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UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MARKETING THEORY AND PRACTICE

It's analysed the main stages in the development of political marketing as theory and practice of modern political process in a democratic society, which shows the leading role of Western, especially American, scientists. At the moment, the scientific analysis clearly separate the two directions of the development of political marketing - theoretical and practical.

Analysis of Ukrainian reality shows that political marketing is a topical subject of Ukrainian scientists researches, especially young ones. Political practice has experience in the use of technology in the practice of political marketing campaign, shaping the image of political leaders and the state as a whole, although, according to experts, the market of political consulting is not developed, and the political marketing is perceived

negatively by population.

Keywords: political marketing, political market, political technology, election campaign

Музиченко Ганна

УКРАЇНА В КОНТЕКСТІ РОЗВИТКУ ТЕОРІЇ ТА ПРАКТИКИ ПОЛІТИЧНОГО МАРКЕТИНГУ

Здійснено аналіз основних етапів розвитку політичного маркетингу як теорії та практики управління сучасним політичним процесом в умовах демократичних суспільств, який свідчить про провідну роль західних, перш за все американських, вчених. Наразі в межах наукового аналізу чітко розділяють два напрямки розвитку політичного маркетингу - теоретичний та практичний.

Аналіз української дійсності довів, що політичний маркетинг є актуальним предметом наукових досліджень українських вчених, особливо молодих. Політична практика має досвід застосування технологій політичного маркетингу в практиці виборчих кампаній, формуванні іміджу політичних лідерів і держави загалом, хоча, на думку експертів, ринок політичного консалтингу ще дуже не розвинений, а серед населення політичний маркетинг сприймається негативно.

Ключові слова: політичний маркетинг, політичний ринок, політичні технології, виборча кампанія

Музыченко Анна

УКРАИНА В КОНТЕКСТЕ РАЗВИТИЯ ТЕОРИИ И ПРАКТИКИ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО МАРКЕТИНГА

Осуществлен анализ основных этапов развития политического маркетинга как теории и практики управления современным политическим процессом в условиях демократических обществ, который свидетельствует о ведущей роли западных, прежде всего американских, ученых. На данный момент в рамках научного анализа четко разделяют два направления развития политического маркетинга – теоретический и практический.

Анализ украинской действительности показал, что политический маркетинг является актуальным предметом научных исследований украинских ученых, особенно молодых. Политическая практика имеет опыт применения технологий политического маркетинга в практике избирательных кампаний, формировании

имиджа политических лидеров и государства в целом, хотя, по мнению экспертов, рынок политического консалтинга еще очень не развит, а среди населения политический маркетинг воспринимается отрицательно.

Ключевые слова: политический маркетинг, политический рынок, политические технологии, избирательная кампания

Introduction. Democratic reforms and formation of market relations in Ukraine contributed to the development of the theory and practice of market mechanisms, including the worldwide preference marketing. Marketing as a theory and practice of market mechanisms in the economy had been thoroughly studied in the West and in Ukraine in particular, while the sphere of social and political processes has always been a series of discussions among scientists, especially about the very possibility of the use of marketing terminology in the analysis of political phenomena. Nevertheless, political marketing shape as a separate branch of science that studies the application of marketing technologies in opportunity in political practice, particularly in the electoral process. Experience of election campaigns in Ukraine already witnessed the use of such technologies in Ukraine, so it's very actual the question of the place of Ukraine in the global marketing theory and practice.

Analysis of recent publications and researches. Investigation of the role and importance of political marketing in the development of political processes by foreign experts – S. Lipset, F. Kotler, H. Mauser, M. Parenti, V. Pareto, J. Schumpeter, Russian scholars - S. Andreev, F. Gould, F. Ilyas, A. Morozov, A. Kovler, A. Meleshkina, A. Maximov, D. Nezhdanov, A. Soloviev, A. Poluektova et al.

Becoming an important source of political marketing in Ukraine is the work of national experts – A. Vyshnyak, A. Paharyeva, G. Pocheptsov, et al. In developing the concept of political marketing is an important contribution of V. Bebik, M. Holovaty, V. Korolko, V. Poltorak et al. Study of technologies of political marketing devoted to the work of L. Kochubej, O. Petrov, A. Poychenko, Y. Surmin, M. Tomenko et al. Manipulation dimension of political marketing was a major in the works of J. Bogush, O. Chekmyshev, I. Vare, G. Postryhanya, V. Petrenko et al.

Unsolved aspects of the topic. With all the abundance of literature on the theory of marketing by Ukrainian authors, as well as evidence of use

of marketing techniques in the political practice of modern Ukraine, remains understudied question of the place and role of our country and the national political science in the development of the world theory and practice of political marketing.

Purpose of article. The purpose of this paper is to determine the place and role of Ukraine in the development of the world political marketing theory and practice. It's done by identifying the major stages in the development of political thought in the field of political marketing, as well as the analysis of the contribution of Ukrainian evidence in the theory and practice of political marketing.

The main material research. The earliest recorded use of the term «political marketing» did not appear in a formal management study but in the pioneering work of political scientist Stanley Kelley that charted the emergence of the professional campaign industry in the United States. Commenting on the activities of the first election consultancies, Kelley wrote: «The team relies heavily but not entirely upon their own intuitive feel for providing political marketing conditions. They pride themselves on having «good average minds» that help them to see things as the average man sees them» [Cited in: 15].

By the mid-1970s, American scholars such as Avraham Shama and Philip Kotler were to the fore in developing theoretical foundations for the subject. Similarly, experts in Europe began to consider the political dimension to marketing, positing the view that an exchange relationship existed between democratic elites and their voters.

By the mid-1980s, a steady stream of research discussing the emergence of the phenomenon helped confirm its importance. The politicians recognized the problem of being elected is essentially a marketing one. Political parties must determine the scope and the most effective way of communicating its benefits to a target audience.

The end of the 1980s saw the processes of theoretical understanding of the concept of marketing and its opportunities in the socio-political sphere. The main discussion was conducted as part of the American and British schools of marketing. American Marketing Association (AMA) added the crucial word «ideas» to the list of legitimate product concerns: «Marketing is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives» [Cited in: 15].

The British equivalent of the AMA statement, as agreed by the Chartered Institute of Marketing (CIM), places similar emphasis on the notion that organizational success is an integral part of strategic concerns: firms do not seek to satisfy consumers out of altruism but from a desire to realize their own profit-making goals. To the CIM marketing is the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably.

We should agree with Dominic Wring [15] that the British and American definitions are useful in that they counteract the crude and over simplistic belief that marketing is simply about firms giving their customers what they want. Some in political science may have misunderstood marketing in this way, it helps explain why relatively few in the field have sought to use it as a tool of electoral analysis.

The first discussion among the scholars was about possibility of using definition “market” according to political process. In the last 25 years is not the magnitude of political marketing but the belief that political actors not only act out but also think in marketing instrument in a coherent marketing strategy. The changes in the mind-sets of political actors have been tracked in several studies and have been considered a «revolution» or even a new age in politics.

Gamble contends that: «The main components of the modern political market are three; the existence of a mass electorate; competition between two or more parties for the votes of this electorate; and a set of rules governing this competition» [Cited in: 14].

Within the political market the key relationship is based around a concept central to marketing theory, namely that of exchange between buyer and seller. Thus citizens give their votes to politicians who, when elected, purport to govern in the public interest. In a modern democracy the right to vote, commonly associated with the age of majority, allows for a mass electorate which can typically number well into the millions.

Commercial markets tend to resemble the competitive structure found in an electoral system run on the grounds of proportionality as opposed to «first past the post». This is not to argue that market criteria cannot be applied to a political situation such as that in Britain where purely majoritarian rules of voting operate. Indeed the need for the parties to maintain vote share as well as court new groups of «swing» voters is as relevant to participants in this system as it is to those operating under

conditions of proportional representation.

There are important differences between the political and consume product, and these lead to distinct differences in the content and texture of the marketing. Politics is intimately concerned with affirmation of values. Thus, a political issue is merely a product to be merchandised, but a vibrant value symbol connecting with an individual's sense of who and what he or she is at the deepest level. In such cases, political views and decisions are part of the social construction, the self-articulation or public persona of the individual, arguably at more fundamental level than Hermes scarf or handbag. Governments are more than just big customer-service organization, and while appeals in consumer marketing are seldom value-free, the function of politics as a major source of value affirmation makes it inherently more complicated than consumer marketing. The exchange process of business cannot compare with the polemical intensities of politics, arising from its role as theatre – and crucible – of values and value conflicts.

Political partisanship is affirmed by a moral ethos that is different from that of consumer marketing – one that can, of course, be ideological and that of consume marketing – one that can, of course, be ideological and even cruel. Consume marketing has nothing like negative advertising, and so-called comparative advertising is faint echo.

To Dominic Wring marketing is a process in which the notion of «consumer focus» plays a major strategic role but not to the exclusion of organizational needs. Compared with over-simplistic customer centered understandings of the subject, this theoretical interpretation fits more easily with the world of «real politic». Such understanding of real politic narrows the concept of political marketing to the sphere of the electoral process. In political science this view is reflected in theoretical considerations of competition which attempt to marry the need of the organization (that is the party) to win support with its desire to maintain some degree of programmatic consistency between elections. Parties rather than firms are perhaps more adequately equipped to influence the deliberations of their market. Thus elections are based around the organizing principle that: «Democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in the decision-making process» [15].

In addition, political marketing applications have moved from

solely a communication tool to an integrated way of managing politics, be it policy development, permanent campaigning, or even governing (to the extent that government has become «symbolic» in certain circumstances). In this way it is possible to conceive of political marketing as: «the party or candidate's use of opinion research and environmental analysis to produce and promote a competitive offering which will help realize organizational aims and satisfy groups of electors in exchange for their votes».

Further development of the theory of political marketing on the definition and specification of the basic concepts of the theory of marketing in terms of the political process and democracy. The actual workings of the mass democracy has divided the political market into two camps. There are those that compete for office and those that vote. Like the producers and consumers in economic markets it is a mistake to believe that these two functions are of equal importance. One is active, creative and continuous; the other is passive, receptive and intermittent.

It should be noted that the statements of place emphasis on a party's ability to shape voter preferences, neither commentator would deny the fundamental role the electorate play in determining outcomes within a competitive political market situation. Consequently, by emphasizing the fact that it is both an organizational as well as consumer focused exercise, it is possible to understand the usefulness of marketing analysis to political scientists.

The same principles that operate in the commercial market place hold true in the political marketplace: successful companies have a market orientation and are constantly engaged in creating value for their customers. In other words, marketers must anticipate their customers' needs, and then constantly develop innovative products and services to keep their customers satisfied. Politicians have a similar orientation and are constantly trying to create value for their constituents by improving the quality of life, and creating the most benefit at the smallest cost.

Political marketing can be defined as, «...the application of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns by various individuals and organizations. The procedures involved include the analysis, development, execution, and management of strategic campaigns by candidates, political parties, governments, lobbyists and interest groups that seek to drive public opinion, advance their own ideologies, win elections, and pass legislation and referenda in response to the needs and

wants of selected people and groups in a society» [Cited in: 4].

Stephan C. Henneberg points six main developments of applied applications of political marketing can be generalised for most democratic political systems in the last two decades:

- an increased sophistication of communication and «spin» (Kavanagh, Kaid, Sherman, Harris, Lees-Marshment, Palmer);
- strategies for product and image management (Scammell, Baines, Kotler and Kotler, Newman, Smith);
- news-management, i.e. the use of «free» media (Franklin, Schnur, Franklin and Richardson);
- more coherent and planned political marketing strategy development (Newman, Butler and Collins, Henneberg, Wring);
- intensified and integrated use of political market research (Huber and Herrmann; Mitchell and Daves);
- emphasis on political marketing organisation and professionalisation (Panebianco, Lees-Marshment) [12].

Essentially, the different aspects of political marketing theory can be exemplified by two questions: «How to *do marketing* in politics» and «How to *know* in politics». First question is focussed on managerial aspects of marketing (without implying a purely normative focus), the second is concerned with an epistemological stance *per se* and is therefore not limited to marketing applications. These two questions (and the underlying research activities associated with them) are not independent of each other, rather they are bound in a dialectic relationship: although one can describe political marketing practice without necessarily employing a marketing epistemology (as well as one can look at political phenomena through a marketing lens without focusing on marketing aspects), the two are intertwined.

In discussing the core of a political marketing theory, two different stances have been identified: first, a narrow one, focusing on understanding marketing activities in politics and, second, a wider one, concerned with a more holistic attempt of achieving knowledge of politics. An idiosyncratic discussion of the ontology and epistemology implications of this wider stance identified four concepts as pivotal: exchange character of political marketing; a «qualified» market environment; the social embeddedness of the political system in other systems; and the structural connectedness of political marketing and politics, implying ethical considerations. Whilst the

current research limitations in political marketing can be explained by an (implicit) focus on the narrow interpretation of political marketing theory, the wider stance frames a new research agenda for political marketing that can provide new directions and less restricted conceptual horizons. However, the dialectic of political marketing theory prescribes that both aspects of theory building need to be done in a complementary fashion, giving each other relevance and justification. This allows for the dialectic tension that will provide a rounded frame for political marketing.

In the last twenty years of Ukrainian political thought of trying to use all the achievements of Western authors, who are able to accelerate the process of democratization and good governance approval in the state. On the one hand, political scholars understand the importance of the development of political marketing as a branch of research, on the other hand real politics requires effective technologies of political control, especially in the sphere of development image of the state, leaders of political parties and movements, as well as the effective management of election campaigns.

It should be noted that these two lines of political marketing development present in Ukraine. At the level of theory of political marketing engaged V. Bebik [1-3], G. Pocheptsov [11], V. Poltorak [8-10] et al. Actively develop the theoretical aspects of the application of methods and techniques of political marketing by young scientists in the framework of the dissertation researches [4].

The contemporary Ukrainian political practice certainly has a market dimension. Create a new format Ukrainian political market is more active than the market for goods and services. On undeveloped Ukrainian market power and buyer-citizen population shows and uncertainty in their own ability to influence the political process.

Ukrainian society is the basis spread marketing techniques on the formation and adjustment of public opinion against «political goods». Ukrainian political market leads to activation forms of manipulation scenarios and use dirty tricks.

People, that already have experience in non-governmental organizations and political parties' structures, connect the usage of competent political marketing with the process of the optimized ways to achieve goals. Instead, the majority of voters in Ukraine used to associate the concept of «political marketing» with the technologies of manipulation or

bribery. Kateryna Odarchenko – one of Ukrainian politic technologists pointed, that these processes are caused by the «misunderstanding» of terms and concepts – mainly journalists are to blame. The role indeed is much more essential than the simple Ukrainian practice – distribution of food packages and hanging outdoor advertising [13].

Top professionals of political marketing in Ukraine are very rare. Here there are some such as political consultant V. Zolotarev, D. Vydrin. Next part of market – there are organizations that provide services of Social engineering (political marketing, PR, etc.) – the leading agency is Gaydai.com, Bogush Communication and SIC Group. This form of organization is more effective because it allows the resources to conduct a majority candidate and party structures. Teamwork experts – political consultants, «field»-managers, sociologists, advertisers – this complex gives a broader view of strategies and tactics.

In fact, the demand for greater political marketing consultants really exists among a new generation of politicians and the majority candidates. An MP that has not for the first time got the position or he had position of head party organizations for long time do not tend to turn to external specialists.

Conclusion. The study of basic stages in the development of political marketing as theory and practice of modern political process in a democratic society testifies to the leading role of the Western, especially American, scholars. At the moment, clearly separate the two directions of development of political marketing - theoretical and practical one.

Analysis of Ukrainian reality shows that political marketing is the actual subject of the theoretical analysis of Ukrainian scientists, especially young people. Political practice has experience in the use of technology in the practice of political marketing campaign, shaping the image of political leaders and the state as a whole, although in the opinion of experts, the market of political consulting in Ukraine is not very developed, and the population of political marketing is perceived negatively.

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DEMOCRATIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF POLITICAL REGIMES IN NEW CEE COUNTRIES

The author of the paper studies consolidation of democracy in the CEE countries in the context of analysis of the transitional post-communist