



CAMPAIGNS II:

Recent Learnings from Other Social Movements

FEBRUARY 2014



ecoAmerica
start with people

February 2014

Greetings,

In 2013, key events like Obama's Climate Action Plan, his Task Force on Climate Preparedness and Resilience, new EPA regulatory action, and activist success on coal plants and exports indicated positive momentum on climate change in America. As we head into 2014, the time is ripe to plant the seeds of public support and political will to strengthen and expand the base for solutions.

Whether or not we achieve meaningful progress on climate solutions will be partly determined by how long it takes us to build a critical mass of mainstream American support. Effective framing, messaging, and communications are essential to this effort. We must engage a broader swath of Americans, to inspire participation in ways that are familiar and acceptable for them. Success will require that we break through the noise of everyday life with unexpected clarity and emotional appeal, and empower Americans to see that solving for climate is at the center of their values.

In short, we need a new campaign on climate. Whether we have climate solutions to "sell" in two months or two years, we must be ready.

In preparation, ecoAmerica is conducting research across a variety of social touch points and social science disciplines to bring forth the latest learnings and practices for successful engagement of Americans. ecoAmerica works exclusively to address climate as a social issue, to harness social change and dynamics to affect societal shifts toward solutions. As with all ecoAmerica research, findings come with practical guidance for climate solutions advocates.

In the pages that follow, we look at recent successful social campaigns in America. From strategy to message, visuals, and outreach, what each of these case studies has in common is this: the campaigns they profiled were victorious. Marriage equality is now triumphing across America. Marijuana is being legalized in several states. And, despite challenging obstacles, President Obama was reelected. From 2012-2013 we witnessed some seismic shifts in previously unaccepted social norms in America.

Each of these shifts included powerful social engagement strategies that drove the campaigns' success. With this report, ecoAmerica documents success factors of these campaigns to provide climate advocates with strategic insights to help move Americans on solutions.

We look forward to working together, individually and collectively, toward engaging Americans in truly meaningful climate progress.

Meighen Speiser
Chief Engagement Officer

Kirra Krygsman
Marketing Operations Coordinator

CONTENTS

Executive Summary	4
2012 Obama Re-Election Campaign	8
Marriage Equality	14
Marijuana Legalization	24
2012 Frameworks for Mobilizing Victory	32
Applying the Learnings to Climate Change: Five Ways to Increase Reach and Effectiveness	44
Endnotes	48

Citation: Krygsman, K, and ecoAmerica (2014). *Campaigns II: Recent Learnings from Other Social Movements*. Washington, DC.

ecoAmerica is grateful to the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for its generous support.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This case study examines the primary factors that drove three recent social movement campaigns that succeeded in gaining a diversity of support among the American public: 1) the 2012 Obama Reelection Campaign; 2) Marriage Equality, and; 3) Marijuana Legalization. It then uses these findings to formulate strategies the climate movement can employ to engage Americans on solutions more successfully.

Overall, the 2012 campaigns evolved their master narratives, inspired large scale social movements, and harnessed the capabilities of emerging technology to transform, reach, engage, succeed, and grow support. An examination into the chronology of events and outcomes for each campaign found that the following specific elements helped drive each campaign's success:

	2012 Obama Campaign	Marriage Equality	Marijuana Legalization
Old Master Narrative	This is a movement of volunteers for change	Gay people should have the right to marry	People should be free to use it because it does no harm
New Master Narrative	There is still more work to be done	The commitment of marriage holds the same values for both straight and gay marriages	Regulation will provide greater safety for American families
New Top Three Moral Appeals	Liberty/Oppression Loyalty/Betrayal Authority/Subversion	Care/Harm Fairness/Cheating Liberty/Oppression	Care/Harm Fairness/Cheating Liberty/Oppression
Outreach Strategies	Online-Social App and Social Media focused on personal opportunities	Viral Social Media, viral videos, and one-on-one conversations	New Social Media messengers and Coopt the Opposition
Influencers	Mainstream Americans, dignitaries, and community leaders	Conservatives, religious individuals, straight allies, and sector-specific leaders	Mothers, Hispanics, law enforcement, and political officials

A further dissection of the 2012 campaigns' master narratives, framing, and outreach methods revealed that each campaign used four synergistic stages:

- a. creating a master narrative;
- b. developing a campaign platform;
- c. implementing a customized plan; and
- d. analyzing user behavior and apply learnings.

These last three stages continue to reinforce each other throughout the entirety of each campaign. Across each of these stages, all three campaigns used data and analytics to understand and target Americans' morals, behaviors, and practices.

In addition, a review of two academic models—Moral Foundation Theory and the Fogg Behavioral Model—provides insight into why Americans accepted the new social norms presented by each of the campaigns. An investigation into the distributed content of each of the campaigns will discuss how messaging was modified to fit personal narratives of the audience.

This report concludes with a series of strategic steps that the climate movement can use to successfully activate American support and engagement. The four steps are:

1. *Conduct research to understand mainstream American people.*
2. *Craft a moral master narrative with core American values to drive positive emotions.*
3. *Connect with people where they are, and expand the base of support through social media content sharing.*
4. *Harness influentials to amplify messages and drive social acceptance.*

Even though these steps are sequential, the climate movement should understand that they are also intertwined. This continuous connection will reinforce outreach approaches that frame climate change as a source of inspiration and empowerment for Americans.

INTRODUCTION

This past summer, ecoAmerica released a new trend report, *New Facts, Old Myths: Environmental Polling Trends*, illustrating that the broad majority of Americans are now concerned about climate, including Republicans (69%), and people of color (86% of African Americans).¹ In addition, the report uncovered that a growing majority of Americans believe that climate change should be addressed, and many already support the public policy options currently on the table. Previously a fringe issue garnering limited attention and concern, climate change has now reached the mainstream in America, and has been steadily gaining urgency.

Americans' views and growing sense of urgency on climate should be interpreted as readiness for engagement. It is not that climate change initiatives have failed to act on climate; rather, they have failed to engender widespread public participation. For example, the lack of public pressure contributed to the 2010 defeat of legislation for U.S. cap and trade policy. The defeat underscored the importance and value of public support in moving policy forward. Therefore, in order to change policy successfully, the climate movement must first tackle the problem from a social change perspective.

“Therefore in order to change policy successfully, the [climate] movement must first tackle the problem from a social change perspective.”

Key issues facing the climate movement span from needing a master narrative to connect with American morals, to figuring out successful pathways to gain public involvement and how to amplify American engagement.

2012 was a year of social change: Obama was re-elected; gay marriage became legal in Maine, Maryland, and Washington; and Colorado and Washington became the first two states to legalize the recreational use of marijuana. It was a game-changing year for issues in America, a year in which organizers doubled-down in strategy and successfully won results. An analysis of the victorious 2012 campaigns—Obama's re-election, Marriage Equality, and Marijuana Legalization—will provide insight into the specific strategies employed by each to win a broad base of support.

This analysis of the 2012 campaigns provides understanding and insights into addressing the challenges of social engagement on climate change. First, this report breaks down pivotal stages of strategy and methods for each campaign. Then, frameworks for moral reasoning and behavioral action will provide explanations for how campaign outreach tactics helped mobilize Americans. Finally, drawing upon these insights, a recommended campaign process is outlined and described for climate advocates to follow.

The new millennium has brought cultural, technological, and societal shifts in America. These shifts have allowed previously static movements to move forward. Even though further research and ongoing evaluation will be needed to refine and implement this recommended campaign process for campaign organizers, the strategies outlined here will help define operational objectives for broadening climate engagement in America.

2012 OBAMA RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

2012 OBAMA RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

On November 6, 2012, a broad coalition of Americans re-elected president Obama. The 2012 re-election campaign did not start in 2012 or 2011. Instead, once Obama started building his historic campaign in 2007 through personalized conversations, he never stopped. In 2012, Obama continued to empower the campaign's tenacious spirit and commitment to proving that millions of voices are more powerful than those of a few billionaires² by running for re-election on a record of change and progress. The campaign's diligently data-driven enterprise remained aware that behind every metric and voter stood a set of values. Recognizing these values in the Obama campaign, outreach is what mobilized public participation and support.

Master Narrative Adjustment

The major focus for the 2012 Obama campaign was maintaining and building on the momentum established by the 2008 campaign. In 2008, the campaign's narrative and campaign did not focus on a political agenda or platform. Instead, the campaign comprised of a movement of volunteers framed by "change America could believe in." In order to continue the success of the 2008 message strategy, the 2012 campaign built upon the idea of change by calibrating it to a new master narrative.

"The campaign's diligently data-driven enterprise remained aware that behind every metric and voter stood a set of values."

The new 2012 master narrative emphasized the work still needing to be done by Americans, and was framed as a storytelling-based change Americans could continue to believe in.² The 2012 campaign narratives – "There is More Work to be Done" and "Change Americans Could Continue to Believe In" – are both broad enough to be resonant but meaningful and flexible enough that any American could insert his/her own local needs, perspectives, or personality into the phrase. This 2012 narrative strategy allowed Obama to show trust in his followers, and in return, they re-established their trust in him. Most importantly, the 2012 campaign continued to use a tone of empowerment, which supported the master narrative that this was Americans' campaign, not Obama's alone.

Data-Driven Strategies

In order to reach undecided voters, every decision made in the campaign was data-driven and meticulously planned.² The success of the 2008 campaign had masked a huge weakness: battleground campaign offices each had their own databases, which were never shared with other offices.³ Therefore, the 2012 campaign set out to create a single massive system that could merge and share information collected from pollsters, fundraisers, field workers, and consumer databases.²

In addition, demographic data unavailable during the 2008 campaign allowed Obama to micro-market to African Americans, Latinos, women, and young voters in swing states. Viewer habits collected by cable companies provided clues to voter traits and preferences.⁴ Not only did the campaign collect these and other pivotal data, but it also provided detailed voter updates every two weeks.² In the field, campaigners were outfitted with mobile applications that provided instant reports on every doorstep chat.⁵ Furthermore, the campaign's web platform gave the campaign a new opportunity to collect massive amounts of data about supporters.²

For instance, once supporters registered as volunteers on the campaign website, the campaign reserved the right to collect information about how volunteers used the site.⁶ The campaign was able to collect information about what volunteers clicked, which pages they viewed, how they interacted with campaign email messages, and personal data they submitted as part of blog comments, interactive forums, contests, and games on the campaign's websites.⁷ The growing use of Facebook authentication for campaign website supporter login also gave the campaign access to supporters' names, profile pictures, gender, networks, lists of friends, and any other information they made public.⁶ The campaign also merged social media and mobile contact information with the main democratic voter files in swing states.⁷ This new data was expensive to assemble, but because the campaign was one of the first to undertake the effort, it gained a distinct advantage.

The compiled data allowed campaign analysts to run tests predicting which types of people would be persuaded by certain kinds of appeals.⁷ The technological tools allowed campaign officials to determine on a house-by-house basis, rather than on a zip code-by-zip code basis, how people were likely to vote and whether they were likely to vote at all. Detailed polling models of swing-state voters helped increase the effectiveness of everything from phone calls and door knocks to direct mailings and social media.⁷

Most importantly, the new data system permitted the campaign to allocate resources toward the right groups of voters before the opposition could. For example, the Obama campaign targeted voters with high precision, which increased the efficiency of TV ad buys by at least 10 percent compared with that of Romney campaign.² By combining strategy, data analytics, and targeted outreach, the campaign was able to dramatically extend its reach and grow support from swing voters.

Technology-Based Grassroots Empowerment

Social media, which had a rich success in the 2008 campaign, amplified the 2012 campaign. Instead of just participating on Facebook and Twitter, the Obama 2012 campaign developed a designated online social media application

Identity - A single-sign-on application allowed all of its users to have one account and password across all the campaign's volunteer-facing applications.³ This feature increased user convenience, signup, login and stability for the duration of the campaign. In addition, the application tracked the number of calls made by the Call Tool and displayed them in Dashboard as part of group 'leaderboards'.⁶ These leaderboards turned activities like calling into a game, enabling friendly competition within campaign groups or regions.



Call Tool offered supporters a way to join in on specific affinity-group calling programs, with issue-specific scripts.⁵

Call Tool - The Call Tool drove the campaign's get-out-the-vote (GOTV) and other voter contact efforts. Volunteers anywhere could join a call campaign through a screen with a target person's phone number, a script, and prompts to follow.⁵ Directional call notes entered by the user, such as household language preference, were processed using collaborative, crowdsourced filtering on the back end, which helped ensure that future calls were handled properly.⁶ The call tool facilitated the campaign's successful GOTV initiative, because of its triggers: being easily accessible, prompting identified recipient callers, and a conversation framework that guided users seamlessly on a path to complete over 3 million calls.²

The Call Tool is still utilized by Organizing for Action, a nonprofit social welfare organization and community grassroots movement that advocates for President Obama's agenda. A handful of Obama's 2012 campaign advisors and White House officials are heavily involved in the program, which continues to utilize the Call Tool.

"Hi____. My name is [NAME], and I'm a volunteer with Organizing for America, the grassroots organization supporting President Obama's agenda for change. (Wait for response and engage in a conversational manner.)

I'm calling today to see if you'd like to join me in speaking out for health care reform.

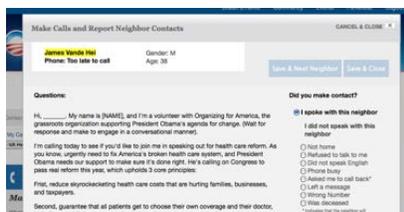
As you know, we urgently need to fix America's broken down health care system, and President Obama needs our support to make sure it's done right. He's calling on Congress to pass real reform this year, which upholds three core principles:

First, reduce skyrocketing health care costs that are hurting families, businesses, and taxpayers.

Second, guarantee that all patients get to choose their own coverage and their doctor, including a public insurance option to keep companies honest..."- Organizing for Action

Dashboard - An online application and organizational tool made it easier for volunteers to be recruited and connected with others in their area. Tracking activities such as canvassing, voter registration and phone calls to voters, Dashboard handled similar metrics of running a field organization.⁶ The application increased users' productivity and enabled new users who normally couldn't volunteer to do so, such as rural users who lived too far from a field office.² The heavy social networking element of the campaign helped drive the adoption of Dashboard; it eventually became a sort of Facebook for Obama supporters and volunteers.⁸

The GOTV effort also used Facebook, primarily as a way to replicate the door-knocking efforts of field organizers. The campaign decided to use Facebook because in 2012 Obama had more than 34 million Facebook friends, who collectively were friends with more than 98 percent of U.S.-based Facebook users—more than the number of people who vote.²



Organizing for Action continues to use the 2012 Call Tool for its outreach to Americans.⁶



The Dashboard web application helped automate the recruitment and outreach process to potential campaign volunteers.⁸

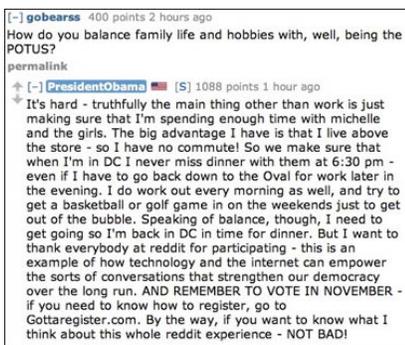




Notifications Obama App users received about voting.⁹



The screenshots of President Obama's answers on Reddit, under his "Ask Me Anything" thread, discusses the administration's platform on taxes, sports, internet regulation, and space exploration.⁹



This screenshot of President Obama's Reddit thread "Ask Me Anything" discusses how Obama balances his family life with his presidency. Obama's appearance on Reddit represents just one of the Obama campaign's many online and social media strategies many online and social media strategies.¹⁰

In the final weeks of the campaign, individuals who had downloaded the 2012 Obama Facebook app were sent messages to nudge their friends in swing states. App users were sent pictures of their friends and told to click a button to automatically urge those targeted voters to take certain actions, such as registering to vote, voting early, or getting to the polls.⁷ The campaign found that roughly one in five people contacted by a Facebook friend acted on the request, in large part because the request came from someone they knew.⁷ This example demonstrates the emerging power of social media communication, which enables campaigns to personalize their outreach to undecided voters. This is extremely important when many voters are skeptical of mass political communication, but trust the views of their friends.⁹

Like the 2008 campaign, the 2012 campaign continued to engage with voters on popular social media sites like Facebook and Twitter, but it also looked to expand its voter reach using newer sites. In August 2012, Obama decided to personalize his outreach efforts by answering questions on the popular social website Reddit. Many of the President's senior aides did not know about Reddit, but campaign research located a considerable number of targeted voters on Reddit, making Obama's appearance a potentially effective and breakthrough strategy. The Reddit AMA demonstrates how the 2012 Obama campaign's social media strategy emphasized the importance and effectiveness of micro-marketing.¹⁰

Overall, the 2012 Obama campaign capitalized on the already-existing philosophy of using storytelling and emotion to motivate participation - and added to it new technologies for mobilizing voters. Harnessing Americans' social networks allowed the campaign to rapidly spread information and draw in less-likely voters. While the campaign was a highly data-driven enterprise, it never lost sight of the fact that behind every metric stood a real person, and behind every voter stood a set of values that merited careful strategy and messaging.

MARRIAGE EQUALITY

MARRIAGE EQUALITY

The 1970s marked the beginning of the American movement for marriage rights and benefits for same-sex couples. Four decades later, on May 9, 2012, Barack Obama became the first active U.S. president to publicly declare his support for the legalization of same-sex civil marriage. This event foreshadowed the U.S. Supreme Court's June 26, 2013, ruling that Section 3 of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) was unconstitutional. DOMA, enacted in 1996, prevented the federal government from recognizing same-sex marriages. However, many aspects of marriage law are determined by states, rather than the federal government. Therefore, DOMA does not prevent individual states from defining marriage as they see fit. American friends, neighbors, and family members continue to waver in their positions on marriage due to deeply-held social, cultural, and religious beliefs; they have internal conflicts and uncertainties about gay people and marriage. In 2012, however, the Marriage Equality campaign ultimately helped Americans to push past discomfort and resolve internal conflicts in order to support gay marriage actively.

Re-Framing The Master Narrative

For the past decade, same-sex marriage advocates have been engineering a revolution. In order to understand how gay marriage triumphed in 2012 and 2013, however, it is important first to understand how the master narrative brand lost California in 2008. Proponents of Proposition 8 (a ballot initiative to eliminate same-sex marriage rights) avoided stigmatization by asserting that they were not against gay individuals or relationships per se. Instead, they decided to focus on the consequences of legalizing gay marriage.¹¹ In contrast, the 2008 Marriage Equality master narrative was not consistent or concrete; it was mainly focused on marriage rights for gay people, which separated advocates as a special interest group asking for special consideration. Prop 8 supporters relayed their message to Californians by hitting voters in the heart and gut, while opponents tried in vain to appeal to Californians' heads.¹²

In 2012, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) made an internal shift in leadership, which influenced the success of what would be the new master narrative. Former HRC president Joe Salmonese was primarily known to be a traditional fundraiser/lobbyist leader.¹³ On March 2, 2012 HRC named Chad Griffin as HRC's new president, who was brought into the organization because of his background in communications and successful experience in social movement organizing.¹³ The new president reflected HRC's strategic shift to embed organizing within its structure of outreach. Following the loss in 2008, the first organizing step for the Marriage Equality

campaign was to understand what was missing from their previous master narrative and to construct a more consistent and concrete one. When researchers asked people what marriage meant to them, the answers were always the same: marriage meant love and commitment.¹¹ Therefore, in 2012 the Marriage Equality's narrative changed from gay rights and special interests to more universally connecting frames: the commitment of marriage; universal love, and; Marriage Equality for all. The element of equality in the context of similarity to straight marriage never left the narrative. 2012's narrative was more about extending the recognition on loving relationships to legal recognition, by first focusing on making marriage equality an accepted social norm in America.

Hearts Strategy: Field Tested, Voter Approved

Researchers found that gay people needed to talk about marriage more.¹¹ Many gay individuals assumed everyone they knew accepted them as deserving of marriage in the same way they accepted them as people. The reality was, these same people often figured that since their gay acquaintances never talked about marriage, it must not be important to them. In order to spread its message successfully, the Marriage Equality campaign looked to win the hearts of voters through one-on-one outreach. Trained canvassers engaged in 30- to 60-minute heart-to-hearts with targeted voter groups, using scripts developed by behavioral scientists and tailored to various segments of the electorate, to draw out wavering voters on the meaning of marriage and faith in their lives.¹²

Mailers and TV ads for Marriage Matters, an ad campaign in Oregon, showed gay couples and straight couples side by side, talking about how long they'd been together, the meaning of marriage to their everyday lives, and how their views of marriage equality have changed (to support).

The 2008 Oregon mailer conveyed emphasized the similarities between gay and straight marriage: commitment and shared values. The Marriage Equality campaign learned that the best way to move people toward support is to show the commitment of gay couples who are already doing the work of marriage in everyday life.¹⁴ The language in the Oregon mailers conveys the commitment of marriage by highlighting responsibility, promise, and taking care of each other.



Fanda Bender and Shelia Gam of Talent, Oregon.¹⁵

“Long ago we made a commitment to live together and care for each other. We’ve been together for thirty-one years of dedicated love and support. We have volunteered in the community, worked as social workers, psychotherapists and educators. And we’ve raised five kids.

We share the laundry, cooking, vacations, and the happiness we wish for our children and grandchildren.

We’ve spent all these years as a family. But we are still waiting for the day when we can be recognized as a married couple.”¹⁵



Don and Joanne Ross are native Oregonians and have been happily married for 52 years.¹⁶

“There was a time that I was opposed to gay marriage. Not just opposed, mind you, but strongly opposed. I come from a traditional Christian background, and my wife and I belonged to a conservative Baptist church. For a long time, we couldn’t even begin to get our minds around the idea of same-sex couples getting married.

But times change, and so did we. Part of it was meeting gay and lesbian couples who love each other and are just as committed to each other as my wife and I. In fact, in a time when so many marriages fall apart, their commitment is an example of what it takes to get through life together. It’s the kind of foundation that makes for strong families and strong communities.

As my wife and I talked about it, we began to recognize the pain and unfairness that gay couples suffer because they are legally prohibited from being married. Allowing same-sex couples to join in civil marriage has no impact on our religion, and certainly no impact on our marriage. But marriage can provide long-term committed couples with the ability to care for and protect each other in a way that nothing else can.

I am also reminded of something else from my upbringing: treat others as you would want them to treat you. Living by the Golden Rule is fundamental to me, and I realized that I was falling short. Denying marriage to two adults who love each other and want to commit to each other is just not fair.

Tolerance is a strong Oregon value. I believe that all of us want to do the right thing, sometimes it just takes a while to see what that is. It took us some time, but my wife and I believe that opening marriage to all committed couples is the right thing to do.”¹⁶

Without saying “we’re just like you” outright, gay and straight Oregon couples told their stories in a way that allowed straight individuals to make the pragmatic connection for themselves. Specifically, some of the stories by straight people include tales of transformation. For example, Don and Joanne Ross’ transformation testimonial involves:

1. Admitting they didn’t always support gay marriage;
2. Meeting gay couples and learning they shared the same personal values; and

3. Realizing that their core values support gay marriage, and they did not have to change their personal values in order to change their opinions.

This example also demonstrates how the campaign's outreach also used messengers that members of the opposition could identify with.¹² This is because people are more likely to feel open to consider evidence when a recognized member of their cultural community presents it.¹⁷ This tactic demonstrates just one mechanism for successfully reaching into the hearts of the audience.

Americans identify with the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," as one of their basic values and a tenet by which they live their lives.¹² In addition to proposing the use of trusted messengers, Freedom to Marry's Report explained how people are most receptive when the concept is modeled instead of just talked about.¹¹ In 2011, Marriage Equality used TV ads to effectively discuss the Golden Rule topic with voters.

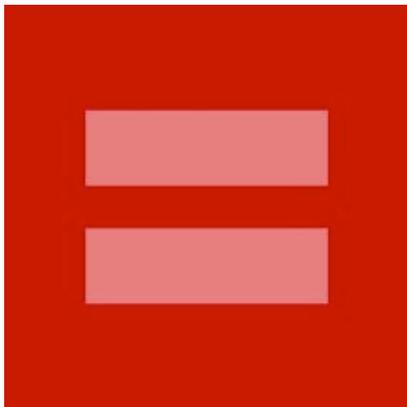
- [DARRICK] *Where I grew up, you pretty much expected things to be a certain way. But over the years, we have met a number of gay and lesbian couples.*
- [KATE] *We've been married over 10 years and can see that their commitment to each other is similar to our commitment to each other.*
- [DARRICK] *Built around love and dreams that every individual has - just like any other relationship it really made me think.*
- [KATE] *I've really been thinking about it too, because I have been talking to our 8 year-old son about not judging others, to treat other people the way we want to be treated.*
- [DARRICK] *As a co-worker, a neighbor, and especially as a parent, the Golden Rule is very important to us. You have to teach your children by example, by your attitude, not just words.*
- [KATE] *Gay people may not seem the same as you and me, but in the end...*
- [DARRICK] *...They just want to marry the person they love. I always felt allowing gay and lesbian couples to have a civil marriage was a complicated issue. But as I think more about it, it turns out to be pretty simple. Love. Commitment. Marriage.*
- [KATE] *It's just human. I would absolutely not want anyone to tell me I couldn't get married.*
- [DARRICK] *And we certainly wouldn't want to deny that for anyone else.*

Dialogue from a TV ad by Freedom to Marry.¹⁸

This TV ad urged the audience to talk with each other about the principle of the Golden Rule and about the meaning of marriage to themselves.¹⁹ Framing Marriage Equality as love and commitment made it comfortable for voters to talk about and discuss their personal experiences with these themes in their relationships and marriage with the public.

Social Media: Going Viral For Social Acceptance

Social media was an important technological tool for the Marriage Equality campaign to spread its master narrative. Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube opened up the dialogue on marriage and became a platform for individuals to share personal love and commitment stories.¹⁴ In addition, these platforms provided a low-risk way to show support. As a result, a diversity of stories reached people in their homes, offices, and mobile devices.



One of the best examples of social sharing of the master narrative was the campaign imagery used by the Marriage Equality campaign. On March 25, 2013, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) via Facebook asked Marriage Equality supporters to “paint the town red” during the two days of the U.S. Supreme Courts oral arguments.²⁰ On Tuesday, March 26, 2.7 million Facebook users updated their profile pictures a 120% increase compared to the previous Tuesday.²¹ The Facebook pink-on-red equal sign campaign participation spanned the entire country, but was especially popular with specific age demographics: those closest to 30 years of age showed the highest participation rates.²¹

The pink-on-red equals sign is derived from the HRC logo, which is a yellow-on-blue equals sign. The theme of love in the image is represented by the pink and red colors. The HRC utilizes the symbolism of the equals sign to portray its master narrative about love being equal. In addition, the simplicity of the image reinforces the campaign’s frame that marriage is simple: it is love, commitment and family, and nothing else. Altogether, the colors and the simple imagery drive the audience toward compassion. Compassion, in turn, is what allowed the audience to feel comfortable in giving their support for Marriage Equality.

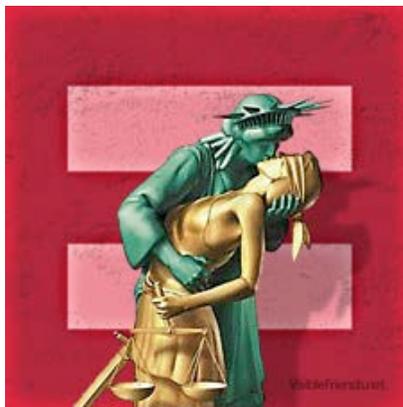


In a Scientific American article, Melanie Tannenbaum, Ph.D., explains how an individual changing his/her profile picture in support of same-sex marriage could affect his/her Facebook friends. Tannenbaum explains how people can be influenced by what they perceive to be social norms. If someone sees that all of his/her friends are pro Marriage Equality, then he/she may feel that such an opinion is the social norm and be more likely to adopt it him/herself.²²

Tannenbaum's proposal appears accurate due to the image's viral success, as highlighted in HRC's report *italicize Marriage at the U.S. Supreme Court: A Transformative Moment for Equality*. The viral Facebook profile pictures drew record attention to HRC's website and the resources it provides. On Tuesday, March 26th, more than 700,000 unique visitors went to the HRC's website over a 24-hour period, and 86% of site visitors were new.²³ HRC's social media grew exponentially as well. HRC's Facebook follower size grew by over 200,000, from 1.2 million to 1.4 million, and it gained 26,000 Twitter followers in just two days.²¹ In addition, in less than 48 hours, more than 100,000 people signed onto HRC's Majority Opinion petition.²¹



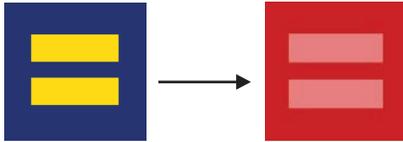
Numerous people and companies, from Beyoncé to Bud Light, used the image or variations of it to show their support for Marriage Equality. The proliferation of altered red HRC images (shown left) demonstrates the power of allowing individuals to personalize or customize the master narrative to express their individual creativity and/or connection with the issue. Sesame Street, a long-running American children's television series, published a modified version of the red equals sign featuring Bert and Ernie. While Sesame Workshop released a statement disproving allegations of Bert and Ernie being gay in 2011,²⁴ this example nonetheless provides a social standard for Americans to accept any marriage as a practice of love, instead of discrimination, because love is not complicated; it is elementary and the emotions are universal.



In another modification, the equals sign is set as a backdrop to the Ladies of Liberty and Justice kissing each other. Within nine hours, the image was shared over 2,000 times and made it to the number one spot on Reddit.²⁵ This example pairs the idea of Marriage Equality with the ultimate symbols of freedom: liberty and justice, and thus inspires the audience to understand marriage as a right, as basic and universal as liberty and justice.

The iconic red and pink equal sign not only gained attention for the HRC campaign, but also allowed people to express freely, on their own terms, what love equality meant to them, regardless of their backgrounds. Throughout all of these modified images, the message's focus on love was kept consistent, in order to appeal to the audiences' hearts.¹⁴ Social media users were able to share their support of the movement by identifying themselves with the image, which aided the social acceptance of Marriage Equality among different groups in America.

Human Rights Campaign as an Example



Symbols Used to Facilitate the Transmission of Social Values

The following steps demonstrate the process by which HRC's red equal sign was modified by people to fit the beliefs in their peer groups. The modification facilitated the social acceptance of gay-marriage within communities that had once opposed it.

1. Seed Symbol

The starting design embodies the initiative's master narrative, and branded by social values.

HRC: Took the simple Human Rights Campaign logo and changed the colors from yellow-on-blue to pink-on-red to emphasize love being equal.

2. Share the Symbol with Engaged Influencers

The symbol is shared by the creator on a commonly used platform where its followers are. The platform includes a way for the audience to engage easily, whether inherently or prompted by the creator.

HRC: The HRC used its Facebook page, a platform where most of its audience already was, to introduce the red equals signs. The Facebook post prompted followers to show their support by asking them to change their profile picture to the red equals sign. In addition, Facebook's built-in components, like, share, tagging, and comment abilities, allow followers to engage with HRC's message.

3. Influencers Share with their Networks

Followers in the organization's network take the symbol and extend the outreach by sharing it with their personal network on similar platforms. The low risk share prompted by the creator models how followers should share within their networks.

HRC: As the number of people who changed their profile picture to the red equals sign increased, users in multiple groups/networks could not ignore how a large number of their friends were engaging on a topic.

4. Expected and Unexpected Messengers Personalize and Share Image

The audience changes the original symbol to express their individuality to make it meaningful to themselves. Re-framing the original symbol to display additional values, extends reach and weakens taboos.

HRC: Followers, both established and new, saw a way to photoshop their own perspective onto the original red equals sign. All of the variations illustrate support for marriage equality from a diversity of Americans.

5. Positive Reinforcement of Supporters

A rewarding stimulus consequently strengthens and increases favorable behavior.

HRC: The exponential numbers of Facebook likes, shares, comments, as well as Twitter tweets and retweets, demonstrates the passionate engagement building up with mainstream Americans.



6. Pride Becomes Practice

Americans accept the social value and it becomes increasingly inherent.

HRC: The robust outreach of the red equals sign, gave Americans the opportunity to talk about how marriage equality mattered to them. Together the symbol and social media helped to expand marriage equality interest in a short amount of time.

Graphing the Impact of Marriage Equality's Red Equals Sign

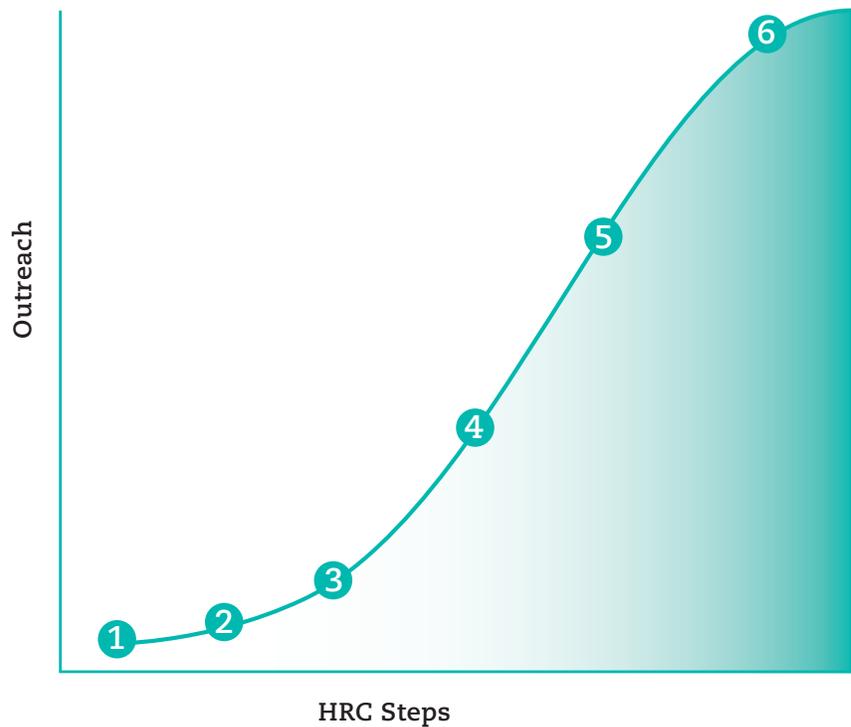


Table Key

1. HRC changes logo colors from blue and yellow to red and pink with Engaged Influencers
2. HRC shares red and pink equals sign on it's Facebook page for Personal Values
3. Marriage Equality supporter changes his or her Facebook profile picture to the red equals sign
4. Social media follower modifies red equals sign
5. Internet users engage on social media
6. Elevated awareness of Marriage Equality is created with mainstream Americans

Even though the Marriage Equality campaign had raised just as much money as their opponents and had favorable conditions for support in 2008, the campaign was unable to come up with a stable master narrative and a reliable avenue to deliver it.¹² In 2012, that all changed. Marriage Equality's master narrative of love and commitment was delivered to voters through personalized, one-on-one outreach.¹¹

Since engagement requires an emotional connection, Facebook proved to be a highly effective way of spreading the message of love. This is because love is an emotion, and Facebook users are constantly connecting emotionally and taking action with their network relationships. A user's engagement on a topic such as Marriage Equality can be measured by his/her participation and analyzed on the Facebook platform. In order harness the outreach capabilities of Facebook, campaigns in Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, and Washington shared an opposition-research firm holding bi-weekly conference calls to strategize around common problems and analytic data associated with social media engagement.¹¹ These collaborative strategic sessions allowed the Marriage Equality campaign to continue connecting at a peer-to-peer level, successfully, harnessing the attention of social media.

In the end, this campaign's success depended on three key factors: a powerful master narrative based on based on universal values of love and commitment, the ability of supporters to reappropriate its meaning for their own needs, and an outreach strategy focused on social media and peer-to-peer network to spread this narrative and create acceptance for the new social norm—understanding gay-marriage as no different than any other marriage.

MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION

MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION

Beginning in the 1970s, attempts to decriminalize cannabis started to surface in the U.S., with the most liberal views peaking in 1978. While America had flirted with ending marijuana prohibition in the late 1900s, competing priorities suppressed the initiative. In the meantime, this gave the Marijuana Legalization campaign time to build energy and find a solution to the problem of people resisting change. In order to be successful, pro-legalization efforts would have to shake things up: they would have to make the voters see the status quo as unacceptable and the alternative a moral good.²⁶ In 2010, the master narrative focused on what good would come from legalization, such as tax revenues and prioritization of police resources.²⁶ While these things are good, they did not tell the story of why it is so critical to change the status quo.

Recalling History In An Evolved Master Narrative

In order to inspire Americans to embrace that a change needed to be made, the campaign looked into America's past. In doing so, the campaign found similarities between the current conditions of America and the state of America during the 1920s prohibition era.²⁷ The prohibition era saw an elevated level of crime, gangsters, lost revenue, and a reduction of safety due to the illicit sale of alcohol. These elements were argued by the opposition to be the effects America would endure if marijuana were legalized. In turn, pro-regulation campaigners saw the opposition's arguments as perfectly describing the current consequences of the illegal marijuana market. The 2012 campaign tackled the opposition's mindset head-on by coopting the opposition's narrative as its own. The 2012 Marijuana Legalization campaign achieved this asserting that the safety of Americans was in jeopardy, and framing Marijuana Legalization as an end to prohibition.²⁷

Handpicked Messengers

The 2012 victories in Colorado and Washington benefitted from insights gleaned from previous failures across the nation. These insights taught cannabis campaigners where and how to target their efforts. Legalization advocates have found that female support tends to be a leading indicator for the success or failure of marijuana measures.²⁸ Campaign researchers looked to the cases of California's 2010 and Colorado's 2006 votes, which showed that sagging support among women preceded a collapse in support from men.²⁸

As a result, the Marijuana Legalization campaign elected to focus on reaching a deciding group: mothers. In 2012, mothers in Colorado and Washington delivered tailored messages designed to assuage concerns like family safety and preventing access to drugs for children.²⁸ TV ads, which displayed mothers speaking about the concerns of family safety, permitted viewing mothers to resonate personally with their own families, which they would do anything to protect.²⁸ In addition, pro-legalization efforts made law enforcement officers the messengers for addressing the Latino community’s misplaced concerns about an increased market for drug cartels.²⁸ Law enforcement successfully explained to both mothers and Latinos how their concerns about Marijuana Legalization were actually already associated with the illicit sale of marijuana.

The appearance of marijuana regulation messengers changed from the traditional avenues of television news and local newspapers to the new platforms of social media. Today, 72 percent of online adults use social networking sites, a number which has more than doubled in the past five years.²⁹ In addition, 80 percent of Hispanic Internet users use social networking sites.²⁹ The Pew Research Center has also found that Facebook users are much more politically engaged than most people and have more close relationships.³⁰ The data explains in part why the campaign looked to Facebook as a way to reach the game-changing votes of Colorado mothers and Latinos. Overall, Marijuana Legalization messengers were able engage the majority of their new targeted audiences through social media.



The above images are original posts from The Colorado Marijuana Initiative 2012 Facebook page, highlighting the endorsement of Marijuana Legalization by law enforcement and higher education professional groups.³¹

The Facebook posts by The 2012 Colorado Marijuana Initiative were both informative and helped motivate followers to engage. Their posts tended to follow a certain formula to strengthen engagement. First, they opened with language similar to “breaking news,” strengthened credibility by providing information on who had endorsed the campaign for followers to “check out,” then they encouraged followers to share the post. In addition, the above Facebook posts demonstrate how the campaign made information transparent to audiences. In these two cases, audiences can easily access the names and associations of the individuals endorsing marijuana regulation in Colorado. The Facebook posts were liked and shared broadly in numbers that supported and elicited participation from followers.

In both Washington and Colorado, the campaigns co-opted the opposition by using new and unlikely influential messengers, who may have been once opposed, to raise awareness. These included: law enforcement, personnel, mothers, and Hispanics. Relying on public television and radio hosts to fuel endorsements by political leaders, the campaign successfully captured donor attention as well.³² Together, political leaders, law enforcement leaders, and big donors successfully explained (and convinced voters) how legalizing marijuana would generate tax money for schools and health care and free up law enforcement resources.

Support From Billboards

In April 2012, proponents of Amendment 64, the Regulate Marijuana Like Alcohol Act, erected a billboard near the Denver Broncos’ Sports Authority Field at Mile High Stadium featuring a soccer-mom-esque woman saying, “For many reasons, I prefer marijuana over alcohol.³³ Does that make me a bad person?” The billboard became the first advertisement of the 2012 Marijuana Legalization campaign in Colorado. As the first advertisement of the campaign, its purpose was to get people in Colorado to start thinking about the topic of marijuana.³⁴

The billboard was part of the 2012 Colorado Campaign to Regulate Marijuana Like Alcohol. Image courtesy of RegulateMarijuana.org.³⁵



The woman seen on the billboard looks like a suburban soccer mom wearing simple clothes and accessories. The crossed arms of the woman signify her power and importance, with which Colorado moms can identify. The campaign uses the persona of the woman to allow Colorado moms to adopt marijuana use as a social norm. By making no mention of Amendment 64, the campaign encourages social acceptance of marijuana before introducing the campaign's initiatives. The campaign does this by connecting the issue of marijuana with alcohol, which becomes more prominent in its following advertisements. Since there is already an established social acceptance of alcohol in the U.S.,³¹ the billboard does not tell the audience what to think, but instead encourages people to start thinking differently about marijuana overall.

The location of the billboard also amplifies the connection of marijuana with alcohol. The billboard is directly over a liquor store.³³ There is a large Bud Lite sign right below it and another liquor store two doors down. Again, the juxtaposition starts to activate comparisons people may make between alcohol regulation and marijuana—asking themselves why it's okay for there to be liquor stores but it's a problem for someone like a woman on a billboard to use marijuana just as responsibly.

“People are more likely to favor Marijuana Legalization when they think of marijuana users as 'people like us' and not 'people like them'.”

Overall, the billboard simply encouraged people to consider that in fact there are users of marijuana just like this woman who are not bad people, and therefore should not be made into criminals. The campaign used the words “I prefer” to create a social acceptance of marijuana.³⁴ By introducing the social acceptance of marijuana, the legalization campaign is positioned positively in the realm of a regulation-based necessity.

In June 2012, proponents of Amendment 64 replaced their first billboard with a placard emphasizing efforts to keep pot out of the hands of kids. The billboard represents the second phase of the Marijuana Legalization campaign in Colorado. The main purpose of the second phase and of the advertisement was to educate Coloradans about how regulation will help parents who are trying to keep their teenaged children safe.²⁸

The billboard was part of the 2012 Colorado Campaign to Regulate Marijuana Like Alcohol. Image courtesy of RegualteMarijuana.org.³⁶



Family figure messengers used by both billboards allowed the campaign to establish a parental tone. Firstly, the father and son's eye contact with the viewer captures and engages the audience's attention. Furthermore, the man and adolescent appear to share a father-son bond. Aesthetically, the father's arm around his son's shoulder invites the viewer to recall an emotional connection he/she might have to either his/her own parent and/or child. Specifically the arm's placement portrays the emotions of love and protection, drawing on family values, which appeals to a wider range of voters than previous campaigns.

The father's Latino appearance in this second billboard targets the Latino and parent audiences, which had previously been a major obstacle for legalization advocates. Parent-aged and Latino voters were the biggest obstacle for California's rejected Proposition 19 in 2010, in large part due to their fear of increased drug cartel traffic.²⁸ This billboard builds upon the parent movement of the late 1970s and '80s, when parents were key drivers of strict sentencing and enforcement policies that are the foundation of the war on drugs.²⁸

The phrase, "Please, card my son. Regulate the sale of marijuana and keep it out of his hands" helps frame marijuana regulation as a way to reduce marijuana use among teens. The billboard uses regulation-based language in order to appeal to parents and Latinos. Specifically, Marijuana Legalization chooses the words "card" and "regulate" to allude to the elevated crime during the 1920s prohibition. These terms are similar to the alcohol legalization efforts in the 1920s, which used regulation as a solution to the empowered criminals and readily accessible substances that were fueled by the

underground market.²⁷ The 1920s reference highlights the responsibilities of parents to make sure marijuana is regulated and carded in order to keep it out of their children's hands.

The Perfect Storm

Obama's emergence could have also accelerated legalization by drawing pivotal groups, such as youth, into the center of political conversation about Marijuana Legalization. Many of these pivotal voters only come out for presidential elections, and one of the reasons why there was such a large margin of victory in Colorado and Washington was because it was a presidential election year.²

“Framing the pro-policy campaign as a prohibition initiative reminded undecided voters that Marijuana Legalization would not hurt their families, but rather would protect them.”

The Marijuana Legalization campaigns in Colorado and Washington targeted the biggest group of deciding voters, and tailored messages to them with a historic connotation that resonated with the audience. Framing the pro-policy campaign as a prohibition initiative reminded undecided voters that Marijuana Legalization would not hurt their families, but rather would protect them.²⁸ After crafting an impactful narrative, the campaign utilized funds from big donors and the credibility of leaders in politics, law enforcement, and communities to share that narrative with the public. The campaign's formula of a resonating master narrative, impactful messengers, earned resources, and political environment in each state composed the ideal variables to deliver a successful outcome.

2012 FRAME- WORKS FOR MOBILIZING VICTORY

2012 FRAMEWORKS FOR MOBILIZING VICTORY

Building a campaign takes time. Starting early gave each of the campaigns a huge advantage in every aspect—from building the master narrative and grassroots organizing to recruiting donors, engaging political stakeholders, amplifying the message, and successfully incorporating digital and technology tools. And, by developing cultures where action was continuous, all of the campaigns were able to maintain the momentum of public engagement. Each campaign had sub-campaigns in states, cities, and communities that were organized in phases and built logically upon one another. These phases were constantly reinforced by a powerful master narrative built upon the moral foundations of Americans to foster a movement of social change.

	2012 Obama Campaign	Marriage Equality	Marijuana Legalization
Old Master Narrative	This is a movement of volunteers for change	Gay people should have the right to marry	People should be free to use it because it does no harm
New Master Narrative	There is still more work to be done	The commitment of marriage holds the same values for both straight and gay marriages	Regulation will provide greater safety for American families
New Top Three Moral Appeals	Liberty/Oppression Loyalty/Betrayal Authority/Subversion	Care/Harm Fairness/Cheating Liberty/Oppression	Care/Harm Fairness/Cheating Liberty/Oppression
Outreach Strategies	Online-Social App and Social Media focused on personal opportunities	Viral Social Media, viral videos, and one-on-one conversations	New Social Media messengers and Coopt the Opposition
Influencers	Mainstream Americans, dignitaries, and community leaders	Conservatives, religious individuals, straight allies, and sector-specific leaders	Mothers, Hispanics, law enforcement, and political officials

Table 1. Summary table comparing the main findings for the campaigns investigated in this case study. The following content in this section analyzes the similarities.

Overcoming the Opposition's Deep-Rooted History

In order for the 2012 campaigns to net winning results, they first had to weaken oppositional sentiment. Before any of the three campaigns organized their tactics, they first took a step back to research and learn about previous failures. All three campaigns learned that they needed to break through oppositional rhetoric and viewpoints that had taken root in American minds and culture. To break through, the campaigns recalled history: the Obama campaign revealed the historic past of Romney, Marriage Equality referred to love on which marriage is built and The Golden Rule, and Marijuana Legalization recalled the events of 1920s prohibition. By referring to episodic historic events, all three of these campaigns established credibility.

“All three campaigns learned that they needed to break through oppositional rhetoric and viewpoints that had taken root in American minds and culture.”

To recall the historic past, for example, the slogans: “Committed, Long-Term Gay Couples Doing the Same Things that Married Couples Do” and “Put Drug Cartels Out of Business” were used by Marriage Equality and Marijuana Legalization, respectively. These messages appealed to oppositional emotion and logic by framing the issues with universal values – in these cases, in terms of love and regulation. In both instances, the frames also empowered the audience by generating a theme of family protection against evils, a historically powerful American theme. Furthermore, the campaigns were able to provide a solution to the opposition and connect individually and emotionally to motivate Americans to demand change.

Harnessing Moral Foundations For Action

Moral Foundations Theory was developed to understand why morality varies across cultures, yet still contains so many similarities and recurrent themes. The theory proposes that several innate and universally available psychological systems are the foundations of “intuitive ethics.” Each culture then constructs virtues, narrative, and institutions on top of these foundations, thereby creating unique moralities. The six foundations are: care/harm, fairness/cheating, liberty/oppression, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion and sanctity/degradation.³⁷

When framing a master narrative, the 2012 Obama campaign, Marriage Equality and Marijuana Legalization all employed the moral foundations of: care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal and liberty/oppression. Below is a table that documents the span of moral foundations used in each of the campaigns' frames.

Moral Foundation	2012 Obama Campaign ³⁸	Marriage Equality ¹²	Marijuana Legalization ³⁴
Care/Harm- concerns about the caring for and protection of others		"love, commitment, family"	"please card my son"
Fairness/Cheating concerns about treating others fairly and upholding justice	"A Fair Shot"	"the right to love", "marriage=<3+<3", "committed, long-term gay couples doing the same things that married couples do"	"regulate the sale of marijuana and keep it out of his hands"
Liberty/Oppression- concerns about personal freedom and control by other	"forward", "greater together", "winning the future", "we can't wait"	"freedom to marry", "straight against hate", "why marriage matters", "right to vote"	"we control the money", "put drug cartels out of business"
Loyalty/Betrayal- concerns about group membership; loyalty to one's nation and community	"we've got more work to do", "an America/Economy built to last", "betting on America", "we don't quit"	"united for marriage"	"a legitimate medicinal use"
Authority/Subversion- concerns about legitimacy, leadership, and tradition	"change we can continue to believe in"	"the Golden Rule"	"we can stop this"
Sanctity/Degradation- concerns about purity, sanctity and contamination		the purity of marriage as "love" only	"less harmful than alcohol"

Table 2. Catalogues the slogans used by each of the 2012 campaigns and categorizes them based on the moral foundation used. Definitions for each moral foundation are from the Moral Foundations Theory, an accepted paper series.³⁹

Both Marriage Equality and Marijuana Legalization utilized the moral foundations of harm/care and fairness/cheating, which appealed to their audiences' emotions associated with family. The language used in the slogans, "Love, Commitment, Family," and "Right to Love" from Marriage Equality, and "Please Card My Son," and, "Regulate the Sale of Marijuana and Keep It Out of His Hands" from Marijuana Legalization, generated emotional images of family that connected with audiences, offering them a new way to empathize with the issues by drawing on personally-relevant and familiar family dynamics. Once these campaigns were able to connect with their audience emotionally, the messages fostered social acceptance of the change the campaigns wanted.

The moral foundation of loyalty/betrayal used by all three campaigns effectively challenged followers and non-followers to unite and mobilize on the issue together. Obama's "We've Got Your Back", Marriage Equality's "United", and Marijuana Legalization's "We Can" offer campaign-relevant examples of this frame. The loyalty/betrayal frame evokes collective responsibility; it becomes the audience's responsibility to take action against the threat to their values. The collective responsibility tone therefore enables supporters to assemble in collaboration, thus stimulating a social movement for the people by the people (vs. a top-down policy initiative).

Once audiences became emotionally invested in the issues, the campaigns used the moral foundation of liberty/oppression to empower supporters with concrete goals. Obama's "Forward", Marriage Equality's "Freedom to Marry", and Marijuana Legalization's "We Control the Money" built up the mobility of the campaigns' followers to act on their own instead of for the campaign. The ability of followers to share personalized versions of the master narrative increased the probability that their family, friends and acquaintances would be motivated, ultimately generating a domino effect of campaign reach and participation.

Obama's 2012 campaign, Marriage Equality, and Marijuana Legalization were able to successfully frame their master narratives and empower their audiences to act. These frames proved to be effective because they appealed to moral values strongly held by groups of individuals or segments of the public. As a result, morally focused messaging frames persuaded audiences to reassess and shift their perspectives and behaviors.

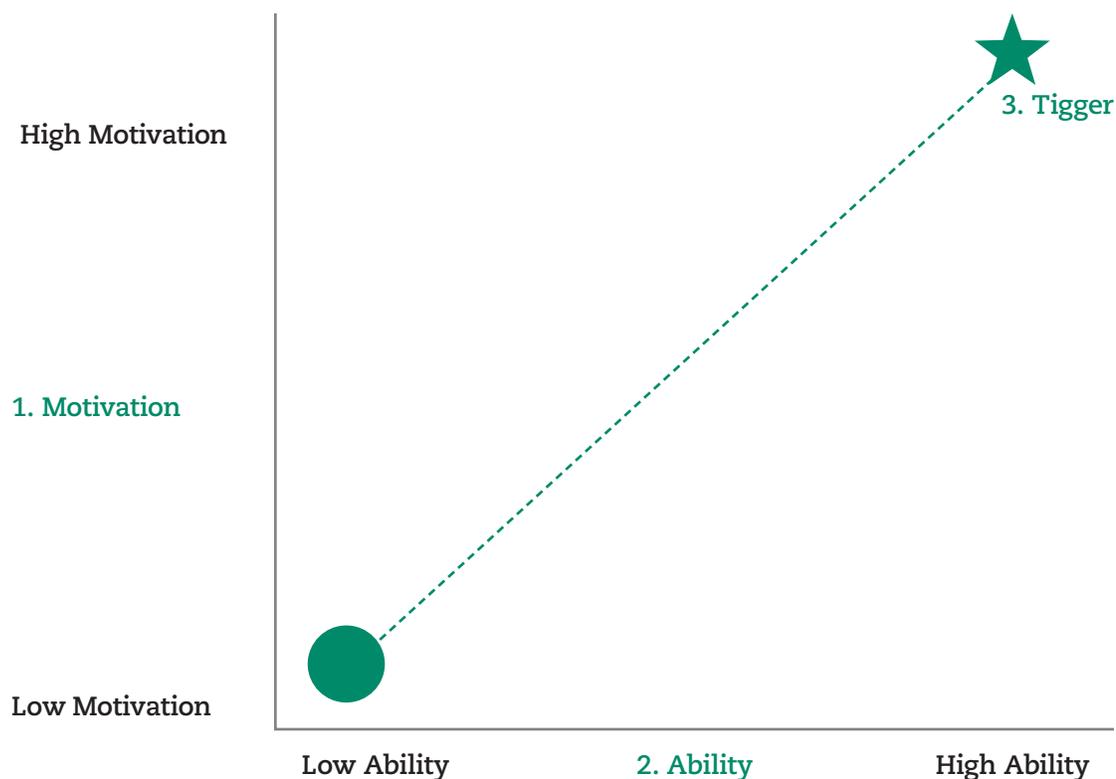


Figure 1. The Fogg Behavior Model has three factors: motivation, ability and triggers. The dashed line represents the increased likelihood of performing the target behavior.³⁹

Understanding Behavior Change

Technology gave the campaigns an avenue to share persuasive products, the ability to measure their performance, and refine their strategies from data collection and analysis. This facilitated social interactions and influenced people's behaviors. The campaigns were able to build persuasive strategies because they understood the factors and design elements that led to the motivations and abilities needed for behavior change. The Fogg Behavior Model, or FBM for short, provides campaign designers and researchers with a systematic way to think about the factors underlying behavior change.³⁹ This psychological model identifies three factors that which must be present at the same instant to increase the likelihood of a target behavior. According to the FBM, a person must (1) be sufficiently motivated, (2) have the ability to perform the behavior, and (3) be triggered, in order to actually perform a behavior.³⁹

The social media strategies of the 2012 campaigns demonstrated features of the FBM model because they developed motivation, ability, and triggers in their outreach content in the following ways:

1. Facebook was utilized by the 2012 campaigns to motivate audiences. Facebook prides itself on its power to motivate and ultimately influence users through its ability to create social acceptance.³⁹ From posting profile pictures to posting updates on their walls, Facebook users are driven significantly by their desire to be social accepted. The 2012 campaigns' stimulated participation from supporters by harnessing social media as a source of social transparency and motivation.
2. The campaigns' low risk content on social media platforms exploited social media's ability to offer support without the feeling of being socially deviant. For example, Marriage Equality utilized language from the opposition such as the 'The Golden Rule', to categorize gay marriage in the same way as straight-marriage. This allowed the audience to give support, because it meant they did not have to become socially deviant.
3. The three types of triggers: 1) a spark to motivate behavior; 2) a facilitator to make behavior easier, and; 3) a signal to indicate or remind,³⁹ were used within the campaigns' social media to inspire their audiences to perform a behavior now. The 2012 Obama Facebook notifications app, for example, empowered Americans to urge their friends to vote, used motivating language, and made the action of nudging friends to vote easy by providing a one-click action.

Not all of the campaigns' social media content employed the three triggers simultaneously. More frequently observed was the application of at least one of the triggers, distributed through a piece of social media content from the campaign.

The 2012 campaigns were able to foster an exponential growth of support from their social media content. The FBM helps to analyze systematically the elements of motivation and the strategies used for triggering behaviors in the campaigns' social media content. As new persuasive technology systems emerge, the FBM is one framework for helping campaigns effectively spread their messages.

Breaking Barriers: Winning Social Media

All three campaigns were able to take advantage of the art of storytelling to spread their messages, and used emerging technology as the driving mechanism. Each campaign reached their established and prospective followers by going to them directly, instead of waiting for them to find the campaign.^{2, 12, 27} Once the campaigns found out where they needed to be, whether on Facebook for the youth vote or on cable channels for women, the campaigns were then able to provide messengers with tools to personalize the campaign (and thus reach individual new supporters). The tools given to members of the movements were user-friendly mobile and web-based apps that facilitated viral sharing of the master narrative. For example, during the Marriage Equality campaign, YouTube was flooded with personal love stories from gay and straight couples. By winning Americans' hearts through personified and conversational emotional content, all three campaigns were able to micro-market to individual supporters, which ultimately gave them the advantage over their opposition. The emerging technology of social media gave the campaigns the outlet they needed to amplify their message and marketing.



An October 23, 2012 Facebook post from the Colorado Regulate Marijuana Campaign resulted in 772 likes, 358 shares, and 53 comments.³⁵

“The women of Colorado are leading the change to end marijuana prohibition, just as they did with alcohol prohibition 80 years ago. Yesterday, a group of Colorado women representing hundreds of thousands of women who will vote Yes on 64 stood in front of the Denver Elections Division to bring attention to the beginning of early voting. Go to justvotecolorado.org to request a mail-in ballot and vote early! – With Jeannie Stobis, Shaleen Title and Rachelle Yeung.”³⁵

“We’ve come too far to turn back now. We’ve come too far to let our hearts grow faint. Now is the time to keep pushing forward.”- President Obama.⁴⁰

On November 1, 2012 the Barack Obama Facebook page posted an image of President Obama speaking to a group of supporters, which resulted in 191,255 likes, 12,776 shares and 10,086 comments.⁴⁰



On September 19, 2013 the Human Rights Campaign Facebook posted an image in response to Pope Francis' statement of homosexuality. After five hours the post received 39,562 likes, 11,276 shares and 1,432 comments.⁴¹ This is an example of how the Marriage Equality campaign continues.



*Note on social media: Researchers have found that on average, only 16 percent of fans see a typical Facebook page post.²⁹ However, researchers have also found that Facebook users manage to reach 35 percent of their friends with each post and 61 percent of their friends over the course of a month.³⁰ Since the exact number of times a Facebook post has been seen, heard, or talked about by an individual either online or offline is unknown, the impact and engagement of a specific post cannot be quantified. This difficult-to-quantify element of social media mirrors the influential marketing tactic—word-of-mouth.

“Pope Francis— ‘If a homosexual person is of good will and is in search of God, I am no one to judge.’ Share this image to thank him, and read more — with Charlie Galatro and Whitney McMahan.⁴¹

The campaigns also benefitted by the positive nature of social media: 66 percent of online mentions are “mostly positive”.^{29*}

Using Influentials To Create Social Acceptance

Word-of-mouth diffusion has long been regarded as an important mechanism by which information can reach large populations, and possibly influence public opinion.⁴² The online materialization of word-of-mouth diffusion is facilitated, in large part, by Facebook and other social media platforms. In 2012, the three campaigns planted seeds of information and inspiration (Facebook page posts) that Influentials effectively helped sprout and spread into diverse sectors of Americans.

Influentials are the 10 percent of Americans who are most engaged in their communities and the nation—they are the conduits of information⁴³ and influence within large social spheres. Influentials value multiple sources of information. They share what they know and, above all else, put people first.⁴⁴ Influencers generally see the present-day lack of morals as a major societal problem; they also believe that parents and others in the community have a responsibility to guide and nurture children.⁴⁴

Social media thus provides a convenient outlet for Influencers to provide word-of-mouth insights to their networks. The most powerful Influentials on social media are not celebrities; they are people with much lower profiles who are experts in their own fields.⁴⁴ Therefore, further shares, likes and comments on campaign information, both online and offline, can be highly attributed to Influential reposting—the cascade effect of word-of-mouth diffusion.

Because Americans are increasingly looking to their communities for answers,⁴⁴ Influentials played an especially important role in the campaigns' strategies. For example, the HRC's Facebook Thank You response to Pope Francis' support for homosexuality demonstrates HRC's strategy of relying on Influencers to amplify information. HRC shared this Thank You specifically with Catholic audiences. The HRC's salient, meaningful piece of information was strategically focused on Catholics rather than the whole faith sector, because this specific community's leaders have a powerful ability to influence their follower behavior.⁴³ Overall, Influencers have proven to be the best marketing tool for the 2012 campaigns—using word-of-mouth to create spirals of influence.

The three 2012 campaigns proved to be successfully at maximizing social media reach and engagement, exhibited by the accumulation of immense numbers of likes, shares and comments. The social media strategy and results of each campaign also indicate the important role of American Influentials. Influentials on average communicate using six channels, whereas the average person uses just the three.⁴⁵ Influentials were vital in building the social acceptance of the 2012 campaign master narratives in America, by introducing the topic to their social spheres and inspiring an ever-widening circle of change.

Empowering A Campaign: Components Of A Continuing Cycle

The success factors of the 2012 campaigns can be classified into four main categories: master narrative, platform, implementation, and user behavior & results. The primary insight common to all of the campaigns was not that one single component was more important than the others. Rather, it was all of these elements working in tandem that created success.

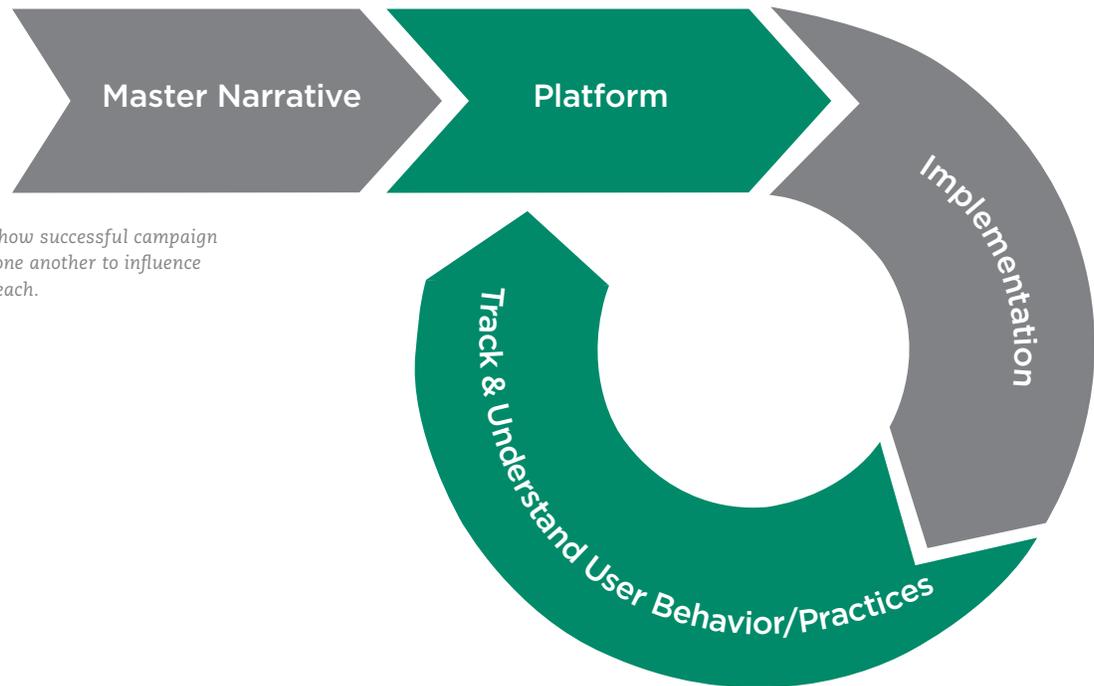


Figure 2. Illustrates how successful campaign components rely on one another to influence acceptance and outreach.

1. Initial research collected by each of the campaigns was used to craft a master narrative that would trigger the emotions of the audience in order to see each campaign as a movement based on the audience's values.
2. Technology, mainly social media, served as the platform for people to share their support for each of the campaigns.
3. Most importantly, campaigns employed social media as vehicles to adjust message framing, and harnessed Influentials to help propagate and amplify these messages within individual communities.
4. The campaigns then collected observations of user behavior in order to understand the performance of the messages from various social media and technology platforms. These results then dictated whether the platform or implementation strategy should remain the same or be adjusted. Data also informed which technologies the campaigns should use in order to reach their audiences.

The 2012 campaigns' success thus conveys that a master narrative, platform, implementation, user behavior, results are most impactful when they are continually and synergistically reinforced by each other.

APPLYING THE LEARNINGS TO CLIMATE CHANGE

APPLYING THE LEARNINGS TO CLIMATE CHANGE

Five Ways To Increase Reach And Effectiveness

In 2012, America hit tipping points for the presidential election, Marriage Equality, and Marijuana Legalization. The successful integration of the major campaign components—reframing the master narrative, employing emerging technology, drawing on the emotional appeal of storytelling, using data-driven and collaborative research, and harnessing a coalition of new and usual messengers—together demonstrate how the campaigns were able to achieve success. All of these variables formulated an effective ground game that could defeat the opposition. This analysis has elaborated on several specific areas, tracing a process used by these successful campaigns—which the climate movement should adopt in order to succeed in gaining the public participation and support essential for climate policy change. The following are four ways in which climate advocates can increase the reach and effectiveness of their initiatives.

1. Conduct Research To Understand People

After years of diligent research, 2012 was the year for each of the campaigns highlighted in this report to implement findings and thus gain major support and action.

As climate change accelerates, and as the climate movement begins to re-establish strategies for solutions, it should first understand American voters. Among a spectrum of useful research, climate advocates should specifically work to understand why (or why not) Americans perceive climate change as a personally important issue, what kind of solutions they find acceptable, and what are the influences that will stimulate their support and participation. In addition, conducting research focused on people's values, beliefs, and behaviors will help climate advocates to effectively package and message climate solutions through connection with moral frameworks, opening the door for communities to adopt the solution mindset and motivation. Finally, climate advocates should share research—it is just as important as conducting it.

2. Craft A Moral Master Narrative To Drive Positive Emotions

Analysis of the 2012 campaigns illustrated that people interpret information by fitting it into preexisting narratives or issue categories that connect with their worldviews. Employing moral frameworks to create more resonant master narratives helped reframe the issues toward success.

Essential to the success of the climate movement will be a more powerful, optimistic, solutions-focused master narrative that appeals to the hearts and values of mainstream Americans. This morally based narrative should be translated by trusted messengers, and can take form verbally or visually (preferably, both). Carefully researched storytelling, metaphors, and examples that hopeful and positive, that inspire and empower, can also prove useful in triggering new interest in, personal connection to, and engagement on solutions.

3. Connect With People Where They Are, And Expand The Base Of Support Through Social Media Content Sharing

The three 2012 campaigns employed robust social media strategies to connect with and empower existing and new supporters. Social media enabled storytelling, personalization, sharing, and action.

Given its pervasiveness, and the high concentration of Americans using either Facebook or Twitter, social media has the potential to be one of the most effective communication channels for climate advocates. Not only is it much less expensive than advertising, it also offers the opportunity to micro-target constituents. Its flexibility and accessibility make it ripe for customized content and messages to reach and engage constituent sub-segments. And, the interactivity, rating, and sharing functionality of social media can help to expand initiatives and the issues to new groups of Americans.

Climate advocates can emulate campaign success by embracing social media as a platform for connection and engagement (vs. broadcast communication). Offering compelling, accessible, and morally acceptable content (at the center of American values) for Americans to interact with, endorse, personalize, and share can help bring climate change further into the mainstream consciousness, and move it higher on people's priority lists.

Additionally, because social media offers robust and near-real time data capture, climate advocates can use it as a tool to test messages and content. Social media data collection can be complemented by the Fogg Behavior Model, which can identify problems inherent in previous systems that have failed to achieve the intended outcomes, and inform changes

in the content to increase interest, persuasiveness, and saliency. In addition, the Fogg Behavior Model can help facilitate the creation of shared frames of reference which will help the movement go forward more efficiently. Part of the efficiency comes from having a common vocabulary tailored specifically to pivotal American sectors via social media. This will ultimately act as a benefit for communities to discuss climate concepts more clearly and favorably.

4. Harness Influentials To Amplify Message And Drive Social Acceptance

As we learned from the 2012 campaigns, success relies significantly upon empowering highly visible and credible Influentials in their respective social spheres to amplify and drive social acceptance of the issue.

There is much work to be done to drive social acceptance of climate change solutions (in fact, social resistance may be our largest barrier). Influentials can therefore be extremely useful in helping to usher in climate change solutions across the diversity of America's people, communities, and sectors. A majority of these Influentials should come from unexpected places and affinities. They must be carefully selected to represent and reach new audiences of mainstream Americans who are ready or ripe to engage on climate solutions.

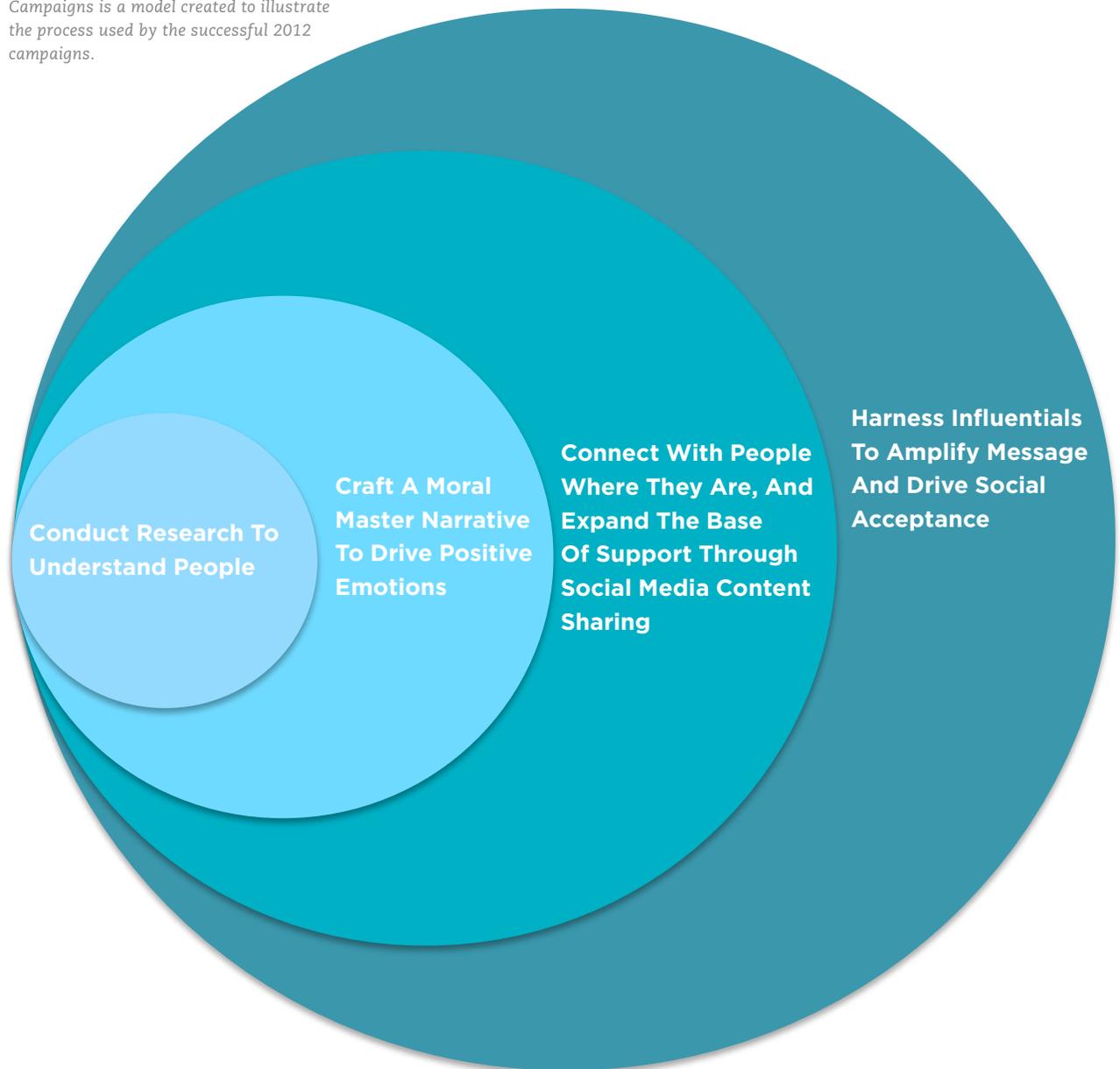
In order to gain the support of Influentials, climate change advocates must work to establish authentic connection with them and empower them with the tools and resources they need as ambassadors. This includes allowing Influentials to customize and personify the master narrative to suit the key values and interests of their followers. It also includes working with Influentials to bring learning and practices back through the initiative (and to other Influentials).

By facilitating the flow of its messaging to Influentials, who in turn transmit the messages to the public, the climate change movement will be able to enhance and expand its influence and thus catalyze progress on building public support for solutions.

Employ Multiple Unified Strategies To Win

A summary of the 2012 campaigns indicates there is no “silver bullet” for success. Rather, there is a recipe for success, and it includes starting with research on Americans, creating a master narrative that aligns with central values and drives emotions, and follows with a combination of tailored elements across a diversity of platforms, specifically designed for participation. Success can be furthered by the collection and use of data to drive success and get ahead of oppositional thinking and tactics, and by bringing new and influential people into the movement who can authentically promote the issue within their respective communities.

Figure 3. Multiple Unified Strategies Win Campaigns is a model created to illustrate the process used by the successful 2012 campaigns.



ENDNOTES

1. ecoAmerica. 2012. New Facts, Old Myths: Environmental Polling Trends. http://ecoamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/reports/ecoAmerica_TrendReport_Summer13.pdf
2. 2012 Obama Campaign Legacy Report <http://secure.assets.bostatic.com/frontend/projects/legacy/legacy-report.pdf>
3. Gallagher, Sean. 2012 November 14. Built to Win: Deep Inside Obama's Campaign Tech. arsTechnica <http://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2012/11/built-to-win-deep-inside-obamas-campaign-tech/2/>
4. Rutenberg, Jim. 2013 June 20. Data You Can Believe In. New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/23/magazine/the-obama-campaigns-digital-masterminds-cashin.html?pagewanted=3&_r=1&ref=magazine&
5. Wilson, Scott and Rucker, Phillip. 2012 November 7. The Strategy that Paved a Winning Path. The Washington Post. http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2012-11-07/politics/35506785_1_mitt-romney-romney-camp-romney-advisers/2 Basic Rights Oregon.
6. Organizing for Action Privacy Policy <http://www.barackobama.com/privacy-policy?source=footer-nav>
7. Scherer, Michael. 2012 November 07. Inside the Secret World of the Data Crunchers Who Helped Obama Win. Time Magazine. <http://swampland.time.com/2012/11/07/inside-the-secret-world-of-quants-and-data-crunchers-who-helped-obama-win/>
8. LeCroy, Taylor. 2012. Dashboard. Dashboard Images <http://taylorlecroy.com/Dashboard>
9. Darwell, Brittany. 2012 November 06. Obama and Romney Facebook Stores and Donation Apps Tied for Users but Obama 2012 App Beats 'Commit to Mitt'. Mediabistro. <http://www.insidefacebook.com/2012/11/06/obama-and-romney-facebook-stores-and-donation-apps-tied-for-users-but-obama-2012-app-beats-commit-to-mitt/>
10. Obama, Barack. 29 August 2012. I am Barack Obama, President of the United States—AMA. Reddit. http://www.reddit.com/r/IAMA/comments/z1c9z/i_am_barack_obama_president_of_the_united_states/

11. Ball, Molly. 2012 December 11. The Marriage Plot: Inside This Year's Epic Campaign for Gay Equality. The Atlantic. http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/12/the-marriage-plot-inside-this-years-epic-campaign-for-gayequality/265865/?single_page=trueSocial-Networking-full-detail.aspx
12. Alliance for Justice. 2013. Marriage Equality: Lessons Learned from the 2012 State Victories. Video. http://fora.tv/2013/05/22/Marriage_Equality_Lessons_from_the_2012_State_Victories
13. Frank, Nathaniel. 2013. The President's Pleasant Surprise: How LGBT Advocates Ended Don't Ask, Don't Tell. *Journal of Homosexuality*. 60:3, 159-213.
14. Freedom to Marry. 2011 November. Moving Marriage Forward: Building Majority Support for Marriage, a Report. http://freemarry.3cdn.net/cc86bd386cbe909dcd_z8m6bup0w.pdf
15. Basic Rights Oregon. 2008. The Values We All Share Are Why Marriage Matters. Mailer. http://freemarry.3cdn.net/cc86bd386cbe909dcd_z8m6bup0w.pdf
16. Basic Rights Oregon. 2008. "I used to be very opposed to gay marriage...but not anymore". Mailer. http://freemarry.3cdn.net/de3ed-4a55aa6a60335_uim6b5uxz.pdf
17. Hoffman, Andrew. 2012. Climate Science as Culture War. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. 10:4. http://www.ssireview.org/articles/entry/climate_science_as_culture_war
18. Freedom to Marry. 2011. Why Marriage Matters: Neighbors. Video. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGYzsqw5__8
19. Freedom to Marry. 2012. An Ally's Guide to Talking About Marriage for Same-Sex Couples. http://freemarry.3cdn.net/ce7d90fdbef3ea7667_ztm6bv4w.pdf
20. Human Rights Campaign. 2012 March 25. Facebook Timeline Photo. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10151537774028281&set=a.10150307206218281.358630.18813753280&type=1>
21. Bakshy, Eytan. 2013 March 23. Showing Support for Marriage Equality on Facebook. Facebook Data Science. <https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook-data-science/showing-support-for-marriage-equality-on-facebook/10151430548593859>
22. Tannenbaum, Melanie. 2013 March 28. Will Changing your Facebook Profile Picture do Anything for Marriage Equality?. *Scientific American*. <http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/psysociety/2013/03/28/marriage-equality-and-social-proof/>
23. Human Rights Campaign, Marriage at the U.S. Supreme Court: A Transformative Moment for Marriage Equality, 2012 http://www.hrc.org/files/assets/resources/SupremeCourt_Accomplishments-FINAL.pdf
24. Sesame Workshop. 2011 August 11. Sesame Workshop Statement on Bert and Ernie Petitions. Sesame Workshop Facebook Page. https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=10150290119497855
25. Liberty and Justice for ALL. 2012. Visible Friends Network. <http://visiblefriends.net/getreal/2013/03/liberty-and-justice-for-all/>
26. Belville, Russ. 2010 November 8. 10 Lessons Learned from Marijuana Election Defeats. NORML Blog: Activism. <http://blog.norml.org/2010/11/08/10-lessons-learned-from-marijuana-election-defeats/>

ENDNOTES

27. Michel, Casey. 19 November 2012. The Secret Ingredients for Marijuana Legalization: Moms and Hispanics. The Atlantic. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/11/the-secret-ingredients-for-marijuana-legalization-moms-and-hispanics/265369/>
28. Svitek, Patrick. 2012 July 2. Marijuana Legalization Campaign Targets Parents. The Huffington Post. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/01/marijuana-legalization-colorado_n_1638818.html
29. Brenner, Joanna. August 2013. Pew Internet: Social Networking (full detail). Pew Internet & American Life Project. Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewinternet.org/Commentary/2012/March/Pew-Internet-Social-Networking-full-detail.aspx>
30. Hampton K, Gouley L, Rainie L, and Purcell K. June 2011. Social Networking Sites and Our Lives. Pew Interned and American Life Project. Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/Technology-and-social-networks.aspx>
31. Regulate Marijuana Like Alcohol. 2012. The Colorado Marijuana Initiative 2012. Facebook Page. <https://www.facebook.com/coloradoMJinitiative2012>
32. Johnson, Gene. 2012 December 02. Marijuana Legalization: How Strategy and Timing Translated into Lawful Pot Possession. The Huffington Post. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/02/marijuana-legalization-ho_n_2228104.html
33. Denver & The West, Billboard Over Denver Liquor Store Asks if Marijuana Makes a Bad Person, 2012
34. Salam, Reihan. 2013 August 16. The Sober Way to Legalize Marijuana. Reuters. <http://blogs.reuters.com/reihan-salam/2013/08/16/the-sober-way-to-legalize-marijuana/>
35. Campaign to Regulate Marijuana Like Alcohol. 2012. RegulateMarijuana.org. <http://www.regulatemarijuana.org/>
36. Campaign to Regulate Marijuana Like Alcohol. 2012 June 28. Moms and Dads for Marijuana Regulation post YES on 64 Billboard. Regulate Marijuana. <http://www.regulatemarijuana.org/news/moms-and-dads-marijuana-regulation-post-yes-64-billboard>
37. Graham J, Haidt J, Koleva S, et al. 2012. Moral Foundations Theory: The Pragmatic Validity of Moral Pluralism. Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Forthcoming. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2184440

38. Blake, Aaron. 10 July 2012. President Obama: A Man of Many Slogans. The Washington Post. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/president-obama-a-man-of-many-slogans/2012/07/10/gJQAf8UlaW_blog.html
39. Fogg, BJ. 2009. A Behavior Model for Persuasive Design. Persuasive Technology Lab. Stanford University. http://bjfogg.com/fbm_files/page4_1.pdf
40. Barack Obama Facebook Page. 2013. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10151244813911749&set=a.53081056748.66806.6815841748&type=1&theater>
41. Human Rights Campaign Facebook Page, 2013
42. WOMMA. 2011 November 23. The Word and the World of Customers: Word of Mouth Marketing Offline and Online. The Power of Word of Mouth Marketing: Infographic Edition. PR Squared <http://www.pr-squared.com/index.php/2011/11/the-power-of-word-of-mouth-marketing-infographic-edition>
43. Katz E and Lazarsfeld P. Personal Influence; The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. Free Press: Glencoe, IL 1955.
44. Keller E. and Berry J. 2003. The Influentials: One American in Ten Tells the Other Nine How to Vote, Where to Eat, and What to Buy. Free Press: New York, NY. http://www.johnbesaw.com/the_influentials.pdf
45. Brown, Danny. 2013 February 6. The State of Digital Influence 2013. Technorati Media 2013 Digital Influence Report. Influence Marketing. <http://influencemarketingbook.com/the-state-of-digital-influence-2013/>

ecoAmerica

start with people

1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

870 Market Street
Suite 428
San Francisco, CA 94102

202.457.1900
ecoAmerica.org
ecoAffect.org

ecoAmerica grows the base of popular support for climate solutions in America with research-driven marketing, partnerships, and national programs that connect with Americans' core values to bring about and support change in personal and civic choices and behaviors.