How to Win Campaigns
Communications for Change
SECOND EDITION
Chris Rose
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publishing for a sustainable future
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For Amazon, Willow and Sarah, and for all the campaigners who have given their safety, lives, freedom or comforts to try and make the world a better place.
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Preface to the Second Edition

When I first told my colleagues in conservation and academia that I was taking a job as a ‘campaigner’ in the early 1980s, they shook their heads sadly as if saying goodbye to a condemned man. The scientists foresaw a complete loss of credibility, the others professional oblivion. Perhaps they were right, but it has been fun. And strangely, since this book was first published in 2005, ‘campaigning’ has moved so far into the mainstream that almost anyone concerned with ‘public life’ – from government ministers to blue chip companies – can be found using the same techniques, even happily calling them ‘campaigns’, that were once the preserve of the disempowered and the marginalized. So a lot more people are ‘campaigning’.

The most obvious development since 2005 has been the maturing of ‘new media’ into ‘online’, but although this has changed the order in which things can be done, and how they can be done, it has not really altered the fundamentals of campaign strategy. In line with both the preceding points, there has been an explosion of resources available to anyone wanting to discover the how-to of campaigning, with a huge increase in training and online resources. As campaigning has become more established, there are even the first college courses actually trying to teach it.
The application of communications psychology to campaigning, particularly spurred by the need to ‘change behaviours’, such as motivational values, heuristics and framing, has also begun to penetrate campaign practice, although established non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in particular are remarkably conservative, and often lag far behind what the private sector or even public bodies are willing to try.

What was once seen by the establishment as illegitimate has become respectable, and is always in danger of becoming dull. This book is a collection of guidelines arrived at by trial and error rather than rules, and there is no rule that I know of as to what makes a good campaigner except, as a friend of mine once said during an exasperating session trying to advise a very respectable NGO on how to hire for a ‘campaigner’ post, ‘if someone’s going to campaign, they’ve got to want to “act up”’.

**Introduction**

*There are but two powers in the world, the sword and the mind. In the long run the sword is always beaten by the mind.* (Napoleon Bonaparte)

*There are two forces in the world today – US military power, and world public opinion.* (Time Magazine, 2003)

Every day, millions of people are touched by campaigns. It is important that campaigns succeed. Lives may depend upon the outcome of campaigns over access to health, medicines, clean water or justice. The survival of nature depends on the success of campaigns to change policies and industries that are destroying our atmosphere, oceans, forests and other ‘public goods’. If campaigners for education, child rights and fairer trade are to fail, then the poorest of the poor will be condemned to a more miserable future.

Yet most campaigning does fail, and there is remarkably little effort to learn why, or to analyse and replicate the campaigns that are successful. This book cannot provide a comprehensive answer but it collects together some campaign ‘tools’ that have a track record of helping campaigns work. It is good that thousands, perhaps millions, of people devote their lives to campaigns; it is tragic if their efforts are mostly wasted, and a scandal if that could be avoided.

Campaigns mostly involve communication: a conversation with society. This differs from the communication we carry out one to one with our friends or colleagues. This communication is used to persuade large numbers of people to act as a matter of urgency, so many campaign techniques are those of influencing people without having to stop and make friends first, and in this respect campaigning is like public relations (PR). But unlike PR, campaigning is an expression of popular democracy; it creates new channels of influence for the public, in the public interest. Campaigns work in the public interest by borrowing power from the people for good causes. In a world where politics are increasingly professionalized and lean increasingly towards promotion of private economic interests, campaigning has often become the common politics of the people.

Advertising campaigns sell things, electoral campaigns get politicians elected, but the sorts of campaigns this book is about bring neither money nor formal power. Instead, they harness a collective will and effort as an engine of change for public benefit.

What sway campaigns have depends upon the scale and intensity of their public support. This is their source of energy and an inbuilt test of legitimacy. Generally the rich
and powerful do not campaign – they do not have to. Many campaigns are a reaction against an abuse of power.

For most voluntary non-governmental organizations (NGOs), their only resource to secure real change is public persuasion. Business has money, government has law but campaigns have only public support. Communication is the campaigners’ instrument for change, not simply a way to publicize an opinion.

The best campaigns seem to communicate themselves. Others go down in a blaze of publicity but achieve no real change; many more struggle on in obscurity. A high failure rate is to be expected. Campaigning is a high-risk venture. In business, most new enterprises will fail. In nature, few species of wildlife reaching a new land will ever become established – most, as with campaigns, will die out.

In business or ecology, though, we expect to know the reasons for success and failure. We have studies and colleges devoted to the subject. Much the same is true of politics – getting elected is not generally regarded as an accident. Yet with campaigns the reasons for success and failure are often treated as an impenetrable mystery.

Such explanations as are given often descend into glib circularities such as ‘to be effective, campaigns must communicate effectively’ or effective campaigns need to be ‘well planned, adequately resourced and engaging for the public’. This is about as useful for planning real activity and expenditure as saying that in order to be healthy, people must not get diseases and should avoid getting ill.

The UK National Council for Voluntary Organisations summarized its findings from a review of campaign literature on campaign effectiveness thus:

If there is an obvious problem and a good case that resolving it will bring benefit, progress will be easier. It helps to have a viable solution and an outline of a course of action. A constructive alternative is the price of success. You should pick the target and fix responsibility. The ideal target will be receptive, vulnerable to pressure in some way, and have the power actually to get things done. It helps if there support at some level within the target institution, even if not actually from the decision-maker him- or herself. The target may have delay, rather than resolution, in mind. The issue must stand out and this is more likely if there is a short and easily understood chain of argument linking the problem to the solution you are advocating and when there is an external rationale and sense of urgency. External milestones can create urgency without which people won’t act.

Campaigns are wars of persuasion. Use of communication is often the key to success or failure. By itself, public concern is rarely effectively focused: hence this book is mostly about how to use communication to enlist and focus the support of others. While there are lots of books about issues, this one is about the tactics and strategies of campaigning and communication, looking as much as possible at underlying principles.

Even though it is evident that most campaigning relies on communication, and some organizations excel at it, many NGOs ignore it in favour of issue knowledge. So a route map or strategic advice on how to organize it is hard to come by. Some ‘campaign manuals’ contain valuable advice, but most tend towards details of individual communication practices or specialisms such as lobbying at international negotiations or domestic issue-by-issue advice. ‘Grass-roots’ and direct action-based campaign groups have produced a lot of useful websites, but these too tend to be either practical (how to encase your arm in concrete) or polemical (why capitalism must be defeated). Useful new web resources appear all the time: one of the best is www.thechangeagency.org. I try to list them at my website www.campaignstrategy.org. Please send me your ideas at chris@campaignstrategy.co.uk.
The commercial marketing and public relations literature is large, but campaigns for corporates are very different because they don’t have to appeal to anyone’s better nature. They rely on self-interest and normally start from the position of an insider. ‘Social marketing’ uses a number of similar techniques for non-profit purposes but generally does not challenge power or vested interests, or even seek specific outcomes.

Even some voluntary campaigning organizations, which rely so much on communication, don’t treat it with the seriousness it deserves. Many managers and directors believe that communication is a low-value extra, something ‘handled’ by the press office, while other staff are given little or no training in it. All politicians are said to be susceptible to the conceit that they are economists. The NGO equivalent is to assume that everyone can communicate. One commentator has put it like this:

*Communications is seen as ‘soft’. While programme development and practice are seen as requiring expertise and the thoughtful consideration of best practices, communications is an ‘anyone can do it if you have to’ task. It is time to retire this thinking. Doing communications strategically requires the same investment of intellect and study that these other areas of non-profit practice have been accorded.*

Today most managers are at least dimly aware that they *ought* to have a ‘communications strategy’. It’s seen as good practice. Unfortunately even many campaigners also think that a communications strategy equals a media strategy. In reality using the ‘media’, that is press, radio, television and so on, may not be the most effective way to communicate.

As a consultant and campaigner for over 20 years, I’ve lost count of the number of directors who assess the success of campaigns by weight of press clippings, or the number of website ‘hits’, and campaigners who are better able to tell you about how the media is covering their campaign than what effect that campaign is having in terms of change.

The mistaken assumption that communications simply means media is more likely where an organization has a specialist media department, while other departments may not be called ‘communications’ although that is mostly what they do – for example ‘campaigns’, ‘marketing’ or ‘public information’.

Campaigning is a mongrel craft drawing from many other disciplines, so it’s no surprise that lawyers tend to think campaigning hinges on making arguments, scientists want to progress campaigns by research, writers and academics by publishing, and teachers may believe education is how to change the world. Each can play a part in campaigns, it is true. Yet effective campaigns are usually better executed by showing rather than arguing, by motivation rather than education, and by mobilization rather than accumulation of knowledge. Doing this to order means planning communication like a composer or film director. There is no absolute right answer to effective communication. Communication strategy for campaigns is like chess but with your opponents changing all the time, and with rules that are a matter of opinion. My general advice is:

- Keep it short and simple;
- Be visual;
- Create events;
- Tell stories about real people;
- Be proactive – don’t just respond;
- Get your communication in the right order; and
- Communicate in the agenda of the outside world – don’t export the internal agenda, plan, jargon or ‘message’. 
Easy to say; harder to do.

A common pitfall is to get stuck arguing over ‘messages’. It’s best to avoid discussing ‘your message’ altogether and instead focus on the elements that are often critical to the success or failure of communication. The Context, Action, Trigger, Channel, Audience, Messenger and Programme all need to be got right (see Chapter 1) – discuss these and the ‘message’ will often emerge.

Effective campaigns, and effective campaigning organizations, need a structure. Composers use concertos or symphonies. Campaigners can use communication strategies. Done badly, these can be dull plans, tick-box exercises and lists of impossible aspirations. Done well they can be fun, inspiring, lyrical and useful. Campaigns should also be exciting – an adventure. Aim to conduct your campaign like an opera – a political opera, painted in dramatic polarities.

A communications strategy is about planning and knowing what you communicate, who to, why, and what can make it effective. It is using communication instrumentally – as an instrument to make change happen. It needs mechanical inputs such as identifying particular audiences or channels, but should also flow from your values, from the essence of your organization and cause, from the heart as well as the head. Communications strategies can exist at many levels. For campaign groups the three most important are:

1 Organizational – the whole communication of the organization;
2 Campaign – for example, a campaign on child labour; and
3 Project – for example, around a specific European Union Council decision.

At a micro-level, campaign communication can literally be a conversation. At organizational level, it is an indirect ‘conversation’, a relationship built up over years. Your campaign communication may be carefully conceived all on its own, but it will arrive as part of a compound mosaic of impressions and information received from many sources. Everything your organization says or does – be it intended as communication or unintended – and anything said about it, will be added into the mental mix.

Maybe it includes direct engagements such as an encounter with a street money collector, or a campaign team, or even helping in a campaign activity. What were the people like? How were you treated? Who else was there? It all forms an impression, the result of a lot of fragments.

Impressions that count are mostly the result of events, things that happen: the equivalent of a few ‘snapshots’. We ‘make sense’ of them by filling in the ‘missing gaps’ and explaining fragments by using other information, maybe about the issue in general, or our own life experiences. That way we make an overall picture that adds up. Campaigners can make deliberate use of this habit of ‘first we see, then we understand’ (see ‘Framing’, Chapter 1).

The steps to change determine the campaign strategy, and that in turn needs to determine communications. Here’s a shorthand way to link communications to a campaign strategy:

• Locate decision – locate the action (often a decision) you want to achieve. What decision do you want made, and by whom?
• Identify mechanism – what mechanisms will get you the decision? What is the best way to get to the people you wish to influence?
• Determine audience – who do you need to convince/affect to get your mechanism into operation? If you do not reach the target audience, the mechanism will not operate, no matter how good the campaign materials are. Getting the mechanism to operate may
require you to influence a different audience from the ultimate target.

- Work back to proposition – what is the best way to motivate your audience? Tailor the original arguments/communications that you want to use for your target audience. What angle will your target audience respond best to?

- Define activities and materials – knowing the decision you want, the mechanics of that decision and what will motivate your target audience means you can now decide the appropriate materials for the campaign.

This book has no academic pedigree but shares practical lessons learned from successful campaigns and repeated failures, in the hope that it may help campaigns be less frustrating, more rewarding and, above all, more effective. A lot of the examples are from Greenpeace, simply because they were ones I had easiest access to. They all illustrate principles that can apply to any campaign. A well-resourced book of campaign case studies could cast the net far wider.

The essentials of campaigning have a history as long as human communications itself – perhaps from the first time that someone questioned the direction of a group or tribe and said to others: ‘Come with me – let’s go this way instead.’ An alternative objective, a call to action, the need to get attention, to reach the right audience with the right message at the right moment – these are some of the fundamentals.

The pages of this book mostly contain ‘thinking tools’. Using them doesn’t require any equipment, any qualifications or even any money. They apply to any topic and from the scale of a one-person one-street project up to the major campaigns of pressure groups, advocacy organizations involving hundreds of people.

Campaigns did not begin with pressure groups, marketing or ‘modern’ advertising. History is littered with the antecedents of campaigning. Plenty are military, for at their root, campaigns are about power and contested ‘outcomes’. Many campaigners like to name The Art of War by fifth century Chinese general Sun Tzu, as their favourite text, though fewer seem to put his principles into practice. As a copy-writer Shakespeare penned many effective calls to action, ‘once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more’ being one of the better ones.

To campaign effectively it is not enough to be concerned, or even to spread that concern to others: instead one needs to motivate people to take action, and that requires a solution which looks feasible, as well as a problem that is compelling. Good campaigning involves figuring out when to work on the problem, and when to work on the solution (Chapter 6). Nor is campaigning necessarily punitive – any campaigner whose objective is to punish the opponent is unlikely to achieve an early surrender or to win many friends. Campaigning is a business for those who want to get even, not mad. It’s the marketing of motivation, which means understanding motivation (Chapter 3). As Saul Alinsky wrote in the now old but still readable tract Rules for Radicals,11 ‘With very rare exceptions, the right things are done for the wrong reasons.’

Campaigning is not always a particularly polite or noble business, and some may baulk at the thought of using techniques that in some cases were developed for the darker arts of politics, war or commerce. In fact, these days campaigns are pilfered by government and business far more than the other way around. All I can say is that my sympathy lies with those who ask: ‘Why should the devil have all the best tunes?’

**WHAT CAMPAIGNING GETS YOU**

The essential difference between campaigning and ‘advocacy’ is public engagement.
A campaign needs public support to succeed, and it is a form of politics for the public. There are many reasons people campaign, most of which boil down to righting an injustice. Organizations campaign because it works: it can get you change that goes beyond business as usual, the fruits of persuasion that cannot be bought or obtained by mere argument, protest or admonishment. Here are some reasons why campaigning can work:

- It creates gearing – multiplies the impact of efforts at change by enlisting the help of many people, thereby making it possible to achieve particular changes more quickly, or bigger changes altogether;
- It sets agendas – it aligns the public about what needs to be done;
- If action-based, it is a more powerful form of communication than just dialogue based on opinions;
- It can remedy a democratic deficit, compensating for the corporatization and professionalization of politics and the consequent spiralling lack of trust in the formal political system;
- Politics respond more and more via the media and less directly to the public, so having a dialogue in society is more and more important in creating political backing for a proposal;
- Trust in the media, especially paid-for messages is declining, so communication with a clear personal endorsement, such as through participative networks, is more persuasive;
- For the time being, NGOs – and this includes many campaign groups – are generally more trusted than most other elements of society, such as businesses, politicians and paid-for scientists;
- It is established as a way of raising and testing injustices and action-deficits, and is now almost indispensable in trying to protect ‘public goods’, because politics have broadly become the promoter of private interests;
- Atomization of society has raised the importance of mass and networked media as a way of being heard;
- Globalization of communications technology and narrowcasting has increased the opportunity to be heard if you are organized but reduced it otherwise, and made achieving ‘cross-over’ between ‘unlike’ segments of society more difficult, eroding ‘common values’;
- It creates a community and ecology of action – it means people are ‘not alone’; and
- It gives agency – greater influence over the world.

Politics and business are converging with the form and techniques, although not the purpose of campaigns. As societies become driven less by survival needs and more by need to fulfil potential, they increasingly deal with things for which there is no direct market price, and this is the territory of campaigns. In 2009 the income of the ‘third sector’ of voluntary and community groups was put at £100 billion a year in the UK alone, with assets twice that size and a workforce larger than the banking and finance sectors. These groups very much rely on effective communication for their influence. Equally the public communication techniques of campaigning become more salient in a 24/7 global ‘public conversation world’ in which, as public affairs executive Simon Brycecon says, ‘politicians cast themselves in a “perpetual campaign”, competing to stay in line with “public opinion”’.

**WHAT CAMPAIGNERS NEED TO KNOW**

For strategy, campaigners need to understand power. You may have a good argument or a cause you care about, but why should anyone listen or take notice? An interests analysis (see Chapter 5) should identify who is in control of what and who is benefiting from the status quo. It should help you answer the question ‘Why hasn’t the change I want already taken place?’ Posing a threat to established power or interests will make people take notice.
Remember what Stalin responded when told that the Vatican opposed his actions in World War II: ‘How many divisions does the Pope have?’

For engagement, campaigners need to understand motivation – their own, and that of others. If this is not well understood, it’s unlikely that sufficient people can be motivated to lend the necessary support. Frequently it is not a question of which ‘facts’ are presented or what ‘argument’ is made but the terms in which a case is made – what ‘the issue’ is framed as, whether it meets the psychological needs of an audience, and whether factors such as the channel, messenger or context are right. Effective campaigning is rarely the result of a blind experiment that people come flocking to support.

More often it results from identifying key audiences for change and then finding out what will motivate them. Neither ‘education’ nor ‘changing minds’ often come into it (see Chapter 11).

To engage in the business of public politics – and play out issues of who is right and wrong, and where society should be heading – campaigners need to understand ‘the media’ and the ritualized hidden formats of news reporting. To lure and feed the media machine, campaigns require events, the stuff of news and politics. The capacity to create events that lead observers to conclude they support the campaign, and then to act, marks out truly effective campaign groups from those that simply protest.

To make use of public sympathy and support, campaign groups need to organize themselves, with engagement mechanisms and supporter communication. They need to be able to analyse and achieve simplicity without simplification, to create compelling propositions (Chapter 7) that capture the problem, solution, responsible parties, consequent benefit and action needed, in a succinct phrase or image. To reach large numbers of people, they need to think visually and use visual language (Chapter 6).

To compete for scarce human attention, campaigns need to offer agency – more sway over the world – and to offer solutions not available via formal politics or the market. To persist and endure, campaigns need both organization and a vision, as well as a brand (see Chapter 12).

Campaigners need to identify what needs to be done or how the world should be different, what would have an effect in making that happen, and how to do it. They then need to assemble the forces and mechanisms to make the necessary changes happen. It is pretty easy to reach stage one: to specify what a better world would look like. It’s harder to uncover the truth about the politics and dynamics of potential change. And it’s very much harder to put together a campaign machine capable of making that change a reality. Yet it is only at this third level that campaigns transform from being protests, well-publicized arguments or demonstrations of wishful thinking into agents of change. It is also only then that they are taken seriously by opponents.

There are suggestions and techniques for all of the above in this book, though many are necessarily mere sketches of what is required. All this requires strategy, method and calculation, but the most powerful campaigns also reach the heart by clearly coming from the heart as well as the head (see ‘The glass onion’, Chapter 12).

To do this, campaign groups need to be able to operate on principle as well as by strategy, and to achieve that, they need to understand, express and use their own values. Campaigns can change politics and power structures by strategy calculated from an understanding of interests, and in this they are like PR operations by major companies, or like politics. But they can also change the same targets through the shaping pressure of values, formulating new concerns and norms, and from this territory professional politics
and commerce are largely excluded.

The two processes – influence by changing interests and by changing values – are linked because it is events and conversations in society that gradually surface and coalesce values as new norms, often over decades or generations.

Campaigners also need to understand the issue of their campaign – which this book is not about – but it is a great mistake to assume that this is the most important thing. Too much focus on the issue, instead of on changing the issue, is almost invariably a recipe for failure.

**JOHN MUIR AND SEVEN PRINCIPLES OF CAMPAIGNING**

To my mind, the first ‘modern’ campaigner was John Muir. In the 19th century he used the media, and personal action, to mobilize support in a cause that changed great events in the US, with reverberations that have spread around the world.

Muir was an irascible Scot from Dunbar who emigrated to the US as a child. He lived drama and adventure, activism, science and politics. He was a one-man 19th century David Attenborough, Petra Kelly and tree-hugger rolled into one.

John Muir was for Nature with a big N, science, beauty and learning. Muir confounded his Calvinistic parents, who believed maths to be the devil’s work, by learning in secret. After failing at farming, his family trekked west to an unsuccessful get-rich-quick opportunity – the California gold rush. Later, Muir had the first recorded ‘wilderness experience’ when he spent the American Civil War in the Canadian forests after losing an eye in a spinning accident. ‘Going out,’ he wrote just before he died, ‘I was really going in.’

As a communicator, Muir connected personal action with ‘global’ responsibilities. He walked across the US and began his journal with his address: ‘John Muir, Earth, Planet, Universe’ – perhaps the best known self-declaration of citizenship of nature by a Westerner since the Celts.

As an activist, Muir climbed into the Yosemite region in the forests of the Sierra Nevada with a Chinese and a Spanish-American. Together they helped fight off loggers of giant redwoods at Mariposa Grove above Yosemite, including use of muskets. The massive redwoods – some fallen as the loggers left them, others still towering like giant, tufted icebergs of wood – are still there today.

Scaling many famous peaks for the first time, Muir proved glaciers actually moved and convinced President Theodore Roosevelt to back conservation, create national forests and expand national parks.

Muir used his adventure writing in east coast magazines and newspapers such as The New York Tribune to reach a wider mass public, arguing for Nature in the face of wholesale railway-driven development. That way he met a lawyer, who helped take the cause ‘to the Hill’ to seek legislation in Washington. So Muir combined the components of subsequent environmental ‘campaigns’: communication, inspiration, definition of an issue at individual and global scales, use of ethics and law, politics, journalism and the media to play out a struggle between the public conscience and private interests.

Muir founded the Sierra Club, and then split from it over its support for a dam at Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite Valley. The San Francisco authorities blamed a lack of water – rather than their lack of a fire brigade and proper planning – for the fires that followed the great San Francisco earthquake. Hence, they needed a dam. It was the environmental cause célèbre of its day.
Others later split from the Sierra Club to form Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. Muir’s work largely inspired the global national parks and conservation movement. So no emigrant child from Dunbar: no Rainbow Warrior, no World Heritage Sites – perhaps even no defence of the ozone layer. Despite his achievements, Muir is largely unsung as a hero or significant social figure.16

Why seven principles? It seems a good number.17 Ideally, a campaign needs to:

1 Be multidimensional: communicating in all the dimensions of human understanding and decision-making. Political, emotional, economic, spiritual, psychological, technical, scientific, maybe more. Even if it begins in one, it must be able to translate into the others. It must understand the intuitive and personal (for example flowing from psychology and culture), and the counter-intuitive (for example from science) and be able to deal in both.

2 Engage by providing agency – it needs to give its supporters greater power over their own lives. It must offer a credible, feasible and attractive way to make a new and additional difference (see Chapter 2).

3 Have moral legitimacy, which it gets not by whom it represents but by meeting a need. Campaigners and their supporters have to be convinced the campaign is needed to make something happen in society that ought to be happening but that is not. The more widely shared this feeling becomes, the greater the moral authority of the campaign and the more that can be done. Most campaigns are planned in the mind, won in people’s hearts and rationalized again in the mind.

4 Provoke a conversation in society (see Chapter 4). I say they provoke a conversation rather than conduct it because, to be really effective, campaigns often need society to rethink its views and actions on a particular issue. When campaigns achieve ‘cross-over’ or a self-sustaining chain reaction of participation, then of course the campaigning organization has lost ‘control’ and the ‘issue’ is no longer its property, but it has probably succeeded in changing that society forever. Start talking with society, end by society talking to itself.

5 Have verve, élan, infectious energy. It may feed aspirations, or provide security but, above all, it needs an inspired vanguard. If your campaign doesn’t excite you, then it probably won’t engage others.

6 Be strategic. It must plan a way to assemble enough forces to change what it wants to change. It must involve a battle-winning strategy at one level, and a war-winning strategy composed of a series of battles (see critical paths, Chapter 5).

7 Be communicable, first verbally, as a story – which enables it to be passed on, remembered, perhaps mythologized, not forgotten, mused over, rekindled, reinvented; second, visually: both as emotionally powerful framing images and as ‘evidences’. These visual signs are short cuts to understanding. Campaigns that can be communicated like this can be literally understood without words so have no trouble crossing over languages or, for the most part, across cultures. They also become ‘semiostic’ – people read their own meaning into the images, enabling a campaign to unite rather than to divide.

With qualities such as these, a campaign can resonate, spread and survive setbacks, able to reinvent itself and grow ‘reflexively’. Even if crushed, oppressed or deserted by supporters, such a campaign may live on as an inspiration and rise again. When campaigns are
successful in these terms, they can offer some people a lifestyle or belief system, and in some cases organizations, individuals and the campaigns become indistinguishable.