order to be aware about the impression of the candidates in the locality. Some factors like demographics of different constituencies are also taken into consideration before selecting candidates. It is often observed that political parties try to

49 http://www.theworldreporter.com/2014/06/marketing-politics.html
give nomination to candidates belonging to a particular group for the constituencies dominated by the group. In the same way urbane, educated, smart candidates are given nominations for the constituencies dominated by intellectuals.

4.4 Strategic Marketing Aspects in Political Marketing in India: Branding and Segmentation-Targeting-Positioning Strategies

In case of commercial marketing, significant fault in the product and services hampers the image of organisation. Image of CocaCola and Maggi was hit hard when impurities were found in their products. In the same way, charge of corruption is something which can tarnish the image of the political party. Political parties always try to do something which shows not only their concern for corruption but also their initiative to remove corruption from the system. Political parties expect to improve their image in the minds of the voters through these activities. Mr. Narendra Modi vehemently criticised the previous UPA government and vouched to remove corruption from the system in most his campaigning before the General Elections, 2014. Mr. Anna Hazare’s movement against corruption and the demand for Jan Lok Pal Bill to curb corruption in 2011 brought the youth on the streets of Delhi and different other cities, towns of our country. It had showed that addressing of the issues felt relevant by the youth could get support of the young generation and political parties started chalking out their strategies to reach out to 120 million new voters aged between 18-22 years before 2014 General Elections. The presence of this huge number of youth voters including new voters in the electorate, almost 120 million new voters out of 790 million eligible voters, made the political parties think seriously about how to attract this segment.\(^5\) Another significant aspect in the Indian polity is that the power of women as a voter has been ever increasing. Accordingly political parties developed specific approaches for attracting female voters by considering them as a separate

\(^5\) https://www.boell.de/en/2014/03/19/limits-youth-vote-indian-elections
niche-type segment. In line with the women empowerment, women over the years have become more conscious about their rights and are participating in the voting system to ensure that their rights are addressed by political parties with adequate emphasis. In recent Assembly Elections in 2016 conducted in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Puducherry, political parties promised the banning of sale and subsequent consumption of alcohol and the safety for women, the two very important generic wishes of Indian women in general.\textsuperscript{51} It sounded beneficial to some segments of voters, specifically women voters.

Commercial marketers are always in search of factors which can mould the behaviour of the prospective customers in their favour. STP strategies are formulated to identify homogeneous groups of customers in terms of taste and preferences, to target some of the segments after considering the vision, resources of the organisation and other internal and external environmental factors, and to come up with product and service offerings suitable for the target segments and to communicate the uniqueness of the offerings. In case of Indian politics, political marketers are also supposed to be in search of factors which can easily persuade the voters in their favour. As far as political mobilisation in India is concerned, religion, caste, and language seem to be the most effective factors even long after the successful implementation of electoral democracy. As a result, candidates of different political parties resorted to develop strategies and tactics at different points of time. Some argue that emphasis on ‘Hindutva’ played a vital role for the emergence of BJP as a successful political party. The party proclaims that ‘Hindutva’ doesn’t symbolise any Hindu theocracy or theology rather, it acts as the guiding principles of Bharat.\textsuperscript{52} It is also argued that the emergence of BJP exemplifies the exploitations of this sentiment that has yielded electoral dividend. To support this argument, the example of BJP’s campaign to construct Ram Mandir at Ayodhya is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51} \url{http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/women-voters-wield-power-in-indias-elections}
\item \textsuperscript{52} \url{http://www.bjp.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=369:hindutva-the-great-nationalist-ideology&Itemid=501}
\end{itemize}
cited and this is one of the main reasons that has resulted in significant increase in the number of Lok Sabha seats won by BJP from 2 in 1984 to 85 in 1989 is considered as the effect of the movement.53

Caste is another factor which is used judiciously by some of the political parties. In many states, caste politics is very much apparent. But most animated form of caste politics is very much evident in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In these two states, candidates are selected on the basis of caste configurations. Ms. Mayawati, the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the leader of Bahujan Samaj Party, has been successful in using caste politics to mobilise dalit votes and is viewed as ultra-pro-dalit. She argued before the 2007 assembly elections in UP that seat share should be proportional to the population. In Bihar, large number of candidates from backward class was given tickets since backward class and Mahadalits account for 40% of the state’s population. Badri Narain, an expert on dalit issues, opined that caste factor certainly defined the performance of the political parties in the past elections. Dominant caste always enjoyed higher share in power in Haryana. Since Jats account for 25% of the state’s electorate, 13 out of 20 governments were led by Chief Ministers from Jat community. Political parties in Punjab are aware of the importance of 32% scheduled caste communities in the state. The population in Rajasthan has 55% backward castes and 21% upper castes. So it is quite evident that political parties try hard to use the caste factor to mobilise vote.54 So, from the political marketing point of view, Indian political parties have conceptualised the concept of segmentation to categorise voters on the basis of caste and religion. Political leaders are frequently seen to wear local dresses and are heard to use local languages while campaigning to make the people of the locality identify themselves with the political leader and the party. Moreover, the heritage, culture and the achievements of that particular locality and its people are praised in

the campaign to please the electorate of that region. Some promises are made to do something very significant for the locality after coming to power. Political parties make sure that promises made in different regions and localities must suit the overall conditions, sentiments, and aspirations of the people of those regions and localities. This is the way political parties try to cater to different homogeneous segments of voters. As discussed above, religion and caste can also be considered as important segmenting variables for identifying the segments of voters. Political parties can identify a variable through which segments will be identified. The segmenting variable can be of different types. The types of variables change with the change in situations. Once the segments of voters are identified, some of the segments of the voters will be targeted on the basis of how much lucrative and accessible the segments are and how well segments can be served by the political parties. After the decisions are taken about target segments, political parties come up with strategies for each target segment.

Indian political parties cannot win elections by ignoring the poor sections of the society. They will have to come up with promises and issues which sound beneficial to the poor sections. Political parties try to create an image that they are always in favour of underprivileged section of the society. Too much facility given to corporate sector in terms of tax benefit and other at the cost the development of the underprivileged section of the society hampers the image of the political parties as saviour of poor. Political parties understand this reality and they end up criticising each other for favouring the corporate sector and depriving the general people. It is similar to the positioning strategies by the commercial companies to create a distinct place in the mind of the target customers. If each and every brand is considered by the consumers as same, there is no guarantee that a consumer selects a particular brand. In the same way if each and every political party is considered by voters as favouring the corporate, no political party can create distinct place in the minds of the voters on this aspect. BJP government at the centre under Mr. Narendra Modi and Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee and previous Congress governments have been
criticised several times by the opposition for giving benefits to corporate in terms of giving tax benefits, allowing corporate defaulters to move scot-free. BJP also criticised Congress for helping corporate in their regime in response to the allegations made by Mr. Rahul Gandhi, The Congress president. National secretary of BJP accused that bad loans increased by 132 per cent during the tenure of Congress only as a result of the gift worth Rs. 36 lakh crore presented to the corporate by Congress.55

Symbols of the political parties are almost like symbols of brands in case of commercial products and services. Symbol is a part of branding. Consumers recognise a brand looking at the symbol. In the same way voters recognise a political party by looking at the symbol of that party. In a country like India where significant portion of the population is illiterate, the importance of symbols increases manifold. Illiterate people in villages and towns recognise a political party looking at the symbols only at the time of voting. Symbols become identity for each and every political party. It is also a part of political branding. During the campaign political parties remind voters time and again about the symbol they should choose.56

Political parties should be careful before selecting a symbol and make sure that the symbol does not hurt any community or religion. In the Indian political system, every political party gets their symbols approved by the Election Commission of India after thorough scrutiny. If there is any change in symbol, there is a high chance that voters will get confused.

Positive and strong brand image of the commercial products is the result of effective and innovative implementation of marketing strategies. Commercial marketers are in search of signals and cues through which consumers develop perceptions about the product. If marketers are able create signals and cues strong enough to develop positive image about the product, brand equity is expected to develop. In case of political parties, the product is complex and conceptually difficult to unbundle. Here

creation of political brand is the result of the type of leaders present in the party, the performance and life-style of the party leaders, the current and past performance of the political party, the activities and behaviour of the party workers and many others. If a political party claims to represent common people as well as underprivileged section of the society but the leaders of that party maintain a luxurious life style and workers of party follow a life-style much higher than the common people, the credibility of that party is likely to get affected and brand image of that party is likely to tarnish. In some pockets in India, the local party offices conduct the activities of the party in more effectively by keeping in touch with the local people more intensely. If the modern structure and expensive architecture of the local party offices do not represent the common people of the locality, the party will get alienated from the mass and that is again harmful for the image of the party. Action should be taken by the political party against the leaders who are following the lifestyle which is against the ideology of the party. It can send a positive signal to the voters. Communist Party of India (Marxist) suspended one of its Rajya Sabha MP for his lavish lifestyle.57

Making use of national sentiments and patriotism are the tactics to create a positive image of the political party. Indian National Congress (INC) was directly involved in the Indian Freedom Struggle and had been occupying a distinct place as the freedom fighter in the minds of the Indian electorate even after the Indian independence. This is the kind of strategic advantage which came to Congress naturally. Other parties could not enjoy this benefit because most of the other political parties did not have as strong distinct identity as Congress had. They mostly used the platform created by The Congress before independence. So, after the independence these political parties tried hard to use national sentiments and patriotism to create a positive image in the minds of electorate. BJP emphasised on old Indian heritage and used the word “Bharat Mata” in their campaigns to

57 https://scroll.in/article/840095/bengal-mp-is-suspended-for-lavish-lifestyle-leading-to-the-question-who-is-an-ideal-communist
show its concern for India as a whole. Maintaining belligerency with Pakistan has been a tactics for most of the parties who were in power in centre at different points of time. Parties expect to get support from the electorate if steps are taken against Pakistan or at least verbal attack on Pakistan is underway. Taking some steps against Pakistan is promoted very subtly by political parties as a symbol of patriotism. So any strong step against Pakistan will, political parties think, be highly accepted by electorate as a move towards patriotism. Intimation about the recent surgical attack against Pakistan through press conference can be considered as promotion of patriotic activities and prioritisation of national interest by the central government can be considered as concern for the nation. People are always sympathetic towards those who are in army because they protect us all the time from internal and external enemies at the cost of their life. Showing concern and announcing some benefits for people who are in Indian Army seems to receive positive feedback from the electorate. Prompt action by the government after any natural disaster and helping people in need are always accepted by the electorate. Just like the companies try to create positive image in the mind of the prospective consumers through their performance in the field of corporate social responsibilities, political parties indirectly promote themselves and try to create a positive image in the minds of the electorate through the activities using national sentiments. In both the cases, benefits accrue gradually in the long run.

Creation of national image by portraying the positive aspects of our country to the world and presenting the problems faced by the country because of the activities of the neighbouring countries in the international arena bring dividend to the parties in power at the centres. This has been observed in the actions taken by various Prime Ministers belonging to different parties although, the degrees and extent varied. Presently, we are observing how the Prime Minister of India, is constantly in the process of maintaining strategic relationship with different countries of the world through foreign policies. He is trying hard to establish his stand against terrorism and prove the direct link of Pakistan with the terrorism in the
international platform. In his lectures in different countries, he argued with the help of relevant data and information that our country was prospering and would become very important economic force in the years to come. To this end, experts are of the opinion that Mr. Modi has more visibly marketed his country than the previous prime ministers while maintaining the same trajectory of previous leaders (Pillalamarri, 2017). This seems to have positive impact on the educated electorate who are conversant with the India’s role in international platform. This educated class, in turn, influences the general electorate through different physical and virtual interactions. Leaders at the local level are in the process of informing the electorate about the fruits of these foreign policies though different meeting and rallies.

Variety of all kinds is a feature of our country. Commercial marketers acknowledge this reality and prepare different contents for promotion materials targeted for different segments of customers. Contents of the promotion materials are decided based on positioning strategies for different target segments. In the same way, in case of Indian politics, same language, words, promise, presentation, and approach will not work for all kinds of voters. This is the reason why campaign materials of homogeneous character may not work for all kinds of voters. Voters from educated section of the society prefer a kind of language and words which may not be accepted by the other sections of the voters.

India is a secular country but religion has been a very hot issue in Indian elections from the very beginning. Political parties have been using religion to increase their share of vote. In some cases political parties are criticised by the opposition to favour a particular religion or community to assure certain percentage of votes. It can also be strategy to identify a segment of the market based on religion and catering to that segment to get electoral benefit. It is termed as religious ‘appeasement’. In other cases, political parties are criticised by opposition for creating hatred among people for a particular religion or community and are held responsible for communal riots at different points of time. This aspect is also the part of
political product because one of the elements of political product is past activities and record of political party. This phenomenon is similar to the cases of commercial marketing where each and every brand tries to establish its superiority over its competitors. In the process of establishing superiority, features of the competitor’s brands are criticised without taking the names of the competitor’s brands directly. The only difference is that in political market, competitors are criticised directly. As far as religious appeasement is concerned there are different examples cited in different articles published either in newspapers, websites, or in academic journals. The ban on Satanic Verses written by Mr. Salman Rushdie in 1988 in India even before the religious edict came from the community, the silence of political leaders of Kolkata during Left regime when there was violent protest again the physical presence of Ms. Taslima Nasreen in the city in 2007, cancellation of Mr. Salman Rushdie’s visit to Jaipur Literary Festival in the state of Rajasthan in 2012 showing the security reasons have been highlighted as instances of religious appeasements (Singh 2012).

4.5 Conclusion

Different facets of political marketing identified from literature have been discussed above in the light of Indian political environment. The relevance and the practice of the identified facets have been analysed in the Indian context with the help of the examples from Indian politics collected from different news and articles from reputed newspapers and websites. It is one kind of content analysis to contextualise the identified facets. It is quite evident that political parties of India have mainly used the marketing tools and techniques which are applied mainly to promote product or service in commercial business. Promotion is only a part of whole marketing process. Other conceptual aspects of marketing were ignored or political parties were not in a mental state to apply those in politics. Moreover, it has been observed that only larger national parties have used marketing tools more than the regional parties. Some of the regional parties have been observed to use marketing tools in a discrete manner but this is
not the general trend in Indian politics. Moreover, political parties which have used or have been using marketing tools mainly focussed and spent maximum portion of the publicity budget on promoting the most important leader as a brand. If marketing philosophy is to be applied in politics in its true sense, the wants and aspirations of the final user of political service i.e. voters must be given prime importance. All the political marketing activities should be conducted to properly address these wants and aspirations. Indian political parties have not considered it. No concrete evidence has been found in this analysis which can prove that political parties in India with the help of voter opinion survey have tried to know what voters are looking for or what factors are important for voters to judge a political party. This proves the lack of research in Political marketing from Indian context. Apart from that, all the so called marketing activities are beefed up only before elections. It is not carried out throughout the year. Overall impression about a political party develops with the activities throughout the year. Sudden promotional activities cannot guarantee an association between voters and political parties. Political parties should very much active in monitoring and controlling different kinds of activities of political leaders and activists throughout the year which hamper the image of the party. What is offered by the political parties to the voters is quite similar to the concept of service in case of commercial business. Aspects of service marketing are very relevant in political marketing in India. Different additional aspects of service marketing must be given importance by Indian political parties to develop positive image. It is concluded from this analysis that political parties in India are yet to adopt the political marketing in its true sense. This adoption will materialise if political parties really internalise the concept of political marketing and proceed to implement this by making some ground-breaking changes within the party as well as in the activities of the party outside.
5.1 Introduction

As discussed in detail in the research methodology chapter, the research scheme has been divided into four perspectives. The contextual perspective has already been discussed in the previous chapter which dealt with the different aspects of political marketing in India with respect to the 7Ps framework. In this chapter, we will analyse Perspective II, III, and IV from an integrative viewpoint. These three perspectives are analysed in the same chapter because of their close relationships. Perspective II (Contributory Perspective) comprises the opinions of the social scientists and journalists. Perspective III (Fundamental Perspective) deals with the opinions of the marketing experts. Finally, perspective IV (Manifestation Perspective) is derived directly from perspective III and it considers the opinions of the political consumers or voters. The contributory perspective is important because of the interdisciplinary character of political marketing and perspective from social science and journalists help us understand the outer domain of political marketing. The fundamental perspective is core to the understanding of political marketing because it relates the core theoretical aspects of marketing with political environment and voting. The manifestation perspective is the outcome of the fundamental perspective since there is need to see the extent to which the factors of political marketing get translated into voting decisions and how voters perceive these issues. Altogether, these three perspectives give a holistic view of political marketing.
5.2 Political Marketing in India: The Contributory Perspective

This perspective is based on the opinions of experts from the field of political science, sociology and journalism. As has already been explained in detail in the research methodology chapter, 150 faculty members of political science and sociology and 50 journalists were randomly selected and the questionnaire was sent for their valuable responses. Sixty two (62) responses were collected from the social scientist and journalists from all over India. The break-up of respondents in case of perspective II is given in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Break-up of the respondents relating to the Contributory Perspective of political marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number of Questionnaires</th>
<th>Responses received</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Scientists</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Faculty members of Political Science and Sociology)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously discussed in the methodology section, as a prerequisite for undertaking exploratory factor analysis for identification of factors relating to the Contributory Perspective of political marketing, KMO measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s test of sphericity have been carried out and the results have been exhibited in table 5.2. Factor analysis has been carried out in an iterative manner, the details of which have been discussed subsequently in this section. The responses have been tabulated in order to use it for statistical analysis using the SPSS software. In the initial phase, mean and standard deviations of all the 56 items were determined. Items having mean value less than 3 (<3) were removed at the first stage. Fourteen (14) items were removed in this stage following this procedure. In the second stage, items having standard deviations greater than 1.2 (>1.2) were removed. Only one item was removed following this procedure. In the third stage, anti-image Correlation matrix was used under factor analysis. Items having anti-image correlation value of less than 0.3...
(<0.3) were removed. Four items were removed following this procedure. Factor analysis was run in the next stage and the process of iteration continued until all the remaining items had a factor loading value greater than or equal to ($\geq 0.5$). The ultimate result of the factor analysis comprised 26 items that congregated into eight factors and the rotation converged in 11 iterations. The results of KMO and Bartlett’s Test of sphericity have been depicted in table 5.2.

**Table 5.2:** KMO measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity related to the Contributory Perspective of political marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.</th>
<th>Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Approx. Chi-Square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Df</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.728</td>
<td>834.924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from the table that KMO measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity are satisfactory and hence factor analysis can be carried out.

Based on the items that make up each factor, the eight factors under contributory perspective have been named. The construct reliability values of the different factors as measured through Cronbach’s alpha are shown in table 5.3. It is evident from the table that all the factors have satisfactory values of Cronbach’s alpha which signify the strength of the identified factors considered under this perspective. Since the last factor has one item, the question of computation of reliability value does not arise. According to experts, in social science research, Cronbach’s alpha values greater than 0.7 are desirable. In this case, out of the eight factors, seven factors have Cronbach’s alpha values greater 0.7 which signify that the “set of variables or items measures a single, unidimensional, latent construct” (Andrew, Pedersen, & McEvoy, 2011; 202). Hence, we conclude that each of the seven factors connotes a particular aspect under the contributory perspective of political marketing and substantially contributes to an effective understanding of the contributing aspects of political marketing in India.
Table 5.4: Factors and Items of the Contributory Perspective of Political Marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 1 (Public Perception and Expectations)</th>
<th>Factor 2 (Socio-Political Ambience)</th>
<th>Factor 3 (Social connectedness and Image)</th>
<th>Factor 4 (Party Aggression and Encroachment)</th>
<th>Factor 5 (Party Propaganda)</th>
<th>Factor 6 (Political Mobilisation)</th>
<th>Factor 7 (Party Organisation and Ethos)</th>
<th>Factor 8 (Welfare Activities)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Role of political leaders and workers in solving problems of the locality</td>
<td>1. General law and order including protection of women</td>
<td>1. Relentless Contact of party workers with people</td>
<td>1. Hooliganism of party workers in locality</td>
<td>1. Influencing and convincing speech of the party leaders in media</td>
<td>1. Election rallies of political parties before elections</td>
<td>1. Strong organisation of the party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Participation of political parties in cultural, social, and sports activities</td>
<td>3. Honesty and clean image of the top leaders</td>
<td>3. Overall corruption of the party</td>
<td>3. Excessive interference of political parties in private affairs</td>
<td>3. Addressing issues of industrialisation and employment</td>
<td>3. Addressing issues of industrialisation and employment</td>
<td>3. Addressing issues of industrialisation and employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 2 (Socio-Political Ambience)</td>
<td>Factor 3 (Social connectedness and Image)</td>
<td>Factor 4 (Party Aggression and Encroachment)</td>
<td>Factor 5 (Party Propaganda)</td>
<td>Factor 6 (Political Mobilisation)</td>
<td>Factor 7 (Party Organisation and Ethos)</td>
<td>Factor 8 (Welfare Activities)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1. Influencing and convincing speech of the party leaders in media</td>
<td>1. Election rallies of political parties before elections</td>
<td>1. Strong organisation of the party</td>
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<td>3. Addressing issues of industrialisation and employment</td>
<td>3. Addressing issues of industrialisation and employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Good governance</td>
<td>4. Belief in the ideology of the political party</td>
<td>4. Obidient Administration under the control of the ruling party</td>
<td>4. Decent way of speaking of party leaders in public sphere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Party workers helping people in need</td>
<td>5. Rigging and violence of party workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Behaviour of party workers at local level</td>
<td>6. Role of political leaders and workers in solving problems of the locality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Construct Reliability of the Factors of the Contributory Perspective of Political Marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Perception and Expectations</td>
<td>0.851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political Ambience</td>
<td>0.776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social connectedness and Image</td>
<td>0.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Aggression and Encroachment</td>
<td>0.719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Propaganda</td>
<td>0.666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Mobilisation</td>
<td>0.787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Organisation and Ethos</td>
<td>0.796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Activities</td>
<td>0.750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the light of the satisfactory values of KMO measure of Sampling Adequacy, Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity and Construct reliability, we shall now discuss the details of the factors associated with the contributory perspective. The details of the factors extracted through factor analysis have been exhibited in Table 5.4.

As shown in table 5.3 and 5.4, we have been able to extract eight factors associated with contributory aspect of political marketing. The first factor has been named as *public perception and expectations* and this factor accounts for maximum percentage of variance explained (28.67%) and carries the highest reliability value (0.851). So, this factor can be considered as the most important one as per the opinions of the social scientists and journalists. One of the aspects considered under this factor is the role of political leaders and workers in solving problems of the locality. Political parties are supposed to offer services to the people at the local level and local people elect the representatives of the locality in the expectations that their problems can be solved with the intervention of the political representatives and the workers of the locality. It is not always possible for the local people to communicate their local problems to the higher administration or top leaders of the political party. It is the responsibility of the local leaders and workers to put in serious and honest effort to see whether the problems can be solved at the local level with the help of local administration and local party activists. If the solution to the problems needs the intervention of the higher administration or top leaders, local leaders can take the suggestions of the leaders at the higher level or seek help from the higher administration using the top leaders of the party. Local people are concerned with the solution to the existing problems and if the problems are sorted out by local leaders and workers, they seem to get satisfied and are supposed to develop a positive image about the political party to which these leaders and workers belong. Another aspect considered under this factor is the image of the local leaders of the locality. Common people generally do not get to see the regular activities or interact with the top leaders of the political parties but they observe the local leaders and activists of the political parties more frequently.
They are expected to develop the image about the political parties looking at the activities of the local leaders. As a consequence, the image of the local leaders helps create perception about the political party. If the local leaders are perceived to be dishonest in the locality, there is every chance that local people do not develop a very favourable image about the political party to which these local leaders belong. From the political marketing point of view, local leaders should be very much cautious before getting involved in any kind of activity that can tarnish their image in the locality. The third item under this important factor is the participation of political parties in cultural, social, and sports activities. Cordial relations among people are expected to develop through participations in different cultural, social, and sports activities. Political parties are expected to connect with the people more intensely if they organise cultural, social, and sports activities involving people irrespective of political opinions. People seem to spontaneously participate and the objective of making fruitful contact with the people is expected to be achieved in a way which is enjoyable and seems to be acceptable to the maximum number of the people in the locality. There is a chance that the people who used to have negative opinions about a particular political party can start thinking about that party from a positive mindset.

Good governance is another aspect covered under this factor. Good governance results in impartial as well as professional handling of important public issues. It is the expectation of most of the people from the governments led by different political parties at different points of time. Good governance has far reaching implications because the benefits of good governance are enjoyed by most of the people, not only by the creamy layers of the society. The importance of good governance lies in the fact that it mitigates the day-to-day sufferings of people from all walks of life. So, ensuring good governance seems to create a strong positive image of the party or parties in power. The fifth aspect under this factor is the help offered by the party workers to the people in need of it. People always remember those people who offer help when it is badly needed. Political parties can establish a sustained positive image in the minds of the local people if help
is offered at the right time. People can suffer from various kinds of personal, economic, and social problems. Sometimes, people are in tremendous problems when natural disasters hit. Impartial help from political parties to the affected people can immediately improve their image and this positive image is expected last for a long period of time. The much needed help establishes an emotional bond between the political party and the problem affected people. Moreover, people who are not among the people receiving help from the political parties directly are also expected to develop positive feelings about the political party by observing this noble deed. These direct and indirect effects can pay dividend in the elections. The last aspect considered under this factor is the behaviour of the party workers at the local level. People are known by their behaviour. Inability to do something can sometimes be forgiven considering the polite way it is communicated. Good behaviour of an individual can attract people and rough behaviour alienates even the close acquaintances. Political leaders at the local level should consider this fact. Everyone has self respect and no one can tolerate insult. If political leaders at the local level abuse local people through bad behaviour, even good works will not be recognised by the people. Each bad behaviour adds to the grievances against the political parties and the accumulated grievance ultimately turns into hatred against the political parties and impacts the electoral outcome.

We have named second factor as socio-political ambience that accounts for 10.80% of the variance explained and has a reliability value of 0.756. This is the second most important factor. The first aspect considered under this factor is the general law and order situation including protection of women. Law and order situation is a barometer through which the performance of the government is frequently measured. Deteriorating law and order situation is something which all the people suffer from and people immediately develop negative perceptions about the government for this kind of law and order situation. Apart from that, corporate organisations will not show their interest in establishing or in expanding their business activities in an area where law and order situation is under question. This
will lead to non-availability of jobs and result in consequent grievance among youth. The cascading effect of the deteriorating law and order situation should be considered by all the political parties if they want the support of the people. Women’s safety and honour being a core value of a given society, protection of women is a very much vital part of law and order. If women are not safe, the image of the government is bound to get tarnished because every family will start feeling unsafe and this feeling will act severely against the government and ultimately against the political party or parties in power. So, state governments must ensure good law and situation to win the heart of the electorate. The next aspect covered under this factor is the sudden revelation of corruption before election. This is very pertinent in the Indian context because it had been observed several times in the past that corruption charges against one or more political parties were surfaced just before elections. Corruption charges against political leaders are something which people seem to believe very easily and these charges are floated before elections because memory of the people is very short-lived. If corruption charges surface well before elections, people may not consider them while taking the final voting decision. Moreover, if revelation takes place just before elections, the accused leaders of the political party or parties as a whole do not get sufficient time to defend themselves and by the time counter strategies are devised, elections come and dividend is enjoyed by the other party or parties. Honesty and clean image of the top party leaders is the 3rd aspect considered under this factor. Honesty is considered as a virtue and it is appreciated by all the people. Honest people and organisations comprising honest people receive the respect and love of the common people. Political leaders and organisations cannot be free from this consideration. If a political party comprises leaders with honest and clean image, the perception about that political party is bound to improve. Political system in general and political leaders in particular are criticised quite often for involvement in different kinds of corruptions. Revelation of corruptions by political leaders in media on different occasions seems to validate the suspicion of common people that political ambience is getting vitiated with
the poison of corruption. People are constantly in search of honest leaders and honest political parties. In this background, honest leaders with clean image get the attention and respect of the common people more easily than before. Political parties with honest leaders can make a distinct identity in electoral politics and earn dividends in different elections. To improve the performance in electoral politics, political parties should do something very significant to give an impression to the people that honesty is the major focus. Another aspect of this factor is the belief in the ideology of the political party. There are some political parties with significant percentage of strong supporters who have faith in the ideology of the party. If these political parties deviate from their ideology very much, even these strong supporters seem to turn the face. One may argue that in this era of consumerism, people are always in favour of those political parties which give them material benefits. But it is not to be ignored that there are still some percentage of people who assign more priority to ideology than the political gain measured in terms of tangible benefits. Moreover, belief in ideology seems to earn the respect of common people and even the people who have belief in other ideologies. This shows that strong belief in ideology is even important when it comes to success in electoral politics. The last aspect covered under this factor is the rigging and violence of the party workers. In a democracy, people enjoy the right to vote to elect their representatives and most of the people are very conscious about this democratic right. Political parties have often been criticised for resorting to malpractices in elections in some parts of the country. It is quite expected that whenever these people vote in other elections, they would tend to exercise their mandate against those political parties. Political parties need to pay attention to the fact that electoral malpractices can give them short-term benefits only. It has been observed in some states that violence created by party workers with mobsters vitiate the environment and develop fear psychosis among the people. It may therefore damage the image of the party. However, presently we are witnessing decline in electoral malpractices during election on account of the strict administration of elections. Violence of the party workers in other times also
hampers the image of the political parties. People are generally peace-loving and they expect party workers to maintain peace in the locality. Instead of taking initiative to assure peace in the locality, if the party workers involve themselves in violence, the basic credibility of them would be reduced and this in turn, would affects the image of the concerned political parties. The first three factors account for nearly 50% of cumulative total variance explained. So, the three factors explained above are very much significant as per the opinions of the social scientists and journalists.

The factor entitled *social connectedness and image* is the fourth factor derived after analysing the responses of the social scientists and journalists. The first aspect considered under this factor is the relentless contact of party workers with people. There is a general perception that political leaders meet people and make lucrative promises before elections, but once the elections are over, some leaders are reluctant to meet people and tend to forget the promises made before elections. This has effect on their credibility. However, there are exceptions as well. The reluctance of some leaders not to maintain contact with the masses leads to a gap. This is a gap created by some leaders and political parties and hence there is a scope for political parties to bridge this gap by keeping in touch with the people through their workers. On the other hand, relentless contact with the people in different localities seem to satisfy the electorate and it also helps political parties to know what people aspire and the extent to which the aspirations are fulfilled. Based on these, political parties can formulate strategies at the local level to mitigate grievances of the people in different localities or to satisfy them more if they are more or less satisfied with the existing services by the political parties. The second aspect covered under this factor is the anti-incumbency. If one political party or coalition of different political parties is in power for a long period of time, anti-incumbency is likely to develop. There is a possibility that people may want to give a chance to another party or parties to govern because they have seen the existing government for a quite long period of time. Opposition parties are expected to exploit this feeling and devise strategies accordingly. So, political parties in power should formulate
counter strategies to combat the opposition. Parties in power should be cautious while formulating the strategies. They can put in efforts to convince people that they have provided stable government and a stable government can successfully implement long-term projects and this long stay has enabled them to understand the aspirations of people and to offer them required service. The next aspect considered in this factor is the issue associated with corruption of the party. Corruption is a burning issue in Indian politics and political parties are observed to criticise each other on issue of corruption. People are very much inquisitive and sensitive about the corruption charges. Political parties with a significant corruption charges are expected to lose support of the sizeable portion of the electorate. Any effort taken by political parties to curb corruption seems to get appreciated by the electorate. The last aspect considered under this factor is the subservient administration under the control of the ruling party. People expect impartial attitude from administration. If administration acts on the basis of cues from the ruling party, the trust on neutral administration gets affected and people get disgruntled on account of deficient governance. People may develop a feeling that the unethical, and illicit activities will be either ignored or forgiven if done by the people of the political party. This eventually hampers the image of the party and affects the electoral outcomes.

The factor entitled \textit{party aggression and encroachment} is the fourth factor under the contributory perspective of political marketing. The first aspect considered under this is ‘hooliganism’ of party workers in the locality. Instead of assuring peace in the locality, if party workers of a political party act otherwise, the image of the party is likely to be affected. Involvement of some of the workers in the locality malign the image of all the party workers and eventually the image of the party. Keeping this in mind, Indian political parties should take strong action against those involved in negative activities. Some political parties in India are quite aware of this issue and try to save the image of the party. Political interference in education is the second aspect under this factor. Political parties are also observed to be criticised for their interference in education.
in terms of making changes in academic syllabus, appointment/nomination to the compliant people for different important academic and administrative posts in educational institutes. It is a common phenomenon of the Indian political system. People still have respect for academic institutions and autonomy of the academic institutions is appreciated by them. This kind of unsolicited interference in education seems to create displeasure among the electorate. Political parties need to be more cautious about it. The last aspect considered under this factor is the excessive interference of political parties in private affairs. People expect service from political parties but they do not want political parties to interfere in private affairs until and unless political parties are requested to do so. There are many cases where political parties mainly in some rural areas of India give verdict on issues like love affairs, marriage and many other private issues. It is unlikely to be taken by the people positively and can create grudge against the political party.

The fifth factor is entitled as party propaganda. The first aspect considered under this factor is influencing and convincing speech of party leaders in electronic media. The role of media has gradually become very important in terms of shaping public opinion on different important issues. Political parties in recent times have no other option but to consider this reality seriously. The reach of media has also increased manifold in recent past. People, even in the villages, watch news and political debates in electronic media. Convincing speech of party leaders in electronic media can influence the opinions of the common people. When speech is delivered in the electronic media, the presentation, mode of talking and preparedness become very much important. The way issues are addressed seems to become more important than what issues are communicated. The second aspect considered under this factor is the mobilising party workers in patriotic activities. People are generally very sensitive and emotional about the national image and the political parties which involve themselves in patriotic activities with the help of their workers seem to get the support of the electorate. Paying respect to freedom fighters who sacrificed their life,
observation of Independence day, Republic day, and other important days associated with freedom struggle are some of the activities people are taken in a very positive way. Political parties showing love and concern for the nation can be expected to earn the support of the electorate and this support can be turned into electoral gains.

The sixth extracted factor is political mobilisation. The first aspect considered here is election rallies of political parties before elections. Election rallies are part and parcel of Indian elections. Well-decorated election rallies by different political parties have become the identity of electoral politics. Long election rallies with huge number of people are expected to catch the attention of the common people. Different kinds of slogans are used to communicate the agendas of the parties to the people. These rallies also signify the strength of support base and the dominance of the political parties. Indecisive voters can anticipate the chance of electoral success of political parties looking at the election rallies and use it as an input to make the final voting decision. Overall campaign of the political parties is the second aspect considered under this factor. There are many elements in election campaign. Hoardings at the vital points of the locality, wall paintings, posters, street corners, meetings organised at the local levels, candidate visits are some of the techniques used in political campaigns. Political campaign at the local level can be very effective in communicating the agendas of political parties to the local people and in clarifying the political stand of the party. Local grievances can also be addressed while meeting the local people through locally organised meetings. The more the campaign materials are present in the locality, the more is the chance that people perceive strength of the political parties. It is the part of the promotion of the political parties. Promotional activities in the electronic media are not considered under campaign.

The seventh factor considered in the contributory perspective is the party organisation and ethos. The first aspect considered under this factor is the strong organisation of the political party. Strong organisation helps political parties establish a network through which deviation of party
workers of any kind can be identified early and remedial actions can be taken. Apart from this organisational benefit, political parties with strong organisation can make regular contact with the electorate at every level. Information on any kind of grievances of the local people and the activity of the opposition parties is available to the appropriate authority of the party within a very short period of time because information pass through the hierarchy of the party smoothly. Once the information on grievance is obtained, it is easier to take corrective measures at an early stage. Information on the activities of the opposition parties in different localities help formulate counter strategies. Moreover, law and order problems of any kind can be immediately addressed by the political parties with strong organisation. People affected by natural disasters like flood, earthquake can be given different kinds of supports on an immediate basis by the political parties if political parties have strong organisation. These outcomes that emerge on account of strong organisation seem to create a positive image in the mind of the electorate. The second aspect covered under this factor is discipline within the party. Discipline within the political parties ensures the disciplined behaviour of the party workers. In a disciplined political party, if party workers are found to be involved in any kind of unacceptable activity, there are formal procedures to investigate the matter and to punish the guilty. This disciplined activity can create identity of the political parties. People also develop positive feelings about the parties. If discipline is not there, party workers get the freedom to do whatever they like and political parties cannot control them. These uncontrolled party workers or activists can hamper the image of the political parties. The third aspect under this factor is addressing issues of industrialisation and employment. The problem of industrialisation and consequent employment are most important issues in Indian elections. It is quite evident from the history of Indian elections that political parties had made and have been making promises of employment before elections. This promise is easily accepted by general people. Specifically, the support of youth is easy to get if this issue is addressed by any political party. Several Indian political
parties frequently promise industrialisation and employment but if sincere attempts to fulfil this promise are not evident, the unrest among youth seems to generate. We have observed this phenomenon in different states in India. Political parties should be sincere enough before making this kind of promise. The last aspect identified under this factor is the decent way of speaking of party leaders in public sphere. In Indian society, decency is highly appreciated and, as a result, decent people are very much accepted. The same is true for political leaders. The connect with the people will be more effective if party leaders address people decently. Decent way of speaking can mitigate many kinds of grievances of the people. This mode of talking seems to impress people and positive feelings are expected to develop. There are many examples where leaders of Indian political parties are known for their capability of public speaking. It is an art and political parties should emphasise to train leaders for public speaking. These are the issue that emerge in the context of the contributory perspective of political marketing in India.

5.3 Political Marketing in India: The Fundamental Perspective

The fundamental perspective of political marketing in India has been conceptualised in the light of the core issues associated with political marketing in the light of the opinions of experts in marketing. Seventy-two (74) responses were collected from the faculty members of marketing and marketing professionals. The break-up of respondents is given below in table 5.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Questionnaire sent</th>
<th>Responses received</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Members (Marketing)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Professionals</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>215</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
<td><strong>34%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5: Break-up of the respondents relating to the Fundamental Perspective of Political Marketing
The responses were properly tabulated in order to use statistical software for analysis. SPSS software has been used to analyse the data collected through questionnaire. In the initial phase, mean and standard deviations of all the 57 items were determined. Items having mean value less than 3 (<3) were removed at the first stage. One item was removed in this stage following this procedure. In the second stage, items having standard deviations greater than 1.2 (>1.2) were removed. Five items were removed following this procedure. In the third stage, anti-imaging technique was used under factor analysis. Items having anti-image correlation value of less than 0.3 (<0.3) were removed. Seven items were removed following this procedure. Factor analysis was run in the next stage and the process of iteration continued until and unless all the remaining items had a factor loading value greater than or equal to (≥0.5). The ultimate result of the factor analysis comprised 43 items that congregated into nine factors and the rotation converged in 45 iterations. The results of KMO measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s test of sphericity have been exhibited in table 5.6

| Table 5.6: KMO Measure of sampling Adequacy and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity relating to the Fundamental Perspective of political marketing. |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. | 0.695           |
| Approx. Chi-Square                               | 2009.251        |
| Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity                    | Df 903          |
|                                                | Sig. .000       |

It is evident from table 5.6 that we have obtained satisfactory values of KMO measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s test of sphericity. The construct reliability values of the different factors under the fundamental perspective as measured through Cronbach’s alpha are shown in table 5.7. It is evident from the table that all the factors have satisfactory values of Cronbach’s alpha which signify that the strength of the identified factors considered under the fundamental perspective. Since the last factor has one
item, the question of computation of reliability value does not arise. As previously discussed, Cronbach’s alpha values greater than 0.7 are desirable. In this case, all the factors considered have Cronbach’s alpha values greater than 0.7 which imply that the “set of variables or items measures a single, unidimensional, latent construct” (Andrew, Pedersen and McEvoy, 2011:202). Hence, we conclude that each of the factors denotes a particular aspect under the fundamental perspective of political marketing and substantially contributes to an effective understanding of the fundamental aspects of political marketing in India.

**Table 5.7: Construct Reliability of the Factors of the Fundamental Perspective of Political Marketing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Governance and image transparent</td>
<td>0.880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters’ Preference Analysis</td>
<td>0.799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Communication and Façade</td>
<td>0.795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Friend in need’ Approach</td>
<td>0.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Political Marketing</td>
<td>0.778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elitist leaning</td>
<td>0.722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Political Activities</td>
<td>0.749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reputation</td>
<td>0.718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the light of the satisfactory results of KMO measure of Sampling Adequacy, Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity and Construct reliability, we shall now discuss the different factors under the fundamental perspective. The factors and the different aspects comprising the fundamental perspective of political marketing are given in the table 5.9 below. Descriptions of all the nine factors are given in section 5.4 of this chapter.
Table 5.8: Factors and items associated with the Fundamental Perspective of Political Marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 1 (Political Governance and image transparency)</th>
<th>Factor 2 (Voters' Preference Analysis)</th>
<th>Factor 3 (Political Communication and façade)</th>
<th>Factor 4 ('Friend in need' Approach)</th>
<th>Factor 5 (Internal Political Marketing)</th>
<th>Factor 6 (Elitist leaning)</th>
<th>Factor 7 (Contemporary Political Activities)</th>
<th>Factor 8 (Reputation)</th>
<th>Factor 9 (Ideology)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Corruption of party leaders sending negative signals</td>
<td>1. Candidate testing and consequent voter segmentation</td>
<td>1. The approach and mode of talking of party leaders</td>
<td>1. Help from party activists at the right time.</td>
<td>1. Communication and conduct of party programme like conferences</td>
<td>1. Type of conveyance used by party leaders</td>
<td>1. Past credentials and credibility of rank and file</td>
<td>1. Dominating and intimidating attitude of local party activists</td>
<td>1. Dominating and intimidating attitude of local party activists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Strong action against indiscipline</td>
<td>2. Promise of employment</td>
<td>2. Deliberations of party leaders and sympathisers in electronic media</td>
<td>2. Different promotional strategies for loyal and floating voters</td>
<td>2. Regular training sessions for party workers</td>
<td>2. Too much facilities given to corporate sector</td>
<td>2. Expertise and creativity of ad agencies</td>
<td>2. Expertise and creativity of ad agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Political alliance</td>
<td>5. National image improving activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Involvement of party workers in violence</td>
<td>5. Involvement of party workers in violence</td>
<td>5. Involvement of party workers in violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Party organisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Favouritism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Overall image of the local leaders and activists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 Difference between Relevance and Practice of Political Marketing in India in the light of the Fundamental Perspective

It has already been discussed in the methodology section that the questionnaire administered among the marketing experts comprises items wherein experts have been requested to give their opinions on the relevance as well as practice of each item. Hence, corresponding to each item we have been able to obtain two sets of values, one signifying the relevance and the other denoting the practice. Now, based on the results of factor analysis as described in the previous section (section 5.3), we have considered the items that fall under each factor separately for relevance and practice. In other words, same set of items falling under each factor has been clubbed separately under relevance and practice. Thus, we have two sets of factors, each set comprising nine factors. Accordingly, paired t-test has been employed to find out, for each factor, whether there is any statistically significant gap between the relevance of the factor and how much it is practised by the Indian political parties.

The result of the paired t-test is given in the table 5.9. Here, all the factors (factor 1 to factor 9) correspond to the nine factors identified after analysing the responses of the marketing experts and mentioned in table number 5.8. Here 1 represents Relevance of the factor in political marketing and 2 represents the practice of same the factor in Indian politics. For example, Factor 1R means the relevance of factor 1 in political marketing and factor 1P means practice of factor 1 in Indian politics. This has already been discussed in section 3.8 of research methodology.
Table 5.9: Paired Samples t-test associated with Fundamental perspective of political marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pairs</th>
<th>Paired Differences</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Std. Deviation</td>
<td>Std. Error Mean</td>
<td>90% Confidence Interval of the Difference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Std. Deviation</td>
<td>Std. Error Mean</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor1R - Factor1P</td>
<td>.83634</td>
<td>.85241</td>
<td>.09909</td>
<td>.67125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor2R - Factor2P</td>
<td>.83889</td>
<td>.89923</td>
<td>.10597</td>
<td>.66227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor3R - Factor3P</td>
<td>.65878</td>
<td>.92490</td>
<td>.10752</td>
<td>.47966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor4R - Factor4P</td>
<td>.58559</td>
<td>.88073</td>
<td>.10238</td>
<td>.41502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor5R - Factor5P</td>
<td>1.05856</td>
<td>.86071</td>
<td>.10006</td>
<td>.89187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor6R - Factor6P</td>
<td>.42342</td>
<td>.89357</td>
<td>.10388</td>
<td>.25037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor7R - Factor7P</td>
<td>.59452</td>
<td>.83398</td>
<td>.09761</td>
<td>.43187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor8R - Factor8P</td>
<td>.22297</td>
<td>.81569</td>
<td>.09482</td>
<td>.06500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor9R - Factor9P</td>
<td>.85335</td>
<td>1.02946</td>
<td>.11967</td>
<td>.65198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For all the nine factors, the gap between relevance and practice was statistically significant. The gaps, which are statistically significant, can be the result of the fact that political parties in India do not give proper importance to these factors and are reluctant to practice them in their regular activities. We shall now analyse each factor with reference to the gap between relevance and practice on the basis of the results of paired-t-test. This analysis has been coupled with a description of the nine extracted factors of the fundamental perspective of political marketing.

The first factor under the fundamental perspective of political marketing pertains to political governance and image transparency. This factor accounts for 28.843% of the variance explained and has a reliability value of 0.880 as given in Table 5.7. The factor is very relevant in the Indian context but the way political parties address this factor increases the gap between the relevance and practice. Corruption in the political parties has been a very big issue in different elections. If strong action is not taken against corrupt members, image transparency of the political parties will not be established. It is observed that many cases of corruption have been reported in the past but the Indian political parties were criticised for not taking strong action against the corrupt leaders.
Indiscipline in different forms by the party workers or leaders can have some negative impact on the image of a political party. Action taken against those who are involved in activities signifying indiscipline can improve the image of the political party. Good governance can address these issues. Political parties are frequently criticised for sometimes patronising those individuals who are involved in antisocial and criminal activities. The negative image of the party workers actually hampers the overall image of the political party. The Image and transparency of a political party becomes to some extent believable if the party administration comprises educated and unblemished people. Political parties are likely to be taken very negatively if alliances are formed just to get electoral success. If the political parties change the allies in different situations on the basis of issues not very convincing for voters, there is a chance that the credible image of the political parties may get tarnished. Strong party organisation can help political parties sustain and expand its activities in different areas. Party workers working under strong organisation can devote themselves to be continuously in touch with the electorate to know and understand their problems. Statistically significant gap found in the analysis actually shows that actions mentioned above are not taken care of adequately by Indian political parties.

The second factor, voters’ preference analysis, has emerged as another relevant and important factor when political parties market themselves to political consumers. This factor accounts for 7.72% of the variance explained and has a reliability value of 0.799 as given in Table 5.7. Political parties need to test the acceptance of the candidate to the voters before nominating the candidate in a constituency through scientific survey of the constituency. Otherwise, voters, despite their overall preference for the political party, may not elect the candidate because voters do not like the candidate to be imposed on them. It is not reported that Indian political parties follow a formal process for candidate testing. The techniques of segmentation are frequently applied by the companies to serve the customers in a way that can address the needs and wants more
specifically. Political parties in India are not observed to follow any formal process to apply this technique to segment the voters with the help of relevant factors. Companies which believe in monitoring the changes in test and preference of the consumers and make the required changes in the offerings perform marketing research on a regular basis. Political parties in India should also monitor the changes in the needs and wants of the common man. Political parties can only understand the problems of the common man through political marketing research. Continuous survey of the electorate on important issues arising from changing political environment to get the opinions of the common voters, analysis of the responses in a scientific way, and giving proper importance to the opinions of the voters can be useful in addressing the problems of the common man. People are generally very sensitive about the image of the nation. If activities of any political party contribute towards the enhancement of national image, the image of that political party would improve in the minds of the electorate. In Indian politics, preference analysis of the voters is considered by experts as a relevant factor but the discussions above signify that political parties do not involve themselves much in the activities to understand the preferences of the voters on different issues.

The third factor, Political Communication and Façade (variance explained: 6.30%, reliability value: 0.795), comes out in the analysis as an important factor in case of political marketing in India. This factor encompasses the aspects which involve party activities through its leaders, activists, and sympathisers and how it is communicated to the electorate. In most of the cases, the mode of talking of the party leaders creates an image of the party. Reactions of the party leaders on sensitive issues are becoming very crucial at times in the creation of the image of the party. It is observed that insensitive remarks by the party leaders on important as well as sensitive issues in media or while addressing people in a rally hurt the voters. Different news reports mentioning insensitive remarks on women, religion, caste, opposition, other eminent leaders, national icons are the evidences that party leaders frequently make these mistakes.
Electronic media play a pivotal role in influencing the opinion of the voters. Discussions on different important issues in electronic media before elections are very crucial in developing the opinions of the electorate. Activists, sympathisers, and political leaders of different political parties participate in these discussions and deliberations and logically acceptable views of the participants are very important in influencing voters. Political parties should, at first, accept the importance of electronic media in influencing voting decision. Moreover, political parties should be careful enough before deciding who will represent the party in different discussions in electronic media. Since employment remains a very big issue in each and every election, it is observed that most of the political parties make promises of employment before election but previous experiences reveal the fact that situation does not improve much after elections. Political parties should be conscious before promising something not very much achievable. In some of the cases, it is observed that political stand of the political party confuses their electorate, specifically the supporters. It is the responsibility of the political parties to clarify their stand on important political issues to the voters. If activists are confused, it is difficult for them to convince the voters about the stand of the political party. So, this factor, though very relevant in Indian context, activities of the political parties do not seem to attach requisite importance to it. So the gap between relevance and practice is statistically significant.

The fourth factor, *Friend in Need Approach*, is another relevant factor in Political Marketing from Indian perspective as per the opinions of the experts marketing. Political parties perform their activities through active involvement of their activists. Party offices in different localities are there to implement different kinds of area-specific party activities and to keep in touch with the local people. Local people, on the other hand, expect the activists of the political parties to solve the day-to-day problems. If a political party stands by the people in difficult times, the positive image of the party in the mind of local people is likely to increase. There are voters who are loyal supporters of some political parties. They do not change their
voting decision even if some wrong steps are taken by political parties. On the other hand, some voters in different constituencies can change their voting decision based on issues which arise just before election. Apart from that, the help from the party activists in difficult times or modest behaviour and constant contact by the party leaders and activists can change the opinions of floating voters. Same kind of strategies for loyal and floating voters may not work. Political parties should develop different strategies for these two kinds of voters. In Indian politics, political parties do not seem to have different strategies for loyal and floating voters. Political leaders create expectation through their appearance and promises. The value offerings from leaders in their speeches reinforce the expectations of the voters. But if leaders of the political parties are not perceived well by the electorate and the way promises made by those leaders is not very much convincing for the electorate, the political parties cannot make the electorate believe that the intangible value offerings are possible. So, political parties should be in search of leaders who are convincing and can be accepted by the electorate and have unblemished image. For this fourth factor, the statistically significant gap between relevance and practice is the result of the circumstance discussed above.

The fifth factor, named as *Internal Political Marketing*, has been identified as a very important factor of political marketing. From the perspective of a service organisation, internal marketing is effective when the top management realises the importance of it and hire, train, and motivate employees to ensure that employees provide excellent services to the customers. The objectives of internal political marketing are to offer good services to the electorate. The objectives are achieved if political parties remain selective while choosing the members of the party. After selection, party members should go through training schedule. Political parties in India do not regularly conduct training programmes for party members. Party conferences are organised by some of the political parties on a regular basis to communicate the ideology of the party to its members and previous activities of the parties are analysed. Strategies for the future
are also formulated through debate among the members of the party. Communication with the voters throughout the year is very important to understand the change in needs and wants of the electorate. Necessary changes in the party programmes can be made after considering the changes. But political parties do not always keep in touch with the electorate. The result in the statistically significant gap.

The sixth factor, named as *Elitist Leaning*, is considered to be relevant by experts in political marketing. This elitist leaning can create distance from the common people. If the political leaders are beyond the reach of the common people and travel by expensive cars, a detachment from the common people is inevitable. People, then, fail to contact with those party leaders. This causes alienation from the mass. In case of most of the political parties, activities of these leaders are not monitored properly and ultimately steps are not taken. Sometimes some political parties are criticised for helping the corporate sector at the cost of the common people. Relaxation on corporate taxes is one of the facilities given to the corporate sector. If political parties do not become cautious about this, the gap between relevance and practice will get widened. Languages and phrases used in campaign materials must be understood by the common people. If campaign materials are prepared keeping in mind the educated class of the society, the communication with common mass will be distorted and intended message will not be perceived. Languages and phrases should be familiar to common people. In some of the cases jargons and difficult phrases are used by political parties in their campaigns. The above discussion can explain the statistically significant gap between relevance and practice for the factor entitled “elitist leaning”.

The seventh factor, entitled *Contemporary Political Activities*, is also to be taken very seriously. In case of this factor, the gap between relevance and practice is again statistically significant. The common party activists or cadres play a pivotal role in performing the contemporary political activities. The past records and credibility of these common activists actually create the image of the political parties at local level. These people
actually keep in touch with the people in the locality and people approach these activists whenever they are in problem. Moreover, these activists communicate different decisions of the party and help the voters understand the positive effects of those decisions. But in some of the cases political parties do not give proper importance to these activists. Promotions of different political parties in different media have become very common before elections. Some of the political advertisements are created in an innovative way after taking help of the experts of advertising. But in most of the cases, political parties are promoted in a crude way. The value propositions are to be communicated properly through advertising. Moreover, promises made and claims of previous achievements in the different advertisements must be believable to the electorate. Only criticising the opposition parties may not bring desired results. Creativity required to communicate the electorate is observed to be missing in political advertisements. It helps create gap between relevance and practice. Political parties are gradually realising the importance and effect of social media and main political parties have started promoting themselves in social media. BJP promoted itself in social media before Lok Sabha elections, 2014. Congress also promoted itself. But regular promotions in social media by most of the political parties in India are still missing. Another important factor is the disagreement among party leaders on some issues. Media is very active now-a-days. It is observed frequently that some political leaders of some political parties openly criticise in the media the decisions taken by the party itself. Apart from that, negative comments against the other leader(s) of the same party who are in favour of the decision can create negative image of that political in the minds of the electorate. It actually shows the lack of coordination and discipline in the party. If the party is to position itself as a disciplined party, these kinds of activities are to be controlled. It again creates gap between relevance and practice. It is also reported in the newspapers that party workers are actively involved in violence. Party workers are reported to take the help of violence to establish their strong presence, to make the people follow
whatever they say, and sometimes just to protest against some incidents. If the political parties do not control these supporters and allow them to repeat these activities, electorate will develop negative impressions against these political parties. Just like salespeople represent the company when they meet and present the products and services of the company to the prospects, the activists of the political parties actually represent the party in the locality. So any negative activity of the party activists eventually leads to negative image of the political party. The discussions above actually signify the gap between relevance and practice in case of this factor.

For the eighth factor, named as Reputation, the gap is again statistically significant. It means that as far as reputation factor is concerned, it is very relevant in the Indian context and activities of political parties of India, either positively or negatively perceived by electorate, cannot bridge the gap between relevance and practice. The continuous advertising in the media by the main political parties is very relevant in political marketing in India but the reality is that the advertisements are telecast continuously only before the main elections. So the communication with the electorate with the help of advertising throughout the year is not at all practised by the Indian political parties. Using the eminent advertising agencies to prepare political advertisements is also very relevant from the point of view of political marketing in India. Here advertising agencies put in efforts to make the political communication utilising one of the main tools of marketing communication. But again, this practice is visible only before elections. This aspect has already been discussed in the previous chapter while contextualising. The opinions of the marketing experts reflected in this analysis show that the other two items, intimidating attitude of the local party activists and interference in the private affairs, are very prevalent in Indian politics and Indian political parties are sometimes criticised for that. But political parties are not observed to take action against those miscreants in the locality. These can be the reasons why for the factor entitled “reputation”, the gap between relevance and practice is statistically significant.
The ninth factor, *Ideology*, has been identified as one of the factors which is relevant for political marketing in India. Ideology is something which paves the way for political parties to decide on their vision and mission. A political party with strong ideology should always stick to its vision and mission even if there is emergence of situation which pressurises the political party to deviate. Belief and faith in the ideology are required for this. Ideology itself can create an image of a political party. Activities of the political parties should be in accordance with the ideology. Political parties which do not deviate from their ideology get respect even from the people who are not the believer of that ideology. Apart from that the believers of the ideology become the loyal voters for those political parties. But, political parties with strong ideology should also modify their ideology with the changing political environment. Otherwise, there is a chance that activities of the political parties would alienate them from the common people. In reality, it is observed that the political parties, barring a few, frequently deviate from their ideology without presenting convincing justifications. Political parties are frequently criticised for focusing more on earning votes than on ideology. In some of the cases political parties are alleged for communicating very popular ideology and vouching to follow it but not sticking to it when situation is not conducive. This creates a gap between relevance and practice.

5.5 **Difference in The Context of Contributory and Fundamental Aspects of Political Marketing on the basis of the views of Social Scientists & Journalist and Marketing Experts**

As already discussed in the methodology section, we are interested in identifying the existence of statistically significant difference in the opinions of (i) social scientists & journalists and (ii) marketing experts. For this, we have identified 23 common items in the two questionnaires and the existence of statistically significant difference in opinion has accordingly been examined through independent-samples t-test. Consequently, the convergence or divergence of opinions by the two sets of
experts on the common items can be found out with the help of identified statistical technique. The results of the independent-samples t-test have been exhibited in table number A.3 in appendix. The table reveals that there is statistically significant difference in the opinions of social scientists & journalists and marketing experts on majority of the common items identified (considering p<0.05 level). We have considered Levene’s test for equality of variance to identify whether variances in the opinions of the two sets of experts differ significantly. From a statistical point of view, Levene’s test for equality of variances needs to be considered and the result would give direction on applying equal variance t-test or unequal variance t-test. If Levene’s test for equality of variance indicates the existence of significant difference, then we need to use unequal variance test, otherwise equal variance test needs to be applied. On the basis of this guideline, we have been able to identify 19 items where Levene’s test for equality of variance indicates the applicability of equal variance t-test and accordingly we have been able to examine the existence of statistically significant difference in opinions between social scientists & journalists and marketing experts. Among these 19 items, there are 5 items where there is no statistically difference in opinions. These items are: organisation of the political parties, communication to voters, charismatic leaders in the political parties, Image of local leaders, and interference in private affairs by political parties. Furthermore, Levene’s test for equality of variances suggests that unequal variance t-test needs to be applied in 4 cases. In all of these 4 cases, p-values indicate that there is statistically significant difference in opinion of social scientists & journalists and marketing experts. Thus, we infer that based on the results of independent-samples t-test, there is considerable divergence (18 out of 23 items considered) in the opinions of social scientists & journalists and marketing experts.

Let us explain the reasons for the divergence in the opinions between social scientists & journalists and marketing experts on 18 identified common items. The first item signifying divergence in the opinions pertains to leadership. Marketing experts attach more relevance to
leadership than the social scientists & journalists in case of political marketing in India. This finding is a bit interesting in view of the decisive roles played by political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose in Indian politics. Marketing experts have seen political marketing from the business point of view and role of leadership is very much important in the success of any business organisation. Moreover, marketing experts have possibly considered leadership as a part of political product in the light of 7Ps framework of service marketing. So, the importance seems to have increased in their eyes. Social scientists & journalists, on the other hand, acknowledged the role of leadership in political marketing but they perceive political marketing from a societal perspective and consider other factors more important than leadership in case of political marketing in India. The second common item where divergence has been identified pertains to the manifesto. Marketing experts have given more importance to it than the social scientists & journalists. Marketing experts might have considered manifesto as an important part of political product keeping in mind the service marketing framework and acknowledged manifesto as a tangible part of service offered by the political parties. Social scientists & journalists might have acknowledged that the importance of manifesto is getting lower because of changes in political environment as a result of the crucial role of media in shaping the opinions of the people through different political debates and analysis. This possibly leads to the apathy of the people to go through the manifestos of different political parties published before elections. Moreover, people in general are more interested and concerned about the implementation rather than promises made in the manifesto. The diverging third common item identified is the ideology. It is quite stimulating again to note that social scientists & journalists have attached less relevance to it than the marketing experts. The reason behind it may be the fact that social scientists & journalists have acknowledged the waning significance of ideology in Indian politics in view of the entry of dishonest and antisocial elements in politics and the change in the composition and mindset of
Indian electorate who generally attach more importance to actual performance rather than the intricacies of the ideology. Marketing experts might have considered ideology as a part of political product under the service marketing framework and hence more importance has been given to this item. The fourth common item identified is promise of industrialisation and employment wherein divergence has been observed. Marketing experts have given more relevance to it than the social scientists and journalists. Social scientists and journalists might have considered the fact that it is very common that most of the political parties make this promise quite often before elections in India, the overuse of this promise leads to diminishing importance of it in Indian politics. But in case of marketing experts, the promise of industrialisation and employment is quite similar to the value proposition in service marketing and it is very important in convincing customers and in creating a distinct identity.

The fifth common item is the help extended to affected people by party workers. Marketing experts have given more importance to it than the social scientists and journalists. Social scientists and journalists have probably considered it as a very normal activity of political parties because political parties do exhibit social obligations at times. But marketing experts might have considered it as a core part of political service and thought that a political party cannot establish its points of parity until and unless this kind of help is offered to people. So they have attached more importance to it. Another common item signifying divergence in the opinion of the two groups of experts is campaign materials. In this case too, marketing experts have given more importance to it than the social scientists and journalists. Promotion is a crucial part of service marketing and campaign materials are the part of political promotion. So, marketing experts have assigned more relevance to this aspect. Social scientists and journalists have not attached that much relevance because they might have considered that the political parties are known for their activities for the people and if people are benefitted, they will support obviously. Campaign materials, though very much used in Indian elections, are not considered
by experts as something which can act as determining factor. The eventh
common factor is the advertisements in electronic media. Marketing
experts have attached more relevance to it than the social scientists and
journalists. Advertising is the most important part of service promotion
and service organisations spend huge amount of money in media
advertising to communicate the value they are going to offer and to
persuade the customers to purchase their service. So, it is very much likely
that marketing experts will assign higher relevance to advertising in media.
Social scientists and journalists assign lesser importance to it considering
the secondary role of advertising in politics, the primary being the actual
performance of the political parties in India. Divergence in the context of
the use of media mix by political parties has also been observed. Marketing
experts again have assigned more relevance to it because service
organisations frequently use media mix strategy to allocate budget in
different media after analysing the importance of different individual
media in a given situation. It is quite natural that marketing experts will
assign more importance to it. Social scientists and journalists are not quite
conversant with the application of media mix in politics. Moreover, they
are supposed to be a bit sceptical about the commercialisation of politics
to this extent. The ninth common item identified is election rallies by
political parties wherein the opinions of the two groups differ. Marketing
experts have assigned more relevance to it than the social scientists &
journalists. Elections rallies are very common in Indian politics and
excessive use of it has made it less effective. Social scientists and
journalists might have considered this reality but marketing experts might
have considered it as an important part of promotion and seen it as a tool
to create interest and excitement in the minds of the electorate. In the
context of the item good governance, we have observed statistically
significant difference in opinions. Marketing experts have assigned more
relevance to it than the social scientists and journalists. It is again quite
surprising. Social scientists and journalists might have considered that
good governance is integrally attached to the existence of political parties
and separate mention of this factor is not very much required. This might be the reason why lesser importance has been given. Marketing experts, on the other hand, might have considered it as an important evidence to show the quality of service provided by the political parties. It can be used by political parties as physical evidence of their quality of service. So, higher relevance has been perceived by marketing experts.

The eleventh common factor identified is the use of social media by political parties. Marketing experts have attached more relevance to it than the social scientists and journalists. Since only a few political parties in recent past have used social media promotion, social scientists and journalists are not quite sure about its impact on electoral outcomes. But marketing experts are quite habituated with the use of social media by the service organisations. So, they seem to emphasise the importance of this aspect. As a result, they assign more importance to it. The twelfth common item identified signifying divergence is the personalised campaign by the political parties. Marketing experts have given more importance to this factor than the social scientists and journalists. Personalised campaign is a part of political promotion and this is supposed to be more effective when voters are communicated on an individual basis. This is an effort towards making customised promotion in Indian politics. This fact seems to get appreciated by marketing experts more than the social scientists & journalists because application of marketing tools in politics is very much evident in this case. Social scientists and journalists are inclined towards convincing the voters through a political process. So they assign lower relevance to it. The thirteenth diverging item identified is the lifestyle of political leaders. This common item is considered to be more relevant by marketing experts than the social scientists and journalists. Leaders are a part of a political product. Any unacceptable activity of the political leaders directly hampers the political product and voters would develop a negative image about the political parties if the image of the product gets hampered. Marketing experts are quite concerned about it. Social scientists & journalists, on the other hand, have not given the same relevance because political leaders in India
are frequently criticised for their lifestyle and this has become very common and seems to affect the opinions of the voters not to a great extent anymore. The fourteenth common item signifying divergence in opinion relates to deliberations of party leaders in electronic media. Marketing experts have again assigned more importance to this common item than the social scientists and journalists. Deliberation in electronic media is an opportunity given by media to political leaders of different political parties to communicate directly with large number of voters. Convincing and influencing deliberations can be very effective in shaping the opinions of voters. This might have considered by marketing experts as very much relevant in the context of political marketing in India. Same relevance is not assigned by social scientists and journalists. This may be because of the fact that social scientists and journalists in India are not in favour of huge promotions in politics. The fifteenth common factor identified is the preference given by political parties towards a particular community, caste or religion. Marketing experts have given more relevance to it than the social scientists & journalists. Marketing experts have considered this from the point of view of service marketing and in service marketing, if preference is given to a section of customers, this can tarnish the image of the entire service organisation. This is a very serious charge against any service organisation. This may be the reason why marketing experts have assigned more relevance to this item. Social scientists & journalists might not have considered this as a very relevant item in political marketing in India because they are more guided by moral aspect of politics.

The sixteenth common factor wherein divergence has been observed is related to corruption. Marketing experts have given more importance to it than the social scientists & journalists. The issue of corruption is highlighted frequently in Indian politics. Voters are expected to get habituated with it. Social scientists and journalists might have considered this way and assigned less relevance to it. But marketing experts might have attached the image of political parties with the charge of corruption. The image of the service organisation is very important aspect of service
marketing. Once the image is tarnished, it is very difficult to get back. Marketing experts have given higher relevance to it thinking in this direction. The seventeenth common factor identified is political alliance where we have observed statistically difference in the opinion of the two groups. Marketing experts have given more importance to it than the social scientists & journalists. Alliance is very similar to the concept of merger between business organisations. Decision on alliance is taken at the top level of the business organisations to be in a strategically better position in the competitive marketplace. In the field of politics, decision on political alliance is taken in order to be in an advantageous position in terms of electoral success through positive synergy. Marketing experts might have considered this and have assigned higher weight to alliance. Social scientists & journalists, on the other hand, assigned comparatively lower relevance to this item because it had been observed in the past that two or more political parties with different ideological backgrounds made alliances to get electoral success but the supporters did not take it positively. The last diverging common item identified is the violence of party workers. It is again the question of image of political parties. Marketing experts have given higher relevance to this item than the social scientists & journalists. Party workers of some parties in India are quite frequently reported to get involved in different kinds of violence at various points of time. People have become habituated to it. As a result, the incident of violence may not influence voters much. Social scientists and journalists might have considered it and assigned lower relevance to it. However, the marketing experts have assigned higher relevance to it. The reason may be the consideration of the impact of violence on the image of the political parties. The violence of the party workers is considered by the marketing experts seriously because it is the inability of the political parties to control the “people” part if considered from the service marketing point of view. This inability may create negative image about political parties.

After analysing each and every common item, it can be concluded that in case of all the common items where there are divergences of opinions,
marketing experts have given higher importance to the common items than the social scientists and journalists. One of the reasons might be the difference in the outlook of the two groups. In other words, the viewpoints are different for the marketing experts and the social scientists & journalists and hence we have observed divergence in opinion on majority of the items. This in other way justifies the selection of two divergent groups of experts (social scientists & journalists and marketing) and consideration of their opinion on some common aspects of political marketing. We were interested to know how different groups perceive the different aspects of political marketing and the results show that perceptions significantly vary. However, as already discussed there are five items where there is convergence instead of divergence. These areas of convergence signify the aspects where social scientists & journalists in India are aware of or are interested. Otherwise, they have a different view point in explaining political activities, particularly electoral behaviour, from the perspective of marketing. There is therefore a need to strike the right kind of balance while contextualising political marketing in India by mingling the interdisciplinary perspectives.

5.6 Political Marketing in India: The Manifestation Perspective

It has already been mentioned in the methodology chapter that on the basis of the perspective drawn from the analysis of response to the questionnaire by marketing experts, a third questionnaire has been developed which would be administered among the political consumers or voters. Although the questionnaire has been drawn from the responses of marketing experts, the items are related with the contextual and contributing perspectives. Opinions of the voters were obtained on the nine identified factors derived from the questionnaire meant for marketing experts. 576 responses were obtained from different parts of India following the procedure already mentioned in research methodology chapter. The break-up of respondents is given in Table 5.10:
Table 5.10: Break-up of respondents (voters) from different Indian cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Number of response received</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noida</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chennai</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guwahati</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raipur</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhopal</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>576</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is quite evident from the table that the responses have a pan-India character and hence the diverse perspectives from voters located in different parts of the country can be drawn. Paired t-test has been employed to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between the importance of the factors in general and the importance of the factors while taking the final voting decision. Results of the paired t-test reveal that in case of six out of nine factors, the gap is statistically significant. This means that for six factors, voters do not give equal importance to the factors when considered generally and when final voting decision is taken. The table 5.11 shows the result of the paired t-test. Here all the nine factors (factor 1 to factor 9) correspond to the factors identified while analysing the responses of the marketing experts. Factors are mentioned in the table 5.8. Here, A means the importance of the factor in general and B means the importance attached to the same factor while taking the final voting decision. For example, “FACTOR 1A” means the importance of Factor 1 in general and “FACTOR 1B” means importance of Factor 1 while taking the final voting decision. It has already been discussed in the section of research methodology.
Let us analyse why, for some of the factors, the gaps are significant and for the other factors gaps are not significant.

In case of first factor, named as Political governance and image transparency, the gap is statistically significant. This means that voters do not give same importance to this factor when they consider it in general and when they make the final voting decision. Corruption is another important aspect of political governance and image transparency. Corruption by the party leaders and activists is generally given importance by the voters but when it comes to making the final voting decision, this aspect is not given the same importance. It is because emergent issues may come up before elections and the issue of corruption takes a back seat. Strong action taken against indiscipline people and good governance are also important aspects considered under the first factor. If strong action is taken against unruliness, the image of the political party may improve but it does not mean that it will influence the voting decision directly. Political parties are always in search of people who have got a clear image. If the educated and unblemished people become the face of a political party, there is a chance that image of the party in the minds of the electorate
would improve. But there is no guarantee that that this positive image always translates into votes for this political party. Electorate may give importance to this aspect, but while taking the final voting decision, other situational aspects may influence. Political alliances are sometimes made in order to get political mileage. It is almost a merger between two business organisations. It is seen that alliances are formed before the elections to accumulate the votes of the parties under alliance or after the elections to form the government. It may be taken positively or negatively by the voters of the parties in the alliance. Voters assign importance to this aspect but then again, this aspect is not given the same importance when final voting decision is taken. Strong party organisation gives a signal to the voters of the regimentation within the party activists and the spread of party throughout the constituencies. It seems to influence the voters and presence of the political party is felt in different political and social activities. But while taking the final voting decision, this aspect does not remain equally important to the voters as was important when considered generally. Political parties are frequently criticised for showing favouritism. It is sometimes believed by the voters that political influence and references are needed to get a government jobs. People who are in good book of the political party get rewarded in different forms. But with the passage of time, these experiences fade away and new issues come up. Since memory of the people is very short-lived, this issue of favouritism loses its importance when final voting decision is taken. It has been observed in some states that local leaders and activists of the political parties are in constant touch with the local people and they actually become party to the voters of the locality. So, all the activities of the local leaders and activists, positive or negative, create an overall image about political parties. Voters assign importance to the activities of the local leaders and activists when thinking in general terms but while taking the final voting decisions, many other aspects come to influence and the activities of the local leaders and activists do not get the same importance.
In case of the second factor, named as voters’ preference analysis, there is a statistically significant gap between the importance voters assign to this factor in general and the importance voters assign when taking the final voting decision. The process of testing the candidate to know the acceptance level among the voters and segmentation of voters with the help of demographic, psychographic, geographic, and behavioural variables are important for the success of the political parties. It is observed from the literature that, unlike business organisations, there is no formal structure used by the Indian political parties to test the candidates and to segment the market. Voters understand the importance of this but while taking the final voting decision, this aspect does not get the same importance because it is not very much evident. Promise of employment is a very common value proposition offered by the Indian political parties before elections. People have become habituated to this phenomenon. It seems that people have started believing less on this promise. Though promise of employment is perceived by the voters as important, the same importance is not given to this factor when the voters take the final voting decision. Most of the political parties show their intentions to address the problems of the common man before elections. Common people are expected to take it positively if political parties promise to address their problems. So they assign importance to this promise but while taking the final voting decision same importance is not given because of the presence of other factors. If a political party does or promotes something which improves the national image, people seem to accept it very positively. It is important for voters. But when elections come and voters are to take final decision this factors does not remain as much important as it was when activities were actually carried out. This is the reason why the factor entitled voters’ preference analysis is not given the same importance when considered generally and when final voting decision is taken.

The third factor, entitled political communication and facade, is also not given the equal importance by the voters when considered by them generally and when voters take the final voting decision. The approach and
mode of talking of party leaders have some influence on voters and they also consider this as important for a party to get electoral support but in most of the cases this influence seems to be transient and when it comes to taking the final voting decision, this factor does not carry the same importance. The same is true in case of deliberations of party leaders and sympathisers in the electronic media. Here the deliberations in the electronic media may fascinate the voters and the participants in the electronic media may receive accolades but this does not necessarily mean that these deliberations will have same impact when voters take the final voting decision. Political parties communicate to the voters that they would improve the law and order situations if they come in power. Law and order situation is something to which voters assign considerable importance. But the overuse of promise by the political parties to improve law and order situation has probably mitigated the importance of it when voters take the final voting decision. Political parties are observed to change stands in dynamic political environment and to take important political decisions when it is needed. Voters may think that communication of political decision to the voters is important and voters may also expect that justification of taking a stand should also be communicated to the voters. But when the voters make the final voting decision, this aspect is not given the same importance. The above facts lead to the result that there is a statistically significant gap between the importance of this factor to the voter in general and the importance of this same factor when final voting decision is taken.

For the fourth factor, named as friend in need approach, the gap is not statistically significant. People become happy with a political party if the activists of that political party extend their helping hand when it is needed. These activists come to know about the problems of the electorate if they are in constant touch with the people in the locality. It becomes very crucial for establishing the image of the political party. If voters get help from the activists of the political party in the locality when it is really required, a mental bond is created among the voters and the political party
and the help is remembered for a long period of time. When it comes to take the final voting decision, the help from the political party is given high importance by the voters. If different promotional strategies for loyal and floating voters are formulated, communication with the voters can be more effective. Value propositions for voters by political parties must be reflected through all possible promotional vehicles. Promotional tools should be used in such a way that voters do not get confused. Clarity in communication is very important. Loyal voters may have different expectations from a political party than a floating voter. If different value propositions are convincing for both the loyal and floating voters, it can influence their final voting decision. Apart from that, party leaders can create expectations about how voters can be benefited. If leaders of the political parties can present the value propositions in a convincing way, voters start believing it. We saw how Mr. Narendra Modi was successful in creating expectations among the voters through different promotional vehicles before General Elections, 2014. The past credentials, acceptance and convincing ability of the party leaders may play a very important role in creating expectations. If voters are more or less convinced by the value propositions of party leaders, the final voting decision is influenced. The discussions above can explain why the gap between importance of this factor in general and importance of this factor while taking final voting decision is not statistically significant.

Political parties are observed to conduct conferences to critically discuss the previous activities and formulate future strategies through discussion among the members of different levels. Party leaders are also present to address the party members. These conferences are organised at district level, state level and national level. Different political parties communicate about these kinds of conferences through banners and posters and voters also come to know about these conferences through these promotional materials. It may give signals to the voters about the democracy and discipline in the party. Sometimes outcome of these conferences are also telecast in different media. Voters perceive an image
about these political parties through these communications. But these activities do not always influence the final voting decision. People understand the importance of these activities but some situational factors just before the elections or during elections influence voters more than these activities. In the same way, different regimented political parties conduct training programmes to educate the members of the party about the party ideology. These training programmes also focus on the implementation of party strategy at local levels. Communist Parties in India regularly conduct party classes to educate the party members on different aspects. Voters may take it positively or negatively but while taking the final voting decision, some other factors play more important role. So, in case of the factor entitled internal political marketing the gap is statistically significant.

Now, let us consider the factor called elitist leaning. Voters generally feel comfortable if the political leaders are approachable. Bonding between voters and the political leaders gets strengthened if the life style of the leaders resembles the lifestyle of the voters in general. If the political travel by expensive cars, it can send a signal to the voters that the political leaders are out of reach. I can also give a feeling to the voters that political leaders are not in a position to understand the problems of common people. So, type of conveyance used by political leaders can have some impact on voters. Voters assign importance to it while evaluating the political party and while taking the final voting decision they assign nearly equal importance to it. Since maximum portion of the population in India are poor most of the political parties try to present themselves as saviour of poor to get the support. If political parties are observed to give facilities to the corporate sector at the cost of common people, development negative feeling for the political parties is the normal consequence. General tax payers get annoyed if tax reliefs are given to corporate sector. Voters may think that this attribute of a political party is important while evaluating a political party and keep it in mind for a long period time because there is a feeling that government is taking their money away and
rich people are benefitted at the cost of their benefit. So, equal importance is given to this aspect while taking the final voting decision. The languages and phrases used in the campaign materials should be specific to the target voters. The value proposition offered by the political party must be communicated by the understandable words or phrases through which voter can relate in a better way. Otherwise, value propositions will not deliver desirable results. Sometimes, languages and phrases alienate the political party from voters. Illiterate voters cannot understand the language of economics but economic implications of a political decision can be explained to them using words and phrases used mostly by them and citing examples from their daily life. It is good for the voter if they understand whatever is written in the campaign materials and while taking the final voting decision, they prefer that political party which could communicate their offerings to the voters in a language which is comfortable for them. So, for this factor, the gap is not statistically significant.

Each and every political party has an image in the minds of the voters with respect to some of the past activities. For example, Indian National Congress is known for its participation in the Indian freedom struggle in the past. Communist Party of India (Marxist) is known for implementation of land reforms in West Bengal. BJP is known for the implementation of “golden quadrilateral” under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Political parties cannot go forward to implement strategies with the help of its rank and file. The credibility of the rank and file is very important for the creation of image of political parties. Voters attach importance to this factor when they evaluate political parties. While making the final voting decision the same importance is not given to this factor because presence of other factors mitigates the importance of it. Giving importance to factors which can bring immediate benefit to the voters may be responsible for the change in importance in two different situations. Young generation is very much conversant with the activities in social media. It is very important for all the political parties to communicate and promote in social media to get the attention of the young generation. If political parties are not visible in social
media, young generation will not get to know much about the activities of the political parties. Educated voters consider the presence of political party in social media as very important. Without the presence, the category membership of the political party will not be membership. A day may come when a political party will not be considered as political party if it is not present in social media. But only presence in the social media does not necessarily mean that educated young voters will give equal importance to it while taking the final voting decision. We have seen many a time in the past that leaders of the same political party were in disagreement on a particular issue and criticising each other on that issue. It sends negative signals to the voters. Voters feel confident about the promise made by the political parties if leaders of the parties agree on most of the debatable issues. This confidence is sometimes temporary if new issues come up suddenly before elections. Despite assigning importance to this aspect, voters cannot assign same importance to it when making the final voting decision. Political violence is something which has become very much prevalent in Indian politics. Political violence is frequently reported in different media. Political activists of different political parties are reported to be actively involved in such political violence. This is important for voters to evaluate political parties. Since involvement of party workers in political violence is reportedly prevalent, its importance diminishes and voters do not assign the same importance to this aspect at the time of voting. This can explain why there is a statistically significant gap between importance in two situations in case of the factor entitled contemporary political activities.

Behaviour of party activists in the locality has a huge impact on the voters. Loyal voters can tolerate the dominating and intimating attitude of the local party activists to some extent but the floating voters can change the perception about a political party after the intimidation and domination by party activists at the local level. If the peace and freedom are hampered at the local level, voters are expected to react very hard because it has impact on daily life. Domination and intimidation are something which cannot be forgotten fast. So, importance of this aspect while evaluating a
political party and while making the final voting decision remains more or less same. Political parties are much more active than before in promoting themselves in different media. Crude presentation of election agendas and party image in advertisements are disliked by voters in most of the cases. Political parties are now taking help of different advertising agencies to prepare their advertisement in more creative way. Creative advertisements to address different segment of voters are liked the target groups and the creative part of the advertisements are expected to be remembered by the voters for considerabily long period. Creativity in advertisements can also create positive image about the party. Creative advertisements can convey appropriate advertising message using suitable appeals considering the current political scenario and the demographics, psychographic, and behavioural aspects the target audience. Creativity has got the capability to break through the clutter of promotional activities of other competitive political parties. So voters give importance to the creativity in advertising and equal importance to creativity is given while taking the final voting decision. Another challenge for all the political parties is to offer something unique to the voters. This unique offering must also be relevant to the voters. Continuous advertising in the media is sometimes necessary to hammer the audience about important message which political parties trying to communicate. Voters are expected to give equal importance to continuous presence of political parties in media when they are making the final choice at the time of voting. No one can accept it positively if there is an intrusion by political parties in private affairs. Voters get irritated if political parties intend to interfere in private life. It is very much expected that voters do not like those political parties which are accused of doing this. This interference is given importance by the voters in general and this interference remains equally important when voters are to decide to vote one political party at the time of voting. So, for the factor called reputation, the gap is not statistically significant.

For the last factor entitled ideology, the there is a statistically significant gap between the importance of it to the voters in general and
importance of the same while making the final choice while voting. Ideology is the sum total of some specific ideas which should be realised in practice. Political parties are expected to earn respect from if they stick to their ideology at the cost of the share of vote. Political parties are sometimes criticised by the common people for deviating from the ideological stand in apprehension of losing support of some section of voters. Loyal voters of different political parties are expected to believe in the ideology of those political parties. Apart from that loyalty to a political party comes from the family tradition. Some families are traditional supporters of a particular political party and the next generations automatically become the voters of that political party without having strong faith on the ideology of that political party. Voters generally give importance to the ideologies of the political parties in general while evaluating political parties. But while casting a vote for a particular political party same importance to ideology is not attached because of the presence of other factors which have immediate and more direct impact on life. This is the reason why in case of ideology, the gap is statistically significant.

After identifying the gap between importance of the factor in general and importance of the factor while taking the final decision for all the nine identified factors, an initiative has been taken to develop of index to measure the gap between ideal and actual. The process of developing an index was a lengthy process. Thurstone paired comparison technique was used for this purpose. Details of this process and explanations are given below.

As already discussed in section 3.8 of the methodology chapter, an index has been developed using the responses of both the marketing experts and the political consumer or voters. At the very beginning, mean of each factor was calculated for all the 74 marketing experts. For example, for the 1st expert, all the 9 factor means were calculated and for the 2nd expert, all the 9 factor means were calculated. This process has been continued for all the 74 marketing experts. Mean of 1st Factor was denoted
as $\tilde{U}_1$, mean of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} factor was denoted as $\tilde{U}_2$, and following the sequence mean of the 9\textsuperscript{th} factor was denoted as $\tilde{U}_9$. Then, Thurstone’s Method of paired Comparison has been used to calculate the weights of all factor means. A matrix has been developed where $\tilde{U}_1$ to $\tilde{U}_9$ have been considered in nine rows and all 36 paired combinations among $\tilde{U}_1$ to $\tilde{U}_9$ have been considered in 36 columns. For example, paired combinations were $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_2$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_3$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_4$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_5$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_6$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_7$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_1 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_3$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_4$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_5$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_6$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_7$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_2 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_3 \tilde{U}_4$, $\tilde{U}_3 \tilde{U}_5$, $\tilde{U}_3 \tilde{U}_6$, $\tilde{U}_3 \tilde{U}_7$, $\tilde{U}_3 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_3 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_4 \tilde{U}_5$, $\tilde{U}_4 \tilde{U}_6$, $\tilde{U}_4 \tilde{U}_7$, $\tilde{U}_4 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_4 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_5 \tilde{U}_6$, $\tilde{U}_5 \tilde{U}_7$, $\tilde{U}_5 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_5 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_6 \tilde{U}_7$, $\tilde{U}_6 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_6 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_7 \tilde{U}_8$, $\tilde{U}_7 \tilde{U}_9$, $\tilde{U}_8 \tilde{U}_9$. Now, following the rules of paired comparison techniques values were put in all the applicable cells. For example, in case of first row and first column, we make a relation between $\tilde{U}_1$ and $\tilde{U}_1\tilde{U}_2$. As per the rule, if $\tilde{U}_1 > \tilde{U}_2$, 1 is inserted in this cell. If $\tilde{U}_1 < \tilde{U}_2$, 0 is inserted in the cell. The process will continue for all combinations and for all the 74 responses. After the process is completed, cell total is calculated for all applicable cells. Row total for all the nine rows are calculated in the next step. First, row total is actually the total score of $\tilde{U}_1$ and following the sequence, ninth row total is the total score of $\tilde{U}_9$. Grand total is calculated by adding the 9 (nine) row totals. Now, the weight of $\tilde{U}_1$ is calculated by dividing the score of $\tilde{U}_1$ by the grand total. It is denoted as $W_1$. Similarly, weights of $\tilde{U}_2$ is denoted as $W_2$ and so on. Following the same process, weights of all the other factor means ($\tilde{U}_2$ to $\tilde{U}_9$) were calculated. So, the process of determining the weights of all the factor means has been completed using Thurstone Paired comparison technique.

Responses of the political consumers are considered in the next stage. Now the correlation coefficients between the importance of factor in general and importance of the same factor while taking the final voting decision are calculated for all the factors and for all the responses. After correlation coefficients are calculated for all the factors, the already calculated weights of the factor means are multiplied with the corresponding correlation coefficients. For example, weight of $\tilde{U}_1$ \textit{i.e.}, $W_1$ is multiplied by the correlation coefficient for first factor \textit{i.e.}, Cor ($1_a$, $1_b$)
where “a” is the importance of the factor in general and “b” is the importance of the factor while taking the final voting decision. The calculation is given in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weights of Means</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficients of the between importance of the factor in general and importance of factor while taking final voting decision for all the factors</th>
<th>Weights of factor mean × Correlation Coefficients of factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W₁ = 0.14111</td>
<td>0.433</td>
<td>0.061101063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₂ = 0.106881</td>
<td>0.627</td>
<td>0.067014387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₃ = 0.118058</td>
<td>0.608</td>
<td>0.071779264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₄ = 0.125393</td>
<td>0.770</td>
<td>0.09655261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₅ = 0.113168</td>
<td>0.630</td>
<td>0.07129584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₆ = 0.07824</td>
<td>0.767</td>
<td>0.06001008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₇ = 0.091512</td>
<td>0.655</td>
<td>0.05994036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₈ = 0.090465</td>
<td>0.743</td>
<td>0.067215495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W₉ = 0.135173</td>
<td>0.787</td>
<td>0.105975632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>0.660884731</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the calculation is completed, the Ideal-Actual Gap vis-à-vis Political Consumers’ Choice Index is calculated in the following way:

**Ideal-Actual Gap Index:**

\[
1 - \frac{0.061101063 + 0.067014387 + 0.071779264 + 0.09655261 + 0.07129584 + 0.06001008 + 0.05994036 + 0.067215495 + 0.105975632}{9}
\]

\[
= 1 - \frac{1.060884731}{9}
\]

\[
= 1 - 0.1179
\]

\[
= 0.89
\]

Thus, in an ideal situation, the gap should closer to zero. But in reality, this gap is likely to exist because voters are influenced by multifarious factors that results in this gap. In other words, it may so happen that the way a voter considers a particular aspect to be important in general, is not always manifested in the final voting decision and hence the gap. This is a phenomenon that is more relevant to a developing
country like India where contextual factors influence a voter’s final decision. From an analytic-rational perspective, voters are unlikely to be influenced by contextual factors. But various factors that are prevalent in India operate on the eve of and during elections. It is in this perspective that political marketing comes into sharper focus. Political parties in India need to consider this perspective in order to achieve the objectives of electoral success.
CHAPTER 6

Conclusion, Recommendations and Scope for Further Studies

6.1 Concluding Thoughts on the Present Research Work: An Integrative Perspective

It has already been mentioned in the introductory note of this research work that the paucity of research work on political marketing from the Indian context motivated the researcher to conduct research work on this topic. It was extremely challenging for the researcher to identify the facets of political marketing from the Indian perspective because of the lack of research work on political marketing with emphasis on the Indian perspective. Accordingly, the facets were recognised from foreign literature and improvised with the help of the news, and articles on the happenings on Indian politics published in different reputed newspapers, books, and websites to give the research an Indian perspective. It was again challenging in the sense that the available literature could not give any direction on this aspect and the success of the further stages of this research work was very much dependent on the proper conduct of this stage with conceptual clarity. Since the concept of political marketing is multidisciplinary in character, it was imperative to draw insights from different perspectives. Accordingly, the research scheme has been developed in order to integrate the four perspectives that have been identified in the research framework. Effort has been taken to integrate the research problem from the first three perspectives namely, contextual, contributory and fundamental perspectives. The fourth perspective, namely the manifestation perspective which has largely been drawn from the
fundamental perspective coupled with the linkages with the other two perspectives has given a holistic shape to the present research work. Construction the questionnaires for the identified perspectives with the help of recognised facets for two sets of experts was methodically done to ensure that the statements presented to the social scientists & journalists were purely from social and political perspective and the statements presented to marketing experts were purely from service marketing perspective. The contextual perspective is truly ‘contextual’ in nature in the sense that it acted as a precursor for analysing the subsequent perspectives. Hence, before undertaking the analysis of the expert opinions, there was an initiative to contextualise the identified facets in the light of the Indian politics.

It is quite evident from the qualitative analysis of the contextual perspective that political marketing in India is in the forming stage and political parties, being very similar to service organisations, are mainly using promotion as the tool of political marketing. The other aspects of political marketing appear to be deemphasised in contemporary Indian politics. In case of the expert opinions, responses of the two sets of experts were separately analysed and different sets of factors which are important for political marketing in India were identified with the help of exploratory factor analysis. The two distinct sets of factors could be identified with respect to the contributory perspective and fundamental perspective of political marketing on the basis of the responses of social scientists & journalists on one hand and marketing experts on the other. These two sets provide two contrasting views on political marketing from two different perspectives. This is one of the important contributions of the present research work. Since the marketing experts possess domain knowledge on the issue, a deliberate attempt has been made to track the opinion of marketing experts on the relevance and practice of political marketing in terms of the identified aspects. It was also found out through the analysis of the responses of the marketing experts that a gap exists between the relevance of the facets of political marketing and the extent to which these
facets are practised by Indian political parties. This is a testimony to the fact that political parties in India do not emphasise on those practises that are strategically relevant in the context of political marketing in India. This, in other way, mostly validates the findings of the qualitative analysis under the contextual perspective. Although the dimensions of the two questionnaires relating to the contributory and fundamental perspectives were mostly different, 23 common facets that are relevant from both socio-political and marketing perspective were identified. An attempt has been made to methodically analyse the opinions of the two sets of experts on these common facets in order to examine whether there was any divergence or convergence in the opinions of two groups of experts. It has been statistically established that opinions of the two sets of experts were divergent on the relevance of the 19 identified facets out of the total number of 23 facets. In case of all the 19 facets, marketing experts had given higher scores than social scientists and journalists. This result suggests that social scientists and journalist tend to deemphasise the various concepts and implementation of political marketing and probably consider other aspects to be more important than political marketing. As has already been discussed in the research methodology chapter, the third questionnaire was prepared on the basis of the factors found out from the analysis of the marketing experts. Since it is purely a research on the application of marketing in politics, views of the marketing experts were given the priority. Furthermore, since the objective is to understand the extent to which political marketing gets manifested in terms of voters’ choice, the fourth perspective has been appropriately named as the manifestation perspective. The analysis of the opinions of the voters, who are referred to as political consumers in political marketing parlance, suggests that there is a gap between the importance of the factors in general and the importance of the same factors when final voting decision is taken. This signifies that the voters generally consider some factors important but when it comes to taking the final voting decision, they tend to deviate from the assigned importance. The reason for this gap is the
presence of situational factors in the Indian politics. We are all aware of
the prevalence of different economic, social, and personal problems in
Indian socio-political scenario wherein voters are forced to align with the
situational factors. However, in view of a large country like India, there is
likely to be interstate difference *vis-à-vis* the prevalence of the situational
factors. Apart from that, some specific local issues, help from the political
parties, or any other incidents may overshadow the importance of bigger
issues. The researcher has put in considerable amount of efforts to find out
the extent to which situational factors are important. If same importance is
given to factors in two different situations, the value of index is 1. This
would happen in an ideal situation. If there is any divergence there would
be dominance of situational factors. An effort has been taken to objectively
measure this divergence which has been compute as 33%. In this backdrop,
political marketing has a role to play to reduce this gap. Political parties
should be in search of those situational factors with the help of political
marketing research. Once they get an idea about the situational factors,
changes in the marketing strategies can be conceptualised with the
manipulation of different important decision variables of service marketing.
Thus, there is need for political parties to orient their leadership with the
basic understanding of political marketing which subsequently can be
percolated among the rank and file. This research work highlights that
political marketing is an imperative which political parties cannot ignore.
Ignorance on the part of the mainstream political parties in India will lead
to a situation of “strategic trap” wherein they won’t be able to aptly
respond to the trends of the environment. And one of the significant trends
of the environment is the imperative of political marketing. It would not be
out of place to mention that some of the political parties have been trying
to apply marketing tools and techniques but the approach has been
piecemeal and acceptance of the spirit of political marketing in totality
would enable them to achieve electoral success. For this, the mind set of
the top leadership of the political party needs comprehensive reorientation.
We have been witnessing some early signs of such adoption by some
mainstream political parties however there is a long path that needs to be traversed by the mainstream political parties.

6.2 Limitations of the study

Since the study was conducted from the Indian perspective, it was very difficult to take into account the huge diversity of the voters in terms of caste, religious, demographics, and geographic variations. We should have collected more opinions of expert to give the research a more wide perspective. The reluctance to respond on the part of the experts acted as a hindrance to obtain more number of responses. In some of the cases, repeated requests were not fruitful. Time constraint forced the researcher not to wait further. In order to give the dataset of voters a pan India character, the researcher randomly selected 10 cities from randomly selected states. The researcher could have selected more number of cities but again considering the completion of enormous task within a stipulated period, the researcher was bound to reduce the number of cities from which responses of the voters were collected. The researcher tried hard to get responses from all over the country but rural areas could not be covered on account of time and communication problems. Moreover, voter opinions were collected on the importance of the identified factors on two different situations. Responses could also have been analysed by taking into consideration the variations in responses on the basis of demographic profiles. But this option of collecting information on demographic profiles was not considered because of the fact that Indian voters are still not very conscious about the applications of political marketing and probable scepticism regarding the intentions of the researcher. Apprehending the tendency of Indian voters not to reveal their identity in any survey regarding politics, the researcher has not asked the voters to reveal their demographic profile.
6.3 Recommendations, Suggestions, and Scope for Future Research

The findings of this research work are generalisable to a certain extent although different findings are possible in changing situations. However, the development of different perspective and particularly the calculation of ideal-actual gap is an honest effort to objectively understand the intricacies involved in political marketing in India. The researcher does not claim that the factors identified from the responses of two sets of experts or of Index value to know the impact of situational factors while taking final voting decision will remain same in all situations. This research study can give a direction to further study political marketing in Indian context. Political parties in India can follow the process mentioned in this study to find out the important factors of political marketing. This study can provide a guideline to Indian political parties to get the opinions of the voters on the basis of important factors of political marketing in India and to analyse the responses to get an idea of the influence of situational factors. The information received from the study can help Indian political parties formulate future strategies of political marketing.

Responses of the rural voters could not be collected because of time and communication constraints. Given sufficient time, responses of the rural voters can be obtained and the responses can be analysed to understand the difference in the opinions of rural and urban voters on important identified aspects of political marketing in India. This future study can make the Indian political parties aware about the differences of orientation and opinions between rural and urban voters. If there are differences, separate strategies can be formulated for rural and urban voters. Demographic data of the voters were not used because of the reasons mentioned previously. There is a scope for researchers to analyse the responses of the voters on the basis of demographic profile if voters are ready to reveal their identity. The analysis of the responses of voters on the basis of demographic profile can help the future researchers identify and examine how opinions vary with respect to different background variable associated with the demographic profile. These
findings can be effective for Indian political parties to identify homogeneous segments and formulate separate positioning strategies for those segments. This can eventually lead to electoral success. Furthermore, in present times we are observing the increase in None Of The Above (NOTA) option being exercised by where they decide to desist from exercising their choice for a particular candidate contesting the elections, although they prefer to record their attendance. In this context, political marketing may be effective for parties in reducing this tendency of voting.
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and-political-parties


1. Questionnaire for Social Scientists and Journalists

Respected Sir,

I am carrying out a research work on Political Marketing in the Indian Context. As part of this research work, we are going to study the voting-decision behaviour. For this, we have developed a questionnaire in order to track experts’ opinion on the identified issues. In this context, I would earnestly request you to give your opinion on the degree of relevance of the following statements with respect to this identified study. Kindly give your opinion on a scale of 1(not at all relevant)- 5(fully relevant) on the basis of the degree of relevance of the identified statements.

We earnestly solicit your cooperation and guidance in carrying out an effective research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Honesty and clean image of the top party leader(s) have positive impact on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Welfare activities of the political parties at local and national level influence voters positively.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nature of participation of party leaders and sympathisers in the electronic media seems to motivate viewers and acts as an influence on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Role of party leaders in panel discussion in media on burning political issues can change the perception of the voters and affect the voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Media promoting a political party influence the voting decision of the viewers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Television channel owned by a political party promotes the owner and it is having impact on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Advertisements of the political parties before elections can influence the voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements</td>
<td>Relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Relentless contact by the party workers with the people throughout the year establishes a long-term relationship and, in turn, influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Discipline of the party workers creates a positive image of that party and acts as an influence on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Strong organisation of the political party in all levels is expected to earn votes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Image of the local leaders and workers in the locality influences the voters in their voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Role of local leaders and workers in solving the problems of the local people has impact on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Excessive interference of the party in private sphere has impact on voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hooliganism of the party workers in the locality creates bad image and negatively influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Success of political party in maintaining law and order through administration influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Activities of the top leader(s) of the party change the perception of the voters and influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Mobilising party workers in patriotic activities emotionally influences the voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Celebrity endorsement of political party creates frenzy and influences voting decision</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Promotion of political party by celebrities before election creates enthusiasm among voters and influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Initiative of the political party to involve celebrities in party organisation may impact the voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Role of political party in helping people suffering from natural disasters positively influences voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Political alliance with other parties may reinforce favourable voting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Life style of the party leaders and workers influence voters while voting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Decent way of speaking of the party leaders in public sphere has positive impact on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements</td>
<td>Relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Participation of political parties in cultural, social, and sports activities establishes mental and social bonding and influences voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Belief in the ideology of the political party influences voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Charge of nepotism against party leaders has negative impact on voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Overall corruption in the party creates a bad image among people and influence voting decision negatively.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Behaviour of the party workers at the local level influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Charge against political party for maintaining strong link with well-known mafia or corrupted businessmen changes the perception of the people about the political party and influences voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Sudden revelation of corruption before election by media has impact on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Addressing the issue of industrialisation and unemployment creates hope among people and influences voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Election rallies of political parties before elections influence voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Overall campaign by political parties before elections acts as an influencer for voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Attendance of people in election rallies or gathering creates enthusiasm and is having impact on voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Claims by political parties in election manifestos give clear picture of what the party is going to do and it may influence voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Presence of charismatic leaders in a party influences voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Party fighting for a social cause creates a positive image and affects voting decision of the people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Active participation of political parties in social media may affect the voting decision of the ‘netizens’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Phone calls and personal messages on mobile from the top leader of the political party affect voting decision of the people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Discipline within the party creates a positive image about the party and affects voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements</td>
<td>Relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Influencing as well as convincing speech of the party leaders in media and in election rallies affect voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Political interference in education creates negative image and affects voting decision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Results of different local body elections affect voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. General law and order situation including protection of women emerges as a influencer of voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Good governance affects voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Facilities and opportunities given to a particular community antagonise people of other communities and affect voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Partiality shown by administration in case of taking action against anti-socials reduces trust in administration and affects voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Administration, if under the complete control of the ruling party, fails to earn credibility and it affects the voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Role of print media helps create image of a political party and affects voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Excessive expenditure by political party in elections may negatively influence voters.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Party workers helping people in need positively affect voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Anti incumbency factor acts as an influencer of voting decision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Rigging and violence of the party workers on the voting day influence voters negatively.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Results of opinion polls influence voting decisions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Presence of conspicuous campaign materials like flags, posters, hoardings, wall posters reinforces voter’s confidence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Sumantra Bhattacharya]
Research Scholar
Department of Business Administration
The University of Burdwan
2. Questionnaire for Marketing Experts

Respected Sir,

I am carrying out a research work on Political Marketing in the Indian Context. For this, we have developed a questionnaire in order to track experts’ opinion on the identified issues on political marketing.

In the above perspective, we have presented some statements on different facets of political marketing. I would earnestly request you to give your opinion on a scale of 1 (not at all relevant/practised) -5 (fully relevant/practised) against each statement. The opinion may please be given in terms of the theoretical relevance of the statement in the context of political marketing in India (column 2) and the extent to which it is practised by the major Indian political parties (column 3).

We earnestly solicit your cooperation and guidance in carrying out an effective research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
<th>Practised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Past credential and credibility of the rank and file increase the trust of the electorate vis-à-vis fulfillment of promises made by a political party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contents of the manifesto are important aspects of a ‘political product’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Leaders of the party symbolise and create expectations about the political party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Party policy and ideology create a distinct identity for a political party</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Background:** On the basis of insights from existing literature in the field of political marketing, it has been observed that political parties conceptualise and implement different marketing tools and techniques to win elections by positively influencing the electorate. Considering political parties as service organisations, on account of the resemblance of their ‘offerings’ with the characteristics of ‘services’, we have employed the 7P classification of service in the context of political marketing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
<th>Practised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Political parties follow scientific research process to identify the needs of the electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Political parties carryout voter segmentation on the basis of 'Candidate testing'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Political parties use different marketing research techniques for different voters' segments to get a distinct place in the minds of the electorate vis-à-vis their competitors</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Political parties use variables like age, income, gender, lifestyle, religion, cast, geographical location etc to identify different segments of the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Political parties make value propositions for different segments through differentiated promises</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Political parties impart training to party workers on a regular basis to ensure that workers serve the electorates effectively</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Political parties emphasise that all levels of the party-organisations maintain contact with the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Measures taken by the government led by a political party for addressing common man's problem like (controlling inflation etc) influence electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Activities by the government that improve national image influence the perception of the electorate regarding a political party in power</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Creation of employment and promise to create job opportunity influence the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Actual improvement and promise to improve law and order situation influence the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Presence and help from party activists in the locality in difficult times help create positive image of the party</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Party programmes like conferences, summit, etc communicated and implemented by party leaders and workers influence electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Effective communications of important political decisions having socio-economic implications by party leaders at the national level and by activists in the local level influence the electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements</td>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>Practised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Communication with the electorate throughout the year by various means influences the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Posters, hoarding, and wall graffiti in support of the political party make the party more conspicuous</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Use of controversial words by political leaders in their public speech may change the perception of electorate about the political party</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Presence of posters, hoardings and wall graffiti in a locality reinforces the confidence in the political party</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23. Continuous advertisements by political parties in electronic and print media influence the perception of the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Political parties utilise media schedule and media mix to effectively reach their target voters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Election rallies of political parties before elections influence voting decision</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Political parties use the expertise and creativity of the ad agencies to create advertisements that influence the voters</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Political parties device different promotional strategies for loyal voters and indecisive voters</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Presence of charismatic leaders in a party influences voting decision</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. The symbol of the political party may help in creating perception about the political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Promise of good governance may change the perception of the electorate regarding a particular political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Promotional activities in the social media influences the electorate</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Innovative promotional activities influences the electorate</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Personalised message and phone calls by a political party influences the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Lackluster dressing and simple living of political leaders may facilitate appropriate positioning of the party to its target electorate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statements</td>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>Practised</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Expensive products used by party leaders at all levels act as deterrent towards positioning the party</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Deliberations by the party leaders and sympathisers in the political debate in electronic media may influence the perception of the viewers about different parties</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>37. The approach and mode of talking of the party leaders at all levels change the perception about the party</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>38. Promises made in the party manifestoes may clarify the standing of the party and create an unambiguous positioning</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>39. The structure and decoration of party office may help develop the perception of the electorate about the political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. The language and phrases used in campaign materials may change the perception of the electorate about the political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>41. The type of conveyance used by party leaders influences the perception of the political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>42. The type of people present in the political procession may influence the perception of the electorate about a political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>43. Too much facilities given to the corporate sector may change the positioning of the party</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>44. Favoritism towards a particular religion/caste/community may influence the brand image of a political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Well-structured organisation of the party may send a signal of trust to the electorate</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. Corruption of the party leaders at all levels sends a negative signal to the electorate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>47. Strong action taken against the party leaders and workers for indiscipline and other unacceptable activities may influence the perception of the electorate about the political party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>48. Political alliance with other parties may reinforce favourable voting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements</td>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>Practised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Good governance affects voting decision</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50. Active presence and involvement of educated as well as unblemished people in the party administration may influence the perception of the electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Disciplined behaviour of the party workers may send a signal to the electorate about the political party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Involvement of the party workers in violence may influence the perception of the electorate about the political party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Behaviour, attitude, and standard of living of the local leaders and party activists may change the perception about the political party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Convergence in the opinion of party leaders on the debatable issue influence the electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>55. Dominating and intimidating attitude of the party activists in the locality influence the electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Involvement of party activists in private affairs of the local people influence the electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Spontaneous help by party activists at the right time influences electorate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soliciting your kind cooperation,
Sincere regards,

[Sumantra Bhattacharya]
Research Scholar
Department of Business Administration
The University of Burdwan
3. Questionnaire for Political Consumers or Voters

Name of the respondent: 
Age: 
Locality: 
Sex: 
Signature of the respondent: 

1. (a) How much importance do you attach to the idea that a party should act effectively to curb corruption, indiscipline, and inefficiencies and to project its clean image to the voters?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important

   (b) How much important is the above idea while taking final voting decision?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important

2. (a) How much importance do you attach to the idea that party should try hard to understand your likes and dislikes as a voter?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important

   (b) How much important is the above idea while taking final voting decision?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important

3. (a) How much importance do you attach to the idea that a party should always clearly explain its stand on all important issues to voters?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important

   (b) How much important is the above idea while taking final voting decision?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important

4. (a) How much importance do you attach to the fact that a party should be by your side to help you when you need it?
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important
   (iv) Not at all important
(b) How much important is the above fact while taking final voting decision?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

5. (a) Political parties may take initiative to promote their activities regularly to its members. How much important do you attach to the fact that a party should convince its members before convincing you as a voter?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

(b) How much important is the above fact while taking final voting decision?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

6. (a) When you judge a political party, how much importance do you attach to the fact that the party is working for a few rich and privileged ones?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

(b) How much important is the above fact while taking final voting decision?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

7. (a) How much importance do you attach to the fact that the party adapts itself with the change of time?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

(b) How much important is the above fact while taking final voting decision?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

8. (a) While judging a political party, how much importance do you attach to its reputation building activities and in controlling the activities having negative effect on reputation?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important

(b) How much important is the above idea while taking final voting decision?
(i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  
(iv) Not at all important
9. (a) **Ideology is the sum total of some specific ideas which should be realised in practice. While judging a political party, how much importance do you attach to its ideology?**
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  (iv) Not at all important

   (b) **How much important is the above idea while taking final voting decision?**
   (i) Very much important  (ii) Important  (iii) Not so important  (iv) Not at all important
### Table A.1: Final Rotated Component Matrix for Factor Analysis involving opinions of Social scientists & journalists, Sociologists, and Journalists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role of local leaders and workers in solving local problems</td>
<td>.824</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>.263</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.249</td>
<td>.107</td>
<td>.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of local leaders and workers in the locality</td>
<td>.762</td>
<td>.183</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>.147</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.283</td>
<td>.143</td>
<td>-.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of political parties in cultural, social, and sports activities</td>
<td>.652</td>
<td>-.112</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.347</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.160</td>
<td>-.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good governance</td>
<td>.642</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>.327</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party workers helping people in need</td>
<td>.534</td>
<td>-.041</td>
<td>.393</td>
<td>-.045</td>
<td>.495</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>.058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour of party workers at the local level</td>
<td>.529</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.376</td>
<td>.368</td>
<td>.122</td>
<td>.383</td>
<td>-.067</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General law and order situation including protection of women</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.807</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>-.068</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>-.101</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudden revelation of corruption before election by media</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td>.728</td>
<td>-.063</td>
<td>.146</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.167</td>
<td>.195</td>
<td>-.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty and clean image of the top party leaders</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td>.673</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>-.126</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in ideology of the political party</td>
<td>-.153</td>
<td>.626</td>
<td>.402</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.225</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigging and violence of the party workers on the voting day</td>
<td>.239</td>
<td>.530</td>
<td>.223</td>
<td>.438</td>
<td>-.048</td>
<td>-.134</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>-.416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relentless contact by the party workers with the people throughout the year</td>
<td>.211</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>.717</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>-.222</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti incumbency factor</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.260</td>
<td>.675</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>.273</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>-.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall corruption in the party</td>
<td>.184</td>
<td>.284</td>
<td>.626</td>
<td>.264</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td>.167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration under the complete control of the ruling party</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>6.163E-5</td>
<td>.558</td>
<td>.400</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.365</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooliganism of the party workers in the locality</td>
<td>.277</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.716</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td>-.083</td>
<td>.218</td>
<td>-.150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interference in education</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>.324</td>
<td>.712</td>
<td>.198</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excessive interference of the party in private sphere</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>-.056</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>.648</td>
<td>.417</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influencing as well as convincing speech of party leaders in media</td>
<td>.135</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>.821</td>
<td>.160</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>-.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilising party workers in patriotic activities</td>
<td>.132</td>
<td>.159</td>
<td>.277</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>.674</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>.280</td>
<td>.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election rallies of political parties before elections</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>-.053</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>-.169</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.842</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall campaign by political parties before elections</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.811</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong organisation of the political party</td>
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