Influence strategies:
Approaches to influencing long-term change

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1.   Introduction

Over the past two years, the European Literacy Network (ELINET) has developed and piloted several tools to support awareness and fundraising campaigns for literacy. These campaigns are intended to bring attention to ongoing literacy challenges across Europe and for all age groups.

In this paper, we step back to explore why and how these campaigns and other influence strategies can lead to deeper changes in attitudes and behaviours. For example, in the field of literacy, what influences an adult with low-level literacy skills to face personal barriers and invest time and energy in further learning? What influences the parent to take time to read with their children every day, or the busy physician to discuss the importance of literacy skills for health and well-being with patients?

Advocates for social change draw on techniques of social marketing[1] and social learning to develop effective influence strategies. The research shows that some strategies are more effective than others in influencing deep changes in attitudes and behaviours. We know, for example, that information is only a small part of an effective strategy. Other elements, such as who communicates a message, how well it resonates with different target groups and the kinds of emotions a message evokes are all important. Clear action steps and supportive environments also have an impact on long-term change.

We'll explore these and other elements in the sections below. We'll describe some of the important concepts related to 'social marketing' and 'social learning', and evidence on the impact of different approaches. Most of the research on attitude and behaviour change is in the area of public health (e.g. stop-smoking, nutrition, cancer prevention, mosquito net use in tropical climates, and so on). Their lessons are relevant for the field of literacy, as well. Efforts to change health-related behaviours or to address stigma attached to mental illness or eating disorders, for example, require strong self-efficacy and persistence, as do efforts to address literacy challenges.

At the same time, there's a real need to build the research base in the area of literacy on what works, for whom, and under what circumstances. In the final section of the

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[1] The concept of social marketing, which draws on features of commercial marketing, was introduced by Kotler and Zaltman in 1971 as an approach to influence behaviour change for social good (in Thompson and Heinberg).

paper, we'll also point to gaps in what is known about what works[2] and the need for literacy organisations to engage in action research, including evaluation of the impact of different strategies.

## 2.	What is an influence strategy?

In this paper, we use the term 'influence strategy' as an umbrella for social marketing and social cognitive approaches that encourage changes in mindset and behaviour. Social marketing is 'a process that applies marketing principles and techniques that create, communicate and distribute value in order to influence target audience behaviours that benefit society (public health, safety, the environment and communities) as well as the target audience' (Kotler and Lee, 2007). Social cognitive theory explores factors underlying changes in human behaviour. Change, according to this theory, depends on an individual's self-efficacy ('can I take the necessary steps to change?') and motivation (the classic 'what's in it for me?' question). In other words, individuals are more likely to make changes when they observe others like them who have succeeded in making changes, and they are motivated to achieve similar positive outcomes (Patterson et al., 2008).

Many programmes use a combination of social marketing and social cognitive theory-based approaches to influencing change, whether implicitly or explicitly. Both approaches are backed by strong evidence of impact. Research on social marketing has shown that well-designed and effectively implemented campaigns can have a positive impact on short-term awareness and knowledge of issues, but effects tend to diminish over the medium and long term[3, 4] (Evans-Lacko et al., 2010; Sinclair and Foley, 2009). Moreover, knowledge alone does not necessarily lead to changes in behaviour, for example a number of studies have found a disconnect between what

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[3] Evans-Lacko and colleagues (2010) studied the short-term impact of the Time to Change Cambridge anti-stigma for mental health implemented in early 2009. This local 4-week campaign preceded a 3-year national campaign. The local campaign included advertising in a range of media (bus stops, on the local radio and in the local paper; on beer mats and postcards; through city street art and 'talking points' gatherings, including public sofas staffed by people with experience of mental health problems and a 5-a-side football tournament. The researchers conducted 410 face-to-face interviews prior to, during and after the campaign activity to assess campaign awareness and mental health-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviours. They found that although interviewees did not recall the campaign specifically, there were "significant and sustained shifts... for mental health-related knowledge items" (p. 1). However, these changes were not found for attitude or behaviour-related questions. The researchers conclude that there is no evidence that campaigns of longer duration are more effective and that more research is needed to identify optimal campaign duration.

[4] Sinclair and Foley (2009), in a study on the impact of the Australian SunSmart campaign, note that the government had invested in sun protection campaigns over three decades, with the approach based on social cognitive theories of attitudes and behaviour change. In this time, various studies have found that the campaign has been effective for increased awareness of skin cancer behaviour as well as increased sun protect behaviour, resulting in reduced skin cancer rates. For example, data from eleven cross sectional telephone surveys conducted with 11.589 adults between the ages of 14 and 69 over several years (the Summers of 1987 through 2002 found significant improvement in sun protection behaviour over time). Sunburn rates, which were also tracked through the survey, decreased in this period. However, the Victorian survey found that during periods when funding for campaign advertising on TV decreased, sun protective behaviour also decreased.

people know and how they behave [5,6] (Grier et al., 2007; Safren, 2007). For example, many people are aware that junk food has a negative impact on health, but continue to eat it. So while a single campaign that increases awareness and knowledge is an important first step, campaigns that motivate deeper changes need to draw on individual's motivation and provide other supports[7]. Programmes that combine effective social marketing and communication with additional social and structural supports over time are more likely to influence deep change [8,9] (Safren et al., 2007; Sinclair and Foley, 2009).

Across these sources, we found a number of elements that, together, were consistently important for successful changes in attitudes and behaviour. They include:

1. Defining goals and targeting messages
2. Understanding incentives and disincentives for change
3. Choosing the right messengers and models
4. Evoking emotions
5. Enhancing social and structural support

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[5] Grier and colleagues (2007), in an exploratory study of the impact of fast food commercial marketing in an ethnically diverse sample of parents of 2- to 12-year old children (312 randomly selected participants) in eight medically underserved urban and rural communities in the U.S., found that greater exposure to fast-food ads was linked to beliefs that eating fast food is common among the study participants' friends, family and others in the community. Fast food marketing is thus mediated by favourable perceptions of social norms related to fast food consumption.

[6] Safren and colleagues (2007) note that rates of HIV transmission are substantial even among populations that are well informed about their relative risks. Education about the mechanisms of HIV transmission and about strategies to avoid infection can be considered essential but insufficient. Individuals also need to be equipped with behavioral skills to reduce risk of infection.

[7] Hawke and Veer (2009) explore stigma and self-efficacy of obese individuals, finding that ad hoc campaigns have little sustained influence on perceptions of obesity. They argue that there is a need for more social marketing interventions targeted to youth, before self efficacy deteriorates. Further research on factors that increase self-efficacy and motivation to lose weight can also support more effective campaign design. The evidence presented here directs greater attention towards the need for more social marketing interventions to be targeted at younger populations before hopelessness takes hold and self efficacy deteriorates.

[9] The Australian SunSmart campaign also led to consumer-led demands for more shade (trees, shelters) as a sun protection method. Behaviour changes may be reinforced through these kinds of environmental supports.

Figure 1: The elements of effective influence strategies: A framework
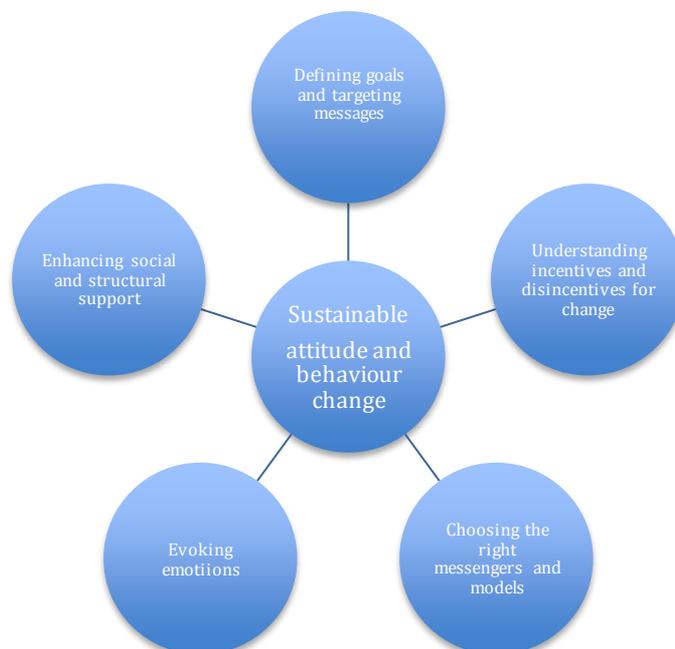
A related ELINET study, on "Success factors for awareness and fundraising for literacy in Europe" of Aertgeerts et al. (2015), which included case studies of effective practice across a range of European programmes, identified a broadly similar set of elements, including:

1. Strategic planning: Expertise in the local context to shape effective strategies.
2. Branding and reputation: Visibility, attractiveness, credibity and professional image.
3. Timing: Synergy of interests and events.
4. Partnerships: Cross-pollination among the media, politicians, target-group and stakeholders in different fields (the beekeeper role).
5. Innovativeness and risk-taking: Pioneering ideas and approaches (whether new for the context or not previously tried).
6. Quality of the message and the messenger: Communication of positive, consistent, clear message tailored for different target audiences and by a trusted source.
7. Leadership and teamwork: Dynamic leadership, staff teamwork and ambassador support.

(Aertgeerts et al., 2015)

In the following pages, we refer to empirical research to learn more about the design, implementation and impact of influence strategies and to identify gaps in the knowledge base. Drawing on the case studies conducted for ELINET awareness and fundraising success indicators, we will also highlight examples of how some literacy organisations are already putting some of these approaches into practice (Aertgeerts et al., 2015).

3. The elements of effective influence strategies

Alan Andreason (1994) points out, that campaigns have a fixed duration. Programmes, however, may last decades, and within this time sponsor several campaigns to support organisational goals. Thus, it's important to see each social marketing campaign as part of a larger change strategy. The elements discussed in this section should be seen as part for a framework for an overall, coherent strategy to raise awareness and knowledge about different issues, and to influence attitudes and behaviours over the longer term.

1. Defining goals and targeting messages

Many public health and other social programmes, have a broad range of goals and multiple target audiences (Burns et al., 1993) across age, gender, income, culture, and so on. Different literacy programmes, for example, target readers in all age groups, parents, teachers, employers, community leaders, donors, policy makers and others. While general messages to raise awareness on issues are important for outreach, a range of studies have found that these should be augmented by specially designed campaigns with tailored messages in order to be more successful (e.g. DeBari et al., 2009; Safren, 2007; Marshall and Brown, 2003).

A variety of studies point out the importance of defining clear goals for each campaign and within that, each target group[10] (also referred to as a 'market segment') (see for example, Talbert, 2008). O'Hara and colleagues (2012), in a study on health behaviours and obesity interventions, note that the more tailored messages are particularly important for reaching vulnerable communities. They also found that referrals from second-parties (e.g. health professionals, coaches) were also important[11].

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[10] An example of segmenting markets is found in Talbert's (2008) study of a campaign to increase breast cancer awareness and screening among African American women (AAW), who are affected in greater rates than Caucasion women. Based on focus groups and in individual interviews with AAW, Talbert found that a general message the importance of breast cancer prevention, facts on success of prevention measures, and information regarding growing disparity of impact between AAW and other groups would be important to reach this target audience.

[11] The researchers evaluated the impact of Australia's Get Healthy Information and Coaching Service campaign, which used mass-media advertisements to recruit participants. They found that television advertisements increased unprompted awareness from 0 to 31.8%, prompted awareness from 2.5% to 23.7% and understanding from 102% to 32.2%. During periods of mass-media advertising, 2.5 times more coaching participants registered than when there was no advertising.

Market segments may be defined according to campaign goals and the specific target group. For example, a campaign to influence parents to read with their children, for at-risk learners to read more often, for employers to support literacy classes, and so on. Fine (1980) suggests that the process of defining segments may be based on the goals consumers set for themselves (with information gathered through surveys or stakeholder groups). This kind of information may also help to forecast behaviour of the different target groups. Another method would be to propose two or more possible sets of consumer goals (including their aspirations for the future), and then test them based on feedback from stakeholders.

Campaign developers should consider attitudes, norms, values, lifestyle, and incentives and disincentives to behaviour change (the latter are explored in more detail below) (Deshpande and Basil, 2006; Safren et al., 2007). Lavack et al. (2008) suggest that it is more effective to define target groups narrowly[12] and to keep in mind that incentives and disincentives will vary for different target groups. For example, Page (2007) points out that messages for at-risk adolescents need to consider appropriate motivations (thrill seeking vs. academic achievement). Messages also need to be appropriate for different cultures (Talbert, 2008). Several researchers describe successful campaigns that engage stakeholders from different groups in strategy and message development (Mayo and Fielder, 2006; Talbert, 2008; Trees, 2015).

NALA: Engaging learners in message development and outreach

The National Adult Literacy Agency in Ireland involves learners in message development and outreach. For example, several learners were involved in the design stage of a large advertising campaign on literacy, which ran from 2007 - 2010. In the early stages of campaign development, learners contributed to message development, considering ways to encourage people to go back to education, how to deal with the stigma often associated with low literacy, and how to influence people to make the first call to the Agency in order to learn more about services. The campaign featured stories of three real learners: a mother who wanted to help children with their homework, an older one who had addressed problems with reading and writing, and a young man who needed to improve literacy skills for work. The stories showed

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[12] Lavack and colleagues (2008) describe a workplace safety campaign targeted to young workers, aged 15 - 24. The campaign was developed taking into account young worker attitudes, values, and lifestyles to develop appropriate training, supervision and motivation.

that people were able to turn their lives around by improving their literacy. After 2010, the advertisements were refreshed with three new learner's' stories.

Adult learners who act as ambassadors may also share their own stories and serve as peer models for others in their local communities. Recently, NALA developed a training course for a number of learners to develop their presentation skills.

Looney et al. (2015)

The particular media in which messages appear are also important (for example, one study on a campaign for adolescent sex education found that televised messages influenced lower secondary school-age youth, but not older adolescents (Moore et al., 2002). Trees (2015) note the popularity of local radio programmes in remote Australia for a campaign targeting adolescent drinking behaviour. Similarly, mobile phone messages to increase literacy may be particularly effective for youth (Auld et al. 2012).

Tracking literacy through international surveys

In the literacy sector, several large-scale international surveys, including the Progress in International Reading Litearcy Study (PIRLS), the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competences (PIAAC) can help identify groups performing poorly on literacy tests and where further awareness raising and programme supports may be needed. For example, the PISA has identified significant gaps in equity and quality of outcomes in some countries, signaling target groups in need of further support. PIAAC has found that, over time, adults competences tend to diminish if they are not used.

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2.   Understanding incentives/disincentives for change
Understanding incentives and disincentives for changes in behaviour and attitudes is central to effective campaigns and programmes. This is where it is important to tap into self-efficacy (what's in it for me) and motivation (why should I invest effort in change) of target groups. Effective influence strategies motivate and/or support people in adopting new behaviours (Patterson et al., 2008).

Patterson and colleagues (2008) emphasise the importance of making a clear link between current behaviours and negative results (current or future). Messages should also communicate the 'replacement behaviours' (or 'next actions') that may lead to better outcomes.

Members of a target group may not be aware that they could benefit from a programme. For example, Thomas and colleagues (2014) in a study of how 150 family groups in Australia perceived two anti-obesity campaigns, Measure Up (problems associated with obesity) and Swap It (solutions for obesity), found that both parents and children were positive about the campaigns, many children did not find it to be relevant as they did not believe they were be overweight. Messages regarding literacy could face similar reactions, particularly for individuals who have been able to function with foundation skills, but may not be aware of increasing demands for literacy in the workplace and in daily life.

Another issue may be related to how individuals perceive various trade-offs involved in changing behaviour. For example, many adults may choose to 'consume' leisure time rather than to pursue literacy learning. Factors such as social norms (i.e., how others in a person's group or community spend their time) and job pressures may serve as disincentives for change (Bednarek et al., 2008).

Of course, social norms may serve as either incentive or disincentive for change. Bednarek and colleagues (2008), in a study on the impact of neighbors on our health found that individuals placed a higher value on fitting social norms than in long-term investments for health.

Grier and colleagues (2007), in their study of the influence of fast food marketing on 2- to 12-year old children in ethnically diverse and medically underserved communities found that media messages were associated with the perception that eating fast food is common among friends, family and community. Parents' perceptions of social norms toward fast food had the most influence. Grier and colleagues (2007) suggest that interventions that aim to correct misperceptions about social norms may be more effective (this could also be effective for alcohol consumption or, we would like to suggest, for reading behaviour).

Angulo-Ruiz and Pergelova (2015) in their study of a youth financial literacy campaign found that in addition to education about finances, parents' influence, values and personality were also important. In the study on the adolescent sexual behaviour which we mentioned above, the researchers found that a range of influences were important including parents, peers and mass media, and that parents had the most important and consistent influence for adolescents in different age groups (e.g. lower and upper secondary school age)[13].

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[13] The relative influence of these three factors varies for different adolescent age groups. Parents' influence may involve 'frank talk' with their children or simply spending time with them.

3.   Choosing the right messengers and models

Social cognitive theory emphaises that most learning occurs through observation and modeling of behaviours (Bandura,1999). Moreover, messages are more influential when communicated by peers, opinion leaders or respected authorities (Stead et al. 2006). Trusted individuals who attempt a new behaviour and succeed inspire others to try also.

Rogers (1983) has found that role models are far more important than the merit of an idea or message. For example, Kelly and colleagues (1991) found that messages regarding the danger of high-risk behaviour for HIV transmission are more effective when delivered by an individual who is highly respected by their peer group. Peers who have already changed their behaviour may talk about their own hardships, the steps they took to address them (whether in media messages or in seminars or other types of discussion groups). In another example, Trees (2015) found positive reception to advertisements for an anti-alcohol campaign featuring local young people in an Australian aboriginal community. The youth also participated in developing the campaign. Members of the community provided positive feedback on the campaign informally, noting that the youth campaign was '… good for the community. They tell it like it is.' (Trees et al., 2015, p. 100).

Respected peers, opinion or authority figures may also help to shift public opinion or social norms.) Patterson and colleagues (2008) cite the example of the Carter Centre's efforts to eradicate Guinea Worm Disease. Communities were much more likely to follow steps to eliminate the disease when messages were communicated by individuals who were respected in the local community. The researchers note that members of the community need to talk about needed changes in behaviour before the idea is taken on more broadly.

Hill and Moran (2011), in their discussion of social marketing and interactive media, refer to a range of factors that affect influence online. For example, while Atkins (1976) found that age, gender and peer status are important in traditional social networks, Brown and colleagues (2007) found that shared interests are more important for influential online relationships. Weiss and colleagues (2008) found that perceived experience and reputation are also important for online influence. Several studies have found that information shared online is more influential when it is from an independent source rather than a professional social marketing campaign (Sussan et al. 2006; Lee & Youn 2009; Shimp et al. 2007, cited in Hill and Moran).

Respected authorities (including parents) may also have a strong influence on attitude and behaviour changes. Those who are most influential are seen as being knowledgeable about the issue being discussed and connected to others working on similar issues. They are also seen as trustworthy and as caring about others' best interests (Patterson et al., 2008).

Dubrovnik County Hospital: Making the connection between children's literacy and development

The Couny General Hospital Dubrovnik sponsors the "Read to Me" project its paediatrics department. The project goals are to raise awareness on the importance of reading out loud to young children and to communicate the importance of literacy for child development. The target audiences are doctors, nurses and the paediatric community parents. Between the ages of 6 months and 6 years, children receive four age-appropriate books during their regular visits to the paediatrician. During the visit the doctor may read to the child for about one minute and then proceed with the medical exam. The reading calms the child, and provides an opportunity for the doctor to explain the importance of reading to children for at least 15 minutes every day. Although the paediatricians themselves were at first skeptical about taking exam time to read to children, they have found that they can now easily integrate it into the regular visits. The books also help keep children calm.

Looney et al. (2015)

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4. Evoking emotions

Several studies show that influence strategies that evoke emotions are significantly more effective than those that rely primarily on information sharing. Peter and Honea (2012) emphasise that emotions such as guilt, hope and pride are associated with positive asipirations for the future or accountability, and have an important influence and motivate new behaviours. They argue that these states are related to self-efficacy and personal control, and motivate 'prosocial' behaviour change. Optimism is important for longer-term commitment to behaviour change

The tone of messages (e.g. optimistic or fear or shame inducing) may affect self-efficacy and motivation. This is particularly true for behaviour changes that require a long-term investment of time and energy. Robertson (2008) suggests that a 'gain frame' describing the benefits of behaviour change is more likely to be effective than one that describe negative consequences or that evoke fear or shame.

Several studies on health behaviour have found that fear may be a disincentive for

change. Individuals make decisions about whether to change behaviour based on their perceptions of their vulnerable to a disease, its seriousness, potential benefits of taking action and barriers to take action (Strecher and Rosenstok, 1974). Witte and Allen (2000), in a review of 98 fear appeal studies found that individuals with high levels of efficacy, were more likely to change attitude, intention and behaviour in response to higher threat levels). On the other hand, higher levels of threat and lower levels of efficacy lead to maladaptive responses (see Jones and Owen, 2006).

Beanstalk and the London Evening Standard: A campaign to inspire action

In 2011, Beanstalk (a charity to support children's reading) and the London Evening Standard (a free newspaper with a distribution of approximately 2 million daily Underground commuters) developed a year-long campaign to raise awareness on the need to address the high numbers of children in London with poor reading skills. The newspaper reported on the scale of the challenge and the long-term impact of low literacy on life chances. Perhaps most powerfully, the series of articles also shared stories that evoked strong empathy with children who struggle with reading. The campaign also featured a flagship school where it was believed that Beanstalk reading volunteers could help turn around this struggling school. The school was able to turn around children's performance on a key literacy examination from a 45% to a 90% pass rate.

Staff at Beanstalk and at the Evening Standard believe that the campaign's appeal to readers' logic and emotion and the clear call to action were key to its massive success in recruiting new volunteers and raising funds.

Looney et al. (2015)

The concept of empowerment also appeals to emotions (e.g., Corrigan et al. 1999; Leung 2009, cited in Angulo-Ruiz and Pergelova, 2015). Empowerment refers to the process of gaining mastery in areas significant for individuals (Rappaport 1987; Zimmerman 1995 in Angulo-Ruiz and Pergelova, 2015). Angulo-Ruiz and Pergelova (2015) propose that empowerment encompasses cognitive elements (competence / knowledge, motivation and self-efficacy); relationship to one's environment; and actions (behaviour). Programmes that emphasise the importance of tailoring learning to diagnosed needs and interests and setting achievable goals, also succeed in empowering individuals (OECD, 2008).

Patterson and colleagues (2008) suggest that stories are highly effective at evoking emotions and influencing behaviour. They cite the example of a Mexican telenovela, *Ven Conmigo* ('Come with Me') which featured a character seeking to improve his

literacy. This story line influenced more than 250.000 viewers to seek further information on literacy programmes. The researchers suggest that characters embedded in stories serve as vicarious models for behaviour change, and for viewers who are invested in the story lines, also evoke powerful emotions.

Emotions are also key to understanding why some stories are more likely to 'go viral' in the social media environment. Berger and Milkman (2012) examined a unique data set of all the New York Times articles published over a three-month period to examine how emotion shapes virality. Successful viral marketing campaigns include a mix of triggers, such as emotion, stories and public or practical value and stories. Positive content is more likely to be shared than negative content. Stories that evoke strong emotions (awe, anger or anxiety) are more viral, while emotions such as sadness are less so. The researchers found that these results are consistent even when controlled for elements of surprise, interest, usefulness or whether an article has been featured prominently. They are also consistent across and within topic areas.

5. Enhancing social and structural support

Both social marketing and social cognitive theory note the importance of the social and structural reinforcement. Programmes should make participation as easy as possible, paying attention to potential psychological and dispositional logistical barriers in mind (Burns, 1993; OECD, 2008). New reference groups (peer role models) or other social or environmental supports may also be important for individuals engaged in the difficult task of behaviour change.

The most effective influence strategies are through face-to-face encounters and word of mouth. In the commercial sector, Berger and Milkman (2012) report that 85% of sharing occurs through face-to-face encounters and only 7% occurs online. For example, professionals in health care, social services, employment offices and managers in the workplace may play an important part in influence strategies. For example, Chong and colleagues (2005) describe a successful campaign to educate the general public and primary health care professionals and para-professionals about mental illness and the importance of early referral. The campaign resulted in more patients being referred for care and a reduced need for police assistance for individuals suffering from psychosis[14]. In a study on workplace learning, Munro and

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[14] The Singapore-based campaign to promote early psychosis intervention included public talks, forums and workshops in English and Chinese and featuring presentations on psychosis and its treatment for the general public. Local celebrities were also involved and the campaign received corporate support for a radio and newspaper campaign and distribution of free postcards at stores and display of posters in metro train stations. Radio interviews with a psychiatrist were aired on regularly, and newspapers and magazines published numerous articles on psychosis and available programme services. On television,

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colleagues (2000) found that in those organisations that supported training, including for foundation literacy skills, and that allowed some staff to progress from unskilled to professional positions, staff felt valued and recognize and had very positive attitude towards their organisations[15].

The community of Amsterdam: Language markets

The community of Amsterdam sponsors a language market, which serves a platform for decision-makers to share their plans for new policies, programmes and projects. The language market potentially provides an effective way for literacy supporters, volunteer organisations, language learning centres, the municipal library and the citizens of Amsterdam to coordinate their work and ensure broader reach.

Looney et al. (2015)

Sweden reaching families where they are

Since 2000, the Läsrörelsen Association has partnered with McDonald's in Sweden to distribute high-quality children's books with Happy Meals, instead of the plastic toys that had been typically included with the meals. McDonald's enhances its image as a family place and the Läsrörelsen Association is able to reach families who don't go to the library or book stores.

The Läsrörelsen Association commissions authors and illustrators to develop chidlren's books for the programme. The books are then translated into Danish, Finnish, Norwegian, and most recently, Somali. McDonald's pays for the books, advertising and distribution while the Association assures the quality. In many ways, the success of the project is due to leadership from both the corporate and the Läsrörelsen Association and their good working relationship.

Looney et al. (2015)

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a docu-drama on psychosis was aired at prime time in four languages. An art exhibition also addressed on the theme of psychosis. Follow-up information and assistance was available via a website and hotline telephone received bimonthly newsletter on psychosis including the importance of early referral (Chong et al., 2005).

[15] Munro and colleagues (2000) also point to the difficulty for unskilled employees in accessing learning opportunities, including basic literacy, when managers do not support it. They found that although there are opportunities for workers to participate in learning and job progression (in particular for health care assistants), most workplace learning for unskilled workers was restricted to on-the-job learning or classes paid for by workers themselves. In their study, both managers and staff felt that training was not important for individuals nearing retirement, However, staff tended to take a broader view of what kind of training was relevant, with line managers who were more likely to focus on training for immediate operational issues.

In the built environment, the concept of 'propinquity' is also important for influence strategies (Patterson et al., 2008). 'Propinquity' is defined as 'nearness in place and time' (see www.meriam-webster.com). For example, Evans et al. (2014), in a study of PISA results for 15 year-old students in 42 countries, found a strong relationship between the presence of books in the home and children's academic achievement. This relationship held for children whose parents had lower levels of education, as well.

Plain English

The National Adult Literacy Agency (NALA) in Ireland has developed the Plain English service, to help organisations write materials in clear and concise language. For example, in the health sector, patient literature should not include medical jargon, and instructions should be stated clearly.

NALA has also collected thousands of signatures on a petition that would require that the government provide all public information in plain English.

Looney at al. (2015)

The relationship between 'new media' and offline learning can be synergistic. Online environments may be less threatening for many learners with low basic literacy skills, and particularly attractive for youth. The website design also matters. Sites that are clear and that provide customized learning opportunities along with feedback, encouragement and support are more effective. Hill and Moran (2011) warn that younger individuals 'tend to be more fickle', so it is important to keep websites new and fresh and to provide opportunities to interact with or create content. Online community support can be important for individuals who are anxious or frustrated.

Bandura (2005) emphasises that an individual's self-regulation and strategies to manage behaviour are vital to change. Online support and mobile phone text messages can support individuals. For example, O'Connor and Lundstrom (2010) describe a social marketing strategy to improve student research using text messaging highlighting effective research behaviours. Students who received the text messages were more likely to seek offline expert assistance from librarians and to discuss effective research processes (as compared to a control group which did not receive the messages). In another New Zealand-based study of the use of text messages to Maõri and Pacific students to support students' self-regulated learning, Goh et al. (2011) found that students significantly improved several aspects of their learning strategies as compared to students in a control group who did not receive

the messages[16].

These various social and structural supports are important to maintain the self-efficacy and motivation needed to succeed towards long-term goals and deep changes in attitudes and behaviours.

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[16] The study, tracked the impact of persuasive short messaging service (SMS) on undergraduate students' self-regulated learning strategies in a 12-week course at a tertiary institution in New Zealand using the motivated strategies for learning questionnaires (MSLQ). The researchers found that students' learning strategies improved in terms of management of time and study environment, as well as outcomes. as compared to a control group. Maōri and Pacific Island students who participated in the study (and who have historically had lower performance than the main cohort) performed better than the main cohort.

4.   An agenda for research and evaluation

In this paper, we've set out a framework to guide the development of effective influence strategies. The framework is grounded in research in the areas of social marketing as well as social cognitive theories. These two schools of thought provide valuable insights on the influence strategies that may support deep changes in attitudes and behaviour. A broad range of studies have helped to build the evidence base on those strategies that have been most effective in a variety of programmes.

Each of the elements included in the framework contributes to a coherent, overall strategy. Indeed, any one of these elements on its own may help promote short-term knowledge and awareness, but together, they are more likely to promote deep and lasting change.

Although these elements have been applied successfully across sectors and for a range of issues, there's a need to deepen knowledge on effective influence strategies specifically for literacy. High quality empirical research will be important, as will effective on-the-ground action research.

Among the important areas for inquiry are:
1.   **The best approach to segmenting target audiences for campaigns?**
     Several studies have reinforced the importance of segmenting messages to reach different target groups. Segments may be defined according to campaign goals and demographics (by age, ethnicity, social class, gender, at-risk, employment status, and so on).
     Questions: How narrowly should literacy campaigns define their target audiences? Is it possible to develop campaigns that communicate a general message, while also including outreach to specific target groups? How can stakeholder groups help shape effective messages for the different target groups?

2.   **The optimal time for any individual campaign?**
     Studies point to the limited impact of short-term campaigns, with the biggest changes in awareness and knowledge. This is an important outcome, but the benefits are likely to diminish over time. Although longer-term campaigns have a deeper impact, researchers question the value of these investments, and note that it will be important to identify optimal duration of a campaign activity.

Questions: What outcomes may be expected for campaigns over the short-, medium and long-term? How frequently should messages be communicated? Is it possible to influence deeper changes in attitudes and behaviours related to literacy with long-term campaigns? At what point do messages need to be refreshed in order to recapture attention?

3. **How to support self-efficacy and motivation for different target audiences?**

We have noted that messages that evoke emotions have a more powerful influence on self-efficacy and motivation than those that aim solely to communicate information. A number of studies in public health have found mixed results for messages that evoke optimism versus fear or anxiety related to health care.

Questions: What messages are more effective at supporting self-efficacy and motivation for the different target audiences of a literacy campaign? How can campaigns appeal to self-efficacy and motivate individuals who've had previous bad experience with learning?

4. **How to design cost effective, multi-platform campaigns?**

Most social marketing campaigns use a variety of channels to communicate messages (sometimes referred to as 'integrated marketing communications'), including television, radio, social media, public events, posters and letter campaigns. This is important because different target groups are more likely to tune into some forms of media than others. For example, the research shows that face-to-face meetings are likely to be more effective than social media for all target groups, but youth are the most avoid followers social media. Internet sites that support interactivity, social connection and customised feedback are important to sustained attention. Different radio or television programmes are more likely to attract different audiences. Written campaign materials (postcards, pamphlets) may be appropriate for some target groups, but not for all. All of these channels need to communicate clearly what next steps individuals can take to address problems.

Questions: How can literacy networks develop coherent integrated marketing communication strategies that reinforce messages for target groups while also reaching a broad audience? How can they identify individuals who are most likely to influence others through face-to-face communication? What role can professionals from other sectors (such as health care) play in encouraging literacy for children and adults? How can integrated marketing communications be coordinated with local contexts and needs, including other relevant strategies? (DeBari et al., 2009).

5. **Effective structural supports to reinforce literacy learning?**

Structural supports are vital for deep changes to attitudes and behaviour. These include social and environmental supports. For literacy, this may include peer learning in schools and other learning programmes, and pedagogies that reinforce self-efficacy and motivation. Literate environments, such as availability of books, official documents that encourage the use of clear language (e.g. "Plain English"), text messages that encourage reading habits, and workplace cultures that support learning (including for unskilled workers) are also vital.

Questions: What policy changes and investments are needed to encourage teaching, learning and assessment to support self-efficacy and motivation for learners in schools and other programmes? How can advocates and policy makers support the development of more literate environments? How can workplace literacy training be strengthened?

6. **How to measure the impact of influence strategies?**

The various studies we have referred to in this paper have used sophisticated methodologies to measure the impact of different influence strategies. These methodologies may also be applied to the literacy sector, where there is a scarcity of evidence. But literacy programme leaders may also help to build the evidence base by sharing the results of evaluations that identify what has worked well, and what has needed to be adapted. These evaluations are also important for understanding aspects that may need to be adapted for local needs and cultures.

Questions: How can researchers, advocates and programme leaders be encouraged to build the evidence base on effective influence strategies for literacy? How can they be encouraged to use evidence to develop new programmes and ultimately, to tackle the challenge of low literacy?

Action research and evaluation

We have referred to a range of academic studies of the impact of social marketing and social cognitive approaches in this paper. Although the majority of the studies have been conducted primarily in public health, the framework is relevant for literacy campaigns and programmes. Nevertheless, as we proposed at the beginning of this paper, it will be important to deepen knowledge about 'what works' for literacy, as well.

Action research conducted by on-the-ground literacy programmes can play a vital role in improving our understanding of what works, for whom and under what

circumstances. Moreover, action research, as noted by Stringer (2014) is focused on the complex dynamics of implementing interventions in any social context.

"Action research … uses continuing cycles of investigation designed to reveal effective solutions to issues and problems experienced in specific situations and local settings, proving the means by which people in schools, businesses, community agencies and organizations, and health and human services may increase the effectiveness and efficiency of their work." (Stringer, 2014)

Stringer (2014) highlights the importance of include stakeholders in the research process, and of taking time to reflect and to analyse success factors. This is a particularly relevant approach for understanding influence strategies and their impact on attitudes and behaviour over the short-, medium- and long-term.

Most importantly, it should remember that efforts to influence deep attitude and behaviour change require a long-term commitment and reinforcement. Understanding what works in different contexts can ensure that investments are effective and have a big impact on individuals' lives.

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