What does a satellite campaign do? The use of Momentum in Labour's 2017 General Election Facebook campaign

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Abstract

Satellite campaigns have been discussed as core parts of parties online campaigns. However, study is needed to understand the specifics of what satellite campaigns are, where they fit and how they are used as part of parties' social media election campaigns. This article comparatively examines Facebook pages across the 2017 general election; Momentum, Labour Party page and Labour leader page information and participation content is comparatively investigated to understand what sets satellite campaigning apart. Findings show that Labour had generated a Facebook approach termed 'Janus-faced campaigning'. Labour was using leader, party and satellite pages with diverse approaches to speak to different audiences, thus presenting different faces of the same party to the public. The party engaged in two core forms of approach. The 'traditional Facebook campaign' via the leader and party page, saw the party using core policy messages, open inclusive rhetoric and a focus on information over participation to campaign to the mass public. This approach was supported by what is termed the 'new methods Facebook campaign'. Here, satellite page Momentum focused equally on participation and information, using novel, partisan and divisive content, large amounts of leadership personalisation and humour, to activate a younger more partisan audience and get them campaigning online and offline. The group treated their online audience as a reservoir of potential offline campaign activism, breaking down the barriers between 'official' and 'virtual members'. This multifaceted approach allowed Labour to engage in different strands of organic communications, campaigning to (and through) different audiences in the most effective manner.

Keywords

Introduction

The influence of external-to party organisations and groups on elections has been of central interest to researchers for decades. Across the role of the media, unions and charity organisations, it has always been clear that elections are not just battles between parties' campaigns, other factors and power-groups have always been at play. Over a decade ago, Edwards posited the notion of 'democratic intermediaries' (2006: 9), a term used to describe non-party organisations important within elections and party campaigns. More recently, with the rise of social media this idea of democratic intermediaries has expanded via what Dommett and Temple call the rise of 'satellite campaigns' on Facebook (2018). Satellite campaigns present a major opportunity for party campaigns, because of the potential for these sub-organisations to campaign in a different way or be used for different purposes than official party or leader pages. Thus, the rise of satellite campaigns presents new questions for how parties are campaigning using Facebook, but also how they are campaigning more generally.

Unlike past iterance's of democratic intermediaries which were easier to delineate, modern satellite campaign organisations can be much more diverse. They can be directly linked to a party or feature looser connections, are also capable of merging together Edwards' ideas of preference, information, and interaction intermediaries (2006). This fluidity has meant that party satellite campaigns are not always clearly linkable to parties' campaigns, with these groups often playing upon the differences within their online presence, making the line of distinction of what is a party's online campaign harder to define. At the most problematic end of this phenomenon, we have the rise of clandestine uses of satellite pages, labelled 'clandestine campaigning'; a new burgeoning arena of satellite campaigning seen in third party activity during the 2019 general election (Dommett and Bakir 2020). This is an area that requires further study and updated campaign regulations to control. At the other end we have clearly party associated satellite campaigns, which for this article includes Labour Party campaign group

Momentum. Overall, satellite campaigns can be utilised and admixed within parties' traditional campaigns or be separate entities, with the rise of 'satellite campaigns' driven directly by the power and influence of social media.

Satellite campaigns matter because we have seen over the last few decades a continued decline in partisanship, a third of voters switched parties between the 2015 and 2017 General Elections (Fieldhouse et al. 2019). Volatility is very high with partisanship and community not as strongly linked as in the past (Putnam 1996). Parties are also claimed to be in decline, with membership low within political and societal organizations, and reduced trust in the leading political and social institutions such as the Government, Parliament or courts (Schudson 1998; Putnam 2000). These issues, within a wider discourse, amount to what has been labelled a growing "democratic deficit" (Seidle, 2004) or even a "crisis of democracy" (Zittel and Fuchs 2007). It is commonly accepted that a major way to reverse this crisis is to increase the level of political participation. Although we have seen British parties grow in membership recently, the general trend of party membership is downwards. Given this situation, as election campaigning is strongly dependent on scarce resources (Margolis et al. 2003; Ward et al. 2008; Anstead and Chadwick 2009), some parties have opened themselves up to citizen participation fostering new ways to become a campaign volunteer (e.g., Gibson and Ward 2000; Hooghe and Vissers 2008; Schweitzer 2011). However, given the low levels of participation content seen from the traditional Facebook campaign, we are potentially seeing this online participation operating via new satellite pages. As Dommett and Temple state;

> *"...by drawing on the energies of citizens who may not feel sufficiently enthused to join a party, but who may nevertheless share party values, satellite campaigns can provide a wider set of advocates, who may be better placed to articulate their appeal... blurring the lines between models of party membership and affiliation"* (2018: 202).

Conceptualising satellite campaigns

The enigmatic quality of satellite campaigns and their current lack of conceptual clarity requires analysis. Dommett and Temple, in their article *Digital Campaigning: The Rise of Facebook and Satellite Campaigns* (2018), posited the role of Momentum and Campaign Together during the 2017 General Election as examples of these 'satellite campaigns' that "represent a distinctive and important shift in campaigning" (2018: 189). Dommett and Temple outline their concept of satellite campaigns as: "Organisations beyond parties were identifying, mobilising and organising citizens to deliver leaflets, canvass voters, and organise on- and offline… It suggests that, in addition to Whiteley and Seyd's categories of the central party campaign, centrally coordinated local campaigns, and purely locally directed campaigns (2003: 638), we can also identify campaigns originating beyond party structures and control—those termed here 'satellite' campaigns" (2018: 201). However, satellite campaigns are clearly problematic to define, as Dommett and Temple assert "affiliate organisations such as trade unions, business organisations, and community groups, have long provided additional resources for parties' electoral campaigns" (2018: 195). Given this clear lack of definition between previously identified 'democratic intermediaries' (Edwards 2006) and 'satellite campaigns' (Dommett and Temple 2018), the need for a new label appears unnecessary. However, the need for a new terminology and classification arises because of the way social media is interacting with these third parties.

Dommett and Temple emphasise that "the capacities of digital appear to have altered previous practice" (2018: 195). Social media has altered democratic intermediaries into something different and more powerful, with change pronounced enough that a definitional cleavage is necessary. This definitional shift is warranted because digital platforms have increased the reach and capabilities of democratic intermediaries to campaign. Even small intermediaries have seen their campaign reach and impact vastly improved through social

media, meaning that many third-party groups now have a central campaign function rather than an intermediary function. As such the essence of what satellite campaigns are and can action, is heavily related to the digital tools they use. Today, satellite campaigns exist across the full range of social networks available. Facebook is examined over other platforms because of its well-defined satellite campaign network, large userbase, wider socio-political-demographic representation and greater capacities for different campaign approaches. Examining Facebook is essential for understanding what satellite campaign organisations are, how they act and what their function is.

Although we know satellite campaigns exist and are an important phenomenon, there is a lack of precision in defining what different satellite campaigns are. Although, Dommett and Temple's contribution to the identification of 'satellite campaigns' on Facebook is important in defining this new campaign dynamic, they fail to adequately conceptualise the differentiated roles satellite campaigns can have. Firstly, Dommett and Temple suggest that satellite campaigns feature the "increasing importance of intermediary, unofficial, organisations beyond parties that facilitate and promote campaigning activities", suggesting that "a campaign can be classed as satellite when vote-seeking activism is primarily driven by intermediary organisations without the control of a party" (Dommett and Temple 2018: 202). In the case of Momentum, a clear example of a satellite campaign, this definition does not fit. This is because Momentum as an organisation is still heavily related to the Labour Party; Labour is the parent organisation, all Momentum members since January 2017 must be Labour Party members, they campaign using Labour platforms such as the Party Conference and feature close links with Labour MP's. As such I would assert Momentum, although clearly a satellite, is still part of the overall Labour Party campaign akin to Progress or other internal group's within Labour. Although the lines of control and connection are inherently ambiguous and blurred, Momentum is still clearly a party-linked satellite campaign.

Further issues in conceptualisation are also apparent in Dommett and Temple's second example of a satellite campaign; 'Campaign Together'. Campaign Together is a volunteer non-party affiliated tactical anti-Conservative organisation. Simply defining this group as a satellite campaign akin to Momentum fails to appreciate a core element of satellite campaigning; that some groups have set points of orbit while others do not. This cleavage is vital, as it is important to define the deliberative use of satellite campaigns by parties separately from "satellite" campaigns that provide incidental aid. Campaign Together has no central orbiting point, is not party-linked and is independent, Campaign Together may incidentally help the Labour Party but is not linked with the party. Thus, Campaign Together and Momentum are different entities and need to be conceptualised differently. Dommett and Temple's definition of satellite campaigns fails to address the huge differences seen between these two groups natures, goals and activities.

What is required is a typology of the different categories of satellite campaigns that exist on Facebook using more nuanced descriptors, whilst where pertinent still conceptualising these different groups under the umbrella term of satellite campaigns. This paper consequently creates a more comprehensive typology of different types of satellite campaigns seen via Facebook. Using the example of the Labour Party, **Table 1** includes four core differentiated types of party-linked satellite pages found on Facebook. The central dichotomy generated is between official party-linked and indirectly party-linked satellite campaigns based upon relationship to party. Further, the new typology offers a reclassification of non-party affiliated campaigns such as Campaign Together, to definition outside of party-satellite campaigning as incidental campaigns. The central orbiting point, around which party-linked pages are satellite to, is the Labour party and leader pages. As previously asserted these pages are the 'traditional Facebook campaign' the core of parties' campaigns on Facebook and thus the pivot point around which satellites orbit on Facebook.

Table 1. Conceptualisation of the seven forms of satellite campaign pages seen on Facebook

	Party satellite campaigns (official party-linked)				Unofficial satellite campaigns (indirectly party-linked)	Mon-party incidental campaigns (independent)	
Type	**Party movement**	**Local pages**	**Individual MP's pages**	**Traditional democratic intermediaries**	**Fan/grassroots pages**	**Tactical/turnout/reformist**	**Traditional democratic intermediaries**
Other Examples	Labour Leave, Blue Labour	Milton Keynes Labour Party, Labour South West	John McDonnell, Ben Bradshaw	Institute for Public Policy Research	Grime4Corbyn, Jeremy Corbyn: The People's PM	38 Degrees, Tactical Vote - Stop the Tories, Rize Up	Save the Children, Demos
Example Used	Momentum	Cardiff Central Labour	Rebecca Long-Bailey	Unison	JeremyCorbyn4PM	Campaign Together	National Education Union
Link to Party	Official formal links with party	Official formal links with party	Official formal links with party	Official formal links with party	Unofficial emotional links with party	Unofficial, purely tactical links with party	Independent
Size (2019)	40,000 members, 250,815 Facebook followers	975 Facebook followers	10,533 Facebook followers	1,377,006 members, 47,748 Facebook followers	328,445 Facebook followers	3,104 Facebook followers	461,950 members, 29,000 Facebook followers
Facebook Links	Central links are to leader page	Central links are to party page	Central links are dependent on the MP	Central links are with other democratic intermediaries	Central links are to other 'fan' pages	Central links are to other 'reformist/tactical' pages	Central links are with other democratic intermediaries
Goal	Support left wing of Labour Party and Corbyn. Defeat opposition	Promote local issues	Promote the MP and local issues	Support unionism, union workers interests and the Labour party	Support Jeremy Corbyn	Promote progressive candidates, tactical voting	Support unionism, union workers interests
Membership	Has monetary backing and membership	Has monetary backing and membership	Has monetary backing and membership	Has monetary backing and membership	Purely online and operated via donations	Operates via donations but purely online	Has monetary backing and membership
Online or Offline	Can act online and offline	Can act online and offline	Can act online and offline	Can act online and offline	Campaigns online, offline campaigning is incidental	Mainly campaigns online, offline campaigning is incidental	Can act online and offline
Online Presence	Has its own party apparatus and online eco-systems like websites	Often has own party apparatus and online eco-systems like websites	Uses local networks, often has online eco-systems like websites	Has own organisational apparatus and online eco-systems like websites	Does not have its own party apparatus and only presence is via social media	May have websites but does not have its own party apparatus and main presence is via social media	Has own organisational apparatus and online eco-systems like websites
Professionalisation	Features a professionalised paid core staff, although wider staff will be voluntary	Features a professionalised paid core staff, although wider staff will be voluntary	Features a professionalised paid core staff, although wider staff will be voluntary	Features a professionalised paid core staff	Un-professionalised, staff of a small scale and totally voluntary, content will be crowd sourced	Features a professional but voluntary staff	Semi-professionalised, staff of a small scale
Content	Extensively uses bespoke content created in house, reissues other page's content, uses humour and 'internet style'	Some bespoke content, reissues other page's content, local focus	Some bespoke content, reissues other page's content, may be personalised, local focus	Uses bespoke content created in house	Little bespoke content, reissues other page's content, uses humour and 'internet style'	Uses bespoke content created in house	Some bespoke content created in house, reissues other page's content

Examining **Table 1**, firstly, there are party linked official satellite campaigns. The first of these are party movement satellite pages, these often feature an internal political dimension and as such semi-independence but are still formally linked with the mother campaign. Momentum is a perfect example of this, with its links centrally seen to the leader page. Secondarily, there are a huge number of local, county, regional and subnational party groups, often representing local party organisations that campaign during the election. These are centrally linked to the party page and are focussed on local issues. Examples include groups such as Cardiff Labour or Cheltenham Labour. Thirdly, and highly related to local pages, are the hundreds of MP pages that exist on Facebook. For example, every Labour MP has their own Facebook page that campaigns during elections. These pages' link to the party or leader page depending on their internal party-political position. Finally, akin to the offline world, there are the online representations of party-linked traditional democratic intermediaries including entities such as unions and think tanks. Unison is an example of this for Labour, with central links to the party page and other Labour-affiliated unions.

As well as official party-linked satellite campaigns, an unofficial party-associated satellite campaign theme is defined. Fan/grassroots pages are not party-linked but are party supporting pages usually run by volunteers. As such one cannot label their impact as incidental as these pages are run explicitly to support a party, however equally they are clearly not part of any official satellite campaign page network. Fan-made pages can utilise a less formal approach and are often interlinked with other fan-made or alternative sources. For example, JeremyCorbyn4PM is interlinked with Corbyn's page as well as the Artist Taxi Driver and Another Angry Voice. The changing political landscape on Facebook has seen these unofficial satellite pages become more influential. Dozens of these pages exist for all the major parties, with their capacities for campaigning leading to many interesting developments in the use of fan pages for what I term 'cluster

campaigning'. This defines campaigning based upon numerous seemingly independent sources but controlled by a close band of creators. This is important because some of these supposedly unofficial pages are clandestinely being used by parties' campaigns, examples are provided later. In future, the typology of satellite campaigns may need to include some seemingly independent fan pages as a type of party-linked campaigning. This is because of how the lines between party and unofficial satellite campaigns are blurring. Currently, given how fan pages are a relative unknown and need far more study, they are not defined as officially linked.

The final two types of pages shown within **Table 1** are labelled as non-party incidental campaigns. These groups are not labelled as satellite campaigns because these pages have no specific party of orbit. Instead the term incidental campaign is created as these groups can help certain parties, but this is not their specific aim. For example, Campaign Together promotes 'progressive candidates' tactical voting and as such can help Labour, but the primary focus of the page is to help non-Conservative candidates. Alongside these pages, akin to the offline world, there are also the online representations of unaffiliated traditional democratic intermediaries including entities such as unions, think tanks and charities. As shown via Unison these can explicitly help a party, but other non-political independent examples exist that may only incidentally help a party. The detachment of these incidental campaign groups from satellite campaigns makes defining the role and influence of satellite campaigns much clearer.

Finally, hyper-partisan media organisations and opinion leaders were not included within this typology as these areas are too broad and are more clearly defined within other theoretical areas. Hyper-partisan media organisations such as Skwawkbox and Novara Media are particularly linked with the Corbyn/Labour project. This may lead one to argue they act akin to unofficial satellite fan pages. However, as these groups are primarily alternative media sources, current understandings of hyper-partisan news are better suited

to explaining their electoral role (Potthast et al., 2017) than the concept of satellite campaigning. Similarly, opinion leaders with social media presences (who have also been termed 'outriders'– see Cohen, 2019) can also be clearly linked to parties. Owen Jones is a clear example, the Guardian journalist and Labour activist campaigned for the Labour Party during the 2017 General Election. These individuals with large Facebook presences may be asserted to be satellites of the Labour Party. However, Jones as well as other individuals such as Aaron Bastani and Ash Sarkar of Novara Media, did not campaign extensively on their own, instead they all campaigned via Momentum. The fact that these 'outriders' engaged in a party-linked satellite campaign speaks to the difference of opinion leaders to satellite campaigns. These individuals appreciate that there is a clear difference between a professionalised organisation used to campaign, and their own individual influence via their communications. As such merging the idea of opinion leaders with satellite campaigning is problematic, as not only would the concept become too large and unwieldy, but also the pre-existing ideas of opinion leadership via Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) explains the role of these individuals better than the idea of satellite campaigning. Although academics and commentators have outlined what satellite campaigns are in the broadest sense, it is not known how they operate or what strategies they use for information. Satellite campaigns have the potential for innovation (Dommett and Temple: 2018), with abilities to adopt internet-culture, divergent viewpoints or ultra-partisan takes on politics.

Studying Labour and Momentum

Of the new satellite campaign groups seen on Facebook, Momentum stands out as of major value for study because of its self-reported importance within the 2017 Labour Party campaign. Momentum with its ~40,000 members (2019), boasted of their

importance to the 2017 Labour campaign. They asserted that more than 100,000 people used their *My Nearest Marginal* tool during the campaign. While their Facebook videos reached over 23 million views and were watched by 12.7million unique users (McDowell-Naylor 2019). As a grassroots Labour Party movement supportive of Jeremy Corbyn, the rise of Momentum has seen the real-world application of a satellite campaign to an election where social media was central. To understand satellite campaigns role within a wider party Facebook campaign; Momentum (party linked movement page) is examined alongside the Jeremy Corbyn (leader page) and Labour Party page (party page). As shown in **Figure 1**, satellite campaigns have been a key part of Labour's Facebook presence for half a decade, with the group a clear focus for engagement with Labour's politics, even with the rise of Keir Starmer.

Figure 1. Total like engagement per year by page 2010-2020. Relevant leader page used for each year; Miliband 2010-2015; Corbyn 2016-2019; Starmer 2020 (n = 24,390)
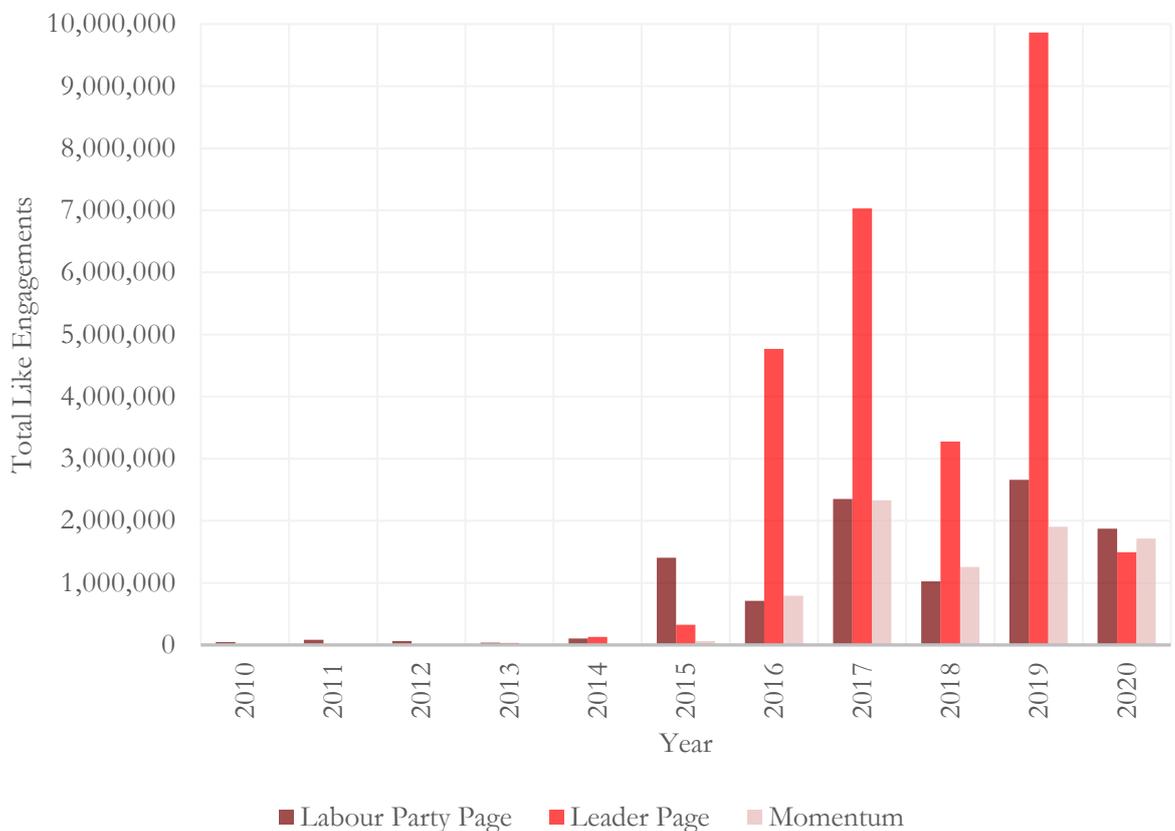
Understanding how satellite campaigns are used. Conceptualising Janus-faced campaigning - the 'traditional' and 'new methods' Facebook campaign

Parties national campaigns on Facebook have moved beyond the use of party pages as seen in 2010, past the combination of leader and party pages seen in 2015, towards the use of multiple pages all utilising different approaches in 2017. Parties are now harnessing Facebook with great complexity, with campaigns more multi-faceted, nebulous, and hard to discern. The key elements of this new trajectory in campaigning must be defined, with Janus-faced campaigning a definitional term used to describe how parties are now campaigning using Facebook. Janus-faced campaigning centrally defines a tactic that has always been important to parties' campaigns; the sending of different messages to different voter groups using different methods, styles, and approaches. Campaign complexity and multi-faceted approaches are arguably nothing new, for example, leaflets have been heavily localised for decades (Shephard 2016). However, social media in the modern era presents a large cleavage in the capacity of parties to action far more diverse strategies both via targeted and organic communications. Janus-faced campaigning on Facebook is thus defined as a party; *using different pages with different approaches to reach different audiences, thus presenting different faces of the same political party to the public*.

Janus-faced campaigning describes a powerful campaign dynamic. Through the replication of a national broadcast campaign via the traditional Facebook campaign, parties can influence the mass public. With approach focused on broader topics of public concern, information rather than participation and voting/registration participation content, parties can reach out to the median voter in considered language. Alongside this central core, through the new methods element of Janus-faced campaigning, parties can benefit from novel approaches. Approach can be as broad as the number of satellite pages

a party has, with approach informed by the nature and audience of each page. For example, Momentum focuses on participation and emotive partisan information, Grime4Corbyn focusses on younger black audiences and cultural/identity politics, while Cardiff Labour focusses on Cardiff infused partisan Labour politics. The new methods campaign gives parties new capacities that the traditional campaign cannot, including a focus on partisan content, participation and novel communications forms. Thus, through both these avenues, Janus-faced campaigning on Facebook gives parties the best of both worlds. Parties are not only able to reap the sociological rewards of more traditional broadcast approaches to campaigning, but also utilise narrowcast targeted approaches. This system operates across both organic communications and targeted advertising, giving parties radical new dimensions of campaign approach. **Table 2** outlines the differences between the elements.

Table 2. Outline of traditional and new methods within Janus-faced campaigning

	Janus-faced campaigning	
Theme	Traditional Facebook campaign	New methods campaign
Source	The core pages – party and leader pages	Satellite pages - party controlled pages or acquiesced fan pages, traditional democratic intermediaries, MP page's, regional pages
Logic	Facebook offers access to millions of voters; a professionalised party presence online will help in elections	Facebook offers new ways to campaign to many different groups. The capacity to reach and organise them is tied heavily to the approach taken. There is room for alternative approaches rather than replication of a traditional campaign online
Activities	Replicate a broad offline campaign online to win votes and enthuse support	Use novel approaches to reach different demographics/areas, communications using the language of these groups

Parties can now use many different types of satellite pages as part of a new methods campaign, with the clandestine use of fan/public pages a recent phenomenon. The use of fan/public pages shows the nefarious aspects of Janus-faced campaigning; parties can use pages that appear out of direct party control but are actively still part of their campaign. Examples of this campaign tactic are becoming more common. During the Brexit referendum Lynton Crosby's CTF partners utilised various 'grassroots' groups to spend up to £1 million on targeted advertisements (Waterson, 2019). Equally, Scientists for EU, professionalised 116 smaller pro-EU fan pages using a £100,000 donation to centralise all communications through one office (Manthorpe: 2019). Recently, during the 2019 General Election, public anti-Corbyn pages such as *Capitalist Worker, Parents Choice* or *Third party,* advertised in support of the Conservatives. The background operations of these pages showed clear association with the Conservative Party (Hotham, 2020). All these examples show parties branching out within the new methods campaign element of Janus-faced campaigning. It also presents an issue with understanding modern campaigns on Facebook. The clandestine utilisation of satellite pages by political parties means Janus-faced campaigning must be a supply-side concept. It is getting harder to appreciate the pages that constitute Janus-faced campaigning, with the circumstances leading to a blurring of boundaries between what is, and what is not, part of a party's Facebook campaign. Nevertheless, although important, nefarious activity is the extreme end of new methods. Instead, most party activity is part of the visible iceberg, with the varied use of party, leader and party-linked satellite pages the core of Janus-faced campaigning online.

Finally, Janus-faced campaigning is also a fluid concept, as there is both party based nuance towards the traditional and new methods campaigns, as well as clear possibilities for parties to shift their approach over time. Some satellite pages may see themselves dragged in to being part of the traditional campaign as new satellites are

formed. The evolution of this system will be heavily related to page audience, campaign goal and wider political tactics. Nevertheless, the core approach of multiple satellite pages alongside the party and leader page, is the new campaign normal on Facebook. Janus-faced campaigning thus defines how parties will be campaigning on the platform in future, as party presences on the platform continue to fracture and grow.

In an era of the slow decline of traditional one-step flow communications forms such as television, the rise of multi-level approaches seen in Janus-faced campaigning across both targeted advertising and organic communications, may define a new epoch. Campaigning is moving further away from mass-communications towards micro-communications via smaller groups receiving different messages. Individual voters can be sold different promises, with this presenting new opportunities for political parties, but also presenting new issues for the action of democracy. Academics and activists have repeatedly pointed out the threats of targeted advertising from parties. However, the complexity and diffusion of modern campaigns is seeing potential problems exacerbated across both the targeted and organic campaigns, via official party pages and myriad satellite pages. The variance of organic Facebook campaigning is mirroring trends seen within the wider media system, stimulating further political volatility within Britain.

Methods

In terms of approach, following some of the best studies in the field (Bene 2017; Magin et al. 2017; Metz et al. 2019), quantitative content analysis (Krippendorf 2018) is used. This allows for the clarity needed to understand approach as pure engagement data, content analysis or microcosmic qualitative study each have limited horizons. While some studies have manually extracted Facebook data (e.g. Williams and Gulati 2013), this study utilised automated collection of basic Facebook data. Automated approaches are useful

but have certain drawbacks such as the lack of detail within the data. Data collection was performed via Netvizz (Rieder 2013), which allowed for the extraction of basic Facebook public-page activity. To provide a neutral extraction point, a new Facebook account was created, it followed the pages the data was extracted from following recommendations by Netvizz . The posts sent by a page and the associated engagement data (likes, comments and shares over a specified time) were gathered.

It is important to note that the number of posts extractable from Facebook is limited. Netvizz, which like all other legitimate harvesters is constrained by Facebook's API. This dataset used data collected from one month before the 2017 General Election, from the 3rd May to 7th June 2017. Quantitative content analysis is used to examine the features of posts and describes what content approaches are undertaken. This paper follows two literature fields in its quantitative content analysis coding approach. Firstly, in terms of developing an implementable scheme to quantify how parties campaign via content forms, content focussed approaches seen in Alashri et al. (2016), Lee and Campbell (2016) and Bene (2017) are followed. Taking elements of their methods but operating in greater detail, unlike those studies this paper focusses more upon the content analysis and less upon relationships between content and engagement. Secondarily, the coding scheme simplifies major themes seen in wider campaign studies such as in Gibson (2015) and Foot and Schneider's (2006) features analysis.

Content is becoming more complex especially with the rise of video, as such a coding scheme that can appreciate this complexity was developed. The coding approach taken allows posts to be part of all the given categories and does not exclude each post into one set form, instead most of the variables are treated as potentially existing within each post. It is important to appreciate that some related codes can potentially exist at the same time within only one post. For example, in some codes approach is deliberately non-dichotomous, a post may feature the positive use of a celebrity alongside the negative use

of a celebrity, or positive tone and negative tone. This approach has an upside as well as a downside. The upside is that the data this scheme generates is superior to other binary approaches, allowing it to capture video more accurately. The downside of this approach is that it can create issues of double counting within the data, with the use of combined totals for some similar codes limited as they may represent fewer cases than the total describes.

Table 3. How many posts each percentage represents for each page (n = 575)

	Number of posts	2%	25%	50%	100%
Momentum Page	153	3	38	77	153
Labour Party Page	278	6	70	139	278
Jeremy Corbyn Page	144	3	36	72	144

A key issue for this study is data quality. This paper uses a retroactive approach, with analysis of Facebook after an election having positives and negatives. A Facebook page is a museum of interactions frozen in time, and thus is arguably a more solid evaluation foundation as it can reduce bias, because engagement is a stable number. However, the ability to analyse or examine people in the context of an election via experimental approaches is lost, meaning that there is no ability to link social media usage to specific vote choice, e-participation or direct participation offline. Facebook data is also subject to some change over time, for example, some posts are deleted by the parties after posting. Engagement metrics are not 100% stable over time, while as semi self-reported social data there is also the potential for the data to be inaccurate. This social angle to Facebook data is an important consideration and why the data was checked carefully. The data was cleaned, missing data checked for and incomplete data removed.

To test the quality of the coding of the other datasets Krippendorf's alpha intra-coder (α) was used. A paid coder was hired to re-code a set of posts according to the

coding scheme. 10% of the posts (58) were sent to be recoded. All binary nominal variables excluding topic issue choice were examined, topic choice was not examined due to the triplicate system. The result was an α of 0.81 which is considered a good result as "it is customary to require $α ≥ .8$, while where tentative conclusions are still acceptable, $α ≥ .67$ is the lowest conceivable limit" (Krippendorf, 2004, p.241). The results of the testing show a high level of reproducibility via the coding scheme; however, some elements of the coding scheme were more reproducible than others. Information variables received an α of .86, Framing .74, Mobilisation .84 and Personalisation .72. It is clear the less explicit elements of the coding scheme produce more variable results, but that the coding scheme is reliable and represents Facebook communications accurately. Some codes are clearly weaker than others with there a need to appreciate the inherent subjectivity in some elements of Facebook content.

Research Questions

Three research questions were developed:

- RQ1 - What were the key approaches to information and participation seen from the pages?
- RQ2 - What role does Momentum play in Labour's Facebook campaign?
- RQ3 - Is Labour engaged in Janus-Faced campaigning?

Empirical Results

What follows is the coded data presented in several tables across information and

participation themes. Tables are separated for legibility.

Information approaches

Figure 2. Basic content form approaches of the pages (n = 575)

Table 4. Topic approaches (n = 575)

	Topic 1			Topic 2			Topic 3		
	Momentum	Labour Party	Jeremy Corbyn	Momentum	Labour Party	Jeremy Corbyn	Momentum	Labour Party	Jeremy Corbyn
Economy	12%	21%	13%	7%	13%	10%	4%	9%	1%
Protection	10%	4%	10%	5%	2%	4%	3%	4%	2%
Health and social care	6%	23%	14%	11%	22%	10%	3%	8%	3%
Young people	1%	5%	3%	1%	3%	3%	1%	1%	1%
Government practice	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Environment and energy	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Party action	39%	25%	23%	14%	15%	7%	0%	6%	1%
Leadership	26%	8%	14%	5%	1%	5%	3%	0%	0%
Social Identity	1%	8%	8%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	1%
Education	1%	4%	5%	2%	8%	4%	0%	3%	3%
Apolitical	2%	0%	6%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Immigration	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
EU	1%	1%	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sum of topics	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**47%**	**66%**	**46%**	**17%**	**31%**	**13%**

Table 5. Information features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 1) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Basic content form	Video content	115	75.0%	278	100.0%	92	64.0%
	Photo content	38	25.0%	0	0.0%	20	14.0%
	Status content	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	2.0%
	Link content	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	29	20.0%
	Basic content form sum	153	100.0%	278	100.0%	144	100.0%
Video forms in detail	Video uses mainstream media content	32	20.9%	9	3.2%	26	18.1%
	Video uses alternative media content	4	2.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Video is Party Election Broadcast	0	0.0%	18	6.5%	4	2.8%
	Infographic video	6	3.9%	161	57.9%	11	7.6%
	Facebook Live video	4	2.6%	5	1.8%	3	2.1%
	Music video	3	2.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Photo forms in detail	Image	25	16.3%	0	0.0%	31	21.5%
	Newspaper front-page	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Image collection	2	1.3%	1	0.4%	1	0.7%
	Text only image	16	10.5%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
	Poster	4	2.6%	1	0.4%	12	8.3%
	Meme	21	13.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
	Infographic image	7	4.6%	0	0.0%	3	2.1%
	Twitter screen capture	29	19.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Other content forms	Audio	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Features external link to website	54	35.3%	51	18.3%	31	21.5%
	Image is now defunct	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
	Business endorsement	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Text only post	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%

Table 6. Information features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 2) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Sentiment orientation	Post features political information	150	98.0%	278	100.0%	114	79.2%
	Positive orientation	109	71.2%	246	88.5%	88	61.1%
	Negative orientation	72	47.1%	80	28.8%	64	44.4%
	More negative than positive (primary focus)	42	27.5%	44	15.8%	50	34.7%
	More positive than negative	111	72.5%	234	84.2%	94	65.3%
Information quality	Use of policy detail	20	13.1%	160	57.6%	56	38.9%
	Content is mainly rhetorical in nature not factual	83	54.2%	65	23.4%	86	59.7%
	Use of external media or news content altered by party	64	41.8%	9	3.2%	34	23.6%
	Positive use of external media or news content altered by party	37	24.2%	1	0.4%	14	9.7%
	Negative use of external media or news content altered by party	33	21.6%	8	2.9%	19	13.2%
	Use of positive valence issue	21	13.7%	152	54.7%	76	52.8%
	Use of negative valence issue	34	22.2%	62	22.3%	55	38.2%
	Use of positive position issue	26	17.0%	163	58.6%	73	50.7%
	Use of negative position issue	43	28.1%	67	24.1%	58	40.3%
Framing	Pledge	16	10.5%	184	66.2%	84	58.3%
	Diagnosis	141	92.2%	251	90.3%	113	78.5%
	Negative problem is diagnosed	115	75.2%	211	75.9%	105	72.9%
	Positive success is diagnosed	41	26.8%	58	20.9%	21	14.6%
	Prognosis	80	52.3%	249	89.6%	98	68.1%
	Positive prognosis - how we will solve problem	79	51.6%	249	89.6%	93	64.6%
	Negative prognosis - how problem won't be solved	12	7.8%	53	19.1%	33	22.9%
	Motivation and ideology	40	26.1%	151	54.3%	84	58.3%
	Motivation why a problem should be solved	40	26.1%	151	54.3%	83	57.6%
	Motivation why the party solved a problem	3	2.0%	1	0.4%	2	1.4%

Table 7. Information features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 3) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Rhetoric and imagery	Use of patriotic imagery	2	1.3%	11	4.0%	11	7.6%
	Use of repetition	44	28.8%	61	21.9%	63	43.8%
	Use of 'us versus them' rhetoric	36	23.5%	106	38.1%	56	38.9%
	Use of three-part list	21	13.7%	131	47.1%	41	28.5%
	Use of party catch phrase	9	5.9%	222	79.9%	100	69.4%
	Use of colloquialisms	10	6.5%	3	1.1%	2	1.4%
	Use of informal language	19	12.4%	3	1.1%	2	1.4%
Use of celebrity or expert	Celebrity endorsement	20	13.1%	47	16.9%	19	13.2%
	Use of male celebrity	21	13.7%	35	12.6%	11	7.6%
	Use of female celebrity	3	2.0%	18	6.5%	9	6.3%
	Positive use of non-political expert	21	13.7%	14	5.0%	13	9.0%
	Negative use of non-political expert	10	6.5%	10	3.6%	6	4.2%
	Positive use of party-political expert	13	8.5%	13	4.7%	9	6.3%
	Negative use of party-political expert	1	0.7%	5	1.8%	4	2.8%
	Use of an experts personal story	14	9.2%	22	7.9%	6	4.2%
Use of identity ownership/depiction	In text use of relevant public worker to issue raised	11	7.2%	22	7.9%	9	6.3%
	Use of general public's voice	36	23.5%	24	8.6%	15	10.4%
	Non-political personal public story	15	9.8%	25	9.0%	17	11.8%
	Video and imagery use of relevant public worker to issue raised	41	26.8%	59	21.2%	25	17.4%
	In-text use of ordinary public	22	14.4%	136	48.9%	78	54.2%
	Video and imagery use of ordinary public	71	46.4%	131	47.1%	73	50.7%
	In-text use of minority ordinary public	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	3	2.1%
	Video and imagery use of minority ordinary public	22	14.4%	75	27.0%	33	22.9%

Table 8. Information features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 4) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Use of media	Positive use of mainstream media	19	12.4%	1	0.4%	18	12.5%
	Negative use of mainstream media	21	13.7%	13	4.7%	18	12.5%
	Positive use of external newspaper source	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.4%
	Negative use of external newspaper source	1	0.7%	5	1.8%	4	2.8%
	Positive use of external newspaper source via link	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	2.8%
	Negative use of external newspaper source via link	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	2.8%
	Positive use of alternative media	9	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Negative use of alternative media	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Media endorsement	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Attack on other media	2	1.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Use of polling	9	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Use of screen capture of tweet	29	19.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Classical personalisation	Use of apolitical personal information and interests	9	5.9%	15	5.4%	9	6.3%
	Use of leaders personal family	3	2.0%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
	Use of first person language	71	46.4%	52	18.7%	57	39.6%
	Use of a personal message (not a political issue)	32	20.9%	15	5.4%	19	13.2%
Positive leadership personalisation	Post is positively personalised	65	42.5%	53	19.1%	84	58.3%
	Praise of Leader	55	35.9%	43	15.5%	7	4.9%
	Use of party leader in video	46	30.1%	39	14.0%	55	38.2%
	Use of party leader in text	24	15.7%	27	9.7%	6	4.2%
	Use of party leader in non-video imagery	10	6.5%	0	0.0%	18	12.5%
Negative leadership personalisation	Post is negatively personalised	50	32.7%	34	12.2%	41	28.5%
	Negative appraisal of opposition leader	45	29.4%	31	11.2%	38	26.4%
	Use of opposition leader in video	34	22.2%	29	10.4%	24	16.7%
	Use of opposition leader in text	21	13.7%	14	5.0%	25	17.4%
	Use of opposition leader in non-video imagery	7	4.6%	0	0.0%	5	3.5%

Table 9. Information features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 5) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Positive wider party personalisation	Praise of party MP/MPs	3	2.0%	11	4.0%	7	4.9%
	Praise of former party leader	1	0.7%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
	Use of party politician in video	6	3.9%	17	6.1%	8	5.6%
	Use of party politician in text	6	3.9%	12	4.3%	10	6.9%
	Use of party politician in non-video imagery	6	3.9%	0	0.0%	5	3.5%
Negative opposition party personalisation	Negative appraisal of opposition MP/MPs	8	5.2%	7	2.5%	8	5.6%
	Use of opposition party politician in video	4	2.6%	7	2.5%	3	2.1%
	Use of opposition party politician in text	3	2.0%	1	0.4%	3	2.1%
	Use of opposition party politician in non-video imagery	4	2.6%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
Internal partisanship	Negative expressions about same party politicians	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Negative appraisal of same party former leader	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Positive partisanship	Praise of party members	9	5.9%	13	4.7%	9	6.3%
	Praise of party campaigners	15	9.8%	18	6.5%	10	6.9%
Negative partisanship	Negative appraisal of opposition party members	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
	Negative appraisal of opposition party campaigners	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.4%
Use of humour	Use of humour	39	25.5%	9	3.2%	10	6.9%
	Use of political humour	26	17.0%	2	0.7%	7	4.9%
	Use of general apolitical humour	23	15.0%	7	2.5%	4	2.8%
	Use of meme style humour	18	11.8%	2	0.7%	0	0.0%

Participation approaches

Table 10. Participation features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 6) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Offline participation	Help doorstep campaign	73	47.7%	19	6.8%	4	3.5%
	Volunteer	75	49.0%	19	6.8%	4	2.8%
	Call for vote	18	11.8%	237	85.3%	85	59.0%
	Attend protest	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Visit event	2	1.3%	0	0.0%	3	2.1%
	Attend hustings	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Attend rally	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.4%
Online participation	Call to visit party website	81	52.9%	33	11.9%	5	3.5%
	Visit campaign page	68	44.4%	33	11.9%	6	4.2%
	Sign up to campaign offline	72	47.1%	19	6.8%	5	3.5%
	Call to visit another website	8	5.2%	35	12.6%	27	18.8%
	Join party	3	2.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Register to vote	5	3.3%	36	12.9%	16	11.1%
	Call to share I'm voting message	0	0.0%	6	2.2%	0	0.0%
	Call to join/visit other internet medium	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
	Call to join/visit other social media	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.4%
	Poll	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Sign petition	2	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Give funding	8	5.2%	2	0.7%	2	1.4%
	Visit shop	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Change your profile picture	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Online/Offline participation	Call to talk to friends and family	15	9.8%	5	1.8%	10	6.9%

Table 11. Participation features of Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum 2017 posts (Code Group 7) (n = 575)

		Momentum		Labour Party		Jeremy Corbyn	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Engagement	Call to share	49	32.0%	165	59.4%	12	8.3%
	Call to comment	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	3	2.1%
	Call to like	2	1.3%	4	1.4%	1	0.7%
	Call to tag Facebook friends	2	1.3%	1	0.4%	3	2.1%
Active links	Link to Facebook page - other type of page	23	15.0%	24	8.6%	20	13.9%
	Link to Facebook page - same party	13	8.5%	32	11.5%	44	30.6%
	Link to Facebook mainstream news group	3	2.0%	0	0.0%	6	4.2%
	Link to Facebook alternative news group	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Link to Facebook opposition party or leader page	4	2.6%	4	1.4%	35	24.3%
	Link to other social media network Twitter	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Link to other social media network Instagram	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Link to other social media network YouTube	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Data gathering	Give location	7	4.6%	2	0.7%	5	3.5%
	Give data to party website	2	1.3%	2	0.7%	4	2.8%
	Give email address	2	1.3%	2	0.7%	4	2.8%
	Give name	2	1.3%	2	0.7%	4	2.8%
	Give phone number	2	1.3%	2	0.7%	5	3.5%

Discussion

What were the key approaches to information and participation seen from the pages?

<u>*Information approaches*</u>

Content form

The first key area of analysis is content structure. Examining the 2017 General Election, Momentum followed the Labour Party page's video trend. Momentum's posts in 2017 were 75% video content, behind the Labour Party page (100%) but ahead of Corbyn's page (64%). Momentum is following the latest trends in campaign information delivery despite reduced resources, the group does not suffer from a normalisation gap. The high use of video speaks to Momentum's integration within modern understandings of how social media works, with usage showing that reduced monetary resources is no barrier to video content. There are clear differences between the pages, especially in the use of links and the amount of video used. However, generally a coherent trend is visible, with video clearly in supremacy and then photo or link content subsidiary.

Examining video across the 2017 General election, Momentum's approach was particularly different to the Labour Party page and closer to Jeremy Corbyn's page. Unlike the Labour Party page, Momentum did not extensively utilise infographic videos (4%), instead they favoured mainstream media content (21%). Momentum consistently reused media especially news, but also other cultural programming like Question Time or comedy staples like The Office. Momentum spoke in a different more experimental way, with this further seen through their application of Facebook Live (3%), alternative media (3%) and music videos (2%). The group avoided talking like a political party, they did not use any PEBs and avoided long-form content, highlighting the younger digital savvy

audience they wanted to reach. Momentum utilised novel methods, with the organisation standing outside of the remit of the traditional Facebook campaign. Momentum was able to innovate by trying new things to reach a different audience than the leader or party page. Some of the approaches seen (such as music videos) were clearly used to reach the general public, rather than virtual or official member support. In 2017 Momentum had a real belief in novel viral content for public consumption, a tactic that worked so well that Momentum's video content was re-used during the 2019 General Election.

Examining photo approaches in detail, although overall use of photo was remarkably similar between Corbyn and Momentum's page across the 2017 election, Momentum clearly used more novel approaches to the form. Momentum extensively used meme's, with 14% of their content meme's, against 0% for the party page and 1% for Corbyn. The use of meme's shows Momentum was pushing boundaries, using the language of the internet to communicate in a new way to a different audience. Momentum was utilising what is referred to as mediated authenticity (Enli 2017), their position as a satellite campaign allowed the organisation to use a humorous tone that the more serious pages could not. Another key difference across the election was Momentum's use of text-only images (10%), a defunct format across all the other pages studied, the high incidence rate is mainly due to the use of screen captures of Twitter comments (19%). Momentum extensively brought Twitter content to Facebook, this interlinking of two social networks shows how Momentum treated Facebook as part of a wider social network eco-system, but only as an information source. Twitter content was used but not linked, users were not promoted to leave the page. Instead, Twitter content was used on Facebook to feed into the formation of a collective identity (akin to that seen with movement parties as per Kavada, 2019), and help develop the narrative of left versus right politics. Momentum thus used Twitter content to inflame partisan passions and prompt activity on Facebook itself.

Content topics

In the topics sent, firstly Momentum was not used to deliver as many political topics (1.63) as the party page (1.98), with the page using a similar number of topics per post to Corbyn's page (1.60). Both Momentum and Corbyn's page fit in as a middle information tool, in contrast the official party page takes on the role of disseminating more complex information. The focus of the Corbyn and Momentum pages' is centred less on policy and core political issues, instead they are more focused on ideas and actions. Examining the topics covered, Momentum's main 2017 topics centred on the economy, protection, party action and leadership. There was a 59pp primary topic choice difference between Momentum and Corbyn's page, as opposed to 79pp for the Labour Party page. Although Momentum's approach mirrors some elements of the Labour and Corbyn page, the group sent by far the least broad range of primary topics. 86% of content occurred from the five most used topics, as opposed to 64% for the party page and 60% for the leader page. A large amount of focus was placed on two areas, with 64% of primary topic content centred on leadership and party action. Momentum as an organisation in-part founded to support Corbyn and his politics, understandably has high rates of leadership content (26%). The party heavily fed into Corbynmania and heavily personalised the leader. Momentum's even greater focus on party action content (39%) shows a role apart from the other pages. As examined later when looking at participation approaches, the group heavily focused on activating the public and virtual members.

Although Momentum's topic use expanded across subsequent topic choices, compared to the other Labour pages they were unconcerned with promoting electorally important policy areas, such as social care or the economy. The page was not primarily concerned with political information and policy, leaving these elements to the traditional Facebook campaign. Instead, Momentum's satellite campaign was designed to energise

certain elements of the electorate, engage with more radical information topics and engender virtual member participation. This was not a narrow approach however, the group showed disinterest in narrowcast social identity or young people focussed content. This is surprising given that the organisation is thought to be narrow in focus; being youth orientated and interested in issues of racism, equality and social justice. Instead, during the election Momentum was trying to reach a large more radical group of voting public than the party or leader page.

Content quality

The trends seen across topic choice, including the role of Momentum as a tool not centred on policy and political information but instead on participation, organisation and leadership, is clearly also seen in use of policy detail. Momentum across 2017 featured low levels of policy detail (13%), although levels of political information were still high (97%). The organisation delivered political information but was focussed on broader debates and ideas related to politics, not direct policy. The differences across the pages show the official party page used for detailed information, Momentum for ideological political information and Corbyn's page for a mixture of both. The sentiment of the political information delivered is also different across the pages. Momentum featured more negative political information (52%) than the leader (44%) or party page (31%), alongside less positive information (71%) than the party page (90%). In the sentiment of the political information used, Momentum more closely follows Corbyn's page than the party page, the group communicates in a more emotionally charged manner, showing their interest in speaking to a more partisan audience.

The use of position issues also varies by page, Momentum (17%) features similar positive position issue use to Corbyn's page (16%), with the Labour Party page using

more of the form (51%). Negative position issues are also more clearly used by the leader (40%) and party page (40%) rather than Momentum. Some commentators and Labour MP's have criticised Momentum as a Militant-style organisation[1], asserting the group to be particularly left wing and radical. However, it was the more moderate Labour Party page that pushed these combative ideological position issues. In contrast, Momentum and Corbyn pushed a broader political idealism that was an inclusive vision and not focused on combative policy.

Use of expertise or celebrity

Facebook offers new avenues for the utilisation of experts and celebrities, with satellite campaigns offering even greater scope for the use of cultural figures that can speak to different audiences. Due to their smaller audience targets, satellite campaigns such as Momentum can use more specific experts or celebrities than the party or leader page. This is seen within Momentum, as well-respected left of centre academics such as Joseph Stieglitz and Noam Chomsky are used as experts, while other important cultural figures such as Stormzy are used as celebrities. Overall, the data shows that in contrast to the leader and party page's, Momentum is much more interested in using experts than celebrities. As Momentum champions more radical causes, experts are used to argue ideological positions within a wider left-wing vision. Equally, Momentum uses experts like celebrities, as figures such as Noam Chomsky have a large amount of cultural capital as left-wing figures.

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[1] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/18/secret-tape-reveals-momentum-plot-to-link-with-unite-seize-control-of-labour accessed – 4/9/2019

Examining the use of expertise in detail. Momentum like the other Labour pages favoured using non-political experts over party-political experts. The pages appreciate the influence sources outside the party can have for persuasion. Usage of experts during the election campaign was generally positive. 14% of 2017 Momentum election content used non-political experts positively, with usage rates far above Corbyn (9%) or the Labour Party page (5%). Momentum's use of experts was also higher (7%) compared to the other pages (4%). Momentum's celebrities were more specific opinion leaders, including left-wing figures such as Michael Rosen or Billy Bragg, or important figures within minority communities such as Stormzy. In contrast, the traditional campaign focused on household names such as Steve Coogan. Labour clearly had an appreciation of the way different celebrities can influence different sociological networks, with Momentum using celebrities to break into communities more likely open to Momentum's more radical message. Overall, unlike the other pages Momentum favours expertise equally with celebrity.

Use of media sources and external content

Momentum's approach to media sources during the 2017 General Election is relatively reflective of the other Labour pages, with a few unique approaches that set the organisation apart. Momentum, like the other Labour pages did not use news media links; Labour were interested in keeping audiences on Facebook except for specific participatory purposes. Examining mainstream media use, Momentum utilise media content but only if it can be edited. Momentum's use of positive and negative mainstream media (positive 12%, negative 14%) is found at rates very similar to the leader page (positive 13%, negative 13%), in contrast, the party page did not use mainstream media content (0% positive, 5% negative). During the election Momentum used mainstream media

creatively. The group used many different types of mainstream content to promote or attack politicians and leaders in novel ways. Examples include editing images of The Office alongside Theresa May, the use of Question Time or news interviews. The group used a novel approach, because as Dennis notes, Momentum was "operating outside of the restrictions of formal party politics" (2019: 110). Momentum was free to communicate in a different way to the other pages.

Outside of mainstream media use, Momentum was the only page interested in promoting the party's campaign success via polling content (6%). This occurred centrally via Twitter screen captures. A fundamental area of difference is seen in the groups use of alternative media, Momentum used alternative media positively (6%), while the other Labour pages did not. For Momentum, alternative media sources included YouTube videos of Novara Media and the Artist Taxi Driver, as well as Skwawkbox news content. One of the benefits for Momentum over Labour, is because it is not an official page it can use an informal style and sources outside of the mainstream. This allows Momentum to tap into a vast array of left-wing bloggers, YouTubers and partisan news, that the other more establishment pages distance themselves from. This gap gave Labour the capacity to campaign both as a radical outsider, as well as maintain a sense of official competency.

Examining the use of external content, across the 2017 election, Momentum were keener to reuse content than the other Labour pages, including positive and negative use of external content. 42% of Momentum's election content reused external content, as opposed to 24% of Corbyn's content and only 3% of Labour Party page content. Momentum used the platform to energise support via recasting and reacting to the news of the day, with a bonus being that news media provides a cheap, consistent and easy source of content. Given reduced staff and funds, Momentum sought easy sources of content for the page. Overall, the Labour Party was selective in how each page used media content. Momentum, and to a lesser extent Corbyn's page, are there to fit their campaigns

into a more aggressive news-orientated environment, while the Labour Party page continued with its focus on policy information.

Sentiment and framing

Momentum has been labelled a radical element within the Labour Party, with some commentators referring to it as a negative force. However, across the 2017 campaign Momentum was generally positive (71%), with the group more positive than the leader page (61%) although not as positive as the party page (88%). The group utilised levels of negativity (47%) similar to the leader page (44%) but was far more negative than the party page (29%). Momentum clearly utilised sentiment more strongly than the other pages, with content tending towards sentiment extremes. However, the page was only similar in sentiment to Corbyn's page, the idea that the group framed content in a more extreme manner during the election campaign is not visible.

Examining approaches to problems and solutions, across the 2017 election, Momentum's use of pledges was small compared to the other pages (10% Momentum, 66% party page), reflecting a low interest in policy content. Momentum's diagnosis of success was higher (27% Momentum, 15% leader, 21% party page), while use of how we solve problems was lower (52% Momentum, 90% party page). In most other aspects Momentum was clearly used in a similar way to the other pages, for example, Momentum utilised diagnosis content at rates (92%) akin to the party page (90%).

Although slightly more radical in its framing than the other pages, Momentum was still clearly centred on the public during the election campaign. Content was designed to cause reaction and influence people's broader political discussions and positions, but not be so radical as to become insular and incapable of spreading.

Momentum features incredibly short text messages, while videos are conversely rather long. This is because the organisation used several long Facebook Live videos in 2017, these included training videos of how to campaign on the doorstep, a 2-hour promotion of registering to vote and a long-form interview with Corbyn. Momentum's use of Facebook Live to organise and teach virtual members is a truly novel application of social media to an election campaign. It points to the interesting approaches the group takes towards activism online and offline. Excluding these longer approaches Momentum's video length is like the other Labour pages, shorter videos are becoming the norm.

Use of personalisation

As a group founded to support Corbyn and his politics, Momentum understandably heavily featured Corbyn in 2017, 36% of Momentum content praised Corbyn in contrast to 15% for the party page. Momentum had an explicit goal of promoting the leader, with Corbyn featuring in nearly as many videos via Momentum (30%) as via his own leader page (38%). Corbyn was also consistently referenced in the small amount of text Momentum content featured (16%). The former Labour leader appears front and centre in Momentum's campaign, with the group clearly a satellite of Corbyn rather than the Labour Party page.

Momentum's criticism of political leaders was not just political but also included attacks on personality. For example, Theresa May was attacked for being like Alan Partridge and thus uncool. Momentum charged their negative leadership content with personalised antagonistic criticisms, rather than the more purely political nature of Corbyn or the party page's criticisms. Thus, although all the Labour pages used negative

personalisation, Momentum utilised the form with true hyperbolic venom. This approach was clearly a tactic to energise and activate virtual members and potential supporters.

While use of leaders is high, elements of true personalisation are lacking during election campaigns. Leaders are used as figureheads with genuine personality diminished. Momentum bucks this trend, as the groups rates of real personalisation are akin to Corbyn's page. The use of personal messages is high at 21% of 2017 content, compared to 13% of Corbyn's content. First-person language (46%) was also high, with rates over double the party page (19%) and even higher than Corbyn's page (40%). Momentum used highly personalised language, offering ownership to the viewer in the way information and ideas are discussed. Further, when leaders or politicians were used, they often spoke personally from the heart. Momentum's personalisation approach presented a more genuine face to the public, without the hindrance of stultifying professionalism or traditional rhetoric. Personalised informal communications were a clear set style of Momentum's attempts to reach out to a wider body of Facebook users. In examining the use of party and opposition politicians during the 2017 General Election, Momentum uses Labour's wider base of politicians at similar rates to Corbyn's page. Rates are relatively low, with it clear that Facebook is a platform primarily used for the promotion of leaders not party politicians.

Use of humour and rhetorical tools

Humour was underutilised by the party and leader pages during the 2017 General Election; this is not the case with Momentum. 25% of all the content sent by Momentum in 2017 featured some form of humour, this contrasts with only 3% for the Labour Party page and 7% for Corbyn. The humour used was broader, as it encompassed meme, general and political humour at high rates. As such humour was used to broaden the potential

reach of political information, as political humour was often merged with meme style humour. For example, in Set 1 a screen cap of a video entitled 'Theresa May is just like Alan Partridge' can be seen. Video's such as these melded pop culture and politics together and were very popular. The most popular Momentum video entitled 'Tory Britain 2030' with the by-line 'Brutal response 😂 (wait for it)', received 13,000,000 views and well over 100,000 shares[2]. Through these humorous video's Momentum achieved true virality while also pushing political messages. The use of humour clearly shows Momentum was trying to reach a different audience in a different way, fulfilling a role Corbyn or the party page could not.

The use of meme style humour, an approach not seen in the party or leader page's, shows the unique way Momentum was communicating and who they were trying to reach. Momentum adopted the internet style of meme pages seen on Facebook, with their communications mirroring popular pages such as Lad Bible. As Dennis argues, Momentum "draws on a youthful, digitally-enabled civic vernacular that exists online. Whereas party political campaigning online often replicates professional norms refined across other media (Lilleker et al., 2016), Momentum embraces the humour and irony that typifies the social web" (Dennis, 2019, p.98). Momentum was aping a stylistic approach designed to engage younger heavy social media users.

Momentum also utilised a large array of rhetorical tools; however, rates of use were generally far below the other party pages. Party catch phrase use was particularly minimal (6%), showing how Momentum is a force apart from the official party and leader pages, where use was particularly common (69% leader, 80% party page). Repetition is seen (29%) with use higher than the party (22%), but lower than the leader page (44%),

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[2] https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=459077241104335 – accessed 20/10/2019

us versus them rhetoric is also favoured (24%) but again is seen less than both leader (39%) and party pages (38%). The lack of rhetorical tools is in part due to Momentum's style, text is fleeting with the organisation utilising a straightforward seemingly non-political approach favouring brevity over rhetoric. This rejection of traditional rhetoric is further seen in the utilisation of other communications forms. Emoji's are common, as is slang and informal language.

Use of partisanship

Labour focuses on depiction; this extends to the depiction of party activists and members with Momentum also using the form. The data shows that across Momentum's 2017 election posts, 20% of post in-text elements featured ordinary party members. However, use was not much higher than the other pages (17% leader, 16% party page). Momentum, like the other party pages, was more interested in representing the general public rather than members during the 2017 campaign. Reflecting earlier findings that Momentum is less interested in identity issues than one may expect, use of minority party members was seen less via Momentum (9%) than the other pages (16% party page, 12% leader). The only instance in which Momentum tried harder to represent membership diversity was via their depiction of minority Labour politicians (2%). Overall, during the election Momentum are shown to be interested in party member depiction at rates like the other Labour pages. Examining 2017 election approaches to praise and negativity, use of praise is very stable across the pages. Momentum generally follows the leader and party page in praising campaigners, members and certain MP's. However, the different Labour pages supported very diverse types of MP's. Momentum put great effort into supporting left-wing pro-Corbyn MP's such as Rebecca Long-Bailey. In contrast, the Labour Party page focused on certain core shadow Cabinet members like John Ashworth; while

Corbyn's page focused on important politically allied politicians like John McDonnell and Diane Abbott. The different pages optimised their use of MP's for their intended audience.

In the negative use of opposition MP's Momentum's use (5%) was higher than the party page (3%), but reflective of the leader page's approach (6%). One area of interest was Momentum's negative appraisal of Tony Blair, with 1% of content during the election campaign negative about the previous Labour Prime Minister. This internal partisanship shows that the political battle within Labour was not totally called off during the election campaign, with Blair negatively used by Momentum to activate virtual members and potential voters. Overall, Labour ran a positive campaign in terms of generating partisan sentiment, any negativity against the opposition centred on the use of opposition leaders, not politicians or party members.

Overall, Momentum focused on partisanship and praise to a similar degree to the other Labour pages during the election campaign. The page like the others was clearly focused on reaching outside their own membership or virtual members. In contrast, Momentum's approach shifted post-election, the group refocused on internal campaigns and were happy to train their guns on the right-wing of the party itself. Momentum's success in the #JC9 campaign showed how they energised their supporters. This success from internal satellite campaigning clearly highlights the power of movement groups to successfully alter a wider party's politics.

Use of links

Within Labour during the 2017 election campaign, party websites were not heavily pushed by either the leader (15%) or party page (12%). Momentum breaks this trend as they heavily pushed their party websites (53%), they were focussed on activating and

organising their online support. Momentum promoted participation extensively, with the group happy for users to be guided off their Facebook content onto party websites. This is because a core goal was participation not just information. In contrast to the use of party websites, Momentum used lower rates of calls to visit other websites (5%), than the party (12%) or leader page (15%). The central reason is because Momentum did not extensively link the UK Government's register to vote website. The registration drive was mainly seen via the party and leader websites. The lack of this registration drive is because Momentum's approach was dualistic, the page centred on informing the broader public as well as activating their virtual members, a group who given they are politically interested are more likely to be registered. Finally, the use of calls to visit other mediums and social media networks were not seen.

In external links and internal links, used by the pages, it is important to note that some of the difference is because Momentum would often not provide a physical link to the web-location they pushed a user to visit. Examining external links, 31% of 2017 Momentum content linked to a party webpage, much higher than the party (12%) and leader page (3%). While, in contrast external webpage links were lower (6%) compared to the party (12%) and leader page (14%). Novel use of hashtags is more readily seen via Momentum, 16% of Momentum's 2017 content used the form, more than Corbyn (10%) or the party page (2%). The use of hashtags speaks to how Momentum was more up to date with communication tools, as use allowed Momentum to tie in Twitter and wider internet trends with their Facebook content. No links were seen to Instagram or YouTube, if YouTube content was used it was reissued via Facebook video. Examining internal links during the 2017 General Election. Momentum did not extensively link to any party Facebook page (8%), with rates like the party page (12%) but far below Corbyn's page (31%). Momentum was more self-isolated within the wider Facebook Labour network. Momentum, if it did internally link, linked to other non-Labour Facebook pages, these

included people such as Owen Jones or celebrities such as Stormzy.

Use of data gathering tools

Data gathering practises were slightly lower via Momentum (9%) than for the leader page (15%), but higher when compared to the party page (5%). Momentum was clearly interested in gathering information from supporters, however this was mostly location information, because Momentum's tool 'mynearestmarginal.com' pushed users for location ID. The data shows that Momentum was driving individuals to their websites for other functions such as organisation, rather than for data gathering. Overall, it appears Labour centrally used Corbyn to gather data, with this a smart move because of the huge array of new support the leader brought in.

Participation

Voting

As suggested earlier from the lack of external links, during the 2017 campaign Momentum was much less concerned with getting people to register to vote (3%), than the party (14%) or leader (11%) page. Momentum's limited voter registration efforts were centrally targeted at younger people, rather than the general approach seen via the other Labour pages. Instead of voter registration, Momentum concentrated on participation via getting viewers to visit campaign pages. The group showed a focus on a different class of audience than the party and leader page. Rather than the less likely registered, less politically attentive mass public; Momentum was centrally targeting both a wider band of the politically interested radical public, alongside virtual members. Overall, 47% of 2017 content prompted users to visit campaign pages including 'mynearestmarginal.com' and 'Momentum.org'. In contrast, only 3% for the leader and 12% for the party page did the

same function. These pages, especially 'mynearestmarginal', engaged in open ended 'just turn up' style electoral participation, promoting doorstep campaigning within important marginal seats. Momentum was clearly utilising a more fluid structure towards participation and organisation, showing some elements of what Margetts labelled the Cyber Party (2001).

Examining calling for votes. Momentum across the 2017 election was very much trying to reach a broad, but clearly more partisan, audience than the other Labour pages. Although Momentum did call for votes (12% in 2017), usage was well below the party (85%) and leader page (60%). The group was clearly not part of the traditional Facebook campaign, but was orientated as much around participation as novel approaches to information. Though Momentum was still trying to speak to a broad audience, it was clearly not as broad as the other Labour pages and far more partisan and politically engaged.

Other participation forms

Other online forms of participation were also popular across the election. Momentum's 2017 campaign use of other approaches to online participation (7% total), was much higher than the other Labour pages (1% total). In terms of Momentum's focus, although signing petitions (1%) and a shop (1%) saw minimal use, funding was a clear area of interest (5%). Momentum was trying to monetarily capitalise on its newfound online support. This use of crowdfunding during an election campaign is novel, most groups gather resources before a campaign starts. The approach worked however, as the

group raised £260,000 across the one-month campaign[3]. Alongside a strong interest in pushing online forms of participation through Facebook activities and party websites, Momentum placed a huge amount of effort in getting supporters to volunteer and campaign offline. The data shows that during the 2017 General Election, Momentum was trying to use their virtual members and the wider public as offline activists. High rates of content pushed virtual members and viewers to help doorstep campaign (48%), volunteer (49%) and sign up to campaign (42%). Momentum's rates of participation content were considerably higher than the other Labour pages, for example 49% of Momentum's content pushed for volunteering, vastly higher than the leader (2%) or party page (7%). Although much of this volunteering was filtered through Momentum's websites, thus showing a more traditional style of organisation. Participation was also directly generated via Facebook. Events and protests were encouraged (2% total), while organic information dissemination was promoted through asking users to talk to their friends and family (10%). This was also seen via Corbyn's page (6%), but much less commonly via the party page (2%). Momentum clearly believed in the power of individuals' organic communications and the sociological model. A major example of this tactic was the group's efforts in asking supporters to 'talk to your grandparents', pushing virtual members to phone up their family and persuade them of the importance of a Labour government. Momentum clearly threw itself into the idea that you can mobilise online support and break outside the echo-chamber, through utilising the genuine social networks individuals have.

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[3] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/nov/04/labours-momentum-raises-250000-in-six-days-to-fight-election accessed 08/06/2020

Engagement

Examining Momentum across the 2017 election, the promotion of sharing is also popular. 32% of Momentum content pushed users to share, as opposed to 59% for the party, and only 8% for the leader page. Over time blanket calls to share are declining, it is possible that the Labour Party is experimenting using Corbyn's page without the form. Given that the leader page receives far more engagement, the use of prompts for engagement may appear unnecessary, with page operators intending to maximise engagement via not using traditional style calls to engagement.

Across all the Labour pages' engagement is shown to clearly be important. Labour in 2017 appreciated that the right sort of content, spread through the right sort of users, can get into important socio-demographic and cultural networks. This is a system that is not easily replicable through other tools. For more internet savvy audiences, e.g. via Momentum and Corbyn's page's, engagement was less heavily pushed. While for more traditional Facebook content engagement was summarily prompted. Overall, engagement was used by Labour in a nuanced and subtle manner depending on page and audience. Labour pushed consistent (but undramatic) engagement via the party page, the leader page did not push engagement as it would appear impersonal, while Momentum engaged in a more speculative approach that sometimes led to impressive virality. Momentum wanted engagement but used pushes for engagement selectively, not at the risk of appearing demanding, obscuring the impact of content or looking impersonal.

What role does Momentum play in Labour's Facebook campaign?

Research question two asked the role Momentum has for Labour's campaign. Examining the 2017 General Election, Momentum clearly had a differentiated style, intended audience and political goal to the other Labour pages. Momentum evidently

fulfilled a specific role, with approach informed by the core goals of the group, and what it could offer to the wider Labour campaign. Through supporting the leader, promoting broad novel political information and focussing on participation and organisation, Momentum offered to the Labour campaign something that was not available before. Dennis notes that; "Momentum replicates some of the organizing and campaigning practices of political parties… and draws on the organizational practices and modes of engagement associated with social movements..." (2019, p.110). However, as this paper has shown, Momentum does more than just replicate the organizing and campaigning practices of political parties. The group goes much further than the other party pages, showing a genuine interest in the power of social media to change political campaigning. Momentum may draw on the 'organizing and campaigning practices of political parties', but as is seen, through utilising novel approaches the group is taking these elements further than the other party pages.

Across information the page was less focussed on policy and political detail, instead the organisation focussed on broader political ideas, harnessing areas of major ideological cleavage. Momentum activated ideas not policy detail, using experts and celebrities to inform groups who were looking for more spirited political campaign discourse. Momentum was clearly trying to activate its own support, alongside left-wing partisans and young people. As Fraser Watt, a campaigns officer for London Young Labour asserted in 2017, "Labour appealed to a generation that came of age during the financial crisis" (Savage and Hacillo 2017). Momentum was also targeting people who had been pushed away by Labour's previously centrist position, utilising a political platform and style that appeared anti-establishment and as far away from New Labour as possible. As Dennis notes, Momentum has worked hard to "position the organization as outsiders (see Watts and Bale 2019), as they are simultaneously distinct from the norms and practices of Westminster politics but also dissimilar to competing factions" (2019:

109). Overall, Momentum was clearly not targeting everyone, with their approach engaging, through virtual members, a wider group of the politically interested, who then in turn managed to reach the less politically interested. The groups viral success came organically from a combination of good content reaching the right initial, secondary and then tertiary audience.

Emma Rees, national organiser for Momentum stated in 2017, "we're out engaging ordinary people, making politics feel like… not politics. It's something the Tories could never replicate" (Rees: 2017). Momentum's humorous, frivolous approach using a language heavy internet-users understood, led to Momentum reaching a different audience. As Adam Klug, one of the Momentum's central team asserts, "we way beyond our own bubble – we only have 24,000 members"[4]. McDowell-Naylor argues this more fluid 'deterritorialization' approach was important to Momentum's success, as they could avoid the baggage of party bureaucracy (McDowell-Naylor: 2019). Indeed, through content designed to energise a broader partisan group that subsequently gained traction, Momentum achieved impressive virality. The group displayed the power of Facebook engagement, as well as the sociological nature of the platform, breaking across many barriers. From a small core of under 300,000 virtual members, in the "last week of the campaign over 1 in 3 Facebook users in the UK watched an entire Momentum video. With the best performing video, 'Tory Britain 2020', reaching 5.4 million views in just two days" (Momentum website 2019[5]). Thus, Momentum not only went viral to heavy internet users but also within the broader Facebook public. Momentum shows that consistent,

[4] https://www.theweek.co.uk/general-election-2017/85501/how-momentum-helped-sway-the-general-election accessed 21/10/2019

[5] https://peoplesmomentum.com/2018/01/12/2017-general-election/ accessed 21/10/2019

negative, impactful and emotionally resonant messaging can spread unabated across a Facebook network population. Momentum's information was hard to ignore, thus it subsequently reached voters across age, class, geography and political affiliation.

Participation approaches showed the group wanted to activate virtual members and the broader public. Margetts' (2001) cyber party model was clearly apparent. Whereas the other pages pushed traditional avenues of political participation. Momentum used Facebook as a source of human resources without interest in presenting hoops for potential activists to jump through. From heavily pushing Facebook users to visit Momentum websites, to online training sessions and pushes to organise online. Momentum struck a very different approach to the other party pages. Little interest was shown in Momentum enforcing membership or any systemic approach to the utilisation of virtual supporters offline. Instead the group enacted a 'just turn up' policy. This approach was in part adopted from the USA, as Bernie Sanders campaign was actively copied by Momentum (Rhodes 2019). The organisation was helped through direct advice from key Sanders campaign figures; Grayson Lookner, Jeremy Parkin, Kim McMurray and Erika Uyterhoeven. these figures were brought in "to give advice in activist training sessions, focusing on sending activists to the right places and ensuring people turned out" (Savage and Hacillo 2017).

Momentum's copying of Sanders campaign was dualistic. Penney states, "while the "official" Sanders organization-built applications to transform supporters into a tightly controlled distribution network for its social media messaging, this was complemented by "unofficial" grassroots networks that circulated more informal and culturally oriented appeals" via "self-organized connective action in digital social movements" (2017: 402). Similarly, Momentum utilised both semi-official tools such as mynearestmaginal.com and the Momentum App, as well as engendering 'just turn up' Facebook delivered participation. Overall, Momentum's online activity via Facebook was effective,

"volunteers signed up online to help and were dispatched to nearby marginal seats" (Savage and Hacillo, 2017). 100,000 people used the 'mynearestmarginal' app to canvass in key marginal seats (Momentum website 2019[6]). As Tariq Parkes, activist and branch secretary in Hastings and Rye said, "we had 10 times more activists than in 2015… Momentum activists were at the college and the university – signing people up left, right and centre" (Savage and Hacillo 2017). These offline activities are on top of other successes in online activation, such as in funding or in talking to friends and family. Momentum's efforts for organic participation online and offline led to real results.

Facebook has offered parties new avenues for their communications that were previously not available, with the implications of this impacting on the parties themselves. Overall, Momentum as a satellite campaign offered the Labour Party a source for new volunteers, a viral engaging source for information delivery and the capacity to reach different audiences. **Table 12** overleaf outlines a comparison using the findings of this paper, it clearly summarises the differences between the pages, and thus the exact function of the Momentum satellite campaign.

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[6] https://peoplesmomentum.com/2018/01/12/2017-general-election/ accessed 21/10/2019

Table 12. Central approaches of the pages

Approach	Labour Party page	Labour Leader page			Momentum page	
Content structure	Video	Video	Photo	Link	Video	Photo
Structural forms	Infographics	Mainstream media	Posters	Government website	Mainstream media	Twitter, memes
Topic choice frequency	High topic frequency	Medium topic frequency			Medium topic frequency	
Topic choice diversity	Specific focus on economy, health and social care, party action	Broad focus but core approached towards economy, protection, health and social care, party action, leadership			Specific focus on economy, protection, party action, leadership	
Policy detail and political information	High policy detail High levels of positive political information High mixed sentiment, use of position issues	Medium policy detail Negative mixed sentiment political information Low position issue use			Low policy detail Negative mixed sentiment political information Medium negative use of position issues	
Expertise and celebrity	Celebrity over expertise High celebrity use, low expertise use	Celebrity over expertise High celebrity use, low expertise use			Expertise over celebrity High use of both	
News media use	Low negative mainstream media use Low reuse of external content	Medium mainstream media use equally positive and negative Use of newspaper sources and newspaper sources via link Medium reuse of external content			Medium mainstream media use, equally positive and negative Use of alternative media, polling High reuse of external content	
Depiction	Use of women's issues and depiction Low interest in minority depiction Balanced depiction of all age groups and issues associated especially the young Low use of general public's voice High use of public and relevant workers	Low interest in women's issues and minority depiction, Depiction of all age groups and issues associated but focus on young and old people Low use of general public's voice High use of ordinary public and relevant workers			Low interest in women's issues and minority depiction Depiction of all age groups and issues associated but focus on young, middle-aged and children High use of general public's voice and relevant workers, but low use of ordinary public	
Framing	More neutral than other pages, more positive than negative High focus on pledges, diagnosis, prognosis and motivation	Mixed, equally negative and positive High focus on pledges, diagnosis, prognosis and motivation Short videos, long messages			Bipolar, very positive and negative High focus on diagnosis and prognosis, low motivation content Long videos, short messages	

	Short videos, medium length messages		
Personalisation, rhetoric, and humour	Some praise of leader, low use of Corbyn in content Low use of opposition leader, low negative appraisal of opposition, Low personalised language Low use of humour High use of rhetorical tools especially us versus them rhetoric, catch phrase, three-part lists, questions and repetition	Low praise of Corbyn, high use of leader in video, imagery and text High use of opposition leader, high negative appraisal of opposition High personalised language Low use of humour Medium use of rhetorical tools especially us versus them rhetoric, catch phrase and repetition	High praise of Corbyn, high use of leader in video, imagery and text High use of opposition leader, high negative appraisal of opposition High personalised language High use of humour Low use of rhetorical tools especially repetition and us versus them rhetoric
Links	Medium calls to visit party website Medium calls to visit other websites Medium party website links Low use of hashtags Low data gathering Medium party internal links, low opposition internal links Low links to other Facebook pages	Low calls to visit party website Medium calls to visit other websites Low party website links Medium use of hashtags Medium data gathering High party internal links, high opposition internal links High links to other Facebook pages	High calls to visit party website Low calls to visit other websites High party website links Medium use of hashtags Low data gathering Low party internal links, low opposition internal links High links to other Facebook pages
Partisanship	Medium use of party members High use of minority party members Medium praise of campaigners	Medium use of party members Medium use of minority party members Medium praise of campaigners	High use of party members Low use of minority party members High praise of campaigners Negative appraisal of same party leaders/MP's
Participatory practices	Medium register to vote Low visit campaign page No other forms of online participation Low talk to friends High call for vote Low call to join party	Medium register to vote Low visit campaign page No other forms of online participation Medium talk to friends Medium call for vote Low call to join party	Low register to vote High visit campaign page Low other forms of online participation, polls, petitions, shop, medium calls for funding High help doorstep campaign, volunteer and sign-up, Medium talk to friends Low call for vote or to join party
Engagement	Low interest in engagement High promotion of sharing	Low interest in engagement Low promotion of sharing	Low interest in engagement Medium promotion of sharing

Is Labour engaged in Janus-Faced campaigning?

Research question three asked; was Labour engaged in Janus-faced campaigning? Labour was utilising both a *traditional Facebook campaign*, as well as a *new methods* campaign. Labour's approach to Facebook showed capacities for both "controlled interactivity" (Freelon 2017) as seen via the Labour Party page, and "self-organised movements" (Penney 2017) as seen via Momentum. Across the two pages that made up the traditional Facebook campaign. The Labour Party page was the positive 'official' professionalised presence of the party on Facebook, it focussed on detailed political information of a core array of electorally important topics. The page was designed for the public, linking mainly to government and party websites, using catch phrases, celebrity over expertise, and focusing on infographic videos. The page focussed on information over participation, depictions of the public and fact over emotion, with any focus on participation surrounding the act of voting and registering to vote.

Within the traditional Facebook campaign, across the leader page element, Jeremy Corbyn's page was a mixed sentiment leadership vehicle for a more radical and emotional version of the party page's politics. Both negative and positive, and often targeting opposition leaders. The page focused on a broader array of political topics, through more varied structural approaches that featured less political detail but used more emotion and personalised communication. The page was designed to activate the public, using celebrities over expertise, public depiction, mainstream media content and a focus on information over participation. Internal links were common, while participation was focussed towards voting and registering to vote. Corbyn was vital to both his personal page and Momentum's campaign, as Matt Zarb-Cousin, Corbyn's former spokesman stated, "he was much more recognised as an opposition leader than Ed Miliband" (Savage and Hacillo 2017).

Outside of the traditional Facebook campaign, we saw Labour utilising new methods through its satellite campaign Momentum. Momentum's page was designed for a combination of core virtual members and the radical public. An innovative vehicle for participation, the group pushed for fluid, barrier free, online and offline participation. Their approach to information was emotive, humorous and deliberately lacked detail, content was often video based, mixed in sentiment, using attacks on opposition and even its own party. This promoted user engagement and virality. Focussing on a few core areas especially leadership and party action, political information was ideological and general, but used expertise over celebrity. Partisanship was pushed and campaigners praised, with the page splitting from Labour's recent past to speak successfully to a new audience of younger people. Keen to use the public as its voice when using its own narrative, Momentum used an 'internet style' in its communications.

Momentum offered Labour many benefits. One of the major ones is a new resource for activists. As Dommett and Temple contend; "Enos and Hersh's work (2015) has shown parties' reliance on members that are unrepresentative of the general public can prove counterproductive in attempts to campaign" (2018: 198). Momentum through its more fluid approach to activism, offered to the Labour campaign a new online and offline resource that could be harnessed. These younger individuals were also more diverse and active online, capable of appreciating how to help content go viral, and more technologically competent than average Labour activists. Momentum also offered innovation. As Dommett and Temple assert, satellite campaigns are "organisations less restricted by legal requirements and responsibilities, these bodies have the space to innovate and trial new tools that parties may be wary of promoting" (2018: 196). Momentum were radical, using humour and a less serious nature to create engaging content, they could use less stringent sources and campaign more around ideas than policies. This offered Labour fluidity in the messages they could be sending, as they already had policy covered by the party page, and leadership covered by

Corbyn's page.

Overall, Labour ran a successful 2017 General Election campaign, "…people felt Labour's message was authentic and speaking to them and their lives. You see that in things like the polling on what policies people recall – they recalled positive offers from the Labour party and negative things about the Conservatives" – Labour campaign source, 2017[7]. Part of this was because Labour was communicating to people via Facebook through varied and appropriate ways. Labour was using different pages with different approaches to reach different audiences, presenting different faces of the same political party to the public. With the successful implementation of this strategy likely at the centre of Labour's 2017 campaign success. While their failure to utilise the same system as effectively in 2019 appears a likely part of their failure. This will need to be studied in detail, with it clear that in 2017, Labour was using Momentum, the party and leader pages in different ways for different purposes. **Table 13** outlines Labour's approach to Janus-faced campaigning via the party, leader and Momentum pages. It is vital we appreciate this new phenomenon. This is because the evidence suggests that campaigning is not blending particularly between offline and online, or through traditional and new media forms (as per Chadwick 2013). Instead, Facebook campaigns are becoming more distinct from other approaches, with greater internal complexity.

Satellite campaigns and Janus-faced campaigning are core approaches to how parties are using Facebook. Although multi-faceted approaches are not revolutionary, their use via Facebook represents an evolutionary leap in how parties are campaigning on the platform. Momentum are revealing the future direction of campaigns, because they clearly engage with the idea that online activity can lead to offline action. Lines were blurred between online

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[7] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/10/jeremy-corbyn-youth-surge-votes-digital-activists accessed 21/10/2019

activism and offline action, with the party interested in more fluid conceptions of membership and how to run a political campaign. At the edges of the Labour campaign we are therefore seeing the rise of new methods in Facebook use, as well as the lines of distinction between online and offline campaigning being blurred. As such, further study of Momentum must occur given they are altering how Facebook is used as a campaign tool.

Table 13. 2017 General Election Labour party-controlled Janus-faced campaigning of three core pages

Theme	Party controlled		
	Traditional Facebook campaign		New method example
Page type	Party Page	Leader Page	'Party movement satellite campaign'
Party Control	Central office control	Central office and leader office controlled	Party-linked and influenced but operates via Momentum offices
Example	Labour Party Page	Jeremy Corbyn Page	Momentum Page
Target audience	Public Facebook users	Public Facebook users, virtual members and supporters	Centrally virtual members and supporters but also public
Attitude to parent organisation	Represents Labour officially	Represents Labour officially, but represents leader specifically	Internally partisan represents Labour left-wing
Information or participation focus	Information	Information	Participation
Information approach	Broad public focus, focus on core important policy and political information	Broad public focus, focus on wide policy, core policy and political information	Mixed focus on public and supporters, focus on political information but not on policy detail
Participation approach	Broad public focus - Focus on participation as voting	Broad public focus - Focus on participation as attendance of events and as voting	Narrow focus on virtual members – Focus on participation via organising virtual members and official party members to campaign offline
Goal	Promote Labour Party policy and ideas, win elections for Labour	Promote Labour Party policy and ideas, win elections for Labour, promote Corbyn as leader	Promote Momentum membership, Corbyn as leader and the left of the Labour Party
Professionalisation	Is a professionalised entity using bespoke content in a formal style	Is a professionalised entity using bespoke content in a formal style	Is less professionalised entity, uses some bespoke content, but also reissues others content, also utilises a less formal approach including the use of an 'internet' style and humour
Sense of self	Formal party	Formal party leader	Grassroots organisation viewed as a 'movement' with direct relationship with the people
Personalisation	Depersonalised, Corbyn absent	Corbyn heavily personalised and used	Corbyn heavily personalised and used
Sources	Labour website's, mainstream news via video edited content	Labour website's, mainstream news via video edited content, news links	Twitter screencaps, Momentum websites, mainstream and alternative news
Depiction	Uses public, activists and party politicians	Uses activists, public and leader	Uses activists, public and leader

Notes

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