

Speaking notes for talk on NGO Campaigning 4 November 2021

Part 1

1. Introduction

Today, I am going to talk about campaigning.

I'll look at the discipline from the perspective of how NGOs in Brussels campaign.

At the end of today, you will have a better understanding of:

1. the reasons why NGOs campaign
2. what campaigning is, and what it is not
3. the differences between campaigning and lobbying
4. some useful transferable strategies and tactics
5. some useful checklists, and
6. some further reading

I hope to provide you with the building blocks for a structure and method on campaigning. Alan Hardacre will provide you with structure and method on lobbying.


I hope to show you that this approach can be used beyond NGO campaigns.

I am going to litter the talk with practical examples from my work. There is no need to take detailed notes, you have the speaking notes.

2. Why I am here

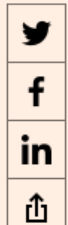
I have been a political campaigner for IFAW and WWF. And, I continued to use those campaigns skills for clients (e.g. fisheries campaigns and NRDC).

Here are some examples: See images



The EU's biomass dilemma: can burning trees ever be green?

Brussels is updating climate legislation but the controversy over wood-burning energy's renewable status complicates its plans



Camilla Hodgson in London JULY 1 2021

287

In May, a billboard appeared outside the EU parliament in Brussels playing a video that showed sparse, deforested woodland, spliced together with footage

ENVIRONMENT MAY 18, 2011 / 1:24 PM / UPDATED 10 YEARS AGO

EU fishing head wants crackdown on Libya tuna trade

By Reuters Staff

2 MIN READ





Tuna's End



Kenji Aoki for The New York Times

3. Standing on the shoulder of giants

I have been privileged to work for some giants of the NGO world.

IFAW is a campaign focused NGO. They are very effective at what they do. They are so effective that the Canadian government chased them out of the country. I worked with them on Bushmeat, Erica oil spill legislation, and seal fur bans.

At WWF, where I headed their European Marine Campaign, I worked on fisheries subsidies, cod quotas in the North Sea, and the overfishing of Blue Fin in the Mediterranean.

I could not have a better training under the likes of Lesley O'Donnell and many others at IFAW, and Tony Long and many others at WWF.

I came to campaigning because I believe that campaigning can lead to positive change.

I come to this view because of personal experience.

The work is tough, demanding, and fun. Many of the skills I learned have been helpful in other areas.

The rest of this talk is standing on the shoulders of one of the giants of the environmental movement, Chris

Rose (Greenpeace and WWF).

Chris has written the campaigners handbook "How to Win Campaigns". His web site, <http://www.campaignstrategy.org>, is a treasure rove of valuable information. I also recommend "What Makes People Tick". This book takes many of the ideas of the genius Pat Dade (<http://www.cultdyn.co.uk>) into an operational manual.

At the end of the talk, I have listed some other useful reading.

For today's talk, I have sought to digest the 279 pages of How To Win Campaigns, and added some small personal insights.

If you want to become a serious PA practitioners, you'll buy and read the books.

Chris has systemised how to campaign. It is, unlike most other books on campaigning, not issue specific.

4. **What has Campaigning Achieved**

Campaigning has been around for a long time. It has helped bring about tremendous progress.

Here are some examples.

See images

Brent Spar



Abolition of Slavery





Free Trade : Anti-Corn Laws



Right to Vote - Universal Suffrage



CFCs Ban



MUST AEROSOLS CAUSE BEFORE YOU JOIN US?



Friends of the Earth is campaigning for a ban on the use of CFC's and an interim labelling scheme on all aerosols. Some aerosols use ozone-eating CFC's. Some don't. Find out which don't from Friends of the Earth – and boycott the rest!

HELP THE EARTH FIGHT BACK

Please enrol me as a supporter.

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

I enclose a donation of £50 £20 £12 Other and I would like to receive your list of aerosols which are CFC-free.

Those giving £12 or over will receive the quarterly newspaper. Special rate for unwaged, senior citizens and students – £5

Send to: Jonathon Perritt,
Friends of the Earth, FREEPOST,
Mitchem, Surrey, GU4 5AR.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

The core reason for campaigning, to give a voice to the voiceless or when the system has stopped change, is still there.

5. Why you may want to be interested

There are 3 good reasons why you may want to listen to this evening's talk.

First, you may learn some useful skills that you can use in your professional life.

Second, one day your company or client may face a visit from a NGO that you may not like, and in retrospect a visit that could have been avoided.





Finally, one day you may find yourself working together to solve a common problem.



6. Financing

Campaigning is not the core function of all NGOs, but it is an important element.

As such, they take it seriously, and finance accordingly.

A look at the some of the balance sheets of some working on plastic waste or financing campaigns on climate change, shows how seriously.

Zero Waste Europe



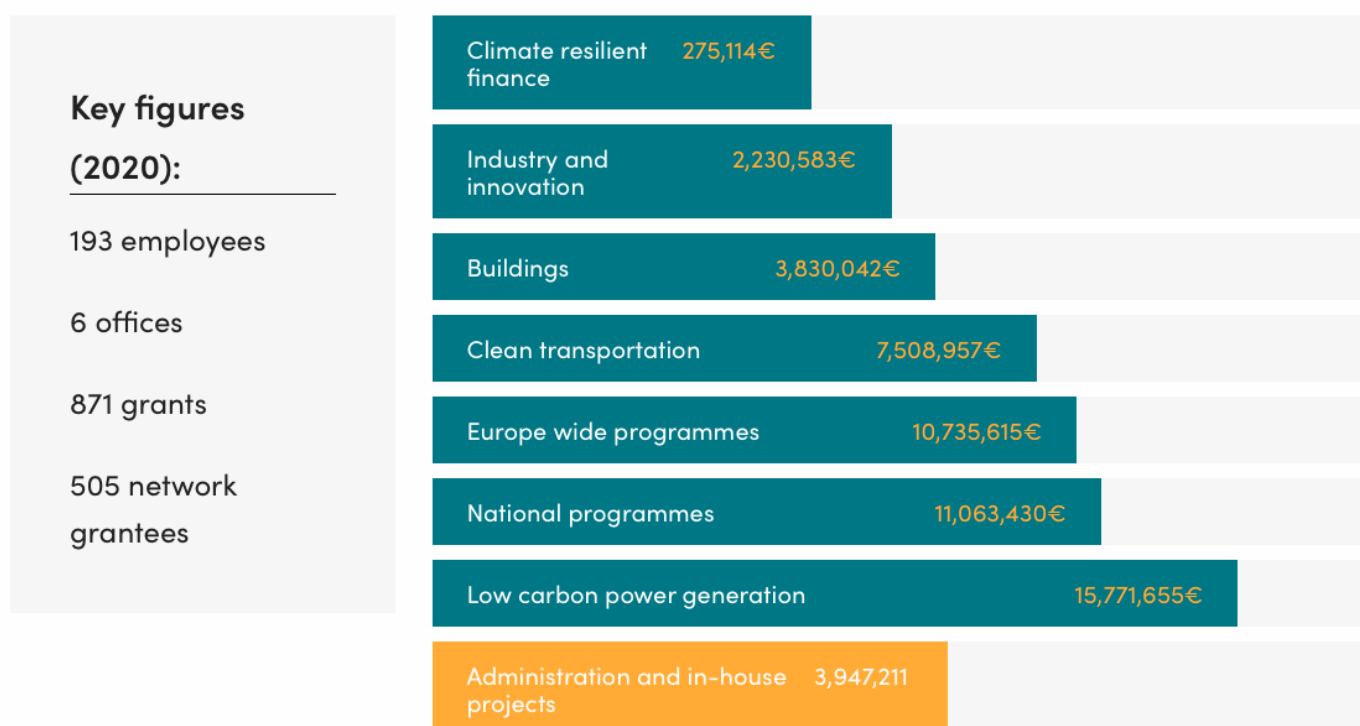
<https://zerowasteurope.eu/about/our-mission-vision/>

Our 2020 in-house income



European Climate Foundation

<https://europeanclimate.org/funding-grantmaking/>



These examples are illustrative only.

I have noticed over time, that some NGOs outspend industry on a campaign in both absolute and relative terms.

It shows that, in the main, NGOs take campaigning more seriously than industry. If you are rich or powerful, it is unlikely you have ever had the need to campaign. .

7. Lobbying v Campaigning

Some confuse lobbying, PA and campaigning. They are not the same thing.

Campaigns may need to bring in lobbyists to help navigate the corridors of Parliament.

Here are some of the differences.

Lobbying compared to Campaigning

Lobbying

Campaigning

A conversation with a few decision-makers & influencers	A conversation with a large group of people
A call for Status Quo	A call for Change
Little mainstream media use	Use the media to spread the message
Text-heavy	Images
Klingon logic	Emotions
Presenting a Powerpoint	Telling a Story
Play Defense	Play Offence
Play Insider Game	Play Outside Game
Goliath	David
Main message: No problem here, nothing to look at, move on	Main message: This is a problem, we need to do something about it
Drab	Lively
Private	In Public eye
Time focused on internal meetings and inner dialogue	Time focused on going out and trying to change their vote
Small elite circles engaged on the issue	Issue talked about in public
Focus on PR and Communications	A plan that is focused on the issue
Ad hoc finance concentrated on internal spend	Well resourced for bringing about external change
Focus on telling their target audience what they need to hear from our own value perspective	Focus on the value of the issue to the target audience

Lobbying is not the same as campaigning. It is a discipline that you may need to bring on board from time to time to help you get what you are campaigning for.

time to help you get what you are campaigning.

I have observed that few lobbyists have campaigned. Few have ever worked on an election campaign by canvassing. Few campaigners have lobbied.

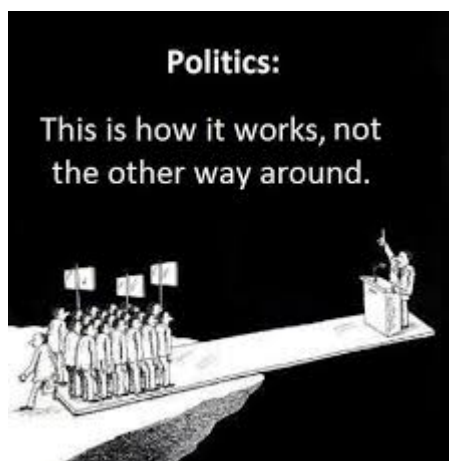
8. What's the purpose of campaigns

The main goal is to get people to change behaviour. That is the whole point of the exercise.

Campaigning is about communicating with society. You are looking to borrow power from the people for good causes/the public's benefit.

It is a conversation with society.

NGOs use campaign as the instrument to bring about change. Campaigns use public support to bring about change. Campaigners use communication to mobilise change and pressure politicians to act.



Politicians keep in line with public opinion.

9. Comparing NGO campaigns v PR, Advertising, Elections

Like PR, except you are not in the business of selling stuff.

Advertising is about selling thing.

Electoral campaigns are about getting politicians elected.

10. Limits of Campaigns

Most campaigns fail. You just never hear about them.

Even when success happens, it is often quietly ignored, because it the deviation from the norm can't be

Even when success happens, it is often quietly ignored, because if the deviation from the norm can't be accepted in some group act of self denial.

Many prefer to be beautiful losers, than contaminated winners.

Most NGOs are focused on issue knowledge and are science dominated. The standard campaign call seems to be "I want them to understand our science, and act on it." It is a campaign slogan that I've never been able to get through to politicians and decision makers.

Some NGOs are shifting away from campaigns and look more like management consultancies. A few of the large NGOs were re-organised by management consultancies.

11. **Why do few for profits campaign**

There are good reasons why many for profits/companies don't campaign. Here are some of them:

1. They already have access to power and influence. They don't need the public to bring pressure on their behalf to bring about change.
2. At the end of the day, most for profits prefer status quo.
3. They are not acting in the public interest but their own. Do this because it will make me more money is not a great catch line. Self interest does not work in many cultures beyond the Ayn Rand community.
4. Campaigning means going public and many don't like doing that.
5. Their case in the cold light of day may well come off as pure self interest and be laughed out.
6. It costs real money to campaign. Money profit and loss departments don't like to spend.
7. The likelihood of success is limited. It is taking a bet.
8. Most for profits don't have access to the skills and resources needed.
9. Most for profits won't switch their thinking to a campaign approach. They think it is PR or PA. It is not.
10. They skip on research and development.

12. **What makes a good campaigner**

Campaigning is a mongrel discipline.

It draws in lawyers, communicators, educators, and scientists.

Your real role is more of the conductor bringing together the well rehearsed right resource at the right time to help bring about change.

12. **What is involved in a campaign - A Summary**

At the end of the day, a campaign comes down to this:

1. Locate the decision you want to change. What decision do you want made and by whom.
2. What mechanisms will get you that decision.. What is the best way to get to the people you wish to influence.
3. Who do you need to convince/ affect to get your option taken up. Maybe you need to influence a different audience to get to your ultimate target.
4. Work backwards - what is the best to motivate your audience. Target your communications for your target audience. What angle will the target audience respond best to?
5. Work out the right materials you need to motivate your target audience.
6. Have a focus on action and execution (this is key).

Part 2: Some useful transferable strategies and tactics

1. Communicate

Campaigning on the basis of trying to make others adopt your principles is not likely to be effective. Campaigning organisations have to be opportunistic, not in terms of their beliefs and values, but in terms of reaching audiences.

CAMPACT : Essential Communication components. You need two way, not one way, communication

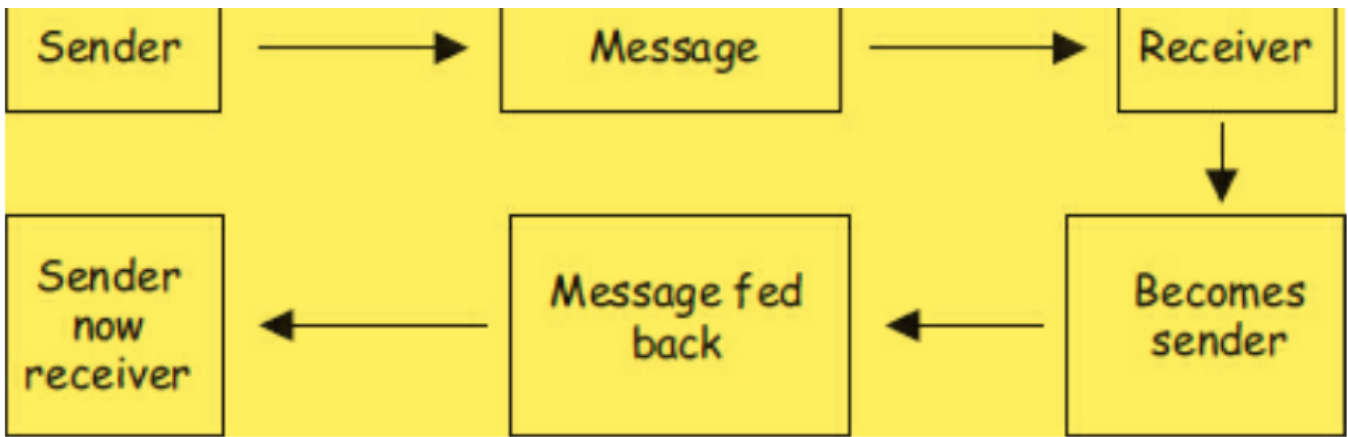
1. Channel: how the message gets there
2. Action - what we want to happen and what the audience is asked to do
3. Messenger - who delivers the message
4. Programme - why we're doing it
5. Context - where and when the message arrives , and what else is going on
6. Audience - who are we communicating with
7. Trigger - what will motivate the audience to act

You need move from this



to this: a conversation





and finally to this

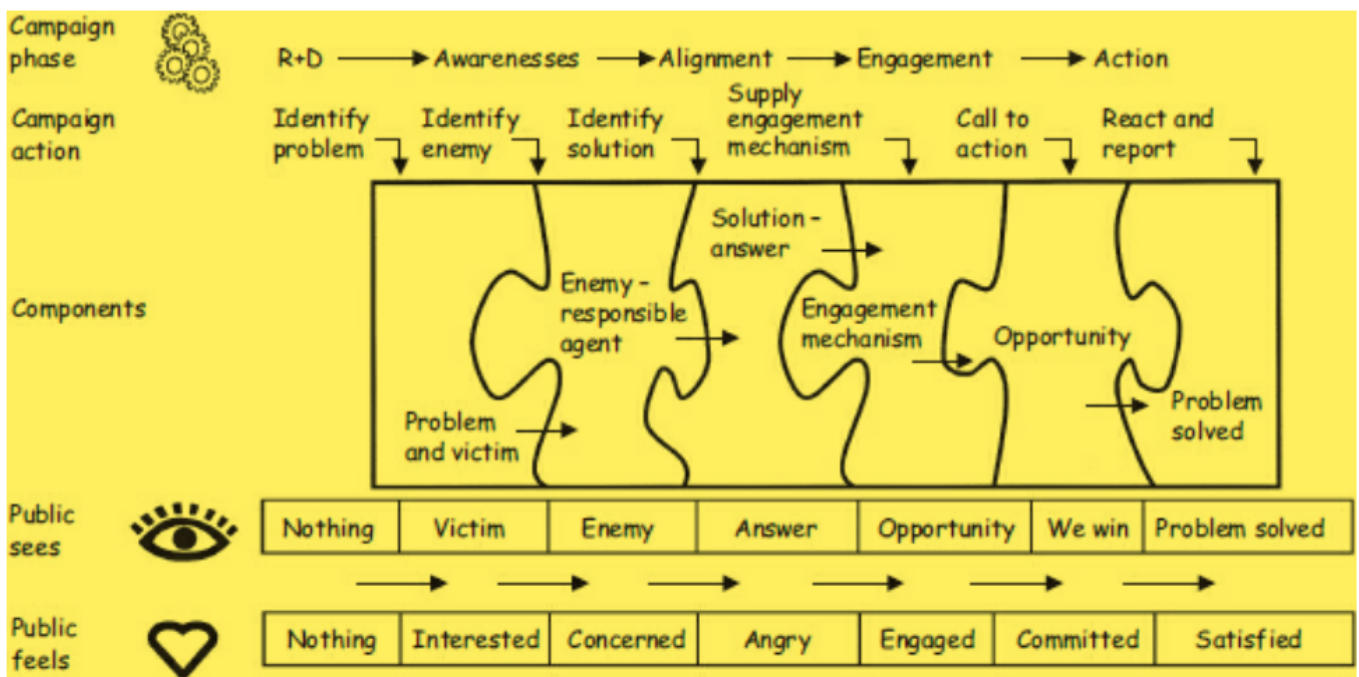


Figure 1.5 *Motivation sequence campaign model*

2. Campaigning is not educating

If you want to 'educate' you will fail. Most campaigns want to educate rather than persuade.

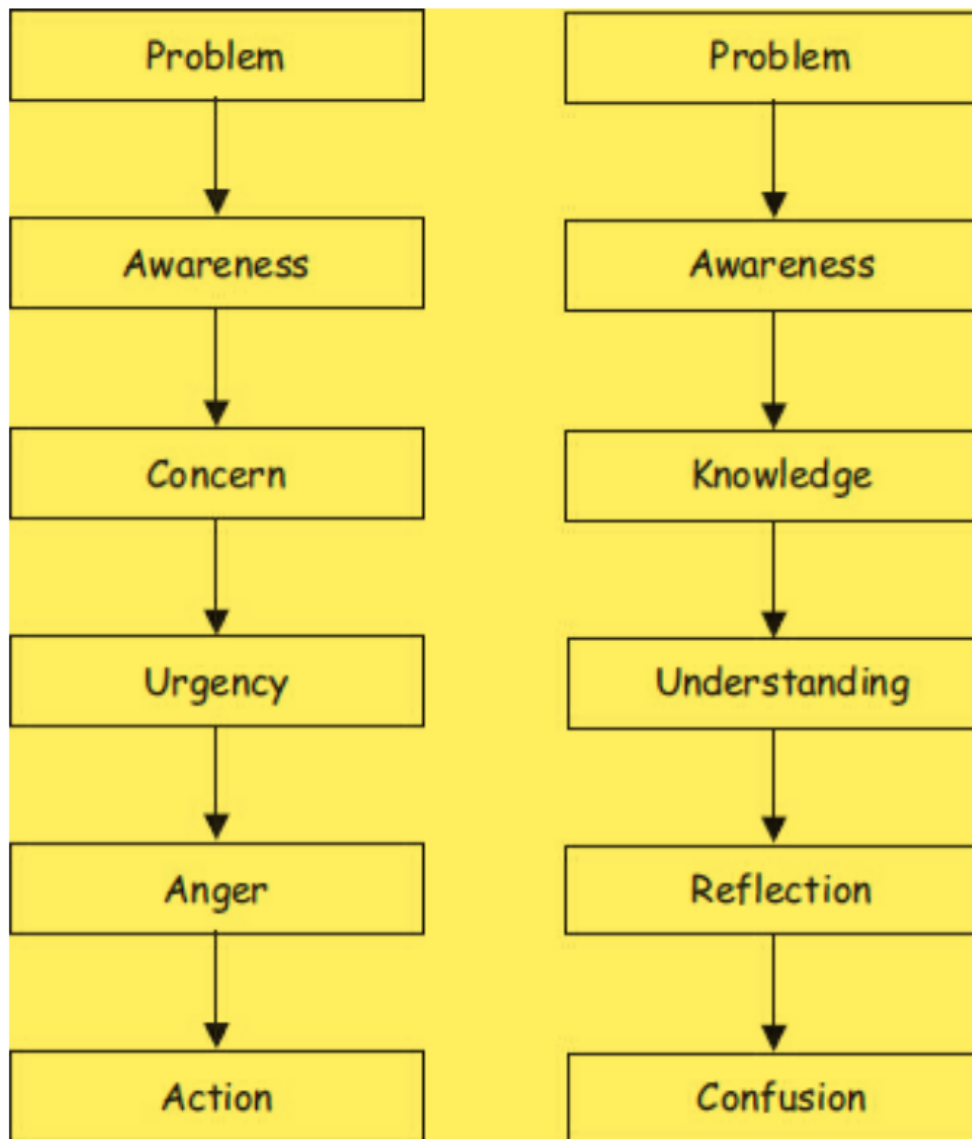


Figure 1.6 *Comparing a campaign model (left) with an education model (right)*

or to put it another way:

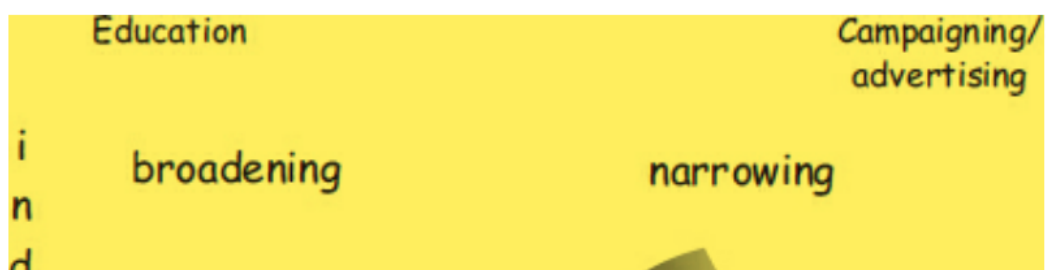




Figure 1.7 *Education and campaigning work in opposite directions*

3. Communicate with Humans

1. Pictures are the most universally understood language.
2. Many organisations are dominated by people who are good at words, or data, and as such they are unlikely to be good at visual communication.
3. The default should be visual. Most use data and words,
4. If you use data and words, and not visuals, for campaigns, you invite disaster.
5. Successful campaigns depend on good visuals

Some examples



- 2.
- 3.

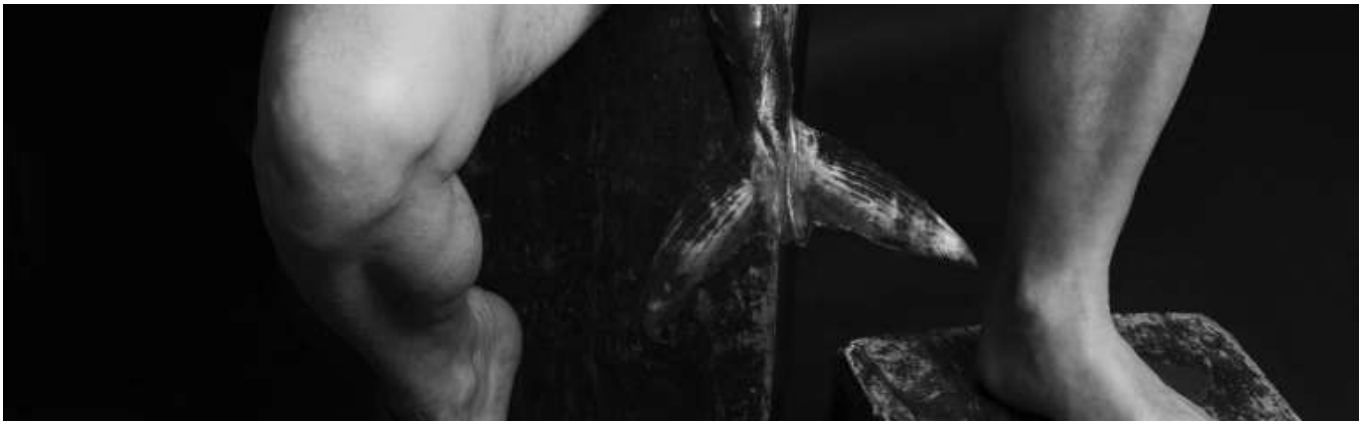




Meharabian: 55% of communciation from body language; 38% from tone of voice; 7% through words


4.





4. Use a Story Board

A story board is a powerful and underused tool for campaigns, I recommend it for events, external meetings, ads



KUNDE: GREENPEACE
THEMA: GLOBALE ERWÄRMUNG

TITEL: RETTET DIE ARKTIS! RETTET LEBEN!
LÄNGE: 30 SEKUNDEN

DATUM: 18.01.2015
SEITE: 2/4

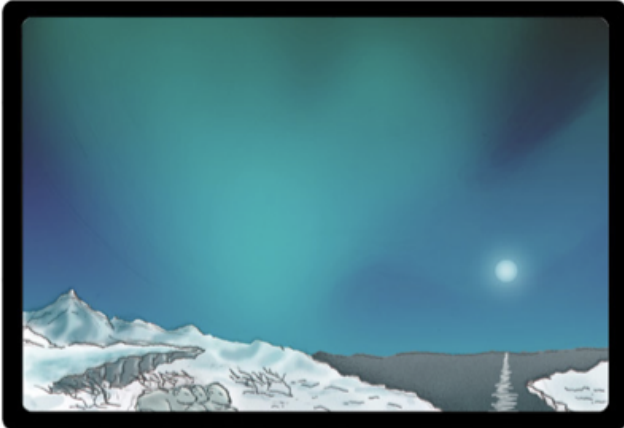
VIDEO

Die Eisbärenfamilie befindet sich im Tiefschlaf und selbst der nun aufkommende immer stärker werdende Wind vermag es nicht, sie zu wecken.
Polarlichter verwandeln die Landschaft in eine geisterhafte Eiswelt.

Einstellungsgröße: Totale
Schnitt: Objektive Einstellung
Dauer: 2 Sekunden

Der Morgen ist angebrochen. Die genervte Mutter versucht vergeblich, ihre Jungtiere zum Aufstehen zu motivieren. Die beiden allerdings bevorzugen es im Schnee rumzutollen und würden wohl am liebsten noch weiterschlafen.

Einstellungsgröße: Halbnahe



AUDIO

Ein unregelmäßige lautes Pfeifen, bedingt durch die immer wiederkehrenden Windschübe, überdeckt das Rauschen des Wellengangs

Der Wind ist noch stärker geworden und man hört ein konstantes Pfeifen im Hintergrund.

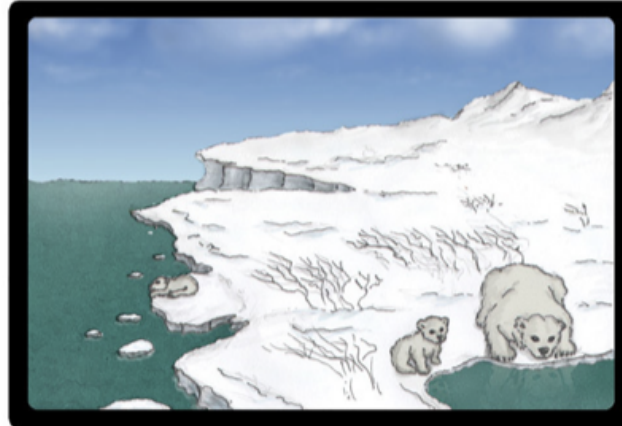
Das Brummen der Mutter und Quieken der Jungtiere ist zu hören.

Einstellungsgröße: totale
Schnitt: Objektive Einstellung
Dauer: 2 Sekunden



Die Mutter hat endlich ihren Willen durchgesetzt, nun ist es Zeit für die Jagd. Die Kleinfamilie befindet sich nun bei einer kleinen Wasserstelle im Eis, die als Atemloch für potenzielle Beutetiere dient. Eines der übermotivierten Jungtiere allerdings entfernt sich unbemerkt und versucht selbst sein Glück.

Einstellungsgröße: Totale
Schnitt: Objektive Einstellung
Dauer: 2 Sekunden



Der Wind nimmt noch mehr an Stärke zu und entwickelt sich zu sturmartigen Böen.

Das Jungtier schnappt nach einem Fisch, was dazu führt, dass der Vorsprung auf dem es sich befindet, von der großen Eisscholle wegbriecht. Weder das Jungtier noch die andern beiden Bären bemerken etwas.

Einstellungsgröße: Halbnahe
Schnitt: Objektive Einstellung
Dauer: 2 Sekunden



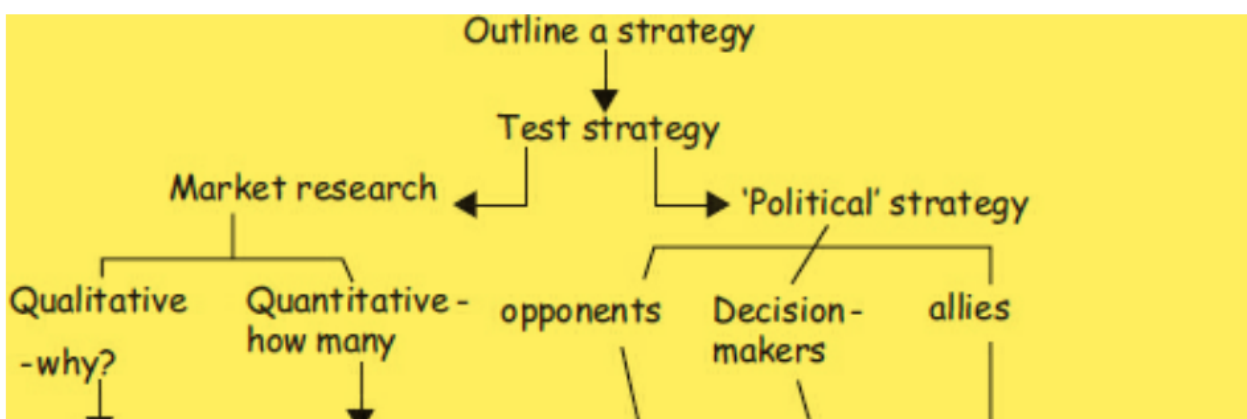
Zusätzlich zum Pfeifen des Windes hört man das Plätschern der Wellen, sowie ein kurzes Knacken der brechenden Eisscholle.

31 × 1599

Source: <https://www.gondogeorg.com/storyboard->

5. Have a Strategy

Put it down in writing and not in your or someone else's head.



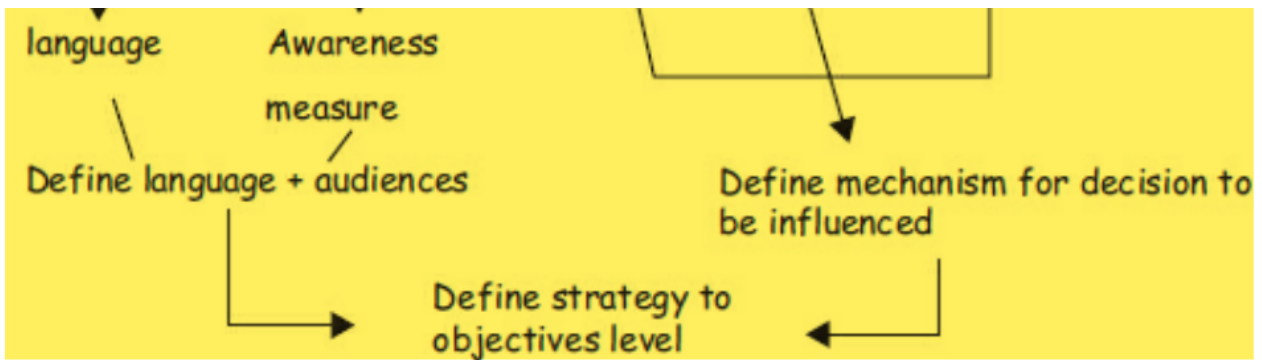


Figure 1.8 *Devise and test a strategy*

6. Have A Critical Path

What is your critical path from where you are, to where you want to be.

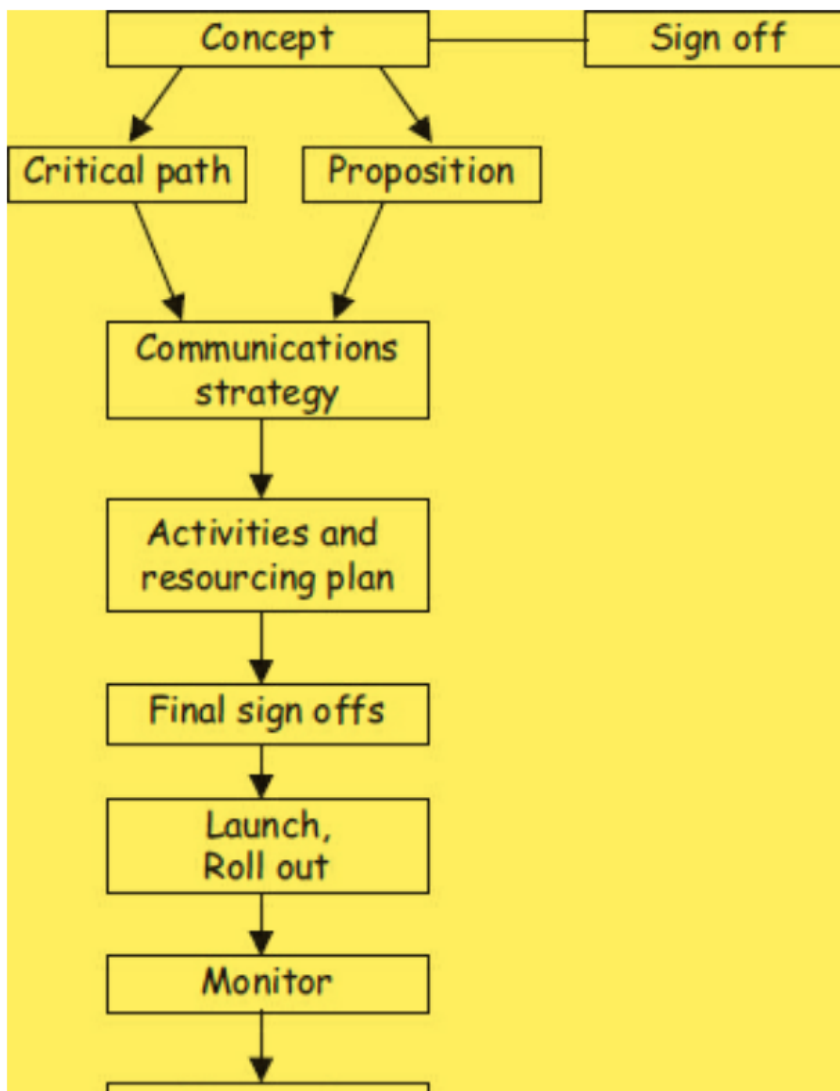


Figure 1.10 *Basic campaign pathway (2)*

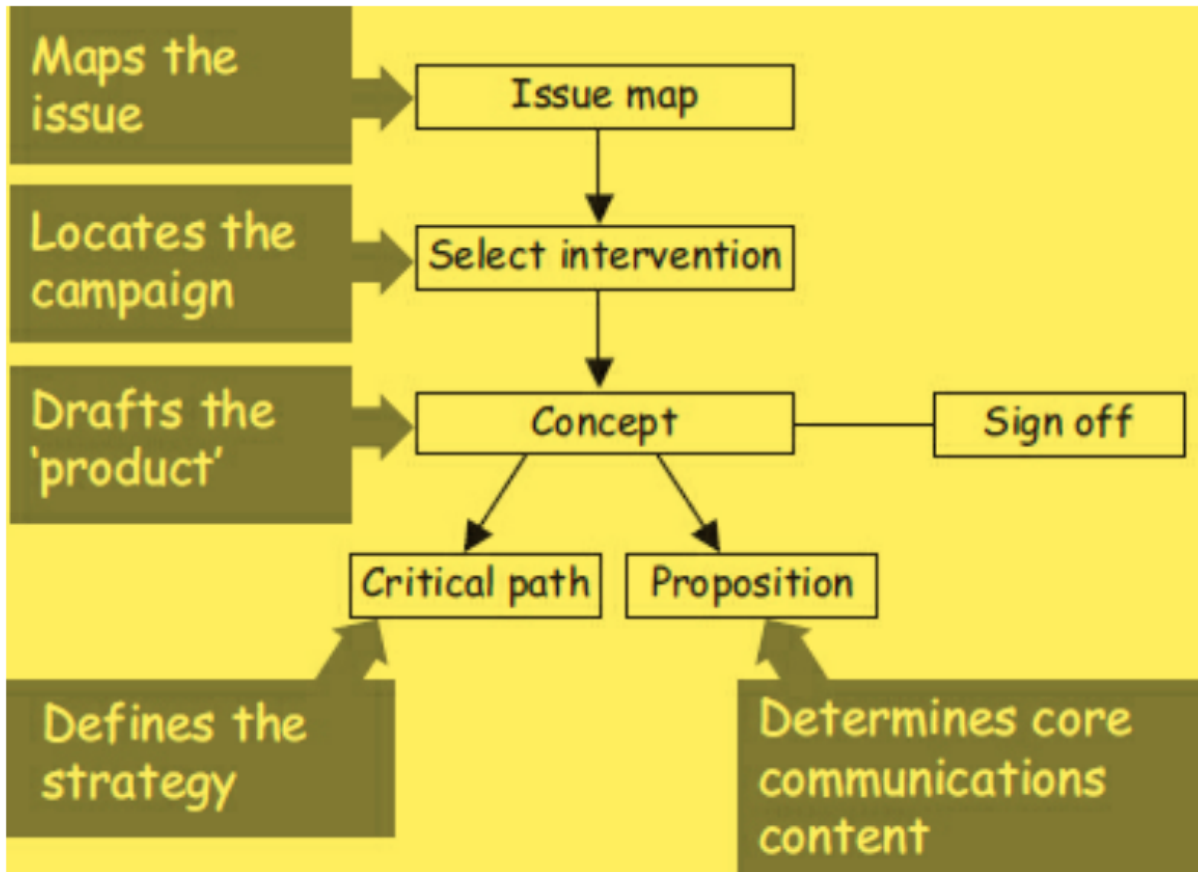


Figure 1.11 *What these steps do (1)*

7. Research 1 - Do It Before Going Forward

NGOs spend a lot of time on research before they go live on a campaign.

It is a good system. It helps you identify early on if you have a chance or not.

I've seen great campaign ideas dropped because the research showed that we could win or we we would be going down the wrong path to solve the issue.

8. **Research 2 - Social Network Analysis (SNA)**

It is a useful approach in political campaigning and elsewhere

It may be stating the obvious, but you are not trying to persuade everyone to back you.

You just aim for the majority you need for that vote.

This means you need to focus on trying to bring together coalitions of MEPs and Member States. You don't need them all.

If you identify in advance who you need to influence, both in terms of Brussels and the national capitals, your job is going to be a lot easier.

In practice, whilst this list may be 500, there are around 200 you need to focus on and 20 who are core.

The challenge is that they don't publish their names online, and rate their importance.

You'll need to speak to people or get people they trust to speak to them.

They read and watch a limited set of media.

An industry is often dominated by a few key people who will, if you speak with them, open up, and tell you what you need to know, to make change.

9. **Research 3: Value Communications**

Value communications is a powerful tool. It helps you adapt your message so it speaks to your audience.

If you just speak about what interests you, you are likely going to fail.

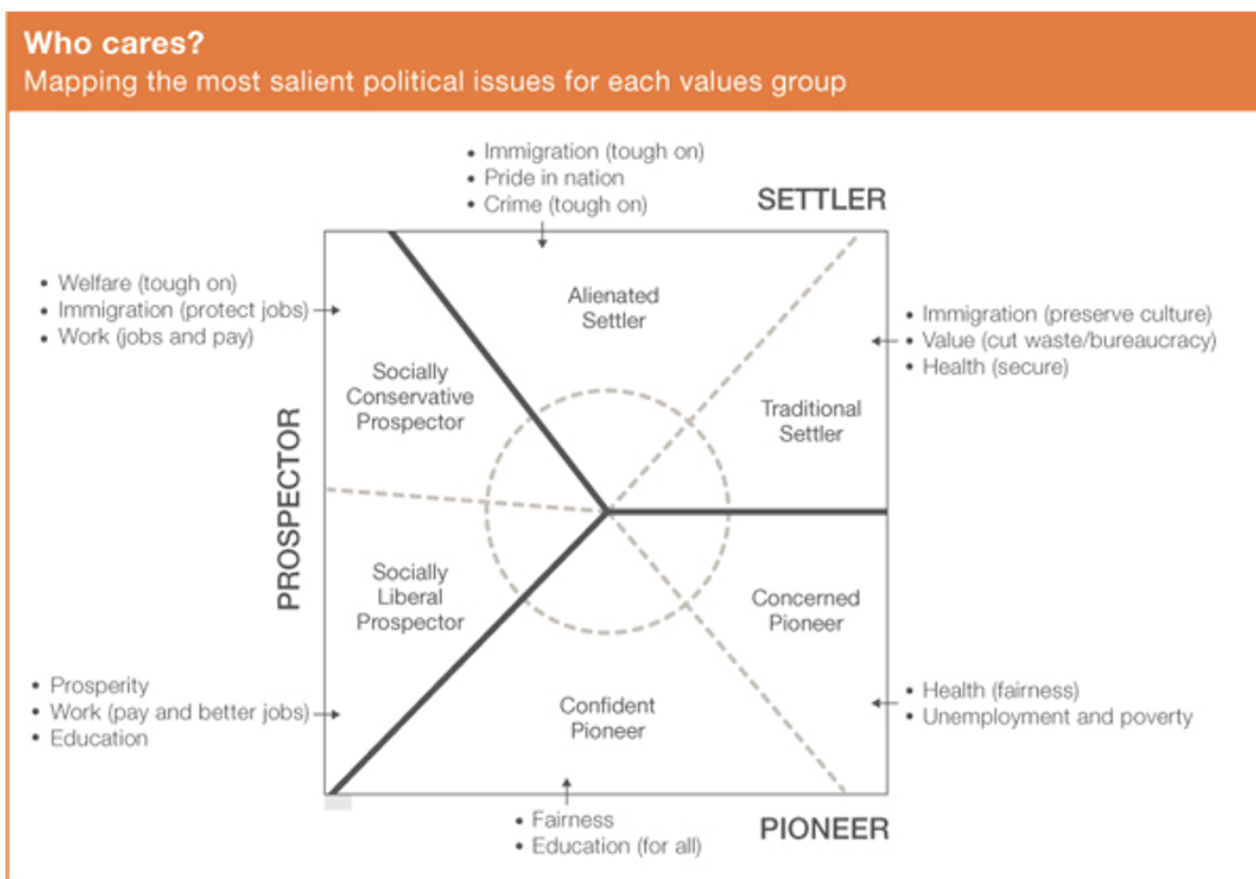
I am free trade, Catholic, social democrat. I realise that those interested in Personalism are limited, so if I engaged from my value set, I'll close down 99% of people. So, the trick is to engage in terms that interests your audience.

There are three groups in any country.

- **Settlers** (socially conservative and focused on security and belonging)
- **Prospectors** (aspirant, optimistic and desiring status and esteem)
- **Pioneers** (focused on fairness, with generally more 'post-materialistic' goals).

The percentages in each country vary.

These groups look at things differently.



If you adapt the language you use to promote your message for your audience, you'll find that they are more likely to agree with you.

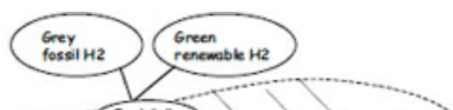
I've used this on campaigns. It works, often too well. You'll find a lot of the the whole political spectrum agreeing with you.

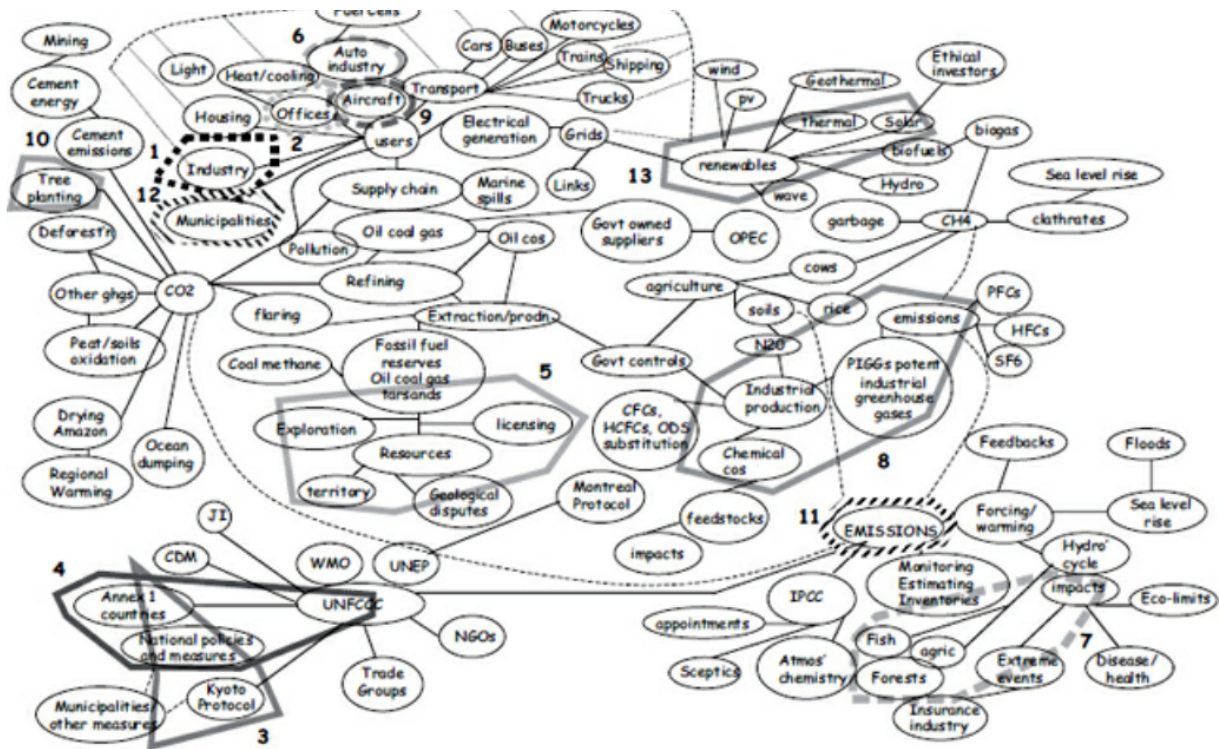
All it involves is having three message books rather than 1.

If you want to find out your value group go to: <http://www.cultdyn.co.uk/valuesmodes.html>

10. Research 4: Have an Issue Map

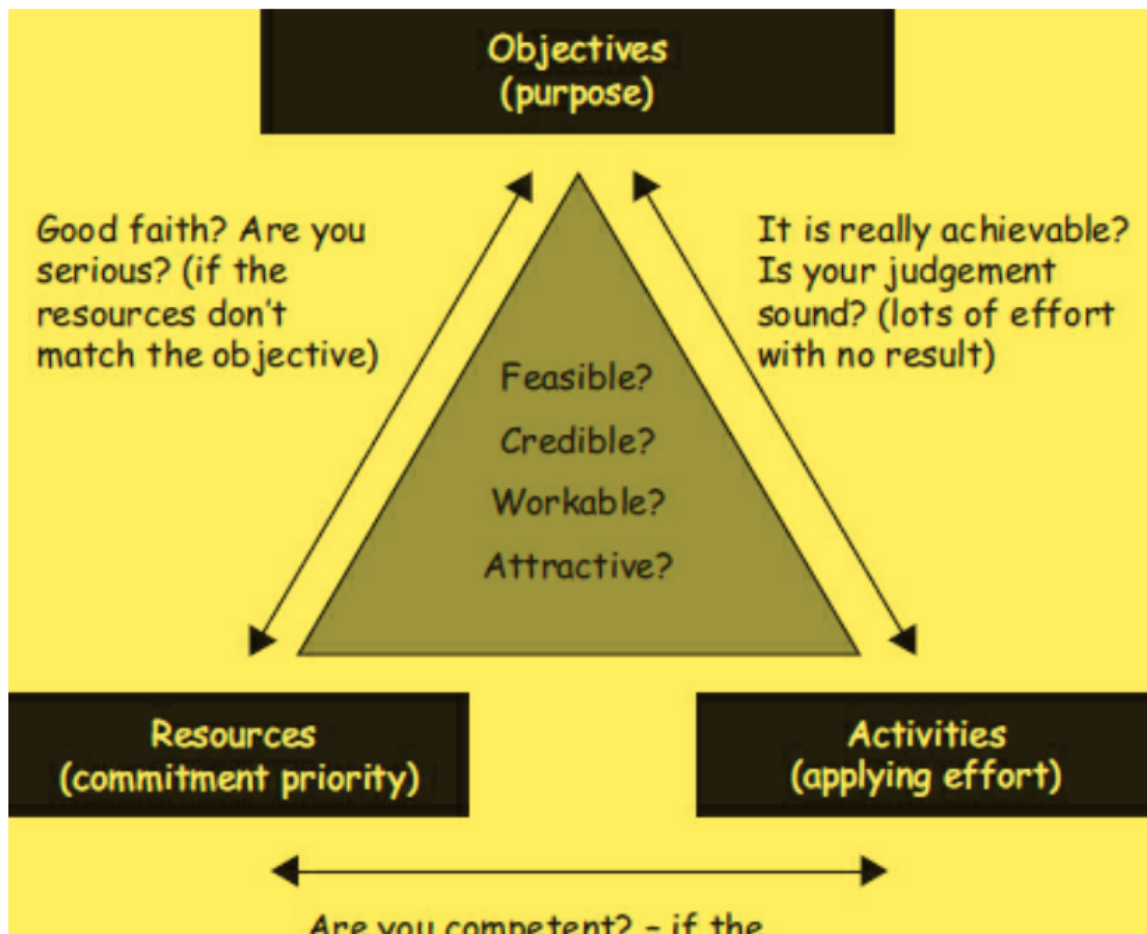
What's the real issue and how can you change it.





An issue map on climate change

11. Research 5: Helps you identify: Is the objective feasible?



activities and resources are both there but the objective is still elusive

I've worked for NGOs who are excellent at stopping campaigns moving forward if it does not pass this stage.

12. Tell A Good Story

Good stories lead to 'an A-ha reaction'

There are 8 basic types of story:

1. Cinderella - unrecognised virtue recognised in the end
2. Achilles - the Fatal Flaw
3. Faust: The debt must be paid, the fate that catches up with all of us sooner or later
4. Tristan and Isolde: the standard triangular plot of two women and one man, or two men and one woman
5. Circe: The spider and the fly
6. Romeo and Juliet: boy meets girl, boy loses girl, boy find girl or does not find girl
7. Orfeo: The gift taken away: the tragedy of the loss itself, or it about the search that follows the loss
8. Aida: The hero who cannot be kept down. Stories of perseverance and determination that result in either joy or destruction for the protagonist

The stories have a common structure. 5 stages:

1. the inciting incident - the cause of all that follows
2. progressive complications
3. the crisis
4. the climate
5. the resolution

Note that many organisations are full of people who by default are congenitally unable to communicate with people

13. Work with the Media

Table 4.1 *Using different types of media for different aspects of communication*

Medium	Best uses	Less good for
Film/video (i.e. commissioned video) non-broadcast	Persuasion, emotions, feelings and stories, speaker support and group discussion	Information
Reportage (being reported by the media)	Endorsement	Engagement, recruitment
Newspaper reports	Establishing a campaign or project – matter of record, logging milestones, reaching political and corporate decision-makers	Persuasion
News websites	A record and archive (if maintained long term, e.g. BBC)	Social intrusion
TV news	Events, awareness, reaching status conscious decision-makers, internal communication	Information, sensitive topics, reflection or messages that should be segmented
TV documentaries	Depth treatment, stories	Time-critical work
Local newspapers	How-to information for the home Case studies and human interest stories that people can believe	Reaching young people (in most cases)
Advertisements, e.g. posters	Reinforcement, awareness	Information, persuasion

Advertisements in special interest magazines including women's etc.	Reinforcement, awareness, cross-support to editorial or features, segmented messaging	Reaching wider audiences
Text – print	Information, reference, stories	Persuasion
Radio news	Breaking news (i.e. urgent)	A record
Radio general	Human interest, stories, reflection	Launches, events
Radio strand or specialist programmes	Segmented messaging and discussion of problems and opportunities	Reaching wider audiences

Radio advertising	Reinforcement (very cheap and can be targeted for certain audiences or localities by listenership)	Reaching 'decision-makers'
Human interaction, face to face (PR)	Persuasion, changing views	Large-scale recruitment
Events (to which people are invited or can attend)	Inspiration, integration (multimedia)	Reaching disinterested audiences
Tailored briefings by invitation or side meetings at conferences etc.	Informing professionals and stakeholders, persuasion	Anything else (high cost)
Exhibitions and receptions	Introductions, making new contacts	Information
3 D	Reinforcement, events	Information
Entertainment activities, e.g. sports events, concerts	Awareness of an issue in new specific audience	Information, persuasion
Websites	Reference information, narrow-casting, network	Endorsement

	building	
Microblogging (e.g. Twitter)	News, network building	Information
Email (interactive)	Data, network updating, mobilizing existing contacts; networks	Persuasion
		Establishment
		Networking
Texting (interactive)	Updating, awareness	Information
	Prompting immediate action	
Ambient	Awareness for groups that do not use other media, media-wary, or media-saturated	Networking
		Information
Stories, written or verbal	Changing minds	Information, pressure
Showbooks and laptop	Small group persuasion,	Anything else

Part 3: **Some useful checklists**

Checklist 1: Some good advice for any campaign

1. Keep it short and simple.
2. Be Visual.
3. Create events.
4. Tell stories about real people.
5. Be pro-active - don't just respond.
6. Get your communications in the right order.
7. Communicate in the the agenda of the outside world - don't export the internal agenda, plan, jargon or message.
8. Don't focus on the measure and instead focus on looking at the the context, action, trigger, channel, audience, messenger and programme.
9. Make it like opera - dramatic - and not dull.

Checklist 2: What do campaigners need to know?:

1. You need to understand power. Why has the change i want not already happened?
2. You need to understand motivation. It is not about changing minds or education. It is not about the facts or the what argument is made. It is usually about how the issue is framed and how it appeals to the target audience. And, that depends as mush on the right channel. messenger and context.
3. You need to understand the media. You need to give the media what it wants. You need to create event, so observers conclude they support the campaign, and act on it. It is what marks you out from just protesting.
4. You need to organise your self to engage with supporters and communicate.. You'll need to communicate visually and succinctly to communicate with many people.
5. You need to provide agency, vision and a brand to help bring about change.
6. You need logic and emotion.
7. You can bring about change by changing interests and changing values
8. You need to understand the issue of the campaign but it is not the most important part of the campaign.
9. If you spend your time focusing on the issue, rather than changing the issue, you will fail.

Checklist 3: What do you need to do

1. Analyse and achieve simplicity without simplification
2. Create compelling propositions that capture the problem, solution, responsible parties, consequent benefit and action needed, in a succinct phrase or image
3. If you want to reach large numbers of people, you need to think visually and use visual image

Checklist 4: To succeed in the long term you need:

1. An organisation
2. A vision
3. A brand

This is not easy. You need to down to these 3 levels

Level 1: Identify what needs to be done or how the world should be different, what would have an effect on making that happen and how to do it

Level 2: You need to assemble the forces and mechanisms to make the necessary changes happen

Level 3: You need to put together a campaign machine capable of making the change a reality

It is only when you are level 3, that you move from wishful thinking into 'agents of change'. It is also only then do your opponents take you seriously.

Checklist 5: Muir's 7 campaigns principles

1. Be multidimensional: communicating in all the dimensions of human understanding and decision making - political, economic, emotional, spiritual, psychological, technical, scientific
2. Engage by providing agency: gives supporters power over their lives. It is attractive to them
3. Have moral legitimacy: it meets a need. The campaigners and their supporters need to be convinced that the campaign is needed to make something happen in society that ought to be happening but it is not.
4. Provoke a conversation in society: campaigns get society to rethink its views and actions on an issue
5. Have verve, elan, infectious energy
6. Be strategic. It needs to plan a way to assemble enough forces to change what it wants to change.
7. Be communicable. First verbally as a story and then visually. Both emotionally with framing images and evidence.

Checklist 6: Rules of thumb

1. Reciprocation - exchange
2. Consistency and commitments
3. Confirmation
4. Effort
5. Social Proof
6. Similarity
7. Liking and praise
8. Authority.
9. Scarcity
10. Representativeness

11. Availability

Part 4: Reading

1. Saul Alinsky's [Rules for Radicals](#)
2. Becky Bond, [Rules for Revolutionaries](#)
3. Chris Rose, [How to Win Campaigns](#)
4. Chris Rose, [What Makes People Tick](#)
5. Robert B. Cialdini, [Influence](#)
6. Robert B. Cialdini, [Pre-Suasion](#)
7. PR Smith and ZE Zook, [Marketing Communications](#)
8. Roger Haywood, [All About PR](#)
9. Barbara Minto, [The Pyramid Principle](#)
10. Frank Lutz, [Words that Work](#)
11. Frank Lutz, [Win](#)
12. David Ogilvy, [Ogilvy on Advertising](#)
13. HBR, Greenpeace, (9-708-418) R.Casadseus-Masannell, J.Mitchell
14. Collaborating with Activists: How Starbucks Works with NGOs , Paul A. Argenti , California Management Review, CMR 299, 11/01/04
15. James. E. Rodgers, On Learning to Work with Green Activists, HBR, May 2011
16. Jeff Swartz, Timberland's CEO on Standing Up to 65,000 Angry Activists, HBR September 2010

