

STAGES AND COMPONENTS OF A PERSUASIVE CAMPAIGN

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Abstrak

Sebuah kampanye persuasif merupakan suatu upaya yang terkelola, berkelanjutan untuk mempengaruhi kelompok-kelompok kepentingan atau organisasi-organisasi tertentu melalui serial pesan-pesan. Beberapa kampanye berorientasi pada produk, yang lain pada citra, dan bahkan berorientasi pada isu-isu khas. Pada kategori kampanye terakhir, komunikasi bertujuan untuk merubah perilaku, atau bertujuan mendapatkan hati dan benak publik tertentu.

Topik ini memberikan pengantar umum tentang perencanaan sebuah kampanye melalui model yang mengutamakan pada penentuan tujuan, penelitian dan pengembangan, strategi dasar, mobilisasi, legitimasi, promosi, dan aktivasi. Bahasan mengenai evaluasi juga dipaparkan untuk, Diharapkan artikel ini dapat memberikan kepada pembaca dapat memiliki kemampuan untuk menganalisa kampanye persuasif dan merencanakan dan mengelola kampanye sederhana secara sendiri.

Kata kunci: *kampanye persuasif, perencanaan, strategi komunikasi, mobilisasi, legitimasi, promosi, aktivasi, evaluasi.*

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Background

When members of Congress voted in support of The American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009, few had read all of its 1,200 plus pages, but they trusted its backers, most notably former Vice-President Al Gore, and most liked what it stood for: “to create clean *energy* jobs, achieve *energy* independence, reduce global warming pollution and transition to a clean *energy* economy.”¹

Co-recipient of the Nobel Prize and winner of an Academy Award for the documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth*, Al Gore poured his own energy (and money) into the energy agenda and committed himself to a lifetime of service in support of the cause. Passage of the Bill is expected to set a precedent for other developing nations to “Go green,” but Gore sees even this as just a beginning. He and his team raised over \$300 million for the next phase of the effort, which, as before, has been aimed at education and increased regulation, but with an emphasis on the latter. Said Gore, “It’s important to change the light bulbs, but it’s much more important to change the laws” (Eilperin, 2008).

To accomplish their goals, Gore’s team has had to deal with competing interests such as the Big Three automobile companies in the United States and the United Auto Workers. Understandably, those involved in the American auto industry were concerned that the changes Gore was proposing might exacerbate the decline of the industry, leading to an even greater loss of jobs and higher level of urban decay that would set in when cities dependent on one big industry could no longer provide for their residents. Their lobbyists in Washington, along with their Congressional representatives, were either understandably leery of supporting the legislation or desirous of something in return if they were to provide that support. Backers of the Bill, including President Obama, recognized the need for compromise but stood firm on the Bill’s major components. Ultimately, to win Congressional passage of the Bill, those who

supported it needed to make their case outside the Beltway to an uninformed general public.

The film, *An Inconvenient Truth*, was notable for its ability to do just that. It helped Gore and his clean-energy supporters surmount communication hurdles most advocacy groups are not able to overcome, because it provided complex, technical information clearly, vividly, movingly, and memorably. Not only that, but the film created a buzz, and that got the attention of audiences who are bombarded by competing claims on their time. Through its movie documentary style of presentation, Gore was able to persuade people to listen to a scary and difficult message about the serious global threat to survival because of man-made climate change. And he even got people to each pay the price of a movie ticket for the privilege.

An Inconvenient Truth is part information and part entertainment, joined together in the expertise and frequent humor of the film’s narrator and lecturer. Making the film even more interesting was that its star was the same Al Gore who experienced a failed bid in his 2000 race for the presidency, in part because millions of Americans found him stiff and stuffy, or, as *New Yorker* film reviewer David Denby put it, “pedantic, condescending, and humorless” (2006). Gore used his film to skillfully transform dry data like these into powerful, personalized imagery, and Gore was portrayed in various professorial settings, including being raised high on a platform at screen level adjacent to slides showing the steepest, most recent, and hence most disturbing increase in global warming in the present day. The Gore-led effort to reverse the harmful effects of global warming is a model of campaign effectiveness. The single speech or other one-shot communication is important, but seldom does it achieve a significant, enduring impact on its own. That job is left to persuasive campaigns—organized, sustained attempts at influencing groups or masses of people through a series of messages. Campaigns take many forms—political campaigns, product advertising campaigns, and various issue-oriented campaigns.

This article discusses other campaign types, presents a model of campaigning as a multi-stage, multi-message process, and then explores in more detail two particular types of campaigns: **public relations campaigns** and **indoctrination campaigns**.

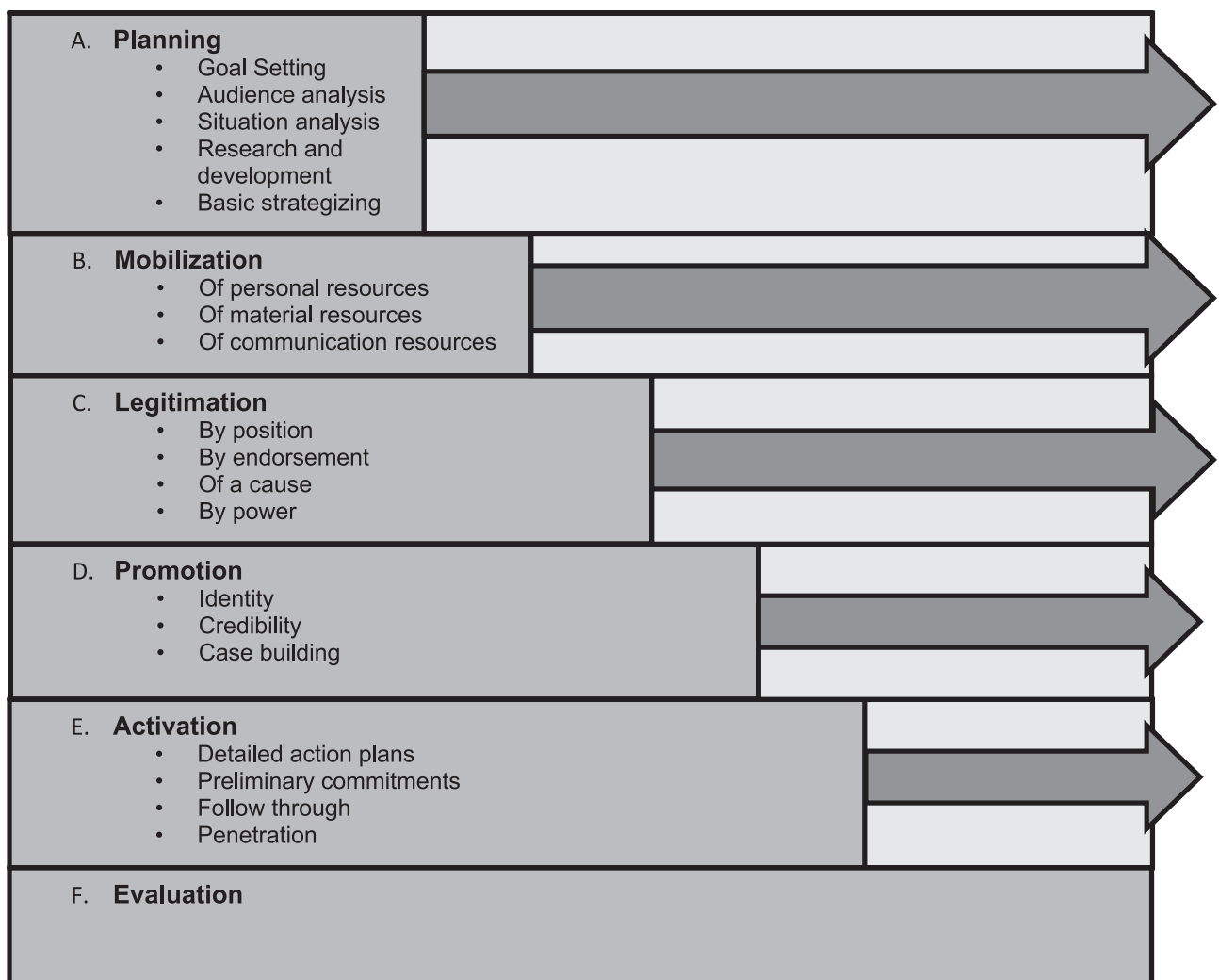
Campaign Stages and Components

Campaigns precede developmentally, through stages, each stage building on the last, yet each exhibiting a life of its own. Smith (2002) specifically mentioned that for Public Relations, strategic planning is necessary to implement the various campaign programs. Smith collapsed the activities into phases,

comprising of formative research (analysing the situation, organization, and public), setting up the goals and objectives, developing the message(s), implementation strategies and tactics, evaluation, and operational budget and scheduling. The main emphasize is that what is planned, needs to be evaluated.

Simons (1988) also emphasized on the importance of planning, in which he outlined stages with respective components to encompass a wide variety of campaign types. As indicated by Figure 1, the stages in the model do not terminate as each “next” stage begins; planning, for example, is a continuous process throughout any campaign.

Figure 1. Campaign Stages and Components Model



Source: Herbert W. Simons from *Persuasion: Understanding, Practice, and Analysis* (1988). Modified by Nia Sarinastiti to include evaluation.

1. Planning

Campaigns first arise from a sense that interests (e.g., a corporation's profits) or values (e.g., a people's safety or survival) held dear by an organization must be protected or advanced. But to succeed, a campaign must have specific goals. The goal might be to elicit specific behaviors, earning, for example, enough votes to win election as club president, or enough raffle sales to enable the college orchestra to make an overseas trip, or enough support from local towns people to get city council approval for a bicycle-only lane on Main Street. Or the goal might be more abstract, as when a campaign is less concerned with specific behavioral payoffs than with influencing beliefs and values. As an example on how planning is done can be reflected on how the Agency for Population and Family Planning in Indonesia. The Agency's planning to obtain involvement from the community was to conduct observation and hear on the needs, issues and potential of the community prior to determine any steps to be taken. The Head of the Agency states that if understanding on each condition of the targeted area is done appropriately therefore the quality of the program and as well on the quantity of the reach will have a positive impact on the goals of the Family Planning program (*BKKBN*, 2012).

a. Goal Setting

The audience and situation are central components in the formulation of goals. For example, a fund-raising campaign on behalf of a community orchestra should not be so aggressive that it garners the orchestra an overseas trip at the price of reduced attendance at local concerts. Other concerns arise as well in goal formulation. For instance, will those who volunteer for this fund-raising effort feel good about themselves when it's been completed? Will they have made friends rather than lost them, honored their consciences rather than betrayed them? Can people commit to the cause without feeling utterly consumed by it? The organization, for example, would not want to sell raffle tickets to raise money if events

involving gambling would compromise the ethics of its members.

Situations are seldom ideal for the fulfillment of campaign goals. Given that, it is always a good idea to formulate primary goals at several levels, including (a) what the campaign would ideally like to achieve, (b) what it expects to achieve, and (c) what would be the bare minimum that would still make the campaign worthwhile.

Such analysis is crucially important and can save much time and frustration later, because there are times when a large-scale information campaign is of questionable value when measured against the time, effort, and money expended to conduct it. For example, it has proven far more effective—and cheaper—to simply mandate installation of air bags in automobiles rather than to construct a campaign to educate and convince consumers that air bags are an option they should purchase for their automobiles.

An example of flexible goal setting involves efforts by the Temple Issues Forum (TIF) to place issues of higher education higher on the agenda in Philadelphia city politics. TIF's official mission was to promote public debate and discussion at Temple University on issues of potential interest to the university community. Its main purpose was to stimulate civic and intellectual engagement by students, not to influence city politics. But having run a televised mayoral forum at Temple on the topic of "Higher education and the city," TIF's planning group identified a number of issues that fairly begged to be addressed through the long term and not just by way of a one-time-only mayoral forum. These included issues of marketing the city as a world-class center for higher education and of encouraging its college and university graduates to remain in the city and perhaps start businesses in the area. It included as well issues of urban education: how better to prepare urban high school graduates to do college-level work.

TIF's planning group toyed with the possibility of promoting action on all these fronts, and it even talked with a foundation representative about organizing a consortium of colleges and universities in the Philadelphia area to be called "Greater Collegiate Philadelphia." But group members knew that this goal was remote, although the other goals were difficult to realize but not completely beyond the group's capacity to make a difference. Minimally speaking, TIF's planning group was confident it could succeed at its agenda-setting goal, and it anticipated that everyone, including TIF itself, would benefit from the mayoral forum. So, in keeping with the principles of goal seeking, TIF had short- and long-term goals, as well as optimal, realistic, and minimal goals.

TIF's planning group began with faculty and administrators in experienced urban affairs, but it expanded to include urban specialists. Still, its top leadership was inexperienced at managing the more ambitious aspects of its campaign plan. They therefore sought out consultants, including city representatives who had been working on some of these issues for quite some time.

The Population and Family Planning Agency in Indonesia, in the past relied very much on how women should be the primary target for family planning. Nowadays, family planning is not merely a women's job but also men, and if feasible the community (BKKBN, 2012).

"It is time for men to participate actively in implementing family planning," says head of the National Agency for Population and Family Planning, Sugiri Syarief. "It is not only the wife's responsibility in controlling early age pregnancy or birth control, but as important for man's active role. As an example, the Agency encourages creativity of sub-national governments to develop programs such as the support group for vasectomy. If men actively participates, the goal to lower

population growth by 1.49 percent may be realized. "

b. Formulating a Basic Strategy

Although campaign strategies must frequently be revised in light of new developments, it is nevertheless possible at the outset to formulate global strategies. A basic, coactive rule of basic strategizing is that to get what you want you must help those you're trying to influence get what they want.

Some campaigns persuade indirectly. Safe sex and pro-social sexual attitudes have been promoted indirectly on late-night talk radio beamed at teenagers that mixes nine parts entertainment with one part serious instruction. Use of designated drivers after parties has been promoted via planted dialogue in television sitcoms.

Products are promoted in entertainment programming, as are corporate images—all for a price. Some corporate public relations efforts proceed by way of low-visibility campaigns—a news report favorable to the company planted in one news outlet, an editorial planted in another.

Basic strategizing often involves selecting an appropriate frame for the appropriate time and situation. Affirmative action, for example, sells poorly as "preference" but well under the rubric of "fairness." Some health maintenance campaigns do well stressing the benefits associated with performing healthy behaviors; others do well stressing the costs associated with not doing so. Abortion can be framed as murder or as a woman's choice, but advocates of legalized abortion have found it increasingly difficult to frame their arguments for reproductive choice as being grounded in protection of the mother's life. The days of illegal and dangerous back-alley abortions have faded from public memory, making the "choice" frame less powerful than it once was.

Reform-minded groups often combine persuasion with coercion (e.g., threats) and material inducements (e.g., promises of benefits) in campaigning for social change. Campaigns for environmental protection, tobacco regulation, consumer protection, and auto safety requirements have combined agitation with litigation.

Even when change advocates have lost in the courts, the publicity given their court challenges has succeeded in whipping up public fervor, especially when children were shown to be among the primary victims.

Normative influence can also alter behavior and might find its way into a campaign. For example, social ostracism is increasingly being used in place of imprisonment in campaigns to rid inner-city communities of drug dealers.

Humiliation rather than incarceration is also becoming the strategy of choice in curbing pornography in cyberspace and child abuse. Confronted with a shoplifter, a California judge ordered the guilty individual to wear a T-shirt that said in bold letters: "I Am a Thief."

Some reformers believe that it may be possible to devise campaigns to effect sweeping changes in social norms, for example, by making it unpopular for teenagers to use drugs, keep guns, practice unsafe sex, and smoke tobacco. A privately sponsored ad campaign targeted to African Americans showed a skeleton dressed as the Marlboro man lighting a cigarette for a black child. The ad read, "They used to make us pick it. Now they want us to smoke it." The implications of this ad are (a) "Smoking kills," and (b) "We blacks shouldn't allow ourselves to be victimized once more by the white establishment" (Morain, 1994).

In devising basic strategies, as in formulating campaign goals, planners need to be alert to the possibilities of unintended, undesired effects. A well-intentioned campaign to reduce infant mortality and disease may succeed only too well in an impoverished country, depleting

the system's meager resources and causing unemployment, poverty, and civil disorder. A health education program encouraging weight control may exacerbate problems of anorexia and bulimia.

Public service advertisements such as the one depicting black smokers as victims of the white establishment may, by their use of "us versus them" appeals, further polarize the races.

Social activists need also to balance what they perceive to be the good of the community against threats to the assumed beneficiary's autonomy. What could be better, asks the social engineer, than to substantially reduce self-destructive teenage practices by way of normative pressure from peer groups to conform to pro-social norms or face rejection? Certainly this is preferable to incarceration on the one hand or no influence on the other. Yet libertarians have long echoed John Stuart Mill's conclusion that normative control represents "a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself" (1859).

The strategies identified in this section can be ordered on a continuum from most controlling to least controlling. Zaltman and Duncan (1977) identify *power* strategies as the most controlling. Examples include legal mandates, brute force, threats, and control over financial resources. Next is *persuasion*, as in commercial advertising and campaign speeches. These strategies, so necessary in motivating individuals and in overcoming their resistance, are nevertheless considered manipulative by Zaltman and Duncan, and more repressive than their third category, which they call *normative-re-educative*. Campaigns described as "public information" fall solidly within this category, especially when the issue in question is how best to solve an acknowledged problem (e.g., drunk driving) and the presentation is relatively unbiased. Finally, Zaltman and Duncan list

facilitation, a strategy by which foundations and government agencies seek to promote the arts or aid communities by providing them with additional resources, “no strings attached.”

This strategy assumes that the beneficiary is capable of rationally committing those resources to useful ends. Choosing less controlling strategies can be problematic. A small-scale, short term, media-only information campaign directed at a wide spread, long-standing, systemic social problem is bound to fail. Are drug addicts “freer” for not having given up their self-destructive habits because some well-meaning health officials believed that ineffectual public information campaigns were ethically more preferable than more potent but more controlling power and persuasion strategies?

Who gets to decide which aid beneficiaries are so rational that they can be offered resources with no restrictions attached? If a community leader pockets the money rather than using it to assist the community, was the resource strategy truly is freedom enhancing or freedom restricting?

As it is in the case of promoting the use of condoms in Indonesia, what would be the best way to promote for health and family planning reasons when community believes that condoms are used for prostitution or adultery? In the past, according to the Secretary of the National AIDS Prevention Commission, Dr. Nafsiah Mboi SpA MPH, campaigning the use of condoms was being considered legalizing free-sex (*Detik*, 2012). Only recently that people understand the importance of using condoms to protect the health of wives, from diseases such as HIV/AIDS, in the case that men have had encounters with a free-sex lifestyle. With the campaign strategy focusing on health issues and family planning, the objective is to also increase the participation of men in such efforts.

2. Mobilization

Mobilization consists of locating, acquiring, developing, and exploiting the material and human resources necessary to run the campaign. What management experts refer to as the research and development function of business organizations has its counterpart in persuasive campaigns. It involves the gathering of arguments and evidence to be used in building persuasive messages, as well as the development of know-how for implementation. The failure to take these necessary steps is common among amateur campaigners. One well-intentioned student attempted to launch a campaign to require bicycle safety education in the public schools. Intuitively, he decided that the best way to get action was to testify at a meeting of the city schoolboard. Unfortunately, he had not yet come up with a plan for such a program, discovered how and where decisions of this type are made in the school system, sought to determine whether any groups might have been interested in aiding his campaign, or even developed documented proof of the existence of a problem. He ended up seriously embarrassing himself and undercutting his campaign before it had gotten off the ground.

A clever group can work toward fulfilling several campaign requirements simultaneously. At a metropolitan university, several students sought to organize a consumer action group. The leaders recognized that they would need money—lots of it—to build and maintain the organization and advance its goals. Conceivably, a foundation grant might have been forthcoming, but they sought another fund-raising approach, one that would help legitimize the group and promote its values at the same time. A mini-campaign was launched for a campus referendum on whether money should be raised for the group by means of a voluntary dues check-off on student tuition bills. The vote was favorable, and the group went next to the administration with a strongly worded request that it execute the check-off—or be in the embarrassing situation of opposing an organization that had wide spread student

support. Not surprisingly, the administration proved anxious to please.

Other resources may include access to channels of influence and to the mass media, as well as basic information and know-how needed to communicate effectively. A student body leader used her acquaintance with the mayor's daughter as a way of gaining access to the mayor, who proved to be a valuable supporter.

Another student gained access to his university's donor list; this too proved valuable to his community action group's efforts, but less as a source of funding than as a source of expertise. The alums included a retired trial lawyer and an accountant who wound up volunteering their expertise to the campus organization. Commercial organizations have long purchased market analyses, mailing lists, and media expertise and time. Indeed, television advertising alone can easily take up 70% or more of a political campaign budget.

3. Legitimation

Legitimacy is something conferred by others. Implicitly or explicitly, they grant the right to be heard and be taken seriously and perhaps even the right to issue binding directives. If a campaign organization lacks legitimacy at the outset, its leadership needs to be anointed with legitimacy—if only for purposes of the campaign—by those who already possess it. Hence, the importance of what Bettinghaus and Cody call “checking in with the power base” (1994). This may include not only those in official positions of power but also informal opinion leaders:

The role of the legitimizer is a peculiar one. He is seldom active in the early stages of a social-action campaign. He does not make speeches in favor of the proposal. He does not write letters to the newspaper, and he frequently will ask that his name not be associated with the new idea. He may not want to give a formal approval to a new proposal. But he can

effectively block the adoption of a new idea by saying, “No!”

If he simply agrees that a proposal is a desirable one he may well clear the way for future operations by the change agent and eventual adoption of the proposal (Bettinghaus and Cody, 1994).

The more popular one's cause, the easier it is to acquire authority and to gain endorsements from power brokers. Those seeking minor reforms may well be granted the blessings of key legitimizers. But those seeking more wide spread changes are likely to threaten the institution or community's interests in preserving the status quo; they can therefore expect to be threatened by opponents of change. Still, the change-minded group may use coercive persuasion to establish its legitimacy by representing its cause as one that any virtuous individual must endorse. Programs may be defended in the name of God or the Founding Fathers or the Constitution or the legitimizers' pocket book interests. Here the promotion of a cause and the legitimacy of its campaign are joined.

4. Promotion

Once a campaign group has taken effective steps to plan, mobilize resources, and secure legitimacy, it is in a powerful position to promote its cause before a wider audience. Effective promotion, in turn, should open doors for the group that may have previously been closed to personnel, material, and communication resources, as well as endorsements by key influentials. The ideal persuasive campaign has continuity from beginning to end of the promotion process. An advertising campaign may go public with messages somewhat mysteriously alluding to a new product that is soon to appear on supermarket shelves. Mystery may continue as a theme once its identity is revealed, the product somewhat humorously being described as having magical qualities, its label and packaging reinforcing that concept. Rather than the usual endorsements by attractive celebrities or “just plain folks,”

subsequent ads may feature testimonials by actors associated with suspense dramas. Should the product become an established competitor in its field, later ads may tone down the mystery theme, playing now, perhaps, on its reputation for dependability.

Four elements are key to promotion for social activists: identity, credibility, a winning case, and continued support from key decision makers. Some of these figure importantly in other campaigns as well.

a. Identity

Political candidates are nowhere without name recognition. Commercial advertisements do better getting negative attention than no attention. Worthy charities must somehow stand out from others making a claim on the public's generosity. So it is that campaign managers work assiduously at formulating memorable slogans, devising labels and catchy jingles, and finding clever ways to build repetition of the same campaign themes.

Effective identification symbols are those that serve members of the campaign organization (giving them an identity), as well as the larger public. Some groups choose identification symbols mostly to promote in-group solidarity. These may include special songs, hand shakes, flags, ceremonies, shirt colors, hair styles, and speech patterns. But although once the Democrats and Republicans featured in-group images at their party conventions (party emblems and pictures of party heroes), now, with the conventions televised, the emphasis is on identification symbols such as the American flag that link the party with the people and that even make a pitch for members of the opposition.

b. Credibility

Moving beyond the creation of a favorable and memorable identity, the campaign leadership must establish its own believability as well as the credibility of the group as a whole. The first step for leaders is to promote respect, trust, and attraction from their own followers. Here, especially, deeds, not just words, are important.

Occasionally, followers will be taken in by a charismatic fire brand, but for the most part they will want concrete evidence that this individual has their interests at heart, is capable of delivering, and possesses such qualities as intelligence and expertise, honesty and dependability, and maturity and good judgment.

Establishing personal or group credibility to the satisfaction of suspicious outsiders may be considerably more difficult.

5. Activation

Building a compelling case is not enough. Unless the campaigner seeks only to communicate information or to modify attitudes, it is necessary to make special provisions for the action stage.

a. Detailed Action Plans

Campaigns often fail because the campaign target lacks specific information on how to act. Voters must be told where to vote and how to vote. People with problems must learn how to get help. In the case of campaigns for institutional change, there are bound to be misinterpretations unless plans for action are made concrete.

Bettinghaus and Cody (1994) have enumerated the detail needed in a proposal for a community innovation such as a new recreation center: The formal plan of work will include decisions about financing, operational steps to be taken in implementation, the time sequence

that has to be followed, and most important, the specific tasks which each individual associated with the implementation will have to perform.

They add that making these decisions will result in an organizational structure charged with actually carrying out the operations. This structure will provide for appropriate lines of authority, a detailed task description for each individual, and the relation of the operational group to other community groups and institutions.

b. Preliminary Commitments

Professional campaigners have learned that it is wise to secure partial, preliminary commitments from people before the final action is taken. Short of obtaining cash donations, charity solicitors may work toward obtaining campaign pledges. Realtors may offer rentals of homes with options to buy. Sales organizations may allow free home trials for the price of a refundable deposit. If at all possible, the preliminary commitment should be of a public nature and should entail some effort by the individual. The attitude of the individual should be strengthened by the act of overt commitment.

c. Follow Through

On Election Day, each major party mobilizes a large campaign organization for poll watching, telephoning, chauffeuring, baby-sitting, and so on. Advertisers seek to make buying a habit among those who have made initial commitments.

Revivalist campaigns work at translating instant "conversions" into weekly church attendance.

Social activists may be granted authority and resources to put programs into operation themselves (at least on a trial basis), or they may get promises of action from an institution. In the latter case, more than one externally initiated program has failed for lack of administrative

follow through. The campaign organizations have been at least partially to blame for not maintaining the pressure. A good rule of institutions is that institutional policies are what their administrators do about them. Often, it is precious little.

In the case of programs administered initially by the campaign organization itself, there is a similar danger that once the innovation has been effectively sold, campaign activists will become lazy or indifferent or begin caring more about their reputations than about the persons they claim to be serving. At some point, the new innovation must be institutionalized, and this is another juncture fraught with potential problems. Several years ago, a group of students at an urban university helped form a voluntary organization that successfully ran a day camp for disadvantaged children. For three summers, the organization endured and even thrived on its poverty, its dearth of trained leaders, and its lack of formal ties to the university. Then, with the members' consent, the university began providing large amounts of money, facilities, and technical assistance. The support was now there, but the spirit was gone. The appropriate socio-emotional adjustments for institutionalization had not been made.

d. Penetration

In the ideal campaign, those reached directly become persuaders themselves. Advertisers dance for joy when radio listeners begin humming aloud the jingle they have heard in the commercial. New converts to a religious group are often asked to proselytize in its behalf. Political campaigners often rely on opinion leaders to carry their television messages to others. In each case, there is penetration beyond the initial receivers to their own interpersonal networks.

The effective conclusion to a campaign for institutional change occurs not simply when the change is put into practice but when others begin hearing about it, speaking favorably about it, and even attempting to emulate it. Serving

as a model for others is often a small campaign group's most important accomplishment.

Social activism finds some of its most difficult challenges in communities wedded to health-endangering traditions. Campaign planners have identified five components of the change process: (1) identifying community leaders willing and able to bestow legitimacy on campaign messages and activities, (2) identifying leaders and organizations most effective in sustaining long-term coordinative activity, (3) generating media and other education campaign strategies geared to the community's social and cultural traditions, (4) dealing with potential conflict in the community over the campaign's goals and activities, and (5) creating long-term impact on the community's allocation of resources (Finnegan, Bracht, & Viswanath, 1989). Coactive strategies of persuasion are widely used in promotion of the campaign's objectives.

6. Evaluation

Campaign assessments should take place periodically to make corrections in the path of campaigns, and, at their conclusion, to evaluate their overall effectiveness. Small-scale campaigns may be forced to rely on informal surveys and self-assessments; large, well-funded campaigns must answer to their donors whether the benefits exceeded the costs. Formal surveys are a staple of campaign evaluations, but better still is evidence of concrete achievements.

Returning to our introductory example, evaluation demonstrates that by virtually every measure the climate control campaign has been effective. Ming Kwang gives Al Gore credit for getting the ball rolling with *An Inconvenient Truth*, basing the claim on "before and after" evidence concerning interest in a topic linked to the time period when the documentary was shown.

Says Kwan: I think it's safe to assume that there is a relationship between the release of *An Inconvenient Truth* with the spike in searches

for "global warming." As you can see, there is a steady increase of interest in the topic, and this interest peaks right around the time when "An Inconvenient Truth" wins an Oscar—Check out point 'C' on the graph. It's interesting to see that a movie was able to increase people's interest in a topic like this, and if that's what it takes to raise awareness about pressing issues that people like to pretend aren't there, then so be it. Angelina Jolie should put out a documentary with a compelling slide show to talk about her forays in Africa . . . and so on (2008).

Concerning health campaigns, Storey (2008) has evidenced the difficulties in overcoming resistance to changes in bad habits like excessive smoking and over-eating, particularly with people disinclined to attend to proactive health messages in the media. Still, it is heartening that health education campaigns do make a difference.

In Indonesia for example, anti-smoking campaign in public places has been taking place by using fear appeal messages and government regulations. Many agencies (government and NGOs) are active in this area, but an integrated effort is not done to evaluate the results. One can see that many still smoke in public places, and some even do so in front of a non-smoking sticker. In-depth research is needed to be done to see the effectiveness and impact of non-smoking campaigns.

The Family Planning program results in 2006 varies between province in the output and impact. In the 1980s and 1990s Family Planning Campaign was considered successful by only focusing on the "Two Children is Enough" Campaign. Nowadays, understanding from men on their role, efforts to prevent young-age marriage and have earning prior to starting a family are considered part of the Family Planning Program. Due to the complexity, based on the evaluation, the overall campaign results are not as expected. Objectives did not meet target for programs such as obtaining new participants (*Peserta Baru*), Active Participation of Men (*Peserta Aktif Pria*), Mentor for Family with

Toddlers (*Bina Keluarga Balita*) and Efforts to Increase Family Income for Better Welfare (*Usaha Peningkatan Pendapatan Keluarga Sejahtera*). Based on the targets of the Medium – Term Development Plan (*RPJM–Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah*) several indicators also needed better attention to fulfill the unmet needs, Active Participant of Men, Pre Welfare Family (*Keluarga Pra Sejahtera*) and efforts to have Prosperous Indonesia Family (*Keluarga Sejahtera Indonesia*). In the 1980s, as mentioned, the focus on communicating that having two children will provide better economic impact made it more successful rather than having too many performance indicators that are not controllable.

Snyder et al. analyzed 48 health campaigns conducted in the United States for which evaluation data could be found in the published literature. Overall, they found that health communication campaigns using mass media achieved on average an eight percentage point change in behavior among members of the targeted population, with greater effect sizes achieved by campaigns that targeted larger audiences. The size of the effect varied

by type of behavior, with seat belt use, oral health, and alcohol abuse reduction campaigns being the most successful. Greater effects were found for campaigns focused on adoption of new behaviors compared with prevention or cessation of problem behaviors (Snyder, et.al. 2004). For Indonesia, the success of health campaigns has not been empirically evaluated, which means there is a need to do so to better understand the impact and how the programs should move forward.

Summary

By understanding that a persuasive campaign is organized, the implementation of the campaign model can be easily adopted. Consisting of goal setting, research and development, basic strategy, mobilization, legitimacy, promotion, activation, and evaluation, the efforts to convey messages related to products, image (s) or issues will depend on the the plan. If correctly applied, the goal to elicit specific behaviors – awareness, acceptance, and action – and to be in the hearts and minds will eventually be reached.

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