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What Makes A Successful Campaign?

Part of the R&D Decade project

What Makes A Successful Campaign?

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Executive Summary

This review explores the current literature on campaigning in order to answer two questions which are central to running any effective campaign:

1. How to craft a message

To craft a successful message, a campaign should start by **undertaking research** and assessing public opinion on the issue. This can be done through: polling, focus groups and researching communities on social media and blogs (social listening). Opinion research allows campaigners to understand baseline opinion on the issues that concern them, look for specific groups who may be open to changing their views, and identify messages which have potential impact.

This understanding of opinion should be used to **develop the message**. We demonstrate how research from behavioural science can inform this, giving ideas on how to ensure cut-through and intended impact.

The way campaigns frame their message has a significant effect on how it is received. We show that people are loss averse, biased towards the status quo, and are hard to nudge from their current opinions. This review finds that individuals respond better to frequency presentations of statistics e.g. “1 in 100” and are susceptible to ignoring the scale of large numbers. Campaigners must recognise the context in which their message will be heard – other opinions on the issue may dictate whether the campaign is seen as a sensible compromise, or unattainable.

Campaigners must **be aware of temporal influence**; our research shows that people are less incentivised by rewards for actions that

are in the distant future. People think about the future in a more abstract way – they tend to worry more about the ‘why’ rather than the ‘how.’

Finally, campaigners must **consider the impact of emotional appeals**. We find that positive emotion is best used by creating and maintaining a stable and appealing ‘brand’ image over the long-term, while rational messaging can excel at short-term activation (e.g. driving awareness or sales). Fear-centric messaging can be used to generate information-seeking behaviour, and anger can be used as a mobiliser to action. Negative campaigns in which the ‘attack line’ is perceived as fair and informative can be highly effective in campaigns against the status quo, but too much negativity can result in backlash.

2. How to deliver a message

Targeting the message to specific audiences is important – while it is best to target based on the opinions held by different groups of people (e.g. targeting those who believe Research and Development is important), demographic targeting is still useful as a proxy (i.e. if those people who believe Research and Development is important tend to be living in cities, then city-based targeting may be appropriate).

After targeting the appropriate audience, it is vital to **choose an effective medium** for message delivery – social media is useful for granular targeting, and traditional media for general awareness and influencing mass opinion.

Building diverse coalitions can create a broader pool of resources and build reach. But coalitions are a vehicle not a tool, they must actively seek to influence policy and draw on their members’ resources to lobby or raise public awareness. For a coalition to be successful it needs the ability to: lead and organise its stakeholders; adapt to changes; manage resources efficiently; and have the technical capacity to implement the necessary functions

Using influencers and high-profile celebrities can help spread your message rapidly to large social networks, however these spokespeople can have negative effects on the campaign if they are not viewed favourably by the audience, or seen as unrelated to the cause.

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Introduction

A well-thought-out campaign can have profound political, social and economic impacts. Behind most major changes – whether in consumer habits, public belief, or government action – is a well-crafted campaign. Despite this, there have been few attempts to review best practice and to incorporate insights from across the different elements of campaigning, such as politics, advertising, and marketing into a single review of what works.

To close this gap, we explore current literature on campaigning, focusing on:

1. **How to craft a message**
2. **How to deliver a message**

Here the definition of ‘message’ is taken quite broadly - this may well be visual marketing material, a campaign slogan, or even constituency level data to be given to MPs. Every campaign must be tailor-made for maximum efficiency, and for the purposes of this review we have maintained an abstract interpretation of campaigning in order to cover more ground. Campaigns which work well in some areas (for example, product marketing) may be entirely inappropriate in a different context. However, a wider scope allows us to shine light on the range of possible approaches campaigns can take. Where relevant, we will apply these approaches specifically to the context of campaigning for R&D investment.

Based on our literature review, we explain three key steps to the development of a campaign, once its aims and goals have been decided:

1. **Decide the campaign aims and goals.**
2. **Research the message of the campaign.** Run opinion research to understand the current context, identify the target audience, and determine the most effective type of message. We detail the roles of both quantitative and qualitative opinion research in this process.
3. **Develop the message.** This could be in the form of a visual medium, an argument, a slogan, or a broad schema of appropriate language for campaigners to use. It should take account of human psychology, including existing biases, the role of emotion, and the timeframe of the campaign.

4. **Deliver the message.** This should occur through the media channels deemed appropriate by a combination of the opinion research and the nature of the message. We detail the relative advantages of both social media (targeting) and traditional media (awareness increase) below.

In planning each step, campaigners must incorporate both long- and short-term strategies. How can support be gathered quickly in the short-term, but also translated into more durable emotional commitments? That consideration will help produce a 'successful' campaign - one that achieves its aims, either through opinion change, increased awareness or simply appearing in the media regularly. While there is no 'silver bullet', we hope to highlight some of the pitfalls of campaigning and showcase which techniques work best to shape public opinion and when to deploy them.

Section 1:

Crafting a Message

Creating a clear and persuasive message is the most important thing for a campaign to succeed. A message is the foundation of practically everything that the campaign does in the public arena. The right message runs through advertising, soundbites for the media, speeches, articles and beyond.

In the field of political consultancy, two campaigns are legendary for their compelling messages: Bill Clinton's 1992 Presidential campaign; and his 1996 re-election campaign. In May Matalin and James Carville's *All's Fair*¹ they discuss their message crafting process: three simple messages – on change, the economy and healthcare – framed the overall contest in a way that gave Clinton a competitive advantage, but which also targeted their opponents on issues where they were vulnerable.

Beyond politics, the importance of the correct message is also fundamental in the world of advertising. Take for instance Pepsi's advert featuring Kendall Jenner in which the drink was shown to bring people together at a protest. Striding into the divisive world of political protest, Pepsi claimed to be 'trying to project a global message of unity, peace and understanding'.² The actual result was Pepsi pulling the advert after disastrous media coverage, and highly negative social media response. The video received five times as many dislikes as likes before removal,³ and Bernice King (daughter of Martin Luther King Jr.) tweeted "if only Daddy would have known about the power of Pepsi".⁴

In the following sections, we examine the literature on how to produce the correct message for a campaign. First, we look at best practice for researching the message, including:

1. Polling
2. Focus groups
3. Social listening
4. Who gets left out of opinion research?

1 Matalin, M., Carville, J., & Knobler, P. (1994) *All's Fair: Love, War, and Running for President*. Touchstone.

2 Batchelor, T. & Hooton, C. (2017) Pepsi advert with Kendall Jenner pulled after huge backlash. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/news/pepsi-advert-pulled-kendall-jenner-protest-video-cancelled-removed-a7668986.html>

3 Watercutter, A. (2017) Pepsi's Kendall Jenner Ad Was So Awful It Did the Impossible: It United the Internet. Retrieved from <https://www.wired.com/2017/04/pepsi-ad-internet-response/>

4 <https://twitter.com/berniceking/status/849656699464056832?lang=en>

We then examine best practice for **developing the message**, including:

1. The Two-Systems theory, and its uses
2. Framing effects
3. Using statistics
4. Understanding the influence of time
5. Emotional messaging
 - a. Using positive emotions
 - b. Using negative emotions
6. Positive vs. negative campaign approach

1.1

Researching the Message

Key Points

- There are three main ways to assess public opinion on an issue: polling, focus groups and social listening, each of which have their own merits.
- Opinion research allows campaigners to baseline public opinion on an issue, look for specific groups who may be open to changing their views, and identify messages which have the potential to do so.

Polling

Polling is typically carried out online, normally by distributing questionnaires to a preselected panel, although occasionally members of the public are chosen at random. Samples are designed to be representative by incorporating people from all demographic groups. The ramifications of not incorporating this spread in respondents are represented by the 1936 Literary Digest poll, which despite a sample size of 2.3 million, incorrectly predicted the results of the US election by a vast amount (predicting a victory for Landon over Roosevelt), largely because they had surveyed their own (far wealthier) readers.⁵

On another presidential campaign, Richard Nixon's team reviewed polling data on policy, and the relative importance of policy areas, to shape his public statements. Research suggests that the Nixon team used public opinion to develop their campaign's appeal to centrist swing voters on key issues, and used less important policy areas to cement the support of Nixon's existing base.⁶

Polling can highlight different views based on demographics, giving an indication of where and with whom political positions or specific products are popular. This allows for more effective targeting, either

5 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (1936) Straw Vote Fight Arouses Interest: Literary Digest and American Institute are Fare Apart in Pre-election Forecast - Roosevelt, Landon Both Get Around 56 Per Cent. Retrieved from <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=fkYbAAAAIBAJ&sjid=IU8EAAAIBAJ&pg=2555,806060&dq=literary-digest&hl=en>

6 Druckman, J. & Jacobs, L. (2006). Lumpers and Splitters: The Public Opinion Information That Politicians Collect and Use. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 70, 453-476.

at a broad (e.g. the North East) or micro- (e.g. young women in a specific constituency in the North East) level. If a message is going to resonate it needs some elements of this personalisation; later in this report, we will look at segmentation and micro-targeting.

Polling also allows for analysis of the interaction between apparently unrelated viewpoints, which can reveal surprising findings. For instance, one study identified links between economic attitudes and prejudice towards Chinese people among a sample of US workers.⁷ These sorts of findings allow campaigners to capitalise on unexpected links to hone their messaging or delivery. In this instance for example, a social-cohesion campaign could make use of economic arguments for the benefits for immigration, targeted at working Americans.

One relatively new methodology gaining in popularity (certainly in light of its performance in predicting the 2017 UK election outcome)⁸ is Multilevel Regression and Poststratification (MRP).⁹ This allows for the estimation of opinion at a hyper-localised level, like constituencies. MRP has also been shown to be a good way to overcome non-representative data - some researchers were able to perform relatively accurate predictions of the 2012 US election with survey data collected through an Xbox-distributed survey.¹⁰ While MRP is not currently widely used beyond elections, the possibilities for highly regionally sensitive campaign messaging are high, particularly given the options provided by online advertising for postcode-targeted ads and messages.

Focus groups

Focus groups and interviews are also key for the first stages of campaign development. Qualitative research approaches like this refrain from testing formulated hypotheses, instead shaping them through the research process.¹¹ The conversational nature of focus groups means it can be easier to understand an individual's choice or opinion. For example, a focus group on drug perception in Denmark was able to reveal the limited knowledge of drugs and revealed a divergence in perceived naturalness of cocaine and cannabis despite being both derived from plants.¹²

7 Silver, L.R. (2015) Pocketbook Prejudice? Exploring Economic Determinants of Prejudice Toward Chinese, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 27(1), 71–89.

8 YouGov (2017) How YouGov's election model compares with the final result. Retrieved from <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/06/09/how-yougovs-election-model-compares-final-result>

9 For discussion, see Hanretty, C., Lauderdale, B. E., & Vivyan, N. (2018). Comparing strategies for estimating constituency opinion from national survey samples. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 6(3), 571-591.

10 Gelman, A., Goel, S., Rothschild, D., & Wang, W. (2016). High-frequency polling with non-representative data. In *Political Communication in Real Time* (pp. 117-133). Routledge.

11 Barbour, R. (2007). *Qualitative Research kit: Doing focus groups*. London, SAGE Publications Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781849208956

12 Demant, J. & Ravn, S. (2010) Identifying drug risk perceptions in Danish youths: Ranking exercises in focus groups. *Drugs: Education, Prevention, and Policy*, 17, 528-543.

Focus groups can help to study socially marginalised groups, and when there is a significant demographic difference between the campaigner and target audience. The American Centres for Disease Control and Prevention created a tobacco counter-advertising campaign with the message “You get an image, they get an addict” to dissuade young people from taking up smoking. However, when initially testing it through interviews, they found that teenagers were not responsive to this advert and that 38% of those who viewed the adverts thought they were trying to promote smoking.¹³ As a result, the campaign was redirected to better suit the audience.

Social listening

Both online polling (particularly when recruitment is done through non-probability panels) and focus groups have the issue of self-selection of respondents.¹⁴ This can result in obvious bias, where those who are without internet access are excluded, or more subtle biases, such as those who are less politically engaged not being represented. One way to minimise this is with ‘social listening’.

Given the wealth of publicly available data online through social media sites, it is possible for researchers to effectively assess public opinion without ever having to ask a question. This can be performed in a qualitative way; engaging with the comment sections of relevant bloggers, sometimes even participating, to understand what it is that people perceive to be the main issues in a given area. It can also be performed in a quantitative fashion, monitoring social media posts with keywords and assessing whether the content is positive or negative, or with algorithms designed to calculate sentiment and perform language analysis.

Sentiment analysis tools are mixed in their utility but making use of huge sources of public data to assess the campaign playing field has proven useful. Large scale analysis of tweets after the VW emission crisis revealed conversation around German culture, values and the nation’s ‘brand’,¹⁵ demonstrating the utility in developing a narrative response to campaign crisis.¹⁶ Further, social media data allows for demographic breakdowns much in the same way as polling does, which was demonstrated by researchers who were able to show trends in opinion on climate change from Twitter.¹⁷

13 McKenna, J.W., Williams, K.N. (1993) Crafting effective tobacco counteradvertisements: lessons from a failed campaign directed at teenagers, *Public Health Reports*, 108(1), 85-89.

14 Prosser, C., & Mellon, J. (2018). The Twilight of the Polls? A Review of Trends in Polling Accuracy and the Causes of Polling Misses. *Government and Opposition*, 53(4), 757-790. doi:10.1017/gov.2018.7

15 Whytas, K. J. (2016). Impact of a Brand Crisis on Nation Branding: An Analysis of Tweets about VW's Emissions Crisis.

16 Young, C., Simmons, H., & Stewart, M. (2019). Social listening during crises: A practitioner guide for crisis communication on social media.

17 Pathak, N., Henry, M. J., & Volkova, S. (2017, March). Understanding Social Media's Take on Climate Change through Large-Scale Analysis of Targeted Opinions and Emotions. In 2017 AAAI Spring Symposium Series.

Despite showing promise, social listening is not yet widely used and many researchers prefer to use traditional methods.

Who gets left out of opinion research?

Opinion research is affected by the fact that certain people systematically under-report their opinions. People who are anxious and have low self-esteem are more likely to self-censor and hide their true opinions on topics.¹⁸ There is also a small, but statistically significant correlation between people being more willing to share an opinion if they believe that others hold that opinion¹⁹ which means unpopular or low-status opinions are harder to find. Equally, people will often offer opinions on subjects which they do not know or care about.^{20,21} People who do not have firm opinions on a subject will skew the information an opinion researcher receives. Polling people on foreign policy while it is of low interest does not reveal very much about what people will think when foreign policy stances become an immediate concern such as during times of war.²²



Overcoming these issues requires careful questionnaire design. In the case of R&D, definitions must be made clear, and screening out individuals who say they are disinterested or uninformed in the area may help increase the quality of data. Asking people whether they have an opinion on a subject will receive a much higher proportion of responses (and presumably pseudo-opinions) than asking people whether they are interested in a subject or have read about it. The more abstract and remote the issue, the greater this effect will be²³ and the more likely that the issue will be unfamiliar to most of the people polled. With R&D, this abstractness and remoteness is likely to be an issue, and extra care should be taken to ensure the public understand the key terms being used.



18 Hayes, A. F., Glynn, C. J., & Shanahan, J. (2005). Willingness to self-censor: A construct and measurement tool for public opinion research. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 17(3), 298-323.

19 Glynn, C. J., Hayes, A. F., & Shanahan, J. (1997). Perceived Support for One's Opinions and Willingness to Speak Out: A Meta-Analysis of Survey Studies on the "Spiral of Silence". *Public opinion quarterly*, 452-463.

20 Payne, S. L. (1951) *The Art of Asking Questions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

21 Bishop, G. F., Oldendick, R. W., Tuchfarber, A. J., & Bennett, S. E. (1980) Pseudo-opinions on public affairs. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44(2), 198-209.

22 Caspary, W. R. (1970). The "Mood Theory": a study of public opinion and foreign policy. *American Political Science Review*, 64(2), 536-547.

23 Bishop, G. F., Oldendick, R. W., & Tuchfarber, A. J. (1983) Effects of filter questions in public opinion surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47(4), 528-546.

1.2

Developing the Message

Key Points

- The framing of a message is as important as its content, and campaigners must pay attention to the literature on how to avoid people's biases altering how messages are perceived.
- People are loss averse, biased towards the status quo, and are hard to nudge from their current opinions.
- People respond better to frequency presentations of statistics e.g. "1 in 100" and are susceptible to ignoring the scale of large numbers.
- Campaigners must recognise the context in which their message will be heard – other opinions on the issue may dictate whether the campaign is seen as a sensible compromise, or unattainable.
- Emotional appeals can be powerful - positive emotion is best used by creating and maintaining a stable and appealing 'brand' image over the long-term, while rational messaging can excel at short-term activation (e.g. driving awareness or sales).

While opinion research methods can help campaigners understand which messages will resonate, these messages must be developed with an understanding of human psychology. Messages are designed to persuade some members of the public or increase awareness, and it is important to understand how to be persuasive and memorable. Here we will consider findings from behavioural economics and research into judgement and decision making, to understand the link between message-development and cognitive science.

Two-Systems

Daniel Kahneman's suggestion that individuals have two dichotomous modes of thought, popularised through his book 'Thinking, Fast and Slow', has dominated the field of neuromarketing in the last decade.²⁴ Dual-systems have long been promoted in behavioural science literature, however Kahneman's work brought them into the marketing world. His model is that individuals have a 'System 1' which is instinctive and emotional, and 'System 2' which is deliberative and logical. System 1 and System 2 are 'fictitious characters', and there is

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²⁴ Kahneman D. (2011) *Thinking Fast and Slow*. Penguin Books Ltd.

'no part of the brain that either of the systems would call home'.²⁵ The purposes of these 'characters' was simply to point out how heuristic-driven behaviour and reasoned-out cognition both play a role in determining people's judgements.

Previously in vogue was the 'iceberg' metaphor - statements like '95% of the information people use to make decisions is unconscious' or 'subconscious'; these have been largely debunked. The dual-system approach offered marketers a new avenue to incorporate neuroscience into their practice.

The biases which emerge from heuristic-based decision making can be used to inform campaign decisions. Several biases have been highlighted in literature, and discussion will be limited to those relevant to message development.

Framing effects

Key Points

- The way in which a message is framed can have huge effects on how it is received.
- People are loss averse – they will be more sensitive to arguments about potential losses of a decision than arguments about potential gains.
- People are biased towards the status quo, and are hard to nudge from their current opinions; campaigners should be aware of the uphill battle that awaits opinion-change messages.
- Campaigners must recognise the context in which their message will fall – the other messages around may dictate whether the campaign is seen as a sensible compromise, or unattainable.

Heuristics are especially helpful in deciding how to frame a situation. Important information can be presented in many ways, without changing the facts and this can have a huge effect on people's opinions of the facts.

Take as a first example the case of loss aversion. People are typically considered to be loss averse. When working out the perceived value of £100 gained compared to £100 lost, people would tend to place much more value on the money which they are losing. When people were given a mug and then asked how much they would sell

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²⁵ Ibid.

it for, the average value they placed on the mug was substantially higher than those who were asked to choose between the mug and amounts of money (sometimes referred to as the *Endowment Effect*).²⁶ As such people are likely to be more concerned by information on the losses of inaction than the gains of action. For instance, campaigning for reduced emissions with a focus on the personal sacrifices people will have to make versus the personal benefits that could be gained is likely to be less successful than one focused on the damage to personal and family health of not acting.

To give a real world example, in the 2019 UK General Election, Labour framed their policies in terms of gains like free broadband, while the Conservatives responded to those policies by pointing the costs to voters on their tax bill (with the website *costofcorbyn*,²⁷ or the media splash about the costs being £1.2 trillion).²⁸ On the opposite side, Labour often framed Conservative pledges in terms of non-delivery rather than loss – undermining the amount of gains people would receive rather than framing it as a loss. Labour were also arguing for an alteration to the status quo. This is more difficult to achieve, though not impossible, as the Vote Leave campaign successfully framed the status-quo in a loss-sensitive way (“we give £350 million to the EU every week”) in the 2016 EU Referendum.

Understanding ‘status quo bias’, is important to developing a good campaign message. When individuals were told they had inherited a stock portfolio, they would more often choose to maintain the current investments of the portfolio rather than reinvest. This group ended up with entirely different investments to a second group who were simply told they had inherited money and could invest it how they pleased (with the first group preferring to maintain the status quo).²⁹ Key to this is the role of complexity; if a change is complicated, at least in its expression, then the chances are there will be more of a status quo bias.³⁰ Certainly, this should be considered when crafting a message which intends to inspire people to change or seek change.

Bias towards the status quo is also seen when challenging an individual’s existing beliefs. Individuals have consistently been found to seek out or interpret information in a way that confirms their

26 Kahneman, D., Knetsch, J. L., & Thaler, R. H. (1990). Experimental tests of the endowment effect and the Coase theorem. *Journal of political Economy*, 98(6), 1325-1348.

27 Cost of Corbyn: Higher taxes for the many not the few. Available at <https://www.costofcorbyn.com/>

28 ITV News (2019) Tories claim Labour’s ‘reckless’ election policies would cost £1.2 trillion over five years. Retrieved from <https://www.itv.com/news/2019-11-09/tories-claim-labours-election-policies-would-cost-1-2-trillion-over-five-years/>


29 Samuelson, W., & Zeckhauser, R. (1988) Status quo bias in decision making. *Journal of risk and uncertainty*, 1(1), 7-59.

30 Boxall, P., Adamowicz, W. L., & Moon, A. (2009) Complexity in choice experiments: choice of the status quo alternative and implications for welfare measurement. *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 53(4), 503-519.

pre-existing beliefs ('Confirmation Bias').³¹ Campaigns which seek to change people's views have an uphill battle, but can consider presenting their argument in a novel way so as to make it unclear how it conflicts with prior beliefs. If the population at large believes fracking to be bad for the environment, perhaps a pro-fracking campaign should drop the name 'fracking' or shift the focus from the environment to jobs. Confirmation bias once again shows the fundamental importance of opinion research. It is far easier to identify people who are undecided on an issue and to influence them, than it is to shift those with set beliefs on an issue.

In framing a message, it is important to recognise context and alternative offers. Sometimes irrelevant information can entirely change someone's decision. When individuals were asked to choose between two properties, one closer to town but run-down, one further away but in good condition, people were split 50/50. However, when a third option was added, right in the centre of town and in a terrible condition, 66% of the participants now chose the closer to town option. This effect was observed even if they were told the town-centre property was unavailable.³² This was termed the 'compromise effect' and is highly relevant to those seeking to change consumer behaviour.



 In the context of R&D, presenting information on the status quo in a way which implicates loss aversion could be fruitful; perhaps by talking about how potential new breakthroughs are being missed. Understanding how the message fits into other campaigns around spending is important. Public perception of any investment ask for R&D may largely depend on its relative size when compared to spending on other issues such as defence or welfare.



31 Nickerson, R. S. (1998) Confirmation bias: A ubiquitous phenomenon in many guises. *Review of general psychology*, 2(2), 175-220.

32 Simonson, I. (1989) Choice based on reasons: The case of attraction and compromise effects. *Journal of consumer research*, 16(2), 158-174.

Using statistics

Key Points

- Various measures should be taken to make statistics clear to people (e.g. visual data, frequency presentations).
- Big numbers are often just big numbers, and the size of the number without context will not lead to significant differences in response.
- Public opinion can be a powerful tool, and people often align their support with the perceived majority position.

Many campaigns use statistics to further a position or prove a point. Couple this with the chronic misinterpretation of statistics, the methods which can be used to artificially inflate or deflate them and the potential for cherry picking and it's no wonder you end up with the ironic statement that '73.6% of statistics are made up on the spot'. Understanding how to properly use statistics in a campaign is a salient element of campaign success.

Say you have a new treatment, which reduces the number of people who die from a disease from 10% to 5%. This could be presented as a risk reduction of 50%, or an absolute reduction of 5 percentage points, or from 10 people in every 100 to 5 people in every 100. All present the same statistical fact but generate vastly different interpretations of the information. A systematic review of approaches to express medical risk reduction proposes that emphasising absolute risks and graphical displays of information is the best approach.³³ Frequency approaches (e.g. 1 in 100) have also been shown to have some success. Research by Gigerenzer and Hoffrage identified frequency formats as a key way to eradicate statistical error.³⁴ Applying this approach to DNA testimony has been shown to reduce guilty verdicts among jurors and law students.³⁵ However, these frequency formats create other issues. For one, individuals are equally open to confusion with numbers presented in this manner, for example individuals have rated cancer at higher risk when it killed '1,286 out of 10,000' compared to '24.14 out of 100'.³⁶

33 Edwards, A., Elwyn, G., & Mulley, A. (2002). Explaining risks: turning numerical data into meaningful pictures. *Bmj*, 324(7341), 827-830.

34 Gigerenzer, G., & Hoffrage, U. (1995). How to improve Bayesian reasoning without instruction: frequency formats. *Psychological review*, 102(4), 684.

35 Lindsey, S., Hertwig, R., & Gigerenzer, G. (2002). Communicating statistical DNA evidence. *Jurimetrics*, 43, 147.

36 Yamagishi, K. (1997). When a 12.86% mortality is more dangerous than 24.14%: Implications for risk communication. *Applied Cognitive Psychology: The Official Journal of the Society for Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 11(6), 495-506.

A final consideration is that sometimes numbers lose their impact. We do not mean that they are ignored, but that their magnitude may have little influence over an individual's decisions. Research shows, for example, that the amount individuals would pay to save one person was about \$7.95 but to save 10,000 was \$161.30 (not \$79,500).³⁷ Even this perhaps overestimates how sensitive people are to number changes; when individuals were shown them separately, they were willing to pay \$80, \$78 and \$88 for schemes respectively saving 2,000, 20,000 and 200,000 birds.³⁸ Effectively, it appears that big numbers are just big numbers without context - as Stalin (apocryphally) said: "a single death is a tragedy; a million deaths is a statistic." Whether a policy saves 10,000 lives or 100,000 is largely irrelevant until they are put side-by-side. This indicates the importance of contextualisation of statistical information, but equally shows why there is relative power in individual case studies and stories over vast statistics.

Presenting opinion polling information also shapes peoples' own opinions; specifically, a 'Bandwagon Effect' may form in which people feel social pressure to change their views. Through two-messaging approaches, researchers have identified that messages about how an individual's neighbours are reducing their energy use were more effective than financial incentives to encourage energy use reduction.³⁹ The same practice has been shown to be useful for getting people to vote,⁴⁰ and the UK Nudge Unit has applied this to a number of issues such as improving tax payment rates.⁴¹ Second-order beliefs like these (beliefs about what other people believe) are often found to be very good predictors of an individual's opinion, and modulating these beliefs has been found to increase the support for policies (such as a US-China treaty on Climate Change).⁴² Incorporating survey information into a campaign can be an effective way of generating support for the campaign's aims if people typically agree with the campaign.

37 McDaniels, T. L. (1988). Comparing expressed and revealed preferences for risk reduction: Different hazards and question frames. *Risk Analysis*, 8(4), 593-604.

38 Desvousges, W. H., Johnson, F. R., Dunford, R. W., Boyle, K. J., Hudson, S. P., & Wilson, K. N. (1993). Measuring natural resource damages with contingent valuation: tests of validity and reliability. *Contingent valuation: A critical assessment*, 91, 91-93.

39 Jachimowicz, J. M., Hauser, O. P., O'Brien, J. D., Sherman, E., & Galinsky, A. D. (2018). The critical role of second-order normative beliefs in predicting energy conservation. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 2(10), 757-764.

40 Issenberg, S. (2012) *The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns*. Broadway Books. pp. 196-200

41 Frayne J. (2013) *Meet the People: why businesses must engage with public opinion to manage and enhance their reputations*. Harriman House. pp. 64

42 Mildemberger, M., & Tingley, D. (2019) Beliefs about climate beliefs: the importance of second-order opinions for climate politics. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 1279-1307.



Statistics and numbers used in campaigning can be highly effective when used correctly. In global warming campaigns for example, putting a 1 degree rise in global temperatures into context would help illustrate the long-term negative effects of a number that on its own it does not sound important. For R&D spend that means being aware that people will not be overly sensitive to the size of spending pledges and numerical figures, and that putting the spend in context will influence opinion. The research also indicates that when discussing the benefits of investment in R&D, real numbers may be more effective than percentages e.g. “new medicines save 500 people a year”.

Understanding the influence of time

Key points

- People are less incentivised by rewards a long time in the future.
- People think about the future in a more abstract way – they tend to worry more about the ‘why’ rather than the ‘how’.

When running campaigns, particularly those with long lead-times, it is necessary to understand how people are influenced by time gaps between the present and the time at which a ‘reward’ is received.

People typically discount the perceived value of things that will be received in the future. This effect would appear to be hyperbolic; individuals were largely indifferent when choosing between \$15 now and \$30 in three months, or \$60 in a year, or \$100 in three years (the annual discount rate therefore declining as delays get longer).⁴³ Campaigns which centre around the promise of future reward should bear this in mind. People will typically prefer immediate reward, and if the message can be framed in these terms then all the better. However, if the reward is far off in the future it is unlikely to make a huge difference whether it is 10 or 15 years away. One potential way to diminish this effect is to utilise dates instead of days (i.e. 1st June instead of 120 days time).⁴⁴ To apply this more sensibly to a campaign, a political party may make a pledge to put £120 back in the pockets of the public by 1st July next year, rather than saying in a year’s time.

When thinking about the future, evidence indicates that people think in a more abstract way about the decisions and judgements that need to be made. When people were given the task of grouping objects they might take on a camping trip next year, they tended to use broad categories, but when planning for next week they used more specific categories.⁴⁵ When considering whether to take new furniture into a new apartment, people tended to prioritise the desirability of the furniture when the move was in the future, but the feasibility (i.e. would it fit through the door) when considering it near the time.⁴⁶ This has equally been demonstrated in the appeal of political messaging, with ‘why’ based messaging having more appeal than ‘how’ for things in the distant future, and the reverse true for imminent events.⁴⁷

43 Thaler, R. H. (1981) Some Empirical Evidence on Dynamic Inconsistency. *Economic Letters*, 8(3), 201-207.

44 DeHart, W. B., & Odum, A. L. (2015). The effects of the framing of time on delay discounting. *Journal of the experimental analysis of behavior*, 103(1), 10-21.

45 Liberman, N., Sagristano, M. D., & Trope, Y. (2002). The effect of temporal distance on level of mental construal. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 38(6), 523-534.

46 Liberman, N., & Trope, Y. (1998). The role of feasibility and desirability considerations in near and distant future decisions: A test of temporal construal theory. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(1), 5.

47 Kim, H., Rao, A. R., & Lee, A. Y. (2009). It's time to vote: The effect of matching message orientation and temporal frame on political persuasion. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(6), 877-889.

The long-term impacts of a campaign are often dependent on memorability. Memorability is typically measured by the level of consumer comprehension and retention of a message. This is extremely important because a memorable message has been proven to lead to behaviour change. For example, Smith and colleagues found that memorable campaign messages about breast cancer led to more prevention and detection behaviours in the future.⁴⁸ Having a unique message can aid recall,⁴⁹ as can concreteness.⁵⁰ Importantly, memory is assisted by the presence of cues,⁵¹ whether these are explicit cues (such as sticky notes) or more subtle environmental cues (for example, people are better at recalling things they learned when they were intoxicated, if they are currently intoxicated).⁵² Certain campaigns may benefit from this; for example, a campaign against a beer tax may benefit from positioning itself in a pub in order to make it more likely people remember its messaging when they are in pubs. R&D campaigning may do well to position itself in contexts relating to healthcare for example, if focusing on the ways in which R&D directly benefit patients. Incorporating memorability into a campaign's messaging is an important way to generate support over time.



Global warming, and the benefits of R&D spending are examples of when temporally distant issues require different messaging approaches. People are likely to think in more abstract ways about these areas. This intuitively makes sense for things like global warming; the damage from climate change is often thought about in such distant terms that people find it hard to square with the need for urgent change in their day-to-day behaviours. A more successful campaign may clarify the proximal effects of climate change, or use the abstract futurist thought to generate support for 'blue sky thinking' solutions to the issue (e.g. full decarbonisation of UK energy) or to justify the 'why'. A campaign about the benefits of R&D investment should consider these lessons and take extra note that it really does not make a huge difference whether the benefits are to be felt in 2030 or 2040 – but it would if the negatives are felt tomorrow.

48 Smith, S. W., Nazione, S., LaPlante, C., Kotowski, M. R., Atkin, C., Skubisz, C. M., & Stohl, C. (2009). Topics and sources of memorable breast cancer messages and their impact on prevention and detection behaviors. *Journal of Health Communication*, 14 (3), 293–307.

49 Moscovitch, M., & Craik, F. I. (1976). Depth of processing, retrieval cues, and uniqueness of encoding as factors in recall. *Journal of verbal learning and verbal Behavior*, 15(4), 447-458.

50 Sadoski, M., Goetz, E. T., & Rodriguez, M. (2000). Engaging texts: Effects of concreteness on comprehensibility, interest, and recall in four text types. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 92(1), 85.

51 Intons-Peterson, M. J., & Fournier, J. (1986). External and internal memory aids: When and how often do we use them? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 115(3), 267.

52 Weingartner, H., Adefris, W., Eich, J. E., & Murphy, D. L. (1976). Encoding-imagery specificity in alcohol state-dependent learning. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Learning and Memory*, 2(1), 83.

Emotional appeals in campaigns

Key Points

- Positive emotion is best utilised by creating and maintaining a stable and appealing 'brand' image.
- Fear-centric messaging can be used to generate information-seeking behaviour and anger as a mobiliser to action, however excessively negative campaign style can decrease engagement.

For a long time, many economists assumed individuals were 'rational' actors. What the above has demonstrated is that many of the decisions people make are at least on the surface, irrational. Another way in which people's actions are made less predictable is through the importance of emotion. Emotion has wide-ranging effects on people's judgements and decisions, and the effectiveness of campaigns can be altered by the emotional state of the audience. That is why many campaign messages aim to win over the 'hearts' as well as the 'minds' of the people they need to convince.

For many decades, US political campaigns have worried about candidates' visual image and have considered the presentation of candidate's personality or character as a priority. In *The Selling of the President*, Joe McGinnis explores the TV campaign behind Nixon's successful 1968 election, demonstrating how the focus was placed heavily on the *image* of the candidate rather than the issues.⁵³ In many ways this is more salient now than before - with companies and politicians alike exposed to the online world, image (or 'brand') is an unavoidable part of public discourse, and more emotional approaches can far outweigh 'rational' policy-making.

In *The Long and Short of it*, which examines the impact of long- and short-term advertising strategies on brand success, the authors point out that short-term 'activation' appeals (such as discounts, or new menu items) activate individuals and drive business, but equally important to financial growth is the development of a brand image on an emotional level.⁵⁴ For long-term campaigning these two elements should run in tandem; short-term rational (even straight-up numerical) messaging should work to engage audiences or drive up short-term profits, whilst a strategy of long-term messaging builds emotional response to the brand. The authors use McDonalds' campaign from 2007 to 2011 as a good example

⁵³ McGinnis, J. (1969). *The Selling of the President*, Trident Press

⁵⁴ Binet, L. & Field, P (2013). *The Long and Short of it*, IPA.

of this, demonstrating how the budget shifted from an 100% focus on activation in 2007 to a ~3:1 activation and brand split by 2011, translating into greater profit in the long-term. Beyond advertising, much of the opinion research in the run up to the 2019 UK Election indicated that the Corbyn 'brand' was faltering and the 'activation' in the form of (otherwise relatively popular) policies were not able to break through this issue.⁵⁵

Is there ever a need for purely rational messaging? Research has shown significant improvements in the success of campaigns using emotional appeals (rather than rational appeals) in encouraging bone marrow donation,⁵⁶ in changing voter behaviour,⁵⁷ and even in the success of crowdfunding campaigns, although it should be noted that here the functional appeal of the product was also important alongside the emotional messaging.⁵⁸ The emotional versus rational debate has long preoccupied the advertising world, and the jury is out on whether one is better than the other, clearly demonstrating neither is an objectively better approach. Synthesising the divided findings in this area, research from Switzerland identified that matching the appeal to the existing opinions of the target audience is most important – emotional appeal to those whose current opinions are largely emotional in nature will bear more fruit.⁵⁹

Again we see that preliminary opinion research is essential to message development – should the target market consist of individuals basing their position on numerical facts, an emotional campaign could severely misfire. An example of this was Iceland's recent palm-oil Christmas advert, which made a bid for emotional appeal. With Iceland's self-positioning as a 'budget' supermarket, many of those who use Iceland do so on 'rational' grounds; it's cheap, it's useful to have frozen food which lasts, it's nearby, etc. While Iceland's advertising campaign around Orangutan populations damaged by palm oil farming was celebrated in the press, festive season sales actually fell by 1%.⁶⁰ Some have suggested the emotional appeal missed the mark, translating into plenty of online engagement among those who are more emotionally motivated, but don't shop at Iceland, but failing to cut-through with those who use the shop on a

55 Woodcock, A. (2020) Corbyn name 'toxified' popular Labour policies in general election campaign, poll suggests. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/corybn-labour-policies-toxic-general-election-2019-leadership-latest-a9279946.html>

56 Studts, J. L., Ruberg, J. L., McGuffin, S. A., & Roetzer, L. M. (2010). Decisions to register for the National Marrow Donor Program: rational vs emotional appeals. *Bone marrow transplantation*, 45(3), 422-428.

57 Brader, T. (2005). Striking a responsive chord: How political ads motivate and persuade voters by appealing to emotions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 388-405.

58 Chen, S., Thomas, S., & Kohli, C. (2016). What Really Makes a Promotional Campaign Succeed on a Crowdfunding Platform?: Guilt, Utilitarian Products, Emotional Messaging, And Fewer But Meaningful Rewards Drive Donations. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 56(1), 81-94.

59 Ryffel, F. A. (2016). The effects of emotional and rational news appeals on political attitudes. *Studies in Communication-Media (SCM)*, 52-73.

60 Nazir, S. (2019). Iceland posts Christmas sales decline despite popular advert. Retrieved from <https://www.retailgazette.co.uk/blog/2019/02/iceland-posts-christmas-sales-decline-despite-popular-rang-tan-advert/>

regular basis.

The following section will consider how emotion should be used by campaigners to generate the necessary 'brand' popularity; whether this 'brand' is a consumer-facing one, a politician/political party or even just the message. We are now focusing on the sorts of emotional appeals campaigners can make; broadly, these are positive ones (e.g. prestige, hope, happiness) and negative ones (e.g. playing off fear, anxiety, anger).

Using positive emotions

Key Points

- Positive emotion is best utilised by creating and maintaining a stable and appealing 'brand' image.
- Typologies of 'brand personality' may give some indication into the broad categories which brand image could fall into, and the combinations of emotional appeals which may be deleterious (e.g. trying to be both 'rugged' and 'sophisticated').

When building an emotional appeal for a brand, we are typically co-opting positive emotions. This approach is reflected in many political campaigns, with references to 'hope' and 'togetherness', while the aforementioned McDonalds campaign made use of 'trust'. A wealth of potential emotional appeals is available to campaigners, but there is little in the literature to suggest the 'best way' to do this. As one group of researchers remark when discussing emotional appeal in climate change messaging: "emotions [are not] simple levers to be pulled to promote desired outcomes".⁶¹

This is largely because people are not the same; what inspires delight for one person may inspire dread for another. Research shows large variation in the effectiveness of different positive emotional messaging; older people appear to prefer messaging on the avoidance of negative emotion,⁶² and more extraverted individuals respond more positively to emotional appeals in television adverts.⁶³ The research remains uncertain as people are largely very bad at predicting and remembering their emotional experiences. Meyvis and colleagues demonstrate that not only do people incorrectly predict their happiness levels after an event (e.g. the Superbowl, or Obama/McCain election result), but they also incorrectly remember their previous estimates of future emotion.⁶⁴ Assessing the power of positive emotional appeal has to be done through a more narrative approach - there is no 'use this emotion and see cut-through increase of X%'.

From the literature reviewed, we believe that the best way of demonstrating the effectiveness of targeted emotional appeal is

61 Chapman, D. A., Lickel, B., & Markowitz, E. M. (2017). Reassessing emotion in climate change communication. *Nature Climate Change*, 7(12), 850-852.

62 Williams, P., & Drolet, A. (2005). Age-related differences in responses to emotional advertisements. *Journal of consumer research*, 32(3), 343-354.

63 Sharma, A. (2017). A Study of Consumer Attitudes towards Advertising Appeals Used in Television Commercials.


64 Meyvis, T., Ratner, R. K., & Levav, J. (2010). Why don't we learn to accurately forecast feelings? How misremembering our predictions blinds us to past forecasting errors. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 139(4), 579.

through dimensions of brand personality.⁶⁵ These build an idea of the human characteristics associated with a brand, and the resulting model of brand personality gives indications of the sort of emotional messaging that may be effective:

- **Sincerity:** domestic, honest, genuine and cheerful
- **Excitement:** daring, spirited, imaginative, up-to-date
- **Competence:** reliable, responsible, dependable, efficient
- **Sophistication:** glamorous, pretentious, charming, romantic
- **Ruggedness:** tough, strong, outdoorsy, rugged

While this research is dated, it remains the most extensively utilised scale on brand personality typology. It is easy to visualise how brands slot into one or more of the traits – Innocent Smoothies going for Sincerity and Excitement, McDonalds for Competence and Sincerity. In conjunction with the suggestion that brand personality should align with that of the consumer’s expectations and needs,⁶⁶ a clearer image emerges of how to utilise positive affect in messaging. Messages should remain consistent – if a campaign adopts the Ruggedness category (e.g. campaign messages like ‘tougher on crime’ or brands like Jeep’s slogans ‘not available in candy pink’⁶⁷) campaigners risks alienating audiences should they adopt a new approach, say, the Sophistication route (e.g. if Jeep suddenly presented their cars as sexy rather than built for difficult terrain).



 Our expectation is that an R&D campaign should come across as exciting and sophisticated, for example, and may struggle with ruggedness and sincerity. Emotional messaging should be consistent and not sporadic; trying to be traditional *and* novel, hopeful *and* downbeat, intellectual *and* common sense, can spell disaster. The campaign for R&D spending may want to focus on the early development of some of these positive characteristics..



65 Aaker, J. L. (1997). Dimensions of brand personality. *Journal of marketing research*, 34(3), 347-356.
66 Bhattacharya, C. B., & Sen, S. (2003). Consumer–company identification: A framework for understanding consumers’ relationships with companies. *Journal of marketing*, 67(2), 76-88.
67 The Advertising Archives (2015). Retrieved <https://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/detail/87523398/1/Magazine-Advert/Jeep/2010s>

Using negative emotions

Key Points

- Fear-centric messaging can be used to generate information-seeking behaviour and anger as a mobiliser to action.
- This must be balanced, as excessively negative campaign style can decrease engagement.

The flipside is to appeal through negative emotions such as ‘fear’, ‘anger’, ‘guilt’ and ‘disgust’. These words are very familiar to political campaigners who often discuss things like ‘Project Fear’ or how the rise of a populist party is a symptom of the ‘anger’ felt by a populace. The literature in this area varies in its definitions of the negative emotions, sometimes using them interchangeably, and often referencing the fact they overlap in meaning.

Audiences can react against the use of negative emotion in a campaign; much of the literature reviewed discusses how problematic it is for campaigns to make use of people’s negative emotions. This is an important warning, but campaigns rarely use these emotions in the overt way these authors suggest. Charities often use negative emotions with stories of those who need help, and campaigns challenging the status quo often depend on at least an element of negative emotion. Equally, campaigns which make use of positive emotions are just as capable of generating ‘unhealthy’ behaviour. A systematic review of loan shark advertising, for example, uncovered consistent messaging around ‘security’, ‘relief’ and ‘excitement’.⁶⁸ It is inaccurate to say that writ-large negative emotional appeals are nefarious and positive ones above-board.

First, the use of fear in campaigns has been a topic of discussion in recent years. The rise of ‘populist’⁶⁹ politics and the success of Trump and Brexit has led numerous academics to shift their focus towards the latent causes of vote intention. Recent research in that regard indicates a novel role for trait Neuroticism (the counterpart to ‘Emotional Stability’, associated with fear) in understanding voter behaviour.⁷⁰

68 Mogaji, E., Czarnecka, B., Danbury, A. H., & Farquhar, J. D. (2017). How we are tempted into debt: emotional appeals in loan advertising in UK newspapers.

69 Nai, A., & Maier, J. (2018). Perceived personality and campaign style of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 121, 80-83.

70 Obschonka, M., Stuetzer, M., Rentfrow, P. J., Lee, N., Potter, J., & Gosling, S. D. (2018). Fear, populism, and the geopolitical landscape: the “sleepier effect” of neurotic personality traits on regional voting behavior in the 2016 Brexit and Trump elections. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9(3), 285-298.

Fear is often used to galvanise democratic participation; fear of the victory of an opposition party can increase turnout substantially.⁷¹ Election campaigners can use this by making the race appear closer than it is. Salespeople may use the fear of an item running out to encourage purchase. There is a clear role for fear here in *activation* – translating existing concerns into action. It was also found that ‘anxiety’ appears to boost information seeking behaviour.⁷² As Ted Brader observes in his research on *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds*, ‘signs of threat refocus our attention’, and he suggests that appealing to fear encourages broader re-evaluation of opinion.⁷³

Inducing anxiety has long played a role in behaviour change campaigns; for example, the images on cigarette packets to encourage cessation make liberal use of negative emotion. A warning emerging from this research, however, is that while anxiety is a useful motivator, excessive use may lead the audience to discount the message entirely.⁷⁴ There is a risk of the thing intended to cause anxiety seeming too far-fetched; this may be the case with global warming messaging, to some deniers. Messages of fear may simply not work because they do not believe there is something to fear. One researcher found that hopeful messaging was a better way to encourage behaviour change among climate change deniers.⁷⁵

Anger, in contrast, has been found to reduce information seeking,⁷⁶ but it plays an important role as a mobiliser.⁷⁷ Interestingly, AI research into the language of fake news reveals the heavy use of anger in article headlines, perhaps because shocking and offensive articles cut through the ‘information clutter’.⁷⁸ Given that most people only read the headlines of articles they see on social media,⁷⁹ the use of punchy anger-inducing short messages is a way fake news generates widespread emotional response in online readers. Anger can accentuate currently held beliefs. Banks and Bell showed that induced anger increases liberals’ tendency to support progressive

71 Martin, P. (2004). Inside the black box of negative campaign effects: three reasons why negative campaigns mobilize. *Political Psychology* 25(4): 545–562.

72 Valentino, N. A., Hutchings, V. L., Banks, A. J., & Davis, A. K. (2008). Is a worried citizen a good citizen? Emotions, political information seeking, and learning via the internet. *Political Psychology*, 29(2), 247-273.

73 Brader, T. (2006) *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How emotional appeals in political ads work*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 139.

74 Elder, R. W., Shults, R. A., Sleet, D. A., Nichols, J. L., Thompson, R. S., Rajab, W., & Task Force on Community Preventive Services. (2004). Effectiveness of mass media campaigns for reducing drinking and driving and alcohol-involved crashes: a systematic review. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 27(1), 57-65.

75 Stern, P. C. (2012). Fear and hope in climate messages. *Nature Climate Change*, 2(8), 572-573.

76 Valentino et al., 2008

77 Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., Groenendyk, E. W., Gregorowicz, K., & Hutchings, V. L. (2011). Election night’s alright for fighting: The role of emotions in political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(1), 156-170.

78 Cotte, J. and Ritchie, R. (2005). Advertisers’ theories of consumers: why use negative emotions to sell? *ACR North American Advances*.

79 Wang, L.X., Ramachandran, A. and Chaintreau, A. (2016), “Measuring click and share dynamics on social media: a reproducible and validated approach”, Proceedings of Tenth International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media, presented at the Tenth International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media, AAAI Publications.

racial policies, but increases conservatives' tendency to oppose them.⁸⁰ Collectively the literature sees anger as a method to inspire action, but the resulting actions are difficult to predict. Those designing messages intended to generate anger should be aware of this potential double-edge sword.

One-way anger manifests itself in a campaign strategy is through the creation of divisiveness. Divisiveness has become an apparent component of political campaigns in recent years, most notably in the 2016 US election between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.⁸¹ The literature is mixed on whether or not divisive tactics help,⁸² hurt,⁸³ or have no impact⁸⁴ on a campaign. Fourinaise and Hall attempt to detangle the mixed literature on this; their research finds divisiveness to have substantial negative effects on an individual's campaign.⁸⁵

Finally, the role of sadness has mixed results in the literature. While it seems that sadness increases engagement, in particular that it increases the size of monetary donations to charities,⁸⁶ there is some evidence to suggest that it can suppress engagement.⁸⁷ There is little to explain this distinction, but we would anticipate that it comes from different interpretations of sadness – in the former sadness was generated through emotionally charged imagery (involving children, for example), however in the latter sadness was generated through politically charged ads about violent crime. Given the importance of context and experimental methods for inducing sadness (alongside all the usual concerns like sample size, and tendency to recruit students), research in this area is inconclusive.

Ultimately, research into the use of negative emotion in message development shows its potential value, but it is inconsistent in key areas. What can be concluded is that anger is a strong motivator to action, alongside fear when the reality of fear is tangible to the audience.

80 Banks, A. J., & Bell, M. A. (2013). Racialized campaign ads: The emotional content in implicit racial appeals primes White racial attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 77(2), 549-560.

81 Riddell, K. (2015). Hillary Clinton lone beneficiary of Donald Trump's divisive rhetoric, drawn-out GOP primary. Retrieved from: <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/dec/9/hillary-clinton-lone-beneficiary-of-donald-trumps/>.

82 Hogan, R. E. (2003). The Effects of Primary Divisiveness on General Election Outcomes in State Legislative Elections. *American Politics Research* 31(1): 27-47.

83 Bernstein, R.A. (1977). Divisive Primaries Do Hurt: U.S. Senate Races, 1956-1972. *American Political Science Review* 71: 540-545.

84 Johnson, G.B., Petersheim, M.J., & Wasson, J.T. (2010). Divisive Primaries and Incumbent General Election Performance: Prospects and Costs in U.S. House Races. *American Politics Research* 38(5): 931-955.

85 Fourinaise, A. & Hall, A. (2020). How Divisive Primaries Hurt Parties: Evidence From Near-Runoffs. *The Journal of Politics*, 82(1), 43-56.

86 Burt, C. D., & Strongman, K. (2005). Use of images in charity advertising: Improving donations and compliance rates. *International Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 8(8), 571-580.

87 Weber, C. (2013). Emotions, campaigns, and political participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(2), 414-428.



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For R&D investment, the best way to utilise a negative approach could be through telling personal stories of those who suffer from a particular problem and the importance that research into solutions holds for them. In general, we anticipate that negative emotional content is unlikely to prove crucial to an R&D campaign.

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Positive vs. negative campaign approach

Key Points

- Negative campaigns in which the 'attack line' is perceived as fair and informative can be highly effective in campaigns against the status quo, but too much negativity can result in backlash and have deleterious effects on a campaign.

Whether to run a 'negative', or 'positive' campaign is particularly important to political campaigns; do groups go on the offensive against existing policy, or do they generate interest through proposals of new policy?

Meta-analysis of studies on the impact of a negative campaign approach identified no reliable evidence of a benefit from this approach.⁸⁸ Key to this was that negative approaches, while demonstrating moderate effectiveness at decreasing positive affect for the target, also generated backlash against the attacker, resulting in no net improvement for a campaign. The researchers demonstrate that negative campaigns are more memorable, but also appear to lower feelings of political efficacy and trust in government. Most importantly, major negativity can be damaging rather than helpful; research on US senate campaigns indicates that useful negative information can increase turnout, but 'mudslinging' can suppress it.⁸⁹

One analysis of positive and negative approaches, based on Swiss referendums, indicates that status quo campaigns, such as those in support of current policy, are more severely affected by negative campaigns, giving campaigns for policy change the upper hand. This can increase turn-out for policy changes which make use of negative campaign techniques.⁹⁰ However, this sort of negative campaign approach may be poorly suited to campaign groups seeking to work with government to achieve their aims.

Two aspects relatively undiscussed in the literature are the fact that, often, negative campaigning can be carried out by third parties. Media outlets could run highly negative campaigns against candidates, and the perception of their opposition remain untarnished, side-stepping the negatives highlighted by Lau and

⁸⁸ Lau R, Sigelman L, Rovner IB. (2007). The effects of negative political campaigns: a meta-analytic reassessment. *J. Polit.* 69, 1176–209.

⁸⁹ Kahn, K. F., & Kenney, P. J. (1999). Do negative campaigns mobilize or suppress turnout? Clarifying the relationship between negativity and participation. *American political science review*, 93(4), 877-889.

⁹⁰ Nai, A. (2013). What really matters is which camp goes dirty: Differential effects of negative campaigning on turnout during Swiss federal ballots. *European Journal of Political Research*, 52(1), 44-70.

colleagues' meta-analysis. Second are the sorts of attacks which may be perceived as 'off-limits' by the public. This is briefly discussed by Lau and Rovner,⁹¹ who highlight evidence from the 1998 Sorenson Institute for Political Leadership Survey of Virginia Voters, which demonstrates that attacks based on voting record and business practices of a candidate come across as fair to voters, but those on personal issues, particularly ones from the past, do not.⁹²



R&D campaigning would appear to suit a positive approach, demonstrating the benefits of investment, rather than declaring other areas of spending less important, or attacking current policy as ineffective. This does not mean that the potential for loss-averse messaging (e.g. around the cost of not investing) or negative affect-based campaigns (e.g. around the situations of those who depend on research outputs) should be ignored, but an attack-centred framework is unlikely to work for R&D.

91 Lau, R. R., & Rovner, I. B. (2009). Negative campaigning. *Annual review of political science*, 12, 285-306.

92 Discussed in Freedman P, Wood W, Lawton D. 1999. Do's and don'ts of negative ads: what voters say. *Campaigns Elections*, 20, 20–25.

Section 2:

Delivering the Message

Key Points

- Targeting the message to specific audiences is important – it is best to target based on the opinions held by different groups of people (e.g. targeting those who believe Research and Development is important), demographic targeting is still useful as a proxy (i.e. if those people who believe Research and Development is important tend to be living in cities, then city-based targeting may be appropriate).
- Choose an effective medium for message delivery – social media is useful for granular targeting, and traditional media for general awareness and influencing mass opinion.
- Building diverse coalitions can create a broader pool of resources and build reach. But coalitions are a vehicle not a tool, they must actively seek to influence policy and draw on their members' resources to lobby or raise public awareness.
- Using influencers and high-profile celebrities can help spread your message rapidly to large social networks, however these spokespeople can have negative effects on the campaign if they are not seen in a favourable light by the audience, or seen as unrelated to the cause.

Once a campaign message is developed, it must be delivered in the most effective way to the relevant audience, be this the general public, or policy makers. In the following sections we examine the best ways to deliver the campaign message. We look at the importance of targeting, the relative benefits of different mediums and using influencers, the role that traditional media plays, how to run an 'elite-focused' campaign messaging policy makers, coalition building and the importance of selecting the right spokespeople for the campaign.

The benefits of segmentation and targeting

Key Points

- Targeting is essential if a message is to 'cut through' – messages need to be presented in a way which is relevant to different audiences.

- This is often done through demographic information, but targeting on the basis of directly relevant opinion is often more powerful.

People respond to different messages; those who are already convinced of a core message but say, need convincing to donate to a cause, will need a different message versus someone who has not yet heard of a campaign. There is evidence of this in different fields. MailChimp data shows that segmented email campaigns have much higher open and click rates,⁹³ and anti-drugs and anti-smoking campaigns have consistently shown to be more effective at cutting use when they target messages by demographics,⁹⁴ and by their relationship with marijuana or smoking.^{95,96}

One of the most common methods of targeting is by demographics. Relevant data are both widely used and widely available. The government regularly publishes census data and when other organisations publish opinion data (e.g. election polls) they will often provide breakdowns of the data with demographics. As a result, a lot of the work required may have already been done. However, when possible, it is often more effective to segment and target people by something more closely related to what the campaign is trying to achieve. For example, when political parties go door-to-door in elections they will often make lists of people who are soft-supporters, identifying them as the group they should focus resources on. This works better than canvassing based on age or socioeconomic status. Similarly, when brands target people online they will often send adverts to people who have visited their website rather than people who fit the demographic profile of someone who might be interested in their product.

This approach seems to work. A campaign against indoor tanning among female American college-students found a big difference in psychological dependence between women who used tanning beds regularly and women who used them infrequently, and that different types of messages were effective with each group. However, building multiple messages is resource-intensive. While there is already an evidence base for what female, American college students do, where they go, and where they may see adverts, there is much less, if

93 Mailchimp (2017). Effects of List Segmentation on Email Marketing States: Does list segmentation really help email marketing stats? Retrieved from <https://mailchimp.com/resources/effects-of-list-segmentation-on-email-marketing-stats/>

94 Yzer, M. C., Cappella, J. N., Fishbein, M., Hornik, R., & Ahern, R. K. (2003). The effectiveness of gateway communications in anti-marijuana campaigns. *Journal of health communication, 8*(2), 129-143.

95 Stevens, E. M., Cohn, A. M., Villanti, A. C., Leshner, G., Wedel, A., & Wagener, T. L. (2019). Perceived Effectiveness of Anti-Marijuana Messages in Adult Users and Nonusers: An Examination of Responses to Messages About Marijuana's Effects on Cognitive Performance, Driving, and Health. *Journal of studies on alcohol and drugs, 80*(4), 415-422.

96 Parvanta, S., Gibson, L., Moldovan-Johnson, M., Mallya, G., & Hornik, R. C. (2013). Race and gender moderation of the relationship between cessation beliefs and intentions: is race or gender message segmentation necessary in anti-smoking campaigns? *Health education research, 28*(5), 857-868.

anything, known about the variation in web browsing habits between regular and irregular tanners; therefore it would be difficult to scale an intervention like this nationally without further research.⁹⁷

The medium

Key Points

- Social media provides new ways to reach audiences quickly and cheaply.
- Social media campaigns are best when they develop a relationship between the campaigner and the target audience, and different platforms require different approaches given the different users.

After determining which groups to target, the next step is deciding which medium to use to target them. Campaigns do not have to limit themselves to one medium. The USDA 4 Day Throw Away campaign on food safety invested in both physical campaign materials (posters, magnets) and in social media adverts. They found that both sets of material were effective at reaching their target audience of parents with young children.⁹⁸

Obama's 2008 presidential campaign was one of the first political campaigns to effectively leverage social media for both fundraising and for organising grass-roots support. His campaign formed a database to track voters from the start of the campaign to the polls. They used this data to constantly adjust their strategy based on real-time responses to their campaign; the campaign developed more than 7,000 customised emails.⁹⁹ This targeted and flexible approach to delivering their message had an enormous reach. Though Obama was not the first candidate to use the internet to garner support, he was innovative and did it better than those in the past. In comparison to his rival, John McCain, Obama had four times as many YouTube views, five times as many Facebook followers, and ten times the number of online staff.¹⁰⁰ They also empowered supporters to deliver his message themselves to their own social networks. This was a key factor in success because authentic user-generated messages are effective at influencing others; people tend to trust "a person like

97 Kelley, D. E., Noar, S. M., Myrick, J. G., Morales-Pico, B., Zeitany, A., & Thomas, N. E. (2016). An empirical analysis of indoor tanners: implications for audience segmentation in campaigns. *Journal of health communication*, 21(5), 564-574.

98 James, K., Albrecht, J., Litchfield, R., Weishaar, C. (2013). A Summative Evaluation of a Food Safety Social Marketing Campaign "4 Day Throw-Away" Using Traditional and Social Media. *Journal of Food Science and Education*, 12, 48-55.

99 Lutz, M. (2009) *The Social Pulpit: Barack Obama's Social Media Toolkit*. Edelman.

100 Ibid.

myself” over anyone else.¹⁰¹

According to Moran and Gossieaux, a successful social media campaign needs to develop a relationship between the campaigner and the target audience. They explain that consumers are more likely to respond to a campaign message if they can interact with it. Therefore, the most effective way to use social media as a medium is as a platform for two-sided conversations, rather than a one-sided broadcast. Successful campaigns allow consumers to share and contribute to the message and form online communities.¹⁰²

There is a certain degree of *banner blindness* on social media, where users will ignore adverts on pages they are browsing.¹⁰³ Eye-tracking studies found that demographically targeted banner adverts received more attention from participants.^{104,105} Although this does not necessarily mean that targeted ads are viewed more favourably – if users know they are being targeted, they sometimes react with irritation¹⁰⁶ and in product advertising, can result in reduced purchasing.¹⁰⁷

With an ever-expanding number of social media platforms, it is important to choose channels based on the behaviour of the target audience. Some of the most popular platforms are: blogs (Tumblr, WordPress, Medium), YouTube, Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter. These platforms are used to different degrees and in different ways depending on factors including age, location and socioeconomic status.¹⁰⁸ For example, LinkedIn users have higher incomes and are more likely to be university educated, Pinterest has more women users, and Snapchat and Instagram are disproportionately used by under 30s.¹⁰⁹ Currently, it is expected that all candidates at elections or campaigns will have profiles across multiple social media platforms.

Liking and commenting on a candidate’s profile is a strong indication

101 Edelman trust Barometer (2008) Conducted by StrategyOne. Access: <https://www.edelman.com/sites/g/files/aatuss191/files/2018-10/2008-Trust-Barometer-Executive-Summary.pdf>

102 Moran, E., & Gossieaux, F. (2010). Marketing in a hyper-social world: The tribalization of business study and characteristics of successful online communities. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 50 (3), 232-239.

103 Benway, J.P. & Lane, D.M. (1998). Banner blindness: Web searchers often miss 'obvious' links. *Internetworking: ITG Newsletter*. Retrieved from: http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~lane/papers/banner_blindness.pdf

104 Koster, M., Ruth, M., Hamborg, K.C. & Kaspar, K. (2015). Effects of Personalized Banner Ads on Attention and Memory. *Appl Cogn Psychol.*, 29, 181–192.

105 Kaspar, K., Weber, S. L., & Wilbers, A. K. (2019). Personally relevant online advertisements: Effects of demographic targeting on visual attention and brand evaluation. *PLoS one*, 14(2).

106 Sutanto, J., Palme, E., Tan, C. H., & Phang, C. W. (2013). Addressing the personalization-privacy paradox: an empirical assessment from a field experiment on smartphone users. *MIS quarterly*, 1141-1164.

107 Van Doorn, J., Hoekstra, J.C. (2013). Customization of online advertising: The role of intrusiveness. *Market Lett.*, 24, 339–351.

108 Castronovo, C., Huang, L. (2012). Social Media in an Alternative Marketing Communication Model. *Journal of Marketing Development and Competitiveness*, 6(1), 117- 134.

109 Social Media Use in 2018 (2018), Pew Research Centre; Internet and Technology

of political engagement from supporters.¹¹⁰ However, for issue-based campaigns there may be only a weak link between liking a page and actual behaviour change.¹¹¹ Many campaigns will seek popularity on social media to increase engagement. In the 2019 Australian election, Scott Morrison's win was partly credited to the Liberal Party's success in creating shareable "boomer memes".¹¹² In the 2019 UK election, the Conservatives hired the same people and attempted to gain the same authentic reach¹¹³ by making some of the posts purposefully bad and ugly.¹¹⁴ This strategy managed to see a few of their posts go viral.¹¹⁵

The frequency of posting is important. There is a non-linear relationship between frequency of posts and levels of social media engagement. It appears that new posts take a while to gain traction, and if a new post displaces an older one before it has peaked in engagement, it will limit the older post's reach. Too much time between posts also lessens engagement because there is less for users to engage with. Landing between the two extremes is an ideal frequency of posting.¹¹⁶

Influencers

Key Points

- Influencers are often viewed as trusted by their large follower bases, but influencer endorsements can be damaging to a campaign if the influencer is unfamiliar or unfavourable.

Another resource for social media campaigns is the use of influencers. Influencers are people with a large online following; they tend to be early adopters and are trusted by their networks to share reviews and deliver messages. The trusted authority they bring to a campaign can allow the message to be spread quickly and

110 Conroy M, Feezell JT and Guerrero M (2012) Facebook and political engagement: a study of online political group membership and offline political engagement. *Computers in Human Behavior* 28(5): 1535–1546.

111 Freeman, B., Potente, S., Rock, V., & McIver, J. (2015). Social media campaigns that make a difference: what can public health learn from the corporate sector and other social change marketers. *Public Health Res Pract*, 25(2).

112 Bourke, L. (2019) How the Liberals beat Labor at its own game. Retrieved from <https://www.smh.com.au/federal-election-2019/how-the-liberals-beat-labor-at-its-own-game-20190523-p51qki.html>

113 Boycott-Owen, M. & Chowdhury, H. (2019) Revealed: The Tories' 24-hour meme machine plotting to win the next election. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/2019/10/15/revealed-tories-24-hour-meme-machine-plotting-win-next-election/>

114 Stokel-Walker, C. (2019). "They're doing this badly on purpose": Why the Tories' latest online ads look so ugly. Retrieved from <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/media/2019/10/they-re-doing-badly-purpose-why-tories-latest-online-ads-look-so-ugly>

115 <https://twitter.com/Conservatives/status/1186650398037331968>

116 Xenos, M. A., Macafee, T., & Pole, A. (2017). Understanding variations in user response to social media campaigns: A study of Facebook posts in the 2010 US elections. *new media & society*, 19(6), 826-842.

effectively.^{117,118} A good example of influencer impact is the case of Travel Alberta - their marketing campaign included sending a few top travel bloggers to Alberta, who captured content and shared it with their networks. The campaign resulted in more than 81,000 room nights and 22,250 airline tickets booked to and in Alberta.¹¹⁹

A key question is whether celebrity and influencer endorsements work. Research suggests they do, but with caveats. One 2016 study analysed the impact of Angelina Jolie's New York Times editorial on Breast Cancer (BRCA) testing and her decision to undergo a preventive mastectomy on consumer behaviour in the following weeks.¹²⁰ The study found that the editorial increased test rates; the two weeks following publication saw a 64% increase in the number of daily tests. However, there are caveats to the usefulness of celebrity endorsements. One recent study found that such endorsements only have positive effects if the celebrity is both familiar and favourable. If the celebrity is either unfamiliar or unfavourable, their endorsement can have a negative impact.¹²¹ Therefore, it is vital that campaigns use influencers who are well-known and liked among their target audience, as well as relevant to their cause.¹²²

Traditional media

Key Points

- Traditional media is becoming less trusted, but remains a low-cost and effective method to raise the profile of an issue.
- Campaigners need to be aware of media outlet's audience, both in terms of demographics and opinions – readers with certain opinions may be more likely to be receptive to campaign aims and arguments.

While much has been written about the rapid rise of social media in campaigns, there remains a role for 'traditional' media, i.e. print and broadcast news.

Campaigns still rely on leveraging traditional media despite the

117 Kiss, C., Bichler, M. (2008). Identification of Influencers – Measuring Influence in Customer Networks. *Decision Support Systems*, 1-22.

118 Keller, E. & Berry J. (2003). *The Influentials*, Free Press.

119 Tratt, N. (2014). Leveraging influencers to tell an authentic brand story and drive return on investment: Case study of Travel Alberta and Expedia Media Solutions. *Journal of Digital & Social Media Marketing*, 2(2), 125-130.

120 Desai, S. & Jena, A. (2016). Do celebrity endorsements matter? Observational study of BRCA gene testing and mastectomy rates after Angelina Jolie's New York Times editorial. *The BMJ*, 1-4.

121 Jackson, D. (2018). The Effects of Celebrity Endorsements of Ideas and Presidential Candidates. *The Journal of Political Marketing*, 17(4), 301-321.

122 Knoll, J. & Matthes, J. (2017). The effectiveness of celebrity endorsements: a meta-analysis. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 45, 55-75.

long-term decline in trust of that media. In the US, Gallup has shown media trust dropping from 53% in 1997 to 41% in 2019.¹²³ More widely, the Edelman Trust Barometer shows this decline is an international phenomenon.¹²⁴ In the UK, recent YouGov polling has shown that the British public's trust in the press to tell the truth has fallen, with less than half believing BBC news journalists are honest and impartial.¹²⁵

However, traditional media is still a low cost but extremely effective method to raise the profile of an issue. Research into the effectiveness of mass media campaigns promoting tobacco control highlighted how effective it can be in the promotion of healthier lifestyle choices.¹²⁶ That work found that while mass media campaigns may not be able to directly change behaviour in most instances, they can affect knowledge and awareness which in turn contribute to longer term outcomes.

Newspapers, as a specific form of traditional media, have been proven to have significant impacts on public opinion on a variety of topics. For example, a study of the UK's Daily Mail, the Daily Mirror, the Times and the Guardian from 1995-2011 found that a rise in media mentions of the impacts of immigration on the economy and the education system, prompted a rise in public concern about immigration.¹²⁷ A US study of the New York Times, Washington Post, USA Today, and Wall Street Journal came to a similar conclusion. This study concluded that with regards to Mexican immigration, the topic most frequently covered by these newspapers was crime, including drug trafficking, violence and legal cases. The authors argue that these newspapers have largely contributed to negative American public opinion of Mexican immigration.¹²⁸

In the UK, newspapers have been successful campaigning tools, even contributing to policy change. Take the Daily Mail's long-running '*Stop the Gambling Predators*' campaign. Working closely with organisations like the *Campaign for Fairer Gambling*, the paper has run numerous investigations into the conduct of gambling companies over several years – and has had dozens of front-page stories. In working closely with such a major newspaper (selling over 1 million

123 Brenan, M. (2019). Americans' Trust in Mass Media Edges Down to 41%. Retrieved from <https://news.gallup.com/poll/267047/americans-trust-mass-media-edges-down.aspx>

124 Edelman Trust Barometer (2017) Retrieved from <https://www.edelman.com/trust2017>

125 Ibbetson, C. (2019) Do Britons trust the press? Retrieved from <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2019/12/16/do-britons-trust-press>

126 Stead, M., Angus, K., Langley, T., Katikireddi, S. V., Hinds, K., Hilton, S., ... & Bauld, L. (2019). Mass media to communicate public health messages in six health topic areas: a systematic review and other reviews of the evidence. *Public Health Research*.

127 McLaren, L., Boomgaarden, H. & Vliegenthart, R. (2018). News Coverages and Public Concern About Immigration in Britain. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 30(2), 173-193.

128 Chavez, M., Whiteford, S. & Hoewe, J. (2010) Reporting on Immigration: A Content Analysis of Major U.S. Newspapers' Coverage of Mexican Immigration. *Norteamérica*, 5(2) 111-125.

copies every day),¹²⁹ the campaign has raised the profile of gambling policy into the mainstream news agenda. It has claimed several policy victories – including a maximum stake limit on Fixed Odds Betting Terminals.

The way campaigns use the media is relatively straight forward. In Chris Rose's *How to win campaigns - communications for change*¹³⁰ he discusses how most campaigns involve substantial media work and therefore that it is vital to understand how to deal with the media. It is natural for campaigners and journalists to develop symbiotic relationships, but too much focus on the news is a bad thing. The news can report on conflict very well, but it is not necessarily conducive to promoting change.

Rose identifies three key reasons why news media can be helpful:

1. **Profile** - making sure people know you exist, what kind of organisation you are and what you do;
2. **Specific publicity** - the fastest and most effective way to reach a wide audience on a specific topic (e.g. an issue that you are keen for the public to learn about and decide on quickly), and;
3. **Leverage** - targets are more likely to act if they know the debate is visible and very public (e.g., pressuring a government to increase funding for a certain sector, or stop a piece of legislation)

When working with journalists and newspapers, audience matters. Audiences for newspapers are split on demographics¹³¹ but, more usefully, they are split on opinion¹³² and on what content they read every day. Tying a key campaign message into what is already in the paper, readers are more likely to be familiar with the topic and could be more receptive to the campaign's messages.

As this literature review shows, there are many instances where campaigns can get by with almost no traditional media. In some instances, it is better to spend resources and effort on hyper-targeted online campaigning rather than spending large amounts of money on a press agency or in-house press officers. But it is still the case that on large, national policy issues, the traditional media play a vital role in raising the public awareness of an issue.

129 Mayhew, F. (2019) National newspaper ABCs: Guardian sees smallest circulation decline for July 2019. Retrieved from <https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/national-newspaper-abcs-guardian-sees-smallest-circulation-decline-for-july-2019/>

130 How to Win Campaigns, Chris Rose (2005)

131 Intermedia (2017). UK newspapers reveal readership demographics. Retrieved from <https://www.inter-media.co.uk/uk-newspapers-reveal-readership-demographics/>

132 McCarthy, N. (2017). General election voting by newspaper readership. Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/chart/9897/general-election-voting-by-newspaper-readership/>

Messaging policy makers

Key Points

- Lobbyists and think tanks, particularly from groups or individuals with expertise in a policy area, can give authority to campaign ideas.

Research has been conducted into the effectiveness of lobbying. Empirical evidence is scarce because causal mechanisms are difficult to identify¹³³ but one can analyse how much people pay for different types of lobby activity. They found that both expertise in a policy area and political connections were valuable. Lobbyists with expertise were more likely to be listened to by politicians with whom they differed in opinion and allegiance, so were able to influence a broader range of people. However, it was those with connections who were ultimately paid more, possibly as connections were a scarcer resource.¹³⁴

Many claim that think tanks have a high degree of impact over public policy. Think tanks appear to have an impact over the long-term. They promote their ideas through policy reports, and while most think tanks have an ideological foundation, this may be masked through an emphasis on the impartial rigour of the research. In this way, audiences may distinguish between think tank reports and those produced by companies and campaign groups, placing more stock in the former. Of course, trust decreases when think tanks become overtly partisan.

Think tanks can also secure campaigning success in more subtle ways. Some will help ideological allies find work in influential positions and many people who work in think tanks go on to find themselves employed in roles in the government, where, assuming they hold the same beliefs, they are able to push ideas that were on the think-tank's agenda. Some observers suggest that the main value that policy papers and think tank work provides to policy discourse is "authority signalling" to complex issues which many would find difficult to engage with otherwise.¹³⁵

133 De Figueiredo, J. M., & Richter, B. K. (2014). Advancing the empirical research on lobbying. *Annual review of political science*, 17, 163-185.

134 Bertrand, M., Bombardini, M., & Trebbi, F. (2014). Is it whom you know or what you know? An empirical assessment of the lobbying process. *American Economic Review*, 104(12), 3885-3920.

135 Anstead, N., & Chadwick, A. (2018). A primary definer online: the construction and propagation of a think tank's authority on social media. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(2), 246-266.

Coalition building

Key Points

- Coalitions can be strong advocates for campaign ideas, however the structure and recruitment can impact their overall effectiveness.

Here we will use the following definition of a coalition: “an organisation or organisations whose members commit to an agreed-on purpose and shared decision making to influence an external institution or target, while each member organisation maintains its own autonomy.”¹³⁶ As coalitions often have organisations as their members, they will sometimes have complicated structures as individuals may join the coalition a number of times through different organisations.

Building a coalition isn't enough by itself to influence policy. Rather, the coalition must deploy other methods like lobbying and raising public awareness; they must be able to draw on their membership for resources, or be adequately staffed, funded and able to undertake these activities.

Connolly and colleagues conducted a systematic review of different coalitions and determined that for a coalition to be successful it needed the ability to: lead and organise its stakeholders; adapt to changes; manage resources efficiently; and have the technical capacity to implement the necessary functions.¹³⁷ Diverse, heterogeneous coalitions representing a broad base have the potential to pool the most diverse resources and have the most extensive reach. However, member diversity should be driven by the goals of the coalition which may require a narrower membership. Recruitment, therefore, is a key skill.¹³⁸

Socially driven coalitions may benefit from having high morale, but they often struggle to perform effectively because their main focus is inward and on participant's needs, not on some of the important functions described above.

¹³⁶ Mizrahi, T., & Rosenthal, B. B. (2001). Complexities of coalition building: Leaders' successes, strategies, struggles, and solutions. *Social work*, 46(1), 63-78.

¹³⁷ Connolly, P. and York, P., TCC Group (formerly The Conservation Company) (2003).

¹³⁸ 8 The work “Building Coalitions Among Communities of Color: A Multicultural Approach” (2004) by SHIRE, in collaboration with Out of Many One and the Campaign for the elimination of Racial and Ethnic Disparities, is a comprehensive look at working in a multicultural coalition.



In the context of R&D, coalition building can play a vital role in building public support in particular. Much has been said about the public's mistrust of 'experts', and in that regard the ability to mobilise a diverse range of voices is paramount to enhancing the public reputation of R&D. By integrating researchers, research beneficiaries, businesses, charities and others into one coalition, there would be an opportunity to activate a range of voices.

Choosing the right spokespeople

Key Points

- Authenticity, trustworthiness and competence are key characteristics for campaign spokespeople.
- People respond more positively to spokespeople who seem genuine, such as vloggers and 'real people' in advertising campaigns.

When deciding *how* to deliver a message, it is vital to consider *who* can best deliver that message. A successful campaign must ensure its spokespeople are the right people to represent the campaign and deliver their message to the target audience. Research shows that authenticity, trustworthiness, and competence are important characteristics in any effective spokesperson.¹³⁹ One study analysed consumer reactions to different types of spokespeople in an Obesity Public Service Announcement and found that consumers had a higher intention rate of dieting, exercising and seeking further information when the spokesperson was a real person as opposed to an actor. The real person was rated significantly higher on trustworthiness, competence and goodwill.¹⁴⁰

In advertising, using "real people" as opposed to actors is becoming more commonplace due to its success in various campaigns, for example, the Dove Campaign for Real Beauty.¹⁴¹ Research shows

139 Haynes, A., Derrick, G., Redman, S., Hall, W., Gillespie, J., Chapman, S. & Sturk, H. (2012). Identifying Trustworthy Experts: How Do Policymakers Find and Assess Public Health Researchers Worth Consulting or Collaborating With? PLOS One, 7(3).

140 Phua, J., Tinkham, S. (2015). Authenticity in Obesity Public Service Announcements: Influence of Spokesperson Type, Viewer Weight, and Source Credibility on Diet, Exercise, Information Seeking, and Electronic Word-of-Mouth Intentions, Journal of Health Communications, 0, 1-9.

141 Smith, R. (2019). The Importance of Realms of Understanding in Marketing Communication, International Journal of Technology for Business, 1(2), 9-15.

that people in advertisements with asymmetrical faces, freckles, or moles are perceived as more genuine and real, which subsequently results in more positive attitudes towards an advertisement and the brand behind it.¹⁴² Additionally, consumers respond more positively to advertisements with models who are not digitally enhanced.¹⁴³

For charity campaigns, YouTube vlogging seems to be a better way of campaigning for donations than traditional charitable outreach.¹⁴⁴ Vloggers are seen to be more authentic and trustworthy than charities asking for donations, and their entertaining style means that people are more likely to listen to the message. There is an advantage if the recipients of the donations have more in common with the vlogger's audience (e.g. calls for help for a disaster in Japan were very successful when a vlogger had a largely east Asian audience).¹⁴⁵

142 Illic, J., Baxter, S., Kulczynski, A. (2018). Spot the difference: examining facial characteristics that enhance spokesperson effectiveness, *European Journal of Marketing*, 52(1/2), 348-366.

143 Shoenberger, H., Kim, E. & Johnson, E. (2019). #BeingReal about Instagram Ad Models: The Effects of Perceived Authenticity, *Journal of Advertising Research*, 59(4).

144 Pantti, M. (2015). Grassroots humanitarianism on YouTube: Ordinary fundraisers, unlikely donors, and global solidarity. *International Communication Gazette*, 77(7), 622-636.

145 Ibid.

Conclusion

This literature review offers a broad perspective on running a successful campaign. Combining insights from academic behavioural science, advertising, and political campaigning, we demonstrate the key concerns for any campaigner during message development and delivery. The tools laid out in this report will help campaigners achieve their aims, whether that be changing public opinion, realising political goals, or increasing revenue. While we do not claim to have 'solved the issue', we have provided a guideline for campaigners working out how to begin.

Our research also demonstrated areas where future research could be useful. Many of the studies on this topic are limited by their use of small samples (often under 500), and cultural bias towards WEIRD (White, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, Democratic)¹⁴⁶ countries. Future research should explore other cultures in a quantitative way, to explore any universal trends and how the techniques vary depending on the audience. The nature of online campaigning now supports the possibility of large-scale testing of the effectiveness of different messaging approaches through social media, something lacking in the literature we reviewed. Future research may examine the measurable effects of language alterations, and targeting techniques, on the cut-through of the messaging.

¹⁴⁶ Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world?. *Behavioral and brain sciences*, 33(2-3), 61-83.

This research was produced by Public First under commission from the Wellcome Trust and the Campaign for Science and Engineering (CaSE) as part of their R&D Decade project ([see website for more information](#)).



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