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Political Branding: Sense of Identity or Identity Crisis? An investigation of the transfer potential of the brand identity prism to the UK Conservative Party

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Abstract

Brands are strategic assets and key to achieving a competitive advantage. Brands can be seen as a heuristic device, encapsulating a series of values that enable the consumer to make quick and efficient choices. More recently, the notion of a political brand and the rhetoric of branding have been widely adopted by many political parties as they seek to differentiate themselves and this has led to an emerging interest in the idea of the political brand. Therefore this paper examines the UK Conservative Party brand under the David Cameron's leadership and examines the applicability of Kapferer's brand identity prism to political branding. This paper extends and operationalises the brand identity prism into a 'political brand identity network' which identifies the inter-relatedness of the components of the corporate political brand and the candidate political brand. Crucial for practitioners this model can demonstrate how the brand is presented and communicated to the electorate and serves as a useful mechanism to identify consistency within the corporate and candidate political brands.

Summary statement

Key words

Political branding, brand identity prism, political marketing, UK Conservative Party, British politics

Introduction

Brands are strategic assets and key to achieving a competitive advantage (Aaker, 1996), and the concept has been applied to a number of sectors, more recently politics. Brands can be seen as a heuristic device, encapsulating a series of values that enable the consumer to make quick and efficient choices. The notion of a political brand and the rhetoric of branding has been widely adopted by many political parties as they seek to differentiate themselves and this has led to an emerging interest in the idea of the political brand (French and Smith, 2010; Pich et al., 2014; Smith, 2009). In addition with the shift in the ideological foundation of political parties (Lane, 1966; Sabatini, 2002) maybe branding could provide a mechanism that aids electoral decision making. However to suggest that a political brand is ‘like selling cornflakes’ misjudges nature of the political brand which comprises of complex inter-related components which are both institutional and ideological but embodied in the personal character of the elected members and the leadership. These inter-related components are dynamic and shaped by the leadership of the political party and also their stakeholders, including the electorate. Therefore there is an interplay between the internal and the external. This interaction has been conceptualised by Kapferer (2001; 2008) as the brand identity prism but there has been little empirical examination. Therefore this paper seeks to explore the UK Conservative Party brand under the David Cameron’s leadership and examine the applicability of Kapferer’s brand identity prism to political branding. This is important for political practitioners as they seek to develop a coherent brand that shares consistent values through their policies, leadership and party members.

Brand Identity

The concept of *brand identity* can be considered a useful approach to generate a deeper understanding of a brand from an internal perspective (Cheng *et al.* 2008; Ross and Harradine 2011; Saaksjarvi and Samiee 2011; Srivastava 2011). Brand identity can be conceptualised as the intended projection, formulated and communicated by the brands creator (de Chernatony 2006; Joachimsthaler and Aaker 1997). Bosch *et al.* (2006:13) proposed brand identity is the “*aspired associations envisaged*” by internal stakeholders. Brand identity conveys what the brand stands for (Van Gelder 2005) and signifies the reality of the organisation (Nandan 2005). Moreover, the concept of brand identity focuses on the “*central ideas of a brand and how the brand communicates these ideas to stakeholders*” (de Chernatony 2006:45). However, the notion of brand identity is also complex (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; Kapferer 2008) and a multifaceted

construct (Ponnam 2007; Viot 2011) with very few frameworks devoted to deconstructing the internal view of a brand.

According to de Chernatony (2006:211), the brand identity prism Kapferer (2008) is a “*useful*” and “*powerful*” conceptualisation of brand identity. For de Chernatony (2006:213) the brand identity prism (Figure 1) not only assesses the competitive differentiation between competing brands, “*but also provides an evaluation of the coherence of the brand. For an integrated brand each of the six identity components should reinforce each other*”.

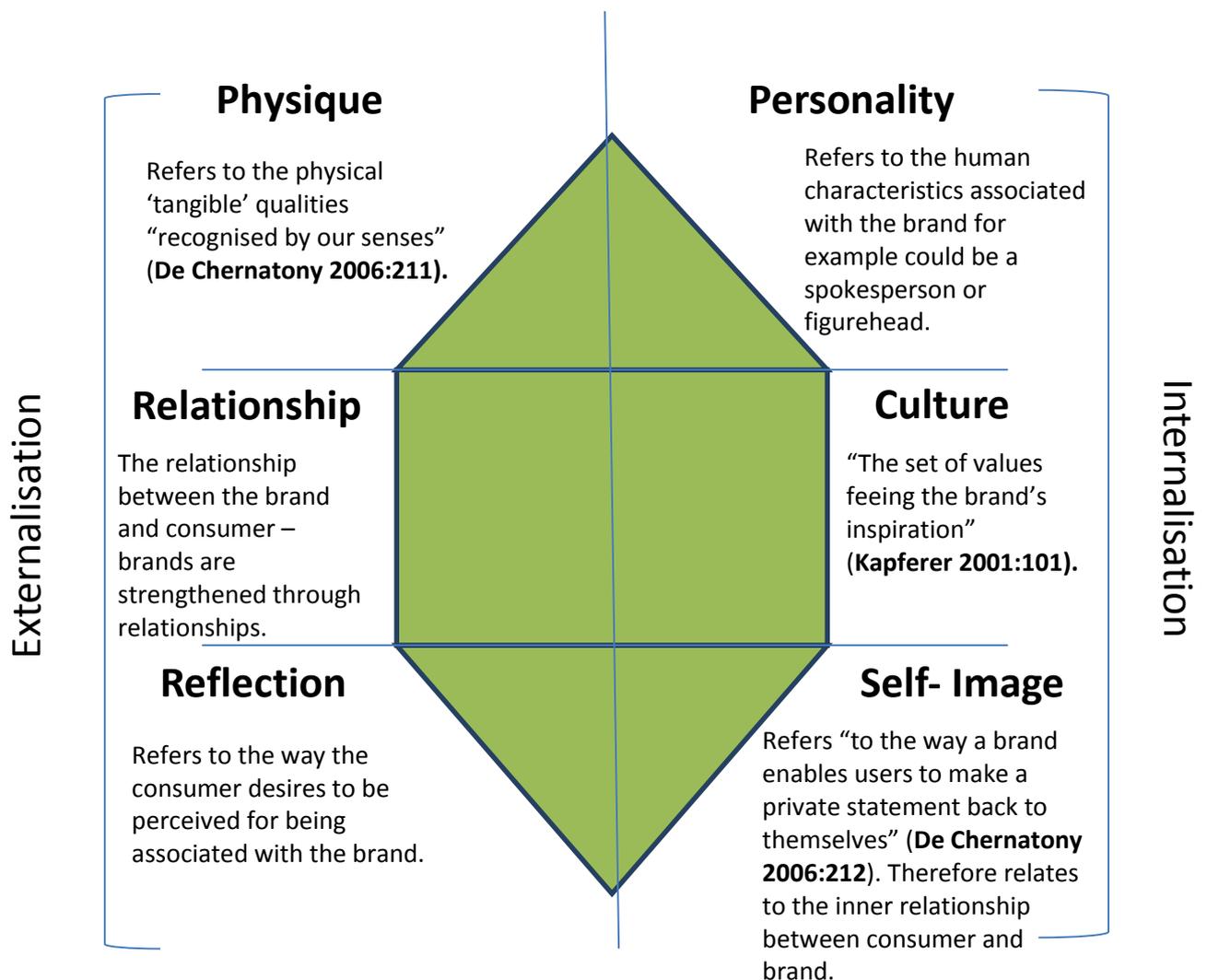


Figure 1: Kapferer's Brand Identity Prism

(Reproduced from de Chernatony 2006; Kapferer 2008)

According to Azoulay and Kapferer (2003:152) “*the brand identity prism captures the key facets of a brand's identity*”, and ultimately has the ability to generate a deeper understanding of a brand. Moreover, Kapferer's conceptualisation comprises of six dimensions namely

physique, personality, culture, relationship, reflection and self-image (Dahlen *et al.* 2010:214; Fill 2006; Kapferer 2008). The physique dimension of the prism focuses on the physical, tangible qualities of the brand and goes beyond the brand's logo and colours (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; de Chernatony, 2006), it includes human qualities of the brand which can be represented by a figurehead/spokesperson (de Chernatony 2006; Kapferer 2001). However, according to Gordon (1999a) the personality dimension can also describe the brand's distinctive style of communication. If anything this broadens rather than refines the conceptualisation of personality as personality dimension is comprised of a more nuanced collection of attributes rather than just the figurehead of a brand.

Whilst the culture dimension of the brand identity prism focuses on the core values and heritage of the brand (Gordon 1999a; Kapferer 2001), the relationship dimension can be surmised as the relationship between the brand and consumer (de Chernatony 2006; Kapferer 2001). However, whilst de Chernatony (2006) proposed that brands succeed through the relationships formed with consumers, Gordon (1999a) further argued that consumers identify humanistic qualities in brands which further strengthens the relationship and thus brand loyalty (Fournier, 1998). Not only is there a relationship between external stakeholders and the brand but to a certain extent internal stakeholders may be considered consumers too, suggesting the relationship dimension may be more complex. However the relationship between the internal stakeholder and the brand is rarely discussed (de Chernatony 1999; Harris and de Chernatony 2001). The majority of the extant literature that focuses on the brand identity prism fails to acknowledge the complexities of the relationship dimension and the internal relationship between internal stakeholders and brands.

The reflection dimension provides insight into the desired image of the consumer and not necessarily the targeted consumer (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; Gordon 1999; Kapferer 2008), the self-image dimension relates to the inner relationship between the internal stakeholder and the brand (Kapferer 2001). For de Chernatony (2006:212) the self-image dimension refers "*to the way a brand enables users to make a private statement back to themselves*" and ultimately relates to the inner relationship between the consumer and brand. Nevertheless, it is the relationship dimension that seems to address the external relationship between the consumer and brand. Gordon (1999a) suggested brands can be seen as badges that reflect certain characteristics of the individual and the self-image dimension provides insight into the symbolic meaning, personal opinion and beliefs not just about themselves but also how consumers relate to their brands. The self-image dimension along with the culture and personality dimensions form part

of a brand's inward (internal) expressions (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; Kapferer 2008). However, when combined with the reflection dimension we may be able to understand how and why the external stakeholder (receiver) builds and conforms with the brand's identity (Kapferer 2001).

Dahlen *et al.* (2010) proposed the physique, relationship and reflection are considered social dimensions that form a brand's outward (external) expression. In contrast, the personality, culture and self-image dimensions form a brand's inward (internal) expression (Dahlen *et al.* 2010). Kapferer's brand identity prism therefore, is divided into outward and inward expressions; desired identity; and internal current identity. Additionally, the brand identity prism also includes a vertical division, which can be subdivided into sender (physique and personality) and receiver (reflection and self-image). Kapferer (2008:187) suggested the relationship and culture dimensions "*bridge the gap between sender and recipient*". Nevertheless, the distinction and divisions within the brand identity prism identify a number of key issues. It is unclear whether the brand identity prism exclusively addresses the concept of 'brand identity' or addresses both 'brand identity' and 'brand image' as the framework refers to external/receiver. Kapferer (2008) makes the distinction between 'sender' and 'receiver' and proposes the receiver refers to the way in which certain 'groups' opposed to 'consumers' decode the signals produced from the brand. Therefore, Kapferer (2008) makes the distinction, yet does not elaborate on this nor acknowledge the conceptualisation of 'brand image' within the brand identity prism. However, it must be remembered that brand identity and brand image are distinct yet related concepts (Dinnie 2008; Nandan 2005).

Ultimately, it remains to be seen whether the brand identity prism can be used to examine branding from just an internal perspective or focus on both an internal and external perspective. Given that Kapferer (2008) made the distinction between sender and receiver, internal stakeholders should be considered 'receivers' in the same way as external stakeholders but there has been scant attention paid to this in the branding literature (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; Kapferer 2008; Kapferer 2001; de Chernatony 2007; Harris and de Chernatony 2001). Both de Chernatony (1999) and Harris and de Chernatony (2001) adapted the brand identity prism from an internal stakeholder perspective and explored the communication gaps between sender (identity) and receiver (reputation). However, there has been little research that illuminates the complexity of the internal-external divisions within the brand identity prism (Azoulay and Kapferer 2003; Dahlen *et al.* 2010; de Chernatony 2006; Harris and de Chernatony 2001).

Finally, the extant literature on the brand identity prism tends to adopt a descriptive illustration of brand identity (Kapferer 2008; Dahlen *et al.* 2010; Gordon 1999), rather than an operational application (see for instance de Chernatony 1999; Harris and de Chernatony 2001; Ponnampalnam 2007; Ross and Harradine 2011; Viot 2011). This indicates that there is further potential to examine the brand identity prism exploring the internal orientation of a brand and political branding may serve as a suitable application.

Political Branding

The application of branding concepts and frameworks to the political environment is of growing interest (Baines and Harris 2011; French and Smith 2010; Lees-Marshment 2009; Lock and Harris, 1996; Smith and Speed 2011). However, despite the interest in this research area there have been only a few studies (Butler *et al.* 2011; Harris and Lock 2010; Lilleker 2005; Peng and Hackley 2009; Rawson 2007; Reeves *et al.* 2006; Robinson 2004).

Branding may be a useful concept to understand political parties as corporate brands and candidates as political brands and here have been calls to investigate the utility of applying branding to politics (Davies and Mian 2010; French and Smith 2010; Harris and Lock 2010; Rawson 2007; Smith 2005; Smith and French 2009). However, for Baines *et al.* (1999) he was concerned with how to deconstruct the positioning of a political brand. This was explored in part by Pich *et al.* (2014) who examined the internal stakeholders' perspective of the UK Conservative Party brand during the 2010 UK General Election campaign. Whilst Pich *et al.* (2014) generated a deeper understanding of the political brand; it did not critically evaluate the process of understanding the political brand. This presents an opportunity to critically assess the mechanisms used to explore the political brand from an internal orientation and this is currently missing from the extant literature. Furthermore, this may prove beneficial to political actors providing a framework to position the political brand, which could impact on future strategy and communications to external stakeholders (Ormrod 2011).

In order to address this, future research needs to acknowledge the “*transfer potential from instruments developed for one branding context to others*” (Schneider 2004:60). Extant research highlights that where branding tools, frameworks and scales have been applied to the political environment, they were often modified or extended to suit the unique setting (French and Smith 2010; Guzman and Sierra 2009; Keller 2002; Mauser 1983; Panwar 2004; Schneider 2004; Smith 2009; Smith and French 2009; Smith 2009). Therefore, future studies that critically apply existing tools or frameworks to the political arena may need to consider this.

Hence, there is a case to critically assess the transfer potential of the brand identity prism to the sub-area of political branding. This will not only offer a mechanism of how to explore the internal orientation of a political brand but also provide the opportunity to operationalise the brand identity prism.

Political Brands: The UK Conservative Party

This research builds on the work of Pich *et al.* (2014) and uses the UK Conservative Party brand as the unit of analysis. The UK Conservative Party has been described as a leading UK political brand (Lloyd 2006), and the oldest political party in the English-speaking world (Campbell 2008). Additionally, the UK Conservative Party has been considered as complex and diverse with frequently contrasting values and interests (Bale, 2008; 2011; Budge *et al.* 2001; Coleman, 1988; Hickson, 2005; Kavanagh 2000; Lee and Beech 2009). After three election defeats and three Conservative Party leaders, the UK Conservative Party failed in its attempt to modernise, to reinvent and to reconnect with the electorate (Ashcroft, 2005; Denham and O'Hara 2007; Smith 2009). In December 2005, David Cameron was elected as leader of the UK Conservative Party, vowing to be different from previous leaders (Campbell 2008), and arguing it was time to modernise (Denham and O'Hara 2007) and unite the party, making the UK Conservative Party electable again. He attempted to reshape the UK Conservative Party which was, at that time, perceived to be out-of-touch, focused on immigration and representative of the rich and privileged few (Ashcroft 2010).

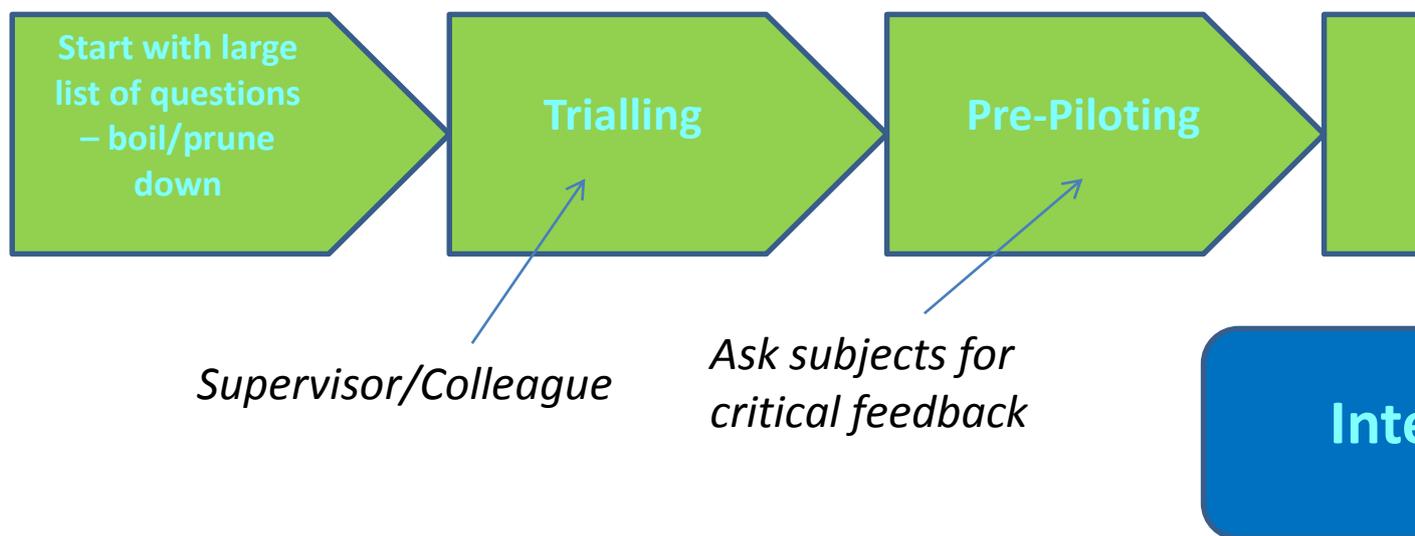
Therefore, this paper seeks to critically assess the applicability of the brand identity prism as a mechanism to explore the UK Conservative Party brand from the perspective of the internal stakeholders. This will generate a deeper understanding of how to operationalise political brand identity and critically evaluate the applicability of the brand identity prism. The following section will set out the research approach including the sampling framework and insight into the analytical process.

Research Approach

According to Creswell (2007) and Graziano and Raulin (2004), the methodological approach is guided and developed based on the research problem and overall aim. Subsequently, as this paper seeks to understand the transfer potential of the brand identity prism as a mechanism to explore the UK Conservative Party brand from the perspective of the internal stakeholders, this paper adopts a qualitative research approach. The aim of qualitative research is to build a

comprehensive picture of the respondent's background, attitudes, feelings and experiences from the respondent's own words which go some way in meeting the research problem (Schutt 2004). Qualitative research is also useful at the early stages of a relatively unknown area (Davies and Chun 2002) and can provide the researcher with rich knowledge and unique data which is achieved by delving deep into the respondent's attitudes, feelings, perceptions and beliefs (Covaleski and Dirsmith 1990; Malhotra and Birks 2003; Rubin and Rubin 1995; Warren and Karner 2005). The majority of existing research in political branding tends to adopt a measurable, quantitative approach (French and Smith 2010), with more exploratory, qualitative research required (Peng and Hackley 2009; Smith 2005). Furthermore, there is a paucity of research that offers in-depth qualitative exploration of a political brand from the perspective of internal stakeholders (Needham 2006; Pich *et al.* 2014; Schneider 2004; Smith and Speed 2011). Therefore, as political branding is at the exploratory stage (Lees-Marshment 2009; Smith 2009) a qualitative approach is a suitable standpoint to address the overall aim.

With this in mind, this paper adopted semi-structured, in-depth interviews in order to understand the UK Conservative Party brand from the perspective of internal stakeholders. In-depth interviews often seen as a 'special conversation' (Rubin and Rubin 1995:6), can be seen as flexible in terms of topic area development, spontaneous and "*potentially a Pandora's box generating endlessly various and abundant data*" (McCracken 1988:12). Open-ended questions were used as they allow the respondent to lead the interview, with the interviewer simply controlling the interview with the aid of prompts and probes (Gillham 2005; Foddy 2001). The interview guide/schedule was developed by following a process of 'cyclical development' (Gillham 2005:22) a visual aid of which can be seen in figure 2.



(Figure 2: The Process of Cyclical Development adapted from Gillham 2005:22)

Figure 2 outlines the process of cyclical development proposed by Gillham (2005) and can be divided into individual steps, which are interrelated. Once the initial interview/focus-group guide has been established the succeeding steps are *trialling*, *pre-piloting* and *piloting* (Gillham 2005). Throughout the cyclical process open-ended questions/topics were developed, emerged and some were made redundant (Creswell 2007; Gillham 2005) resulting in a refined guide ready to conduct the interviews. A copy of the refined interview guide can be seen in appendix 1.

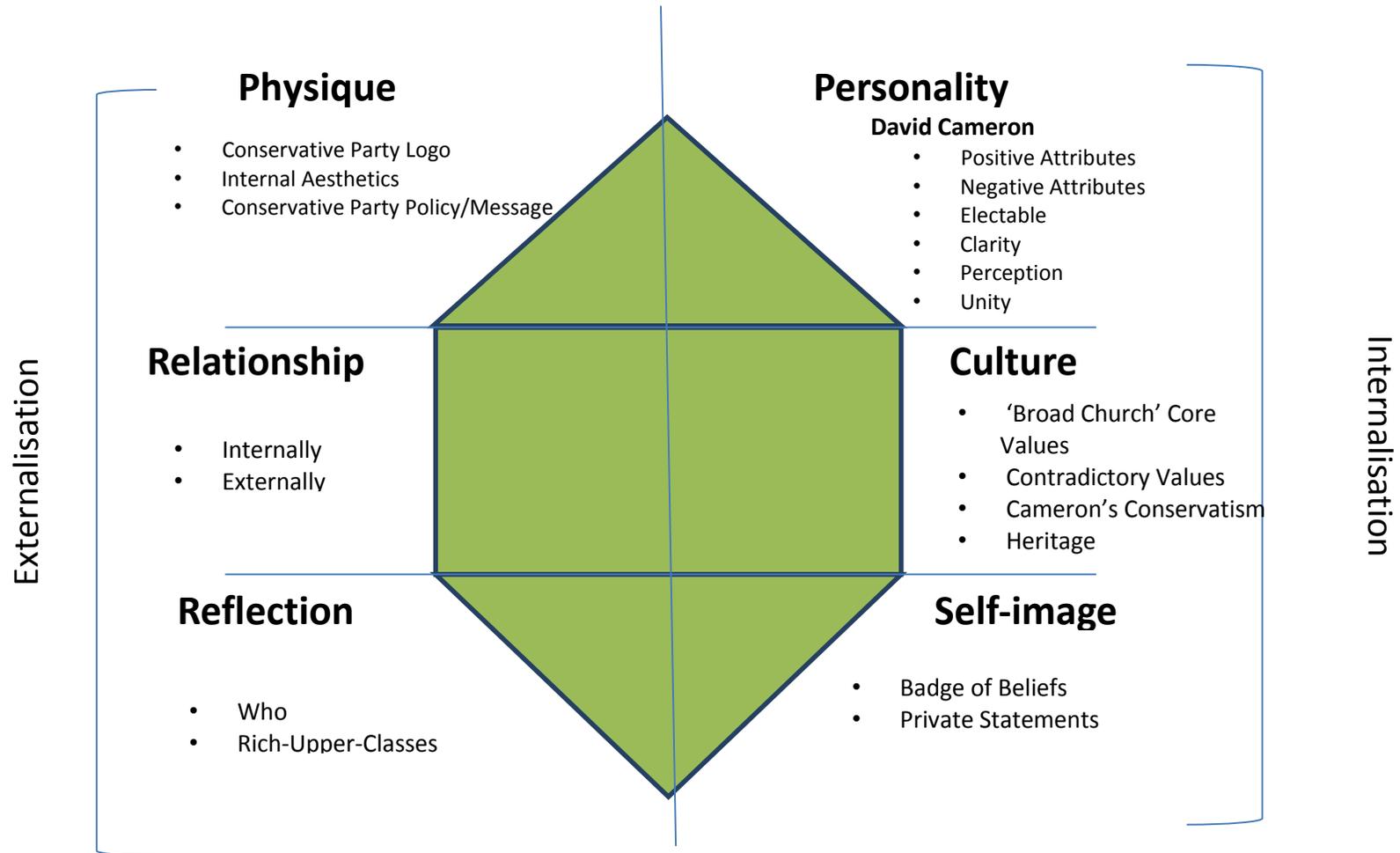
This paper adopts a purposive sampling approach. Purposive sampling can be considered an appropriate sampling technique as this paper had a specific purpose to explore the UK Conservative Party brand from the perspective of internal Conservative stakeholders (Alston and Bowles 2007; Zikmund 2003). Further to this, a purposive sampling technique is adopted as this paper presents a well-defined sampling criteria of ‘internal Conservative stakeholders’ ranging all three elements of the UK Conservative Party (Alston and Bowles 2007; Daymon and Holloway 2011); parliamentary, professionally and voluntary. All three elements of the UK Conservative Party were included in the sampling process as all stakeholders within the organisation build, develop and position the brand (Harris and de Chernatony 2001; Foster *et al.* 2010; Nilson and Surrey 1998). A detailed outline of the sample of internal stakeholders who were interviewed as part of this study can be seen in appendix 2. Sixty internal

Conservative stakeholders were contacted via email as part of the recruitment process, however only half responded to the call for interviews. A sample size of thirty internal Conservative stakeholders were interviewed including Members of the European Parliament, House of Commons and House of Lords, Councillors, activists, and Prospective Parliamentary Candidates. Respondents were all active member of the UK Conservative Party. Non-active members were not included in the study as active members were involved in shaping and positioning the UK Conservative Party under the leadership of David Cameron (Ashcroft 2010; Helm 2010); hence active members would provide more insight into the desired and communicated political brand identity. Interviews were conducted prior to the 2010 UK General Election; December 2009-April 2010.

Each interviewee was assured of anonymity to avoid recognition due to the sensitive nature of the study. Each interview was tape recorded, fully transcribed and analysed by the researcher. Drawing on authors such as Butler-Kisber (2010), Kvale (1996), Rubin and Rubin (1995) and Warren and Karner (2005), the transcripts were thematically analysed, looking for patterns and themes. These themes were grouped together in line with the six dimensions of brand identity prism which served as the conceptual framework for this study. This point will be expanded later in the paper. To strengthen the consistency with the interpretive process, each interview/transcript was analysed following the two-stage analytical process outlined by Butler-Kisber (2010:30). This pragmatic process starts with the coarse-grained phase followed by the fine-grained phase and ensures transparency and strengthens validity with the interpretive process (Butler-Kisber 2010). The following section presents the findings and the critical discussion.

Findings

The conceptualisation of brand identity served to structure the findings and evaluate the applicability in exploration of the political brand identity of David Cameron's Conservative Party. As previously stated, the brand identity prism is an amalgamation of six identity components including; brand physique, brand personality, brand culture, brand relationship, brand reflection and brand self-image (de Chernatony 2006; Kapferer 2008). Furthermore the six components along with the key themes generated from the in-depth semi-structured interviews can be seen in figure 3. This section will also discuss the transfer potential of each dimension and their suitability to the political branding.



(Figure 3: Key themes from in-depth interviews exploring the brand identity of the UK Conservative Party from the perspective of internal stakeholders applied to Kapferer's brand identity prism)

This research illustrates that the six dimensions of the brand identity prism can be applied to politics and in particular the UK Conservative Party. The model helped to structure the findings but there was a disparity in terms of fit necessitating adaptation with some of the dimensions including relationship, reflection and self-image. In contrast, physique, culture and personality needed no adjustment.

Physique

This study demonstrated that the physique dimension could accommodate tangible qualities of the UK Conservative Party brand and go beyond the brand's logo and colours (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; de Chernatony 2007; Gordon 1999; Kapferer 2008). For example, the findings were subdivided into the UK Conservative Party logo, the physical appearance of the UK Conservative Party (internal aesthetics), and Party policy and message.

The physique dimension also provided a mechanism to understand the consistency of the tangible elements of the political brand. For example, it was also found that the UK Conservative Party did not portray a clear brand message, highlighting a series of inconsistencies and tensions within the physique dimension. More specifically, internal Conservative stakeholders provided varied responses to the UK Conservative Party replacing the flaming red/blue 'torch' logo with the new 'oak tree' logo, after David Cameron's leadership victory in 2005. These ranged from positive response and negative responses, to the non-adoption or usage of the 'oak tree' logo. A Conservative councillor from Lincolnshire and also the campaign manager for a 2010 prospective parliamentary candidate (PPC) argued:

"I thought the torch was more strident...represented Margaret Thatcher...Britain in the world going forward. The tree is an eco; we jumped on the eco-green-bandwagon vote blue go green I don't agree with it. So the tree logo in my opinion is a very nice green logo but it's not exactly strong...it doesn't say anything about us", (P4).

Additionally, several internal stakeholders emphasised local, personalised, and 'established' (P1) political brands, which were often detached from the corporate or national UK Conservative Party brand. This was emphasised by a Conservative councillor from Yorkshire:

"Apart from it [sic] goes on the ballot papers, I have completely ignored it. Why? I dislike it, I don't understand it. I created my own brand...I founded it back in 1983 when I was first elected...and I am not going to throw away a recognised brand...we make the brands in the provinces", (P1).

Therefore, this research highlighted significant applicability of the tangible elements of the UK Conservative Party to the physique dimension of the brand identity prism. Thus, the physique dimension required no adaptation as the findings were consistent with the definition set out in the original conceptualisation (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; de Chernatony 2007; Gordon 1999; Kapferer 2008).

Personality

This research demonstrated that themes related to the political brand's figurehead can be applied to the personality dimension of the brand identity prism however with some adaptation. The conceptualisation of the personality dimension required greater focus to enhance the dimension's transfer potential to political branding. For example, as Kapferer (2008) argued that the personality dimension could equate to the figurehead or spokesperson of a brand; in the context of this paper, *David Cameron* is the current leader and figurehead of the UK Conservative Party. Therefore, findings relating to David Cameron were accommodated in this dimension. The findings were thematically coded into positive attributes, negative attributes, electable, clarity, perception and unity. For example, the negative attributes ranged from personal characteristics, perceived values and ideology and David Cameron's style of communicate. According to a professional member of the UK Conservative Party "*there's no ideology and I'm a bit worried that Cameron doesn't believe in ideology...don't know enough about him...just a bit more substance*", (P15). One senior Conservative MP argued "*in all the expenses business...he's [Cameron] been hunting with the pack...I know colleagues hauled out and publically guillotined on the basis of an accusation rather than a proven charge...he's been really ruthless*" rather than "*have a duty of care*" and supporting parliamentary colleagues in the Conservative Party, (P10).

The personality dimension also highlighted some overlap with some of the themes relating to David Cameron. For example, David Cameron's emphasis of Conservatism could have been included in the personality dimension as this related to the figurehead of the brand. However, his emphasis of Conservatism could also be included in the culture dimension as this related to the current emphasis or perspective of the UK Conservative Party. This highlights the complex relationship within political brands between the party leader, their political position and the culture of the political party. Therefore, it was more appropriate to include David Cameron's emphasis of Conservatism in the culture dimension as this was consistent with Kapferer's (2008) original framework. This point is expanded in the culture dimension.

The findings also proposed that the personality dimension could be further sub-divided into individual candidates or politicians as each entity can be considered a figurehead of their own 'individual political brand'. de Chernatony (1999) and Harris and de Chernatony (2001) argued that brand personality traits are developed through associations with not only the brand's figurehead but also internal stakeholders. This strengthens the argument for the exploration of the personality dimension on an individual level and highlights the multifaceted nature of the personality dimension in political branding. This also suggests that the brand identity of individual candidates and politicians can be explored using the brand identity prism.

Ultimately, the findings relating to the UK Conservative Party figurehead, David Cameron, were easily applied to the *personality dimension* of the brand identity prism but with some adaptation. Furthermore, this paper illustrates that the personality dimension can equate to the figurehead of individual political brands such as candidates and politicians. This study also highlighted the multifaceted nature of the personality dimension. Therefore, this paper operationalizes the personality dimension to enable application to political parties and candidates.

Culture

This study demonstrated that the culture dimension can accommodate core values and themes relating to the heritage of the UK Conservative Party (Gordon 1999; Kapferer 2001). More specifically, these themes included the idea that the UK Conservative Party is considered a 'broad church', possesses contradictory core Conservative values, David Cameron's emphasis of Conservatism and the heritage of the UK Conservative Party.

For example, the majority of internal stakeholders promoted a consistent, non-contradictory approach when revealing the core values of the UK Conservative Party. Participants proposed that the UK Conservative Party may be considered a "*broad church*" (P13), or "*coalition*" (P28) of diverse and unique strands and perspectives united by core principles such as *freedom* and the *individual*. However, internal stakeholders often presented core Conservative values (Budge *et al.* 2001; Hickson 2005; Kavanagh 2000; Norton 1996) as personal Conservative values and vice versa and it was often difficult to distinguish between the two. This highlights the complexity of political brands. Nonetheless, the conceptualisation outlined by Kapferer (2008) does not evaluate the cultural values of individual stakeholders (individual brands) or make a distinction between cultural values of the (corporate) brand and internal stakeholders (individual brand). Kapferer's (2008) conceptualisation merely focuses on the cultural values

and heritage of the corporate or national brand. Nevertheless, Harris and de Chernatony (2006) make reference to this distinction, however provide little depth and discussion on this key point. Perhaps the 'self-image dimension' that refers to the inner-relationship between the internal stakeholder and UK Conservative Party brand may be seen as more appropriate to accommodate 'personal core values' of individual candidate brand identity. Again, this highlights the overlapping nature of the brand identity model and the application of the dimensions will be dependent on the nature of the research.

Subsequently, this idea of a 'broad church' UK Conservative Party can be seen as something of a paradox; a coalition of often conflicting sub-cultures, each unique to the individual nevertheless united by core yet broad principles of the UK Conservative Party organisation. This paper highlights the significant transfer potential of the culture dimension in exploration of political brand identity.

Relationship

The relationship dimension was more difficult due its the original. Most notably it fails to acknowledge the complexities of the relationship dimension and the internal relationship between internal stakeholders and brands. This paper adapted the relationship dimension to accommodate the findings related to the internal-Conservative Party brand relationship and the internal stakeholder's interpretation of the relationship between the electorate and the UK Conservative Party. The findings were thematically categorised into 'internal' relationships and 'external' relationships.

For example, the relationship dimension highlighted that the relationship between the Conservative Party and internal stakeholders requires some attention. Despite many internal stakeholders consistently revealing a 'distinct', decentralised relationship between internal stakeholders and the UK Conservative Party brand; consistent with the 'broad church' approach expressed in the culture dimension, this was undermined by several participants expressing tension, disconnect and resentment. This contention was found at various levels of the UK Conservative Party including prospective parliamentary candidates, Members of the European Parliament, members of sub-groups allied to the party and a member of the House of Lords. Furthermore this contention was often downplayed by internal stakeholders that felt it was not the 'right time' to voice their concerns so close to a General Election and the Conservative Party had to appear united and harmonised in order to win.

The relationship dimension also highlighted that internal stakeholders also envisaged a ‘decentralised relationship’ between the Conservative Party and external members (citizens), consistent with one of their key cultural values; decentralisation. A ‘decentralised relationship’ equated to returning power to the individual and less state intervention. Despite this, the findings suggested that there was an element of uncertainty and doubt whether the UK Conservative Party brand was resonating with and convincing the electorate especially outside the London area. Therefore, in part it was believed that there was no ‘reciprocal relationship’ between the UK Conservative Party brand and the electorate which could be shaped by internal stakeholders. Some of the internal stakeholders failed to accept that they have a role to play in building a relationship between the UK Conservative Party brand and the electorate (Harris and de Chernatony 2001; Nilson and Surrey 1998). It was also argued that there are different kinds of relationships; some more difficult than others, at different levels of the Conservative Party between the Conservative Party and the electorate depending on the electoral voting system. For instance, the UK General Election which is ‘first past the post’ and the European elections which are proportional representation. Therefore, the electoral voting system can affect the relationship between the political brand and the electorate in terms of development, communication strategy and relevance and is another element to consider along with internal stakeholders in the relationship dimension.

Accordingly, it can be argued that the relationship dimension is complex and can be approached from an internal-brand perspective (de Chernatony 1999; Harris and de Chernatony 2001) and also the perceived external-brand perspective (Kapferer 2008). This was also consistent with the definition of internal brand identity. In addition, it is proposed that there are multiple relationships connected to the UK Conservative Party brand. The findings could only be applied to the relationship dimension once it had been reframed and operationalised.

Reflection

The reflection dimension focused on the expected or envisaged supporter of the UK Conservative Party brand from the perspective of internal stakeholders and not the target market. Dahlen *et al.* (2010:215) argued “*the brand should be a reflection of who consumers would like to be not who they actually are*”, suggesting the reflection is envisaged and not necessarily reality. Kapferer (2008:186) proposed the terms ‘reflection’ and ‘targeting’ are often confused, however all brands must control their reflection and recognise the difference between targeting. Future reflection dimensions within the brand identity prism could include

the ‘reflection’ and ‘targeting’ distinction to avoid confusion, provide clarity and highlight contradictions/consistencies between the two concepts.

In the context of this paper, the reflection dimension accommodated themes such as ‘who’ the UK Conservative Party was considered to represent, and ‘perceptions’ relating to social class. For example, the majority of internal stakeholders revealed a consistent reflection in that the UK Conservative Party was not designed to appeal to a defined segment of society. However, this inclusive proposition with something to offer everyone was undermined by the 2010 General Election targeting strategy employed by the UK Conservative Party (Ashcroft 2010), by several internal stakeholders including Conservative MPs and MEPs and contradicted by appealing to the middle-ground on the ideological continuum (Beech and Lee 2008). Opinion on social class and its relationship with the UK Conservative Party was another contrasting theme. It was argued the UK Conservative Party no longer wholly represented the rich and privileged in society, while it was also proposed that it was the perception that the party cared most about the privileged few still remained, in contrast to one Conservative MEP that argued the party-of-the-rich associations were not necessarily negative.

Consequently, this paper demonstrates that the idea of the political brand from the perspective of internal stakeholders can be applied to the reflection dimension of the brand identity prism. The relationship between the *reflection*, *relationship* and *physique* dimensions; all social, outward facing dimensions (Dahlen *et al.* 2010; Kapferer 2008) are discussed following the self-image dimension application and applicability discussion.

Self-Image

The self-image dimension was also complicated, partly due to the lack of clarity with the conceptualisation of self-image. Keeping in mind brand identity “*is on the sender’s side*” (Kapferer 2001:94) with envisaged associations (Bosch *et al.* 2006) and defining the organisation’s reality (Nandan 2005), it can be proposed that brand identity is the desired identity of a brand developed and promoted by internal stakeholders. Therefore, the self-image dimension in this study referred to the inner relationship (Kapferer 2001) between the internal stakeholder and the UK Conservative Party brand, consistent with the definition of internal brand identity.

Once the conceptualisation of the self-image dimension had been clarified, the findings were transferred to the brand identity prism. For example, the findings were broadly themed ‘badge

of beliefs' and 'private statements'. 'Badge of beliefs', due to the findings reflected certain characteristics of the individual, such as personal narratives and biographical information and 'private statements', since the findings referred to personal opinion, feelings and symbolic meaning relating to the UK Conservative Party brand. All internal stakeholders revealed personal accounts, unique biographical information and private narratives of how they became members of the UK Conservative Party. Therefore, the findings suggested that there are 'multiple brand identities' within the UK Conservative Party connected by 'broad church' core values consistent with the values revealed in the culture dimension. These multiple brand identities serve as a basis for a "*community of thought*" (Kapferer 2008:187) which enables users of the brand to form relationships with other users yet retain their own personal badge of beliefs (de Chernatony 2006; Gordon 1999; Kapferer 2001).

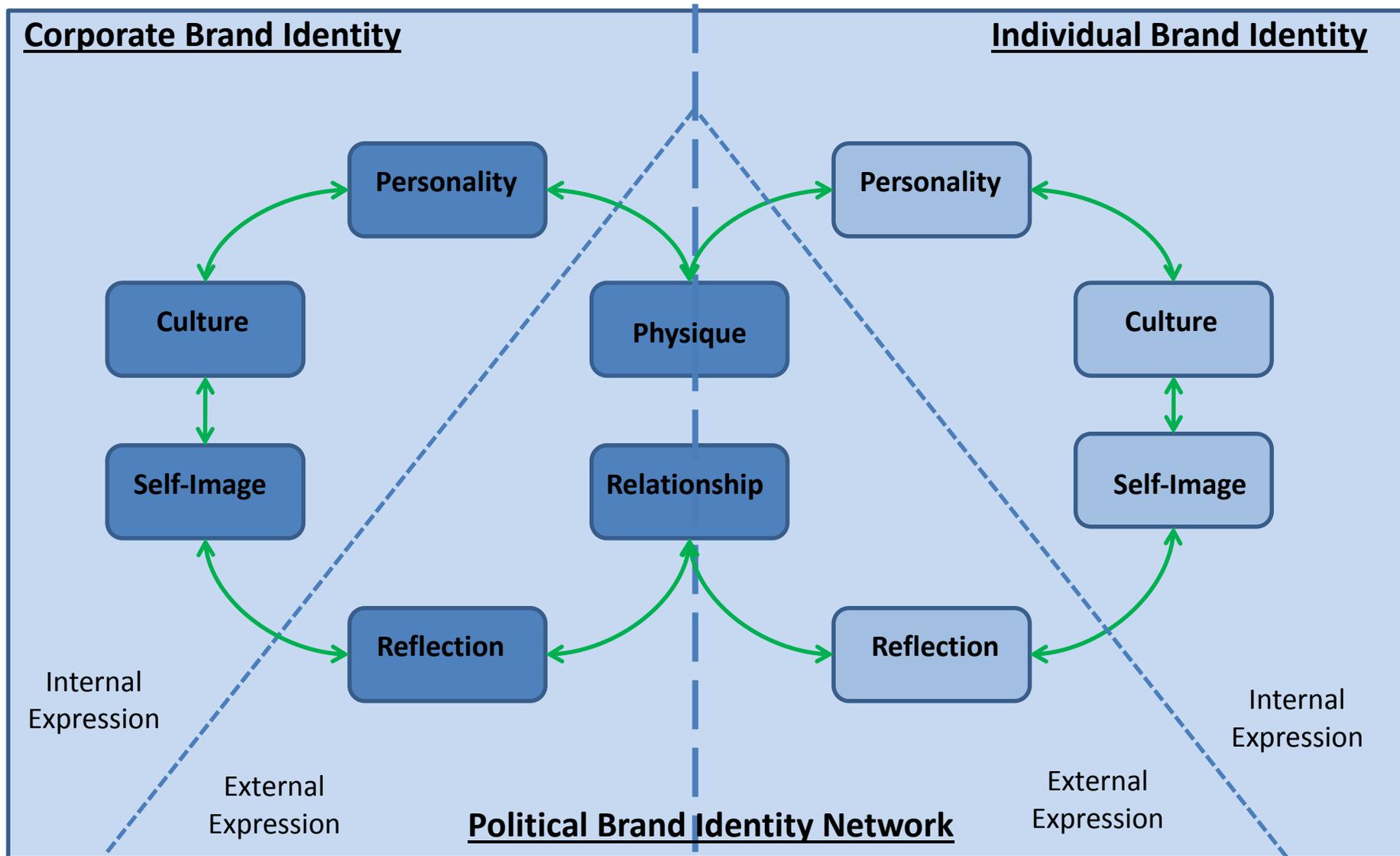
However, the findings under the 'badge of beliefs' and 'private statements' categories reflected the personal opinion, beliefs and attitudes of individual participants and could have been applied in various dimensions including; physique, personality and/or culture. For example, 'private statements' about David Cameron could have been placed in the 'personality' dimension as these themes related to the figurehead. Similarly, 'private statements' regarding the 'heritage' or 'values' of the party could have been placed in the 'culture' dimension as this would have been consistent with the dimension's definition. However, these 'private statements' and 'badge of beliefs' were placed in the 'self-image' dimension as they provided insight into the inner relationship between the internal stakeholder and the UK Conservative Party brand. Therefore, this strengthened the idea of the interchangeability of the brand identity prism dimensions.

Discussion

This paper highlighted the problematic nature of applying the brand identity prism in its original form to explore the internal orientation of a political brand. More specifically, a political brand can be applied to the brand identity prism, however, a number of dimensions of the prism had to be adapted (relationship, reflection, self-image) and required greater consideration in terms of applicability. While there were little or no difficulty in applying the findings to the physique, culture, and personality dimensions.

This research also highlighted the complexity of exploring a political brand through Kapferer's original conceptualisation. Hence political brands are potentially a collection or a 'broad church' of individual political brands united under the umbrella or corporate/national brand

otherwise known as the political party. The collection of individual political brands are encouraged to unify under the corporate political brand by the party leader and the party leader's emphasis, ideology, party policy and positioning. This paper therefore presents the '*political brand identity network*'; a model designed to deconstruct the internal identity of corporate and individual political brands. The 'political brand identity network' can be seen in figure 4 and is summarised in table 1.



(Figure 4: The Political Brand Identity Network – developed from the original brand identity prism and its application to political branding)

Dimension	Perspective	Applied to a Corporate Brand	Applied to a Individual/Sub-Brand
Personality	Internal Identity	Refers to the political brand's figurehead or spokesperson. In the case of the corporate or national political party, the political party leader can be seen as the figurehead. Therefore, themes relating to the figurehead should be included in this section.	Refers to the political brand's figurehead or spokesperson. In the case of an individual/sub brand the individual candidate or politician can be seen as the figure head of their brand. Themes relating to the candidate or politicians should be included in this section.
Culture	Internal Identity	Refers to the heritage and core values of the political party/brand. This dimension should also include the values/perspective/emphasis of the figurehead of the corporate/national as these should shape the party's values/perspective. Successful political brands should project consistency between political party values and party leader values.	Refers to the heritage and core values of the individual political brand. This dimension should also include the values/perspective/emphasis of the figurehead of the individual political brand. The values of the individual politician/candidate should be non-contradictory with the party's (corporate political brand) values/perspective. Successful individual political brands should be supportive of the party leader values.
Self-Image	Internal Identity	Refers to the inner relationship between the internal stakeholder and political brand. Self-image along with culture and personality dimensions form the inward expression. This relates to personal opinion, private statements and beliefs of the corporate political brand from the perspective of internal stakeholders.	This relates to personal opinion, private statements and beliefs of the relationship between the individual political brand and the corporate political brand from the perspective of the individual candidate/politician. Themes relating to private statements and beliefs should be included in this dimension.
Reflection	Internal Identity	Refers to the internal stakeholders perception of 'who' identifies with the corporate political brand. Reflection along with relationship and physique dimensions form the outward expression. This can be seen as the envisaged identity used to connect with the electorate. There should be consistency between targeting and identifiers.	Refers to the local internal stakeholders perception of 'who' identifies with the individual political brand. This may be different from constituency to constituency. There should be consistency between local targeting and local identifiers. Reflection along with relationship and physique dimensions form the outward expression. This can be seen as the envisaged identity used to connect with the electorate.
Relationship	Internal Identity	Refers to the internal relationship between the internal stakeholder and the corporate political brand. Additionally the perceived relationship between the political brand and external stakeholders from an internal stakeholder perspective.	Refers to the internal relationship between the internal stakeholder and the individual political brand. On an individual/sub brand level, this section should include the relationship between the figurehead and corporate political brand. Additionally this dimension should include the perceived relationship between the individual political brand and external stakeholders (local constituents) from an internal stakeholder perspective. The figurehead's perspective should also be considered.
Physique	Internal Identity	Refers to the physical properties/elements of the corporate/national political brand.	Refers to the physical properties/elements of the individual/sub political brand.

(Table 1: The Political Brand Identity Network Summary Matrix)

Table 1 provides an operationalization of the political brand identity network. Furthermore, Figure 4 presents a framework to deconstruct internal brand identity and can be used to explore several dimensions of a political brand. For example, the framework can be adopted to understand the internal identity of a corporate political brand (in this case, the UK Conservative Party). The framework can also be used to explore individual/sub-brands of candidates and politicians. The six dimensions of brand identity are tailored (Table 1) to address the unique nature of political brands and will be dependent upon the focus of the research.. For example, a study that focuses on a corporate brand would consider the operationalization and conceptualisation on the left side of the framework (Figure 4). If a study focused on an individual political brand (candidate/politician) it would consider the right side of the framework and column (Table 1). The political brand identity network can also be used to understand the relationship between a corporate political brand and an individual (candidate/politician) political brand. The similar dimensions enable a pragmatic approach to evaluate the consistency between the distinct political brands (de Chernatony 2006; Gordon 1999; Kapferer 2001). The ‘political brand identity network’ can be used exclusively to explore the internal orientation of a brand. This is consistent with brand identity (Dahlen *et al.* 2010 Kapferer 2008; Ponnam 2007; Viot 2011) and clarifies the distinction with external brand image (Nandan 2005; Wong 2010).

Conclusion

This paper demonstrated the significant transfer potential of the six dimensions of identity in exploration of a political brand from an internal orientation. The political brand identity network generated a deeper understanding of the UK Conservative Party brand identity prior the 2010 UK General Election. Moreover, this paper provides a critical assessment of an established concept to a new application and offers an operational approach to explore the multidimensional nature of political brands using the ‘the political brand identity network’ This is in contrast to the descriptive illustrations of the brand identity prism (de Chernatony 1999; Harris and de Chernatony 2001; Hubanic and Hubanic 2009; Ponnam 2007; Ross and Harradine 2011; Viot 2011).

Accordingly, this paper also makes a managerial contribution to knowledge. The applied brand identity prism can be used by political parties, politicians and candidates to understand the way in which the brand is presented and communicated to the electorate and serves as a useful mechanism to identify consistency within the corporate and personal political brands.

Furthermore, this paper goes some way in addressing calls for more research in the sub-discipline of political marketing (Baines and Harris 2011; Harris and Lock 2010; Henneberg and O'shaughnessy 2007; Moufahim and Lim 2009; Lees-Marshment 2009; Lilleker *et al.* 2006; Osuagwu 2008), particularly the application of strategic management to a political setting (Baines and Harris 2011).

It may be advantageous to build on this paper and generate a deeper understanding of the UK Conservative Party brand from an external brand image perspective. By exploring the UK Conservative Party brand image will provide more of a complete picture of the political brand and ascertain whether the internally created and communicated message is understood externally in the mind of the electorate. Furthermore, by considering the external brand image along with the internal brand identity will also highlight whether there are communication gaps between the two distinct yet related concepts. Finally, future research could consider the transfer potential of the brand identity prism to other sub-disciplines of marketing and assess the applicability to different contexts.

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Appendix

A.1 Interview Guide – Internal Stakeholders

Opening – Introduction

- Research outline – Confidentiality - Audio Tape

Biographical Information

- How long in politics – how – background – University – other roles/jobs – Conservative supporter

Conservative Party - envisaged

- Current Identity
- Envisaged identity

- Values
- Who for
- Compare/differ
- More personality than ideology
- Clear united direction
- Resonating
- Young citizens
- Regional/Central Conservative Party values
- Distinction between Tory and Conservative

History

- Helped/hindered
- Old perceptions – Nasty Party
- **Class**
- How – modifications/adaptations

David Cameron

- Attempted to change Party
- Influenced
- Internal relations
- Divided
- Made a difference
- Other conservative leaders
- Cameron's Conservatives

Personal Perceptions

- How would you describe what it means to be a Conservative
- Feelings
- Changed
- Similar values
- Perceptions
- Citizens see the party
- Replacement of old logo
- United
- Relationships with other members
- Europe – Change – Society
- Social Responsibility
- Personal Beliefs/different

Personal Perceptions – David Cameron

- Changed
- Support/Dislike
- Further change
- Desires
- Adaptations

Closure

- Questions for me
- Summarise Findings
- Ethical Procedures
- Contact Information

2. Internal Stakeholders

Table F.1.1: Outline of Sample for Phase One - Internal Conservative Stakeholders

Code	Element of the Conservative Party	Position	Date Interviewed
P1	Professional Party	Conservative Councillor	15 th December 2009
P2	Professional Party	2010 Conservative Prospective Parliamentary Candidate and Conservative Councillor	18 th December 2009
P3	Professional Party	2010 Conservative Prospective Parliamentary Candidate (subsequently elected in 2010). Former Conservative Councillor	19 th December 2009
P4	Professional Party	Conservative Councillor and Campaign Manager for Participant three (P3).	19 th December 2009
P5	Voluntary Party	Conservative Prospective County Councillor	19 th December 2009
P6	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the House of Lords	6 th January 2010
P7	Professional Party	2005 Conservative Prospective Parliamentary Candidate [unsuccessful], Director of a Conservative Party sub-group. (Entered the House of Lords following the 2010 General Election.	10 th January 2010
P8	Professional Party	Conservative London Assembly Member	10 th January 2010
P9	Professional Party	Conservative London Assembly Member	10 th January 2010
P10	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. Former Conservative Member of the European Parliament. Former; Member of the Privy Council, Minister of State and Shadow Cabinet	10 th January 2010
P11	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. Former Conservative Member of the European Parliament.	11 th January 2010
P12	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. Former Private Researcher to Nigel Lawson and Margaret Thatcher. Former Member of the Cabinet under John Major and former member of the Shadow Cabinet post 1997. (Now a member of the 2010 Cabinet).	11 th January 2010
P13	Voluntary Party	National Chair of a Conservative sub-group	11 th January 2010
P14	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. Moreover a Member of the Executive Committee of the 1922 Committee.	12 th January 2010
P15	Professional Party	Deputy Director of a Conservative sub-group	12 th January 2010
P16	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the House of Lords. Member of the Thatcher and Major Cabinet; and member of the Shadow Cabinet under William Hague.	23 rd January 2010
P17	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the European Parliament. Former Member of the Westminster Parliament (MP).	3 rd February 2010
P18	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the European Parliament. Former Member of the Westminster Parliament (MP).	3 rd February 2010

P19	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the European Parliament. Former Conservative Councillor and Conservative London Assembly Member.	3 rd February 2010
P20	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the European Parliament. Former Chairman of the Carlton Club.	4 th February 2010
P21	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of the European Parliament	4 th February 2010
P22	Voluntary Party	Regional Treasurer of Conservative Future; the youth element of the UK Conservative Party.	11 th February 2010
P23	Professional Party	2010 Conservative Prospective Parliamentary Candidate and Conservative Councillor.	17 th February 2010
P24	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. Minister of State and Privy Council under the Thatcher and Major Governments. Member of the Shadow Cabinet under David Cameron and a Member of the Cabinet following the 2010 General Election.	17 th February 2010
P25	Voluntary Party	Conservative Prospective Councillor. A former Parliamentary Assistant to Ann Widdecombe; former Minister of State and Member of the Shadow Cabinet.	17 th February 2010
P26	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. A Former Member of the Major Cabinet.	1 st March 2010
P27	Parliamentary Party	Conservative Member of Parliament. Parliamentary Private Secretary to a Member of the Cameron Cabinet following the 2010 General Election.	1 st March 2010
P28	Voluntary Party	Conservative Prospective Councillor and Chairman of the Conservative Association in the North of England.	2 nd March 2010
P29	Voluntary Party	Regional Vice-Chairman of Conservative Future.	2 nd March 2010
P30	Professional Party	Conservative Leader of the County Council in the Midlands; England.	10 th March 2010