

Political Studies Association Political Marketing

Newsletter – September 2018

PMG Website: <https://politicalmarketinggroup.wordpress.com/>

PMG Facebook Group: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/135180946622741/>

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Trends in Political Marketing

Pragmatism: A Research Philosophy for Political Marketing?



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It is not often that I find myself reading work over a century old. As a political marketing specialist, who likes doing heavily empirically based work and writing in a way that is relevant to what can be done in practice in the real world, old stuff isn't really my thing. Yet this is what I found myself doing the other week, reading work written in 1907.

Why might you ask? Well it was in response to questions asked earlier in this year about what was my research philosophy. The honest answer was I didn't have one – or at least I'd never thought about it enough to find out. I always just chose what methodology seemed appropriate at the time depending on what I was researching.

I discussed this with Jenny Lloyd and she suggested that research philosophy was something the field of political marketing was lacking and needed. Then, by a wonderful serendipitous coincidence that sometimes occurs in teaching, my PhD student Salma Malik, working on an entirely different subject, told me she was thinking about adopting the pragmatist

philosophy. Given my applied orientation my ears picked up at the word 'pragmatic' embodied in that and I did a quick search. And suddenly thought this might be it.

And why is that? Well the key things about pragmatism that strike a chord are that it chooses the methodology dependent on the research question and it aims to identify what works. It is about action, aiming for research to have a potential practical application. As one of the earliest writers on pragmatism who I was reading, James (1907, 46), explained, 'the term is derived from the same Greek word *npdyfia*, meaning action, from which our words 'practice' and 'practical' come.' Pragmatism is more about applied than abstract research (O'Leary 2007) and 'helping individuals solve practical problems' (Vogt 2005, 244).

Such flexibility on methodology is very much me – I do not think there is just one way to do research. I like qualitative work but recognise the value of quant. I don't hate quant work although I resist the over-focus on numbers at the expense of words. I've done a range of methodologies over my career – literature/theory driven work and analysed empirical cases against that theory (the Lees-Marshment/MOP model was just theory using secondary analysis of existing academic analysis); I've done data-led theorising through extensive elite interviews (The Political

marketing Game); and whilst almost all my work is qualitative that is out of necessity rather than philosophy, and I've happily incorporated quantitative data into my work on the NZ 2017 election now I have access to Vote compass data. It all depends on what is possible and what is suitable for the research. This may explain why I never fixed on a research philosophy until now as cannot see, or would not claim, superiority of one method over the other. I've never done focus groups myself but totally see their value. I understand the desire of some to stand outside the field but I like to get in close and listen to practitioners who do the work we analyse. I respect the aims of those who are positivist to prove causation, even if I don't really think it is possible because politics is too complex. I just try to make the best choice in each research project.

And above all I am driven by the desire to identify something useful for practice. I now try to generate recommendations for practice in the research I do, and encourage colleagues and those who publish in my book series to do the same. I also task students with creating advice for practitioners in their assignments. I am not really interested in knowledge for knowledge sake. I get and indeed value critiquing political behaviour, but I want that critique to do something...to mean something...to create something better. I am applied and think the great strength of political marketing research is its' applied potential...it can be useful to practice.

So what do you think? Obviously there will be many different views out there and some of us may still want to try to be positivist, and as someone who does a lot of elite interviews, I sympathise and see value in interpretivist or social constructivism paradigms also. So in saying all this I merely aim to open debate, rather than suggest pragmatism is the one and only answer.

But I must admit I feel a strong affinity with the pragmatist philosophy. Albeit whilst feeling humbled by finding a home rooted in thinking over a century old! In terms of ontology pragmatists believe that reality is constantly renegotiated, debated, interpreted – that there isn't one truth. Whilst I have, of course, argued for some truths like 'political marketing exists' and 'political marketing isn't just advertising,' and for the value of my theories just like anyone else, it doesn't mean I don't think there are alternative explanations. I just want mine up there for consideration. And I've also worked to support getting everyone's else's theories up there too, hence editing handbooks and writing textbooks that feature as wide a range of theories and perspectives as possible and grow the field.

Of course, in supporting the development of new political marketing theory, I have effectively challenged existing political science theories, as I suggest there could be marketing-led ways of looking at the world. This also fits pragmatism, which puts everything back up for questioning and rethinking. Indeed, the century-old work of James suggests openness, or even

a revolutionary side, to pragmatism, that particularly suits research on political management and political marketing which is ground breaking, highly original research laying foundations for new fields of research. James (1907, 54/62) emphasises that pragmatism 'stands for no particular results. It has no dogmas, and no doctrines.' Instead it has an 'orientation' or 'attitude of looking away from first things, principles, 'categories,' supposed necessities; and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts.' Pragmatism is less deferent to existing theories, literatures and paradigms, and is quite prepared to challenge existing thinking or academic conventions. James (1907, 79-80) explains that:

'pragmatism [is] a mediator and reconciler and said, borrowing the word from Papini, that she 'unstiffens' our theories. She has in fact no prejudices whatever, no obstructive dogmas, no rigid canons of what shall count as proof. She is completely genial. She will entertain any hypothesis, she will consider any evidence... she widens the field of search...

Pragmatism is willing to take anything, to follow either logic or the senses and to count the

humblest and most personal experiences. She will count mystical experiences if they have practical consequences.

...you see already how democratic she is. Her manners are as various and flexible, her resources as rich and endless, and her conclusions as friendly as those of mother nature.'

So on that note, let's start the conversation about research philosophy in political marketing. Please let me know your thoughts – email me on j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz or comment on the PMG Facebook. Whatever the conclusion, I think we should start having this debate.

References

James, William. (1907) Pragmatism: A new name for some old ways of thinking – Lecture II: What pragmatism means Longmans, Green and Co.

Brand Battle



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American politics has become an exercise in co-created branding and viral marketing. This has produced a public discourse that very much fits with the social media world's requirements to be fast and dramatic. It has also led to a public life that is more substantive than emotive and thoroughly polarised. One can argue that, far from being an aberration, Donald Trump epitomises the way in which political branding has transformed our politics. Trump did not invent political branding, nor he is the first politician to get elected using it. What sets him apart is that he first used these techniques in the commercial and entertainment worlds and, unlike his predecessors, knows how to use them himself. His innovations have included counter-branding his opponents through the use of derisive nicknames and making extensive use of hashtags. While Trump's opponents like to present him as being or having the potential to be the American equivalent of Adolph Hitler, this is really a way for them to attempt to delegitimize him. This is no more accurate a comparison than the one Senator Bernie Sanders' opponents like to make between him and the leaders of the Soviet Union. President Trump is not really like Hitler any more than Senator Sanders is like Lenin or

Stalin, but the use of these analogies is a key way to encourage and activate people to opposition quickly and with a high degree of emotional engagement.

These comparisons are prominent in the public square at present because of the technologies and platforms through which politics is conducted. When combined with the brand's need for emotive narrative, American politics as marketed has become more emotive and more off-centre than it once was. Further, the brand has been a key contributor to the politicisation of everything that Greenberg (2018) has written about. This is because brands must keep their promises and that can be problematic in a system built on inter-branch competition and the need for compromise. The brand, the meme and the hashtag have considerable power in a politics that is largely conducted in a noisy online world.

Another way to consider Trump is being the current face of a debate about the role and structure of government that goes back at least to Franklin D. Roosevelt and, in some ways, all the way back to the eras of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. The American system became more activist in policy and more oriented toward courts, bureaucracy and the Executive Branch during the last century than it had been during its first century or so. Trump is the face of the side of the argument that suggests the national government should defer to states and that more decisions should be made by

elected rather than appointed bodies and that the country should take a more nationalist approach to its international relations. Further, Trump's assertions about the power of the presidency as an institution are likewise nothing new. Instead, by presenting himself as someone determined to deliver, he has set off a battle between those who favour and/or are advantaged by the current system and policies and those who seek to change one, the other or both.

The United States has made all sorts of sweeping policy changes through court decisions and bureaucratic agency rule making processes. President Donald Trump's administration is arguing that these things should be done by the elected bodies and has continued to advocate for the unitary executive theory that the GOP has been pushing for the last three decades to one extent or another. In these things, he is not substantively different from mainstream conservatives. But, in the way that he uses highly emotive marketing language and has built a brand, he differs significantly from the conservatives of the past. Trump differs from the conservative establishment via his advocacy for more nationalistic trade and security policies. And he is doing so in terms that they find to be uncouth, because he is aiming to put a different voter universe into his customer base than Republicans have traditionally had. This audience is more about being dissatisfied with the status quo, and they see Trump as the vehicle through which they could express their unhappiness (Zito and Todd, 2018).

Trump represents one side of a class cleavage that has found fuller expression in this age than it could have in the early era of top down branding, mass media and mass marketing. His audience is happy with neither Democratic nor Republican elites, so whenever they come together to bash Trump that is a version of his brand promise being made real to his target audience. While these matters might be of interest to the student of politics or society, they are not the kinds of issues that always engage people. Trump (and for that matter increasingly his opponents) have used brands, memes, social media optimisation and hashtags as key ways to make these seemingly arcane issues alive and important to the average citizen.

President Donald Trump's brand pitch

- 1) The national government is too big.
- 2) It tries to do too much that either markets or citizens could do better.
- 3) A nation without secure borders and a common culture and language isn't fully sovereign.
- 4) Traditional, largely Christian, morality should predominate.
- 5) America should look out for itself before it tries to help anyone else.
- 6) Failing that, our partners need to fully live up to their alliance funding promises.
- 7) America should take steps to prod China to trade fairly.

Trump reflects the impact of social media optimised branding and the use of memes on politics. Trump is not so much a totalitarian as he is a social media

optimised version of the complaints that a lot of his better audiences, conservatives and some liberals, have always had.

If Trump's brand pitch was present as it is in the box above, the reactions people have might be very different than they are. Most of these things are either well within the traditional conservative policy offering or are things that have enjoyed bipartisan support in the past. The difference is the ways in which Trump is expressing these things. As Frank Luntz pointed out in his book *Words That Work*, it isn't what Trump is substantively saying that is problematic for much of the population, it is the way in which he is saying these things that is both the secret of his success and the cause of his problems.

His highly emotive style cuts through the clutter of our overstimulated world. It is so successful that it has come to define the era in which we live and is spawning political and commercial imitators. People literally cannot stop paying attention to or opining about it. Newspapers, late night comedians, and a host of public figures have strengthened their own branding in response to what Trump has done. Our public square has become filled with brands that either tagging along, co-branding with or directly opposing the Trump brand. They are doing this because this is what their customers are paying attention to and motivated by. Literally the Trump brand and social marketing machine have come to define the age in a way nobody would have anticipated three years ago. On the other hand, Trump's governing style and its travails in office

show that it can be difficult for a master marketer turned amateur politician to keep promises because of the structure of the system.

One can argue as Suri (2017) does that the way in which the system is structured and the limitations it puts on the power of the Presidency make it very difficult for Presidents to keep their promises. Trump faces a second problem: he is hardly anyone's image of the traditional presidential figure. While this may establish his credibility as an outsider and reformer, it means that his public figure seems light years away from the real giants of the institution who have raised expectations higher than most of their predecessors could hope to meet (Suri, 2017). and the imagined ones of television programs like the *West Wing*. While Trump remains totally focused on delivering for his customers, it appears to be clear that the structure of the system will not allow that and that the Washington Establishment that he ran against in 2016 is fully capable of bogging him down in the swamp. Instead of being a putative Hitler, Trump is much more akin to being a political amateur who got elected because of his understanding of branding and market research but is struggling to deliver for his customers because he's stuck in a system that is designed to not produce clear victories of any kind and to make sweeping change difficult.

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Advertising in the U.S. in the 2018 Midterm Elections: Four Takeaways

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In a few short weeks, voters in the United States will begin casting ballots in midterm elections, deciding the winner in 435 House races, one-third of the Senate seats, 36 gubernatorial contests and thousands of state-wide and local races. As co-directors of the Wesleyan Media Project (WMP), we have been following political advertising in these races closely. Four trends have caught our attention this year.

1. There are as many television ads as ever. In fact, a Wesleyan Media Project (WMP) report found that over 1 million political ads aired on TV in House, Senate and gubernatorial races between January 1, 2017, and June 4, 2018. That is almost double the 550,000 ads that had aired during the same time frame in the 2013-14 midterm elections. One reason for the

increased number of ads is that television ad rates have been falling, as there is less competition for airtime from commercial advertisers. Second, some self-funding billionaire candidates running for governor in Illinois and Florida have skewed the numbers upwards. Finally, the political passions inspired by Trump's victory have led to more candidates running for election in 2018 than in past midterms, sometimes resulting in four, five, six or more candidates competing for their parties' nominations.

2. The midterm elections are (mostly) about Trump. A report by the WMP found that between June 5 and July 29 of this year, Republican candidates frequently made positive mentions of Donald Trump in televised campaign ads (22 percent of U.S. Senate airings and 35 percent of U.S. House airings). Meanwhile, 38 percent of the television airings by Democratic U.S. House candidates during that same period made a negative mention of Trump. That focus on the president extends to digital advertising. The WMP's coding of 566

unique Facebook ads created by Senate candidates in competitive races found that 43 percent of Democratic candidate creatives mentioned Trump (none of the mentions were positive), and 29 percent of Republican candidate creatives mentioned Trump (fewer than 1 percent were negative mentions). Clearly, candidates from both parties are nationalizing the race, making Trump a central issue this year.

3. Some candidates, perhaps inspired by the lead of Donald Trump in 2016, have invested heavily in digital advertising. According to Pathmatics (pathmatics.com), a market intelligence firm, Democratic Senate candidate Beto O'Rourke from Texas has spent \$3.5 million this year (to date) on digital advertising (including Facebook and most formats of online advertising), while investing \$2.2 million on TV ads (as of this writing). His opponent, Republican Ted Cruz, has spent about \$300,000 on digital advertising year to date, while spending only an estimated \$66,000 on television advertising, according to data from Kantar/CMAG. Surely television ad spending will ramp up as Election Day approaches, but some candidates are choosing to make big bets on digital this year.

4. A number of candidates are hinting at national aspirations through their online ad buys. By examining Pathmatics' sample of Facebook ads, we can get a sense of which potential contenders for the presidency in 2020 are focusing their advertising on their home states and which are focusing nationally. Senator Kamala Harris, who is not up for reelection in 2018, has spent an estimated \$700,000 on Facebook this year, only 28 percent of which were seen in her home state of California. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand has spent \$1.5 million on Facebook ads this year, but only 9 percent of that amount was spent in her home state of New York, while 14 percent was spent in California—a state with a large number of Democratic donors. Sen. Bernie Sanders is also spending on Facebook ads nationwide. One-percent of his \$550,000 was spent in his home-state of Vermont, where he is up for re-election, while 18 percent was spent in California. Other candidates are tipping their hand that they may not be running for president in 2020. Fifty-four percent of Ohio Senator Sherrod Brown's \$130,000 in Facebook spending, for instance, has been in his home state of Ohio, where he faces re-election in 2018. Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota also appears to be focusing on re-election, with 82 percent of her \$220,000 in Facebook spending in her home state (and another 7 percent in neighbouring Wisconsin).

Events

Book Launch: The Chinese edition of 'Political Marketing: Theory and Concepts' (政治营销: 理论与概念)

By Ormrod, Henneberg, and O'Shaughnessy
Published by Truth and Wisdom Press.

5:00pm, Wednesday, 14 November 2018
Graduate Centre, GC2.22,
Queen Mary University of London, Mile End Campus, London (UK).

MICB and the Confucius Institute at Queen Mary University of London are pleased to announce the publication of this new book and celebrate its launch. You are invited to our book launch event, which takes place on Wednesday, 14 November 2018 at 5:00pm in the Graduate Centre, GC2.22, Queen Mary University of London, Mile End Campus, London (UK). Professor Phil Harris, Westminster Chair of Marketing and Public Affairs, Executive Director of the Business Research Institute at the University of Chester, UK, will introduce the book. He is also SAGE Series Editor of the Advanced Marketing Series, in which the English language version of the book was published. Furthermore, he edits the Journal of Public Affairs and is Global Scholar at Beijing Foreign Studies University. The launch will be followed by a light buffet dinner and refreshments.

About the Authors

Dr Robert P. Ormrod is Associate Professor of Marketing at the Department of Management, Aarhus BSS, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Professor Stephan C. Henneberg is Chair Professor of Marketing and Strategy, and Head of the Marketing Department at the School of Business and Management, Queen Mary University of London, UK.

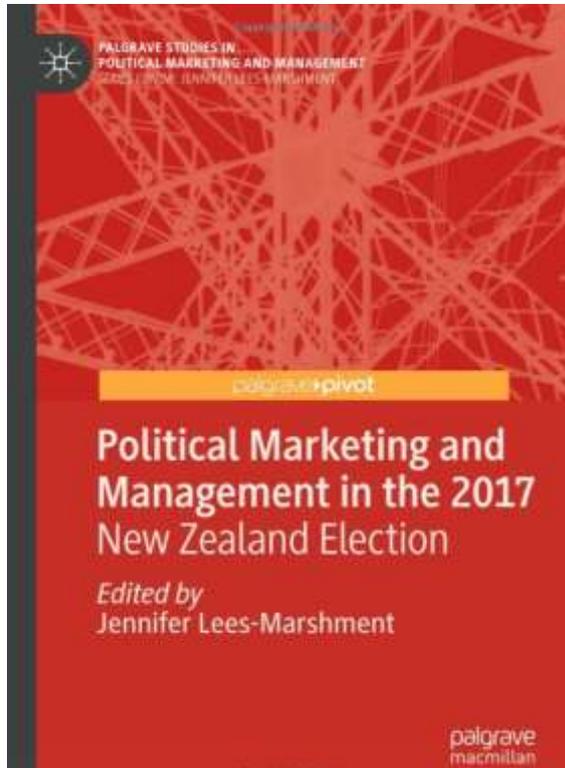
Professor Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy is Professor of Communication at the School of Business and Management, Queen Mary University of London, UK.

Reservation

If you would like to book your free place at this event, please contact Stephan Henneberg at s.henneberg@qmul.ac.uk.

Books

Political Marketing and Management in the 2017 New Zealand Election



This book reveals the market research, strategy, branding and communication behind the unpredictable 2017 New Zealand election result which saw Jacinda Ardern elected Labour leader just 8 weeks before the election to become Prime Minister. Utilising rich data sources that include a 250,000 Vote Compass survey and interviews with key political advisors, it explores the alignment of the policy of National, Labour, the Greens and NZ First with party supporters, demographic segments and undecided voters. It also analyses the leadership communication and branding of the leaders Bill English, Jacinda Ardern and Andrew Little, as well as the advertising by minor parties ACT, the Greens, United Future and the Maori Party. The book provides advice for practitioners, such as: focus on being responsive, communicate delivery competence, differentiate in policy and advertising, build an energetic and charismatic leader brand and be flexible when planning.

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About the editor:

Jennifer Lees-Marshment is Associate Professor of Politics and International Relations at the School of Social Sciences at University of Auckland, New Zealand. She is author/editor of 12 books, including *The Political Marketing Game* (2011) and *Political Marketing: Principles and Applications*, 2nd edition (2014). Her research interests include political marketing, leadership, public input and governance.

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Chapter 3: Political Parties and Their Customers: The Alignment of Party Policies with Supporter, Target and Undecided Market Preferences

Jennifer Lees-Marshment, Edward Elder, Lisa Chant, Danny Osbourne, Justin Savoie and Clifton van der Linden

Chapter 4: Messy Marketing in the 2017 New Zealand Election: The Incomplete Market Orientation of the Labour and National Parties

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Chapter 5: Candidate Brand Personality and the 2017 New Zealand General Election

James Barrett

Chapter 6: Minor Party Campaign Advertising: A Market-Oriented Assessment

Claire Robinson

Chapter 7: Communicating Market-Oriented Leadership in Power and Opposition

Edward Elder

Conclusion: Political Marketing and Management Lessons for Research and Practice

Jennifer Lees-Marshment

Palgrave Studies in Political Marketing and Management Book Series



Series editor: Jennifer Lees-Marshment

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The *Palgrave Studies in Political Marketing and Management new book series* is looking for more book proposals to add to its' exciting collection so far.

The series publishes high quality and ground-breaking academic research in Palgrave Pivot form (25-50,000 words, 12 week publishing time frame upon receipt of final manuscript) and have a practice/practitioner element.

At its core, Political Marketing and Management is about how politicians, governments, political staff, parties and campaigns use marketing and management tools and concepts to design and achieve their goals. Scholarship is drawn from a range of disciplines and fields, and covers how political organisations and actors strategise, lead, organise and market, as well as intersections between these aspects such as the organisation of political marketing research in government department; the importance of leadership in changing how a party is organised; the organisational structure of volunteers within an NGO;

strategic communication in political movements; resource management in political offices; and the strategic organisation of fundraising in campaigns.

There are already an exciting and diverse range of books in the series. Books published or in press include:

- *Political Branding Strategies: Campaigning and Governing in Australian Politics* By Lorann Downer
- *Political Marketing and the 2015 UK General Election* edited by Darren G. Lilleker and Mark Pack
- *Marketing Leadership in Government: communicating responsiveness, leadership and credibility* by Edward Elder

We would welcome new ideas for potential books – please get in touch. We would particularly welcome books on recent/forthcoming elections such as US 2016; Australia 2016; Canada 2015 and so on, but are also very keen on exploring new areas, and of course want to support

books on political management (organisation, leadership, political HRM, planning, and reviewing or monitoring) not just political marketing.

The series is contracted for both politics and management lists. For further details about the series see

<https://leesmarshment.wordpress.com/mm-book-series/> and Palgrave's page <http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/1460> 1.

Submitting a proposal

Proposals can be submitted to the series editor on

j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz

at any time. We recommend you read the full guidelines for the series, and get in touch with the series editor in advance of completing the proposal to discuss ideas first.

All books must:

- be between 25,000 and 50,000 words.
- be empirical not just theoretical.
- have recommendations for practice derived from the academic research.

And we encourage books to:

- include other practitioner elements such as those noted in the section on format.
- include international material or relate work to international trends.

Please use the Palgrave Studies in Political Marketing and Management Book Series proposal form – see <https://leesmarshment.wordpress.com/mm-book-series/> for this and updates on the series.

The Political Marketing Group Committee 2018



Chair

Darren G. Lilleker
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Role: Overall coordinator and liaison with the UK PSA



Vice-Chair (International)

Vincent Raynauld
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Role: Refresh the leadership and initiative, suggest, support and organise new ideas and vision, lead new initiatives e.g. global election watch events e.g. facebook live event



Vice-Chair (UK)

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Role: Refresh the leadership and initiative, suggest, support and organise new ideas and vision, lead new initiatives in the UK



Secretary

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Role: Boost membership, support for activities



Treasurer

Robert Busby
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Role: Maintain and report on PMG accounts and liase with UK PSA



Communications Officer

Jennifer Lees-Marshment
University of Auckland, Politics and International Relations
j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz

Role: Maintain and website
<https://politicalmarketinggroup.wordpress.com/> and google group membership list; and distribute PMG related information via the website, Facebook, membership emails



Newsletter Editor

Edward Elder
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Role: Encourage and edit contributions to the newsletter and send it out three times a year



Twitter Manager

Kenneth Cosgrove
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Role: Runs the account @ukpmgpsa; aim to enhance the profile of political marketing

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Travis McDonald

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Role: Build and develop the academic-practitioner interface to help identify speakers for events, distribute academic research to practice, integrate practitioner perspectives and on the ground experiences and realities by for example interviewing practitioners for features for the newsletter/website/Facebook/twitter.



Resources Officer

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Role: expand resources on

<https://politicalmarketinggroup.wordpress.com/> e.g. adding video interviews with academics and their views/latest research on a particular area.



Event Coordinator

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Role: to organise, and facilitate others organising, an event each year.

Call for Committee members and wider involvement in The Political Marketing Group

The PMG was founded in 2005 and has held several events, workshops at other conferences, supported publications through a regular newsletter enabling calls for papers and chapters, and most recently stimulates discussion through a Facebook page.

But to carry on succeeding, and to develop further, we need to strengthen our organisation. We need to develop over the long-term to be an association of political marketing academics and practitioners that can support, for example, the creation of new journals.

We therefore put out a call for new committee members, and are delighted to announce we had a wonderful response: see revised list below.

There is still room for more – see ideas for other possibilities at the end of the list - so if you have any ideas, for short or long term projects or positions, do please get in touch with Darren Lilleker dlilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk and Jennifer Lees-Marshment j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz

Remaining possibilities

Experts list/database: Another initiative might be to compile an online list of political marketing experts from the membership list. You would need to design a simple, well-functioning and ethical way to collect data from members and display it to the public. This could help with getting media visibility.

Publications feature editor: someone to look out for and encourage suggestions of new publications in political marketing including journal articles, book chapters, and books, with a brief blurb (e.g. abstract size). Suggested as an idea by Alex Marland, listing publications would help us stay on top of new scholarship. It would also help authors promote their research among an informed audience.

Also

If you can't commit for a few years but could for a few months, another idea would be to suggest and lead a mini development projects e.g. 'Project officer – expert lists'; 'Project officer – video interviews with academics' or 'Project officer – organising the 2018 mini-conference'. Again, please get in touch.

Country Coordinators

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Call for New Items for Upcoming PMG Newsletters

We want to facilitate information transfer between all members, including political marketing scholars, practitioners and experts. Member's active participation is essential to making this newsletter successful. The PMG newsletter provides you with the opportunity to communicate with political marketing scholars, practitioners and experts. If you have anything you would like included in a PMG newsletter (being released in May, July, and October) please send it to Edward Elder at eeld001@aucklanduni.ac.nz. Items that may be included may be, but not exclusive to, recently released or upcoming books, upcoming events and conferences, career or scholarship opportunities, or any articles about recent elections, trends and academic findings. **The next deadline for submissions is 15 March 2019.**

Edited by Edward Elder