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EXPLORING THE MARKETING MIX ELEMENTS IN NIGERIAN POLITICS

WORLU ROWLAND, E. K.

ABSTRACT

Political Marketing has not sufficiently attracted the interest of scholars in Nigeria going by the limited work published so far in the area. This seems strange when it is reckoned that political campaign (an aspect of political marketing) is not new. The Greeks had used it in the establishment of Government in Athens. Today, politicians in Nigeria communicate with the electorate through varying dimensions of political marketing, yet not much is known about the discipline. Admittedly, political scientists have documented the changes in electioneering campaigns but the role of marketing in managing such campaigns is yet to be underscored. It is in this context that this study explores political marketing as a discipline by building a theoretical framework which spotlights the specific application of marketing mix elements in politics. The premise is the prospect of greater use of marketing techniques in voter persuasion in Nigerian future elections.

INTRODUCTION

Marketing is broadly tenable in two areas - tangible and intangible goods. The aspect of intangible goods is referred to as services marketing. Service marketing deals with the performance of business activities, which direct the flow of services of any kind including the marketing of politics, from the service providers to the consumers (Achumba, Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004). A service is therefore defined as separately identifiable intangible activities which provide want satisfaction when marketed to consumers and/or industrial users, and which are not necessarily tied to the sale of a product or another service. We include such services as medical service, insurance, repair services (not the repair parts purchased) entertainment, and more importantly politics. We exclude credit delivery, and packaging services, which exist only when there is a sale of an article or another services.

Achumba (1995) differentiated between two basic types of services: the ‘service product’ which offers the customer an intangible service of benefits which in most instances can not be stored for future use; and the ‘product service’ which is vital to the functioning of the product and therefore an integral part of it. In other words, services are activities, not things. Besides, services tend to be people intensive, nonstandardized and perishable (University of New Orleans, 2003).
Every product, whether tangible or intangible, requires the application of marketing mix, albeit in varying degrees. Marketing mix is the set of controllable tactical marketing tools that the firm blends to produce the response it wants in the target market (Kotler, Armstrong, Saunders, Wong, 1999). For the tangible products, these marketing tools are product, place, price, and promotion. As for the intangible products, three additional tools are applied. These are people, process, and physical evidence.

Politics in its dictionary definition is simply the science or art of government (Hornby, 1974). This art or science is often carried out by political parties which have to compete among themselves to be elected by the people in a particular society. The electors are commonly referred to as the electorate. In order to be elected, political parties have to engage in campaigning activities.

In the view of Baines et al. (2003), political parties are becoming more organized in their campaigning activity. As a matter of fact, in the U.K., the major political parties are beginning to embrace the marketing concept and process. As to whether this is the case in Nigeria is partly the focus of this study. While the other is to show how much we can extrapolate marketing in the conduct of societal issues such as politics.

**THE ESSENCE OF THE MARKETING MIX ELEMENTS IN A MARKETING SYSTEM**

The marketing mix concept is central to understanding modern marketing, and the key variables discussed in this segment are subsequently developed and referred to as marketing mix elements in the context of politics. The marketing mix has been defined earlier on. It may, once again, be defined as "the mixture of controllable marketing variables that the firm uses to pursue the sought level of sales in the target market (Kotler, 1984).

According to Middleton (1998) the concept implies a set of variables akin to controls that can be operated by a marketing manager to achieve a defined goal. By way of illustration, the controls may be likened to those of an automobile, which, to reach a chosen destination has four main controls. There is a throttle or accelerator to control engine speed; there is brake to reduce or stop; there is a gear shift to match the engine speed to the road speed required or to reverse direction; and there is a steering wheel with which to change the direction of travel. As every driver knows, movement of the controls must be synchronized and used in ways that respond to constantly changing road conditions, and the actions of other drivers or road users. Progress from one point to another, for the driver, is continuous manipulation of the four basic controls.

In the same vein, the marketing manager drives an organization towards chosen destinations using these controls. The four controls are product formulation which is a means of adapting the product to the changing needs of the target customer; pricing...
which in practice tends to be used as a throttle to increase or slow down the volume of sales according to market conditions; promotion which is used to increase the number of those in the market who are aware of the product and are favourably disposed towards buying it; and place, which determines the number of prospective customers who are able to find convenient places and ways to convert their buying intentions into purchases. These four controls are manipulated continuously according to the market conditions prevailing, especially with regards to the actions of competitors.

![Diagram of Marketing Mix](image)

**Fig. 1: The marketing mix in the context of the marketing system**
Adapted from Stanton, W. J., 1974

**MARKETING MIX IN THE CONTEXT OF A MARKETING SYSTEM**

Figure 1 above expresses the marketing system for any organization in four concentric rings. It is designed to demonstrate how marketing mix decisions operate around the core focus of selected consumer segments.

As indicated earlier on, the four Ps are in the innermost ring are under the direct control of marketing managers, but subject to the non marketing resources and management functions of the organization shown in the ring next to marketing mix. These non-marketing resources (intra organizational level or forces within the organization that affect marketing) constitute the corporate internal environment, which combine with the marketing mix to form the microenvironment.

The outermost ring (general Environment) combines with the one next to it (operating or task environment) to form the macro environment. The operating environment is the external support level, which accommodates institutions with which the marketing operators interact to achieve its goals. The general environment represents the broad external forces that influence the marketing operations of the firm.

**MARKETING MIX ELEMENTS MULTIPLIED IN THE CASE OF SERVICE**

Each of the four Ps includes within it so many important sub-elements, and this had caused many authors to develop many variations of the original four, especially for
service products. Cowell (1993) (as cited in Middleton (1998) reviewed recent American Contributions; and drawing in particular on the work of Booms and Bitner, recommended a revised marketing mix for services, which comprises:

(i) Product
(ii) Price
(iii) Promotion
(iv) Place
(v) People (number, training, attitudes)
(vi) Physical evidence (furnishing, colour, slogan, symbol)
(vii) Process (customer involvement, procedures in service delivery)

Closer scrutiny suggests that the proposed additional three mix elements are in fact all integral elements of politics since they apply to service.

POLITICS AS A SERVICE

Political marketing is often treated as an aspect of service marketing. The reason is not far-fetched. Politics, the only stock in trade of political marketing, shares the same characteristics with service - the mainstream of service marketing. These characteristics are as follows:

INTANGIBILITY

Service intangibility means that services can not be readily displayed, so they cannot be seen, tasted, felt, heard or smelled before they are bought. Because service offerings lack tangible characteristics that the buyer can evaluate before purchase, uncertainty is increased. To reduce uncertainty, buyers look for 'signals' of service quality. They draw conclusions about quality from the place, people, equipment, communication material and price that they can see. Therefore, the politicians and political parties can influence such conclusion by ensuring that their membership is dominated by credible citizens with proven track record of excellent performance. This means that reputation (based on record and leadership) is the only thing of substance parties can offer to voters in support of their promises' to govern. (Seammell, 1999).

INSEPARABILITY

Service inseparability means that services cannot be separated from their providers, whether the providers are people or machines. Green Revolution cannot be separated from NPN and Shagari government. Free education could not be separated from UPN.

VARIABILITY OR HETEROGENEITY

Service variability or heterogeneity means that the quality of services depends
on who provides them, as well as when, where and how they are provided. As such, service quality is difficult to control. For example, the governor of Ogun state may be serving his people better than the governor of Rivers State; yet the two of them belong to the same party (that is, PDP) with the same manifestoes and programmes. Even in the same Ogun state, it is not all the time that the governor will record quality service for his people. This means that political services (like other services) can hardly be standardized.

**PERISHABILITY**

Service perishability means that services cannot be stored for later sale or use. If a party or politician does not secure the votes of the electorate in a particular tenure, the service that would have gone with that tenure cannot be stored for later delivery. However, since market for services fluctuates considerably overtime, that same candidate or party may be voted in some other time, and in another circumstance for him to deliver his service to the people.

**LACK OF OWNERSHIP**

This means that service products cannot be enjoyed for an unlimited time, neither can it be resold by someone who has received it. The service consumer often has access to the service for a limited time. A political party member can enjoy the rights and privileges of belonging as long as he is a member. Once he defects, he can no longer lay claim to such rights and privileges.

In addition to the foregoing, services marketing theory has provided some valuable insights for researchers of political marketing (Harrop, 1990; Scammell, 1999). While thinking of politics and governance as a service, these researchers theorized the importance of image-reputation - in politics, not just as an effect of television but as an imperative of the market place (Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004).

Again service marketing operates in three dimensions, which are also relevant to political marketing. These dimensions are illustrated below:

**Fig. 2: Three Types of Marketing in Service Firms**

Internal Marketing: Requires that the service firm should train and effectively motivate its customer-contact employees and all the supporting service people to work as a team to provide customer satisfaction. In other words, the internal market is made up of all employees who have contact with customers and have a direct influence on customer perception of the product in the market. In the case of politics, the members of a political party constitute the internal market.

In Germany, political parties recognize the importance of internal market. In fact, Scarrow (1996) (as cited in Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004) detailed German party efforts to encourage local activisms and the high value placed by party leadership on members’ activities as outreach workers, representatives of the party in broader society and even in casual conversation. Effectively they are part-time marketers of the party.

Neglect of internal market (party members) will most likely result in a less commitment to, and diminution of core value; or even uncertain prospect of face to face contact with the ‘customers’ (electorate). The result is greater distance between the organization and its customers.

Interactive Marketing: This is another type of service marketing and it means that perceived service quality depends heavily on the quality of the buyer-seller interaction. Effective service delivery-customer interaction is paramount for achieving a satisfactory service transaction. According to Kotler et al. (1999) the customer judges service quality not just on technical quality (example, the success of the surgery) but also on its functional quality (example, whether the doctor showed concern and inspired confidence). In the same vein, it is not only technical ability that counts for the politician; he needs to master interactive marketing skills or functions.

External Marketing: This describes the normal work to prepare, price, distribute, and promote the service (political product) to the electorate. It is the ultimate delivery of the service offering to the customer. Once the service has been delivered to the customer, relationship-marketing skills begin to count. For the politician and the political party, merely securing the votes of the electorate does not end the transaction. There is need to aspire for customer loyalty which brings about relationship marketing.

POLITICAL MARKETING

Various attempts have been made by scholars at different times to define political marketing as a new area of study. So far none of these attempts seem to have given a complete picture of what the concept represents. For instance, Wring (1977) in his attempt merely underscored the exchange process arising between voters and candidates, which also involves the use of marketing mix to promote political parties. He also alluded to the definition loc process.

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that political marketing is a broader concept than what other scholars would make us believe. He indicated that political marketing includes evaluation and redesign of policy and electoral strategy in the light of studies of the electorate’s concern. He argued that political communication is currently far from designing and printing a message on posters without consideration of whom they are addressed to. It encompasses the entire marketing process - from preliminary market study to testing and targeting.

Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi (2004) while recalling the stance of Harris and Ward (2000) maintained that the use of policies to position candidates to gain more votes embodies the political marketing concept. They added that the concept includes a broader consideration of the needs of the electorate, so that policies, as well as promotional messages are centred on the desires of the voters.

Be that as it may, political marketing is here defined as the marketing process of presenting a political entity (candidate or party) to the electorate for adoption so that the entity can hold power in trust for the people. Marketing process as used in the definition point to the application of the marketing functions or techniques in a continual basis. Political entity would mean the candidate, party or manifestoes and programmes. Electorate refers to all those who are eligible to vote in an election. Adoption in this case is expressed by casting votes for the entity power which are could be legislative or
executive and must involve the power to control resources. Despite all the foregoing attempts, it is evident that political marketing scholars have not documented much of what is happening in the political market place and the way in which this differs from traditional Political Science models of electoral campaigning in action.

Political marketing started gaining ground shortly after the first world war when direct communication between candidates and the electorate was the order. As Norris (1997) put it, “politics was soap box retail that is, face to face canvassing on door steps. Posters in household windows, leafleting at factory gates”. This he further described as old fashioned “… retail politics…” (Norris, 1997). The contemporary politics has witnessed the use of high technology in modern campaigning to the extent that the foot soldiers and grassroots campaigners have significantly lost their bearing.

To corroborate this point, Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi (2004) argue that the modern political party is akin to the franchising operation, one that buys in expertise as and when it needs it. The effect of the above trends has been the emergence of new elites in the parties and the elevation of marketing and media people, who may have marginal or short term connection with the party, to have a more continuous influence because of the emergence of the so-called permanent campaign in modern politics (Kavanagh, 2003).

However, the logic of marketing was applied for the first time to politics and democracy by Downs (1957) who wrote from an economic standpoint. He posited that voters and politicians were market rationalists. In this connection, voters were like consumers seeking the best buy, and politicians who campaigned for votes, were like businessmen who sought sales. During John F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign a mixture of opinion research and media management could be swing close contests. This craft of political campaigning by Kennedy and three succeeding US Presidents were closely documented in “The Making of the President Series by White (1961, 1966, 1969, 1974).

Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi (2004) recalled how McGinniss (1970) extended the frontiers of White’s work during the 1968 US Presidential election by focusing on the marketing techniques employed by the successful Nixon Campaign in “The selling of the President (1970)”. In fact, the 1972 US Presidential campaign produced three important books that revealed much about the operations of campaigns.

In addition, many authors have documented the rise of the political consultancy industry which developed to give impetus to this new form of political campaigning in the United States (Blumenthal, 1980; Dinken, 1989; Neapolitan, 1994; Sabato, 1981; Thumber & Nelso, 1995). The political consultancy industry is also making wave in the United Kingdom (Butler, 1992; Norris, 1999; Rosenbeum, 1997) and in Australia (Mills, 1986; Tiffen, 1989).
PHASES OF THE POLITICAL MARKETING CONCEPT

Political Marketing concept has maintained some evolutionary trend with time. The causes of this evolution are both conceptual and perceptual: Conceptual through the introduction of new ideas as to what politics is and what it ought to do; perceptual through envisionment of new realms in which political process might be applied. Wring (1966) identified three phases of the political marketing concept which he outlined as follows:

**Phase I - Production Orientation**

This is a primitive propaganda phase, which assumes that minimal encouragement will secure the support of voters. Wring (1996) associates the production orientation with 'retail politics' or propaganda approach to communication. He defines propaganda as the use of one directional communication to manipulate an undifferentiated, passive electorate into voting for a candidate.

**Phase II - Sales-Led**

This approach incorporates the use of research to target segments of the electorate with more persuasive communications. In this connection, Wring (1996) maintains that organizations begin to invest in market research in order to target selected consumer groups with more refined and often stylistic communications. In other words, the Sales-led phase of political marketing is characterized by the use of market research to design more persuasive communications.

**Phase III - Media Campaigning**

This phase is characterized by the packaging of policies and associate them with desirable personalities or individual politician.

MARKETING MIX COMPONENTS OF POLITICS

Having noted earlier, the crucial role, which marketing mix elements play in a marketing system, we shall now see how each of these elements applies to political
marketing. Again, the point has been made that political marketing operates in the domain of services marketing. Thus, rather than considering the traditional four Ps, we shall treat the revised marketing mix elements for service, which are product, place, price, promotion, people, process and physical evidence.

THE POLITICAL 'PRODUCT'

A product is anything that can be offered to a market for attention, acquisition, use or consumption that might satisfy a want or need. It includes physical objects, services, persons, places, organizations and ideas. (Kotler et al, 1999).

A political product, thus, refers to ideas (political policies, messages, ideologies, and programmes), services, persons, and organizations (political party) meant for the attention and adoption of the electorate. In planning its market offering, the political marketer needs to think through five levels of the political product as indicated in figure 3.3 below. According to Kotler (2002) each level adds more customer value and the five constitute a customer value hierarchy. The most fundamental level is 'core benefit or service'.

CORE BENEFIT OR SERVICE

That is, the fundamental service or benefit that the customer is really buying. For the political product, the customer (voter) is actually buying good governance by casting his votes. Political marketers (campaign managers, and opinion leaders and party candidates) must see themselves as providers of good governance.

Fig. 3: Five Political Product Levels

At the second level, the political marketer must build an actual or basic product around the Core product. This may have as many as five characteristics; sound education, character, experience, intelligence, and attractive personality.
At the third level, the political product that is, a set of attributes and conditions voters normally expect when they cast their votes for a candidate or party. These may be equity in the distribution of amenities to different constituencies, equity in appointments to public offices, maintenance of public utilities, and payment of emoluments to civil servants.

At the fourth level, the political product planner must build an augmented product around the core, basic, and expected products by offering additional consumer (voter) services and benefits. These services and benefits exceed voters’ expectation at times. For example, instead of just providing Universal Basic Education (Free), which is the expectation of the voters, Obasanjo’s government has also launched school feeding programme which is intended to feed the pupils while at school. In Rivers State, any pregnant woman who delivers through operation in the state owned hospital (Braithewait Memorial Hospital) does not pay any bill. And anybody at the age of 60 and above does not pay any bill in River State Government owned hospital.

At the fifth level stands the potential product, which encompasses all the possible argumentations and transformations the product or offering might undergo in the future. In this case, political marketers (parties or candidates) search for new ways to satisfy electorate, at times beyond what is contained in their manifestoes, to make another tenure possible.

PROMOTING THE POLITICAL PRODUCT

Almost all forms of promotion in political marketing are done through political campaigning. According to Anderson (2004), election campaign is more about marketing than about politics. To this end, Stockwell (2004) defined political campaigning as the rush of media items leading up to polling day.

Strictly speaking, promoting the political product involves techniques derived from Mass marketing, public relations, game theory and statistical psychology (Blumenthal, 1980). Thus, the process involves three stages: strategy (from candidate/issue analysis to developing the game plan), communication (day-to-day development of the message and its distribution through mass and direct media), and high gear (locking down commitment and getting out the vote).

Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi (2004) have noted that money is a key determinant of the impact of the promotion of a political product; but then good organization, innovative use of new technologies, skillful volunteer and resource management and accurate reading of the political terrain can cause upsets.

In the main, political products are promoted via all channels consumed by the target audience: Newspapers, radio, television, billboards and internet. In seeking free coverage in the editorial portions of the media, the promoter (that is, campaign manager
or the political marketer) monitors the media, prepares press releases, holds press conferences, produces websites, runs media events and major events including launches and debates but above all, talks to journalists.

For greatest effect, the free media message (publicity) should be co-ordinated to complement and cohere with advertising. Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi (2004) add that advertising allows the campaign to bond together the matrix of ideas, images, policies and arguments that make up the message into a moment of emotional exchange directly with the audience. The range of advertising styles for different media, their appropriate combination and media buying methods to maximize the reach-to-target audiences are important issues to be addressed within the context of promotional planning and budgeting.

Though direct contact is still the most persuasive of all promotions for any political product, interpersonal contact at meetings, events and in the doorway develop a personal relationship. Finally, audience segmentation and canvassing, as observed by Stockwell (2004), can generate lists of targeted individuals who can then be engaged in interactive communication by direct mail, phone banking, e-mail, door knock visits or special purpose meetings and events.

Pricing the Political Product

Price, in an economic sense, is the value expressed in terms of naira and kobo, or whatever the monetary medium is in the country where an exchange occurs. But in reality price assumes diverse nomenclatures to different people and professionals. When a banker gives loan, the price he expects in exchange is interest. The insurer expects premium for his service. The transporter receives fares for his services, and so on.

In the same vein, the political marketer expects to receive votes in exchange for all his efforts. This is why managerial creativity, skill and imagination are required. But what the voter is paying for through his/her vote is good governance. If the political marketer/product fails to perform or deliver, the voter will certainly have cognitive dissonance in his post purchase behaviour.

The aspect of pricing that is most applicable is the competition-oriented pricing. In which case, the political marketer packages the political product (candidate, party, ideologies, message, programmes and so on) with the understanding that there are other political products also competing for the voter’s attention and adoption. This understanding makes him (political marketer) focus his persuasive effort on the differential advantage or distinctive competence of the political product. This is stressed in the message to the electorate to make them express their adoption of the political product through the ballot paper (vote) they cast on the day of election.
CHAPTERS OF DISTRIBUTION FOR POLITICAL PRODUCT

Distribution of political product is the process of connecting with voters. This process could be extensive, selective or intensive. For a national position like the presidency, national chairman of a party, to mention but a few, the distribution process is extensive. Regional and zonal positions are selective. But products for state, local government, state constituency ward and chapter positions are normally intensive. At the national level, the facility of the product is located at a place to serve as the headquarters with a network around the nation. The same applies down the line. Communication, transportation, inventory, and storage facilities also follow the same pattern. Political marketers also appoint campaign managers and coordinators who serve as their agents along the line.

PEOPLE

The selection, training, and motivation of employees or agents of the political marketer can make a huge difference in getting the consent of the electorate. Ideally, these agents or supporters should exhibit competence, a caring attitude, responsiveness, initiative, problem-solving ability, and good will (Kotler, 2000). Most political marketers (product) empower their agents or coordinators to the tune of N1m to enable them organize for ward and constituency visits, and also resolve a voter problem on behalf of the political marketer.

PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Political marketers (Products) also try to demonstrate their product’s quality through physical evidence and presentation. A political party that will provide sufficient food for the masses may have as symbol, some crops; a political marketer that will offer security to the masses may have ‘umbrella’ as his symbol. In other words, a political marketer (product) will develop a look or style of dealing with electorate that realizes its intended voter value proposition, whether it is health, education, employment, or some other benefit.

PROCESS

Political marketers (products) can choose among different processes to deliver their service. A politician who has a programme of free health services may require that people register in various hospitals, and should only visit such hospitals in the event of health challenges. For a citizen to benefit from free education programme may require a letter of identification from his local government of origin. This implies that each political product may maintain a unique process of delivering service to the electorate.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Marketing mix elements are applicable to politics just as they are in commercial marketing. However, the sale of a political product is more reliant on promise and reputation. For instance, voting for a political product (candidate) involves a promise to electorato perform when in office. Thus, the promise and the reputation is the only thing that the political marketer can offer in advance of sale.

The political product can, at the same time, be the marketer because of the nature of political marketing. For example, a person who offers himself for election is a political product. When he begins to apply the marketing mix elements to enable the electorate vote for him, he becomes the political marketer.

In some other countries of the world, politics is issue-oriented whereas in Nigeria it is finance-oriented. This is why political products in Nigeria are sold to the people, rather than marketed to them. However, in applying marketing mix elements to Nigerian politics.

Political parties should learn to present for election persons (with ideologies and programmes) that meet the needs of the electorate and not the ones that meet their own needs (that is, their whims and caprices). Again, political parties should desist from selling to the electorate products that promise just the core benefit (like housing, education, health services, and so on) to the electorate instead of general improvement in the overall quality of life in the areas of security, human pride, standard of living, and the like.

The political marketer should apply a variety of methods in his promotional effort. More importantly, direct contact, or strictly speaking, interpersonal contact with opinion leaders and majority of the voters is the best approach. He may accomplish this through his agents and representatives. From each segment, a list of targeted individuals can be generated who can then be engaged in interactive communication by direct mail, e-mail, telemarketing, visits, or special purpose meetings and events. While managerial creativity, skill and imagination are required to win the votes of the electorate, political marketers should aim at satisfying the needs of customers (voters) through their performance in office. This will create cognitive consonance rather than dissonance.

Those who are chosen to be agents of the political marketer (product) should be people of integrity because voters use this people to draw conclusion on the trustworthiness of the political product. Besides, they should have the necessary training and motivation in order to properly represent the political product before the electorate. Also, the physical evidence the electorate should look out for in a political product is his antecedents and contribution to society, and not just his affluence or intellect.

A political marketer (product) who truly has the interest of the people at heart should avoid the cumbersome process of delivering service to the people. Most of the
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Most of the processes put in place by public officers, for delivering service are quite frustrating to the citizens. For example, a health scheme to save an accident victim should not require that the victim show his tax certificate for four years.

REFERENCES


