

**Political Marketing Group**  
**P.S.A. (Political Studies Association) Specialist group**  
<http://groups.google.com/group/political-marketing>

NEWSLETTER  
*May 2010*

## CONTENTS

### **Note from the Chair**

p. 2

### **Call for papers**

p. 4 Call for papers for workshop on Asia political marketing at USM (Universiti Sains Malaysia) Penang, Malaysia June/July 2011

p. 6 Call for papers. Special Issue of the Journal of Political Marketing on "Political Marketing and Elections 2009/2010: New Methods and Possibilities"

### **Events**

p. 8 Reports on the UK PSA conference PMG workshop

p. 9 Conference in Greece postponed

p. 10 Call for attendance at the Political marketing short course at APSA

### **Books**

p. 17 Mediating Politics: Newspapers, Radio, Television and the Internet by Neil Washbourne – chapter two on political marketing and the media

### **Marketing in recent elections**

p. 18 Commentary podcasts on the UK 2010 election

p. 18 Notes from a roundtable held on marketing and the UK Election - 'Where is the Marketing?' By Dr Darren G. Lilleker (Bournemouth University); General Election Marketing – selling a can of beans, building a favours bank or managing an event? by Nigel Jackson; Am I Bovvered? The Intertwined Concepts of Involvement, Engagement and Participation in Political Marketing by Jenny Lloyd

### **Trends**

p. 23 A school of political practice and a strategy reflection with the youth organization of a political party by Juan Ignacio Marcos Lekuona

### **The committee**

p. 26 Revised committee list with a new treasurer

## NOTE FROM THE CHAIR

After a month of almost constant travelling it is good to be back in the office, it also gives time to reflect on not only where you have been but also what has been going on in your absence. With the various desk jobs out of the way, I finally have time to crystallise those thoughts relevant for the PMG and compose a chair's note for the April newsletter.

The PSA panels at the main conference at Edinburgh were a fantastic success, and thanks for due to Jennifer for all the hard work she put in to organising our presence there. I was required to do nothing but turn up and present which was wonderful. It was great to see so many familiar faces as well as meet new people and there were some fascinating debates. The political marketing discipline is developing in interesting ways and, while the tension remains between the theoretical and the practical that is endemic in such an area, it does seem that there is a greater critical discussion of practice informed by much stronger theoretical concepts - in other words political marketing theory seems to be coming of age. Many of the debates only really sink in later, when you consider 'events' in politics and how these links to academic discussion. of course the nature of specific debates blur but when leaving a conference you always leave with new ideas rattling around your brain. I returned home to the start of the UK election campaign, which actually seems to have been going on for almost a year but officially it is only now three weeks in and as you read this there are days to go before polling.

Given the attention on branding and the personalisation of politics, the real news story of the UK election (the leaders' debates) seems so much richer a topic. It is fascinating that after the first debate the niche brand (Liberal Democrats) went mainstream; it seems that leader Nick Clegg emerged as a different brand, not one of the old parties but representing something that had broader appeal. This phenomenon continued, though the brakes on his ascendancy were applied as Brown and Cameron shifted from the 'I agree with Nick' approach to telling him to 'Get Real'. But for branding it was fascinating. Clegg is positioning himself as the 'hope' candidate recognising that both Brown and Cameron are focusing on fear appeals. In the roundtable debate Neil Collins argued that fear appeals work. I agree, but only if the solution presented for allaying fear is seen as realistic and attractive. Brown argues that there is danger in electing the Conservatives as they will damage the economy; Cameron that a vote for anyone but the Conservatives will be more of the same - hoping many agree that Brown's Labour is a bad option. While it would seem to be madness to think the Liberal Democrats can capitalise and win through, it may be that the more positive change message is having greater resonance and that attacks on Clegg are not sticking. With the anticipation of having a hung parliament, UK politics could be a lot more interesting in the near future.

My research on the Internet highlights however that the parties are behind the curve here. The groups utilising the sharing networks are non-party based and promoting 'Change'. There are six discrete sites that provide advice to voters on how to achieve a hung parliament by voting strategically. Twitter instantly

parodies media attacks on Clegg as people post increasingly ridiculous lines followed by the hashtag #nickcleggsfault. People are asserting themselves via the Internet if parties are not and often leading the media agenda to a greater extent than simply through reports of opinion polls - though they feature heavily. Interestingly, the online Twitter audience seemed to be more pro-Liberal Democrat long before the first debate with daily sentiment scores showing Labour and the Conservatives cancelling each other out with attack and counter attack while Liberal Democrats simply deliver a message.

What does this mean for political marketing? In the end a great deal. Online political communication by the masses may not be useful for shaping policy, but really that is the job of the experts anyway. What it is useful for is gauging sentiment and telling those who win power what sort of politics the people want, How Westminster should behave and how it should be monitored. Equally if there is a hung parliament, which is very likely, as Stephen Coleman commented on the democracy online forum, backdoor deals for power may be difficult as the Twitterers, Facebook users etc make their opinions heard. While it may be more difficult to decide an election than the Christmas number one it may not be impossible, thus it may be that to be in touch you may have to listen to the tweets as much as the polls.

Just a few random and perhaps rambling thoughts, do respond to these here or elsewhere. Influence seems to be more fluid than it was, strategists have a harder job to keep on top of developments. As with commercial business, politics is finding the communication environment chaotic and confusing. Brand advocates (and critics) are everywhere and they are vocal; it is unclear how any communication models can deal with this and how they can inform a marketing strategy.

Dr Darren G. Lilleker  
Head of Research: Centre for Public Communication Research The Media School  
Bournemouth University Poole  
BH12 2BB

Tel: 01202 965622

Web: <http://darrenlilleker.blogspot.com>

## CALL FOR PAPERS

**Call for papers for workshop on Asia political marketing**  
at USM (Universiti Sains Malaysia) Penang, Malaysia June/July 2011

Organised by Dr Jennifer Lees-Marshment (Auckland) and Dr Khairiah Salwa-Mohktar (USM - Universiti Sains Malaysia)

### **Call for papers: 31 November 2010**

Political marketing is a growing subject within political studies and offers different perspectives on old questions of how parties win elections, how politicians should lead or follow public opinion, the nature of engagement between citizen and state, and the link between theory and practice. Whilst political marketing crosses political communications, parties and elections and public opinion it also has a growing distinct literature which applies and adapts marketing concepts to political science to understand and critique how political practitioners use marketing tools and what impact this has on democracy. Political marketing is traditionally viewed as restricted to established western liberal democracies such as the US and UK. However leaders in new and emergent democracies including in Asia are beginning to use marketing strategies and tools, including studies of political marketing in Taiwan and Japan. In many Asian countries there have been rapid changes in the electorate and parties that have been in power for a long time are suddenly finding their support is beginning to decline, mainly amongst younger voters, due to the processes of urbanisation, greater tertiary education, globalisation and awareness of politics in other countries through online media. Political marketing, which suggest how politicians can use research to better understand voters' needs and wants, and create product and communication strategies in response to this, could offer solutions. This is true of Malaysia, Japan and Thailand for example. The change is rapid and significant and politicians have to now start thinking differently or they will lose power.

Academic research in political marketing has been growing around the world with the creation of the first journal, the *Journal of Political Marketing* in 2002 and publication of the first textbook *Political marketing: principles and applications* (Routledge) in 2009. Conference and workshops on political marketing have been held in Canada, Europe, and the UK, and a short course is planned for APSA 2010 in the US, but there has never been any even in Asia. Asian-specific study within a comparative framework will be more valuable to politicians and academics in Asia and this workshop specifically on political marketing in Asian to channel such interest.

The workshop will be part-funded by APISA (the **Asian Political and International Studies Association**) and USM. Jennifer Lees-Marshment will be a reviewer and the discussant at the workshop to provide guidance on the political marketing field. The aim is to create a new network in Asian political marketing and develop the study of political marketing to a high enough quality level to lead to a book on Asian political marketing.

**Questions to address:**

1. How is Political marketing being used in Asia?
2. How is it different to the western world? (e.g. PR local face to face events weddings etc)
3. What does that mean for how effective it us?
4. And for the impact on democracy?
5. Is there a distinct form of Asian PM emerging in the future or will it just follow the western world?
6. Could it learn from the west? Could the west learn from Asian political marketing?

**Potential topics for papers**

Papers can look at any aspect of political marketing, including the nature of the voter/consumer; Stakeholders; Market research; qualitative research; Government public opinion research and consultation; Segmentation; product development; branding; strategy; market-orientation; niche and marketing; positioning; marketing and leadership; competition management; relationship marketing; internal marketing; marketing mobilisation (e-marketing, social networking, customer loyalty management) and internal marketing; marketing and money; market-led campaigning; mobile marketing; on-line interactivity; marketing communications; public relations; marketing in government; delivering in government; marketing policy and ideas; marketing institutions; and marketing difficult issues such as the environment, war, defence, energy.

**Countries includes in this workshop:**

Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Mongolia, Taiwan, Philippines, Africa, China, India, Thailand, Singapore, Korea

**Required style of the paper**

All papers must be in English, using Harvard referencing style, and 8000 words maximum including all references/notes etc.

They should also use the international literature on political marketing. See [www.political-marketing.org](http://www.political-marketing.org) for a list of references to follow by topic or email Jennifer Lees-Marshment for advice.

**Submission of papers: by 31 November 2010**

Please send papers to Jennifer Lees-Marshment on [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz)

Please include your name, institution, contact details, a brief biography and abstract of the paper.

**Questions**

Please contact Khariah on [khariah@usm.my](mailto:khariah@usm.my) or Jennifer on [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz)

**Timetable**

<i>Deadline for draft one of papers</i>	31 November 2010
<i>Reviewing of draft one; decision as to whether to accept and if so</i>	December-January 2010

<i>recommendations for improvement</i>	
<i>Notification to authors of acceptance into the workshop and recommendations for improvement</i>	1 February 2011
<i>Authors send their revised final to organizers and then onto all participants ready for the workshop</i>	1 May 2011
<i>Workshop</i>	June/July 2011 t.b.c

**Call for papers. Special Issue of the Journal of Political Marketing on "Political Marketing and Elections 2009/2010: New Methods and Possibilities".**

Editors: Dr. Roman Chytilék and Dr. Anna Matusková, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University

This issue is based on papers presented at the International Symposium on Political Marketing, Brno, Masaryk University Czech Republic (October 2009) more information about the conference:

<http://ispo.fss.muni.cz/mezinarodni-sympozium-k-politickemu-marketingu>

We encourage contributors who did not participate in the conference to send their proposals as well

We invite you to submit a manuscript of approximately 4,000 – 6,000 words to the issue of Journal of Political Marketing focusing especially on electoral campaigns and their effects.

For this issue we especially welcome manuscripts studying the latest trends in political marketing from either empirical or theoretical perspectives. Does the study of political marketing have tools adequate to this dynamically transforming phenomenon? How, and in which dimensions, should the convergence of political parties' marketing strategies be measured? How does the employment of marketing strategies by political parties affect the development of information technologies? This issue of JPM wishes to focus on both established democracies and Central and East European countries, examining the transformation of their electoral processes as well as the role of exogenous factors in the relevant countries, and how these processes and factors are helping to shape democracy in those areas.

Before submitting texts to the peer review process, authors must submit abstracts (300 to 500 words) clearly defining the issue studied and clarifying how it will be examined. We welcome empirical work involving single case studies as well as papers with wider comparative ambitions. If you are unsure whether your work is suitable, please contact the Editors.

Important Dates and Deadlines:

Submission of Abstracts:	April 15, 2010
Acceptance of Abstracts:	April 28, 2010
Submission of Manuscripts:	August 30, 2010
Initial Round of Reviews:	October 30, 2010
Resubmission of Revised Manuscripts:	November 30, 2010
Notification of Final Decisions:	December 1, 2010
Final Papers Due:	December 30, 2010
Anticipated publication in print:	

Submissions are welcomed from political scientists, communications and marketing/business academics, as well as from practitioners. Please consider submitting papers with themes in the following areas:

- Political parties and political marketing; how is the marketing reflected in their strategies and election campaigns.
- New tools in campaigns (internet applications, social networks, etc.)
- How to study and measure the effect of marketing methods in electoral campaigns.
- Political marketing and democracy – potential opportunities and threats following the de-ideologisation of politics.
- Political marketing and political consulting, the increasing role of consultants.
- Electoral strategies and the concepts of Americanization, Professionalisation and globalization.
- Do countries with proportional and majority electoral systems employ political marketing differently?
- “First-order” political marketing in “second-order” elections (political parties and political marketing in sub-state and European elections)

Authors are directed to the Journal of Political Marketing for guidance on formatting their article:

<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1537-7857&linktype=44>

Co-Editors of the Special Issue:

Dr. Anna Matuskova

Dept of Political Science

Faculty of Social Sciences

Masaryk University

Brno, 602 00

Czech Republic

Email: [matuskov@fss.muni.cz](mailto:matuskov@fss.muni.cz)

Phone: +420 549 494 363

Dr. Roman Chytilek

Institute for Comparative Political Research

Faculty of Social Sciences

Masaryk University

Brno, 602 00

Czech Republic  
Email: [chytilek@fss.muni.cz](mailto:chytilek@fss.muni.cz)  
Phone: +420 549 494 235

## EVENTS

### Reports on the UK PMG workshop held at the UK PSA

The workshop was a great success, not only consisting of interesting discussions and excellent presentations but giving people the opportunity to forge new networks and plan new initiatives. Below are two reports from two graduate students the PMG helped to fund to attend

#### **Report by Maggie (Juthamas) Kasemsap, email [jkasemsap@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:jkasemsap@bournemouth.ac.uk)**

As graduate student, I found PSA conference really useful for my work: opportunities to listen other group member work, discuss with them in person, networking. Especially, I found that other Asian country politics (Malaysia, Indonesia) are quite similar with Thai politics such as political culture and strong networking in local community. I think political marketing plays important roles in many Asian countries. It is hard to apply one Political Marketing Model to all Asian country because each Asian country has their own democracy style (especially - unstable Thai democracy where Political Marketing can be used to build long term relationship through continuous communication activity rather than during election campaign).

#### **Report by Gordica Karanfilovska**

PhD researcher, Institute for Legal and Political Sciences of the Faculty of Law "Justinianus Primus" at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Republic of Macedonia, email [gordicak@yahoo.com](mailto:gordicak@yahoo.com)

The Political Marketing Specialist Group took part at the 60th Political Studies Association Annual Conference in Edinburgh in the period 29 March - 1 April 2010. This year's topic of the PSA Conference was Sixty Years of Political Studies: Achievements and Futures, the challenging theme of the PMG group was **Political marketing: hindering or helping the relationship between government and citizens.** During the conference, plenty of ideas could be heard conveyed in the academic papers in the field of Political Marketing which fulfilled the mission of PMG.

#### **Mission:**

**To effectively promote and support, by what ever means appropriate, the study of political marketing by all those interested regardless of academic discipline, status, academic institution or profession.**

During the conference, plenty of ideas could be heard conveyed in the academic papers in the field of Political Marketing which fulfilled the mission of PMG.

We know that wisdom creates power, and there was great diversity in the workshop with delegates from many different countries and institutions all able to present a range of ideas at the PSA Conference showing that the PMG committee, headed by the Chair: Darren G Lilleker, is investing in the exchange of knowledge in the field of political marketing as well as in generating new friendships among the members who attended this event in Edinburgh.

It would not be fair to mention or stress the contribution of only one member of the committee (Darren G Lilleker, Jennifer Lees-Marshment, Jenny Lloyd) in organizing this meeting because



every one of them gave their utmost to make the conference as much as possible an inspiration for all of us in our further research work in the field of Political Marketing. They showed how much this is important for them and how much they are concerned with the developments in the field of their profession and the outcomes of the work of the PMG as research work in overcoming all difficulties and challenges in the field of political marketing.

I do not want to be biased but I would like to mention the contribution of Jennifer Lees-Marshment and her well-intentioned thought and assistance for every one of us participating in this conference. Admirable is her commitment to recognize the quality and positive attitude in her colleagues and to minimize the positive professional criticism only in the interest of encouraging and motivating her colleagues for further successful work in future.

It was particular pleasure to meet Professor Dennis W. Johnson from George Washington University who provided great contribution in the working session of the PMG with his discussion. We also had the opportunity to buy his book *Campaigning for President in 2008*. Many researchers and practitioners from countries worldwide presented research themes and ideas, such as: the Czech Republic, Sweden, New Zealand, Canada, Greece, USA, Macedonia, Spain, Malaysia, Indonesia, Spain and England.

I believe that at some other forthcoming meeting of the PMG we will improve the perception and understanding for the concept of political marketing, as well as promote and support the study of political marketing which is the mission of the PMG. On my personal behalf, I would like to extend my gratitude to all participants from the PMG for their contribution at the meeting and the high level of respect and support they have shown among each other. I wish you successful work by the time we meet again.

### **Conference in Greece postponed**

Dear Political Marketers

Unfortunately, the political marketing conference to be held in Thessaloniki in Greece has now had to be postponed until September 23-25. Full details will be available in due course on the conference website at: <http://www.polmark.org/>. The conference organisers decided that with the uncertainty over flight schedules as a result of the volcanic ash cloud and the inability for many conference attenders to get to the conference, that it was most prudent to postpone the conference. If you have any queries, please contact the conference organisers at: [g-me@otenet.gr](mailto:g-me@otenet.gr). Regards, Paul Baines

### **Call for attendance 2010 APSA Short Course - Political marketing: the myths, value and ethics**

To be held Wednesday September 1 2010 in Washington

Organised by Dr Jennifer Lees-Marshment (University of Auckland) [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz); Dr Christine B. Williams (Bentley University) [cwilliams@bentley.edu](mailto:cwilliams@bentley.edu) and Dr Kenneth Cosgrove (Suffolk University) [kcosgrove@suffolk.edu](mailto:kcosgrove@suffolk.edu)

#### **The short course**

This one day workshop on the globally growing field of political marketing will provide a unique opportunity for both international scholars and political practitioners to discuss the study and practice of political marketing. It will examine its various components, including strategy,

branding, and fundraising; its participants and audience, including volunteers, political leaders, and the public; and its overall impact, including its ethical and democratic proclivities. The workshop will consider both the nature of political marketing and current practice around the world, through the dual perspectives of academic scholarship and practitioner experience. Political marketing is a rapidly growing and controversial global phenomenon as political parties and governments worldwide use market intelligence, segmentation, and consultation to understand and take into account citizens' preferences when developing policies, creating communication, and making political decisions. This is the first time an event focused around political marketing has been held at APSA and the aim is to create not just a one off day but to develop a network that will support future discussion about the field.

### **Provisional outline**

#### **9-10 Politician Keynote: *'Political marketing from the politician's perspective'***

To be confirmed

#### **1030-11.30 Academic panel: *Branding, strategy and opinion leadership***

*Democratic Branding and Marketing: Health Policy Reform*

Kenneth Cosgrove (Suffolk University) [kcosgrove@suffolk.edu](mailto:kcosgrove@suffolk.edu)

This paper will examine the way in which consumer marketing techniques have been used during the first year of the Obama Administration to build public support for its policy agenda in general and the major health insurance reform effort undertaken during that period in particular. The paper will argue that, while the Obama Administration has branded itself, the President and its policy choices, the same cannot be said either of Congressional Democrats, the Democratic Party or its policy choices. It will conclude by raising questions regarding the differences in use between the Democratic and Republican uses of branding and marketing techniques in general to promote policies.

*The Politics of Hope: The Democratic Party and the Institutionalization of the Obama Brand*

Brian M. Conley (Suffolk University) [bconley@suffolk.edu](mailto:bconley@suffolk.edu)

The branding of Obama as an agent of change and hope was central to a successful strategy of marketing the Democratic presidential candidate as an appealing alternative to the Republican status quo in 2008. But unlike either the reelection of George Bush in 2004 or Tony Blair in 2001, in the US and UK, which were also characterized by the marketing of specific political brands, it is not clear whether the Obama brand was, or will become the Democratic Party brand. In both the Blair and Bush reelections, the candidate's message reflected ideas central to an established party brand. This was less the case with Obama's election, given the absence of a similar, market-oriented effort to brand the Democratic Party over the last decade. The Obama election thus raises the question of whether or not the Obama brand will be institutionalized by the Democratic Party or will remain, as it originated, the product of a highly successful political entrepreneur. To test this question we will 1) look comparatively at other recent elections in both the US and UK, specifically those of George W. Bush and Tony Blair, as examples of the successful integration of party and candidate branding, and 2) examine the extent to which the Obama brand is or is not being institutionalized within the Democratic Party as it prepares for the 2010 mid-term elections.

*On the concept of strategy in political marketing*

Sigge Winther Nielsen (Visiting Scholar at Columbia University) [swn@ifs.ku.dk](mailto:swn@ifs.ku.dk)

What is a strategy in politics? In the realm of political marketing, scholars and practitioners frequently use the concept of strategy. But when talking about strategy, they usually believe they are referring to the same term with the same assumptions despite we have newer explicated what

it means. In fact, no thorough debate has evolved concerning the definition of the concept. No controversy has taken place regarding the nature of its epistemological grounding. The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, I will pinpoint the common ground for thinking about strategy in political marketing. Secondly, I will outline three faces of strategy in political marketing that are implicit in the field. The three faces of strategy – design, emergent and interpretive – will be described and analyzed. However, most attention is paid to the last face of strategy because it has been neglected in the literature. Finally, different conditional variables will be delineated in order to explicate the interrelationship of the different strategy assumptions in political marketing. This will make it possible to compare strengths and weaknesses of the different faces of strategy and outline suggestions for strategy managers in political organizations.

*The Existence of Opinion Leaderships in General Elections: Relationships between Attitude toward Political Attributes, Satisfaction, and Opinion Leaderships in Indonesia*

Zulganef, Iwa Garniwa and Farida Nursjanti (Faculty of Business and Management Universitas Widyatama Bandung) [zulganef@widyatama.ac.id](mailto:zulganef@widyatama.ac.id)

Opinion leadership is one of the most important concepts in the consumer behavior field, especially in the behavior of general election participants as a consumer of politics. The existence of opinion leadership in general election shows that people in a country tend to participate in his or her country political process, especially in developing his or her country. Since opinion leadership is the activity of someone who attempts to influence directly on decisions of others, this means that opinion leadership is seen as a part of personal communication or word of mouth communication (WOM). This research investigated the existence of opinion leadership in the general election participants through its relationship with satisfaction as an antecedent variable of opinion leadership, and attitudes toward general elections as antecedent of satisfaction. The result of this research will contribute to consumer behavior theory, politics, and marketing practice as well. Through the findings of this research, the general election participants – in this case are general election commission, government, and political party managers are able to make a better marketing planning and strategy. This research shows that the three political attributes have positive significant relations with satisfaction; on the other hand, the satisfaction has negative significant relation with opinion leadership activities. The finding, especially negative relation between satisfaction and opinion leadership activities, shows that higher educational students in Jawa Barat are not good individuals as sources of information of satisfactory toward general elections. This research also discusses the results and makes some recommendations.

**11.30-12.30 Academic panel: *Deliberation and partnership in political marketing***

*Government public opinion research and consultation: Experiences in deliberative marketing*

Mathias König / Wolfgang König (Universität Koblenz-Landau) [koenig-mathias@uni-landau.de](mailto:koenig-mathias@uni-landau.de) and [koenig-wolfgang@uni-landau.de](mailto:koenig-wolfgang@uni-landau.de).

In addition to including the usual experts (such as scientists, representatives of associations, or administrative employees), the assessment of public opinion is of prime importance for political marketing and political planning when preparing reforms. The multifaceted knowledge of citizens is an additional resource that should be utilized. This idea is based on the concept of communicative action resp. deliberative democracy and rests upon the argument that through the participation of the public and the citizens in political processes, it becomes possible to make better decisions and thus also to communicate them more easily. Not only from a philosophical standpoint, but also directly from practice-oriented administrative science there have been efforts to increase citizen participation in administrative politics and decision-making at least since the discussions of New Public Management und Good Governance. After all, what is striven for is an increasingly efficient constitutional and citizen-friendly administrative practice and that is dependent upon democratic quality and legitimacy. From the viewpoint of political marketing,

deliberative communicative processes represent new forms of dialogue and marketing. Research, however, appears to have neglected these issues in the past. The central theoretical question is what kind of relationship exists between democracy and freedom on the one side and governmental bureaucracy on the other and how they can be reconciled through forms of dialogue and marketing. Due to their meanwhile global utilization „Citizens' Juries“ are well suited as an empirical case. They have been used as a deliberative marketing and participation instrument in a variety of forms worldwide (e. g., USA, EU, Japan). This paper makes a comparative analyse of the prevalence and varieties of „Citizens' Jury“ in different countries. The first transnational, EU-wide „Citizens' Juries“, namely the European Citizens' Consultations, serve as the first case study. These were established in order to increase the involvement of citizens after the failed referenda on the EU-Constitution and at the same time to boost the support of the general public for the EU project. The European Citizens' Consultations have been awarded several PR-Prizes. In the second case, the „Citizens' Jury“ is utilized in the framework of a controversial communal and general administrative reform in Germany, in addition to two other forms of deliberative communication. Changes and possible mergers of cities and communities in the state (Land) of Rhineland-Palatinate are the issue here. Such reforms have previously failed in other German states because of poor political marketing, among other things. For the example of Rhineland-Palatinate own extensive qualitative and quantitative data is available on the basis of which it is possible to formulate conclusions concerning the successfulness of deliberative political marketing beyond the Citizens' Jury.

*Leading through partnership: results from comparative study of practitioners and literature in political marketing*

Jennifer Lees-Marshment (Auckland) [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz)

This paper will present the results from comparative study including 100 in depth interviews with political elites about the implications of political marketing for leadership. It will note how politicians often become out of touch and marooned on Planet Politics & lose popularity, so need to follow the market to some extent, and be prepared to reject 'good' policies which the market will never accept, but that they also need to lead and can use market analysis to achieve change. Market-led campaigns don't work, but neither do leadership-led campaigns. Not only is just following the latest poll or focus groups sometimes seen as anti-democratic, it does not always win either. Politicians need to listen, but be proactive in response to market analysis and adopt some kind of position – do not just follow. Anti-market positions need to be managed, with leaders showing awareness of and respect for opposition. At the end of the day, leaders still have to make the decision - marketing cannot do that for them. However marketing informs that decision, presenting different options beforehand and a range of strategies to manage the subsequent consequences.

*Best of Friends, Best of Enemies: How Insight into the Nature of Political Relationships Can Foster Partnerships and Enhance the Effectiveness of Political Communication Strategy.*

Jenny Lloyd (UWE) [Jenny.Lloyd@uwe.ac.uk](mailto:Jenny.Lloyd@uwe.ac.uk)

Within the field of marketing the concept of 'relationship' has become increasingly important over recent years and never is its relevance more apparent than in the arena of political marketing. It is clear that important relationships exist between political candidates/parties and many different types of political 'consumers': voters, the media, supporters/activists, rival political parties and foreign political parties and movements. Relationships are important because the nature and quality of a relationship is likely to affect the potential for partnerships, alliances or, more negatively, rivalries between the various types of political 'consumer'. Further, relationships can also be seen as a potential determinant of the effectiveness of political communication strategy. However, whilst in the field of consumer behaviour there has been significant research into the concept of 'relationships' (Fournier and Yao 1997; Fournier 1998;

Blackwell 2003; Aggarwal 2004), within the field of political marketing, little consideration has been afforded. To this end, this paper discusses the value of understanding the nature and variety of relationships that exist within the field of politics. It explores the potential relevance of Fournier's (1998) typology of consumer/brand relationships and considers the degree to which such a typology might lend insight into how partnerships might be fostered and communication links forged between the many and disparate groups within the political arena.

**1.30-300 Academic panel: *Marketing on the ground: volunteers, members and fundraising***  
*Network Marketing and American Party Politics*

Peter Ubertaccio (Stonehill College) [pubertaccio@stonehill.edu](mailto:pubertaccio@stonehill.edu)

In the late twentieth century, the traditional tools of political consultants (polling, direct mail, media buys) were supplemented by the increasing use of network marketing tactics. Political campaigns, particularly the Bush-Cheney re-election effort in 2004, turned many of their local campaign organizations into versions of Amway meetings or Tupperware parties. They used the language of network marketers to sell their brand to new party members and micro targeted groups of voters toward higher levels of mobilization. Their success offered a new model for party organizations and membership. This paper will document the increasing use of network marketing tactics in American campaigns and will review the efforts to use these tools to redefine membership in American political parties. It will use case studies of particular campaign organizations and interviews with pioneers of campaign network marketing tactics and it will document the difficulty of using network marketing to transform party membership and party organizations in the United States.

*The ethics of utilizing marketing in political fundraising*

Alex Marland Department of Political Science Memorial University St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada [amarland@mun.ca](mailto:amarland@mun.ca)

This paper will consider the ethics of political actors who apply marketing strategy and tactics in their fundraising initiatives. It will thus look at fundraising theory through a marketing lens. An emphasis will be placed on the recent efforts of partisan fundraising organizations in North America. The paper will begin by establishing that it is unclear what constitutes a legitimate concern about fundraising marketing and what fears are exaggerated. It will explain what "ethics", "fundraising" and "political marketing" are and summarize the conventional theory and latest research associated with these concepts. It will develop a list of shared ethical concerns associated with both fundraising and political marketing. This will lead to the development of a set of criteria to establish to what extent a marketing-inspired fundraising activity is ethical or unethical. These criteria will be sufficiently narrow that they emphasize political fundraising, but sufficiently broad that they can be applied to political parties, election candidates, interest groups and not-for-profit organizations throughout North America. The theoretical development will also include observations on what, conceptually speaking, ought to be the most effective and ineffective types of marketing in fundraising. Some of this may be presented in a diagram. Case studies of the Obama Democrats (USA) and the Harper Conservatives (Canada) will be presented. This will involve briefly summarizing relevant campaign regulations that have implications for the practice of political marketing in those countries with respect to fundraising. An application of fundraising and marketing theory will be used to explain the strengths and weaknesses of those organizations' recent efforts, as well as the ethics of such practices. An empirical illustration will consist of finance data, possibly with a return-on-investment emphasis. This will conclude by incorporating related trends identified in political trade publications and practiced on political websites in North America. The preceding information will be analyzed so as to arrive at theoretical considerations of the potential impact on democracy, leadership, creativity, policy and the relationship between political organizations and citizens. It will

conclude with recommendations for future research avenues and practitioner training and practice.

*Resisting the Market: Counting the organisational costs of marketing in the German SPD and the British Labour Party*

Dr. Robin T. Pettitt School of Social Science Kingston University – London

[R.Pettitt@kingston.ac.uk](mailto:R.Pettitt@kingston.ac.uk)

Political marketing has traditionally been concerned with the external relations of political parties. The field has, understandably, focussed on the evolution of the methods used by parties to persuade and mobilise the voters and how to design, sell and market the ‘product’. Some of the same trends identified by political marketing scholars have also been noticed in the literature on intra-party politics. However, here one of the main concerns has been how the changes in both the ways that parties sell themselves and what they sell have affected party organisations, i.e. an internal dimension. This paper will marry the two fields together by looking at how efforts to market, rather than just sell the party has affected party organisations internally, especially in the situations where market research has identified a need to change the ‘product’. The paper will in particular look at the organisational costs of changing the product to suit market demands. This paper will focus on the British Labour Party under Tony Blair and the German SPD under Gerhard Schroder. Both leaders were part of the ‘third way’ or ‘neue mitte’ of centrist politics which was based on a careful evaluation of the kind of product the electoral market wanted from centre-left parties. Both leaders in their different ways tried to implement the ‘third way’ product with different levels of success and at different costs. Libraries have been written for and against this particular form of centre-left politics, but there is little about what organisational costs are associated with reforming parties with relatively deep ideological roots. Both parties experienced electoral success, albeit temporarily, but have also paid a serious organisational price in terms of internal strife, loss of membership and the departure of key players. The paper will consider the organisational costs to a party - in terms of internal opposition and membership exist - of implementing a product deemed popular with the electoral market, but which is viewed with deep suspicion by large sections of the party’s membership. By doing so the chapter will consider what lessons can be learnt from the two cases about the balance that has to be struck between often fragile electoral success and potentially long term organisational costs to the party which may damage the chances of recovering from electoral defeat. The paper will look at the organisational downside of political marketing and consider ways in which such damaged can be minimised and what compromises may have to be made to still gain the benefits of marketing the party.

**330-4.30 Practitioner debate: *does the use of market research in politics mean the end of leadership in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?***

This panel will discuss the implications of political marketing, especially the use of market analysis and listening to the public, for leadership. Participants include:

Ian Brodie, who was chief of staff to Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper of the Conservative Party and now works in Washington.

Sara Taylor, was the Director of the [White House Office of Political Affairs](#) and Deputy Assistant to President [George W. Bush](#) from February 2005 to May 30, 2007; and a strategist on the 2004 Bush-Cheney campaign. She is currently owner and president of a new media firm, BlueFront Strategies, a strategic consulting and public affairs company.

[Staylor@BlueFrontStrategies.com](mailto:Staylor@BlueFrontStrategies.com)

(<http://www.bluefrontstrategies.com/profiledisplay.php?flag=details&vid=14>)

Peter Fenn, Fenn communications group, one of the nation's premier political and public affairs media firms (<http://www.fenn-group.com/>). Peter has carried out numerous roles

including working for Bill Clinton, Al Gore and John Kerry as well as overseas. His writing and producing have earned him Pollie Awards from the American Association of Political Consultants, Telly Awards, Summit Awards, Vision Awards and the award from PRNews for the Best Public Service Ad Campaign of 2005. He teaches Presidential Politics, Strategy and Message as well as Campaign Advertising at The George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management. [peter@fenn-group.com](mailto:peter@fenn-group.com)

Gene Ulm, Political consultant for Public Opinion Strategies, is one of the Republican Party's leading political strategists and pollsters. Gene has extensive experience polling on behalf of successful U.S. Senate, gubernatorial, congressional and state legislative campaigns (<http://www.pos.org/about/ulm.asp>) [Gene@pos.org](mailto:Gene@pos.org)

Patrick Muttart is Managing Director of Mercury Public Affairs (<http://www.mercurypublicaffairs.com/team-muttart.htm>) and leads the firm's Canada-United States practice. He provides strategic counsel to governments, companies and associations on both sides of the Canada-U.S. border and works with Mercury's team of experienced international campaigners, providing political and strategic services to clients worldwide. Prior to joining Mercury, Muttart served as Deputy Chief of Staff to Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper and chief strategist for the Conservative Party during the 2006 and 2008 elections. During these two campaigns, the Harper Government won its first mandate from voters and subsequently was re-elected with a greater share of the popular vote and a strengthened mandate in Canada's House of Commons. He was part of a select team of Canadian and American officials who worked on policy and communications for President Obama's 2009 visit to Canada, his first foreign trip as President. [patrick.muttart@gmail.com](mailto:patrick.muttart@gmail.com)

Alex Braun, Senior Director of PSB (Penn Schoen Berland - [http://www.psbresearch.com/green\\_meet.htm](http://www.psbresearch.com/green_meet.htm)) who has worked for political clients including campaigns in Britain, Czech Republic, Estonia, Indonesia and Thailand and also published on political marketing in *Global political marketing* (edited by Jennifer Lees-Marshment et al) and a case within Lees-Marshment's *Political marketing: principles and applications*. Email [abraun@ps-b.com](mailto:abraun@ps-b.com)

Dave Paleologos (<http://www.suffolk.edu/college/32996.html>), Director of the Political Research Center at Boston's Suffolk University (SUPRC) where he works in partnership with WHDH/7News (NBC-TV Boston) and WSVN/7 News (NBC-TV Miami) conducting since 2002 statewide polls and bellwether survey analyses in Massachusetts as well as such key battleground states' Presidential Primary contests. Prior to his career in academia, Paleologos was one of the Bay State's most sought after political pollsters and field operatives. His most controversial published work was entitled "A Pollster on Polling" (Messages of the New Millennium) in which he criticized an over-pollled society addicted to outcomes. [DAPRESEARCH@aol.com](mailto:DAPRESEARCH@aol.com) and [dpaleolo@suffolk.edu](mailto:dpaleolo@suffolk.edu)

Joe Eyer (<http://www.deweysquare.com/joe-eyer/>) Joe Eyer organizes grassroots campaigns for corporations and not-for-profit organizations. Eyer combines his expertise in campaign planning and execution with careful relationship management to deliver the highest level of service to businesses, advocacy organizations and political candidates. [jeyer@deweysquare.com](mailto:jeyer@deweysquare.com)

#### **4.30-5.30 Practitioner round table: *What's hot, what's not and what do we need to learn in political marketing***

This will be a roundtable of political professionals (consultants and/or politicians) talking about what's hot in political marketing, what's not, and what they would like to know or learn from academics/academic research. It will be moderated by Christine Williams, North American managing editor of the Journal of political marketing. Confirmed participants are:

David Mark, senior editor at POLITICO and author of "Going Dirty: The Art of Negative Campaigning" (Rowman & Littlefield, 3rd edition, 2009) which has been adopted in numerous university courses and published in several languages. David was previously editor-in-chief of Campaigns & Elections magazine (now Politics), and a reporter for CQ and the Associated Press and Alan Rosenblatt, Associate Director of Online Advocacy at the Center for American Progress Action Fund. He founded the Internet Advocacy Roundtable in 2005. Email [davidmark2@gmail.com](mailto:davidmark2@gmail.com).

Alan Rosenblatt, an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins, Georgetown, and American Universities; a blogger at the Huffington Post, TechPresident.com, K Street Café, PoliticsMagazine.com, and DrDigiPol.com; a contributing editor to Politics Online; a board member for E-Democracy.org; and a 2008 fellow at George Washington University's Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet. He taught the world's first internet politics course at George Mason University in 1995. Email [arosenblatt@americanprogressaction.org](mailto:arosenblatt@americanprogressaction.org).

Michael Cornfield Vice President for Research and Media Strategy at 720 Strategies, a Washington, D.C.-based public persuasion firm specializing in integrated (online/video/print/event) grassroots-oriented communications. Cornfield creates and delivers webinars, workshops, and supplemental materials to clients on a variety of advocacy communication topics but he is also author of two books about the Internet and American politics: *Politics Moves Online: Campaigning and the Internet* (The Century Foundation Press, 2004) and (with David M. Anderson) *The Civic Web: Online Politics and Democratic Values* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003) [michael.cornfield@720strategies.com](mailto:michael.cornfield@720strategies.com)



## BOOKS

### **Mediating Politics: Newspapers, Radio, Television and the Internet**

Open University Press (1 April 2010)

By Neil Washbourne

(ISBN-10: 0335217591)

This book critically analyses the complex relationship between media and politics, beginning with a discussion of what is meant by the mediating of politics. The author outlines the ways in which political messages are formulated, broadcast and received, as well as examining the ways in which the media and political organisations are linked to one another.

The author also analyses the relationship between the media and:

- Globalisation
- De-regulation of the media
- Apathy of audiences

Illustrated throughout with case studies from the US, UK and from across the world, the book also explores:

- Celebrity politicians
- How different national media systems encourage (or discourage) political engagement
- How young people engage with the media and politics
- How the Internet has affected the organization of politics and news media

Of particular interest to political marketers though is that Chapter 2 is 'On the media marketing of parties and leaders: emergence and consequences' which situates the MOP literature in relation to that on presidentialization and the debate on political trust (in leaders).

# MARKETING IN RECENT ELECTIONS

## Commentary podcasts on the UK 2010 election

Dear Political Marketers

If you are following the UK general election, you might be interested in a series of commentary podcasts I've been doing on the UK general election. Working with MESH planning and Research Now, at Cranfield School of Management, we've also been undertaking a unique survey of floating voters to identify how voters are engaging with different marketing communication materials from the various parties. You can follow the results of this longitudinal study over the whole of the campaign at:

[http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/2010election?utm\\_medium=banner&utm\\_campaign=home2010election&utm\\_source=somwebsite](http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/2010election?utm_medium=banner&utm_campaign=home2010election&utm_source=somwebsite)

If you want more details, please do not hesitate to contact me at [paul.baines@cranfield.ac.uk](mailto:paul.baines@cranfield.ac.uk).

Regards, Paul Baines

## The UK 2010 election: notes from the roundtable held at the UK PSA

### **General Election Marketing – selling a can of beans, building a favours bank or managing an event?**

By Nigel Jackson

Three marketing philosophies may provide a conceptual framework for understanding the UK 2010 General Election. 1) Transactional marketing (one night stand) – where mass communication media used to sell their 'products' like a can of beans. The current interest in party posters, and the leaders' TV debates might support this approach. 2) Relationship marketing (courtship) – where there is direct communication by candidates and parties to targeted voters, usually over a long period of time, which encourages dialogue. The use of direct mail and email might support this approach. 3) Experiential marketing (friends with benefits) – here voters engage emotionally with the campaign through direct experience, the election is viewed as an event. This connection could take place virally through, for example, YouTube. Interestingly, the impact of the Leaders' debate, a transactional channel, may actually enhance a more emotive attachment to the election, an experiential approach.

### **'Where is the Marketing?'**

By Dr Darren G. Lilleker (Bournemouth University)

I start this piece designed to stimulate discussion with a proposition grounded within the academic discipline of marketing. That proposition is that marketing is about understanding current needs and predicting future demands, it is about being in touch with a range of consumer groups (some loyal some not) and building relations with them based on mutual satisfaction. It suggests that satisfaction is at the heart of marketing, and that satisfaction in the provision of a product or service, and all related contact with the brand (post-purchase support for example), is pivotal to creating the condition for endorsement and of course loyalty. Can any set of simple concepts seem further removed from the UK citizen's relationship with political parties, their leaders and, on the whole, noting exceptions, their own local representatives. There are close relations between parties and some groups but, on average, this is the exception and not the norm.

What I struggle to find evidence for, either in terms of observations of party behaviour, or in conversation with those close to formulating strategy, is any strategic focus on the relationships parties wish to build with voters. There are key elements that appear to be at the heart of strategic management of party behaviour; these are:

- The building and maintenance of trust;
- Transmitting their messages out, and having them accepted;
- Gaining an equal or greater share of voice than their opponents;
- Leading the agenda (public and media);
- Winning over key stakeholders through persuasive communication strategies.

These five simplistic objectives, all of which have been at the heart of political communication and campaigning for decades if not centuries in way suggest innovative approaches that decrease the proximity between governors (and would-be governors, and those they seek to govern. Equally, these objectives seem to have little to do with the concepts that sit at the heart of corporate strategy from either a marketing or public relations perspective. The focus for political party strategies is essentially on the next electoral contest. Such an approach, which is guided by a winner takes all voting system, promotes a marketing communication perspective consistent with selling and sales-oriented approaches, but eschews the key concepts consistent with marketing as either an academic discipline or guiding philosophy for a corporate enterprise.

We have seen the Conservative rebrand; the new logo is a semiotic representation of this and sits firmly within a communication strategy. Appearances by Cameron in the Arctic tundra, or cycling through London (followed by the car or not), position the Conservatives as having a more environmental focus. The Conservatives, symbolically, have changed. But there are two points to address using just this simple example. Firstly there is no evidence that the greening of the Conservative party is in any way responsive to a broad shift in public opinion, or indeed in the opinions of those voters who feel closest to the party. Secondly, while there is a symbolic greening, no policies appear to suggest this is in any way radical and nor is there evidence of attempts to lead public opinion and attitudes within a more environmentalist direction. Furthermore, there have been no expressions of a link between this political shift in focus to any core value regarding future generations or the welfare of the planet. Political expressions around the future manifesto and post-election governance remain located within a domestic context linked to publicly-recognised most important problems. While this may appear to be a simple attack on the Conservative party this is not the intention. We have highlighted that opposition parties have the greatest opportunities to challenge orthodoxies and have a stronger link to public

opinions, attitudes and values and present themselves as having a greater market-orientation than those within government. This does not seem to be the case and instead the Conservatives exhibit a marketing orientation, a focus on selling to citizens as opposed to satisfying them. Labour equally demonstrate they are followers of public trends, equally exhibiting a simplistic marketing orientation which involves nothing more than prioritising core policy areas within their proposals which are equally prioritised on the public agenda.

Within the context of UK GE2010, arguably most of what we will see will be marketing communications (splash advertising, and new media gimmickry, some of which is focused on mobilising existing supporters) and basic public relations (media management and pseudo events). What seem to be lacking are publicly expressed ideological stand points and values that have informed policy development. Satisfaction will again be promised through fulfilling simplistic pledges which no sensible party would offer in reverse (your family better off, for example; or indeed currently pledges to not divert money away from the front line services of the NHS). The marketing orientation pursued by the two major parties is, therefore reductionist. As little of fundamental value separates them, either in practical or emotional terms, the choice facing voters is essentially one between management teams. Each team will highlight the same public concerns as one another, promise satisfaction of key demands but these will only follow the most simple public needs and these will be reduced to common denominators.

Labour's Future Fair For All offers the following key promises: securing the economic recovery, protecting frontline health and education service provision, standing up for the many, and nurturing new industries to create new jobs. The Conservatives 'Year for Change' will mean ensuring stability through a more balanced economy, a sustainable future for the NHS, mending our broken society, fighting back against crime, and to get Britain working again. Both sets of key promises are headlines drawn from within draft standard election leaflets. While Labour is more explicitly focusing on the five phrases online, the Conservatives offer a lot more information – most in the form of a vision than specifics but that is perhaps the nature of competitive electoral politics.

The Conservatives have no space given to talk values, guiding principles or ideology; Labour do within their history, and proudly proclaim the values of social justice, strong community and strong values, reward for hard work, decency, and rights matched by responsibilities. While we would not expect some ideological meta-narrative, an understanding of the guiding principles and policy constraints is important in terms of demonstrating differences and setting benchmarks for the measurement of proximity between citizens and the parties. The problem is that values equally become simplistic, hard to oppose and thus shared values of society as opposed to positioning parties as having ideological priorities.

This seems to be the result of a logic that competes with the fundamentals of marketing. Political strategy is about maintaining leads in polls; fighting for and, if won, maintaining a greater share of voice within the mainstream media; having a broad communication strategy designed to provide peripheral cues to undecided voters and winning over those voters in marginal seats that will be instrumental in securing electoral victory. There seem to be few attempts at long term relationship building, beyond the level of individual representatives within their constituencies; equally there seem to be few strategic perspectives beyond winning elections. Hence I return to my original question – Where is the marketing? What is often identified as the evidence for a market-orientation is really a chimera based on simplistic data spun to make a party appear to be listening, in-touch and connected to the people. They appear to lack the will to openly declare they are leading or to following. This may well be resulting from flaws in the political system, routes for citizen participation, and the Oppositionalism build into UK politics. However this is

not purely a feature of the UK; political marketing broadly, and also within the context of the forthcoming general election in the UK, will follow a marketing orientation and so use the tools from marketing communication but this does not make them in-touch but simply able to repeat public opinion back to voters in order to indicate agreement. This is one very small part of the marketing toolkit which is predicated upon a prior, in-depth, relationship to consumers; the lack of this prior communicational relationship means that the marketing is weak and superficial and voters are not taken in: this appears to be the sole outcome resulting from political marketing – Discuss!

## **Am I Bovvered? The Intertwined Concepts of Involvement, Engagement and Participation in Political Marketing**

by Jenny Lloyd

Over recent years, there has been much concern and hand-wringing in academic literature about the lack of voter engagement and participation in politics with the terms often used interchangeably. From a marketing perspective, this is problematic on two counts. Firstly, the terms do not necessarily mean the same thing; ‘engagement’ relates to the extent to which voters cognitively process a political message whilst ‘participation’ relates to levels of voter activity or action. Within the context of an election it is therefore possible for a voter to engage with a piece of political communication (i.e. to think about it and weigh up its relative merit) but not to act upon it or vote (i.e. to participate). The second area for concern relates to the fact that in focussing upon issues of engagement and participation, academics appear to have failed to address a concept that is intrinsically linked to any understanding of the other two; that of ‘involvement’.

Involvement may be defined as the relative importance that an object or an issue holds for a consumer or, in the case of politics, the voter<sup>i</sup>. According to Petty and Cacioppo’s<sup>ii</sup> Elaboration Likelihood Model, the degree to which a consumer, or in this case a voter, is involved with an issue will effect both the type of information that is cognitively processed and the degree of processing. In a situation in which a voter is highly involved with a piece of political communication, he or she will process it using what is termed the ‘central route’. The ‘central route’ involves individuals cognitively processing the actual content of the message which, in the case of election campaigning might be the relative platform and policies of a candidate and the political party they represent. However, in situations in which the voter experiences low levels of involvement, they are likely to process political messages using the ‘peripheral route’. In such cases, voters are likely draw conclusions from more superficial elements of the communication, for example, whether they like the candidate, the quality of the presentation or the atmosphere or the environment in which the message is presented. Alternatively, in low involvement situations, voters are more likely to draw conclusions on the basis of ‘heuristics’ (mental rules of thumb); a cognitive strategy regularly employed by individuals who are either disinclined or do not have the time to process the content of a piece of communication effectively.

Zaichkowsky<sup>iii</sup> identified that one of the primary drivers of the degree of involvement was the level of perceived risk. Within the context of consumer behaviour, perceived risk may be defined as the perceived potential that exists for negative consequences that might arise as the result of a decision taken or a given situation. Kaplan et al<sup>iv</sup> identified six types of risk: social, psychological, functional, financial, physical and time-related. Within the political context, higher levels of risk are likely to be in situations in which a voter feels that his or her physical or

financial welfare are under threat. Alternatively, it is likely to occur where issues of personal security or social status are involved. Perceived risk is also heightened where voters feel that the political system and/or individual parties have the ability to effectively fulfil the function of government and, finally, perceived risk is time dependent; in a time-poor society, voters weigh up the time required to wade through the party literature versus the potential consequences of making a wrong decision. Where the negative consequences are minimal, involvement tends to be low.

Ultimately it is clear that the omission of any consideration of the role of involvement in any discussion of political engagement and/or participation is glaring. Within the political arena, the concepts of involvement, engagement and participation appear completely intertwined. The degree to which a voter finds him or herself involved in politics or with a political message is a determinant of both the degree and nature of their engagement with its content. In turn, it is not a huge mental leap to see that the levels of political engagement experienced by voters are likely to be reflected in levels of participation.

Understanding the inter-related nature of the involvement-engagement-participation not only explains the falling levels of voter turnout in recent years, it also offers clear lessons for our politicians and political parties in years to come. Over the last twenty years the majority of the British public appear to have become averse to extremism in party politics and, as a result, there has been a tendency for all of the major parties to pursue the 'centre ground'. Following years in the political wilderness, under Tony Blair 'New' Labour appeared to abandon many of its traditional socialist principles and, in response, the Conservative Party softened its stance by adopting a more 'caring' version of conservatism. The result of this convergence was that voters saw little difference between the parties on offer and the perceived risk of negative consequences when choosing between them was minimal. Ultimately, it didn't matter to voters which party was in power; the outcome for their day to day lives was likely to be the same. This being the case, voters experienced low levels of risk resulted in low levels of political involvement. In turn, low levels of involvement generated little incentive to actively engage with political parties and, as a result, it is hardly surprising the levels of political participation fell.

Looking forward, there are clear lessons for political parties and for the political classes as a whole. The generation of involvement on the part of voters is an essential first step to improvements in levels of voter engagement and increasing levels of political participation. Clearly communicating to voters the consequences of their actions (or inactions) is essential to ensure that they recognise its relative importance. Only with such a recognition are we likely to achieve the higher levels of engagement and then participation that are mourned and desired in equal measure by academic literature.

## TRENDS

### A SCHOOL OF POLITICAL PRACTICE AND A STRATEGIC REFLECTION WITH THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL PARTY.

Juan Ignacio Marcos Lekuona  
CONSULTANT ON GOVERNMENT/MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS  
[www.marcoslekuona.net](http://www.marcoslekuona.net); [marcoslekuona@marcoslekuona.net](mailto:marcoslekuona@marcoslekuona.net)  
MADRID (SPAIN)

During the months of March, April and May of 2.010, the Executive Committee of left Nationalist Youth (JEN)<sup>v</sup> contracted with this consultant the conduction of a SCHOOL OF POLITICAL PRACTICE. This term comes from the observation of good and bad practices<sup>vi</sup> in municipalities where the party has a job and a critical evaluation of the role that the JEN plays in Mallorca's politics.

The eight days of the School has adopted the following format:

- In the morning, the consultant supervised a session of strategic thinking on the management team in relation to the presentations at the regular biennial Congress, which is held in the coming months.
  - In the afternoon, the 20 participants worked on the following agenda.
- 

#### SCHOOL OF POLITICAL PRACTICE: A summary of topics INTRODUCTION TO THE POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

- The public world. Major roles in the public world: politicians, public managers, analysts /communicators...
- Political organizations and their environment in a democratic system. Resources: votes, funds, volunteers.
- Orientations from politicians to the electors: the orientation to themselves, the selling orientation, the voter orientation.
- Politics as sets of conversations on commitments.
- How to know and understand the electors
- Electors, non participants, voters of each candidature, new electors, new residents.
- Identifying current and potential voters.
- Identification of opinion leaders/ influentials. The coalition with opinion leaders.
- Stages of decision of current and potential voters. The accompaniment. The political services.
- The political evaluation: good and bad practices,
- An analytical approximation: the interactions between voters, members of political parties, leaders of parties, public officials, public managers, policy analysts, communicators.

- Training on good practices.
- The importance of practices of leadership/management. From hierarchies to networks: a metamorphosis approach.

#### POLICY ANALYSIS AND COMMUNICATION

- The structure horizontal and vertical of a political formation.
- Policy development/political communication. Two sides of the same process.
- The effective governance.
- Politics as a narrative about the quality of life of citizens.
- The political agenda.
- Operational issues and strategic issues in policy. Uncertainties/ conflict in goals/technologies.
- Analysis of the policy from the perspective on the political results of votes, funds, volunteers.
- The Strategic Management of Projects: a methodology of strategic projects.
- The proposal of the strategic project: product and political objectives, partners/stakeholders expectations and conflicts, a preliminary network of project activities, registration system, monitoring and evaluation.
- Phases of the performance of a strategic project:
  - Design an approval of project plan.
  - Strategic conception.
  - Design and choice on alternative tactics.
  - Implementation/transition to operational management and subsequent evaluation.
- Political communication
  - Communication for coalition
  - Story listening/ story telling
  - One side communications and two sides communications.
  - Personal communications, massive media and social media. Coverage and repetition.
  - The concept
  - The news.
  - Campaigns.

---

The strategic reflection of the management team started with the dissatisfaction caused by the kind of work – like in most young organizations of political parties – they have been carrying out until now, focused on recreation and “performance”.

As an alternative, a new mission was explored: to contribute to the development of its members by keeping clear values, while contributing militants, managers and assessors for the development of the party.



Conscious management of these developments will require some foresight and planning of human resources development to match expected demand. For an operational translation of this mission, three areas are being explored as possible deployments that could constitute as many large projects for the agenda of the JEN:

- the axis of support for personal careers;
- the axis of implementation of a conscious political management;
- and the axis of improvement of the governance and the public management.

### **THE AXIS OF PERSONAL CAREERS**

The aim will be to support members of the JEN in their personal efforts to clarify their values and to chart a path of their life and career consistent with them. They represent a contribution to society to the extent that they can prevent the introduction into politics of people who don't know where to go. It's suggested to start experimenting with the application of exercises of personal career and life planning. The results of these exercises will "inspire" the axes and activities of this project.

### **THE AXIS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLITICAL MANAGEMENT**

The activities in this area will seek to ensure that all members of the JEN are able to relate to their environment to ensure that existing and potential voters of the PSM are identified and accompanied in their political decisions, sharing with them political commitments. The successive election periods provide milestones to evaluate projects that will be generated by municipalities, electoral districts and associations in terms of votes, funds and volunteers. The capabilities of "performance" of the current JEN should serve to renew the modes of political actions and would be further enhanced when integrated into a conscious process of evaluation and programming.

### **THE AXIS OF IMPROVEMENT OF THE GOVERNANCE AND THE PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

Through the activities of this axis the JEN brings to the PSM members –militants and supporters– with the right preparation and competence to cover the public official jobs that are expected to demand electoral successive calls. At present, we could devote the Fall School 2.010 and the Spring School 2.011 to the training of candidates for local councilors, and plan a Summer School for the elected council members in the upcoming municipal elections. Agreeing on an estimate of needs from the upcoming insular and regional elections, it's possible to design a training curriculum for the offices for the Insular Council and the Regional Government. Other needs that should be considered are the jobs of public management and assessors/policy analysts. Given the studies of the origin of many of the members of the party, a specific training in what might be called "technology of the Public Administration" is missing: law application, economy and public finances, public procurement, and management of public service.

## **The PMG Committee as of May 2010**

### **Chair**

Darren G Lilleker

The Media School, Bournemouth University, Weymouth House, Fern Barrow,  
Poole, Dorset, BH12 5BB Tel: 01202 595622  
Email: [dlilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:dlilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

### **Secretary**

Jenny Lloyd

University of the West of England, Bristol Business School, Frenchay Campus,  
Coldharbour Lane, Bristol, BS16 1QY Tel: 0117 965 6261 Fax: 0117 344 2289  
Email: [jenny.lloyd@uwe.ac.uk](mailto:jenny.lloyd@uwe.ac.uk)

### **Treasurer**

Robert Busby

Senior Lecturer, Politics, Liverpool Hope, University, Hope Park, Liverpool, L16  
9JD UK

Email [busbyr@hope.ac.uk](mailto:busbyr@hope.ac.uk)

### **Communications officer**

Jennifer Lees-Marshment

Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand  
E-mail: [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz)

### **Country co-ordinators**

Ghana Co-ordinator: Kobby Mensah Email [kobby\\_mensah@yahoo.com](mailto:kobby_mensah@yahoo.com)

See:

<http://groups.google.com/group/political-marketing/web/ghana-pmg-page>

Canada Co-ordinator: Thierry Giasson Laval University Email:  
[Thierry.Giasson@com.ulaval.ca](mailto:Thierry.Giasson@com.ulaval.ca)

Czech Republic Coordinator: Anna Matsukova, MU Dept of Political Science  
Brno, Czech Republic Email: [amatuskova@gmail.com](mailto:amatuskova@gmail.com)

Indonesia Co-ordinator: Firmanzah Fiz Lecturer and dean of Faculty Economics  
and Business University of Indonesia. Email: [fizfirmanzah@yahoo.com](mailto:fizfirmanzah@yahoo.com)

Japan Co-ordinator: Bryce Wakefield Asia Program Associate, Woodrow Wilson  
International Center for Scholars USA Email [Bryce.Wakefield@wilsoncenter.org](mailto:Bryce.Wakefield@wilsoncenter.org)

Sweden Co-ordinator: Jesper Strömbäck Mid Sweden University Website:  
[www.jesperstromback.com](http://www.jesperstromback.com) E-mail: [jesper@jesperstromback.com](mailto:jesper@jesperstromback.com)

Malaysia Co-ordinator: Khairiah Salwa-Mokhtar, Political science, USM  
Email [khairiah@usm.my](mailto:khairiah@usm.my)

Greece Co-ordinator: Iordanis Kotzaivazolou E-mail: [ikotza@jour.auth.gr](mailto:ikotza@jour.auth.gr)

US Co-ordinator: Ken Cosgrove Email: [kcosgrov@suffolk.edu](mailto:kcosgrov@suffolk.edu)

Macedonia Co-ordinator: Gordica Karanfilovska Email [gordicak@yahoo.com](mailto:gordicak@yahoo.com)

Taiwan co-ordinator: Norman Peng Email [N.Peng@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:N.Peng@mdx.ac.uk)

## Next PMG newsletter: August 2010

Copy deadline is **20 August 2010**

Email items to [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz)

Deadlines for 2010 are:

Advertised deadline for copy	Publication
30 April	beg May
20 August	end August
20 November	End November

The sections in the new 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 (eg the UK 2010, Australian 2010 election), and commentary pieces on Trends in political marketing.

Anyone with ideas or pieces to submit should send to Jennifer on [j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz). 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.

### PMG membership

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

---

<sup>i</sup> Solomon, Bamossey et al (2009) Consumer Behaviour – A European Perspective

<sup>ii</sup> Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). *Communication and Persuasion: Central and Peripheral Routes to Attitude Change*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

<sup>iii</sup> Zaichkowsky, Judith Lynn (1985) Measuring the Involvement Construct, *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol 12, No.3

<sup>iv</sup> Kaplan, Leon B.; Szybillo, George J.; Jacoby, Jacob (1974) Components of perceived risk in product purchase: A cross-validation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Vol 59(3),

---

<sup>v</sup> The JEN are the youth organization of de Partido Socialista de Mallorca (PSM), a small leftist nationalist party, which participates in coalition with the PSOE in the Balearic Island government, and in the Insular Council of Mallorca.

<sup>vi</sup> The notion of political practice and their use in the discrimination of good / bad practices through comparative analysis, for the evaluation and improvement of local party organizations, has been developed in the paper “A methodical way for party development/revitalizing its local organizations”, presented at the PMG workshop “Political Marketing: hindering or helping the relationship between government and citizen?”, in the 60 PSA Annual Conference, 1 April, Edinburgh, UK.