Political Marketing Group

P.S.A. (Political Studies Association) Specialist group
https://sites.google.com/site/psapmg/home

NEWSLETTER March 2011

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CHAIR'S NOTE

Welcome readers to the first newsletter of the Political Marketing Group for 2011.

The field of political marketing is showing clear signs of consolidation, both in terms of a number of new books published and in print and a range of conference opportunities for the dissemination of new research and thinking. Development is happening at both the levels of understanding practice and developing new theory which can only further the political marketing research agenda in the future. I think we also see signs of marketing being made more prominent, not least in the way that the media report the work of governments. When we hear the Japanese government described as in crisis management phase, learning the lessons from BP, in news reports of statements regarding the earthquake and tsunami-hit Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant it is telling that the perceived separation between the political and corporate sphere is almost non-existent. Whether this is due to one journalist's preconceptions, an ongoing media framing narrative, governmental communication strategies or an emergent ontological perspective is a moot point. However, it suggests fertile ground for research on both the supply side and among audiences seeking information, aid with choices and, in the Japanese context, reassurance and a sense that life at some point can return to normality. While not undermining in anyway the enormity of the tragedy and the problems the government there faces, in the midst of it all there are issues of trust in brand Japan and the Naoto Kan government brand.

Some of these issues may emerge at the PSA Conference which I am looking forward to at the end of April. The full list of panels is on page 14 and I am looking forward to presenting and the various chairing and discussant duties. For those attending I will be in London from April 19th so do get in touch if you need a tour guide that can get you around the underground. I would take this opportunity in thanking Scott Davidson and Mark Passera for organising the panels this year and hope to be able to pull a report together for the next newsletter.

On which note, myself and Jenny Lloyd are stepping in to edit the next newsletter to allow Jennifer Lees-Marshment a little maternity leave. In joining with me in offering all our congratulations please also remember to send in any material you would like to share with colleagues in the field. This is something of a bumper edition, for which many of you deserve our heartfelt thanks, I hope the next one will be equally well supported.

I hope to see many readers at the PSA, if not also look out for me at the ICA sharing a platform with Jesper Stromback talking about Political Public Relations, as well as in the Political Communication section, which I currently convene, at the ECPR in Reykjavik in September.

Darren Lilleker, Chair of the PMG

REPORTS AND TRENDS

Russian Party Market Landscape Prior to Federal Elections Cycle 2011-2012

by Nikolay Sapronov nsapronov@mail.ru

We may notice a delusion spread among scholars that political marketing theory is relevant to democratic political systems with intensive political rivalry, in which a limited number of the main political parties compete for the office or seats in the parliament. However Russian political marketing reality disproves this cliché, offering a wider angled vision of political rivalry in stable political systems.

Table 1. Russian political market (party segment) key indicators 1999-2007 on basis of federal elections data

Indicators	1999	2003	2007
Voters Attendance	61,85%	55,75%	63,78%
Number of competing parties	26	23	11
Number of parties over election barrier	6	4	4
Share of parties over election barrier	81,38%	70,65%	91,76%
% of ineffective votes	13,38%	23,08%	7,15%
% of representation	50,20%	39,34%	58,46%
Votes for the ruling party (coalition)%	36,65%	37,56%	64,30%
Effective number of electoral parties	6,79	5,41	2,27
Vanhanen's democracy index	46,82	34,81	22,77

The main intrigue of the forthcoming federal parliament elections in Russia to be held in December 2011 (or October 2011 in case of State Duma dissolution) is the leadership of the ruling propresidential political party "United Russia". "United Russia" was introduced to Russian political market in 1999 concurrently with Vladimir Putin and increased its dominance in series of election cycles starting as a dark horse with unknown leaders who proclaimed support for Vladimir Putin in 1999 with election result of 23%, 38% in 2003 when "United-Russia" merged with a former "Motherland-All Russia" (13% in 1999), 64% in 2007 when Vladimir Putin formally led the party to the parliament as its official leader.

The specifics of Russian political market is determined with election system design in which parliament elections do not directly influence who will form the government (it is a presidential prerogative) as parliament parties do not form the cabinet but influence the following presidential elections to be held in March 2012. Candidates for presidential post are nominated by political parties. Thus the results of "United Russia" will likely predestine whether or not Vladimir Putin who is proclaimed as the official leader of "United Russia" will be proposed for the presidential post for the term 2012-2018. Vladimir Putin who is currently a prime-minister and his successor Dmitry Medvedev who is a president of Russia

since 2008 claim that they still haven't decided who will be the one to run for the presidential post in 2012.

It is a challenging task for "United Russia" to upsurge its election result over 64%. Analysts argue that "United Russia" has already reached its "maximum demand" in terms of political marketing. Russia is a democratic country constitutionally and Russian leaders realize that compliance with formal democratic rules and procedures is imperative. Notwithstanding there are evidences that parliament elections in 2007 teemed with violations, it is hard to imagine that "United Russia" will rely upon its "administrative resource" to reach as much as 70% only. 70% level of votes was marked as a possible "election target" by party official representatives after results of Common Election Day held in March 13 2011 – in which "United Russia" gained 50,2% (preliminary data) as an average result in elections to regional parliaments compared to 65,2% in the same regions in State Duma election in 2007. Nevertheless opinion polls haven't registered any significant shift in voters' preferences on the federal level yet.

Main political parties electoral ratings as measured by Russian Public Opinion Research Center (WCIOM) and Public Opinion Foundation (FOM) indicate that "United Russia" already possesses a public support close to the target marks. According to FOM "United Russia" would gain as much as 64,3% of votes in case the voting takes place in March 2011. Detailed analysis of sociological data shows, that "United Russia" constituency is more disciplined in coming to election stations than other electorate. Thus sociologically "United Russia" can achieve even more.

Table 2. Russian main parties current ratings based on the main opinion polls

Russian main political parties	WCIOM 05.03.11[1] (%)	FOM 06.03.11[2] (%)	WCIOM 05.03.11 (% of respondents who will vote)	FOM 06.03.11 (% of respondents who will vote)
United Russia	49	45	60,49	64,3
Communist Party of Russian Federation (CPRF)	8	7	9,88	11,57
Liberal-Democratic Party of Russian Federation (LDPR)	7	5	8,64	8,14
Just Russia	5	5	6,17	7,74

On the other hand, there is a systematic error in such polls caused by social desirability effect. In practice, "United Russia" which can be described as a

[1] Statistical error level 3,4% http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=170
[2] http://bd.fom.ru/pdf/d10ind11.pdf

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Kirchheimer's catch-all party (though it is argued) has to mobilize its constituency each campaign. "United Russia" attracts votes of its potential constituency by promoting and selling specific political goods – a complex of political leaders' images, social identification, values, interests' representation, election pledges, positive track record and "kind deeds". It seems that it will be difficult to positively surprise electorate though as soon as "United Russia" has already played its key trump card in 2007 when Vladimir Putin officially led the party to the parliament.

The latest trend of ruling party's electoral techniques shown within the latest regional elections is countering opposition parties with negative campaigning tools which are practiced unofficially (unbranded with "United Russia"). The key target for such attacks became Just Russia – a moderate opposition party, which tries to oppose "United Russia" (being nevertheless loyal to the prime minister and the president) from social democratic platform. It is clear that "United Russia" is ready to get rid of "Just Russia" which became less controllable and threatens "United Russia" as the most ideologically close opponent. We may expect new series of anticommunist hysteria in case CPRF will become a hub for opposition forces integration too.

The key task for opposition parties campaigning is to increase their seats in the parliament, which requires an effective party campaigning. There are no major districts since 2007 Russian State Duma is formed on proportional system only. It's a challenging task for every party since posterior decrease of seats menaces each party to lose its position in political market as it happened with former parliament parties such as Yabloko or Right Deed, the constituency of which switched to United Russia or become disillusioned with elections. The necessary ingredient of opposition menu will be the critics of "United Russia" and voters' assurance of self-political potential.

It is hard for opposing parties to increase potential election outcomes as they have a very limited influence on the voter as soon as key mass media are affiliated with Kremlin or keep political neutrality. Thus it is very hard to change the agenda, which is controlled by the president and prime minister tandem, and switch political demand on opposition supply.

Table 3. Major potential scenarios of the forthcoming federal parliament elections in Russia.

Intertia scenario (status quo)	Politization Scenario (demonopolization of political market)	Modernization Scenario
Social and economic situation is relevantly stable	Social and economic situation is stable or negative	Social and economic situation is stable or positive
Interest in elections and voters attendance are low	Interest in elections and voters attendance are high	Interest in elections and voters attendance are relevantly high
Protest politization of electorate is low	Protest politization of electorate is high	Agenda reload in which leadership in changes is kept by the executive

		power and/or "United Russia", protest politization is troublesome
"United Russia" domination on the foreground of weak campaigns of opposing parties	Significant increase of support for opposition parties and candidates on the foreground of lack of communication efficiency of "United Russia"	"United Russia" party leadership, opposition if forced to insert it's campaigns in the changing political reality

The main economic indicators to influence elections are real earnings which are significantly affected by inflation and price growth on food, fuel, housing which seriously touches people with low and average income. It is evident that public interest in elections depends on the perception of elections as a real struggle the outcome of which depends on voting. Thus opposition should be interested to act more severe. The outlined scenarios do not take into account any political force majeure which may drastically change political process in Russia. We suppose that it will be a wise decision for "United Russia" to lead political changes, saving it's leadership but refusing the party dominance model. Although this decision may not be an internal one for political party and requires an original political will to move towards democracy.

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A Picture Paints a Thousand Words: Reflections on the 2010 British General Elections

By Kobby Mensah PhD Student, University of Sheffield
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Does a picture paints a thousand words as they say? If so, what can we learn from the first images of the first day - and beyond - of the 2010 British general election campaigns? A look at how the election was fought on the campaign trail by the three parties may offer some clues into modern party political organisation and campaigning: first, the Conservatives by a lone ranger, David Cameron; second, the Liberal Democrats by a duo, Nick Clegg and Vince Cable; and third, Gordon Brown and a bunch of New Labour heavy weights, including even Tony Blair. How do we explain these three different image management approaches in the political campaign organisation of the three main parties during the British general elections 2010? Are there clues to what I call 'a political brand architecture (PBA) theory?'

The PBA theory is an adaptation of the brand architecture concept in commercial branding. For lack of space, a brief overview is offered in this piece. However for further reading, the following commercial brand literature are useful (Muzellec and Lambkin, 2009; Uggla, 2006; Kapferer, 2004; Riezebos, 2003; Aaker and Joachimsthaler, 2000a; Mottram, 1998; Gilmore, 1997; Laforet and Saunders, 1994).

The concept of brand architecture is commonly explained as the organising structure of a company's brand portfolio in a way that could specify roles and

relationships among brands and their markets so to establish clarity in customers' minds. There are three main brand architecture types; corporate-dominant, product-dominant and a mixed structure – a combination of a corporate and product brands (Laforet and Saunders 1994, in Uggla 2006, p 787). The first, corporate brand architecture is based on conceiving and nurturing products within the organisation based on a common corporate identity and value. Thus, the visibility and recognition of the organisation as the main driver of brand value (Uggla, 2006). The second, product brand architecture is the identification and development of individual identity and value set for each product and the third, a mixed breed, is the development of product with some degree of association to the corporation, yet allowing the product to exercise its own inherent values as in the case of sub brands and endorsed brands. So how does the brand architecture concept parallels the organising approaches of the three main parties in the 2010 British general elections.

On the day Prime Minister Brown announced the election date, he was flanked by his Cabinet, among them Lord Mandelson and other Labour heavy weights in government, and declared, "I am not a team of one but one of a team with energy, substance and ideas." This declaration, with the associated image was clearly orchestrated to answer critics' suggestion that he is the weakest link amongst the contenders to the Premiership. Beyond that, and deep into the days of the campaigning, we saw other erstwhile New Labour gurus on the campaign trail, notably Tony Blair, Alistair Campbell and John Prescott on the stump trying to ramp up support for the Labour party. In this direction, the Labour party believed it was a house full of political equity - Labour values, according to Brown's declaration - capable of providing the necessary endorsement to shore up the Brown-led campaign. A glance at the party's egalitarian sounding broadcast message (Baer, 1995), 'A future fair for all' instantly offers a summation of core Labour ideals - fighting to protect the poor majority, as Brown argued in his class leaning speech the day he called the election.

In other words, the Labour party advanced onto the campaign trail their three main political elements - the party, the candidate and the policy - bonded within the frame of core Labour ideals, one could argue, with very little separation if any. However, prior to the collapse of the world economy leading to 'Brown the bully' scandal and to the infamous 'bigot gate,' Gordon Brown was very much the asset to the Labour campaign - and was most likely to be the 'Master brand,' not Labour the party. One would even be forgiven before the campaign season to predict that Blair would be conspicuously missing on the campaign trail given the controversies that surround his invasion of Iraq, which came into prominence especially during the 'Iraq war inquiry,' none of which the Labour party wanted. Even by the end of the first economic summit in London attended by world leaders to strategise the way out of the global economic meltdown, Brown's approval rating had shot up. However, all went wrong right before and after the election date was called with all these allegations befalling the Prime Minister, making it necessary for him to be 'one of a team.'

On the contrary was the single, lone ranger David Cameron. He was 'the last man standing' for the Conservatives on the campaign trail, stumping for himself and his MPs. In fact, way before the election was called one wouldn't be far from right to suggest that we were going to see, at least, Cameron and his right hand man,

Osborne stumping together on the trail until Labour and the Lib Dems stroke, calling Osborne's judgment into question. From then on, the Tories retreated with less of Osborne on the message. Hitherto, during Cameron's policy-lite criticism days, the Conservative leader always suggested that policy details on the economy shall be given to the nation by Osborne, yet very little was seen of the then Shadow Chancellor on the campaign trail neither did we see, in prominence, any of the Tory bigwigs although Iain Duncan-Smith (IDA), foreign secretary Hague, and others have been giving policy speeches on 'friendly turfs' like the right wing policy institutes prior to the campaign. Was it the case that Cameron preferred to hide the 'nasty party' behind his 'cool' face just to allow him to do the job of renewal? Or it was the case that the media failed to throw more light on key party figures that were dispatched on the trail as a matter of their obsession with party leaders in this election? It certainly wasn't the latter, otherwise why did we see those of the Labour party? At least we saw Lord Mandelson, 'the dancer,' on the campaign trail 'showing off' some few dancing moves with Rita Mackenzie (news.bbc.co.uk, accessed 19.05.10). We also saw Tony Blair talking about why it was absolutely necessary to elect Brown to secure the economy.

So Cameron, one could argue, was very much separated from the party, at least from the large bunch of people who make up the party. It is possible to argue also that when it comes to the core Conservative ideals, the party, the candidate and the greater part of key campaign messages were separated. Cameron tried as much to advance 'the BIG society' and 'the GREAT ignored' message for example, as key policy brands that could perhaps shift perceptions on the Tory party's image on the interests of the masses. The trouble is, this is not the kind of discourse the electorates associate with Tory ideals, hence their failure to gain traction on the campaign trail. The party lacked the brand attributes - contemporary or historic - to make such discourse believable and trust worthy. A case in point is the comment by a Tory MEP, Daniel Hannan on a US TV that the NHS had been a "60-year mistake" (news.bbc.co.uk, accessed 19.05.10). His comment rekindled the perception amongst some segment of the electorates that the Tory party is two faced when it comes to the masses interests, making it necessary for Cameron to give a personal pledge that he will protect the NHS that most British people rely on, including his own family.

In between the two approaches above is the Lib Dems' 'duet,' Nick Clegg and Vince Cable. The former, seen as the element of change in modern British politics and the latter, the cup bearer of the party's policy detail and the embodiment of political substance in British politics. Cable is widely seen as the only politician who could predict the coming of the modern economic doomsday, the credit crunch. On the day the election was declared, the first campaign image of the Liberal Democrats was the emergence of Clegg and Cable together on the stump. The duo was to appear on the Lib Dems campaign bus, posters and flyers together; 'one of which was dropped in my letter box.'

Combing through the internet, I realised that the picture I have just painted on how the parties organised their campaigning has also been observed by others with mixed interpretation. In a blog posted on the New Statesman website, James Macintyre comments that 'the Parties' home pages make interesting viewing, the Conservatives go for one major "story" next to a big picture of a determined-looking David Cameron' and similar for the LibDems (newstatesman.co.uk,

accessed on 19.05.10). Labour's website is an altogether more mixed affair, according to Macintyre, '...images of anyone who has "posted" in recent hours, from Jack Straw to Douglas Alexander to Peter Mandelson. It also has Tony Blair's Trimdon speech prominently displayed on the home page.' Macintyre continues, 'some would say that the party is trying to "hide" Gordon Brown, who appeared with the cabinet outside Downing Street to call the election yesterday' (ibid). Not surprising, some of the general public's reaction to this post read: 'the more Brown's face appears anywhere, the more people dislike him. With a face or personality like that, Labour are left with little choice;' 'I guess it depends whether your leader is an unpopular weirdo or not;' 'the reason that David Cameron is going solo is that he is the only one that is relatively "normal" in a hotchpotch bunch of weirdos!'

In another post on the ZimDiaspora website, an article by Peter Wilson observes that 'on a day when the parties were more concerned about visual images than detailed policy messages, the leaders were as careful in choosing their company as they were in deciding where to be filmed and photographed. Mr Brown took the unusual step of giving his opening speech flanked by his entire cabinet, declaring: "I am one in a team, not a team of one" (zimdiaspora.com, accessed on 19.05.10). Wilson argues that Brown took the unusual step because polls suggest when matched up, Cameron is more popular than Brown but the public has doubts about the depth of the Conservative team. That means pitching the Labour team against that of the Conservatives, amongst which Cameron is the most appealing will be advantage Labour. And as a result of the latter reason, Wilson argues, Cameron chose to go solo on the campaign trail.

Given the various campaign organisation scenarios described above, what can we make of the rationale behind it all? Did Cameron decide, presumably, that he wanted to go it alone so not to worry that the 'nasty party' perception would contaminate his 'compassionate conservativism' brand he dearly advanced? What would have been Brown's approach to Labour's campaign if he was not caught up in the scandals that hit his public standing? And if cable was not considered as the most trusted politician amongst the bunch and also as the only politician who foresaw the coming of the economic meltdown, would he have been tightly joined to Nick Clegg's campaign considering his age amongst the rests of the leaders who were at the forefront of their party campaigns on the trail? Clearly, the shuffling and reshuffling of the campaign organisation of these three main parties in this manner were not accidental but as responses to events much of which could be attributed to 'how they stand' in voters eyes. Such a notion of organising and re-organising of political brands in response to events, shares border with the brand architecture concept in commercial brand literature.

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REPORTS ON PAST EVENTS

How to Communicate Politics Conference

Report from the conference at the Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

By Anna Matuskova

The third international conference How to Communicate Politics about political marketing and communication took place on November, 22 and 23, 2010 in Brno, Czech Republic. The conference was divided into three major parts – an academic conference with leading scholars; workshops with experienced practitioners; and a part for students of political marketing and communication consisting of PhD colloquium and special lectures. Conference hosted speakers from the US, the UK, Italy, New Zealand, France, Portugal and Serbia, while the program attracted more than 130 guests.

The main conference part was built around the two thematic panels and the key-note speech by Philippe J. Maarek, who spoke in details about the recent trends and changes of political communication, which he sees developing from personalization to what he calls peopolization. The first panel was opened by Jennifer Lees-Marshment, who focused her presentation on pursuing marketing democratically, analyzed major difficulties and suggested some possible solutions. Margaret Scammell delivered speech that helped guests to understand branding and re-branding of political parties. Her theoretical framework was grounded on examples from the UK, the US and Germany. Rita Figueiras presented a paper, on which she collaborated with Barbora Petrova, and which reflected two election campaigns in Portugal and Slovakia, where the female candidate stood against the male counterpart for the first time.

The next panel, chaired by Margaret Scammell, was focused on "Politics and Popular Culture". Gianpietro Mazzoleni discussed the popular culture elements affecting current politics and their media coverage speaking about mediatization of politics and politicians. Dominic Wring in his speech "Call me Dave, the spin doctor, who made it to No. 10 Downing Street' talked about symbolic and emotional levels of political campaigns giving examples from the latest election campaign in the UK. The academic part was closed with the contribution of sociologist John Sumser "Telling Stories, Giving Explanations: Narrative Differences in Political Discourse".

The second part was oriented on the practical and hands-on experience. The first workshop was conducted by media trainer Borislav Spasojevic and its main aim was to improve the TV and public speaking and communicating skills of the participants. James Fisfis, the successful pollster and campaign strategist from San Francisco, led the workshop focused on the campaign strategy and prepared very interesting activities using real data from surveys and polls. Aaron E. Ringel drew on his recent experience when he was managing a successful campaign for Michael Grimm in Brooklyn, NYC running for the US Congress. He shared experience mainly about the GOTV (Get Out The Vote) techniques and the management of the campaign team and volunteers.

The second day of the conference continued with students' colloquium chaired by Gianpietro Mazzoleni from the University of Milano. PhD and MA students discussed methodological difficulties with their theses and dissertations and were given very useful advices for improvement. On the same day, students of the major study specialization Electoral Studies & Political Marketing of the home Faculty of Social Studies had a chance to listen to interesting lectures by Jennifer Lees-Marshment and Dominic Wring.

For more information on conference www.marketingpolitics.org (www.facebook.com/marketingpolitics). As part of the conference was launched student organization Political Marketing Group in Central and Eastern Europe.

Main Conference organizer: Dr. Anna Matuskova, matuskov@fss.muni.cz

Programme Organizer: Barbora Petrova, petrova@fss.muni.cz

Political Marketing Group CEE: Milos Gregor, milos.gregor@email.cz

FUTURE EVENTS

The Political marketing group at the 2011 UK PSA, London.

Organised by Mark Passera and Scott Davidson

Panel 1: Public Affairs, Public Relations & Political Marketing

Chair: Darren Lilleker

Discussant: Scott Davidson

Session: Session 1 (Tuesday 19th April, 10:00 - 11:30)

Stream: Political Marketing

Room: Sauternes

Papers

Political Marketing and Irrationality: The Impact of Behavioral Economics on Market Orientation

Bendle, Neil

Gender Stereotypes and Election Campaigns: A Longitudinal Analysis of Print Political Advertising in Greece

Kotzaivazoglou, Iordanis, and *Plakoyiannaki, Emmanuella*

Nudge This – Behavioural Economics & Political Marketing

Passera, Mark

Panel 2: Electoral Systems and Political marketing

Chair: Scott Davidson

Discussant: Mark Passera

Session: Session 5 (Wednesday 20th April, 09:00 - 10:30)

Stream: Political Marketing

Room: Bourgogne

Papers

Referendum Process in the era of Personalization of Politics: A Case Study of Constitutional Referendum in 2010, Turkey

Degirmenci, Nigar

Electoral System and the Marketization of Politics: The Indonesian Experience

Marijan, Kacung

Design of successful community partnerships to improve local governance in Mexico

Vargas-Hernández, José

Electoral system and Representation of Women in Indonesia's Parliament: Comparison between the 2004 and the 2009 Elections

Zein Br Siregar, Wahidah

Panel 3: Political Marketing and Communication

Chair: Mark Passera

Discussant: Scott Davidson

Session: Session 9 (Wednesday 20th April, 16:30 - 18:00)

Stream: Political Marketing

Room: Pomerol

Papers

Leader for the Next Generation: The Case Study of Thai Politics

Chatratichart, Waraporn

Suspending disbelief: Obama and the role of emotions in political communication

Escobar, Oliver

Selling the individual, the party or the parliament: MEP's strategic use of the world wide web as a marketing communication devise.

Lilleker, Darren and *Koc-Michalska, Karolina*

Has the Internet Transformed the Style and Substance of Political Communication? Evidence From German Online Campaigns in the National Elections 2002-2009

Schweitzer, Eva Johanna

Panel 4: Political Marketing -- as a Discipline

Chair: Darren Lilleker

Discussant: Mark Passera

Session: Session 10 (Thursday 21st April, 09:00 - 10:30)

Stream: Political Marketing

Room: Barsac

Papers

Strategic reorientation to the new grey electorate: how political campaigners are responding to the challenge

Davidson, Scott

Sources of Political Marketing Knowledge in Latvia

Dmitričenko, Ieva

The shadow of public relations ethics

Fawkes, Johanna

CALL FOR PAPERS

Call for papers for APSA 2011 pre-conference short course

On Wednesday, August 31, 2011 a pre-APSA workshop (American Political Science Association) will be held in Seattle, Washington, USA from 9:30 am to 5 pm. This will be the second time an event focused around political marketing is being held in connection with the APSA conference (http://www.apsanet.org/content_65547.cfm?navID=193). The long term goal is to educate and build a political marketing network within the USA. This one-day workshop on the globally growing field of political marketing will provide a unique opportunity for both scholars and political practitioners to discuss the study and practice of political marketing. The workshop will consider both the nature of political marketing and current practice, *especially at the state and local level*, through the dual perspectives of academic scholarship and practitioner experience.

If you are interested in presenting a paper at this workshop or need further information, contact Kenneth Cosgrove (kcosgrove@suffolk.edu) or Christine Williams (cwilliams@bentley.edu).

Registration details will be provided later. Short courses are listed in the APSA program, which will be available at their website in May.

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Call for Papers Political Studies Association Media and Politics Group (MPG) Annual Conference 3-4 November 2011.

Deadline for Abstracts: 3 June 2011
Bournemouth University, UK
Civic and Audience Empowerment

The PSA is the UK¹s leading association in the study and research of politics. The MPG is one of its largest specialist groups, and is one of the world¹s largest political communications groups. The main theme of its annual conference is civic and audience empowerment focusing, in particular, on the ways and means through which (all and any) media can empower or dis-empower citizens, i.e. act as vehicles of or obstacles to civic change.

Technological, cultural and economic forces are profoundly transforming political communication posing historic challenges and opportunities for politicians and media organisations. At the same time, important questions are emerging about the role and power of citizens, challenging traditional notions of the passive audience, but opening new questions around power and digital labour. It is therefore a good time to reflect upon some of the consequences of these developments for both the construction and reception of political communication, in all its forms. For instance, how much and what sorts of civic and audience empowerment are most desirable, and how does this differ cross-nationally? How do citizens relate to private and

public spaces? How do citizens function in online, networked, liminal and alternative spaces? How do audiences of Œnon-political¹ media spaces relate their experiences to politics? How are political parties and movements utilising audiences as co-creators of political communication and what are the consequences for democracy?

We invite theoretical and empirical papers that draw specific attention to reassessing the theories, methods and issues that inform our understanding of citizens and audiences in contemporary politics. These may include, but are not limited to the following themes:

- New forms of campaigning, political communication, networking and mobilisation
- How news organisations are speaking to their audience: continuities and change
- Citizen journalism and political audiences as Œknowledge communities¹
- Civic consumerism and the Œpolitics of the everyday life¹
- Media literacy and journalism education
- Usability of political websites and user empowerment
- Global citizen empowerment and social movements
- The geography and spatiality of audience hood in the context of the political
- The relationship between art, creativity, entertainment and civic culture
- Resistant audiences and alternative interpretive communities

The aim of this conference is to encourage new thinking and original approaches to political communication with a particular emphasis (where problems are articulated) on solutions, recommendations and ways forward. The conference organisers are in talks with publishers and intend to publish selected conference papers as part of an edited collection. To be considered for this, conference presenters are encouraged to submit a full version of their paper before or soon after the conference.

While the conference is themed on civic and audience empowerment, the MPG group always operates an inclusive policy, and papers dealing with any aspect of media and politics are welcomed.

The keynote speech will be delivered by Professor Stuart Allan.

Proposals for 15 minute papers should include the following: title and name, institutional affiliation and address, and preferred email address; together with, a paper title and abstract of not more than 300 words; and, whether or not you are a postgraduate student.

Proposals should be sent on or before Friday 3rd June 2011 to Dr Dan Jackson jacksond@bournemouth.ac.uk. All abstracts will undergo peer review and decisions on papers will be given within 3 weeks of the submission deadline.

Full papers submitted by postgraduate students will be entered into the

James Thomas Memorial Prize. This award is presented to the most outstanding paper by a graduate student at the Media and Politics Group Annual Conference.

For further information about the conference, please visit (and join!) the MPG facebook group: http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=13215335223.

Dan

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RESEARCH STUDENT THESES IN POLITICAL MARKETING

Overcoming the Political Marketing Efficiency Paradox: Targeting and Opposition Safe-seats

By Melanie Tuala, BA(Hons), University of Auckland
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Common in political marketing theory and practice is what this dissertation terms an *efficiency paradox* based on the efficient use of resources in political marketing activity. Here segmentation and targeting activities channel resources into marginal seats and avoid safe seats (as campaign wastelands) creating information deficiencies, inequality in the ability to affect policy, and disenfranchisement from governance systems. This dissertation challenges the efficiency paradox norm asking whether investing political resources in opposition safe seats can bring both long and short term benefits as opposed to the assumed short term costs. Looking at the results of the Democrats 50-state strategy, strong organization and grassroots participation were successful resources in seats that the Democrats hadn't campaigned in since the seventies. The case evidences that if encouraged in such seats, organisation can produce short term results by reducing the costs of activities such as canvassing and face-to-face marketing thereby reducing resource scarcity whilst also keeping up with demographic changes that can be crucial to marketing strategy. Finally in a practical application, an investigation into a traditional NZ Labour party safe seat (Mangere) finds opportunities for parties other than Labour in neighbourhoods likely to be less fixed to the traditional voting pattern. More importantly its youthful population and importance of community networks present the groundwork for grassroots organisation and the ability to affect the future political agenda of the electorate. Hence, as a result of theoretical, case, and practical exploration this dissertation finds that investment in opposition safes seats does not have to come at the expense of current campaign goals and the efficient use of resources - the efficiency paradox can be reconciled.

Someone Like Me? Political Marketing as an Aid for Minority Representation

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Summary: My research argues that female, ethnic and homosexual candidates are faced with significant barriers to political representation. However, these barriers can be overcome through the implementation of political marketing strategies. Female, ethnic and homosexual persons face discrimination from voters when seeking election due to voter reliance on preconceived notions when making political decisions. Due to the practical applications of political marketing theory, political marketing literature allows the identification of mechanisms for counteracting these limitations. Through the triangulation of the political marketing sub fields of branding, segmentation and positioning, a strategic criterion can therefore be produced specifically designed to counter minority limitations, aiding representation. Consequently, this research provides a real

world framework for minority candidates to apply within election campaigns to aid their electability.

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Sinn Fein's use of Political Marketing: A model for Minority Parties seeking Political Representation?

Bailey Duggan, BA (Hons), University of Auckland bailey_duggan@hotmail.com

Summary: Scholarship on the impact of political marketing on minorities is very limited. The majority of the literature is based on the assumption that political marketing leads to minority issues being ignored, as a result of marketing techniques utilised by major parties. Current political marketing literature does not include how minority parties can use marketing themselves. This dissertation seeks to demonstrate that minority parties can also use political marketing to be politically successful and increase representation. A three part model is adapted from political marketing literature that demonstrates how a party should apply segmentation, branding and internal marketing. This model was applied to Sinn Fein and it is evident that the party is using all three techniques. In terms of segmentation it is evident that Sinn Fein identifies different segments which are targeted with communications. Sinn Fein is very successful at branding; Sinn Fein's brand is not only unique, simple and aspirational. But long term brand management has also been important, because of the constant changes that the party has gone through during the peace process. Sinn Fein also conducts internal marketing and considers its volunteers to be a vital resource. The empirical study of Sinn Fein shows that segmentation, branding and internal marketing are essential tools for minority parties seeking political representation and the criteria identified can be applied to other minority parties.
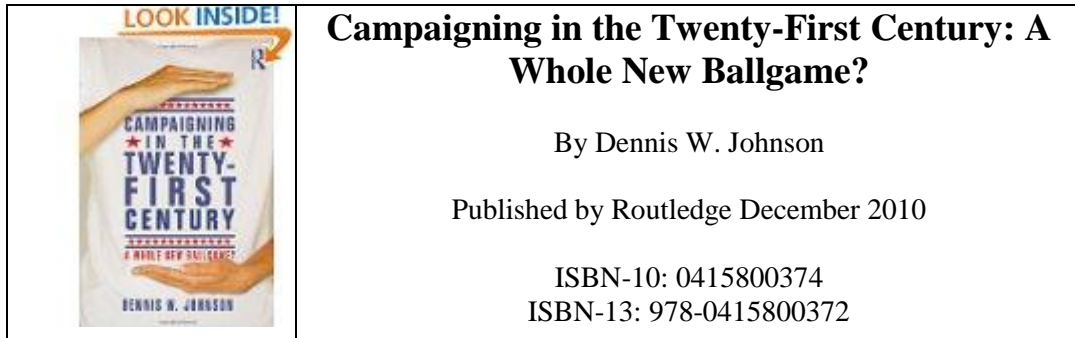
JOURNAL OF POLITICAL MARKETING

New-online peer review system

Taylor & Francis will be implementing an online peer-review and manuscript tracking system for the *Journal of Political Marketing*. It will use ScholarOne Manuscripts software that facilitates online submission, assignment of reviewers, online peer review and communications with authors and referees. Taylor & Francis requests our reviewer databases and the manuscript keywords we would like to import into the new system. Some of you already volunteered to review for *JPM* and I have that information in an Excel spreadsheet . If others wish to be entered into the reviewer database, please provide your information by using this url address: http://atc.bentley.edu/resources/perseus5/surveys/jpmreviewers.htm

If anyone who previously volunteered has changed his or her contact information, please submit a new, corrected entry. For the present, submissions of your scholarly work should be directed to Bruce Newman, Editor-in-Chief in the standard way. For author guidelines see: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1537-7857&linktype=44

BOOKS

Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century: A Whole New Ballgame?

By Dennis W. Johnson

Published by Routledge December 2010

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ISBN-13: 978-0415800372

See http://www.amazon.com/Campaigning-Twenty-First-Century-Whole-Ballgame/dp/0415800382/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1300305138&sr=1-1

So much has changed during the past decade in political campaigning that we can almost say "it's a whole new ball game." This book analyzes the way campaigns were traditionally run and the extraordinary changes that have occurred in the last decade. Dennis W. Johnson looks at the most sophisticated techniques of modern campaigning—micro-targeting, online fundraising, digital communication, the new media—and examines what has changed, how those changes have dramatically transformed campaigning, and what has remained fundamentally the same despite new technologies and communications.

Campaigns are becoming more open and free-wheeling, with greater involvement of activists and average voters alike. But they can also become more chaotic and difficult to control. *Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century* presents daunting challenges for candidates and professional consultants as they try to get their messages out to voters. Ironically, the more open and robust campaigns become, the greater is the need for seasoned, flexible and imaginative professional consultants.

Reviews

"Dennis Johnson has done it again—produced a fascinating book on contemporary campaigning that is important, informative, and a fun read. *Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century* explains how technology has changed campaign communications and message targeting at a level of precision hardly imagined when we began to use today's must-have devices a mere fifteen years ago. Beginning and advanced students of campaigns alike will want to read this book." —Robin A. Kolodny, Temple University

"In this well-written and comprehensive book, Dennis Johnson explains several of the most profound changes in professional campaigning and campaign management over the past decade. *Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century* deserves praise for its exceptional insights into the dynamics of the modern political campaign. It belongs in any course on campaigns and elections, and comes highly recommended for anyone who wants to understand how campaigns operate in the twenty-first century." —Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University

"*Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century* is a thoroughly original and refreshing account of modern campaigning, steeped in practical observations and grounded in the latest scholarship. Recommended to practitioners, professors, and the public at large." —David C. King, Harvard University

Additional description provided by the author Dennis W. Johnson:
Professionally-run campaigns have undergone some enormous changes during the past decade. My recent book, "Campaigning in the Twenty-first Century: A Whole New Ballgame?" (Routledge, Dec. 2010), looks into the most important changes in communication and technology in American campaigns from the late 1990s through the 2010 midterm elections. Here is a checklist of the most important findings from the book:

The Modern Campaign
1.   The Twentieth-Century Model of professional campaigning, emphasizing top-down decision-making, dominated by television is being replaced by a Twenty-first Century Model with online communication, greater use of technology, more sense of citizen involvement, opportunities for small donor giving, and reliance on research and metrics. Still, there is heavy reliance on television for campaign communication.

Communicating with Voters: The New Media
2.   We now live in a wired world, with a large majority of citizens who use online communications and expect their politicians and candidates to communicate through such means.
3.   New technologies and online communication--particularly campaign websites, YouTube and webvideos, email, mobile phones, political blogs, and social networking sites--have fundamentally altered the relationship between candidates and voters, and among voters themselves.
4.   Online advertising is just beginning to realize its potential.
5.   Thanks to online communication, there is a far greater volume of information (and misinformation) available to voters.
6.   More than ever, campaign communications are now instantaneous.
7.   Online communication opens up campaigns to rumor, innuendo, with no waiting for the facts.
8.   Candidates can now easily be caught off-guard by the ever present camera, with images easily posted on web video sites.
9.   Most importantly, online campaigns can become open-sourced and engage citizens to a far greater extent.

Communicating with Votes: Old Media
10.   Americans are watching more and more television.
11.   There is a further fragmentation of the television audience.
12.   For political (and all) advertisers, there is the growing concern that digital video recorders that can block out ads.
13.   There has been a substantial increase in presidential-year television advertising, primarily in selected battle-ground markets.
14.   Candidates have had to resort to inventive ways of obtaining free media.
15.   There has been an increase in negative campaigning at the federal level.
16.   Campaigns have been turning more to branding and framing techniques.

17. There is an increase in "faux television": advertising commercials disguised as neutral television interviews.

18. The U.S. Supreme Court decision Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission (2010) may open the floodgates for unlimited corporate advertising in federal election campaigns.

19. Campaign commercials increasingly have relied on focus group, dial testing, and mall testing techniques to assure that they are tuned into viewers responses.

20. There is a new breed of videographer, shooting cinema verite style, often for web videos.

21. Direct mail has been transformed by improved technologies in production and delivery and by use of microtargeting techniques.

22. Online communication is active; watching television is passive, and this makes an important difference in campaign communicating.

Fundraising:

23. The cost of campaigns at the federal level (presidential, Senate and House) has risen dramatically, even adjusted for inflation. Furthermore, some of the biggest increases have come in California ballot initiative issues. In many local contests, campaigns remain relatively low cost, while in others, they have jumped tremendously.

24. Federal campaign law was changed in significant ways by BCRA (Bi-Partisan Campaign Reform Act) in 2002.

25. The Supreme Court, by permitting unlimited corporate and union spending for advocacy advertising, has dramatically changed the landscape of federal campaign law.

26. State governments have increasingly adopted "clean elections" measures and some degree of public funding.

27. The way that campaigns solicit and receive funds has changed dramatically. Bundling has increased; online contributions now form a significant part of the contribution base.

28. There has been some increase in the percentage of voters who donate to political campaigns (not including through income tax check offs), but the percentage is still quite low.

Independent Voices

29. Online political activism, beginning in the late 1990s, is an important component of campaigns and elections.

30. Emergence of 527 organizations as important voices in campaign advocacy.

31. The emergence of online/offline forces on the Right, particularly the Tea Party activists.

32. Growing corporate involvement in political fundraising since Citizens United.
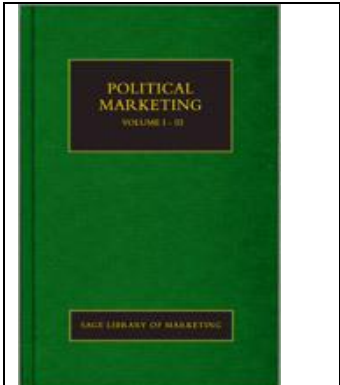
Taking the Pulse of the Public

33. There is more polling than ever at the presidential level.

34. There is a shrinking response rate.

35. Voter lists are replacing random digit dialing.

36. Survey researchers are cautiously trying to work with cellphone-only respondents.

37.   Internet polling is making great strides in acceptance during the 2000s, but many political consultants remain skeptical of its application in campaigns.

38.   Robocall polls are becoming more and more prevalent in media outlets, but still suspect by many.

39.   Brushfire polls--those with very few questions and no probing or responses--are also appearing; with the main attraction being their price and quick turnaround.

40.   Thanks to online sources, nearly anyone can become a pollster and ask campaign-related questions.

Voter Identification, Contact, and Mobilization

41. There is far better access to online voter registration information.

42. Microtargeting techniques have been greatly improved and used widely to identify probable supporters.

43. There have been important advances in voter contact through emailing, text messaging, and smart phone applications.

44. Campaigns have been effected by the trend toward early voting (weeks, even months ahead) and absentee voting.

45. There has been a growing use of robocalls and push-polling in campaigns.

46. The 72-hour campaign has been created, but now challenged by early voting.

The twenty-first century political consultant--from campaign manager, specialist in communications, research, outreach, and all the rest--will continue to play a vital role in elections at all levels. The role of the strategy team becomes even more important as we become a more wired, informed, and perhaps chaotic society. With messages and slogans, information and misinformation flying in all directions, it is vital to establish control and bring some semblance of order. Political consultants need to adapt to changing communication modes and technologies, but they will continue to play an important role in helping candidates wade through the formidable obstacles to get their message across and present themselves to votes.

	Political Marketing Edited by Paul Baines Published by Sage 28 February 2011. ISBN 9781849207843

Including 68 articles, this comprehensive overview of the field covers micro-level marketing topics such as advertising and market research, as well as more recent strategic marketing techniques such as market positioning and market segmentation. Together the volumes provide an essential resource for libraries with holdings in business and politics. You can find further details at www.sagepub.co.uk/books/9781849207843, or in the U.S. at www.sagepub.com/books/9781849207843.
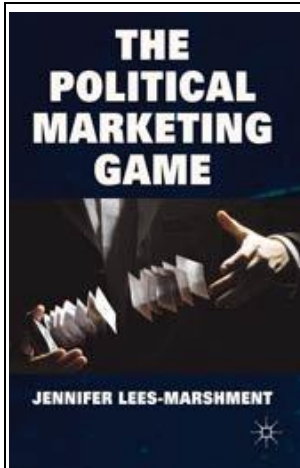
	The Political Marketing Game by Jennifer Lees-Marshment Palgrave Macmillan, April 2011 ISBN: 978-0-230-53777-4, ISBN10: 0-230-53777-4, http://us.macmillan.com/thepoliticalmarketinggame *NB: Discount flyer attached for members attached to email*

The Political Marketing Game identifies what works in political marketing: the rules of the game, showing politicians can choose to play the game to achieve change, not just win votes, because authenticity, values and vision are as much a part of a winning strategy as market-savvy pragmatism. Using 100 interviews with practitioners including advisors to former world leaders Tony Blair, George W Bush, Stephen Harper, Helen Clark and Kevin Rudd, as well academic literature, this book offers political elites tools to navigate the complex and unpredictable electoral market. It shows the democratic impact of political marketing depends on how the game is played. Whilst politicians need to listen, varying responsiveness to public demand is more successful than abandoning their beliefs. Elites need to work in partnership with the public, as voters want politicians who say 'yes *we* can' not 'yes *I* can,' using deliberative market analysis so that politics can evolve in the 21st century and become.

Reviews

 'Lees-Marshment not only provides a comprehensive over-view of current developments in political marketing, backed-up by an impressive range of key interviewees but she also challenges the notion that political marketing is an enemy of democracy and instead makes a powerful argument for it to be regarded as its most powerful ally' – Professor Ivor Gaber, University of Bedfordshire and City University London, UK

'About as thorough an analysis of a discipline, regarded as much an art as it is a science, that one could ever hope for... Undoubtedly, the highlights of the book are the musings of communication directors, political representatives, pollsters and strategists including (amongst many others) Alastair Campbell, Iain Duncan Smith and Philip Gould, on their various electoral battles… a hugely informative study on an important field that is changing and developing at an extraordinary rate.' - Progress Magazine

BOOK REVIEWS

Dennis W. Johnson, Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century: A Whole New Ballgame? (Routledge, pp. 137)

By Darren G. Lilleker Bournemouth University

Has political campaigning changed over the last two decades? Are there a completely different set of objectives which are met using a completely different set of tools? These are the questions at the heart of Dennis Johnson's latest work. He charts the latest techniques of election campaigning and discusses their role, their effectiveness and how technological innovations have impacted upon the behaviour of both the political campaigner and the voter. Johnson surveys the communication environment and the convergence between what are termed old and new media. In particular he highlights that we should no longer speak of old and new but just media, highlighting that campaigns must seamlessly move between online, mobile, direct and indirect media in order to reach ubiquity among their target audiences. Chapters then focus on fundraising, opinion polling, voter identification and targeting and the role of organisations and individuals who become part of campaigns. Of course all of this is within a US context, however one can see many of the tools used by Obama (who Johnson attributes as a model for campaigning) being used widely in some form or another. Hence the campaign Johnson describes is not simply isolated to a US context; it is one that may be a feature of democracies the world over.

It is therefore pertinent to consider the caveat that closes the book. Is the ubiquitous, hypermedia campaign which Johnson foresees as a reality going to have a positive effect or not. Johnson suggests there are three paths lying ahead for politics as we move towards 2020, all of which are evidenced as emergent trends. Citizens may become more engaged with campaigns, but this may depend on how exciting the candidates are and how compelling their messages are, but citizen participation is one future scenario. Alternatively, politics may become polarised and citizen engagement will simply be the preserve of Mr Angry (Militant White Anglo Saxon Protestant) of Delaware, who accesses only information that reinforces his existing prejudices. If this scenario is not negative enough, the third path sees citizens simply tuning out of politics and enjoying entertainment; seamlessly switching perhaps between the DVR, TV on demand and 'lolcats' on YouTube. Johnson's discussion of the evolution of campaigning and the use of techniques and technologies sets up all hypothetical futures well and thus raises serious questions for the twenty-first century political marketer – in particular is campaigning engaging citizens or just annoying the hell out of them. This is a must read for any serious campaigner, academic or student interested in how political campaigns are managed, Johnson erudite elaboration of the latest in campaigning in such a punchy and accessible work makes this a tour de force for understanding electioneering.

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PMG membership

Membership is free, and activated by google groups. Please email Jenny Lloyd on jenny.lloyd@uwe.ac.uk or Jennifer Lees-Marshment on j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz to be signed up.

THE PMG NEWSLETTER DEADLINES

The newsletter may include short summaries of Books, PhD thesis, Masters thesis and Undergraduate thesis on political marketing (recent e.g. 2008/9); Events in political marketing (forthcoming or a review of those that have taken place), a Democracy debate; Practitioner perspectives; Commentary on Marketing in recent elections, and commentary pieces on Trends in political marketing.

Articles can be short, as little as 500 words or up to 1500. If you just have a perspective on something, or a short snappy versions of the main points from a conference paper or article you would like to share, please send them.

The July newsletter 2011

The next newsletter is being edited by Darren and Jenny in Jennifer's absence as she will be on parental leave from the 16th June-5 September.

Please send all items for the July newsletter to Darren Lilleker and Jenny Lloyd:

dlilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk; jenny.lloyd@uwe.ac.uk

Deadline for the July newsletter: June 15th