The dynamic interplay of hope vs fear appeals in a referendum context

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Abstract

This article makes a contribution by articulating, for the first time, how hope and fear appeals were constructed as a rhetorical media device in a political advertising campaign context, specifically the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. Based on a qualitative content analysis of both sides' campaigning materials, an understanding of the fluid, responsive and symbiotic nature of these emotional appeals and how they are utilized against the other is outlined. The research reveals core dimensions for constructing persuasive media appeals. While, fear appeals should strive to create a threat perceived to be relevant, and significant, the deployed hope appeals should focus on generating alternative positive visions and be goal congruent. By understanding contested (political) campaigns, new types of hybrid hope and fears appeal emerge (i.e. hope and fear reduction appeals). Taking these findings together, allows the authors to provide prescriptions on how certain message appeal types might be used to induce particular emotional effects in the audience.

The summary statement of contribution

This study articulates how hope and fear media appeals were constructed, and used to counteract each other, in a referendum context. Fear and hope can be elicited via three principal mechanisms: 1) Developing threats (fear) perceived as *relevant*, *significant* and *expected* to occur), 2) Deploying hope against fear by creating alternative, positive visions for target audiences 3) Creating messages that reduce feelings of fear or hope by reducing perceptions of the dimensions required to create them. Bringing these findings together allows the researchers to provide a prescription for how to induce particular hope/fear effects in the target audience.

Keywords: hope appeals, fear appeals, referendum advertising, political communications, Scottish Independence referendum.

Word count: 8,588

Introduction

After a 2 ½ year referendum campaign, Scotland voted 55% to 45% to remain within the United Kingdom in 2014 (Watts, 2014). *Yes Scotland* announced an intention to run a positive, hope based grassroots campaign highlighting the hopes and opportunities of independence. The opposing side, *Better Together* developed 'Project Fear' (Gordon, 2014) and ran a successful media based operation to generate fear of Independence. Grounded in the campaigns run in this referendum, this article uniquely examines the dynamic interaction between hope and fear appeals used by competing organizations in order to develop a prescription on how political parties might use hope/fear appeals and what emotional effects these might induce in the target audience.

Emotional appeals are commonly used to stimulate voter engagement in UK political advertising (Scammell and Langer, 2006). Whilst much is known of how fear appeals work (Lau et al., 2007; Witte and Allen, 2000; Passyn and Sujan, 2006; Bar-Tal, 2001; Fredrickson and Branigan, 2005), less is known about hope appeals (Fredrickson and Branigan, 2005; MacInnis and De Mello, 2005; Winterich and Haws, 2011). Further, little work examines how fear and hope can be used together (de Vos, 2015; Spears et al., 2012), or how these archetypes operate against the other (Poels and Dewitte, 2008; Fredrickson and Branigan, 2005), and how they might operate together in either a comparative advertising setting or in a political campaign setting. This is surprising given this dynamic is ever-present in political campaigns. Consider, for example, the hopeful approach adopted by New Labour in the 1997 General Election campaign juxtaposed with the Conservatives ultimately unsuccessful fear appeal approach in the same election (as evidenced by the 'Demon eyes' campaign)[1].

As hope and fear appeals are often deployed against the other in the dialogue between opposing parties in political campaigns, research is needed to understand how party communication strategists might create desired outcomes despite being undermined by the opposing appeal. In particular, questions remain regarding how one appeal type might be used to mitigate or undermine the effects of the other and for a campaign predominantly using one type of appeal, how can it best employ the opposing appeal (i.e. using hope and fear against fear).

To provide some answers, a single context (Scottish Referendum), dual unit (Yes versus No) case study is undertaken with a qualitative content analysis to examine the dynamic interplay between hope and fear and to articulate how these emotional appeals are constructed during a vigorously contested (political) campaign, with what emotional effects in the target audience. This contribution is important as referenda are used increasingly more frequently (e.g. UK's 2016 referendum on EU membership, the Dutch 2016 referendum on EU-Ukraine deal), but also because hope/fear appeals are not only prevalent in referendum campaigning (Laycock, 2013), but also in social campaigns (e.g. eating healthily or anti-smoking), highlighting how the findings from this paper can contribute to social communications contexts.

The paper is structured as follows: firstly, the literature on fear and hope appeals is reviewed, before the methodological approach is outlined. The findings section presents an analysis of why and how these appeals were adopted. Finally, the discussion section

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[1] The British Conservative Party ran a negative campaigning against the Labour Party in the 1997 British general election, targeting Tony Blair in the 'demon eyes' campaign to insinuate that he was the devil. The TV spot was controversial but nevertheless won an advertising effectiveness award from *Campaign* magazine (Culf, 1997).

examines how hope and fear appeals were used, the insights this offers on how to employ them prescriptively in future marketing contexts and the remaining gaps in knowledge, allowing the mapping of a future research agenda.

Literature review: Emotional appeals in political communications

Fear appeals

Fear is an unconscious, instinctive response to a perceived threat existing in the present though often grounded in past memories. It is perceived to be easier to evoke, particularly when using images of visceral, evolved threats, e.g. physical harm and harm to one's family (Bar- Tal, 2001). Fear appeals are based on uncertainty towards the consequences of a given action (i.e. voting) and, along with hope, represent two of the most commonly used approaches in political marketing (O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg, 2007; Simons, 2016).

According to Witte and Allen (2000) to create fear, the threat must make the person feel at risk from experiencing it (perceived susceptibility) and that it is sufficiently severe (perceived severity) to cause harm. This highlights the importance of personal relevance (Keller, 1999), a threshold effect (Gore et al., 1998), that it is expected to happen, and that a solution is provided to reduce the possible negative consequence (Williams, 2012).
Witte and Allen (2000) also highlight how, after the subjective point where fear is felt (the lower threshold), the higher the level of fear induced, the more persuasive the advert. Though debate remains as to the shape of this relationship with both direct linear and U-shaped relationships posited (Bagozzi and Moore, 1994; Keller, 1999).

If the threat portrayed in fear appeals is perceived as personally relevant, sufficiently severe, and likely to occur then Dalley and Buunk (2011) claim these appeals are more powerful than hope as the vivid nature of fear brings the feared-self closer than the hoped-for-self. Based on this review, dimensions of *relevance*, *significance* and *expectation of occurring* are used to structure the analysis of how the opposing campaigns attempted to create (or reduce) fear.

This and the dimensions of hope explored in the next section allow a more precise understanding of why efforts to create these emotions may have failed or were undermined by opposing appeals.

Fear appeals in Political Marketing

Whilst fear appeals are used regularly in both elections and referenda (Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou, 2017; O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg, 2007; Simons, 2016;), and politics provide a context that facilitates their use, there is limited evidence of the effect of using these persuasive mechanisms. This might explain why debate exists regarding the effectiveness of negative campaigning (of which fear is one type) in achieving short-term aims or on the political system (Lau et al., 2007). For example, negative campaigns have been shown to increase voter turnout (Goldstein and Freedman, 2002), decrease it, (Ansolabehere et al., 1994) and have no effect (Krasno and Green, 2008), with Krupnikov (2014) suggesting this might depend on message timing. Consequently, negative campaigning, usually based on partisan values and playing on voters' fears (Axford et al, 1992), should be used carefully, as it can lead to unintended effects (Redlawsk et al., 2010).

This is not to say evidence of how to increase fear appeal effectiveness in political marketing contexts does not exist to guide practitioners. For example, increasing the speed with which advertisement and news reports are shown as parts of negative campaigning amplifies their ability to generate anxieties, doubts and fears because less time is allowed for viewers to process for qualification or defence (Butler and Harris, 2009). From a targeting perspective, men appear to be more tolerant of it and more likely to vote for a party using it

than women (Brooks 2010). Partisanship also affects how messages are assessed. Worcester et al. (2016) found evidence of motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990) with party supporters particularly likely to believe messages from their own parties due to partisan voters demonstrating the same characteristics as those identified in being in a dedicated partnership (or loyalty) to a brand (Smith and French, 2009).

Hope appeals

In contrast, hope is a 'positively-valenced emotion evoked in response to an uncertain but possible goal-congruent outcome' (MacInnis and De Mello, 2005: p. 2), requiring cognition (Bar- Tal, 2001) and risk assessment (MacInnis and De Mello, 2005). Work by Lazurus (1991) highlights that hope is predicated on an assessment that one's current life is unsatisfactory (Lazarus, 1999). Roth and Hammelstein (2007) suggest there is an expectation that a possible, positively rated event will occur and these are treated as separate dimensions. MacInnis and Chun (2007) suggest that there are different conceptualizations of hope; first, it consists of the expectation that something desired will occur and second, that it arises in response to a threat with both versions highlighting its relation to optimism.
Poels and DeWitte (2008) differentiate between promotion hope - to achieve a positive outcome - and prevention hope - to avoid a negative consequence (and so hope is predicated on fear and loss). Prevention hope leads to more goal-directed behavior, e.g. voting (Bagozzi et al., 1999; Poels and Dewitte, 2008), although neither study examined these effects against fear or another negative appeal.

In contrast to fear, positive emotions expand the scope and array of attention capabilities, cognitions, behavioral intentions, and actions (Fredrickson and Branigan 2005) and build confidence and assurance in exchange relationships (Morrison and Firmstone, 2000). The desired expectation of positivity materializing, even when unlikely, allows hope to endure and persuade (Lazarus, 1999). It may, however, lead to confirmation bias (Nickerson, 1998) and to distorted, over-confident assessments of future outcomes (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2002) and therefore become false hope (Polivy and Herman, 2000).

Hope appeals tend to be less vivid than fear appeals and harder to dramatize. This is because hope is a fantasy constructed on intangibles not currently in existence except in the imagination, whereas fear appeals can reference something the targets currently possess and could lose (e.g. jobs, health). To deploy hope, one should provide information and symbols that turn the impossible into the possible (Bar- Tal, 2001; MacInnis and De Mello, 2005).

Chadwick (2015) provides addition guidance on how to develop hope appeals. She operationalized four components and found that where the hopeful alternatives are perceived as important, goal congruent, and possible, they affect subjective feelings of hope. This supports MacInnis and De Mello's (2005) conceptualization and so they are used as the basis upon which the analysis of how the opposing campaigns attempted to create (or reduce) hope.

Hope appeals in Political Marketing

Hope appeals are another traditional political marketing reflex, often focussed on increased prosperity (Lees-Marshment, 2014) and by invoking them, they can claim the moral high-ground and position themselves as a positive force (Ormrod et al., 2013). Witness Obama's 'Yes We Can' mantra in the 2008 US Presidential election. Parties challenging the status quo often elicit hope for change, though fear is also used as an alternative (Lau and Pomper, (2004). Though whilst commonly used, research on hope appeals within marketing and political marketing is even more scarce than those examining fear (Lazarus, 1999; Poels and Dewitte, 2008).

Hope vs Fear appeals

There is a belief that hope can overcome fear, for example, in the presence of disease (Hillbrand and Young, 2008), conflict (Bar- Tal, 2001) and climate change (Clingerman and Ehret, 2013). Extant work examining how hope overrides fear and fear overwhelms hope rely on this key relationship and the emotions' instinctual/cognitive basis. As Bar-Tal (2001, p. 605) states 'if hope can subdue the often irrational and spontaneous domination of fear, it must do so through reasoning and imagination'.

The process underlying this effect relies on Fredrikson's (2001) broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions, stating that emotional types are controlled by different but reciprocal processing systems (Cacioppo and Gardner, 1999) where, as one increases, the other falls. Hence hope increases the number of thoughts and actions an individual might typically consider (Fredrickson, 2001) and fear reduces them (Fredrickson and Levenson, 1998), consequently, according to Spears et al. (2012), hope can overcome the effects of fear.

Spears et al. (2012), using Folkman and Moskowitz's (2000) strategies for maintaining positive emotions during chronic stress, examine how hope can undermine fear in advertising. They demonstrated that in a high fear scenario (e.g. developing skin cancer), hope cognitions (e.g. 'energizing oneself to handle fear') and personal action plans can reduce it. Rather than instilling hope, these successful interventions reduce fear by increasing perceived efficacy (Witte and Allen, 2000). Kitzinger and Williams (2005) highlight how hope created by media use relied on a range of rhetorical devices that made the hoped-for reality more possible, important and goal congruent, whilst marginalizing fears.

Hope and fear are often interlinked in political campaigns and the relationship between the two can be considered as one presupposing, and being derived from, the other (i.e. the production of hope is a counter-response to the arousal of fear and the maintenance of fear occurs when there is an absence of hope). Whereas opposing campaigns may look to increase feelings of fear or hope, parties can impose self-inflicted wounds. Hope appeals can be too fanciful and be dismissed as unlikely (O' Shaughnessy and O' Shaughnessy, 2002). When using fear appeals, constant repetition reduces a threat's impact as viewers habituate to it and the threat can be extinguished (Raio et al., 2012).

Political and referendum marketing campaigns are contested as part of wider, combative, fluid contests where unlike commercial manufactured goods or services, frequent direct attacks are made on the opposing brand(s) and their intended position (Lock and Harris, 1996). There is a particular dearth of work examining this interplay and the utilization of hope *in response to* fear appeals. Consequently, we believe we have identified an important gap in the literature; one worthy of further investigation given its ubiquitous use in political and referendum campaigns to settle important public policy questions and help political marketing practitioners understand how to employ these appeals more effectively. This research, therefore, seeks to explore the following research question:

RQ. How are hope (fear) appeals used to undermine and/or negate fear (hope) appeals?

Study Context: The Scottish Independence Referendum

By setting out to answer the question, the Scottish independence referendum provides a single context, dual unit (Yes and No campaigns) extreme case (Gerring, 2004) of political campaigning. Referenda are being used increasingly in the UK (for example, 1975 EC membership; 1979 devolution in Scotland and Wales; 1997 devolution in Scotland and Wales; 2004 North East England; 2011 UK Alternative Vote and the 2016 'Brexit' vote on EU membership). Research suggests that referenda, including those on constitutional affairs, take place in a low information environment where voters feel less informed than in elections (Mendelsohn and Cutler, 2002). Campaign groups (such as Yes Scotland and Better

Together) play an important yet highly partial role in providing information and generating interest in the decision hence messages designed to elicit visceral emotions are a legitimate tactic.

The Scottish Independence referendum provided a particular rich context in which to study hope versus fear appeals because, whilst referenda and elections campaigns are typically short and use a restricted range of messages, this referendum was fought over nearly 3 years and touched on a wide range of emotive issues including national identity, poverty and social justice. Hence, the Scottish referendum allowed a longer term examination of campaign material capable of highlighting the nuanced and reactive use of hope and fear strategies and how their use developed over time and in response to one another.

Methodology

A qualitative content analysis (Kassarjian and Kassarjian, 1988; Krippendorff, 2018) was used to examine how hope and fear appeals were operationalized and employed against one another. Content analysis is defined as "a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (Krippendorff: 2018: 403). Content analysis has been widely used to understand the content of communications across a broad range of media such as print media (Nimegeer et al., 2017), social media (Ashley and Tuten, 2015), print and online advertising (Belch and Belch, 2013; Dahl, Eagle and Baez, 2009) and outdoor media (Bragg et al., 2017). It is a rigorous method for examining what a message communicates, the effects this can have, and it allows a deeper understanding of a sender's motives to be inferred (Krippendorff, 2018). As such it represents an ideal methodology for revealing the underlying structures (or constituent dimension) by which hope and fear appeals were operationalised, how the elements used to operationalise these have changed over time and in response to messages of their opponents.

The analysis focussed on the two 'designated organisations' (*Yes Scotland* and *Better Together*). Other groups campaigned for a yes vote such as the 'Radical Independence Campaign' and 'Women for Independence', and 'No Borders' and 'Let's Stay Together' campaigned for No. Whilst they too used hope or fear based messaging, there was little dynamic interplay between these different groups, hence the focus here on the main designated organisation.

The sample from which the qualitative content was conducted included a full set of printed campaign materials (flyers, billboards and newspaper advertisements) and an extensive set of 102 videos and graphics distributed online via social media channels (Facebook and Twitter) and via email by the two campaigns. These were collected from May 2012 until polling day on the 18th September 2014. The sample of 48 texts were purposefully chosen for analysis to ensure representation across the campaigning time frame, to include a broad range of the specific issues focused upon (economy, jobs, pensions, prosperity, self-determination), and to include all printed pieces (and hence the texts most widely distributed) from both campaigns. Most communications addressed more than one issue, i.e. in the first leaflet widely distributed by Better Together in 2012, uncertainty over the economy was highlighted via concern about jobs. However, the communication was categorised according to the main issue they focused upon (identified via headline, slogan and focus of introductory content). This was felt preferable to grouping the communications using more than one

variable (i.e. economy, jobs, and prosperity) as doing so would have created many categories containing one or two examples. See Table 1.

Table 1: The breakdown of campaign sample

Campaign	Issue	Year			Total
		2012	2013	2014	
Better Together	Economy	2	3	4	9
	Jobs	1	1	1	3
	Pensions	1	1	1	3
	Identity	0	0	2	2
	Currency	0	2	3	5
	Other	0	1	1	2
Yes Scotland	Prosperity	2	2	2	6
	Democracy	1	1	3	5
	Fairness/	1	1	2	4
	Equality	1	1	1	3
	Other	1	2	3	6

In order to provide rules and procedure, the coding frame was designed according to the following principles:

1) to record general structures such as the aim of the communication,
2) its focus and appeal type, such as Hope, Fear, Prevention Hope and Promotion Hope (Peols and DeWitt, 2008).
3) with fear appeals, a priori codes from the literature were employed, i.e. relevant, significant and expected to happen (Dalley and Buunk, 2011). .
4) likewise, for hope appeals, goal congruent, possible, important and expected (Chadwick, 2015; MacInnis and De Mello, 2005; Roth and Hammelstein (2007) were employed as a priori codes.

One of the authors lived in Scotland during the campaign and undertook participant observation of the referendum campaigns, examining the visual texts and providing a coding of the texts. There may therefore have been some bias contained within the initial analysis, but this is offset by the consideration of these by other authors.

Findings

The findings section is structured around examining how the campaigns attempted to create their desired emotional position and then examining the campaign interplay as they responded to each and worked to undermine their opponent's position whilst repairing, fortifying and extending their own. First, a brief overview of the organizations contesting the

Scottish Independence referendum is provided as is their choice of fear versus hope campaign positioning.

Hope or Fear? Choosing a campaign archetype
The referendum was officially fought between *Yes Scotland* (YS) - an alliance between the SNP, the Scottish Green Party and the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP) and unaligned individuals - and *Better Together* (BT) - an umbrella organization comprising the Labour, Conservative and the Liberal Democrats parties. BT used a centralized hierarchical messaging structure, focusing on creating fear and uncertainty around independence. YS used a grassroots volunteer centred strategy to attempt to build a hopeful case for an independent Scotland. Neither campaign used positive or negative emotional appeals exclusively.

The analysis highlights how the referendum conditions helped determine the competing approaches undertaken by Yes Scotland and Better Together (Boelpaep, 2014; Saul, 2014). The decision involved choosing an unknown/unknowable future, where 'certainties' could not be guaranteed. Communications from both sides highlighted this uncertainty at the heart of their campaigns to the detriment of the opposition.

Whilst initially promising to provide a positive vision for voting no, BT used fear as its main campaign archetype and called its own strategy 'Project Fear' (Gordon, 2014). The fear approach was appropriate given the campaign's aims. As the group promoting the low-risk option (i.e. no change in Scotland's constitutional status), all it had to do was ensure that enough voters did not change their intentions (What Scotland Thinks, 2014b).

Fears are more readily represented in vivid communications (MacInnis and De Mello, 2005), and supporters are less likely to see negative campaigns as negative (as per the motivated reasoning argument). Hence, attempting to create fear of the unknown future rather than the hope of a better future in the UK, was easier to achieve for BT, more readily attended to, and accepted by the target audiences. Conversely, as wanting change is an inherently hopeful position, framing those previously exercising power as not doing a good job means that a prevention hope strategy used to construct a positive alternative view appears logical. Prevention hope was the most commonly used approach by YS.

BT: Creating fear of the unknown and the security of the known
Right from the off, the No campaign focused consistently on their opponent's economic offer to create and maintain fear and uncertainty. Rather than using overtly emotional fear appeals, they used objective fear appeals based on rational threats representing the fear of the unknown (and unknowable) and the fear of both credible/unanticipated consequences. Appeals used to achieve this employed a range of themes (jobs, pensions, cost of living). They followed the pattern of first stating the risks (of separation), then contrasting these with the security of the known (see Table 2 and Appendix 1).

Table 2. Summary of No campaign messages

Communication	Main aims and themes	Appeal type and Main messages	Tactics and dimension of hope/fear targeted
'1 in 5 workers in Scotland'	**Aim**: Create uncertainty and fear of Independence and feelings of security about UK **Themes**: Economy (Jobs, Pensions, Mortgages welfare)	**Fear, Solidarity** **Main messages**: You might lose your job if you vote yes; Leaving the UK will cost you money; UK is safer; No going back	Create fear through implicit threat (Fear: *Relevant, Significant*) Use definitive language to frame numerous losses (Fear: *Relevant, Significant, Expected*) Highlight definitive nature of decision (Fear: *Significant*) Provide risk reduction option
'The pensions of 1,000,000 Scots'	**Aim**: Create uncertainty and fear **Theme**: Economy (pensions)	**Fear** **Main message:** Your pension might not be safe; UK subsidises Scotland	Create fear through implicit threat (Fear: *Relevant, Significant*) Provide risk reduction option
'Goodbye'	**Aim**: Create Fear and Reduce hope **Theme**: Economics (currency)	**Hope reduction** **Main messages**: Hoped for financial stability is undermined **Fear** **Main message**: Voting for independence means losing pound	Use definitive language to frame loss (Fear: *Relevant, Significant, Expected*) Reduce *hope by* reducing *Possibility*
What is the Process for Leaving EU?	**Aim**: Reduce hopeful vision of continuity. Respond directly to Yes claims of EU membership **Theme**: Economic & institutional stability	**Hope reduction** **Main message:** A Yes vote will mean leaving the EU	Reduce hope by directly addressing claims (Reduce Hope: reduce possibility)
'We love our kids...'	**Aim**: Create fear **Theme**: Protecting from hidden threat	**Fear** **Main messages:** Independence threatens your children and future	Create fear through implicit threat (Fear: *Relevant, Significant*) Provide risk reduction option
'Put our job prospects at risk?'	**Aim**: Create fear and uncertainty **Theme**: Economy (jobs)	**Fear** **Main messages:** Independence will put your jobs/future at risk	Explicit Fear (Fear: *Relevant, Significant*) Frame decision as a rejection rather than a choice
'More job opportunities and more powers for Scotland'	**Aim**: Reduce risk felt about status quo Respond to Yes campaign **Theme**: Economy (jobs), Democracy	**Fear reduction** **Main messages**: You can have financial and future security and change; Safe change without changing	Use same visuals as 'Put our job prospects at risk?' Incorporate response to opposition and voter demands within main campaign theme Offer what is proposed by other campaign 'have your cake and eat it' solution- (Reduce fear: *Not expected to happen*)
'I'm voting No to get faster change…'	**Aim**: Reduce fear and risk felt about status quo and create fear. Respond to Yes campaign **Theme**: Economy (jobs, pensions), NHS.	**Fear reduction** **Main messages:** No does not mean no change; Change without changing **Fear** **Main messages:** Independence will put jobs, pensions and NHS at risk	Create fear through implicit threat (Fear: *Relevant, Significant, Expected*) Provide risk reduction option

As can be seen below, taken from the two first leaflets referred to in Table 2, the economic threat is presented with some subtlety through the use of implicit threats rather than overt warnings. The No campaign also includes the rhetorical solidarity inherent in the No campaign's (*Better Together*) brand name and taps into biases that larger is stronger than smaller, i.e. Scotland as a 'wee' (small) country will sink without the sustenance of the UK (Devine, 2008). By focusing on the known/normative issues, the audiences are brought back to the present time, creating a contrast to the future, distant nature of hope.

> '*Just one reason we are better together. 1 in 5 workers in Scotland are employed by English, Welsh and Northern Irish firms.*'

> '*Just one reason we are better together. The pensions of 1,000,000 Scots are guaranteed by the UK welfare system*' (BT leaflet).

Tactical devices included using language and tone with phrases such as '*the facts you need*' and reproducing statistics and statements from 'expert' academics/organizations (Kitzinger and Williams, 2005). The definitive language makes the threats and the economic risks credible. By focusing on jobs, currency and pensions, these fear appeals are highlighted as personally *relevant* and *significant*. This can also be seen as highlighting the feared self (Dalley and Buunk, 2011), i.e. being unemployed or without a guaranteed pension, and bringing it closer to realization.

Overall, Table 2 highlights BT's consistent use of fear appeals and that they focused on creating *relevant* and *significant* threats. Where it could be controlled (but not by BT) the threat was implied or generated using vague language (it 'might' occur). BT relied on the implied threat and the voter's imagination to enhance that threat. This attack type was used over long periods of time (for example, see the Appendix 1'Goodbye' leaflet, see also Table 2).

YS: Constructing a hopeful future

From May to December 2013, the Yes campaign used promotion hope appeals (Poels and Dewitte, 2008) structured so that a threat was implied, abstract future goals were presented, and then rhetorical devices were used to construct hope. For example, in the text below from YS' first grassroots volunteer distributed leaflet, '*a different direction*' and '*path*' as rhetorical devices are used to support voters' feelings of self-efficacy. Such a message was designed to increase voters' beliefs in the *possibility* of the hope. It also brings the impact of the decision forward in time and attempts to influence personal autonomy and increase voters' feelings of power and their ability to change their future; further boosting the *possibility* of the hoped-for outcome occurring.

> '*The referendum will give us all the chance to choose a different direction,*
> *and say YES to a new and more positive future for our country. A path that*
> *will lead to a fairer, greener and more prosperous society*'
> ('*Yes: Now What's the Question?*' YS Leaflet, Appendix 2)

By asking readers to imagine a '*more positive future for our country*' an unsatisfactory present situation is implied which acts to increase beliefs that the hopeful alternative is *important*. The hopeful vision is framed as *greener*, *fairer* and more *prosperous*; ideals used throughout the campaign designed to be *goal congruent*. The abstract nature of these goals means that they are difficult to disagree with, partly because they are

sufficiently vague to allow a wide range of interpretations and thus potentially creating goal congruence.

YS: Creating fear of the status quo as the basis for change
As the campaign developed, YS moved to using a prevention hope strategy where hope was positioned as providing a solution to prevent a feared outcome that the Opposition would implement (Poels and Dewitte, 2008). That was namely the lack of control over one's life (a theme also emphasized *very* successfully by 'Leave' in the 2016 UK Referendum on EU membership). This feared, negative alternative was stated explicitly and projected as *relevant*, *significant* and *expected* to happen. Explicit statements about continued rule and imposition of policies by 'Westminster' (the seat of UK government) and the 'Tories' (the Conservative and Unionist party) cement this positioning. In this way, YS sought to create fear of the status quo:

> *'Time after time, the policies we reject are taken forward in crucial areas-*
> *from the poll tax in the past to the bedroom tax and austerity cuts today.*
> *Westminster isn't working for Scotland. It's been taking us in the wrong*
> *direction for too many years. That's why we need Independence…*
> *Between 1970 and 2014 Scotland will have had Tory-Led government we*
> *didn't vote for in 26 out of 44 years…*
> *Scotland's future will be in the hands of those who care most about our*
> *nation- the people of Scotland. We are best placed to make decisions that*
> *affect our lives. We've already shown this in health, education and justice*
> *through the Scottish parliament.'*
> ('Where is Scotland on Westminster's radar' YS Leaflet Table 3 and Appendix 2)

This quote also shows attempts to make the threat credible by constructing it as *relevant* and *significant* through highlighting specific economic policies affecting its target audiences ('*bedroom tax*' and '*austerity cuts*'). By highlighting the frequent past occurrence of the threat (i.e. years of Tory rule) *expectations* that it will occur again are increased. This pattern of linking the status quo to specific policies exemplifies the creation of a known and normative present threat. Having attempted to create a credible threat, hope is provided with the Prevention hope appeal. This is brought forward in time by framing the choice with examples of existing Scottish parliamentary powers.
    . Other tactics creating fear of the status quo included attempts to reframe current beliefs about who is to blame for the perceived negative current state. This often included definitive tone and language, the use of academics, experts and statistics. Rhetorically, numerous promotional materials turned the name and core message of the opposition campaign against itself. This device acts to make the threat from the status quo appear more *relevant*, *expected* and *significant* as follows:

> '*The UK is the World's 4ᵗʰ most unequal country in the developed world. Still think*
> *we are 'better together*?''(see Table 3, Appendix 2).

By continuing with their contrasting approach, YS hoped voters would notice BT's narrowly focused fear-appeal more readily. They hoped voters might feel that BT was overdoing the fear appeal use, thereby reducing its potency and leading to negative ethical appraisals (Garramone, 1984). Prevention hope appeals allow for hope to undermine opponents' fear.

Table 3. Summary of Yes campaign messages

Communication	Main Aims and Themes	Appeal type and Main messages	Tactics and dimension of hope/fear targeted
'Yes: Now What's the Question?'	**Aims**: Create hope **Themes**: Democracy and self-determination	**Promotion hope:** Hope message presented first but based on implied threat. **Main messages**: Vote Yes for a more positive future; People living in Scotland should run Scotland; Chance to choose a different positive path	Provide hopeful image of children *(Hope: Goal Congruent, Important)* Imply negativity about the current situation. (Fear: *Relevant, Significant, Expected)*, followed by hopeful vision. (Hope: *Important)* (who runs country) Set up decision a choice not between two parties but between two futures. *(Hope: Possible)* Answer voters' concerns directly: Financial risk (risk reduction) How to achieve a new future. *(Hope: Possible)* Make relevant to family/personally *(Hope: Goal congruent)*
'Where is Scotland on Westminster's radar?'	**Aims**: Question current beliefs to highlight existing threat and hence create fear of status quo. Provide hopeful solution **Theme**: Democracy:	**Prevention hope**: Set up threat then provide a hopeful alternative to it. **Main messages**: Is Scotland important to Westminster? Scotland votes cannot stop Westminster imposing its will; Scotland's future in Scotland's hands; Choice between two futures	Use graphic to reinforce reframing question Reframe debate questioning current settlement to create threat (Westminster, Tory) Provide examples and statistics *(Fear: Expected, Relevant, Significant)* Personify hopeful message and support with definitive language- 'Can afford' 'Why aren't we better off?'. *(Hope: Possible, Important, Goal congruent)*
'It all adds up'	**Aims**: Reframe current beliefs to create hope and reduce fear. Answer opposition claims directly. **Themes**: Economic prosperity, Democracy	**Prevention hope:** Hope message presented based on implicit fear of status quo **Main messages**: Scotland is rich enough to prosper, why aren't we better off? **Fear reduction:** Address fear inducing concerns **Main messages**: Scotland's economy is more than oil. Economy is not narrowly based and not therefore vulnerable.	Use graphic to reframe current understanding Answer voters' concerns (and No campaign accusations) directly Financial risk (risk reduction) Will we be wealthy enough to be independent? (Reduce fear: *Not expected to happen)* Ability to pay for services and too dependent on oil. (Reduce fear: *Reduce significance)* Reframe debate questioning current settlement to create threat. Ask direct question about current prosperity Provide statistics creating fear (Fear: *Expected, Relevant, Significant)* Provide statistics supporting hope *(Hope: Possible, Expected)* Rhetorical device representing decision: Choice between two futures

'Yes to a Just Scotland'	**Aims**: Blame UK for unequal society to highlight existing threat and create fear of status quo. Provide hopeful solution. Respond to No campaign. **Themes**: Social Justice, Equality, Democracy, Economic Prosperity	**Prevention hope**: Set up threat then provide hopeful alternative to it. **Main message**s: UK is an unfair country, Westminster is broken; Scotland can afford to be fairer Choice between two futures- one failing, one hopeful	Use graphic to reinforce main message Reframe understanding of opposition claims using play on words (Better Together) (Fear: *Relevant, Expected, Significant*) Use academic research and 'facts' about jobs and money to support claim about threat (Fear: *Relevant, Expected, Significant)* and when providing solution (*Hope: Goal congruent, Possible, Important)*
'With Scotland's wealth…'	**Aims**: Create hope by reducing fear. Directly answer opposition claims. Create fear of status quo. **Themes**: Prosperity, Democracy	**Hope**: Hopeful message based on negative implication of current settlement **Main message**s: Scotland's got what it takes to be economically successful; Choice between two futures; Scotland's future in Scotland's hands	Provide hopeful image of children (*Goal Congruent, Important)* Provide third party quote (Hope: *Possible, Expected, Important)* Set up decision as a choice between two futures. Voting No (Fear: *Relevant, Expected, Significant*) vs Voting Yes (Hope: *Possible, Expected to happen)*
'Saucer-men invade Scotland'	**Aims**: Reduce fear Respond to No campaign fear appeals **Themes**: Hope vs Fear	**Fear reduction:** Use humour to reduce threat **Main message**s: No Campaign threats are ridiculous and overplayed; No campaign leaders are not serious; Yes campaign has sense of humour	Graphics are a pastiche of 1950s movie poster Use ridicule and humour to reduce fear (Reduce fear: *not relevant, not significant, not expected*) Implied association of less trustworthy claims (No Dr Who) with claims made from trusted sources (economic fears)
'NHYes: Protect our NHS'	**Aim**: Create Fear of a No vote. **Themes**: Fairness, Prosperity	**Fear appeal:** Create fear that can be avoided **Main message**s: Voting No threatens National Health Service (NHS); NHS funding in England and Scotland are linked; Vote Yes to avoid risk to Scottish NHS	Graphic uses brand created by autonomous Yes group: NHYes 'Protect' used to imply NHS is under threat (Fear: *Expected, Relevant, Significant)* Use rational claim to link two ideas increasing threat to one (Fear: *Expected, Significant)* Provide solution (Reduce fear: *not relevant, significant or expected*)
'Polling day card: One Opportunity '	**Aim**: Create hope by offering solution to existing threat hence create fear of status quo. **Themes**: Democracy	**Prevention hope:** Scarcity used to as basis for reducing fear of outcome **Main message**s: One chance to get government you vote for Voters, especially Labour supporters should vote Yes to avoid Tory governments. Scotland future in Scotland's hands	Use Labour party colours (traditional enemy of Tory party) to target these voters Create scarcity Highlight threat (Fear: *Relevant, Expected, Significant)* Highlight how to achieve hopeful alternative *(Hope: Goal congruent, Possible, Expected, Important)*

Emotional dialogue: Contesting hope and fear
A key part of any political campaign revolves around negating or countering the position created by opponents and responding to their attacks (i.e. rebuttal). In explaining how both campaigns attempted to do this, how BT sought to reduce the hope created by YS and how both sides sought to reduce the fear associated with their own visions is considered next in the sections which follow.

Killing hope
BT's communication sought to undermine YS's hopeful vision. Their messages focused on explicitly (or implicitly) stating that important foundations of the positive future vision were either unlikely to occur or unachievable, hence highlighting reducing the *possibility* of hope. This emotional appeal type is categorized here as *hope reduction* and adds to the types previously identified by Poels and Dewitte (2008). Table 2 highlights how such appeals were used, solely, and with fear appeals. Hope is attacked most frequently by reducing the likelihood that it will occur.

As per fear appeals, BT focused their hope reduction appeal on independence economics and undermining beliefs about Scotland's ability to afford the change. For six months, BT sought to undermine YS's assertion that an independent Scotland would continue to use the pound sterling in a currency union with the remainder of the UK (Gordon, 2014). BT responded to state the UK would not allow this (see Table 2 '*Goodbye*' and Appendix 1). In response, YS responded by saying that Scotland could not be stopped from using the pound as it owned the currency too and they highlighted that as a free floating currency it was available for any country to use. These messages attempted, unsuccessfully, to re-establish the *possibility* of their vision. Motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990) would predict however that it is more likely that the No supporters believed the UK finance minister rather than YS sources (Black, 2014).

BT simultaneously attacked the hope aimed at encouraging specific voter groups but where their hoped-for circumstance was under external control. Examples include seeking to undermine the idea that Scotland would remain in the European Union by highlighting the support of a senior EU official for their position and publicizing the proposed relocation out of Scotland by some large employers (Parker, 2014). YS's main response was to deny these threats existed by stating that establishment plots existed to undermine independence and/or they were bluffing. This position lacked credibility and hope was self-destroyed as being less *possible*.

Reducing the fear of change and the fear of the status quo
In addition to creating hope (fear), both campaigns needed to reduce the fear of the future. Appeals taking this focus are labelled as *fear reduction*. As with hope reduction appeals, having first reduced one emotion, attempts are made to build the opposite, in this instance, hope (Cacioppo and Gardner, 1999). The '*It all adds up*' leaflet (see Table 3 and Appendix 2) exemplifies YS's fear reduction appeal type use. It seeks to reduce the *expectation* that the fearful alternative will occur by reframing (through a question and answer format) current beliefs upon which the fear rests. The threat's s*ignificance* is highlighted by discussing the economy in the present. Another regular fear reduction tactic used by YS (and its grassroots volunteers) was to try to use ridicule and sarcasm to reduce the threat*'s significance* (*See Table 3 'Saucer-men invade Scotland'*). Exactly, how these appeal types work is beyond the scope of this article, so we do not consider further.

In response to attempts to create fear of the status quo, BT could have built hope *or* reduced fear. It used fear reduction appeals focussed on saying 'we'll change'. Similar to hope reduction appeals, these sought to reduce the *expectation* that the feared vision would

occur by focusing on areas under BT's control. For example, two weeks before voting, former UK Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, a native Scot, offered extensive new powers (Carrell and Wintour, 2014). The leaders of all three unionist parties endorsed this, provided an implementation timetable, summed up by: '*Vote No for faster, better, safer change*' (Table 2). This attempted to reduce the status quo threat, implying a hopeful alternative (new powers to help improve Scotland) could be reasonably *expected* as it was under the control of those making the offer. This was an astute response, reinforcing full independence as the risky alternative whilst moving from the other extreme position (no change) to the middle ground representing limited change with relative certainty. Table 4 integrates the findings of this research with existing work on how hope and fear appeals are elicited, maintained and reduced.

Table 4. Summary of where and how to use hope and fear appeals

Aim and Usage	Tactics

<u>**Creating and maintain Hope**</u>
Use Promotion Hope:
  Use as challenger
In positive circumstance where circumstance can be better still
To motivate the grassroots
	Overall: Use information and symbols to turn the impossible into the possible (MacInnis and De Mello, 2005)
	Simplify process
	  laws required are straightforward (Kitzinger and Williams, 2005)
	  Show 'timetable', 'blueprint', 'stages', 'plans'.
	Make relevant to family/ personally
	Increase vividness and detail of presentation (MacInnis and De Mello, 2005)
	Build self-efficacy of voters

Use Prevention Hope:
  Use as challenger
In dark circumstances- where something must be done to improve
When incumbent has been/can be portrayed as out of touch, complacent, tired.
To motivate the grassroots
	Imply negativity about current situation before providing hopeful vision
	Use rhetorical devices:
	  Can and *Will*, rationality and expert driven (Kitzinger and Williams, 2005)
	  Use language to bring consequences of choice to the present
	  Science and rational expert vs religion and anti-science
	  Counter claiming (Kitzinger and Williams, 2005)
	  Cite experience
	  Build evidence for vision via shared experiences,
	  Increases contrast between hope as dynamic and youthful and fear, old and established.

Use as incumbent
Where fear of going back or not completing job can be constructed
	Over campaign move from abstract hope (what could it be) to concrete hope (what does it look like).
	  After constructing hope, fear can be used to highlight how it can be lost
	  Establish hope when decision is distant, move to fear when voting day is close (2-3 weeks).
	Target those already fearing outcome (Sigelman and Kugler, 2003)
	Use humour, sarcasm

Incorrect use	Fail to establish as expected to occur, therefore, be seen as utopian (O' Shaughnessy and O' Shaughnessy, 2002) False hope- leading to risks not being accounted for (Polivy and Herman, 2000)
Creating and maintaining Fear: *Use as incumbent* When circumstances are declining or currently +ve but heading to neutral or -ve. 'Hold on to what you have.' In one off campaigns focussing on the future as fear cannot be extinguished by	Use of visceral, evolved fears- physical harm, harm to family and person, loss (Bar-Tal, 2001) Use explicit threats when you have control (or opposition have no control) over area being threatened Use definitive language- 'will', 'must' Use multiple examples to overwhelm Use multiple examples of threat to overwhelm

experience. To influence media whose main narrative form is around conflict and where othering can be used to assign blame	Increase self-accountability (Passyn and Sujan, 2006) Bring feared self closer in time and space (Dalley and Buunk, 2011) When using economics as basis, focus on concrete issues such as jobs, pensions and currency Target low fear at those not yet decided and low anxiety levels (Keller, 1999; De Meulenaer et al., 2015) Target those already fearing outcome (Sigelmnan and Kugler, 2003).
Use as challenger When circumstances are: Declining: 'Must act now to stop more damage' Poor: 'Fear of worst to come'	Reframe debate to question status quo Turn opposition names and slogans against them Use fear of loss of loved institutions Create a common enemy with historical and cultural roots to enmity
Reducing Fear:	Increase cognitions (Bar-Tal, 2001) Address concerns directly using question and answer format Reframe fear as bullying and denigrating voters Retaining positive beliefs about outcome (Hillbrand and Young, 2008) Retaining positive beliefs about outcome and avoid consideration of risks (Brown, 2003) Positive reappraisal or reframing a situation to see it in a positive light (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2000) Problem-focussed coping or action plans aimed at solving or managing the problem (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2000; Spears et al, 2012). Infusing ordinary events with positive meaning through building social bonds or through good deeds problem (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2000; Spears et al, 2012). Fear is extinguished if consequences do not occur, then the representation of the fear loses its ability to invoke the desired response and viewers habituate (Raio et al., 2012; Spears et al., 2012) Make 'best of both worlds' or 'have your cake and eat it' offer change within security of status quo Use Ridicule, humour or sarcasm Use opposition symbols and personnel (brands, colours, politicians, journalists, supporters) against them Link identity with desired action
Reducing Hope:	Focus on undermining economic case upon which hope is based Undermine vision with 'facts', rational evidence, statistics Dismiss as fantasy, utopia Undermine opponents including Trustworthiness and self-efficacy of leaders Undermine confidence of the voters

Discussion

BT ran a nuanced fear-based campaign consistently focusing on the (economic) uncertainty of the decision and their opponents' vision, whilst providing reassurance, at the last minute, that significant, safer change would come. Their communications used simple messages to evoke fear. The fear appeal use in BT's campaigns aimed to marginalize the opponent (Hughes and Dann, 2009), in this case, Yes Scotland. YS moved from using promotion hope appeals to using prevention hope as its strategy developed to include greater use of status quo fear. Two versions of the prevention hope appeals were identified - one where hope was constructed first, followed by presenting the fear to be avoided and the second, more prevalent, reversed this pattern. So, fear was constructed before hope was provided. Their communications contained more details and structure designed to engage cognition (Bar-Tal, 2001) as the core approach to creating hope and counteracting fear.

The approach used for setting up the initial campaign positions varied. The side looking to create fear of change focussed on the economic basis of its opponent's hopeful vision. Thus, fear was created not in the vision itself (though some voters might have felt threatened) but whether it could be realised. By choosing concrete issues such as jobs, pensions and currency, the threat was made *relevant* and *significant*.

By contrast, the group promoting change attempted to construct a likely vision of the future that encapsulated the core principles of its political constituents and target audience. The abstract concepts chosen allowed for different interpretations as to their meaning, creating a heterotopic space under which support for independence could be marshalled. By directly providing these ideals, they constructed a *goal-congruent*, *possible* and *important* future. Both sides sought to create their desired emotion by bringing the imagined future forward in time (de Graaf, 2016) and building voters' personal efficacy (Witte and Allen, 2000).

When responding directly to their opponents, BT focused on reducing the likelihood of YS's hopeful vision occurring by highlighting that YS was not in control of key decisions required to effect its vision. YS attempted to undermine their opponent's case by creating status quo fear. They used the past, the present and existing negative emotions to create a threat perceived as *relevant/irrelevant, significant* and *possible*. BT focused on reducing the fear's implied *possibility* by promising that the vote against the wider change was not a vote against *all* change and these new powers would be repatriated to the Scottish parliament. This position appeared credible. The locus of control determined whether definitive language could be used or whether the threat's likelihood was couched in vaguer terms. Where one side used emotive language or imagery, the other responded with rational, academic or scientifically credible sources relying primarily on statistics to present a counter-argument. This fits with and extends the notion of using rationality to counteract emotional arguments (Bar-Tal, 2001).

Overall, these findings highlight how fear and hope can be created, either to set up an initial campaign position or to mitigate/reverse the effect of the opposing appeal type, via three mechanisms:

1) Developing threats that are perceived as *relevant/irrelevant*, *significant* and *expected* to occur,
2) Deploying hope against fear by creating an alternative, positive vision of the future that is *possible*, *goal congruent* and *important* to target audiences and
3) Creating messages that reduce feelings of fear (hope) by reducing the perceptions of the dimensions required to create them.

From the findings, this allows us to develop a prescriptive conceptual model summarizing the different appeal types that were found and can be used, key factors in why they were chosen by the relevant campaigns in the two main Scottish referendum campaigns, and the execution tactics employed. See Figure 1. This model provides political marketers with an understanding of how they might devise fear and hope campaigns and their dynamic derivatives (fear and hope reduction appeals) in future referendums and what effects might be generated from what particular message appeal dimensions used and the contexts in which they are used.
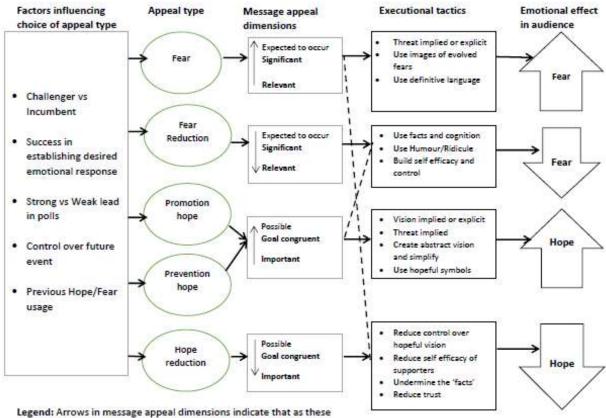
Figure 1: Prescriptive Guide to Hope/Fear Appeal Message Use

Factors influencing choice of appeal type	Appeal type	Message appeal dimensions	Executional tactics	Emotional effect in audience
• Challenger vs Incumbent • Success in establishing desired emotional response • Strong vs Weak lead in polls • Control over future event • Previous Hope/Fear usage	Fear	↑ Expected to occur Significant Relevant	• Threat implied or explicit • Use images of evolved fears • Use definitive language	Fear ↑
	Fear Reduction	Expected to occur Significant ↓ Relevant	• Use facts and cognition • Use Humour/Ridicule • Build self efficacy and control	Fear ↓
	Promotion hope Prevention hope	↑ Possible Goal congruent Important	• Vision implied or explicit • Threat implied • Create abstract vision and simplify • Use hopeful symbols	Hope ↑
	Hope reduction	Possible Goal congruent ↓ Important	• Reduce control over hopeful vision • Reduce self efficacy of supporters • Undermine the 'facts' • Reduce trust	Hope ↓

Legend: Arrows in message appeal dimensions indicate that as these collectively increase or decrease there is a corresponding increase or decrease in audience emotional effect.

Further Research and Conclusions

Despite elucidating how opposing campaigns use hope and fear to counteract one another through the proposed effective appeals model, gaps in our knowledge remain and a number of questions remain unanswered: What is the relative efficacy of, and the best way to deploy, different emotional appeal types? Should they be based on explicit or implicit threats (hopes)? Which sub-appeal types (promotion hope, prevention hope, fear reduction or hope reduction) are most effective, effective against each other and in which combination? How is the relationship between fear and hope appeals moderated by market and audience characteristics? What is the relationship and effect of inertia and the effect of personality traits, demographics and partisanship, on appeal types? Further, do our prescriptions, based on our qualitative analysis of the Scottish referendum, for how message appeal design induces particular audience emotional effects, bear out in other referendums? This question requires further quantitative and experimental research in order to definitively qualify our findings. By answering the questions we pose above, further clarity can be gained into when, where, and how to use fear and hope appeals against each other and under what circumstances, with what effects. We encourage researchers to consider further how hope and fear interact and counteract, including in other media contexts beyond elections and referendums.

Scotland eventually voted No, implying BT's fear appeal won the day in the battle of emotional appeals, at least in the 2014 Scottish Referendum context. The research reveals how the key battle fought between these appeal types is creating or undermining whether the future vision for your (opponent's) appeal is perceived as likely to occur. BT was successful at positioning their opponent's offer as representing a *relevant/irrelevant*, *significant* and *expected* threat. Importantly, they were able to undermine their opponent's attempts to create fear in the choice it represented (the status quo) and their last minute offer of change created hope in the future as it was *important, goal congruent* and through their power to deliver it, seen as highly *possible*. Nevertheless, the significant growth of the Yes vote during the campaign and evidence of volunteers saying hope motivated many to volunteer (Bagozzi et al., 1999; Black and Veloutsou, 2017), suggests that hope can to some extent counteract fear in political campaigns.

The extant literature on emotional appeals and their use in media campaigning is limited on examining how they are constructed, including a transparent system of measurement (Brookes, et al. 2004). This study makes a contribution to the literature by articulating, for the first time, how hope and fear appeals were constructed, and how they counteracted each other, in a political campaign context and importantly by extension, how they can therefore be used in future campaigns more effectively. Further, it contributes to the very limited literature comparing and juxtaposing hope versus fear appeals in a referendum (comparative) media setting. We use Poels and DeWitte (2008) interpretation of hope appeals as both *Promotion hope* and *Prevention hope* to propose a conceptual prescriptive model (Figure 1), which presents core dimensions for constructing effective appeals. The proposed conceptual model can be operationalized by using fear appeals to create a threat perceived to be relevant, significant and likely to occur. Then, hope appeals, deployed against fear appeals should focus on generating alternative positive visions seen as possible, goal congruent and important.

Linking to the framework of effective appeals proposed, the practical implications for political campaigns and communications can be outlined as: firstly, building and maintaining fear is an appropriate target for a campaign representing the status quo and possessing a poll lead (or greater market share). For those seeking change, building and maintaining hope in a more positive future vision is important as the decision looms, a dual

strategy of also demonstrating the danger of the status quo becomes appropriate. Secondly, new types of hybrid hope and fear appeals (i.e. hope reduction and fear reduction) can be used both by parties and those opposing them in the dynamic interplay between hope and fear appeals. Thirdly, different communication tactics, such as use of facts, humor, or ridicule, can be employed to reduce fear or create more hope in the campaign. We hope this article provides a call to arms to researchers to examine hope and fear appeals more, given their importance in election and referendum campaigns worldwide.

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Appendix 1: Examples of No campaign materials

'1 in 5 workers in Scotland'

'The pensions of 1,000,000 Scots'

'Goodbye'

Goodbye.

Leaving the UK means waving goodbye to the security of the UK Pound.

What is the Process for Leaving EU?

Better Together
@UK_Together

Follow

What is process for removing our EU citizenship? Voting yes. #scotdecides

RETWEETS 49   LIKES 31

9:21 PM - 2 Sep 2014

'We love our kids...'

WE LOVE OUR KIDS WE'RE SAYING NO THANKS

'Put our job prospects at risk?'

'More job opportunities and more powers for Scotland'

'I'm voting No to get faster change...'

Appendix 2: Examples of Yes campaign materials
'Yes: Now What's the Question?'

'Where is Scotland on Westminster's radar?'

'It all adds up'

'Yes to a Just Scotland

'With Scotland's wealth…'

'Saucer-men invade Scotland'

'NHYes: Protect our NHS'

'Polling day card: One Opportunity '