



# Political Studies Association Political Marketing

## NEWSLETTER: MARCH 2021

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## TRENDS IN POLITICAL MARKETING

### The Internal Marketing of Pro-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Advocacy Groups



Andrew Lim  
University of Auckland  
Politics and International  
Relations  
[alim877@aucklanduni.ac.nz](mailto:alim877@aucklanduni.ac.nz)

Internal marketing refers to efforts by political parties and other campaigning organisations including advocacy groups to encourage activism among their members. Pettitt (2015) has identified five internal party political relationship marketing approaches that organisational leaders can take to motivate local activists to carry out their role in external marketing: material incentives (paying them), base strategy (giving internal stakeholders what they want), empty vessel (glittering generality), dignified democracy (the satisfaction derived from being part of a group through activism), and effective democracy (real consultation and giving stakeholders joint ownership and creation of the product).

For my PhD research, I used Pettitt's internal marketing framework to explore how four advocacy groups have motivated their activists and supporters to engage in advocacy work related to Israel-Palestine: the Palestine Solidarity Network Aotearoa (PSNA), the Israel Institute of New Zealand (IINZ), the Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council (AIJAC), and the Australia Palestine Advocacy Network (APAN). The PSNA and APAN are the national umbrella organisations for Palestinian solidarity groups and activists in New Zealand and Australia. Both advocate for Palestinian rights, self-determination, and support the

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS Movement). The IINZ and AIJAC are pro-Israel advocacy organisations and think tanks that focus on influencing political elites, media, and civil society attitudes and policies towards Israel.

Despite their diametrically oppositional aims and goals, these four groups used purposive incentives to mobilise their base (or a base strategy). While activist commitment to the product is strong and lasts if the product is relatively unchanged, the low level of design flexibility makes it hard to pursue a "catch-all strategy." The table below outlines the advocacy groups' base

#### PSNA

National Chair John Minto (personal communication, February 28, 2020) stated that members and supporters were motivated by information about the plight of the Palestinians. He added that the Network promoted a sense of loyalty by being clear and focused about their cause of advocating for Palestinian rights and self-determination. Supporters expressed their commitment to the PSNA's cause by participating in the group's advocacy work and public gatherings including pickets, demonstrations, meetings, lobbying politicians and policy-makers, writing letters, calling talkback radios, following their website, social media, and newsletters, donations (NZPSN, n.d.a; NZPSN, 2018a; 2018b; 2018c).

### AIJAC

Attracts people who are sympathetic to Israel, the Jewish people, and Zionism. Director David Cumin (personal communication, March 3, 2020) said that the group promoted a sense of belonging by emailing subscribers to thank them for their support and using their website, social media and email newsletters to publicise advocacy work targeting public policy and media coverage of Israel-Palestine. Other plans include establishing a “Friends of the Institute” network to facilitate information sharing and cohesion among subscribers.

### AIJAC

Attracts people who are sympathetic to its work of conveying the Australian Jewish interests (including Israel, Zionism, combating anti-Semitism, terrorism, and extremism) to political elites, media and civil society leaders and groups. Using its lobbying activities, website, social media, Australia-Israel Review magazine, speaking engagements, and Ramban information trips to advance its aims and goals. AIJAC also uses the AIJAC Forum to recruit young professionals (AIJAC, n.d.a; ACNC, 2019; Reich, 2004; Han and Rane, 2013; Gawenda, 2020).

### APAN

Membership is open to individuals and organisations that share its aims and goals: promoting peace and conflict resolution in Israel-Palestine within the framework of UN resolutions and international law and working with like-minded organisations in Australia and abroad (APAN, n.d.a; 2016; n.d.b). Executive Officer Jessica Morrison (personal communication, April 7, 2020) stated that APAN encouraged its members to help advance its aims and goals through petition campaigns, protests, vigils, and educational events. She added that APAN attracted people who were passionate about Palestinian human rights and justice.

### CONCLUSION

My research found that these four groups have primarily used ideological incentives to encourage their members and supporters to engage in activism and advocacy work. In short, these groups attract members who subscribe to their goals and values. These ideological incentives were accompanied by some material incentives such as their communications output, public gatherings, guest speaking engagements, and informational trips. While internal marketing research has largely focused on political parties, their concepts and frameworks are applicable to various other actors including advocacy groups.

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## ‘Informal Ruler’ and Parliamentary Elections in Georgia



Kakhaber Djakeli  
International Black Sea  
University  
Faculty of Business and  
Technologies  
[k.jakeli@rocketmail.com](mailto:k.jakeli@rocketmail.com)

On 31 October 2020 Georgia held its Parliamentary elections with a lot of interesting ideas, and some hopes. The country is assessed as a most democratic in the region, but some problems remained, are closed to the idea of ‘Informal Ruler’, which cannot really be proved or denied.

The idea of ‘Informal Ruler’ was born among opposition party members who proclaimed Mr. Bidzina Ivanishvili, a Russian made billionaire and businessman, Head of Governing Coalition – ‘Georgian Dream’ as an ‘Informal Ruler’ of his motherland, Georgia.

The philanthropy of Mr. Ivanishvili is well known. During last ten years, he sacrificed some part of his wealth for charity in and outside Georgia. In his native village he financed new roofs for houses, theatres, and some public historical buildings.

In 2012, Mr. Ivanishvili established a very strong opposition movement against President Mikhail Saakashvili and his National Movement. Finally, Mr. Ivanishvili won the Parliamentary Elections in 2012 and formed very strong governing coalition – ‘Georgian Dream’.

But what was achieved by this coalition over the last eight years? Among the advantages of the governing coalition were:

- Steady economic growth;
- Internal and external peace.

But the opposition claims that under the governing coalition:

- Economic growth was weakest in the region;
- External and internal peace was achieved through conformism with external rival Russia and internal rival corruption;
- All public organisations, ministries, and departments were working for Mr. Ivanishvili and not for his country.

Yes, the problem of ‘Informal Ruling’, is to be explained. For example, the country has a king. The King cannot be the informal, he or she is a formal ruler and the country is entitled as monarchy. If the King’s power is framed under the constitution, this is constitutional monarchy. But Mr. Ivanishvili was proclaimed by the opposition as an ‘Informal King’ who can do anything he wants.

That is why the Georgia Parliamentary Elections on 31 October 2020 were framed by the opposition as a war between the Brave Knight (the opposition) and a Big Dracon (Mr. Ivanishvili), his coalition, and his informal ruling style.

What is this in the language of marketing? The opposition knows well that market positioning has a vital role in the political market. That is why it positions itself as a Brave Knight attacking the Dracon. This is also part of marketing game. If the governing coalition is positioned in the minds of voters

as a Dracon, people finally will be on the side of light forces.

But positioning was not successfully made by the opposition during this campaign. To defend itself, the governing coalition, 'Georgian Dream', invited many political groups to participate in the election, to form alliances and be member of the Georgian Parliament.

This was a miracle, behind what, the formula of success was hidden. Some of the principles of this successful formula included:

- Chaos in the mind of voters,
- Wishful thinking among political subjects of Georgia, like "I want to be..." and "I will be a Member of the Parliament",
- Divide and rule,
- Big financial and administrative power of the governing coalition.

Finally, what happened? The largest number of political groups, parties, and coalitions participated in the 2020 Georgia Parliamentary Elections. Imagine, in the small country like Georgia, 60 political parties competed for membership in the Georgian Parliament.

The result was very dramatic. 'Georgian Dream' won the Parliamentary Elections once again, as outlined below.

- Ruling Coalition, Georgian Dream – 928,004 votes and 60 seats;
- Opposition, in the face of the United National Movement and some others – 523127 votes and 36 seats;
- European Georgia with 72,986 votes and 5 seats;
- Georgian Patriotic Alliance –60,480 votes and 4 seats;
- Lelo, newly born party what has interesting name, closed to Georgian national sport, very alike of Rugby – 60,712 votes and 4 seats;
- Political Party Girchy, with 55,598 votes and 4 seats;
- Political Union, strategy Agmashenebeli with 60,671 votes and 4 seats;
- Newly born political party- "citizens", with 25,508 votes and 2 seats;
- Georgian Labor Party, the old political organization, what surprisingly received only 19,314 votes and 1 seat.

The other 51 subjects in the political market did not win a seat.

The opposition, being angry, claimed that with governing coalition and its' 'Informal Ruler' came the same old problems. The 'Informal Ruler' is difficult to defeat. It is not formally visible. The question that comes to mind is about the style of the game. The 'Informal Ruler' tries to eliminate the political market. It looks like a political swamp, making political organisations sink. But it is not all tragic. The opposition decided not to enter Parliament. Boycotting the Parliament, the opposition claimed that the elections were not fair. That means that the political spring in Georgia will be hot.



## CALLS

The History of Political Marketing – Conference  
6 September 2021  
Call for Indications of Interest



Paula Keaveney  
Edge Hill University  
Department of Law and  
Criminology  
[keavenep@edgehill.ac.uk](mailto:keavenep@edgehill.ac.uk)

The Politics and History as well as the Political Marketing Special Interest Groups of the PSA invite proposals for papers for an event on the History of Political Marketing.

For our purposes, History can cover relatively recent events (for example the birth, operation and death of Change UK) as well as those in the more distant past and can approach either a set period of time or changes over a longer period. We are interested in material on any aspect of marketing. The list below is indicative only:

- Marketing communications material (such as leaflets and posters)
- Political “messaging” around particular key events, organisations or elections
- The use of graphics, imagery and music
- Attitudes to marketing within political parties
- Media relations
- Public Relations
- Histories of Political Communications
- Branding strategies

The one-day event, which we plan to operate on a hybrid basis, will take place on Monday 6 September 2021 at a University in or near Merseyside in North West England.

Brief proposals for papers should be sent to [Paula Keaveney](#), Convenor of the Political Marketing Group by June 25 2021.

Please let us know also if you would prefer to present virtually or whether you would prefer, and be able, to travel to the venue.

General queries should also be sent to [Paula Keaveney](#).

Research Handbook on the Internet and U.S. Politics  
July 2021  
Call for Chapter Proposals



Christine Williams  
Bentley University  
Professor of Government  
[cwilliams@bentley.edu](mailto:cwilliams@bentley.edu)

Chapter proposals are invited for a *Research Handbook on the Internet and U.S. Politics* solicited by Edward Elgar Publishing. Its scope is limited to the U.S. or U.S. in comparative perspective. Elgar *Handbooks* (<https://www.elgar.com/products/handbooks/>) provide a broad overview of research in a given field and create a forum for challenging, critical examination of complex and often under-explored issues within that field.

**SUGGESTED CHAPTER TOPICS  
INCLUDE**

- **ACTORS:** internet use by and or impact on candidates, parties, campaign organizations, consultants, issue advocacy groups, news media, voters, mass public
- **ACTIVITIES ONLINE:** such as campaign advertising, fundraising, political organizing, mobilizing voters
- **IMPACTS:** political engagement, information, candidate preference, vote choice, election outcomes

**PROPOSED TIMELINE**

- Submission of chapter manuscripts (typically 8,000-10,000 words) in July 2021.
- Blind review by September 2021.
- Revisions due January 2022.
- Publication in 7-8 months.

**PROPOSALS**

E-mail to Christine B. Williams at [cwilliams@bentley.edu](mailto:cwilliams@bentley.edu) by 16 April 2021; SUBJ: Handbook proposal

3 paragraphs that in brief, summary form give an overview of the three major sections of each chapter:

1. What we know- a review of the literature and major findings on the topic;
2. How we know and make sense of it- assessment of the data, methods and theoretical perspectives applied to the topic; and
3. What is next - an agenda for future research on the topic.



## Help Us Find Political Personas



Jared Wesley  
 University of Alberta  
 Department of Political Science  
[jwesley@ualberta.ca](mailto:jwesley@ualberta.ca)

From Margret Thatcher's 'Essexman,' to John Howard's 'Phil and Jenny' to John McCain's 'Joe the Plumber,' politicians have long used political personas to represent their conception of common, everyday people. So, too, have political strategists. Combining polling data with focus groups and other qualitative methods, Patrick Muttart guided the Conservative Party of Canada's policy and communications teams toward 'Rick and Brenda,' a suburban couple with a handful of kids, and away from 'Zoe,' a vegetarian living in downtown Toronto.

In these ways, political personas exist both as **rhetorical devices** and as tools of **voter**

**segmentation**. Yet, existing research is sparse.

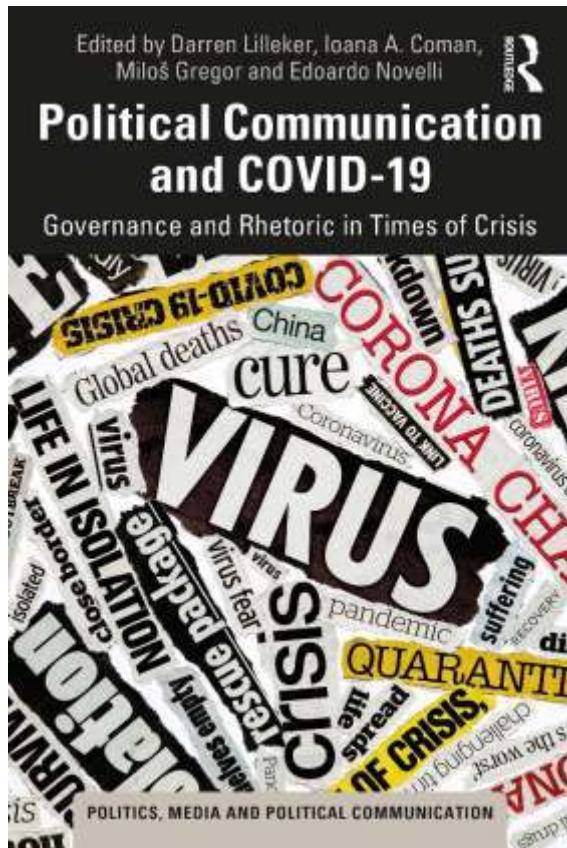
Our [Common Ground](#) research team aims to fill this gap by **identifying and understanding the use of political personas** from across a variety of jurisdictions. We need your help.

If you are aware of **popular political personas** in your part of the world, please share them with us. We are also seeking **any literature**. Book, chapters, journal articles, monographs, or biographies that discuss personas and their application to politics. Finally, if you know of any **political strategists** that use personas in their work, please let us know so we can follow up with them for an interview.

Messages can be sent to Dr. Jared Wesley from the University of Alberta ([jwesley@ualberta.ca](mailto:jwesley@ualberta.ca)).

## BOOKS, BOOK CHAPTERS, AND BOOK REVIEWS

### Political Communication and Covid-19: Governance and Rhetoric in Times of Crisis



**Editors:** Darren Lilleker, Ioana Coman, Miloš Gregor, and Edoardo Novelli

**Copyright:** 2021

**Release Date:** 19 March 2021

**Publisher:** Routledge

**ISBN:** 9780367636791

**Pages:** 372

**Link:** <https://www.routledge.com/Political-Communication-and-COVID-19-Governance-and-Rhetoric-in-Times-of-Lilleker-Coman-Gregor-Novelli/p/book/9780367636791>

#### DESCRIPTION

The COVID-19 pandemic was unprecedented and regardless of the stability of democratic institutions all governments faced the challenges of dealing with a severe but highly unpredictable threat to the lives of their citizens. Our study of 27 nations, as well as the WHO and EU, offer a timeline of the responses to the first wave of COVID-19 infections as it spread across the planet.

We study the government's communication, the flow of information across the media environment, actions within civic society, and map the measures implemented and communication to the numbers of cases and deaths. We reveal contrasting responses which reflect the politics of the nations, suggesting the handling of the pandemic was embedded in existing patterns in the style of political leadership.

Our analysis offers ten major over-arching findings:

- Many governments under-estimated the impact of the pandemic, claimed they were prepared, but none actually were. Hence, the rules for proper emergency communication in a pandemic weren't correctly adopted in any country.
- Democracies proved less efficient in reacting to Covid-19 than non-democratic and authoritarian regimes. Conflicts between different levels of authorities - national, regional, local - slowed down the ability to respond and to develop effective communication.
- International and supranational institutions showed themselves ill-equipped and overly bureaucratic to

- provide the advice and support national governments required.
- Most leaders kept control of primary decision-making and public communication without delegating these roles to experts.
  - Mass media were crucial for disseminating and reinforcing government messages, where contrasting messages circulated in media public trust in government declined.
  - Social Networks' role was overall positive, they were an essential tool for remote socialization, mitigating the effects of social distancing. While mis/disinformation circulated its impact was largely contained.
  - In countries not marred by political polarisation and serious structural inequity citizens tended to come together, rally around the flag and the support for their leaders increased.
  - U-turns, short-notice decision making, visible uncertainty and overblown claims were damaging to the credibility of governments.
  - Populist leaders adopted a denier stance towards Covid-19, politicisation of the pandemic lead to greater belief in misinformation and rejection of containment measures.
  - In all countries economic inequities were exposed, and the fragility of the living conditions of many impacted their likelihood of catching and dying from COVID-19; discrimination and marginalization were exacerbated during the pandemic.

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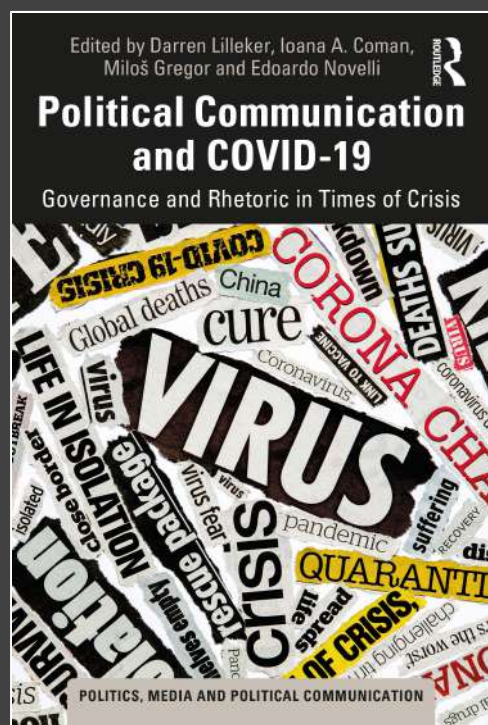
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March 2021: 234x156: 372pp

Hb: 978-0-367-63683-8 | £120.00

Pb: 978-0-367-63679-1 | £34.99

eBook: 978-1-003-12025-4

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**20% discount with this flyer**

## Political Communication and COVID-19

Governance and Rhetoric in Times of Crisis

Edited by **Darren Lilleker**, Bournemouth University, UK, **Ioana A. Coman**, Texas Tech University, USA, **Miloš Gregor**, Masaryk University, Czech Republic and **Edoardo Novelli**, University of Roma Tre, Italy

*Series: Politics, Media and Political Communication*

This edited collection compares and analyses the most prominent political communicative responses to the outbreak and global spread of the COVID-19 strain of coronavirus within 27 nations across five continents and two supranational organisations: the EU and the WHO. This book will be of great interest to students and researchers of politics, communication and public relations, specifically on courses and modules relating to current affairs, crisis communication and strategic communication, as well as practitioners working in the field of health crisis communication.

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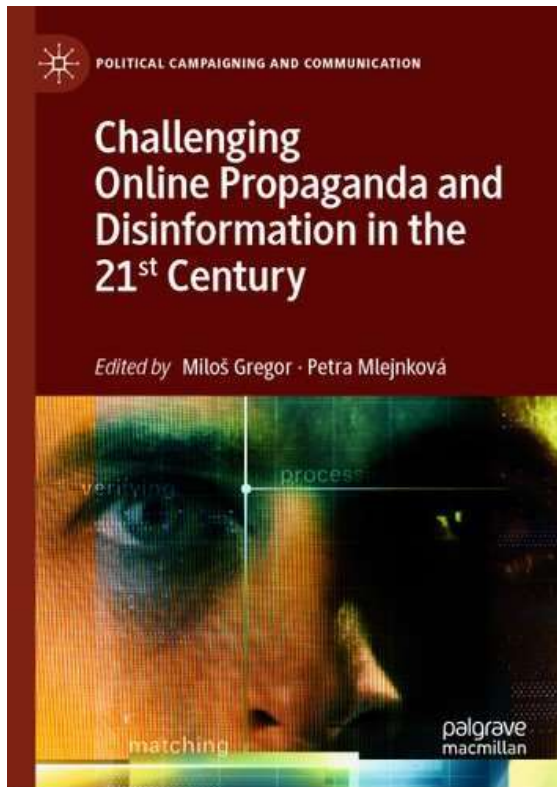
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*For more details, or to request a copy for review, please contact: Hannah Rich, Editorial Assistant, hannah.rich@tandf.co.uk*

## Challenging Online Propaganda and Disinformation in the 21st Century



**Editors:** Miloš Gregor & Petra Mlejnková  
**Publisher:** Palgrave Macmillan  
**Series:** Political Campaigning and Communication  
**Release Date:** Released  
**ISBN:** 978-3-030-58623-2  
**Pages:** 340  
**Website:**  
<https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783030586232#aboutBook>

### DESCRIPTION

Disinformation has recently become a salient issue, not just for researchers but for the media, politicians, and the general public as well. Changing circumstances are a challenge for system and societal resilience; disinformation is also a challenge for governments, civil society, and individuals. Thus, this book focuses on the post-truth era and the online environment, which has changed both the ways and forms in which

disinformation is presented and spread. The volume is dedicated to the complex processes of understanding the mechanisms and effects of online propaganda and disinformation, its detection and reactions to it in the European context. It focuses on questions and dilemmas from political science, security studies, IT, and law disciplines with the aim to protect society and build resilience against online propaganda and disinformation in the post-truth era.

The phenomena of online propaganda and disinformation are multidisciplinary and related to many issues and aspects. To ensure the integrity, the edited volume is focused on two main areas connected with changes related to media manipulation; this book, therefore, consists of two parts. The chapters in the first part are written with an emphasis on the changing information environment in the twenty-first century, which is connected with our evolution into an information-centric society. Authors describe the most significant changes as regards the technological development and evolution of social media, which have affected the information environment in terms of types of actors and the tools at their disposal. The shift has had an impact on the activities and strategies propagandists implement, all of which are underscored by the exploitation of existing cognitive (not only) vulnerabilities of addressees. The chapters bring a clear picture of what we are currently witnessing all around the world and what kind of societal, political, and security challenges we face.

The second part of the volume covers burning areas of technological, legal, institutional, and non-governmental (counter)measures. Authors provide readers



with case studies from the European region, all targeting societal, political, or security challenges. The only exception is a chapter focused on technological methods inasmuch as it does not make sense to limit the topic geographically since technological knowledge and methodological approaches are not affected by state borders. In other words, the chapters introduce how different state and non-state actors sharing democratic principles and with more or less similar geopolitical contexts might react to the issue of propaganda and disinformation. These case studies of measures and countermeasures are meant as an example of potential approaches and their discussion. It is also a reminder of the necessity to reflect upon regional contexts.

The edited volume ends with a concluding chapter which provides readers with a summary of the main points delivered in the volume together with an outline of further possible developments in the field. We suggest a society-centric approach as a way for democratic regimes to adapt, with emphasis on human and societal resilience (including the protection of networks) composed from the areas covered in this edited volume.

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## Book Review:

### The Politician Within Me: Theory of Cognitive Decision Making

Book by Seyed Hamid Hosseini | Published by Lambert Academic Publishing



Darren Lilleker  
Bournemouth University  
The Media School  
[dlilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:dlilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

The central claim of the work is that “in the field of social and political decision-making, a politician within our brain, independently from us, makes decisions and surprisingly gives us the hallucination that we have actually made that decision with rational reasoning and evidence”. The ‘politician within us, or within our brain’ is sadly not

fully conceptualised. However, implicitly one may perceive this as a series of functions which help the individual distil and synthesise information in order to arrive at a decision. The politician within is a composite of internal factors (values, ideology, culture, belief, hopes, fears) and responds to external factors (events, debates, communication) and drawing on the two sets of factors arrives as an understanding of who is the best candidate for political office.

The first chapter offers an overview of neural and cognitive science, contesting the wisdom that cognition can be rational and that humans have the ability to view the world in an objective and abstract way. This leads to a discussion of neuromarketing and its application to the world of politics. Neuromarketing focuses on using affective stimuli to manipulate consumers, determining how appeals elicit positive or negative emotional responses. The chapter offers a rich description of a number of key works in the political marketing field, reviewing the frameworks for understanding how political marketing is conceptualised. The link between neuromarketing and the practice of political marketing is developed in the third chapter. Holistically, in fusing ideas from political science, marketing and neuroscience the work develops a framework for analysing how people cognitively process the outputs of political marketing.

The result is a neuromarketing perspective of decision making within the context of politics. Decisions are grounded in an understanding of the dominant ideology of a

society and the structures of political institutions. This provides a framework for understanding the political context and the role of the citizen within the structures. Personal identity also plays a role, the ideology, efficacy and culture of the individual shapes their perspective of the context and so shapes their decision making. The performance of institutions, as well as that of political actors, can also have influence by speaking directly to the individual's sense of identity. Many of these interactions take place at a subconscious level. The individual citizen may not think hard about each new piece of information, but it may form an impression. Impressions in turn form cognitive associations. These then support decision making as the individual decides which politician is best placed to put the nation on a course which best matches that which is seen as most desirable; the course most consistent with the ideology, cultural values etc of the individual.

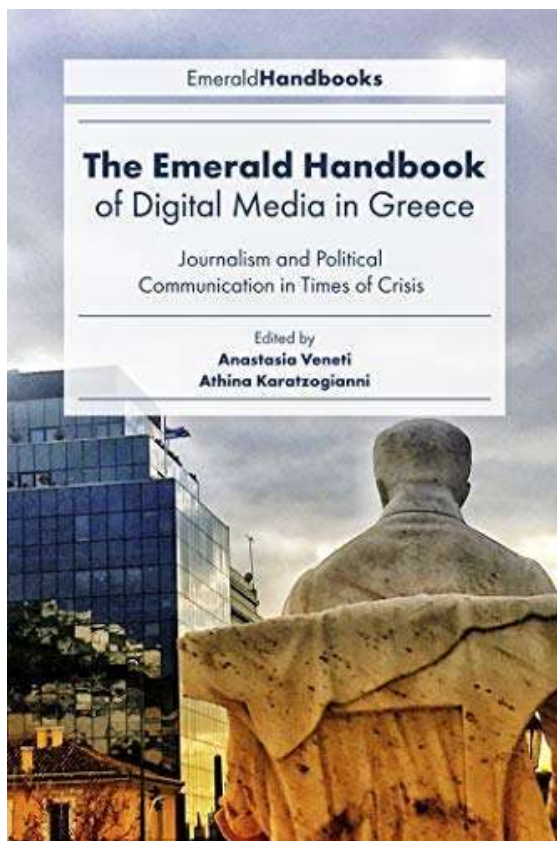
Overall, therefore, the work evidences a vast amount of reading from disparate but interconnected fields of research. While some of the broad findings are not new, the insights from neuroscience offer new directions for research. In particular, a question the work raises is how different parts of the brain are stimulated by the words or images of leaders, of specific actors, and the chain reaction between the firing of neurons in the brain and the end point: the political decision. Hence the work offers interesting new avenues of enquiry which can better inform the work of those involved in the study or practice of political marketing

Book Chapter:  
The Brand Has Left the Building: The Cases of Governing PASOK, ND and SYRIZA at a Time of Economic Crisis (2009–2019)



By Panos Koliastasis  
National & Kapodistrian  
University of Athens  
Faculty of Political Science  
and Public Administration  
[pkoliastasis@gmail.com](mailto:pkoliastasis@gmail.com)

Chapter 16 in A. Veneti and A. Karatzogianni (eds.), *The Emerald Handbook of Digital Media in Greece (Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy And Culture In Network Communication)*, Emerald Publishing Limited, pp. 245-258.



Website:

<https://www.emerald.com/insight/publication/doi/10.1108/9781839824005>

#### ABSTRACT

From a relational political brand perspective, newly elected governments are primarily concerned with maintaining the trust of the electoral coalition that brought them in office in order to secure their re-election. Hence, as Needham (2005) has suggested, governing parties tend to employ a political communication strategy aimed at promoting an effective brand consisted of six components: simplicity, uniqueness, reassurance, aspiration, values and credibility. In this context, this study examines the communication strategies of three Greek governments (PASOK, New Democracy and SYRIZA) in the period 2009–2019 that failed to be re-elected once they implemented the bail-out packages, against the six branding criteria. Following a qualitative methodological approach, this chapter analyses the key speeches of the respective prime ministers along with polling evidence and secondary data. It argues that all these three governments failed to be re-elected once they implemented the memoranda, not only because of the unpopular nature of the austerity measures but also because of their failure to fully retain their political brands in office since they hardly succeed to deliver on their promises, though it is unclear whether they employed self-consciously such a branding strategy.

## Palgrave Studies in Political Marketing and Management Book Series



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Paula Keaveney

Edge Hill University, Department of Law and Criminology

[paula.keaveney@edgehill.ac.uk](mailto:paula.keaveney@edgehill.ac.uk)

Role: Overall coordinator and liaison with the UK PSA



### VICE-CHAIR (INTERNATIONAL)

Vincent Raynauld

Emerson College, Department of Communication Studies

[vincent\\_raynauld@emerson.edu](mailto:vincent_raynauld@emerson.edu)

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



### TREASURER

Robert Busby

Liverpool Hope University, Politics

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

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](mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz)

Role: Maintain 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

University of Auckland

[edward.elder@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:edward.elder@auckland.ac.nz)

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



**TWITTER MANAGER**

Kenneth Cosgrove  
Suffolk University, Department of Government  
[kcosgrove@suffolk.edu](mailto:kcosgrove@suffolk.edu)

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

**EVENT COORDINATOR**

Peter Reeves  
University of Salford, Salford Business School  
[P.Reeves@salford.ac.uk](mailto:P.Reeves@salford.ac.uk)

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

**RESOURCES OFFICER**

Mitra Naeimi  
Universidad de Navarra  
[mnaeimi@alumni.unav.es](mailto:mnaeimi@alumni.unav.es)

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

**PRACTITIONER LIAISONS**

Paul Wilson  
Carleton University, Political Management  
[paul.wilson@carleton.ca](mailto:paul.wilson@carleton.ca)

Anna Shavit  
Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences  
[anna.shavit@fsv.cuni.cz](mailto:anna.shavit@fsv.cuni.cz)



Travis McDonald  
University of Auckland, New Zealand  
[travis.mcdonald88@gmail.com](mailto:travis.mcdonald88@gmail.com)

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.

## COUNTRY COORDINATORS

COUNTRY	NAME	INSTITUTION	CONTACT
Angola	Edger Leandro Avelino		<a href="mailto:edgarleandro0505@gmail.com">edgarleandro0505@gmail.com</a>
Bangladesh	Hasan Mahmud		<a href="mailto:h.mahmud.mkt@gmail.com">h.mahmud.mkt@gmail.com</a>
Czech Republic	Anna Matsukova	MU	<a href="mailto:amatuskova@gmail.com">amatuskova@gmail.com</a>
Denmark	Sigge Winther Nielsen		<a href="mailto:sigge_winther@yahoo.dk">sigge_winther@yahoo.dk</a>
Egypt	Niveen Ezzat	Cairo University	<a href="mailto:niveenezzat2003@yahoo.com">niveenezzat2003@yahoo.com</a>
France	Vincent Rodriguez		<a href="mailto:rochebrun.associates@gmail.com">rochebrun.associates@gmail.com</a>
Georgia	Kakhaber Djakeli		<a href="mailto:k.jakeli@rocketmail.com">k.jakeli@rocketmail.com</a>
Ghana	Kobby Mensah		<a href="mailto:kobby_mensah@yahoo.com">kobby_mensah@yahoo.com</a>
Greece	Iordanis Kotzaivazoglou		<a href="mailto:ikotza@jour.auth.gr">ikotza@jour.auth.gr</a>
India	Chandra Sekhar	Indian Institute of Management	<a href="mailto:sekharj4u@gmail.com">sekharj4u@gmail.com</a>
Indonesia	FirmanzahFiz	University of Indonesia	<a href="mailto:fizfirmanzah@yahoo.com">fizfirmanzah@yahoo.com</a>
Iran	Mitra Naeimi	University of Navarra.	<a href="mailto:mnaeimi@alumni.unav.es">mnaeimi@alumni.unav.es</a>
Japan	Bryce Wakefield	Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars	<a href="mailto:Bryce.Wakefield@wilsoncentre.org">Bryce.Wakefield@wilsoncentre.org</a>
Kenya	Bozo Jenje		<a href="mailto:bozojenje@yahoo.com">bozojenje@yahoo.com</a>
Macedonia	Gordica Karanfilovska		
Malaysia	Khairiah Salwa- Mokhtar	USM	<a href="mailto:khairiah@usm.my">khairiah@usm.my</a>
Mexico	Omar Chavez		<a href="mailto:togua@yahoo.com">togua@yahoo.com</a>

New Zealand/ Australia	Jennifer Lees- Marshment	University of Auckland	<a href="mailto:j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz">j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz</a>
Pakistan	Aman Abid	National University of Computer and Emerging Sciences	<a href="mailto:aman.abid@nu.edu.pk">aman.abid@nu.edu.pk</a>
Peru	Victor Carrera		<a href="mailto:vcarrerat@yahoo.com">vcarrerat@yahoo.com</a>
Poland	Marek Sempach	University of Lodz	<a href="mailto:sempach@uni.lodz.pl">sempach@uni.lodz.pl</a>
Romania	Iulia Huiu & Dan Mihalache Dimtrie Cantemir	University in Romania	<a href="mailto:iulia.huiu@public-affairs.ro">iulia.huiu@public-affairs.ro</a>
Spain	Juan Ignacio Marcos Lekuona		<a href="mailto:marcoslekuona@gmail.com">marcoslekuona@gmail.com</a>
Sweden	Jesper Stromback	Mid Sweden University	<a href="mailto:Jesper@jesperstromback.com">Jesper@jesperstromback.com</a>
Taiwan	Norman Peng		<a href="mailto:N.Peng@mdx.ac.uk">N.Peng@mdx.ac.uk</a>
Turkey	Mehmet Can		<a href="mailto:Can.demirtas@deu.edu.tr">Can.demirtas@deu.edu.tr</a>
USA	Ken Cosgrove	Suffolk University	<a href="mailto:kcosgrov@suffolk.edu">kcosgrov@suffolk.edu</a>

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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 March, June, September) please send it to Edward Elder at [edward.elder@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:edward.elder@auckland.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 June 2021.**

EDITED BY EDWARD ELDER