

Good Practice Guide on Values Based Campaigning for Legal Recognition of Same-Sex Partnerships

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Introduction

Aim

The aim of this guide is to provide campaign organisers with good practices and hands-on examples of *value based campaigning* for legal recognition of same-sex partnerships. The guide is based on the successful experiences gained in developing and implementing the Marriage Equality and Yes Equality Campaign in Ireland.

Who is it for?

The good practice guide is directed at policy makers, political leaders, human rights defenders and LGBTI activists who wish to collaboratively develop and implement campaigns to promote the legal recognition of same-sex partnerships. This includes recognition by means of civil union or registered partnerships, in line with Council of Europe Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)5 on measures to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity, and case law of the European Court of Human Rights (*Schalk and Kopf v Austria, Vallianatos and others v Greece, Oliari and others v Italy*).

This is a good practice guide and is a standalone publication. While clearly not being a complete training manual on campaigning, the guide seeks to act as a helpful tool to help campaigners make initial decisions, make plans and implement successful campaigns.

Objectives of the guide:

- To give campaigners a broad understanding of *Values Based Campaigning*.
- To give campaigners an overview of winning campaign elements including strategies, messages, examples of successful media representation (videos and social media), and do's and don'ts of winning campaigns.
- To stimulate successful campaigns based on the experience of and the formula devised by the Irish campaign.
- To provide practical and detailed questions and directions for devising strategic campaign plans.
- To provide campaigners with an overview of further online resources used in the Irish campaign to inform and use as templates in devising future social change campaigns.

Origins

The Yes Equality Campaign in Ireland won a referendum vote that saw the introduction of marriage equality for same-sex couples. It was the first time ever anywhere in the world that this happened by popular vote. The Irish campaign was led by a coalition of Marriage Equality, the Gay and Lesbian Equality Network and the Irish Council for Civil Liberties. It was the *values based approach* to

campaigning which carried that campaign to success. The voters in Ireland voted by 62% to say Yes to the equality proposition. It was a Yes vote that rocked Ireland and shocked the world. Some of the elements of that campaign are shared here in a manner that may be successfully replicated elsewhere.



Yes/Tá the two iconic badges produced in English and Gaelic for the campaign.

Fundamentals

This guide insists on the need for clarity at the outset of any campaign, a fundamental principle. It must be clear what the campaign is aiming to achieve and in what political context it is operating. Is it a campaign for registered partnership legislation? Or is it a campaign for a referendum or popular vote? Different strategies are needed for each context.

The need for clarity also applies to having a clear campaign goal, a clear timeframe, a clear set of messages and messengers and a clear plan of implementation to ensure the capacity of the campaign to deliver on its goal. Having such clarity will also help to maintain momentum and keep the focus solely on the agreed campaign goal, distinguishing it from all other work and possible distractions.

Structure of this guide

The elements of the Irish campaign are used by way of example to demonstrate how *values based campaigning* works. Elements of a successful campaign and a successful plan are examined. The list of additional resources and links at the end of the booklet allows the reader to examine many of the images, campaign products and outputs from the Irish campaign.

The guide provides an opportunity for campaigners and policy makers to get a deeper understanding of what *values based campaigns* are and how values can be used to frame a discussion, a debate or a campaign. Framing a discussion on the basis of values can have intended, planned consequences. This can save time, money and energy when one's goal is to target actions, resources and energies to the core goal of one's campaign. In this guide, we focus on the legal recognition of same-sex partnerships, in the form of domestic partnerships, registered partnerships or civil unions. We use the frames and *values based campaigning* approach that was used in Ireland to show how that approach can succeed in winning people's hearts and minds, strengthening the support base for the campaign, and moving the 'moveable middle' towards delivering a 'win' for the campaign. In the Irish context that meant winning full marriage equality.

What is a Values Based Campaign and why have one?

Putting an understanding of values at the core of your campaign work is essential. There are many factors that affect how the public may vote or even think on an issue. Knowing what the barriers are to the public supporting your issue is a fundamental research exercise which allows those leading campaigns to know what the messages should be. Research will tell you who your messengers should be to best affect the hearts and minds of the target publics. (Yes, there may be more than one 'public'!)

Knowing the factors that motivate the concerns of individuals is crucial when trying to engage public support. Knowing people's values and aspirations, and being able to engage those values and aspirations to show how your campaign supports and delivers on those goals, is in a nutshell what *values based campaigning* is about.

An understanding of values at the core of your campaign work is essential and many bodies have developed well-tested values surveys, such as the Schwartz Value Survey, which is also used in the European Social Survey¹. Many campaigns use focus groups at national or regional level to identify the values that will connect individuals towards a concern or an issue.

Similarly, the World Values Survey² is a global network of social scientists studying changing values and their impact on social and political life, led by an international team of scholars in Stockholm, Sweden. Their survey, which started in 1981, seeks to use rigorous, high-quality research designs in each country. They consist of nationally representative surveys conducted in almost 100 countries which contain almost 90 percent of the world's population, using a common questionnaire, investigating human beliefs and values with almost 400,000 respondents. Their study covers the full range of global variations, from very poor to very rich countries. Find a research or polling company in your area and they will help you to design a brief that answers the key questions to which you need answers to run a *values based campaign*.

When Marriage Equality joined with others to form Yes Equality it became clear that the road to success would take the shape of a referendum campaign. The campaign asked supporters of marriage equality, the pithy question - 'Do you want to win an argument or do you want to win the referendum?'

An important aspect of the campaign was to convince supporters NOT to spend time making factual or legal arguments about marriage equality, but to use personal stories and personal statements instead. Campaign supporters were trained to use opening sentences with others such as, 'I'm voting Yes, can I tell you why?' These personal statements helped to mobilise the moveable middle million voters. These were the voters who needed to be moved to a definite Yes voting position in order to win the referendum.

¹ The Schwartz values survey is based on a scale devised to measure the degree to which one values each of ten domains that Schwartz has found across many cultures. Values are defined as "desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives." Schwartz, S.H. (1992). *Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries*, in: *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, M. Zanna (ed.), San Diego: Academic Press. See also: www.europeansocialsurvey.org.

² www.worldvaluessurvey.org



Campaign colours depicting the key canvassing conversation opening line.

For the campaign this meant a move away from listing sets of rights and entitlements which marriage would bring same-sex couples. It meant a move to becoming a campaign that was about emphasizing belonging, fairness, justice, equality and inclusiveness as core values.

A secret weapon used by the Irish campaign was to successfully train supporters to use personal stories to gain campaign ground. This approach was grounded in *values based campaigning*. Personal stories increased the visibility of LGBT couples and their families in Ireland. They also acted as an invitation to others to reflect on the values being displayed by supporters – love, inclusion, fairness – these were values to which the general public were attracted.

Central to this approach was the understanding that when conversations touch upon values such as the importance of family, love, commitment, kindness or inclusivity, people are more likely to be engaged. The Yes Equality campaign became a vehicle for promoting these positive societal values – values which voters held close to their hearts.

Values based campaigning involves leveraging people's emotions and connecting people with values they hold dear or to which they aspire. It connects individuals to groups or communities. It increases engagement of supporters. It attracts those open to moving towards your proposition, because they now understand that your proposition links to their values and their aspirations. Many of these lessons had been learned 'the hard way' by the Freedom to Marry campaign³ in the USA, where numerous popular votes on marriage equality were lost until they began to use *values based campaigning*. The Irish campaign decided to replicate an Irish version of what the Americans had discovered.

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³ www.freedomtomarry.org

Research showed the Yes Equality campaign the values that Irish people held dear and which, when they thought about them, Irish people felt they were being their better selves (as loving, kind, inclusive). These were the values that filled them with pride and depicted positive Irish-ness. It made people want to be part of the Yes campaign. It made them see that the campaign, if they supported it, depicted them as their better selves.



Poster of the values of the Yes Equality campaign, with a personalised Yes Equality bicycle.

Values can help to frame a discussion or a campaign. Like a painting, a frame holds a particular scene within its boundaries; it gives particular meaning to the painting viewed. It gives the viewer a version of reality, a viewing that can transcend a specific domain calling on latent emotions and values.

Why research matters

Marriage Equality had been conducting polling and research analysis on marriage equality support since 2004. At any stage of that long campaign journey, it was clear where Irish people stood or how they were likely to vote on the issue. Initial polls in 2004 showed the public support at around 40%. By the time it came to face a referendum in 2015, those figures were often up to 70% in polls. Marriage Equality knew that when the actual campaign got going and the No side began to disrupt the campaign, they would focus on the fears and worries of the electorate. This would see those numbers slide and the seemingly huge majority, slide away as the date of the vote came closer. The opposition would focus on the fears of the voters. They would use the very same values the Yes campaign had used to build support, to heighten the fears and thus push voters to vote No. The opposition would say marriage may be about love, but family is best when it is a man and a woman; they would say, parenting we know is about love, but the best parenting for children is that delivered by a mother and father. They would try to disrupt the *values based campaign* by sending out messages to interrupt the Yes campaign's narrative.

To counter this, the Yes Equality Campaign commissioned detailed research examining the values that Irish people held as important. How do Irish people like to see themselves? As loving, equal, fair, generous and inclusive people, was the answer. On what issues were the voters in the moveable middle most likely to turn away from the proposition? On the issue of children, the research showed. And from whom did the million in the middle most want to hear from on the issue of marriage equality and regarding children and families in particular? They wanted to hear from people they considered would influence their views, people like themselves, the research said.

Specifically, they wanted to hear from mothers, grandmothers and parents, community leaders and also, children’s rights advocates – not from LGBTI activists. These were the voices that would best affect the million in the middle and move their hearts and minds to a solid Yes vote, the research showed. These were the voices that the campaign needed to seek, find and mobilise to win.

Research to activism

The campaign knew that it had 30% solid Yes voters amongst the electorate, mostly all of those aged under 35 years, plus the majority of women and most urban voters. The campaign’s job would be to ensure these segments of supporters were registered to vote and would come out to vote on the day.

The ‘hardest to hold on to’ voters, or ‘soft Yes’ voters, were men over 35 whom the research told us were most likely to move to a No vote from a Yes position when the issue of children was introduced to them. These men were disrupted from their soft Yes vote and moved to a No vote position. They became one of the key publics that needed special attention. They needed to be convinced that it was ok to vote Yes, which could be done by calming their fears. They were the ones especially for whom messengers had to be picked, messengers who would speak to them and to whom they would listen. Matching the message and the messenger was a key task for the campaign and is a key task for any campaign which is using *values based messaging*.



(Left) Irish International footballer Robbie Keane, calls for a Yes vote – a meme from the campaign targeting older men to support the campaign.

(Right) Families for Yes – depicts family of Pat and Paddy O’Brien, married for 50 years, and their daughters calling for a Yes vote - targeting other long married families to support a Yes vote.

Key elements in planning a successful *values based campaign* include:

- Do the research
- Discover the values of your voters, find out who your 'solid' and your 'soft' voters are and why they are 'solid' or 'soft'
- Target your messages and select your messengers.

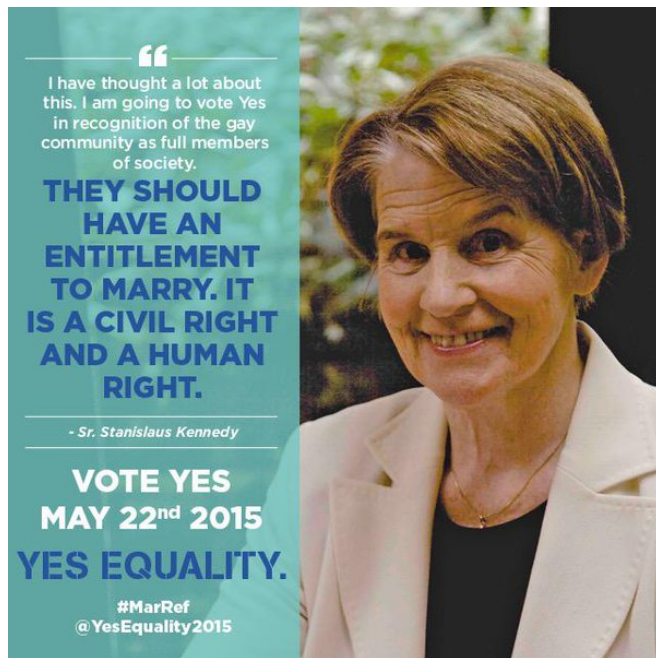
Research provides certainty in the campaign. The research for the Yes Equality campaign gave the Co-Directors the confidence to approach spokespersons and be sure they were the right messengers. It also meant at times asking other willing, but not appropriate spokespersons (according to the research), to be less loud and less visible. The research science was guiding the actions and it gave great consolation and confidence to the campaign leaders and the campaign followers. The plan for the campaign was based on research science, not just informed guesswork.

Knowing your supporters and your opposition

From the research, it became clear that the best approach was to focus on winning the moveable middle voters. The campaign decided to pay very little active attention to those who were vehemently opposed. They would be faced in public televised debates and on radio, but were neither sought out nor given airtime by the campaign. The best approach was to focus on winning the moveable middle using *values based campaigning* to move their hearts. These were the voters whom were needed to win over and hold to vote Yes. In the end, the campaign held 62% of them to deliver the overwhelming Yes vote in May 2015.

In an Irish context, many outsiders ask how the campaign dealt with the Catholic Church as a key oppositional group on the issue of same-sex relationship rights. The Church's official view was that homosexuality is sinful and marriage is between a man and a woman only. The approach to this problem was to agree publicly that the Church was indeed entitled to hold this religious position, but to emphasise that the campaign was seeking a Yes vote on the matter of civil marriage rights, not religious marriage ceremonies.

Living in a predominantly Catholic country, the LGBT rights movement had known for years that it must never ask people to choose between their faith and a referendum issue. Yet a successful strategy was needed to counter faith-based arguments. Having previously worked with faith groups, the campaign began to use people of faith as role models and influencers in the campaign. Voters with strong faith beliefs were invited to find a way to vote Yes which did not mean they were openly in conflict with their religious beliefs. The campaign got some well-known social justice campaigners, who happened to be priests or nuns to come out publicly for Yes. In this way, people who wanted to vote Yes, but knew it would be against church teaching, were given permission to do so. Hearing from other people of faith gave many Catholics, Protestant and other minority faiths permission to vote Yes and return to their church the following day. Marriage Equality very early on supported the formation of a faith based advocacy group 'Faith in Marriage Equality'. This group of Church of Ireland, Catholic, Jewish and Presbyterians spoke to other faith holders and church spokespersons about why they, as people of faith were voting Yes.



Catholic nun and social justice campaigner Sr Stanislaus Kennedy calls for a Yes vote.

Being a positive campaign in every way

In the campaign, people were being asked to say 'Yes' to changing the Irish Constitution to allow for marriage equality. It was clear that seeking change is always the most difficult side to be on in a referendum, as those who want to keep the status quo only need to raise fears of the electorate. Usually people will say 'no' to change and be conservative on matters, especially in referendums.

The campaign decided to use its positive advantage as a Yes campaign in every way possible. Asking for a Yes vote, everything about the campaign would speak about a positive message to the public. The colours used in the Yes campaign materials; the fact that the campaign would be called Yes Equality. That the campaign tone would be upbeat and positive with images of happy Irish families and communities; all were used purposefully.

In trying to reach the million in the middle and win the referendum, the campaign knew it would be vital to engage people as locally as possible. They needed to be engaged by those they knew and respected. The campaign was not divisive, not loud and not shrill, but rather positive and respectful. The campaign would portray happy loving people driven by positive values who were all asking for a Yes vote. It would be a campaign that people wanted to follow and be associated with.

Yes Equality never told the electorate how to vote. Instead, supporters were asked to advocate for a Yes vote by starting conversations with versions of 'I'm voting Yes, can I tell you why?' This national conversation engaged local businesses, family members, sports associations and well known celebrities, and invoked values that won the hearts and minds of the million in the middle. When the electorate came out and voted in May 2015, they voted Yes in their hundreds and thousands. They were a positive, happy, Yes voting electorate – it had worked.⁴

⁴ Link to video *Making History - GAZE celebrates marriage equality vote in Ireland* - https://youtu.be/9X_Xl6kCUUI

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Making alliances and becoming a communications campaign

As a minority, LGBT people alone would never be able to win a popular vote. The campaign needed to make alliances and bring in broader civil society support. This included working with all political parties, developing relationships with the government, and opposition parties to promote a positive view of marriage equality. This work included developing relationships with public servants and politicians in relevant equality departments and across public policy landscapes. It included an initiative which led to 'Mayors for Marriage Equality' which meant that local authorities began to pass motions supporting a Yes vote and it was led out by mayors of local councils from different political parties.

Over a decade Marriage Equality quietly but firmly asked other organisations to support marriage equality as a principle and then to support a Yes vote in the referendum. Others had worked hard to ensure that civil partnership for same-sex couples was introduced in Ireland in 2011. They saw this as an important stepping stone towards the achievement of full marriage equality four years later. It certainly gave same-sex couples an opportunity to have more visibility across Ireland as they celebrated their relationship recognition ceremonies with their families, the campaign for full marriage equality continued.

Working with the media must always be a priority. Prior to and during the referendum, the campaign gave visibility to loving couples who wished to marry. Media space was created for parents and grandparents of LGBT children who wanted equality and fairness for their children. Social media was used in particular to share widely the growing number of well-known celebrities and those with a public profile who were joining the conversations about voting Yes. Positive relations with the media were central to achieving this visibility and publicity. These relationships were developed over many years by the campaign supplying couples for interview, supplying photographs of events, supplying spokespersons for TV, radio programmes and magazines. All of this work with the media allowed media outlets to become familiar with the campaign. Each of these key elements is discussed in detail in the rest of this guide.

What to take from the Irish example and apply to your campaign?

- Get clarity – Decide what is the goal of your campaign (make it SMART – Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Time-bound)
- Make your campaign values based – Ask what would a values based campaign for your issue look like in your country?
- Do your research – Discover what the values of your nation are , and identify the key messages and messengers to help deliver a win for your campaign

- Find out who your target audiences are – Are you trying to change legislation or win a popular vote? How do you best influence legislators and gather public support? Which segments of the public are 'soft' supporters and how will you engage them and win their solid support for your issue?
- Ask your supporters 'Do you want to win an argument or win the vote?' Shape your messages and campaign to reflect the positive tone and values of your campaign.
- Devise a strategy to deal strategically with hardened opposition – it may mean some voices 'turning up' their volume and others' turning down theirs! (Turn up parents and turn down activists) Seek out strategic champions, who will speak to the 'soft' voters on the opposition side, they may just need permission to cross over to support your issue!
- Develop positive messaging and keep a positive tone evident in all campaign activities.
- Seek out and engage your allies – political, civil society, media – both at the local and national level, and advertise their support. Ask them how you can make their support easier for them to deliver for your issue!

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY MATTER

VOTE
YES
ON MAY 22ND

Stories from Across Ireland



Mamo McDonald and Babs Keating say
'I'm Voting Yes' ...see more inside



Cover of the Household booklet that was developed and delivered into homes all over Ireland the week of the vote showing the diversity of those who were voting Yes

Five Lessons from the Irish Marriage Equality Campaign

1. Use of social media as a not so secret weapon

The explosion of social media platforms in the last decade has changed the art of campaigning. The possibilities for use and engagement have become exponential on social media. This is true even when we just consider the most popular platforms of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, coupled with Youtube and the variety of internet based websites. The question for campaigners is to ask how best to use this resource which is accessible, relatively inexpensive, has massive public penetration and can carry a story or an image across the globe in seconds.

Marriage Equality had built a small following on Facebook and Twitter over the decade of its existence, but when Yes Equality launched in early 2015, even those of us leading the campaign had no idea how important social media would be as a mobilisation, support, fundraising and campaigning tool. Why did social media work so well for the Irish campaign?

- Social media was the vehicle *par excellence* for telling personal stories of the Yes Equality campaign.
- Social media contributed hugely to the dissemination of campaign messages and allowed control of messages throughout the campaign.
- Use of memes, infographics, campaign alerts, online actions, fundraising calls and dedicated campaign apps all informed readers or called them to action.
- Blog posts were popular amongst Yes Equality supporters and were a way to engage wider audiences on social media during the campaign.
- Global successes on social media during the campaign included the hashtag *#hometovote*, which saw Irish voters return to vote from across the globe and make their presence visible on social media as they travelled home to vote in the referendum.
- Tweets following *#marref* provided followers and opponents with information and opinion on key milestones of the campaign and also gave social media campaign supporters a busy space into which they could and did generate content, some of it entirely organic and independent of the campaign. The Irish campaign generated specific memes and tweets in particular those showing the growing support of the public and the campaign champions.
- Sharing of material was hugely successful in mobilising activists and support during the campaign *#phoneyourgranny* was an initiative of a group of students at Trinity College, Dublin that grew into a popular movement with young people phoning their grandparents and asking them to vote Yes. The *#votewithus* allowed any supporter of Yes to make a short

video and upload it to that website saying why they were voting with LGBT people in the referendum.

Do's & Don'ts

Do

- Do have an experienced social media manager for your campaign.
- Do develop a social media campaign plan.
- Do have a clear communications line of management so that all material published by the campaign on social media is signed off as appropriate and 'on message' by campaign director(s).
- Do use colourful and lively branding for your campaign, get expert advice from designers on this.
- Do have clear phases and activities for your campaign with matching social media activity (e.g. launch, build momentum, show support, urge actions, get out the vote, give us money, we are nearly there, look who has joined the campaign now!).
- Do keep posts succinct and relevant.
- Do analyse your statistics – know who is sharing and who is posting your campaign posts. Know where your posts are going to ensure you are meeting targets set for the campaign social media campaign.
- Do generate videos, memes and infograms for your campaign.
- Do use your presence on social media to fundraise for events or through sites such as indiegogo which are easy to manage when setting targets and raising funds.
- Do gather those engaged in allied social media efforts to ensure they are on message, informed and can plan with your campaign head-quarters on important joint social media efforts (fundraising or major events).
- Do provide locally based supporters with access to your branding on social media to build local sites, very useful for local campaign meetings or canvassers and shows the development of local support to local supporters.
- Do use social media to get information, news and encouragement out to groups around the country in your campaign.

Don't

- Don't allow just anyone to post material from your campaign.

- Don't allow negative campaigning posts on your campaign's social media space.
- Don't allow post on other unrelated matters onto your social media spaces – keep the focus.
- Don't allow others to mess with your social media brand and messaging tone.
- Don't forget social media campaign *clicktivists* (those who share or 'like' campaign material) must be moved to becoming activists (giving money, joining a local group, going to vote).

2. Personal is political in messaging

As many of the Irish campaign leadership were long-standing feminists, the feminist adage 'the personal is political' was deeply understood. Throughout the campaign it was used to great effect in the campaign's messaging. Using personal stories to connect with the public was a hugely successful element of that campaign. Understanding *values based messaging* and how attitudes are shaped helped the campaign to use personal stories which allowed people to see the relevance of the campaign to their own situations. For example, older long-time married straight couples⁵ spoke about how important marriage was to them and how they supported the rights of other loving couples to get married. Parents with children who were LGBT⁶ spoke about how they wanted equal rights for all their children⁷. Sportsmen⁸ spoke of the importance of marriage equality so that their team mates, who happened to be gay, could get married and be happy. Older people⁹ with strong religious faith spoke of how marriage was about love and love must be supported by giving everyone access to the right to marry and they explained why they were voting Yes.



(left to right) Katherine Zappone and Ann Louise Gilligan who took the case to seek recognition of their Canadian marriage in Ireland speak to then Leader of Irish Labour Party, Joan Burton TD.

⁵ Link to video - Marriage & Family Matter - Paddy & Pat O'Brien - <https://youtu.be/Tiq5NKcZYxU>

⁶ Link to video - Marriage Equality: Bring Your Family With You - <https://youtu.be/AkwYEhjjZhs>

⁷ Link to video -Brighid and Paddy - <http://www.votewithus.org/video/brighid-paddy/>

⁸ Link to video - Hurlers for Yes - <https://youtu.be/Y90vxqH3HwU>

⁹ Link to video - Marriage & Family Matter - Madeleine Connolly - <https://youtu.be/NkGPYuz2yHQ>

Key to the Irish campaign was the court case of the lesbian couple Katherine Zappone and Ann Louise Gilligan, who wanted to have their Canadian marriage recognized in Ireland. In doing so, they lit the spark which formed the marriage equality movement.

Each of these sets of personal stories telling why they were going to vote yes spoke to specific, yet varied target audiences. These stories were speaking to audiences using messages that had been identified as relevant in research and polling focus groups. Many messages and messengers gave voters a glimpse of the sort of Ireland they could be part of creating, if they only voted Yes.

The use of personal stories in campaigns tell us that while facts are important, it is the personal stories that communicate the values and emotions that connect to the lives of others.

The Irish campaign realised that in the early years of its work, the pre-referendum phase - it had a focus on visibility of LGBT people and the discrimination they suffered as a result of the marriage ban. This was a necessary and important early phase of the Irish campaign. The later campaign for a referendum win focused on presenting LGBT people as part of their wider families and allowed the not-so-usual spokespersons to emerge from the campaign. (See the videos with Brighid and Paddy, or Madeline Connolly, in footnotes previous page.)

Short videos were particularly effective and were shared by many thousands of viewers. Some videos went viral as the mobilisation of the appropriate messengers telling personal stories gained traction with social media users. Use of meme's (photographs of celebrity endorsements) was a particularly fast and effective way to provide sharable material with supporters and with the media. Some of the most shared meme's were film and music stars who came forward to support the Yes campaign. Their personal stories as influencers were hugely important to the campaign. These included Irish actor Colin Farrell and country singer Daniel O'Donnell, each of whom helped the campaign reach into a pocket of supporters that would be influenced by this celebrity saying why they thought a Yes vote was a good thing. Use of personal stories in campaigns tell us that while facts are important, it is the personal stories that communicate the values and emotions that connect to the lives of others.



Meme of Irish but internationally known film star Colin Farrell – targeting general public.

Do's and Don'ts

Do

- Do use real stories and real photographs of real people, the value of personal stories is their authenticity.
- Do use influencers for targeted publics (older men for older men; rural accents for non-urban voters, people of faith to speak to other faith believers).
- Do ensure that ordinary people or non-celebrities who share personal stories are supported by media training and are given personal support by the communications team to help them deal with any follow up or media interest – ordinary people's stories as parents and grandparents were powerful, but remember these are ordinary people and must be protected from potential abuse by media.
- Do use various means to share the personal stories – social media, town hall meetings, magazines, newspaper features, radio and television shows. The Irish campaign even used a Yes bus which travelled around Ireland sharing stories and showing local support for Yes Equality (image of Yes Bus).
- Do have a clear line of management of story tellers - from identification of a potential story teller to publicising of the story as part of the planned communications strategy of the campaign.

Don't

- Don't allow unsupported inexperienced people tell their personal story for the campaign without prior practice.

- Don't use stories or images without permission.
- Don't ever use negative personal stories told against a particular person or body.
- Don't allow the tone of the campaign to be hijacked by well-meaning supporters who want to attack or go on the defensive with the opposition – keep it positive and avoid responding to provocations (and there will be many of these).

3. Communications as a priority

When a campaign moves into the final stages, close to achieving its goal, campaigns become communications organisations. Most of the funds spent by the Irish campaign were spent to support communications. Having decided on the values frame for the campaign, all communication platforms and spaces were targeted to carry the campaign's messages.

As part of a campaign review it may emerge that some of the messages from an earlier phase may no longer be relevant. Examining messages at each stage and phase of a campaign is an important task for the communications director. Messages that were once delivered loudly with fire and brimstone passion, may not be the correct messages required for the later stages of a campaign. Earlier loud shouting about rights and discrimination may not be the wisest most effective campaign message or tone as the campaign nears a vote or the passage of a bill in Parliament. The Irish campaign took the advice offered by the American counterparts, suggesting that the tone of the communications should be quieter in the final days of the campaign, avoiding being seen as intimidating the voters.

Framing of the messages is significant and the tone and content of the messages must match the agreed tone of the campaign. The Irish campaign agreed on a positive, non-intimidating tone for all of its campaign. This was closely monitored and managed throughout. Social media platforms were monitored as were the more traditional media platforms to ensure that all campaign communications were on message and were of the right tone and content. It was the job of one campaign volunteer staffer during the Irish campaign to listen to all the key daily national and regional talk show programmes and report back to the communications director what was being said by whom and how well the messages of the campaign were being delivered and received.

The communications strategy of a campaign will be most effective when rooted in good research that reflects the identified concerns, values and priorities of those the campaign is trying to influence. Campaigns must know who is being targeted and why a particular approach is being taken.

Throughout the campaign, once the campaign messages and tone is decided, the key challenge is to stick to it. Keep the messaging relevant and consistent. Support message discipline within the campaign and across all activists and allies. A key leadership role in every campaign is to speak to those within the campaign who are not on message or are simply not helping the cause. These conversations are what make the leadership roles in campaigns challenging, at times even more challenging than dealing with the opposition. Pulling in maverick supporters - or keeping them in line - as a campaign progresses, is a key task of campaign leaders. Sharing the research scientific findings

of a campaign and explaining why certain approaches are being taken can often be the most successful tool to apply to this task.



Then Prime Minister Enda Kenny TD is speaking at the Yes Bus as it arrived in his home town of Ballina, County Mayo.

With story-telling at the core of a campaign communications strategy, supporters may be convinced that facts have a role, but they must come to realise that emotions motivate people to act. For those who are the 'million in the million' – the undecided waiting to be shifted to vote Yes or No, using journey stories can be useful. These are stories by people who themselves have come on a journey on your issue. The most famous case was President Barack Obama who spoke of how his daughters helped him to embrace marriage equality in the USA. Likewise, then Taoiseach (Prime Minister) in Ireland, Enda Kenny also was a 'journey man'. He was known as socially conservative but following the decision to hold a referendum, he said he would be canvassing for a Yes. These stories are powerful and can model a journey for the undecided. Using messengers to whom people can relate really works. Messengers who will give people permission to evolve their thinking can be an incredibly successful strategy for LGBT legal recognition campaigns.

Finding 'unlikely' messengers, those that don't fit the stereotypical image that people might expect, is very useful. This might involve purposefully highlighting the voices of 'permission givers'. In the Irish campaign these included sportsmen, celebrities, faith leaders, parents and grandparents. One of the most influential permission-givers in the Irish campaign was well known Catholic and former President of Ireland, Mary McAleese. She spoke out for marriage equality, saying how it was a way to ensure equality for all children and would help end homophobic bullying of young people. She told the surprised nation about her love for her own gay son. Her voice as a Catholic, a mother and a former President was seismic in the permission-giving effect it had on a voting public, just days out from the referendum vote. Identifying such leaders and holding them back until the right time for campaign purposes is another key campaign strategy.



Catholic and former President Mary McAleese calls for a yes vote – hugely significant in work to give Catholics permission to vote Yes

To manage the messages and support both campaign supporters, allies and media, the Irish campaign produced a 'messaging bible'. This was a document devised early in the campaign which contained all agreed messages of the campaign. During the busy last weeks this document gave a daily 'message of the day' for supporters. It summarised all media coverage each morning in social, broadcast and print media. It also highlighted any significant articles or commentary that supporters should read to keep informed. It gave a list of campaign related events to be held each day and told readers where the Yes Bus would be stopping on its journey around Ireland in the month prior to the vote.

The messaging bible contained campaign answers to all questions being asked by voters and was made available by email to all supporters and allies early each morning. It became so popular that the communications officers of political parties awaited its arrival daily to decide what their campaign message might be on that day. Having this level of detailed messaging available allowed the campaign headquarters to be in control of campaign messaging and also meant that there was a digital space where supporters could go to find the agreed answer to all questions emerging in the campaign.

Do's and Don'ts

Do

- Do develop a campaign communications strategy.
- Do employ a communications director.
- Do devote large portions of campaigns funds to communications, including campaign materials.
- Do develop messages and messengers that are identified by your research.

- Do develop the campaign 'messaging bible' early and maintain throughout the campaign.
- Do ground your communication strategy on good research which reflects the concerns, values and priorities of those you are trying to influence.
- Do use all communications platforms as vehicles for messages.
- Do develop relationships with media personnel for the length of the campaign to build trust and gain access for your stories.
- Do track all media coverage and spend time daily targeting media spaces and analysing results.
- Do use communications to mobilise and expand your existing supporter base (i.e. turn sympathisers into activists).
- Do use communications to transform sceptics into supporters (connect with their values).
- Do use communications so that opponents get defined and depicted as marginalised and most people begin to view the opponents as a threat to national values.

Don't

- Don't economise on communications spending.
- Don't focus on one single media outlet or media format for coverage.
- Don't forget developing media relationships takes time and dedicated effort.
- Don't forget to watch what the opposition is saying, their communications strategy will help inform yours.

4. Making strategic diverse alliances is vital

No social justice campaign is an island. For every campaign, building alliances as early as possible should be a priority. In the early years of Marriage Equality, the board and staff spent much time travelling around Ireland speaking to local LGBT organisations, to annual meetings of national networks of women's groups or community organisations building alliances. Links made in those early days with trades unions, for example, meant that when the campaign began to heat up, the trades unions formed Trades Unionists for Marriage Equality. This body led a campaign to bring trades union members across many professional and trades fields into the campaign as a measure of support for equality. The approach to alliances should be one of inclusiveness – remember you will not agree on all issues with all allies – your task is to get their support for your issue.

A further development that worked well for the Irish campaign was to target multi-national employers who were based in Ireland and had positive diversity policies for their employees. Twitter and Dell managers came out to support Yes Equality as a development that would be good for their workers and good for Ireland as a progressive employment space for multinational employers. The approach to getting such allies on board is to try to see your campaign issues through the eyes of others and in doing this help to develop common language and shared goals. Diversity and employment equality became the common language and shared goals with these large employers.

Allies don't have to agree on everything. Working with equality officers or diversity officers in trades unions or with employers meant that common ground could be found. This was what the Irish campaign focused on with these two important sets of civil society allies. It really helped to nurture trust and partnership with wider civil society actors.

Campaigns must look for natural 'connectors'. The majority of the early Marriage Equality campaigners were young people who were enthusiastic about equality and LGBT human rights. It was they who came up with the idea to contact their grandparents in the *#Ringyourgranny* initiative.¹⁰ Other natural connectors were those in the women's movement in Ireland. These were women in all age groups who were more likely to support the campaign. Using well known feminist commentators and journalists helped to shift an anti-feminist move against the campaign. This move sought to be critical of marriage entirely and thus critical of the campaign – however, using these powerful feminist voices shifted that narrative and the campaign began to be seen as a proposition which was about equality. Their supportive commentary brought feminists on board as they framed the campaign as one of choice for all and more women moved to become campaign supporters and activists. Likewise connecting with student's unions The Union of Students in Ireland (USI) brought the student population behind the campaign.



Doctors for Yes launch their campaign for a Yes vote, pictured in centre holding YES is current Irish Prime Minister Leo Varadkar TD.

¹⁰ Link to video – Call you granny - <https://youtu.be/v7k67q5c6R0>

Attracting Doctors for Yes, Teachers for Yes, Psychologists for Yes, Nurses for Yes, Children's Rights Alliance for Yes were all strategic alliances which helped to deliver Yes supporters in professional fields. But their public support also meant that they had spokespersons who spoke as doctors, teachers, psychologists and children's rights defenders who outlined independently of the Yes Equality campaign why they were advocating a Yes vote. Using trusted societal figures can influence how ordinary people, who may not be politically active, move towards your campaign goal.

Throughout the lifetime of the Irish campaign the growing support of political parties was a vital element in making alliances. Developing personal relationships with as many local and national elected representatives as possible was a key priority. This included providing them with important briefings on the issue, sharing information from research documents or seminar events, including them at these events and helping them on their journey to support your issue.

Much time was taken over many years to attend the annual meetings of all political parties, to take information stands at such events and be available to speak to party members about why they should consider supporting this issue. It was at these events that senior political figures who knew there was resistance to supporting marriage equality or LGBT human rights would be encouraged to come to the stand at the venue where LGBT representative groups would be and to have their photo taken. This showed their leadership on the issue and it gave permission to party rank and file members to support the issue of LGBT rights. The biggest political party in government was the last party to come out for marriage equality. They did so to support their party leader, then Prime Minister Enda Kenny, when he said he would be canvassing for a Yes vote in the referendum.

Political support comes from showing politicians that there is a need for or support for a proposition on the ground amongst the electorate. Marriage Equality ran an initiative 'Out to Your TD' (TD is a member of parliament in Ireland) for 6 years where people were supported to go to their national politicians and ask them to support marriage equality. This campaign was hugely powerful as politicians were visited and those visits helped them to realise that the issue of same-sex relationship rights was taking a foothold amongst the electorate and they needed to have a position on it. Sometimes support for human rights initiatives or social issues comes from the top down in political parties. Most often the successful social justice campaigns are those who work to get the support of elected politicians and their party structure to adopt a motion or a position through party meetings or parliamentary votes. Both strategies are useful and both are effective in building diverse political alliances to support minority issues.

Do's and Don'ts

Do

- Do build alliances early so they can be called on later.
- Do examine who your economic allies might be - In an economy where tourism is important, a progressive attitude to LGBT people will help attract diversity of workforce and diversity of tourists to a country which is seen as welcoming to LGBT people.

- Do make diverse alliances – move out of your own bubble of influence and go as mainstream as you can.
- Do work with allies with whom you may not agree on every issue.
- Do seek champions for your campaign from the leadership of other organisations and bodies.
- Do use partner events to highlight the support of your allies for your cause.
- Do target significant allies identified in research i.e. children’s advocacy organisations, Doctors, Teachers.
- Do find allies that are a surprise to some commentators (sportsmen, religious sisters or priests).
- Do devise strategies within political parties and amongst rank and file party members to get your issue onto the party agenda.
- Do remember that mobilising ordinary people to support a campaign is a winning formula for popular votes.

Don't

- Don't get drawn into the squabbles and competition that may exist between some of your allies.
- Don't turn away allies; find a way to secure common ground.
- Don't fight with potential allies who feel unable to come out publicly to support you – try to find ways to make it possible for them to support you.
- Don't exclude conservative-seeming groups, they may be the way to reach that inaccessible group you have been trying to access.
- Don't forget that neutral voices can often play a leading role in making an issue safe for some. A children's rights' organisational alliance speaking about how relationship rights are good for children's security or 'Psychologists for Yes' who can spoke about how relationship rights and relationship security is good for LGBT mental health and for society more generally.

5. Develop a solid campaign plan

A successful campaign will have a solid campaign plan and will have clearly defined roles for decision making and a roadmap of timetabled key activities. The campaign plan will help to mobilise support in its clarity; will communicate confidence in its succinctness and will attract funders and supporters

in its ability to show how activism is being mobilised and momentum sustained until the goal reached. A good campaign plan should show the roadmap to success and should fit on one page!

Questions to help develop the solid campaign plan include:

- What is the goal of the campaign?
- What are the decision-making structures of the campaign?
- How are we identifying our messages and messengers?
- Work back from the referendum/vote/legislation date what is the timeframe and phases of the campaign?
- How will we plan to engage our allies and supporters to keep the momentum going?
- How will we use our research capacity to know what we need to know and to show what we need to show our publics?
- Who are our key opponents?
- What are their strongest messages?
- What are the key challenges you can identify?
- What financial and human resources do we have and how will we raise the rest we need?

Developing a campaign plan

This will include the following elements:

- The campaign plan

Ask what is the goal of the campaign? For Yes Equality the goal of the campaign was to win a referendum on marriage equality.

Make your goal specific and clear.

- What are the objectives of your campaign?

The key objectives for Yes Equality were laid out as follows:

1. To lead, support and co-ordinate all the Yes vote activity.
2. To orientate the campaign as much as possible towards the middle-ground older audience.
3. To reassure, persuade and motivate that target audience to engage with the campaign issue and vote Yes.
4. To intensely mobilise core supporters to campaign actively.

5. To defend the Yes position, counteract misleading messages and robustly challenge misinformation and fear-mongering.

Devising these five unambiguous statements of intent give clarity to supporters and funders of the key work that the campaign will be engaged in.

➤ Is there one or are there more phases to the campaign?

Chronology

Yes Equality identified a chronology for its referendum campaign, acknowledging the many years of work which went before, the referendum phase required specific actions in specific timeframes: Three phases of the Yes Equality campaign were identified and time lined, they were:

Phase 1: April-to May 5th 2015 – ‘Starting Conversations’ phase – during these weeks the campaign encouraged people to engage with others in conversations on the issue of marriage equality. These conversations took place under the banner ‘I’m voting Yes, ask me why’. Spaces for these conversations included at neighbourhood invitation meetings, larger public gatherings on the same theme and on-street opportunities for members of the public to speak about why they were voting Yes.

Phase 2: May 5th- May 18th 2015 – ‘Full Engagement’ phase – This phase included a highly visible nationwide canvassing operation, participation in national and local media debates, putting a newsletter through every letter box in the land and hosting a Yes bus tour throughout the country.

Phase 3: Days leading to the vote on May 22nd – ‘Closing Argument’ phase – How this would be executed and what the closing message would be was not decided until those last days. It would include a massive ‘get out the vote’ initiative but the rest would depend on what turned out to be the argument that worked best or a way to answer the No argument that most needed final rebuttal. In the end, it was the arguments for a Yes iterated by the children’s rights organisations that were highlighted in this phase, countering the opposition’s attempt to make the public fearful of voting Yes.

At the bottom of the one page campaign plan devised by Yes Equality was a memorable note to the whole campaign, ‘From now on, all our messaging, activity and spending will go to delivering on these objectives, and anything else is not our work.’ This final reminder of the need to focus solely on the campaign goal and campaign objectives helped to keep the focus on the campaign and steer the campaign away from the many distractions that were met with in the final months of the campaign.

Campaign phases

➤ Is there a preparatory or pre campaign phase?

Even campaigns that are being run by a pre-existing single organisation will require a pre-campaign planning phase when key decisions are made regarding campaign staff and roles. This may include hiring or allocating of staff – Campaign director/s, communications director, social media manager, office administrator, fundraiser, mobilisation manager and others. Also included in this phase would be devising the brief for campaign research and sourcing a research company to carry it out and presenting an analysis for the campaign of the findings. Devising of the overall campaign design as laid out above takes place in this pre-campaign phase and includes planning for budgets, logistics and matters such as head- quarters or office staff requirements.

A very important pre-campaign decision is to agree on the decision making structures for the campaign. Who will take the day to day campaign decisions? The agreement must allow the decision makers to act immediately and not have to seek agreement on day to day issues from a committee. An advisory or steering group, to support the directors of the campaign is useful and may allow wider stakeholders to have an input on strategy and provide a space to give feedback on how the campaign is progressing. However such a structure must delegate decision-making to the day to day directors.

A funding and fund raising plan for the campaign should be sketched out in this phase. Towards the end of this phase the devising of key messages and plans for the 'messaging bible' are made and implemented. The building of a messenger data base is managed and media training is supplied to supporters on how to be good effective campaign supporters. Media training for champions or spokespersons will be supplied. These will be the key persons to be put forward by the campaign to tell their personal story of why they are supporting the campaign or to present the campaign position on key issues in the media.

A final significant set of actions for this pre-campaign phase is the planning of the campaign launch and first early campaign activities – devising the 'Roadmap to Victory' during this phase gives supporters a visual to use as a roadmap. It shows what to expect and delineates the various phases of the campaign. The launch event, launch of messengers and messages and the development of the media and social media plan all take place in this pre-phase.

Work that has been taking place perhaps for many years continues, including building diverse allies, fundraising and planning for intense mobilisation of supporters. This last element should be carefully planned for at crucial points during the key phases. Planning when to 'turn up' the volume of supporter mobilisation is crucial and this is usually in the Full Engagement Phase. The Irish campaign planned a myriad of major public supporter events, including a national canvas day where supporters gathered at dozens of locations around Ireland on an agreed Sunday and held mass demonstrations of support for a Yes vote.



(left to right) National canvas day led off by Martin McAleese, husband of former President Mary McAleese, Tom Curren, Secretary General of Fine Gael Party and Ashok Varadkar, father of Leo Varadkar, the current Prime Minister of Ireland.

At the Yes Equality launch¹¹, the campaign took the opportunity to lay out its values and vision for the campaign: Yes Equality would be a family values campaign, claiming that space to speak out for the greater diversity of families in Ireland, gay or straight, all coming together to support their LGBT children, brothers, sisters and friends. The campaign launch saw all political parties come into the room to support the campaign and full media coverage of the event happened. Using vibrant campaign colours and a quiet but determined tone, the campaign launch was the first visible sign of what the campaign was and how it would conduct itself for the coming months. It is well worth planning and being clear about how you want to launch your campaign. The tone and look of the Irish campaign was decided upon and delivered on that day. It was maintained throughout the rest of the campaign.

During the pre-campaign phase, agreement for the day to day management of the campaign is reached and the approach takes shape. From an 8 am meeting by all staff and working volunteers at headquarters to daily wrap up meetings at 5 pm, a pattern was created and continued throughout the campaign. As the weeks passed and the referendum date drew closer – the days at the campaign offices lengthened and the work intensified. There were also weekly meetings with senior political party figures, weekly exchange of information meetings with other social media or partner activists to ensure they knew what the core campaign was up to and vice versa. There were also weekly early morning meetings with the advisory group of the campaign, which included experienced political voices and leaders of the coalition organisations giving support and direction to the two campaign directors. There were a myriad of supporter launch events, all timed to avoid clashes. These structures are primarily about internal communications mechanisms for the campaign, but they ensured that the internal wheels of the campaign kept running smoothly.

¹¹ Link to video – Campaign launch - <https://youtu.be/bYMG5j1BzxU>

Do's and Don'ts

Do

- Decide who will lead the campaign (Irish campaign had two co-directors, unusual but very effective as it was a coalition of a number of organisations).
- Decide who will be the key spokespersons of the campaign.
- Decide who will be the first voice and what will their message be?
- Plan the campaign launch as a major event, keeping the tone and the look congruent with the values espoused by the campaign.
- Have clear agreed decision making structures for the campaign.
- Know your budgets and set your fundraising targets.
- Allocate key people to key roles.
- Decide who will manage the volunteers (a volunteer manager to screen all volunteers and allocate them according to need in the campaign was a really useful mechanism used by Yes Equality).
- Give communications responsibility to one person and ensure they manage social media and other media tracking staff (one volunteer spent all day every day in campaign HQ offices listening to the radio and analysing emerging messages to feedback to the campaign).
- Manage the building of campaign allies (Yes Equality had a team who kept a record of every ally and supported the management of their events, messages or spokesperson, keeping them 'on message').
- Manage the approach to gather campaign champions (celebrities and those with public profiles) a data base of potential champions was developed and a clear sense of why they being asked to do or say was decided in advance of approaching them.
- Identify spokespersons from publics the campaign may not have large sets of supporters i.e. faith based groups, businesses, rural organisations (Yes Equality supported the formation of Faith in Marriage Equality and Business for Yes).
- Develop a 'Roadmap to Victory' for your campaign – useful for campaigners, supporters, funders.
- Realise that some elements of the campaign are done publicly and loudly and others done quietly and privately (mobilisation of public support – loud and exciting – working with politicians may be best done quietly in rooms behind closed doors).
- Develop the messaging bible as a support to the whole campaign and wider stakeholders to stay on message and keep up with campaign developments.

- Develop campaign materials that can be applied for each phase i.e. badges and buttons (Yes/ TA) Yes stickers for supporters and mobilisers; household leaflet to be delivered in the closing stages of a referendum, meme images of celebrity endorsements).
- Remind supporters that winning a referendum or public vote is not about winning arguments but about winning hearts and minds.

Don't

- Allow tone or messaging of campaign to drift away from agreed tone and messaging.
- Be baited to respond - seeming reasonable and pleasant at all stages of the campaign is a challenge but an essential if tone and message are to be congruent.
- Allow supporters to forget that the values of the campaign must be evident in every public interaction of the campaign.
- Leave anything to chance.

Further reading and resources:

- Ireland Says Yes: The Inside Story of How the Vote for Marriage Equality Was Won (G.Healy, B.Sheehan, N.Whelan. Merrion Press, 2016)
- Crossing The Threshold: The Story of the Marriage Equality Movement (Ed. G.Healy. Merrion Press, 2017)
- The Common Cause Handbook: A Guide to Values and Frames for Campaigners, Community Organisers, Civil Servants, Fundraisers, Educators, Social Entrepreneurs, Activists, Funders, and everyone in between. (Public Interest Research Centre, 2011)
- The Meaning of Civil Partnership for Same-Sex Couples in Ireland: An Interpretative Phenomenological Study. (G.Healy, 2015, PhD Thesis , DCU <http://doras.dcu.ie/20766/>)
- Maio, G (2011) 'Don't mind the gap between values and actions', Common Cause Briefing (online) www.valuesandframes.org
- Yes Equality Facebook - <https://www.facebook.com/yesequality>
- Yes Equality Twitter - <http://twitter.com/YesEquality2015>
- Yes Equality Youtube channel - <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCdsQTupEIVA0XujnCx-32Zw>
- Marriage Equality Ireland - <http://www.marriagequality.ie/>
- Gay and Lesbian Equality Network (GLEN) <http://www.glen.ie/>
- Irish Council for Civil Liberties <http://www.iccl.ie/>
- Call Your Granny - www.thecollegeview.com/2015/03/25/call-your-granny-for-marriage-equality/ and - <https://youtu.be/v7k67q5c6R0>
- Vote with us <http://www.votewithus.org/>
- Freedom to Marry campaign USA - <http://www.freedomtomarry.org/>
- Australian Marriage Equality Campaign - <http://www.australianmarriageequality.org/>
- Czech Marriage Equality Campaign - <http://www.jsmefer.cz/>
- Council of Europe - SOGI- <http://www.coe.int/en/web/sogi/>
- Commissioner for Human Rights - Human Rights Comment *Access to registered same-sex partnerships: it's a question of equality* - <https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/access-to-registered-same-sex-partnerships-it-s-a-question-of-equality>
- Dr Gráinne Healy - www.grainnehealy.ie

About the author and Marriage Equality and the Yes Equality Campaign

Dr Gráinne Healy is chairwoman of Marriage Equality Ireland and was co-director of the Yes Equality referendum campaign. She is the co-author of 'Ireland Says Yes – The Inside Story of How the Vote for Marriage Equality Was Won' (Healy, Sheehan, Whelan, 2016, Merrion Press) and editor of 'Crossing The Threshold – The Story of Marriage Equality Movement in Ireland' (2017, Merrion Press). With Orla Howard, Deputy Chairwoman of Marriage Equality, she devised and delivered the campaign training module for the Council of Europe which forms the basis of this guide. The guide is also influenced by the 'Road to Marriage Equality Summer School' (2016) which was organised by Gráinne Healy and Denise Charlton as Social Intelligence Associates (SIA, funded by Social Change Initiatives - SCI – www.socialchangeinitiative.org) to reflect on the lessons and learnings of the campaign. More information is available on: www.grainnehealy.ie

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The Yes Equality Campaign and Paul Sharp of Sharpix (pictures: Doctors for Yes, Katherine Zappone).