

Communicating unpleasant reforms: experiences from Great Britain

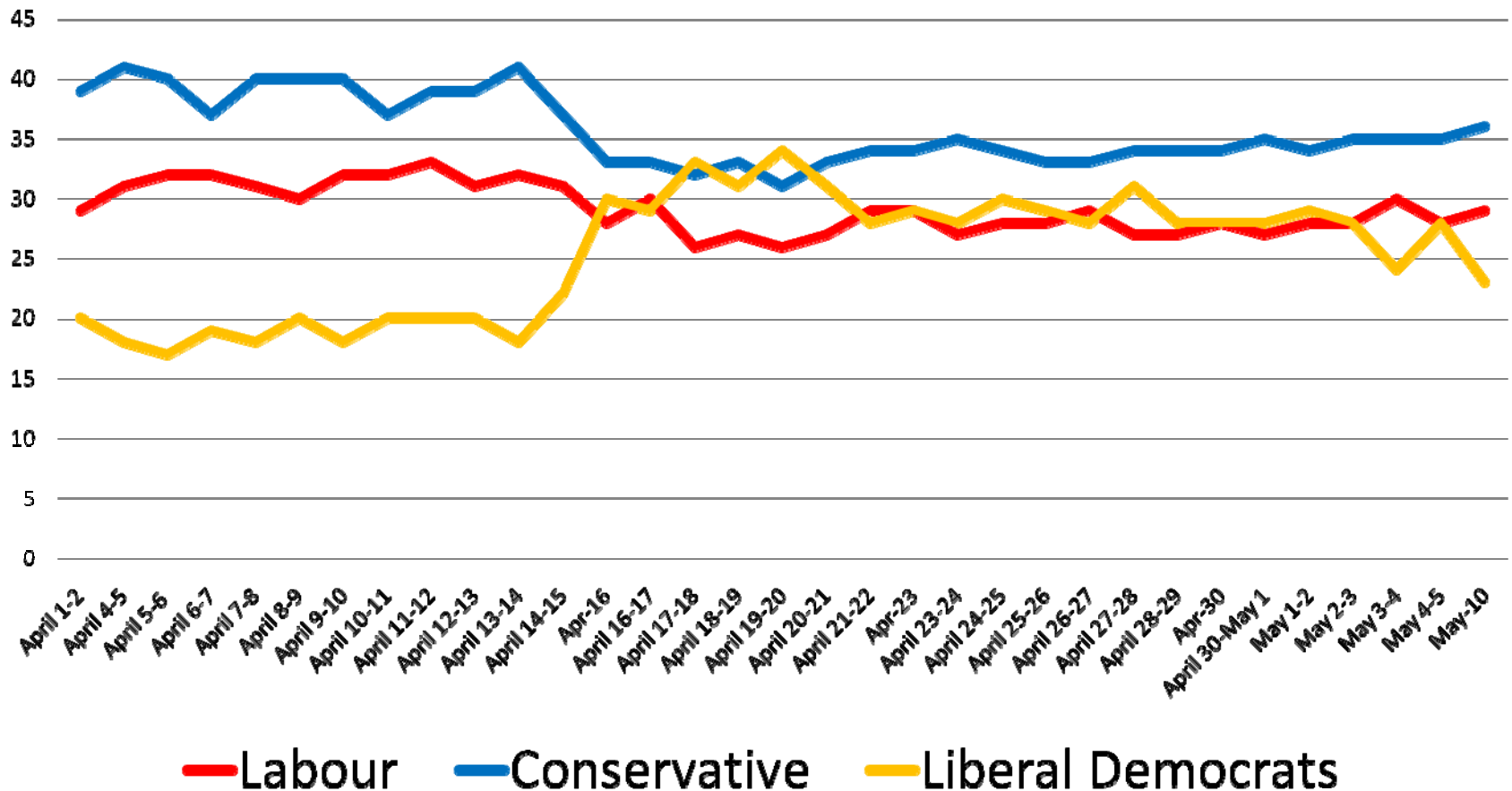
Martin Tod

8th International Conference for Political
Communication, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

CONTEXT

May 2010: very unusual General Election

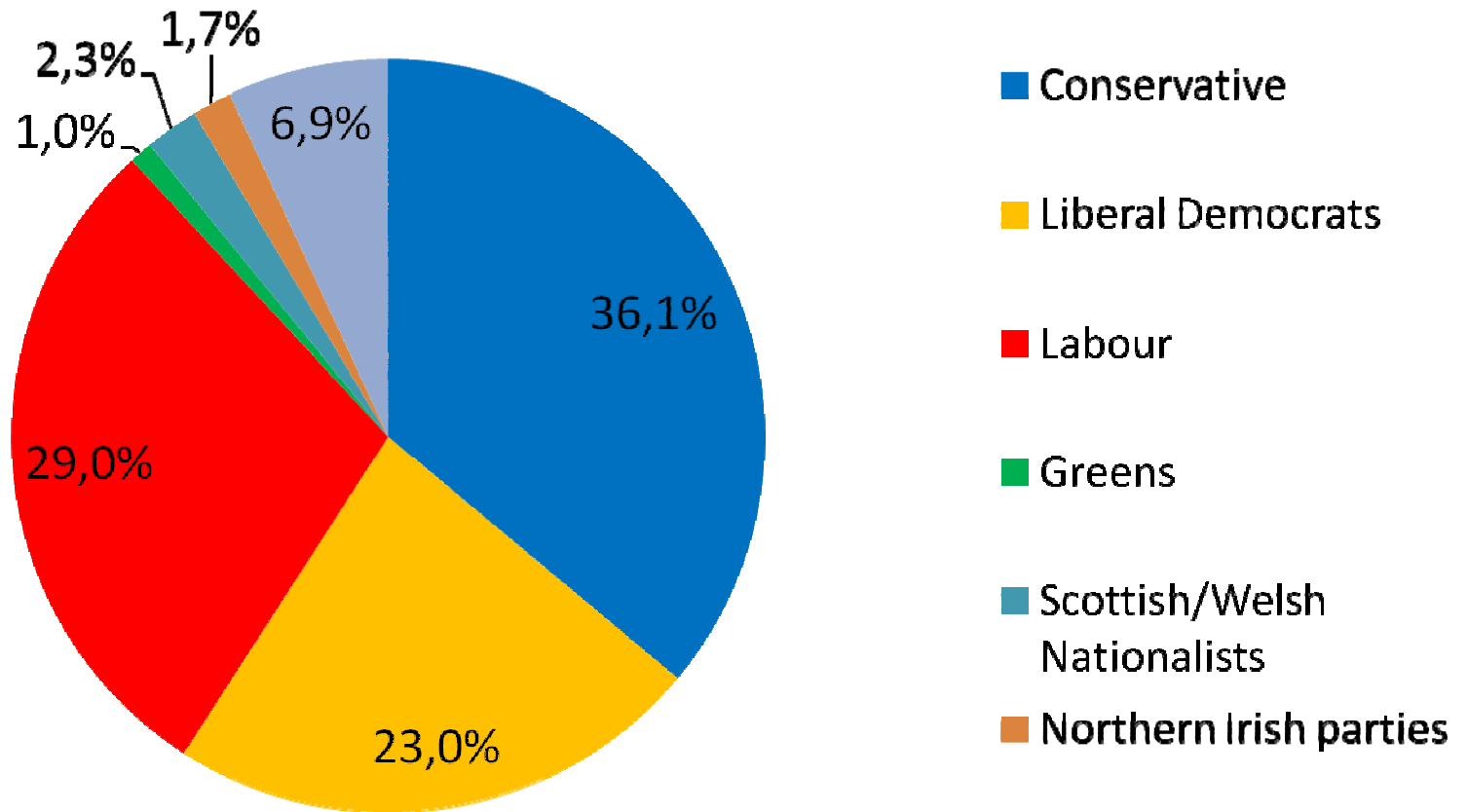
YouGov Daily Opinion Polls



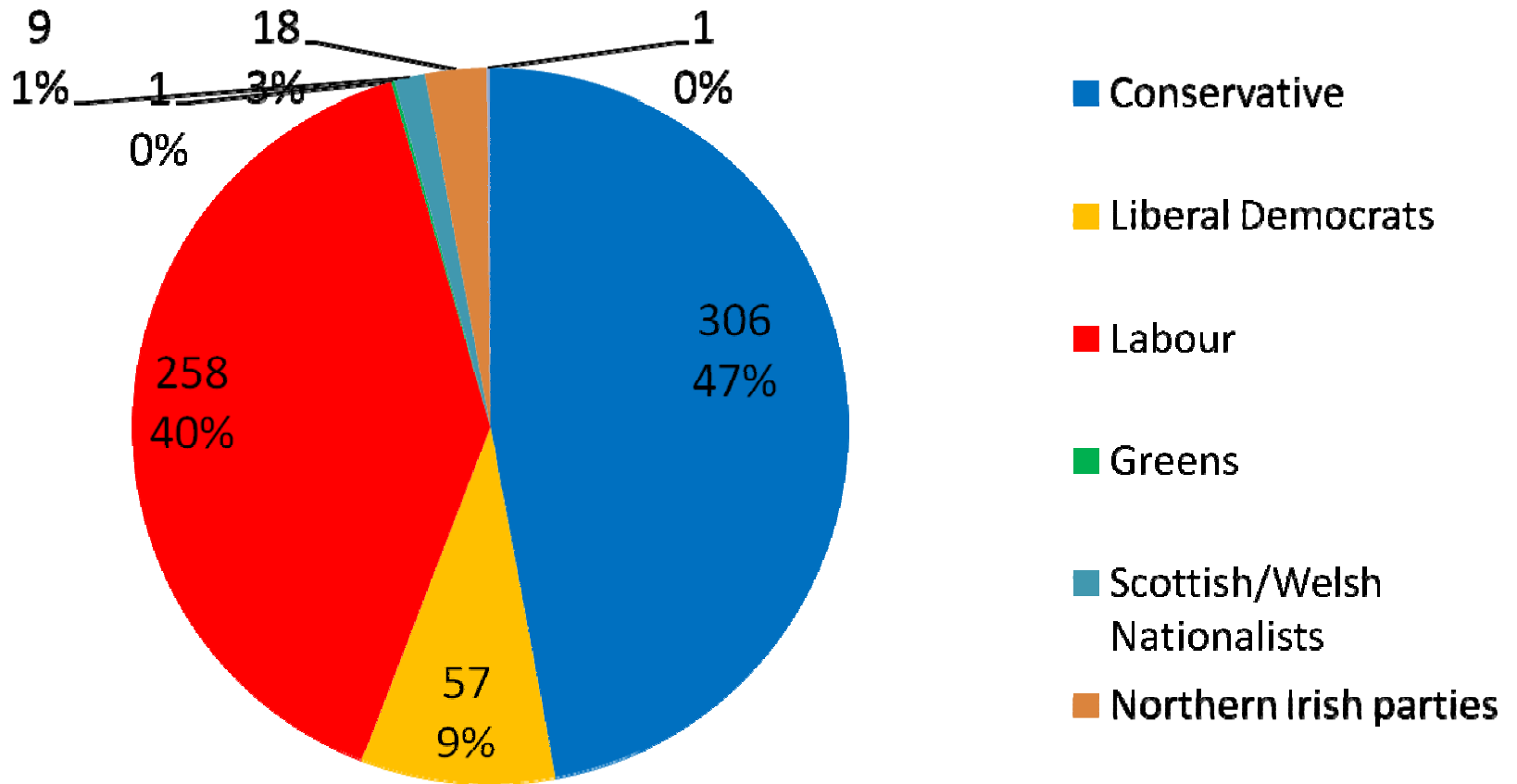
UK discovered TV debates



No clear conclusion in votes



Finely balanced result in seats...



High speed change...

Date	Day	Event
Monday 12 April	+0	Election called
Thursday 6 May	+24	Polling day
Tuesday 11 May	+29	Coalition agreed

First peace-time coalition since the 1930s



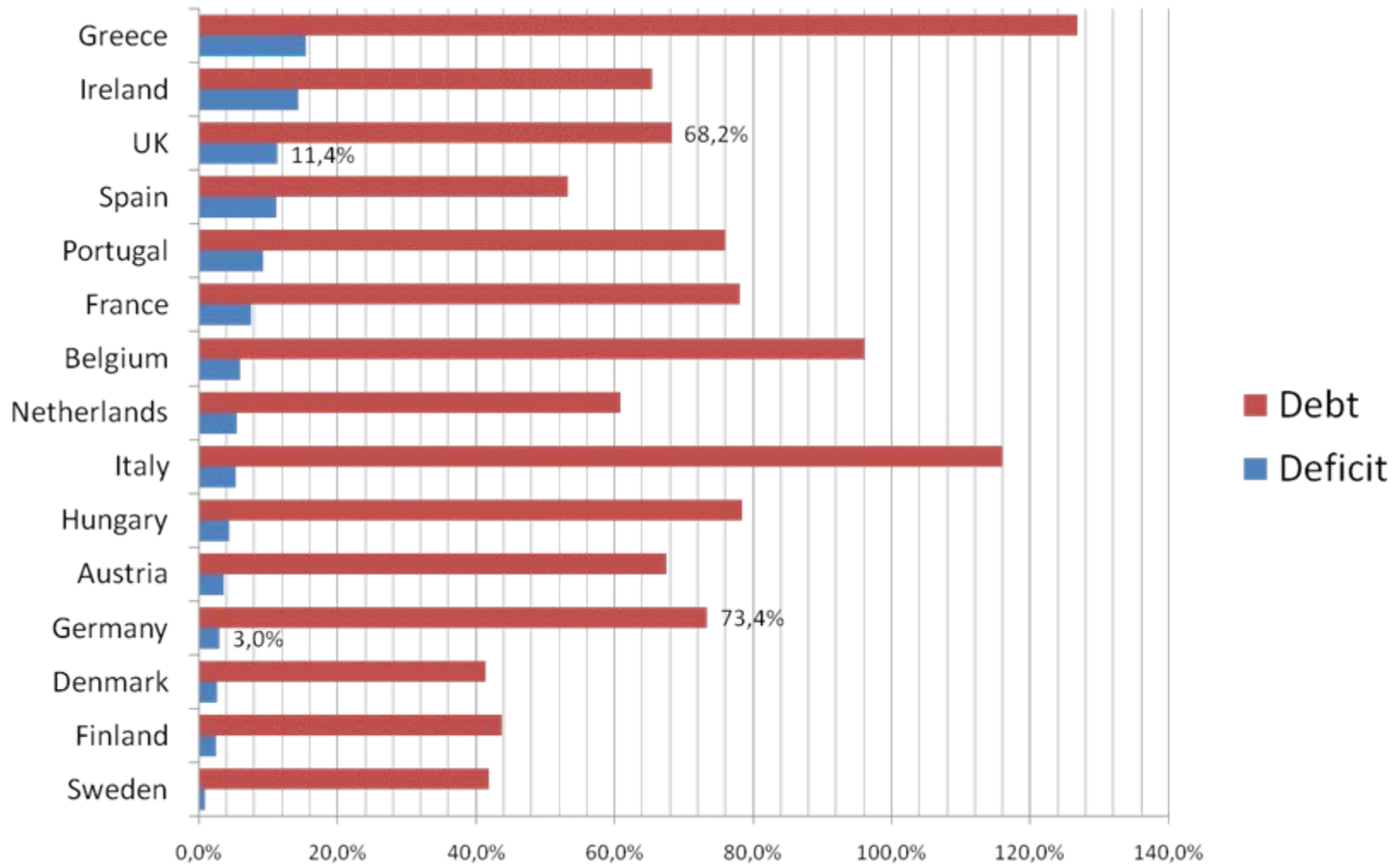
5 days after election

- Coalition programme agreed
- “Tackling the deficit is essential, but it is not what we came into politics to achieve.”



**BUT THE CORE OF THE PROGRAMME
HAS BEEN THE DEFICIT**

3rd highest deficit in the EU Highest in the G20



Genuine feeling of crisis during negotiations

guardian.co.uk

News Sport Comment Culture Business Money Life & style Travel Environment

Business European debt crisis

Euro crisis goes global as leaders fail to stop the rot

- G7 demands action from Europe after markets plunge
- Fears that banks' exposure to debt could wreck recovery

Philip Inman and Ian Traynor in Brussels
guardian.co.uk, Friday 7 May 2010 19:44 BST
Article history



Business
European debt crisis · Financial crisis · Market turmoil · Dow Jones · FTSE · Europe · European banks

World news
Greece · Germany · France · Euro · Angela Merkel · Nicolas Sarkozy · Spain

Politics
Alastair Darling

UK news

More news

More on this story



Unemployment at highest level in 15 yrs
Despite a fall in unemployment benefit claims, the total jobless rose to 2.51 million in March, the highest level

Germany's Angela Merkel and other European leaders is under increasing pressure over the Greek debt crisis going global as markets were in turmoil. Photograph: Tobias Schwarz/Reuters

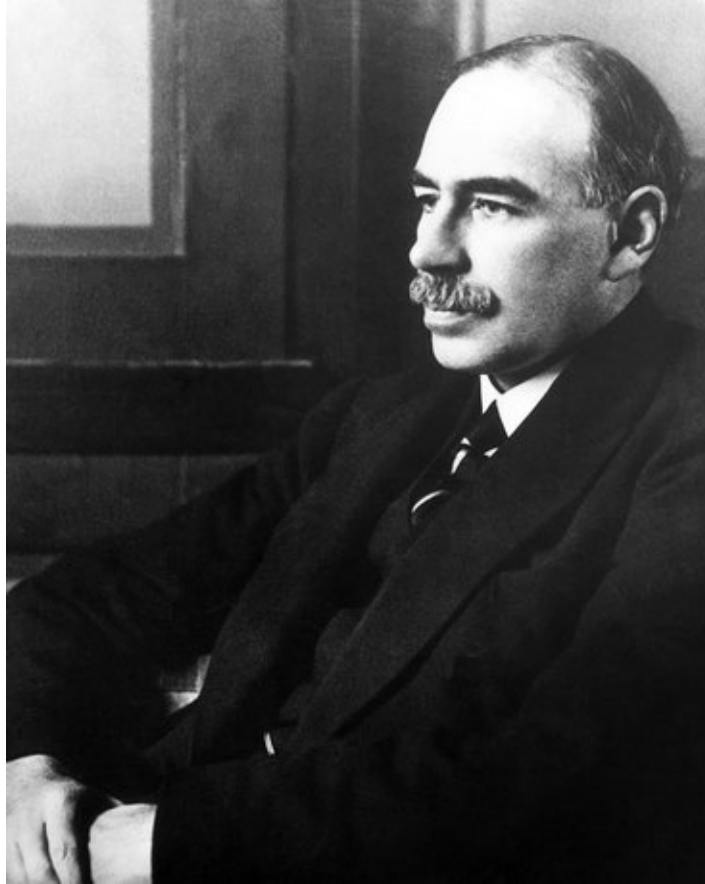
The growing crisis in the eurozone threatened to undermine the global economic recovery as markets plunged across the world on fears that European leaders may not be able to contain the debt contagion spreading from Greece.

Stock markets in London, New York, and Shanghai dived following criticism that much delayed and half-hearted measures to rescue Greece were undermining confidence in wider efforts to kick start the world economy.



Liberal Democrats

The trauma of the thirties



John
Maynard
Keynes

Conservatives

The trauma of 'Black Wednesday'



Forced withdrawal
from ERM on
September 16, 1992



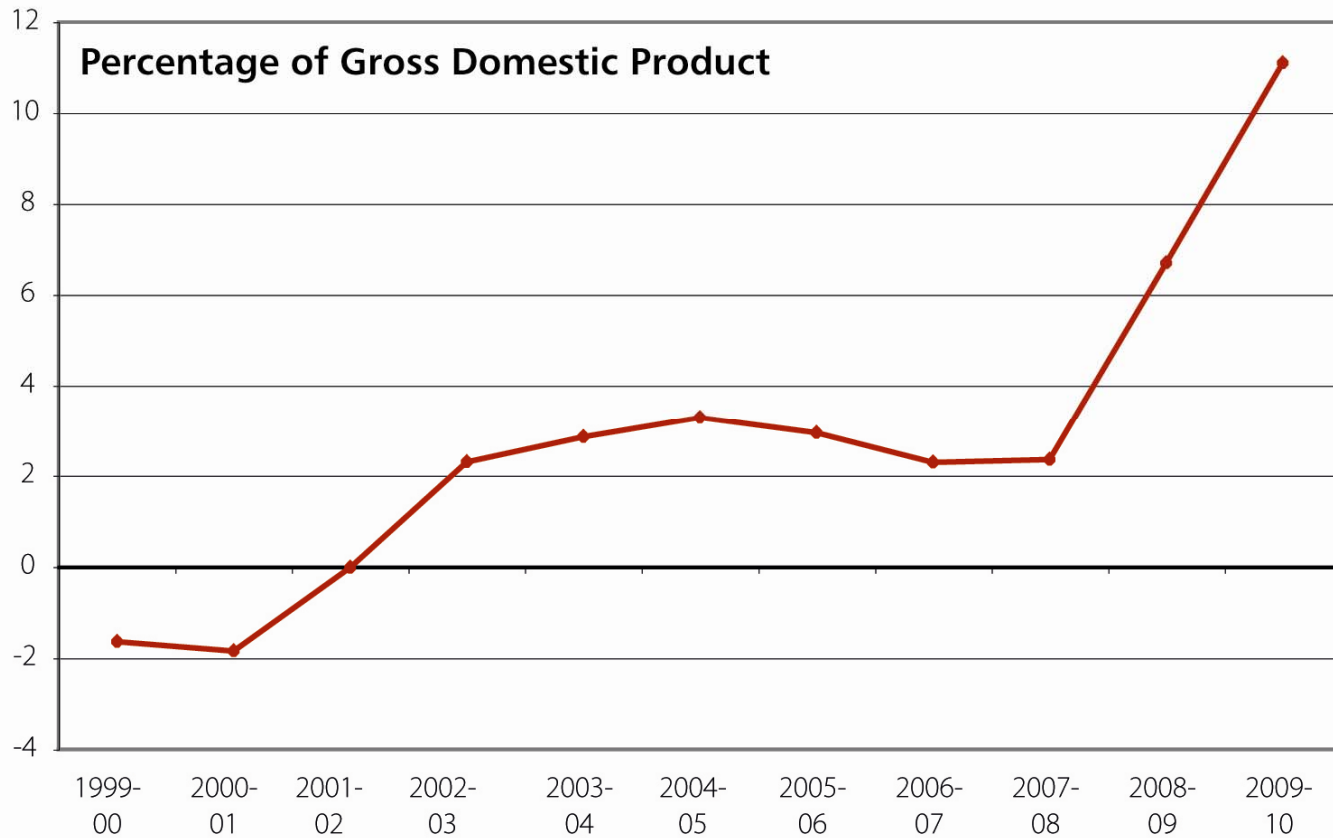
Emergency Budget: June 22



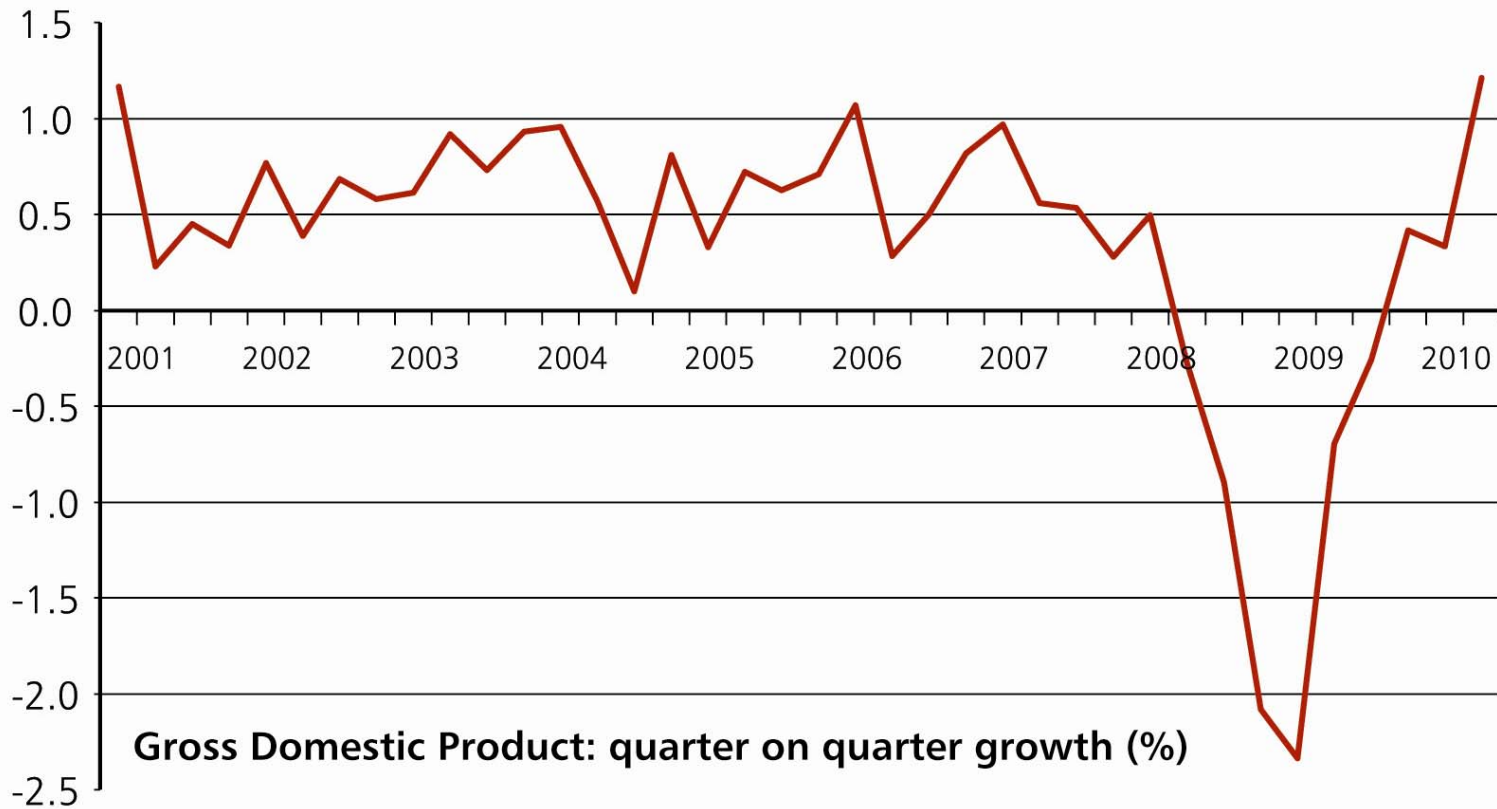
A shift in emphasis

“The most urgent task facing this country is to implement an accelerated plan to reduce the deficit.”

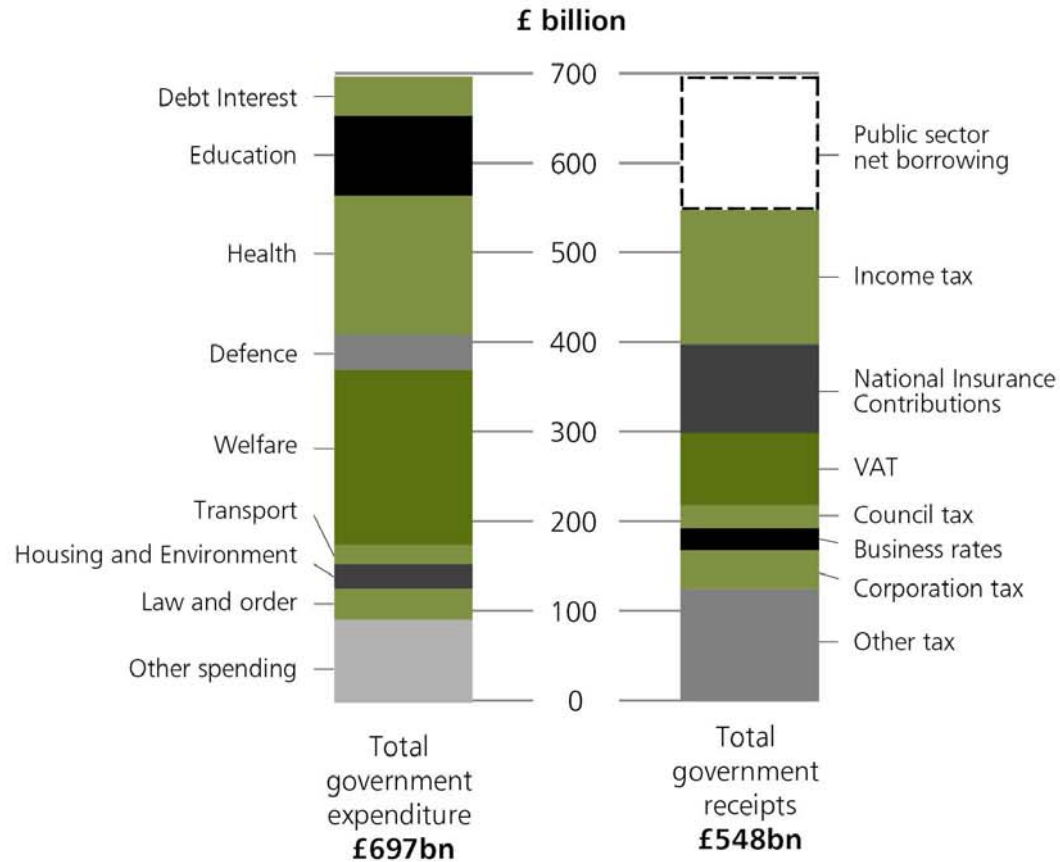
Exploding deficit



Poor economic performance



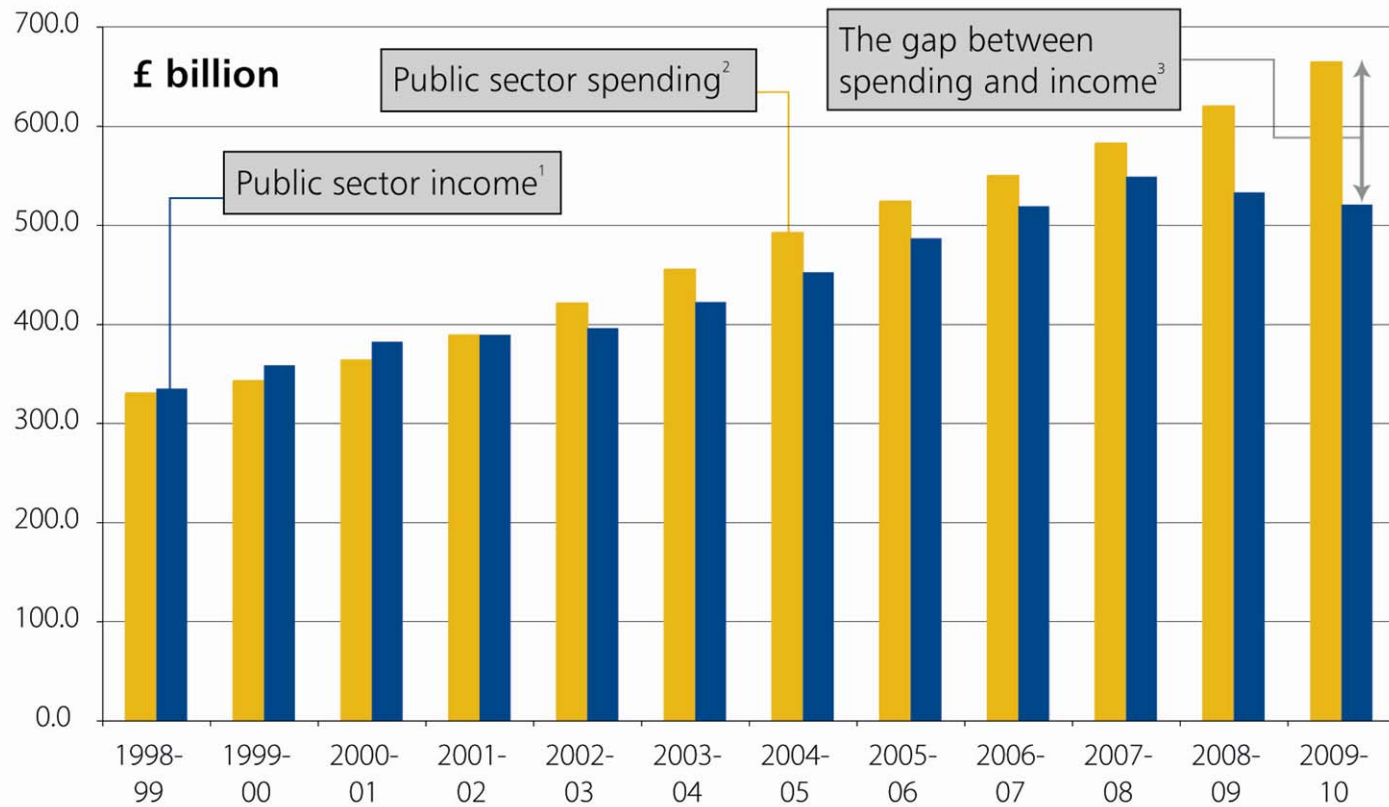
A gap in Government expenditure



This chart was originally published in Spending Review 2010, available at www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/spendingreview

A gap over the last ten years

Source: ONS. Public Sector Finances statistical bulletin, 21 September 2010 release.



¹ Public sector current receipts.

² Total Managed Expenditure, including the temporary effects of financial interventions.

³ Public sector net borrowing, including the effect of financial interventions.

Budget themes:

- Responsibility: deficit reduction
- Freedom: enterprise
- Fairness

Mixture of good news and bad news

Bad news:

Spending cuts

- £32 billion of spending cuts – 25% in 4 years
- Details announced to follow on October 20
- £11 billion of welfare reforms
- Public sector pay freeze for those earning > £21,000

Good news: Spending increased or protected

- Health & overseas aid protected
- Pensions increased

Mixture of good news and bad news

Bad news: Extra taxes

- £8 billion extra tax
 - VAT.
 - Capital gains.
 - Bank levy.

Good news: Tax cuts

- Increased personal allowances
- Cut corporation tax
- Freeze in council tax

October 22, 2010



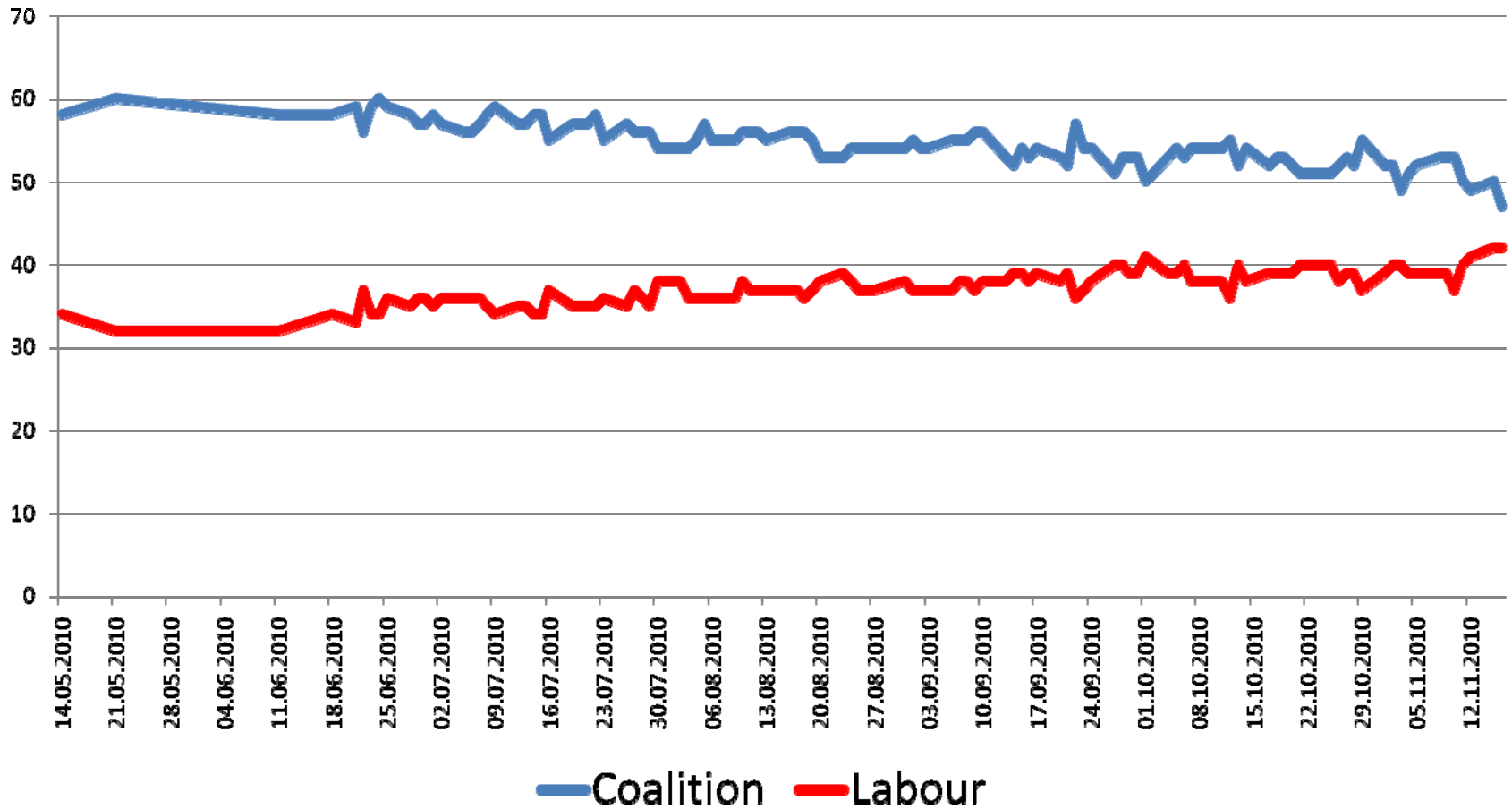
Spending Review 2010

Much tougher – not much good news

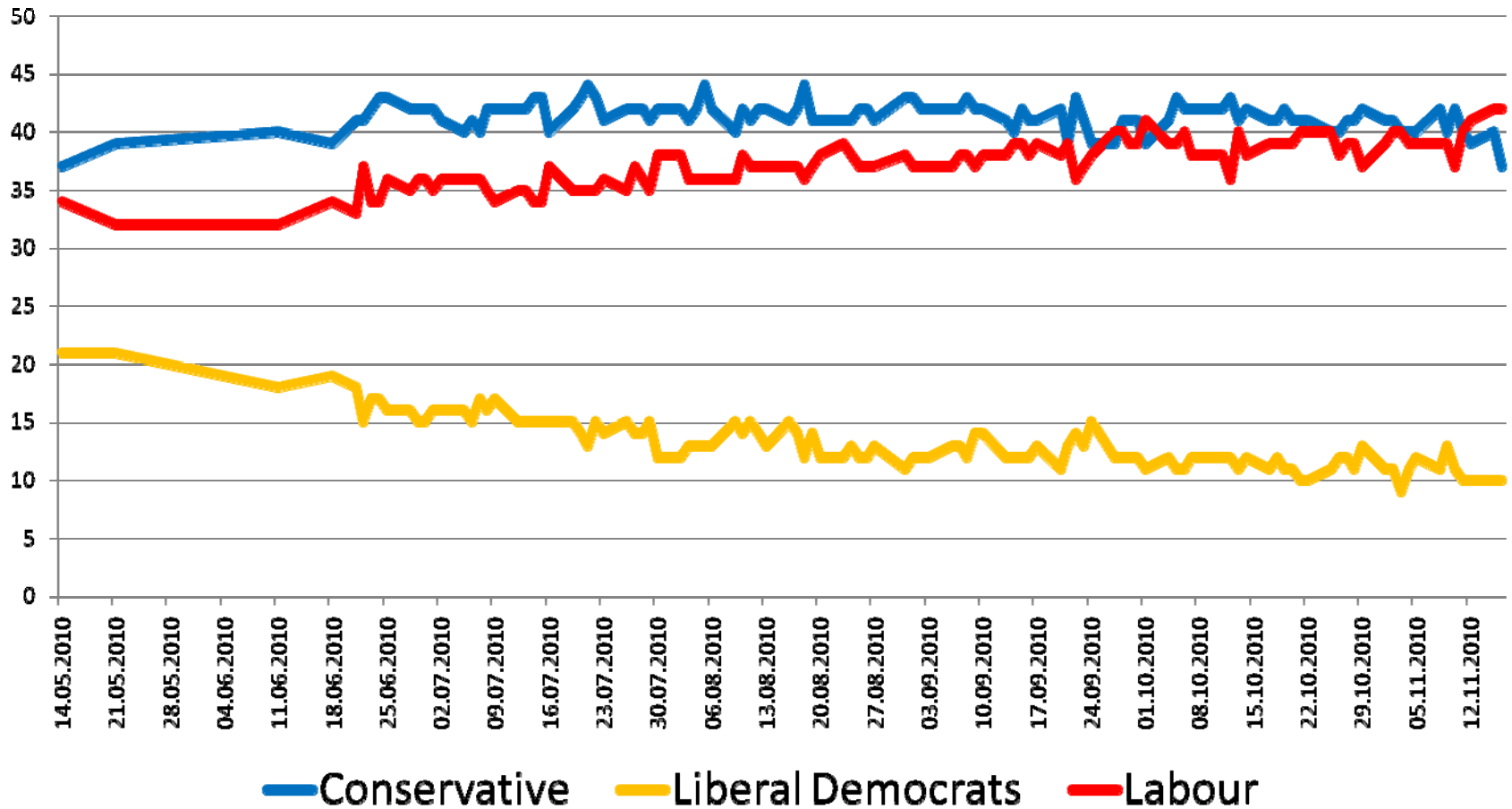
- About 490,000 public sector jobs likely to be lost
- Average 19% four-year cut in departmental budgets
- £7bn in additional welfare budget cuts
 - Heavy cuts to housing support
- Police funding cut by 4% a year
- Retirement age to rise from 65 to 66 by 2020
- Schools & NHS protected
- NHS budget in England to rise every year until 2015
- Regulated rail fares to rise 3% above inflation
- Bank levy to be made permanent

RESULTS

How well has it worked?

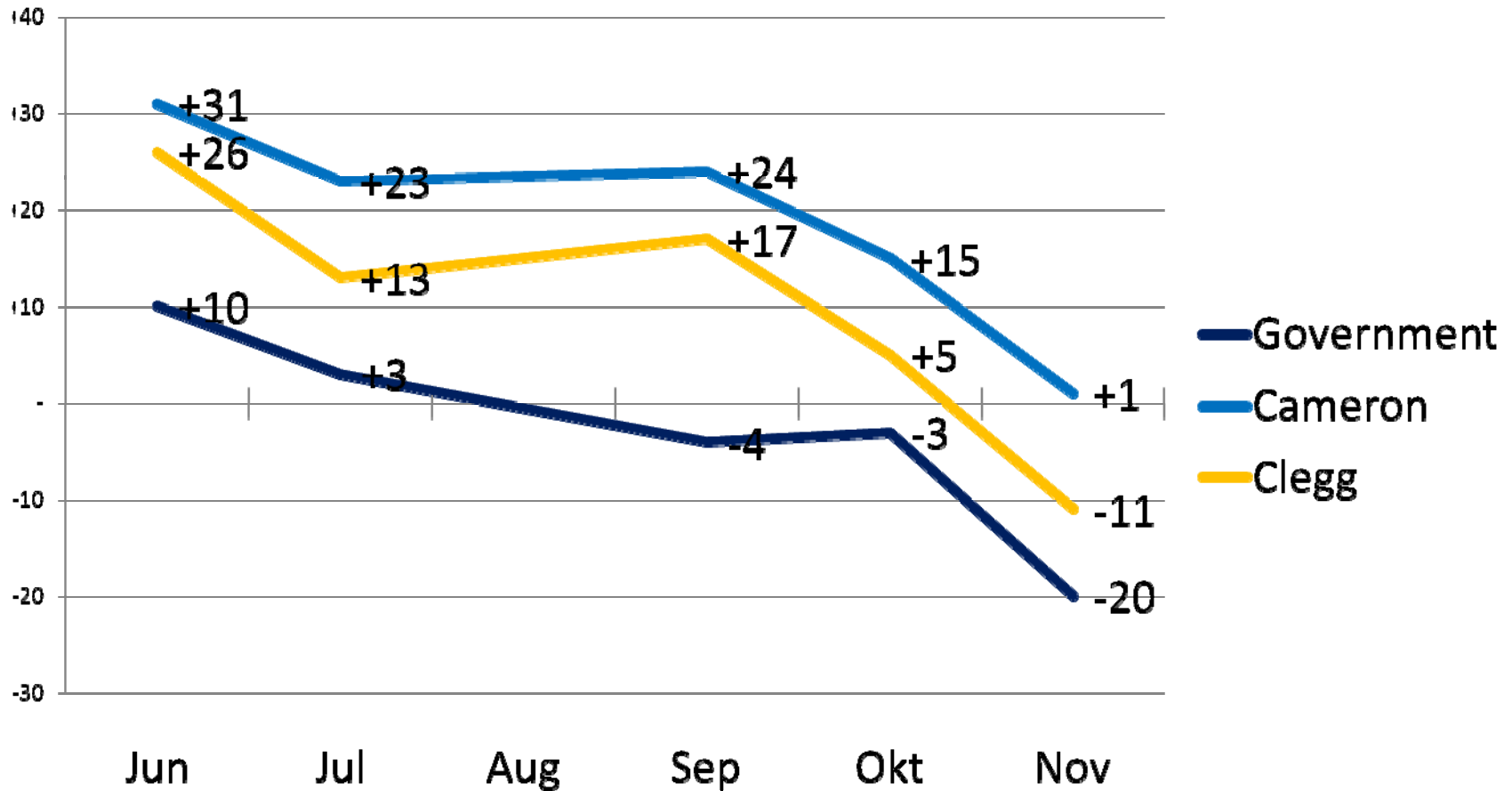


How well has it worked?



How has it worked?

Net satisfaction ratings

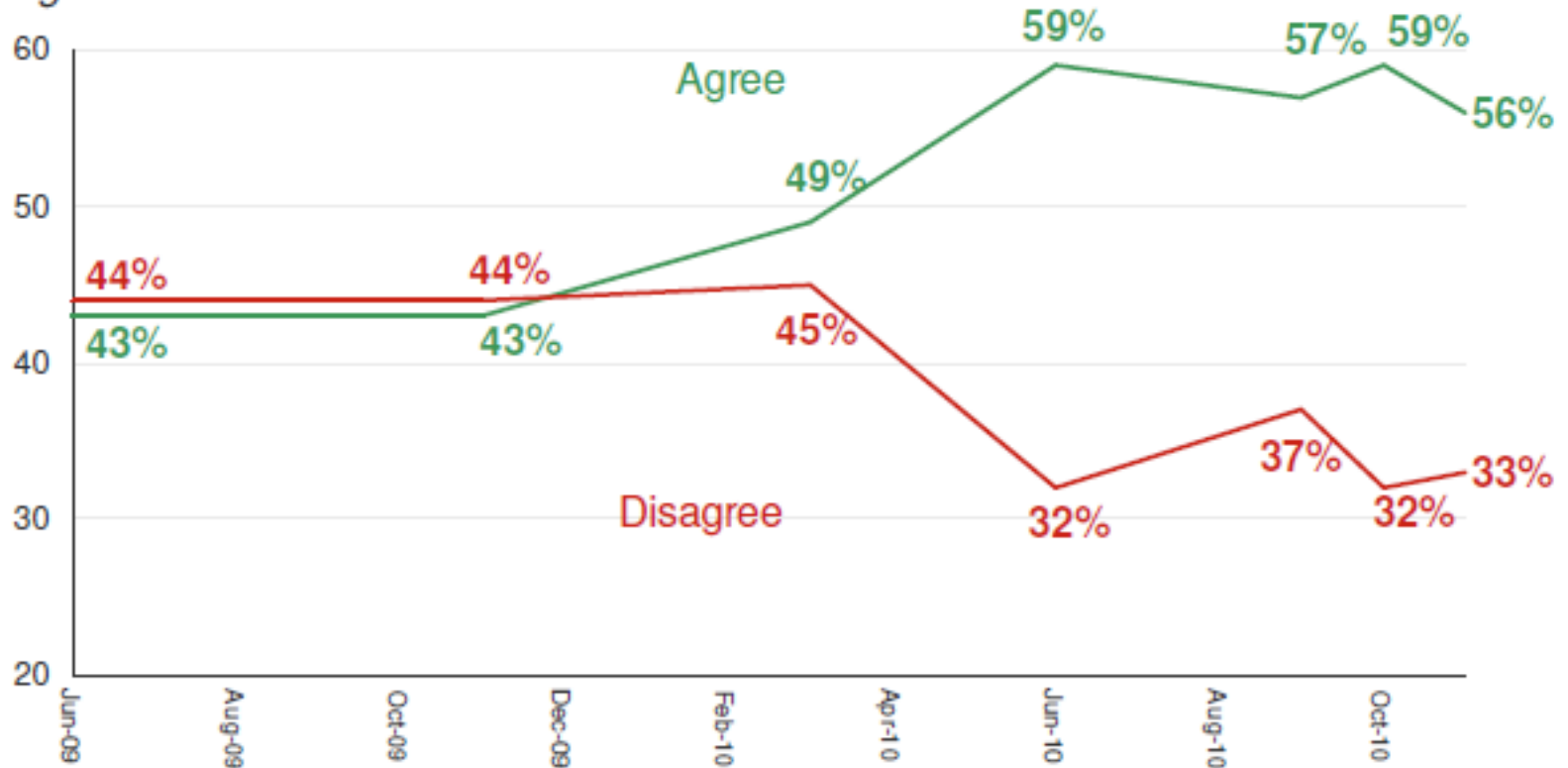


Compared to other Prime Ministers after similar period of time

Blair	+57
Major	+13
Cameron	+1
Thatcher	-8
Brown	-16

Won the argument on the need for cuts

There is a real need to cut spending on public services in order to pay off the very high national debt we now have

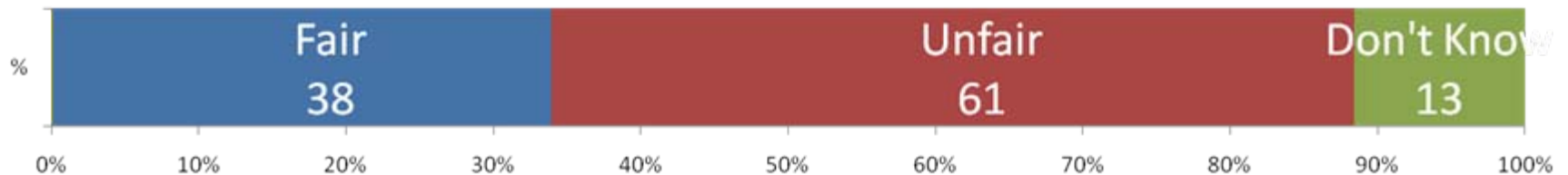


Not sure cuts are right – don't think they're fair – but they blame Labour

Announced cuts & tax increases to cut the deficit...



Fair or unfair?

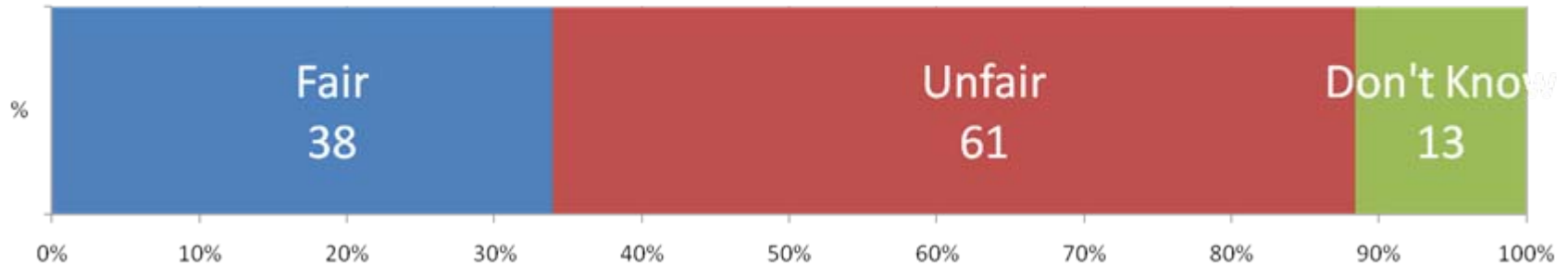


Who do you blame?



Ring-fencing – popular

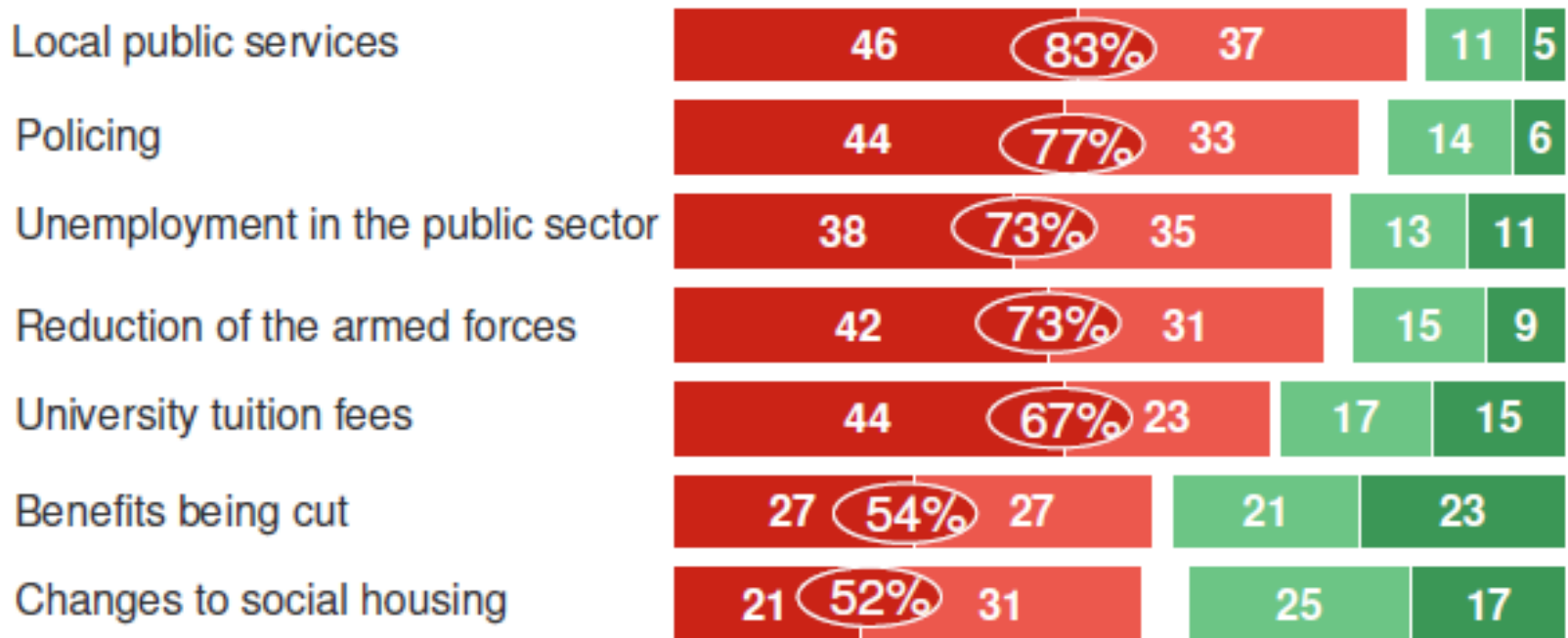
Right to protect Health, Education & International Development – while cutting prison, defence and local councils



Concerned when personally affected

A few weeks ago the government announced its plans for public spending in the Comprehensive Spending Review. As a result of the announcements, please tell me, to what extent, if at all, you are concerned about each of the following:

■ % Very concerned ■ % Fairly concerned ■ % Not very concerned ■ % Not at all concerned



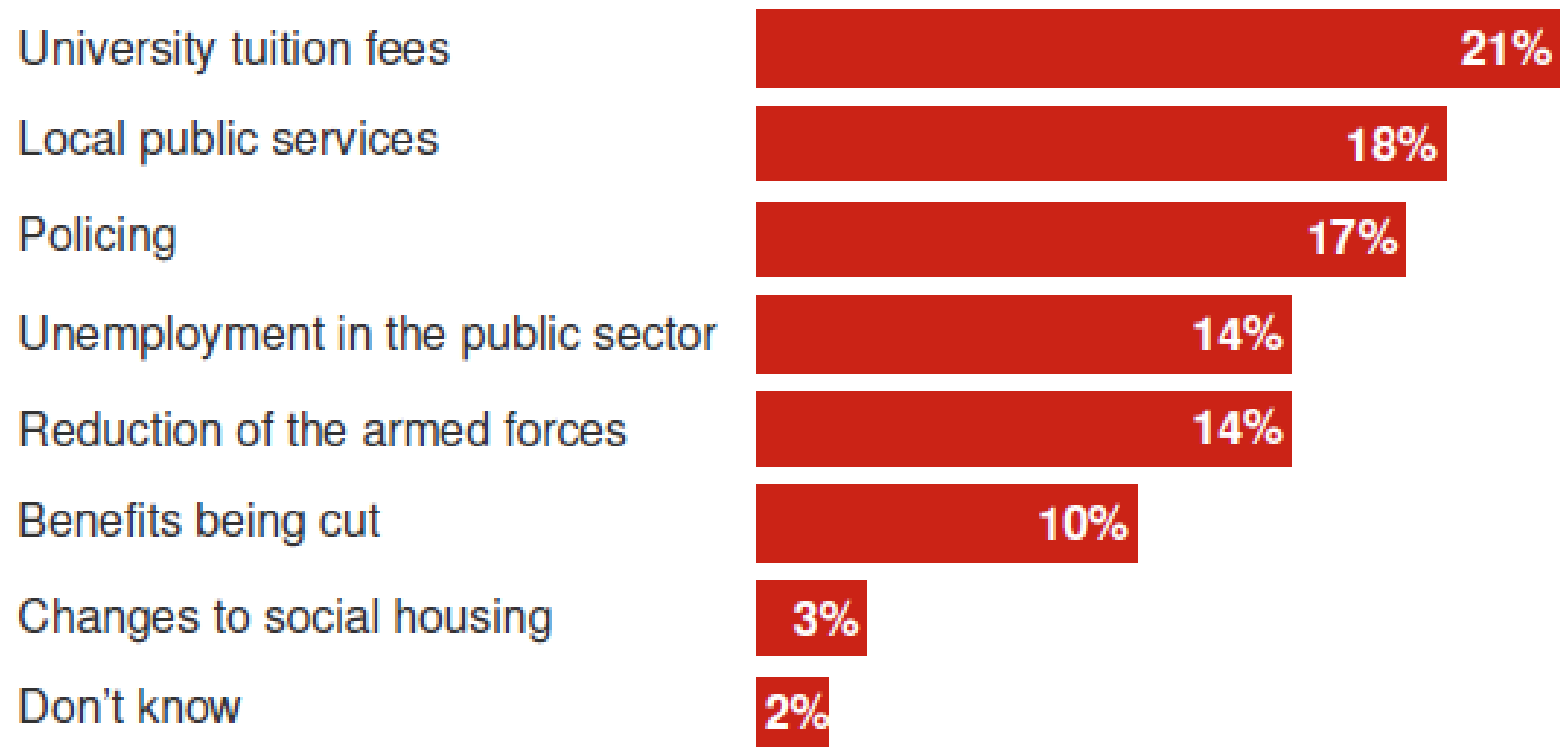
Base: 1,005 British adults 18+, 12th - 14th November 2010
Ipsos MORI

Source: Reuters/Ipsos MORI Political Monitor



Which are you most concerned about?

And which one are you most concerned about?



Base: All those who said they are very concerned about one issue, combined with those who said they are very concerned about more than one issue and were asked "And which one are you most concerned about?" 848 British adults, 12th – 14th November 2010

Ipsos MORI

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CASE STUDY: HOUSING BENEFIT

Housing benefit/ local housing allowance

- Rent support paid to people on benefits or low incomes
- Paid to a maximum of 50% percentile in a given area
- Based on 'housing need'

Government proposals

- National maximum rate ('cap')
- Maximum bedrooms from 5 to 4
- Locally – move to 30th percentile
- Change 'need' for under 35s

Background

- Central London caps
 - 2% of people affected
 - 3% of total savings

Start: demonising some exceptional cases in central London

IN CASE YOU'D FORGOTTEN – THE FAMILIES MILKING THE SYSTEM

MOTHER of eight Francesca Walker (pictured with three of her children) enjoys the use of two bathrooms and a roof terrace at a £2.6 million, five-bedroom townhouse. The villa, in Notting Hill, West London, is paid for by the council as part of her £90,000 in annual benefits. Miss Walker, a Muslim convert, claims she is 'not a greedy person'.

£2.6m house

Hill, West London, is paid for by the council as part of her £90,000 in annual benefits. Miss Walker, a Muslim convert, claims she is 'not a greedy person'.

SOMALI refugee Abdi Nur, 42 (top), his wife and seven children cost the taxpayer £2,000 a week in rent for their £2.1million townhouse, also in Notting Hill, West London. The unemployed bus driver lives

£2,000-a-week bill

near Blur singer Damon Albarn and fashion designer Stella McCartney.

TRAVELLER family John and Serena Connors (left) and their seven children live in a £1 million house. In August 2009, their landlady launched a bid to evict them, as she said they caused tens of thousands of pounds of damage to the property in Hertsidge, North London. A leaflet issued by the Metropolitan Police, allegedly about the family, claimed they are suspects in a series of 'distraction' burglaries.

'Vandal burglars'

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SOMALI Nasra Warsame has the run of three sitting rooms in a £1.8 million five-storey house within walking distance of the West End. The 40-year-old former asylum seeker lives in the fully furnished six-bedroom, four-bathroom house with seven of her children. The bill to the taxpayer is £1,500 a

Townhouse and a flat

week. Incredibly, her husband, Bashir Aden (pictured in Nasra's house) claims housing benefit for a two-bedroom flat nearby where he lives with another of their children, as they can't all fit in one home.

£150,000 a year for seven-bedroom home

AFGHAN Toorpakal Satedi, 37 (right) her seven children and taxi driver husband, receive £170,000 a year in benefits – £150,000 of which goes on renting a £1.2 million seven-bedroom home. Lodgings for the family, who have lived in Britain for eight years, cost the public more than £4,000 a month in rent for the home in Acton, West London. When their story hit the headlines in 2008, former Labour minister James Purnell, vowed to throw them out, but more than a year later they were still living there.

Macca's neighbour

MOTHER of six Esma Marjam, 34, pocketed almost £7,000 a month in housing benefit to pay for a £2million mansion just yards from sir Paul McCartney's house. The four-storey, five-bedroom villa in Maids Vale, has two bathrooms, a double living room, and a large fitted kitchen with French doors on to a landscaped garden. Despite having two large flat-screen TVs and several leather sofas, Miss Marjam (above) said: 'I don't have enough furniture to fill it.'

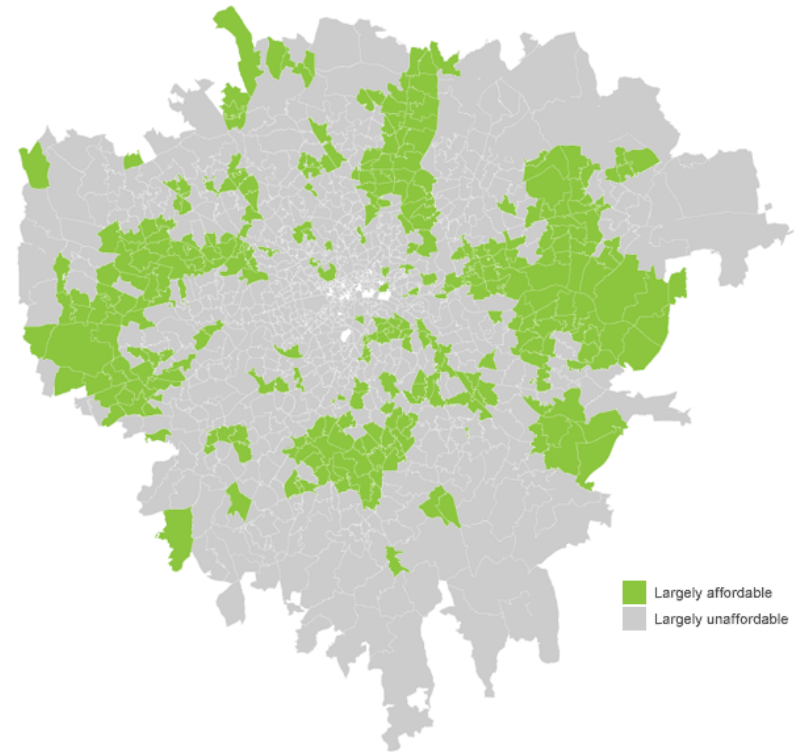
PICTURES: DAVID PARKER/WPL/UP/IDE/ROLAND HOSKINS/ALEX LEWIS/ALUETTE SAUVYER/JAMES DAMETTA/LONDON MEDIA PRESS

Next

- Announce outline proposals
- Keep the focus on central London

Not a Central London problem

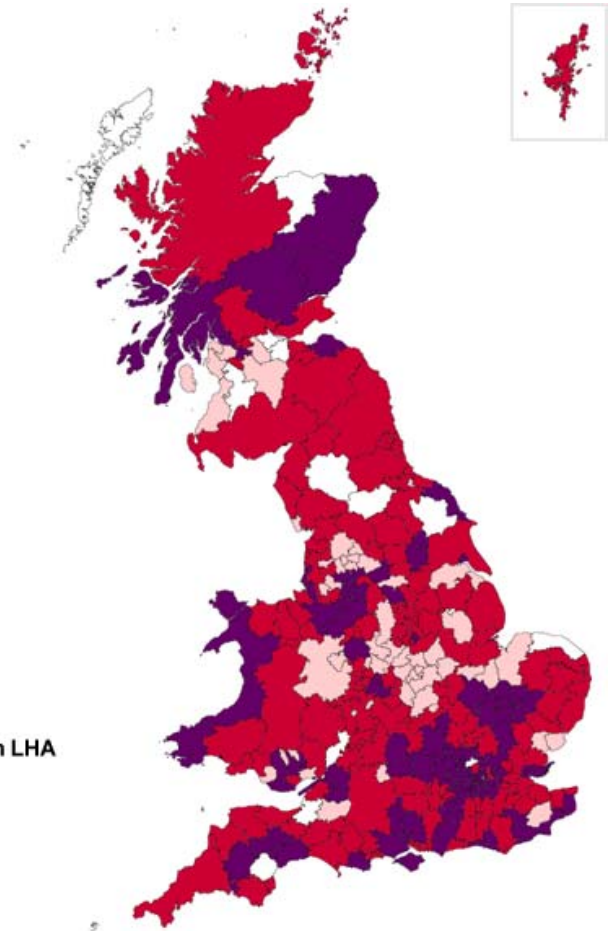
- Much of London will become unaffordable for working families



Not a Central London problem...

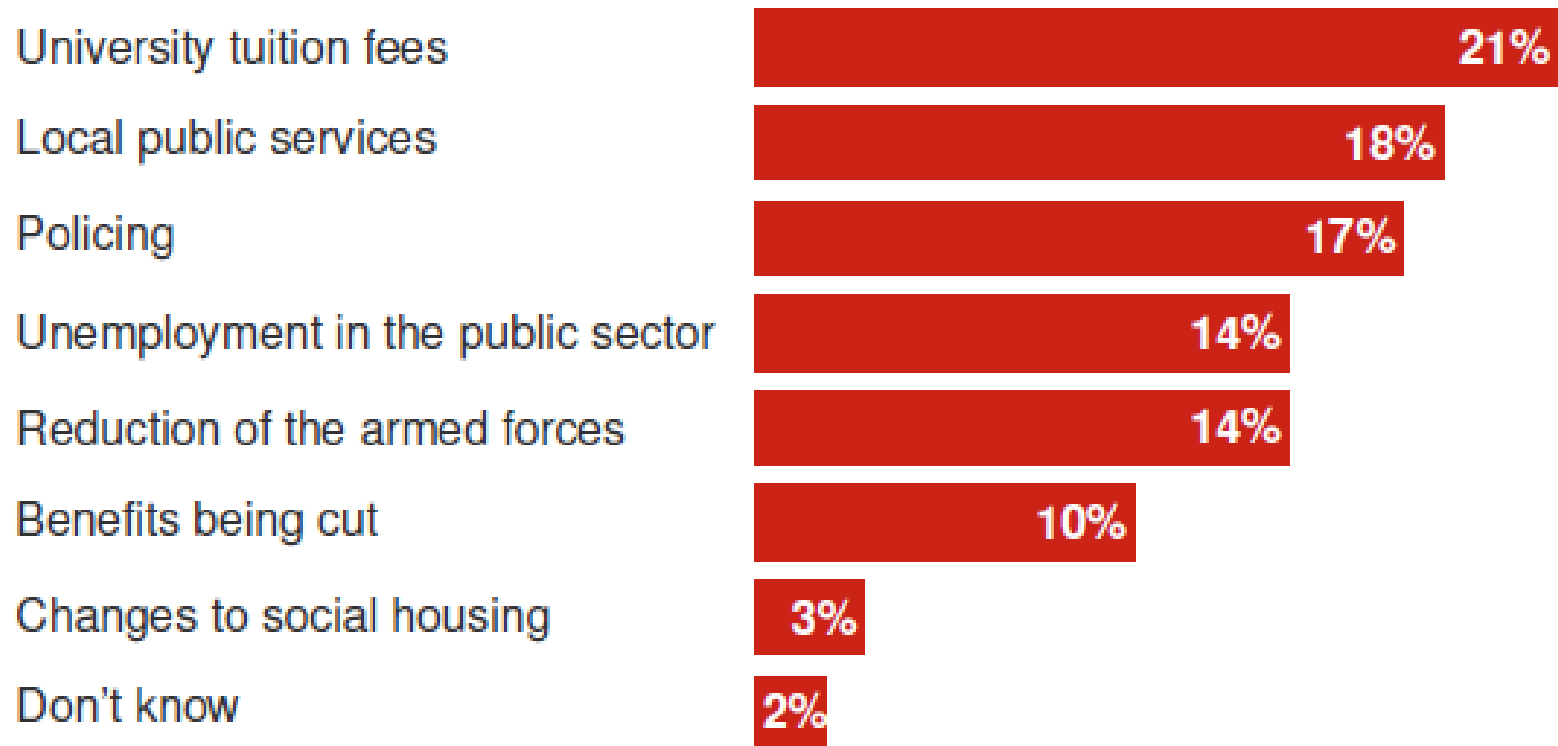
- 98% of people affected live outside London
- More are working than claiming unemployment benefits

Reduction in two bedroom LHA



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HOW TO COMMUNICATE

Parliament



'Old media' still powerful

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PICTURES: DAVID PARKER/WPL/IDG; ROLAND HOSKINS/ALEX LEIN/UT/GETTY IMAGES/JAMES DAMETTA/LONDON MEDIA PRESS

Official 'new media' – not yet important

The image shows a screenshot of the HM Treasury Twitter profile page. The page is set to a dark theme. At the top, the Twitter logo and navigation links (Search, Home, Profile, Messages, People) are visible. The profile header for @hmtreasury includes the HM Treasury crest, the name 'HM Treasury', and the handle '@hmtreasury' with the location 'Westminster, London'. A bio states it is the official channel, updated by the Treasury communications team, and provides links to their YouTube channel and website. The page shows a 'Following' button and a 'Timeline' tab. The timeline contains several tweets, including one from Number10gov about transparency and one from hmtreasury about monthly spend. The right sidebar shows statistics (744 Tweets, 7,781 Following, 15,531 Followers, 738 Listed), a list of accounts being followed, and a section for similar accounts like BIS Science and ACgov.

twitter Home Profile Messages People  mpntod

HM Treasury

@hmtreasury Westminster, London
The official Twitter channel of HM Treasury, updated by the Treasury communications team. Watch our latest videos on YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/hmtreasuryuk> <http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk>

Following  

Timeline Favorites Following Followers Lists

Number10gov UK Prime Minister  by hmtreasury
Watch the PM's video on #transparency following publication of all central government spend over 25K <http://bit.ly/8Y8779> #openuk
19 Nov

hmtreasury HM Treasury
Treasury monthly spend over £25,000: <http://bit.ly/cxqJc6> #openuk
19 Nov

cabinetofficeuk Cabinet Office  by hmtreasury
Central Government spending over £25,000 for the last six months published <http://data.gov.uk/> #transparency
19 Nov

hmtreasury HM Treasury
You can now read the speech made today by Financial Secretary Mark Hoban to the TISA conference: <http://bit.ly/bwUPgl>
17 Nov

About @hmtreasury

744 Tweets 7,781 Following 15,531 Followers 738 Listed

Following 7,781

Similar to @hmtreasury · view all

BIS Science · Follow **ACgov** · Follow
BIS_Science The Audit Commission

Lobbydog · Follow **jimpknight** · Follow
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'Official' new media – not yet important



HM Treasury's YouTube channel
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Danny Alexander on Spending Review day
1,268 views - 1 month ago

David Gauke meets Greater Manchester
666 views - 3 months ago

Chancellor launches Spending Challenge
11,680 views - 4 months ago

What is the Budget?
4,182 views - 6 months ago

Danny Alexander on Spending Review day
From: hmtreasuryuk | 21 October 2010 | 1,268 views

... though handy for presentations

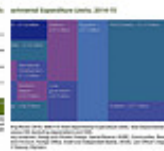
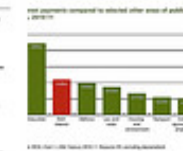
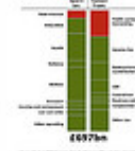
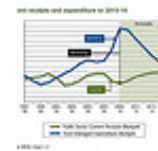
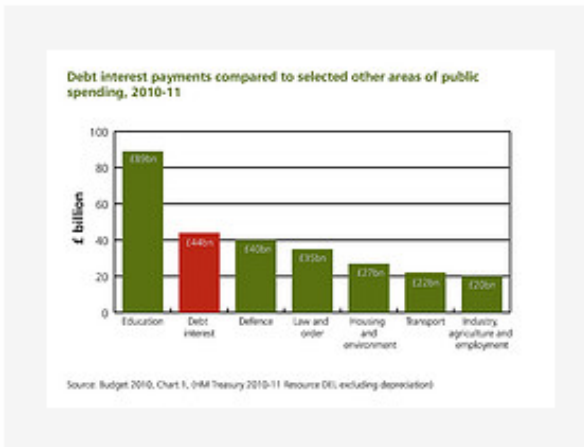


[HM Treasury](#) · [Sets](#)



Spending Review 2010 -

[Thumbnails](#) | [Detail](#) | [Comments](#)



These four charts illustrate key elements of data from the Spending Review, such as the Departmental settlement for 2014-15 and how much the Government is currently

Facebook – can be dangerous

The image is a screenshot of a Facebook page titled "Can this goat get more followers than HM Treasury Spending Challenge?". The page features a profile picture of a goat and a cover photo of a goat sticking its tongue out. The page has a search bar at the top, navigation links for Home, Profile, and Account, and a status update area with a text input field and a "Share" button. Below the status update, there are several posts, including one from Charlie Beattie and another from Ed Maxfield. The page also has a sidebar with information about the page, including the number of followers (17) and a list of friends who like the page. On the right side, there are advertisements for Shangri-La Hotels and Resorts, Wiley Books on Sustainable Design, and Latest Design.

facebook Home Profile Account

Can this goat get more followers than HM Treasury Spending Challenge?

Wall Info Photos Discussions

Write something...

Attach:

Create an advert

Shangri-La Hotels and Resorts

Going to Asia? Experience luxury hospitality from the heart with Shangri-la. Inviting you to be our distinguished guest on Facebook. Grace Goodlad and Kevin

Can this goat get more followers than HM Treasury... + others

Just Can this goat get more followers than HM Treasury... Just others

Can this goat get more followers than HM Treasury Spending Challenge?

Tories award council leader 40% pay rise while cutting services | Political Scrapbook
politicalscrapbook.net
Tory councillors in North Hertfordshire have voted for bumper £325,000 allowances while cutting services and forcing some staff onto a pay

A goat co **17** Abigail Rowe Charlie Beattie Ed Maxfield Steve Cross **Chat (73)**

Why Spending Challenge needs a good butt:
• <http://bit.ly/aIkDWH>
• <http://bit.ly/dyOIMK>

Information

Founded: 2010

7 friends like this.
6 of 7 friends

Jim Killock Simon Titley Grace Goodlad

Wiley Books on Sustainable Design

Interested in learning about Sustainable Design? Join Wiley Books on Sustainable Design and keep up to date on our latest titles!

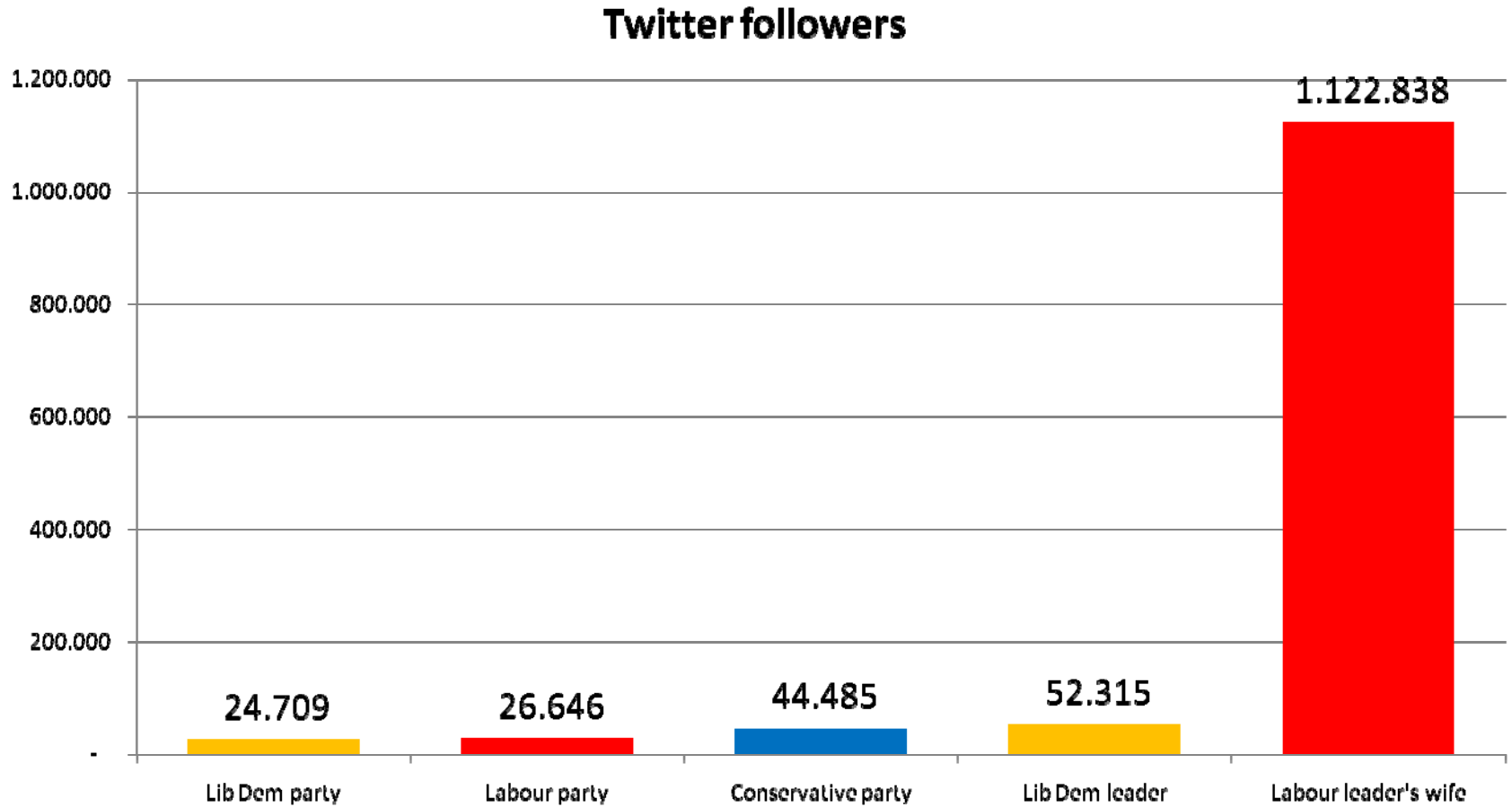
Latest Design

Can this goat get more followers than HM Treasury Spending Challenge? | URGENT APPEAL | Earlier this year the goat trampled over the

Unofficial 'new media' (e.g. Blogs) - increasing importance

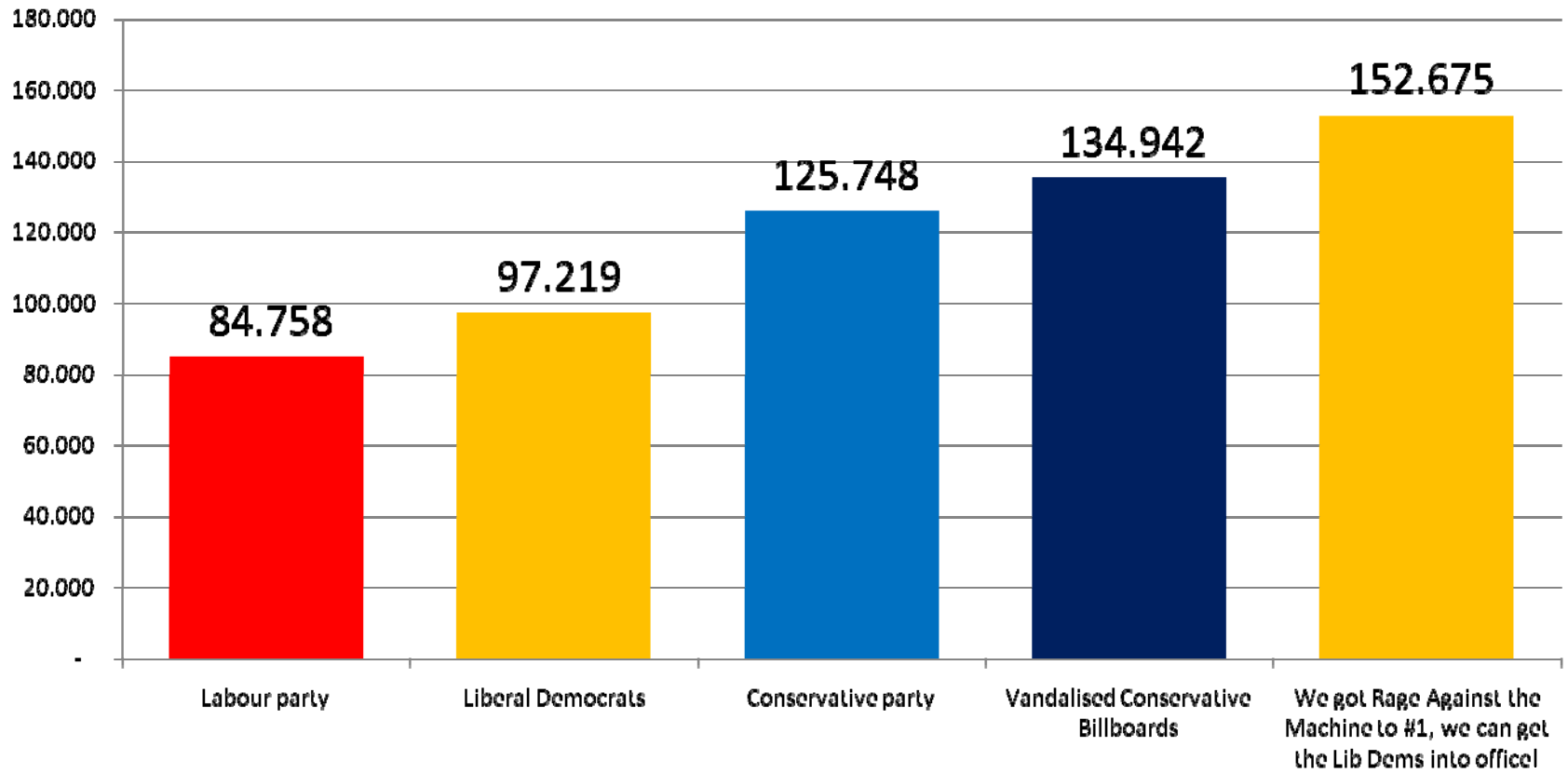


Official channels vs unofficial channels



Official channels vs unofficial channels

Facebook likes



First Conservative poster campaign...



Old style modifications...



mydavidcameron.com

The screenshot shows a web browser displaying the website mydavidcameron.com. The browser's address bar shows the URL www.mydavidcameron.com. The website has a blue header with the logo and navigation links: Home | Poster 1 | Poster 2 | Poster 3 | About us. The main content area features a large central poster for David Cameron with the text "I've never voted Tory before, but now I'm going to do it almost every day" and the slogan "PUCKERING UP FOR CHANGE". To the left, there are three smaller posters labeled POSTER 1, POSTER 2, and POSTER 3. To the right, there is a section titled "AIRBRUSHED FOR CHANGE" with a paragraph of text and a list of links: Same Old Tories, Left Fool Forward, Rate My Tory, and Tory Stories. Below this is a "DONATE" section and a "The blog" section with several bullet points and a small image of a newspaper clipping. At the bottom, there are links to "Join our email list for priority updates", "We're on Twitter and Facebook", and "Frequently asked questions". The browser's taskbar at the bottom shows various open applications and files.

www.mydavidcameron.com

Home | Poster 1 | Poster 2 | Poster 3 | About us

POSTER 1
We can't go on like this

POSTER 2
My Tory Tombstone

POSTER 3
I've never voted Tory

AIRBRUSHED FOR CHANGE

David Cameron offers us gruel and tells us it will taste like caviar – its the politics of "and".

To discover why the Tory prescription means a lot of pain for no gain, see:

- Same Old Tories
- Left Fool Forward
- Rate My Tory
- Tory Stories

DONATE: No, not to us, to this:
Oxfam's Haiti earthquake appeal

The blog

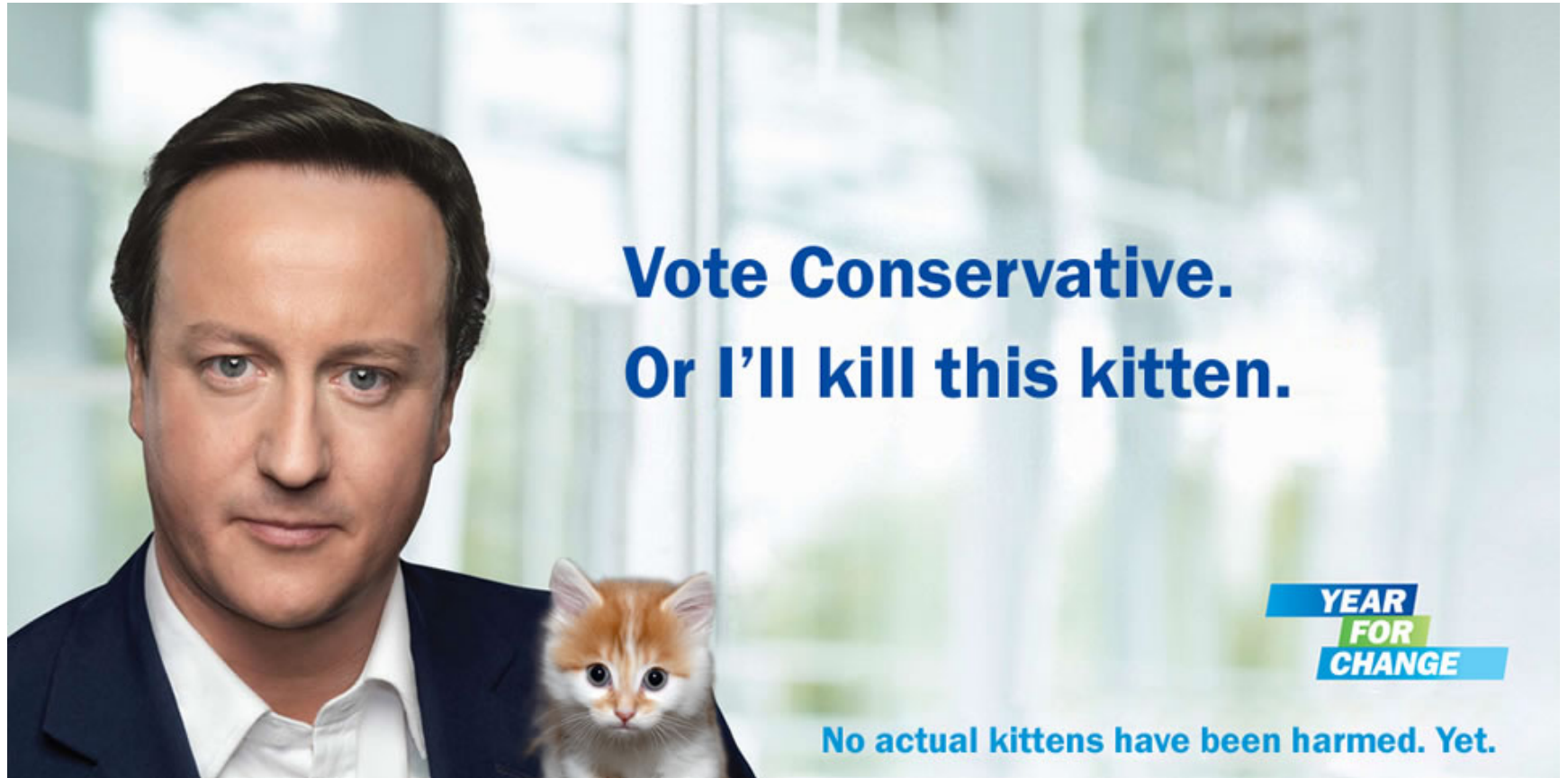
- Murdoch and Cameron: The audacity of hype
- M&G Saatchi: stuck in a time warp
- Cash-Gordon vs Lord Cashcroft: the Tories' latest poster
- Where our first 250,000 visitors came from
- Why we won't be spoiling the next Tory poster
- Five lessons from MyDavidCameron
- Best poster prize – to be confirmed

Join our email list for priority updates
We're on **Twitter** and **Facebook**
Frequently asked questions

comparison charts.docx | frontier423.zip | AlesfordRotaryBon...mp4 | logos-Rotary-emblem.zip | SquarePortrait.jpg | OpenSpace Zoom L...XLS | EuroReg_to_Westmi...csv | Boundary_Look_Ups_...zip | Show all downloads... X

23:42 06/11/2010

Enabled this...



**Vote Conservative.
Or I'll kill this kitten.**

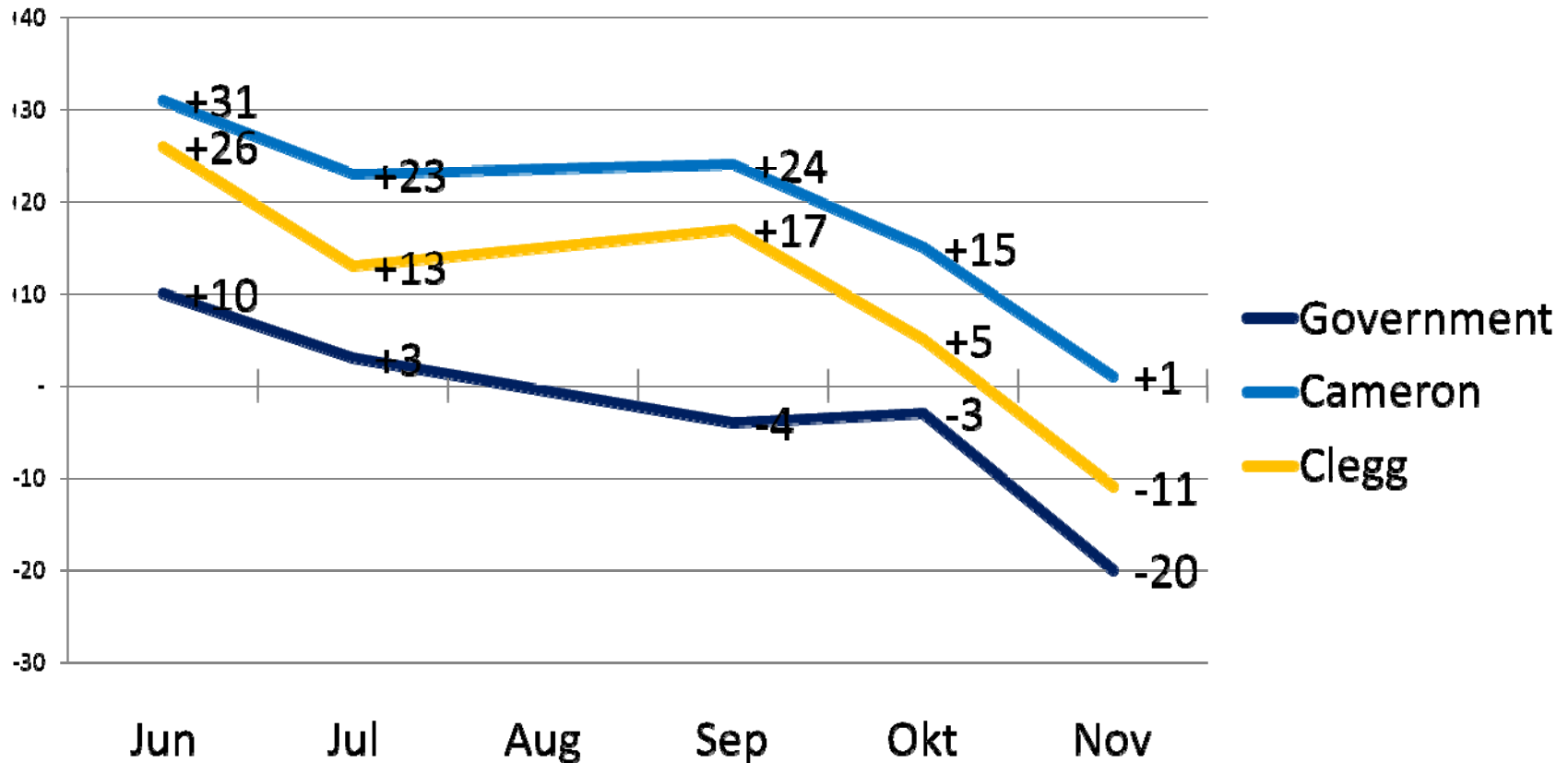
**YEAR
FOR
CHANGE**

No actual kittens have been harmed. Yet.

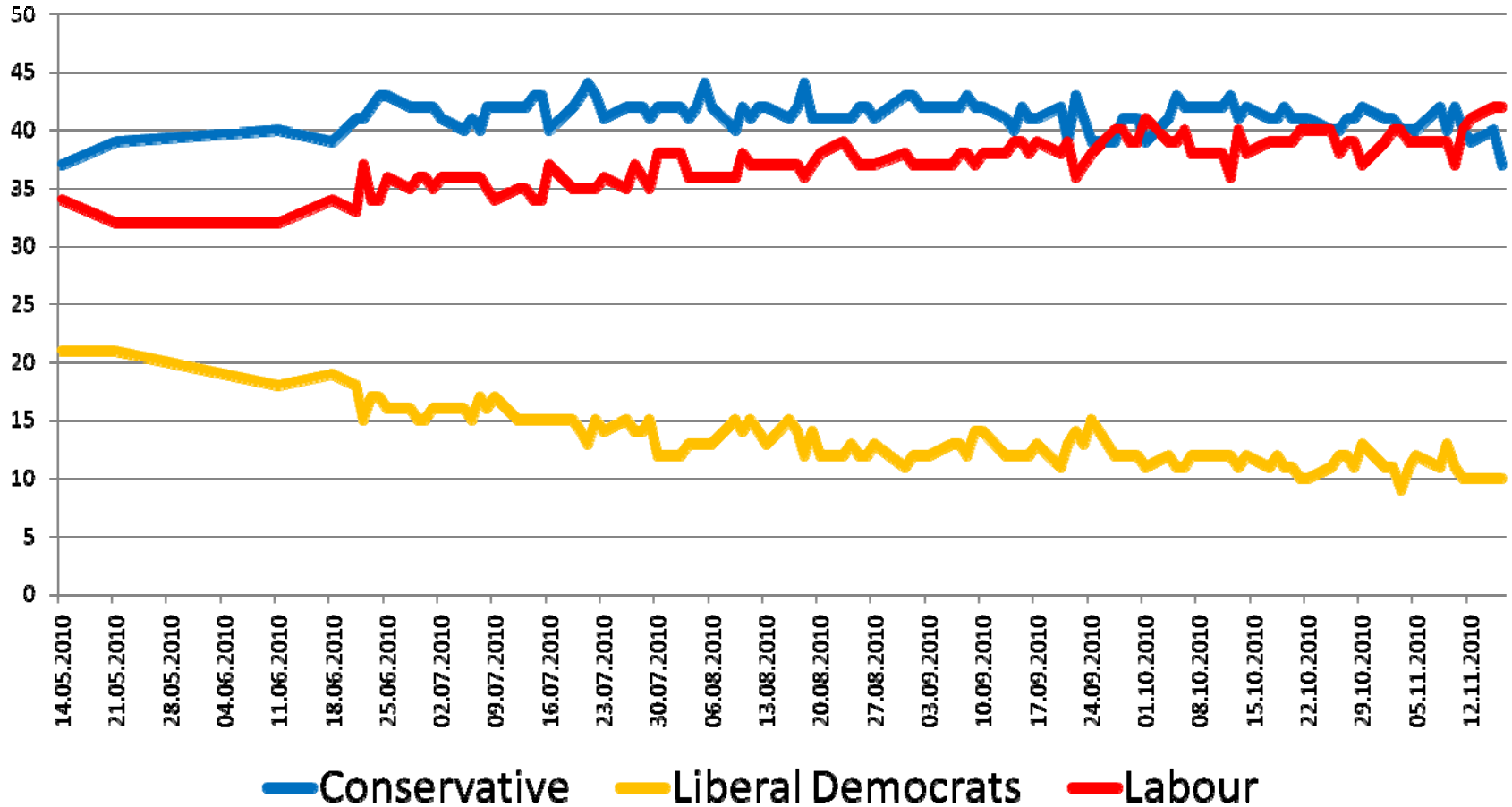
LESSONS LEARNED

Not yet found a way to cut heavily and remain popular!

Net satisfaction ratings

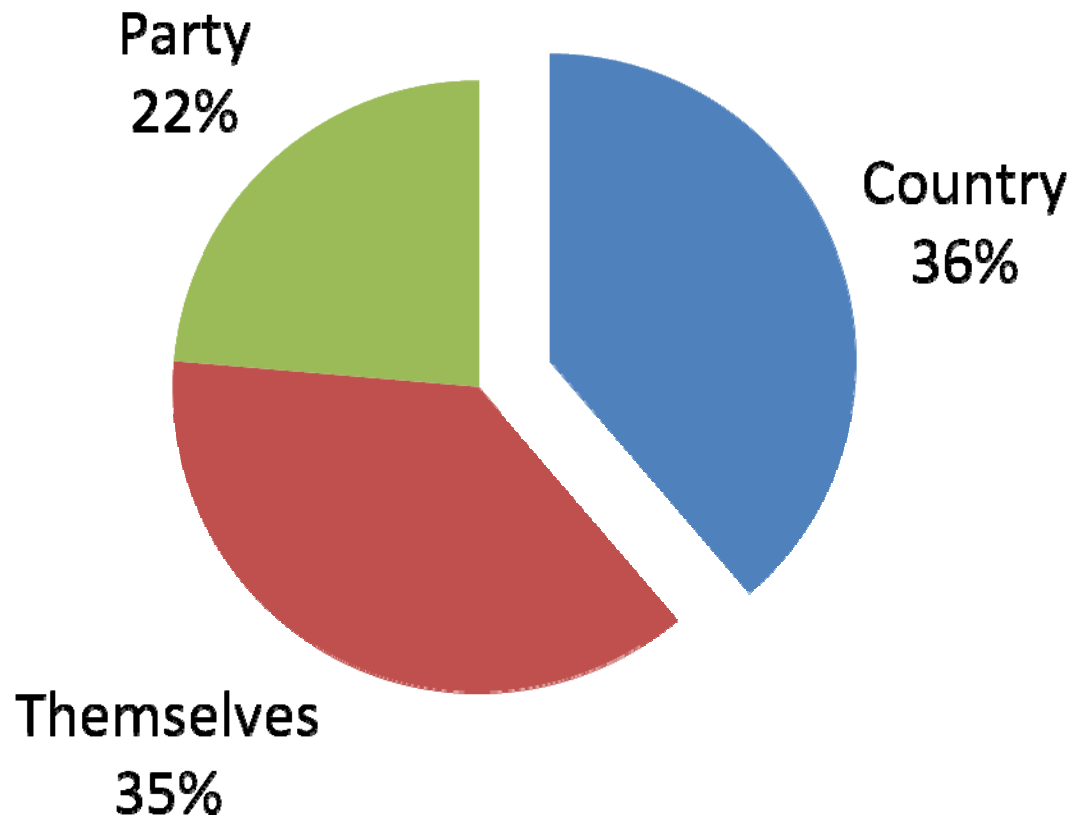


Particularly hard for Junior Partners



If you're a politician, it takes a lot to be loved

In whose interests do politicians act?



Gallup
August 1944

If you need to sell a cut, find some extreme case studies

IN CASE YOU'D FORGOTTEN – THE FAMILIES MILKING THE SYSTEM

MOTHER of eight Francesca Walker (pictured with three of her children) enjoys the use of two bathrooms and a roof terrace at a £2.6 million, five-bedroom townhouse. The villa, in Notting Hill, West London, is paid for by the council as part of her £90,000 in annual benefits. Miss Walker, a Muslim convert, claims she is 'not a greedy person'.

£2.6m house

Hill, West London, is paid for by the council as part of her £90,000 in annual benefits. Miss Walker, a Muslim convert, claims she is 'not a greedy person'.

SOMALI refugee Abdi Nur, 42 (top), his wife and seven children cost the taxpayer £2,000 a week in rent for their £2.1 million townhouse, also in Notting Hill, West London. The unemployed bus driver lives

£2,000-a-week bill

near Blur singer Damon Albarn and fashion designer Stella McCartney.

TRAVELLER family John and Serena Connors (left) and their seven children live in a £1 million house. In August 2009, their landlady launched a bid to evict them, as she said they caused tens of thousands of pounds of damage to the property in Nottingridge, North London. A leaflet issued by the Metropolitan Police, allegedly about the family, claimed they are suspects in a series of 'distraction' burglaries.

'Vandal burglars'

TRAVELLER family John and Serena Connors (left) and their seven children live in a £1 million house. In August 2009, their landlady launched a bid to evict them, as she said they caused tens of thousands of pounds of damage to the property in Nottingridge, North London. A leaflet issued by the Metropolitan Police, allegedly about the family, claimed they are suspects in a series of 'distraction' burglaries.

SOMALI Nasra Warsame has the run of three sitting rooms in a £1.8 million five-storey house within walking distance of the West End. The 40-year-old former asylum seeker lives in the fully furnished six-bedroom, four-bathroom house with seven of her children. The bill to the taxpayer is £1,500 a week. Incredibly, her husband, Bashir Aden (pictured in Nasra's house) claims housing benefit for a two-bedroom flat nearby where he lives with another of their children, as they can't all fit in one home.

Townhouse and a flat

£150,000 a year for seven-bedroom home

AFGHAN Toorpakal Sateedi, 37 (right) her seven children and taxi driver husband, receive £170,000 a year in benefits – £150,000 of which goes on renting a £1.2 million seven-bedroom home. Lodgings for the family, who have lived in Britain for eight years, cost the public more than £4,000 a month in rent for the home in Acton, West London. When their story hit the headlines in 2008, former Labour minister James Purnell, vowed to throw them out, but more than a year later they were still living there.

Macca's neighbour

MOTHER of six Esma Marjam, 34, pocketed almost £7,000 a month in housing benefit to pay for a £2 million mansion just yards from sir Paul McCartney's house. The four-storey, five-bedroom villa in Maida Vale, has two bathrooms, a double living room, and a large fitted kitchen with French doors on to a landscaped garden. Despite having two large flat-screen TVs and several leather sofas, Miss Marjam (above) said: 'I don't have enough furniture to fill it.'

PICTURES: DAVID PARKER/WHLIP/IDEA; ROLAND HOSKINS/ALEX LEWIS/GETTY IMAGES; JAMES DAMMETT/LONDON MEDIA PRESS

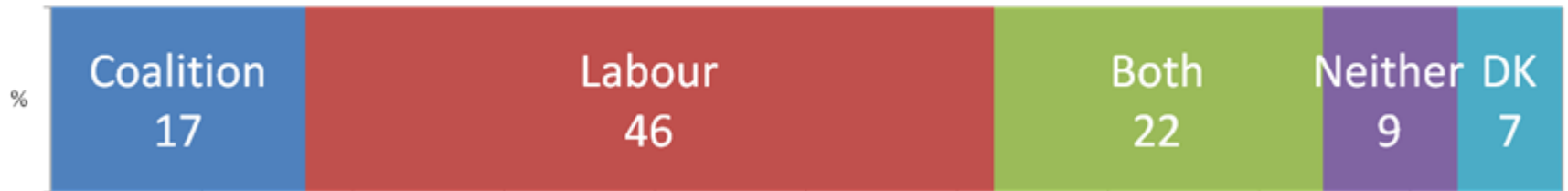
Stay on message

- The vast majority of people in the country today they have never had it so good ever since this recession – this so-called recession – started...
- The remarks ... were both inaccurate and insensitive. I have... written to the Prime Minister to apologise profoundly for what I said.



Blame your opponents

Who do you blame?

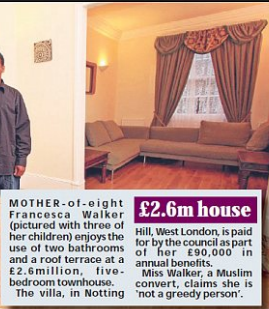


Mix good and bad news

- Emergency budget worked well
- Comprehensive Spending Review less well

Still an 'old media' game

IN CASE YOU'D FORGOTTEN – THE FAMILIES MILKING THE STATE



MOTHER-of-eight Francesca Walker (pictured with three of her children) enjoys the use of two bathrooms and a roof terrace at a £2.6 million, five-bedroom townhouse. The villa, in Notting Hill, West London, is paid for by the council as part of her £90,000 in annual benefits. Miss Walker, a Muslim convert, claims she is 'not a greedy person'.

£2.6m house

SOMALI refugee Abdi Nur, 42 (top), his wife and seven children cost the taxpayer £2,000 a week in rent for their £2.3 million townhouse, also in Notting Hill, West London. The unemployed bus driver lives

£2 near and McC



'Vandal burglars'

TRAVELLER family John and Serena Connors (left) and their seven children live in a £1 million house. In August 2009, their landlady launched a bid to evict them, as she said they caused tens of thousands of pounds of damage to the property in Tottenham, North London. A leaflet issued by the Metropolitan Police, allegedly about the family, claimed they are suspects in a series of 'distraction' burglaries.

SOMALI Nasra Warsame has the run of three sitting rooms in a £1.8 million live-storey house within walking distance of the West End. The 40-year-old former asylum seeker lives in the fully furnished six-bedroom, four-bathroom house with seven of her children. The bill to the taxpayer is £1,600 a

Top week. (picture) Bene where child

£150,000 a year for seven-bedroom home



AFGHAN Toorpakai Saiedi, 37 (right) her seven children and taxi driver husband, receive £170,000 a year in benefits – £150,000 of which goes on renting a £1.2 million seven-bedroom home. Lodgings for the family, who have lived in Britain for eight years, cost the public more than £4,000 a month in rent for the home in Acton, West London. When their story hit the headlines in 2008, former Labour minister James Purnell, vowed to throw them out, but more than a year later they were still living there.



living room, and large fitted-kitchen with French doors on 'I don't have furniture to fill it.'

Pictures: DAVID PARKER/PHILIP IDE; ADRIANO IUSCONI/ALIX LENTARY/JULIETTE SAMMYER/JAMES DIMAGLIA/LONDON MEDIA PRESS



And finally....

- Introduce 5-year fixed term parliaments
- Hope that
 - A. Your programme works
 - B. People have forgiven you by 2015!