

The European Elections: How The Brexit Party won the online battle in the UK

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Contents:

- 1. Executive summary
- 2. Key Findings
- 3. Impact on Facebook
- 4. Impact on Twitter
- 5. Top performing content
- **6. Party leaders**
- 7. Case study:

The Brexit Party and Change UK ran similar Facebook campaigns. Why did one fail?

8. Case study:

How The Brexit Party used Facebook Ads to reach millions



Executive summary:

The 2019 EU elections were an unofficial referendum on the state of British politics. They saw the collapse of the established parties, who alienated both Leave and Remain voters, the birth of new groups The Brexit Party and Change UK, who advocated for dramatic changes to politics in the UK, and the resurgence of the secondary Lib Dem and Green parties, who strongly advocated to remain in the EU.

We wanted to understand how each party campaigned on social media during the election campaign so that we could:

- a) understand the differences between each political party's campaigns;
- b) explain why The Brexit Party performed so well on social media;
- c) uncover the lessons that political parties and campaign groups will need to learn for success in future elections;
- d) learn more about the role of social media platforms in elections.

To do this, we looked at each party's performance on Facebook and Twitter, as well as the performance of their party leaders; reviewed their top-performing content; reviewed and categorised more than 200 Facebook posts by The Brexit Party and more than 60 Facebook posts by Change UK; and reviewed and categorised 113 Facebook Ads by The Brexit Party.

We observed vast differences in the content strategies and performance of political parties on social media.

While it may be widely known that The Brexit Party dominated on social media during the EU election campaign, the scale of their success may not be as greatly understood. They generated the most shares and the most comments of any political party, and added more new followers on Facebook and Twitter than any other party. We observed that despite only producing 13% of all posts by political parties on Facebook and Twitter, they accounted for **51% of all shares.** Messaging was simple, emotional, and avoided specific policies or positions at all costs.

On the other side of the spectrum was Change UK. Despite positioning themselves as the digital-savvy campaign and spending more than £100,000 on 1,000 Facebook ads in the week before the vote, Change UK generated the fewest Facebook shares of any UK-wide party. They also trailed on Twitter and their party leaders struggled to cut through the noise.

We dug deep into the Facebook campaigns of The Brexit Party and Change UK to quantify the key messages they prioritised and figure out why they differed so greatly in their impact. The two parties were both big on slogans and small on policy, both used Labour as a punching bag, and both rarely discussed the tangible benefit of their position (leave vs. remain) to the UK. Despite this, The Brexit Party generate more than 45 times as many shares through simpler, stronger, more prolific messaging and a deeper understanding of their audience.

When we analysed The Brexit Party's Facebook Ads strategy, we found a campaign that was overwhelmingly negative, that focused 39% of all ads on attacking Labour, that vastly prioritised older Facebook over 18-24-year-olds, and that largely ignored residents of Scotland and Northern Ireland.

So where does this leave us?

It remains unclear if there is any correlation between social media success and performance at the polls; The Brexit Party led in both categories and Change UK ranked last in both categories, but the similarities end there. UKIP, despite performing strongly on social, were unable to turn that popularity into votes. The Lib Dems' surge in voters was similarly not reflected on social media either. Performance on social media can thus be thought of as a potential indicator of support, but should not be taken on its own.

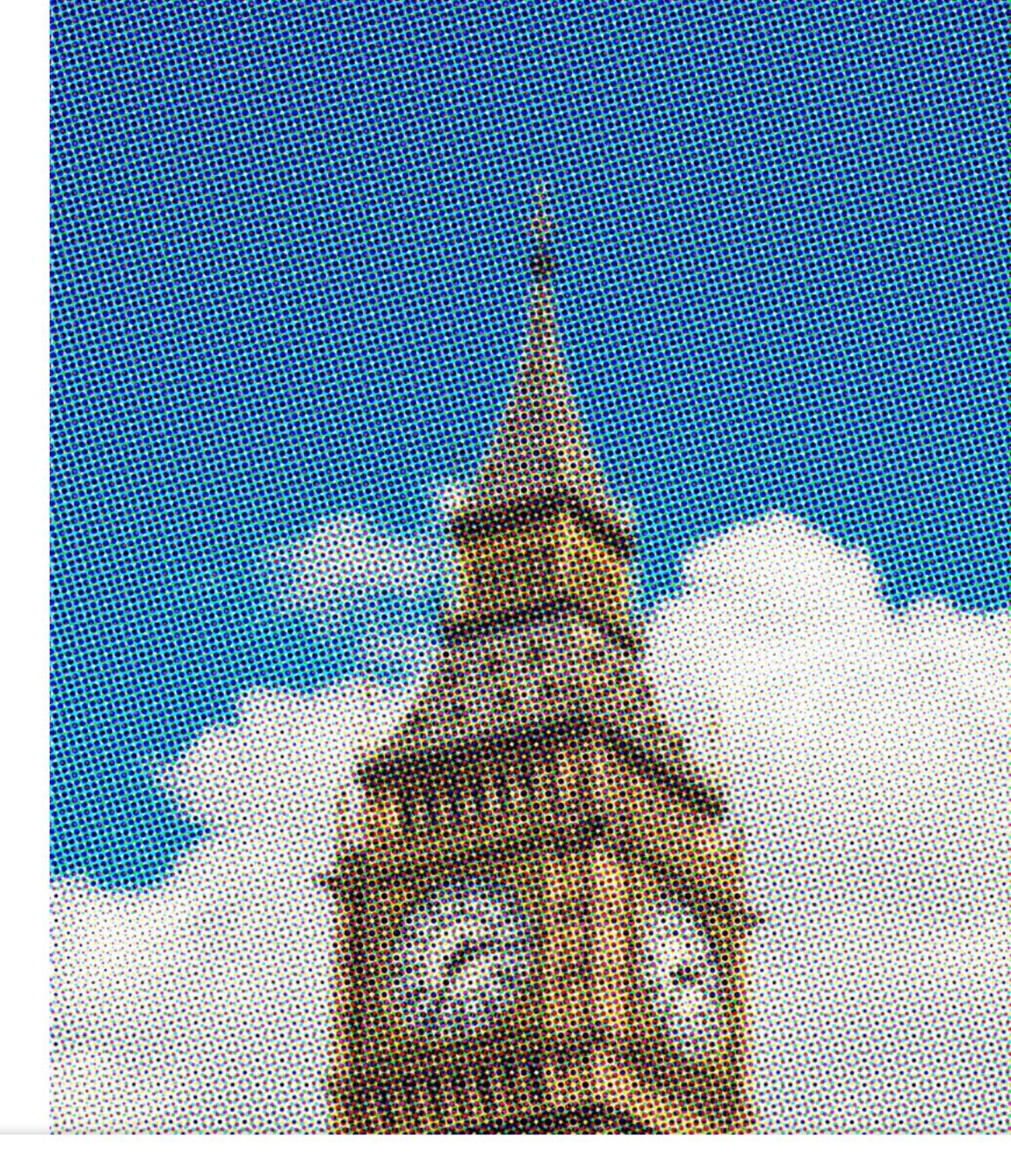
Any way you look at it, Pro-Brexit messaging from The Brexit Party and UKIP vastly outperformed all other messaging. Our findings should raise questions about why populist messages perform so much better on Facebook and Twitter, and whether social media is a level playing field in politics. Do they truly appeal to a larger number of people? Are their audiences inherently more engaged? Or do such messages receive disproportionate support from the algorithms that determine what we see in our feeds?



Key Findings 1:

Performance of parties

- Parties which advocated for a no-deal or "hard" Brexit (TBP and UKIP) performed best on Facebook and Twitter
- The Brexit Party generated the most shares, the most comments, and added the greatest number of followers. Despite only producing 13% of all posts by parties on Facebook and Twitter, they generated 51% of shares
- Labour generated the 3rd greatest number of shares on Facebook and the 2nd greatest number of shares on Twitter. However, their top-performing content was not related to Brexit or the EU election. They gained just 421 new Facebook followers during the election campaign.
- Conservatives massively underperformed on social. Labour generated 2.8X as many Facebook shares as the Conservatives; The Brexit Party generated 12X as many. On Twitter, they generated fewer retweets than any other UK-wide party. They were the only traditional party to lose Facebook followers during the EU election campaign. Like Labour, none of their top-performing content was about Brexit or the EU election.
- SNP generated more shares on Facebook than Conservatives, Greens, LibDems, and Change UK, and more shares on Twitter than Change UK or Conservatives.
- There is a mismatch between LibDem's performance on social and LibDem's performance at the polls.





Key Findings 2:

The Brexit Party

In reviewing 212 Facebook posts, we observed that

- The Brexit Party at no point articulated their position on Brexit
- Labour was the clear target of attacks. 10% of posts were attacking Labour/Corbyn/Adonis, while 3% of posts were attacking Tories/May. Change UK was only mentioned once and LibDems/Greens were not mentioned at all.
- 26% of posts were promoting rallies or events these were the clear focus
- "Protecting democracy" was the central theme of their campaign. At least 17% of all posts focused on this message.
- We found no posts about specific policy issues. There was nothing on climate change, the environment, immigration, or refugees. For comparison, Labour posted about climate change at least 10 times and Conservatives posted about climate change at least 5 times.

- The only community specifically mentioned in any promotion were fisherpeople. Even they were only mentioned once.
- This was an overwhelmingly negative campaign. Only 2% of posts (4 in total) framed Brexit as an opportunity. Only one post shared positive news (by The Sun) about The Brexit Party. At least twice as many posts talked about Britain being humiliated.

In reviewing 113 Facebook ads, we found that:

- Labour was the primary target of The Brexit Party's Facebook ads. 38.9% of all ads (44 total) were anti-Labour. 27% of these (12 total) were targeting Lord Adonis. These ads were often hyper-local and targeted to constituencies with remain-supporting Labour MPs or MEPs
- 15.9% of ads were used to raise awareness of campaign rallies. These ads were predominantly targeted to older voters, with just one ad targeted to people under 35.

The role of social media platforms

Relationship between social media performance and election performance is unclear

- UKIP performed well on social, but terrible in the polls
- LibDem were okay on social, but great in the polls

Clear evidence that extreme views flourish on Facebook and Twitter

Lessons for future elections

• Strong performance on social in a previous election doesn't guarantee strong performance in the next election

Understand what your audience cares about and

- focus on those issues. Everything else is a distraction
- Know who your foil is
- Keep messaging clear and concise
- It's not about how much money you spend, it's about how you spend it

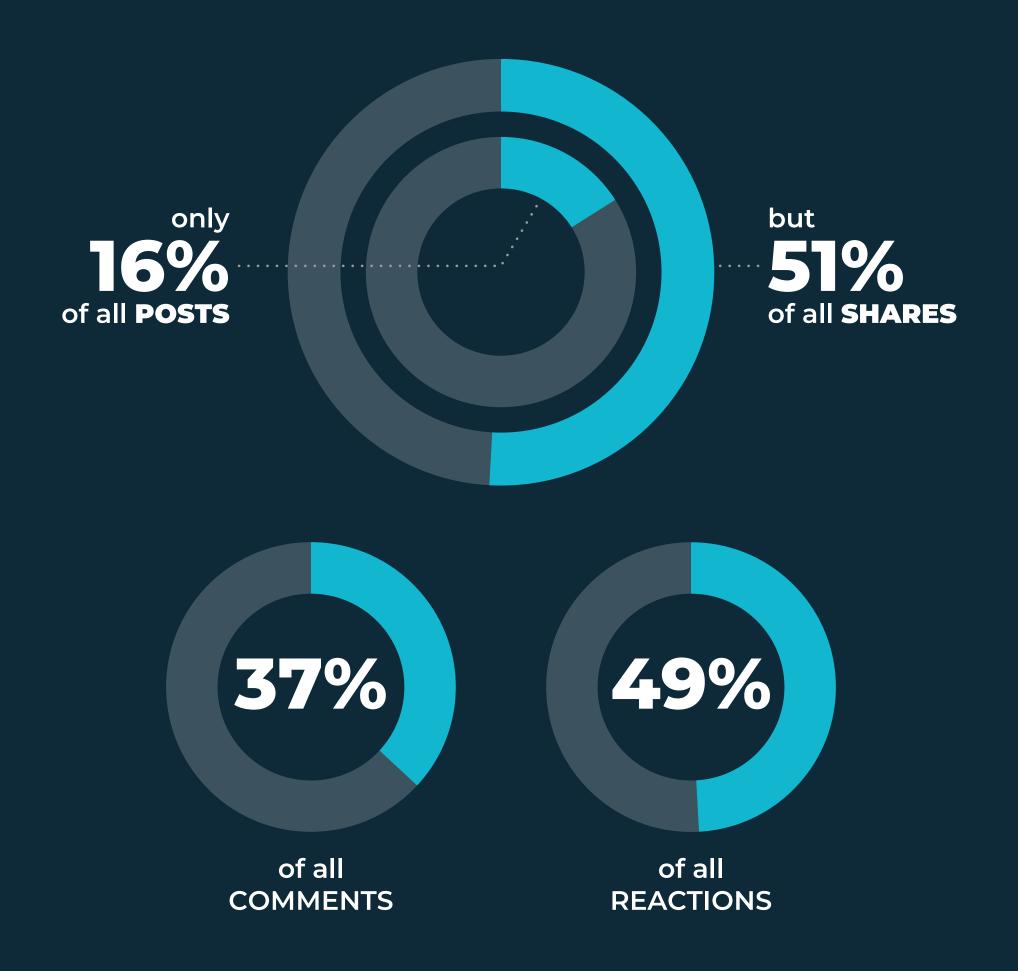


Part 3:

Impact on Facebook

Compared to all UK political parties on Facebook

The Brexit Party was responsible for:





Overall performance on Facebook

The Brexit Party was the undisputed winner on Facebook during the EU election campaign. From the 5th of April to the 23rd of May, they gained more followers than every other party combined, generated more shares than any other party, attracted more comments than any other party, and elicited more reactions than any other party.

UKIP placed second in terms of shares, comments, and reactions. However, over the election period they actually lost followers.

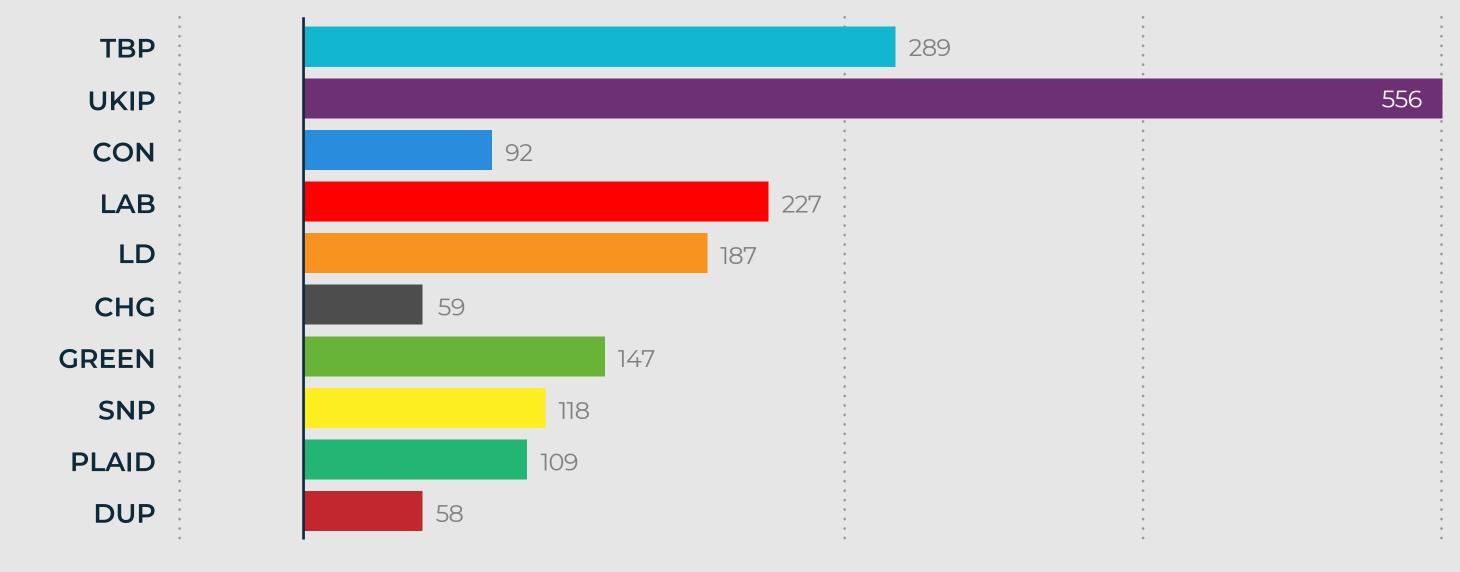
Labour placed third, generating less than a third the number of shares that The Brexit Party did.

Change UK had the weakest performance out of all the UK-wide political parties, generating roughly as many shares as Plaid Cymru.

TOTAL FOLLOWER GAIN



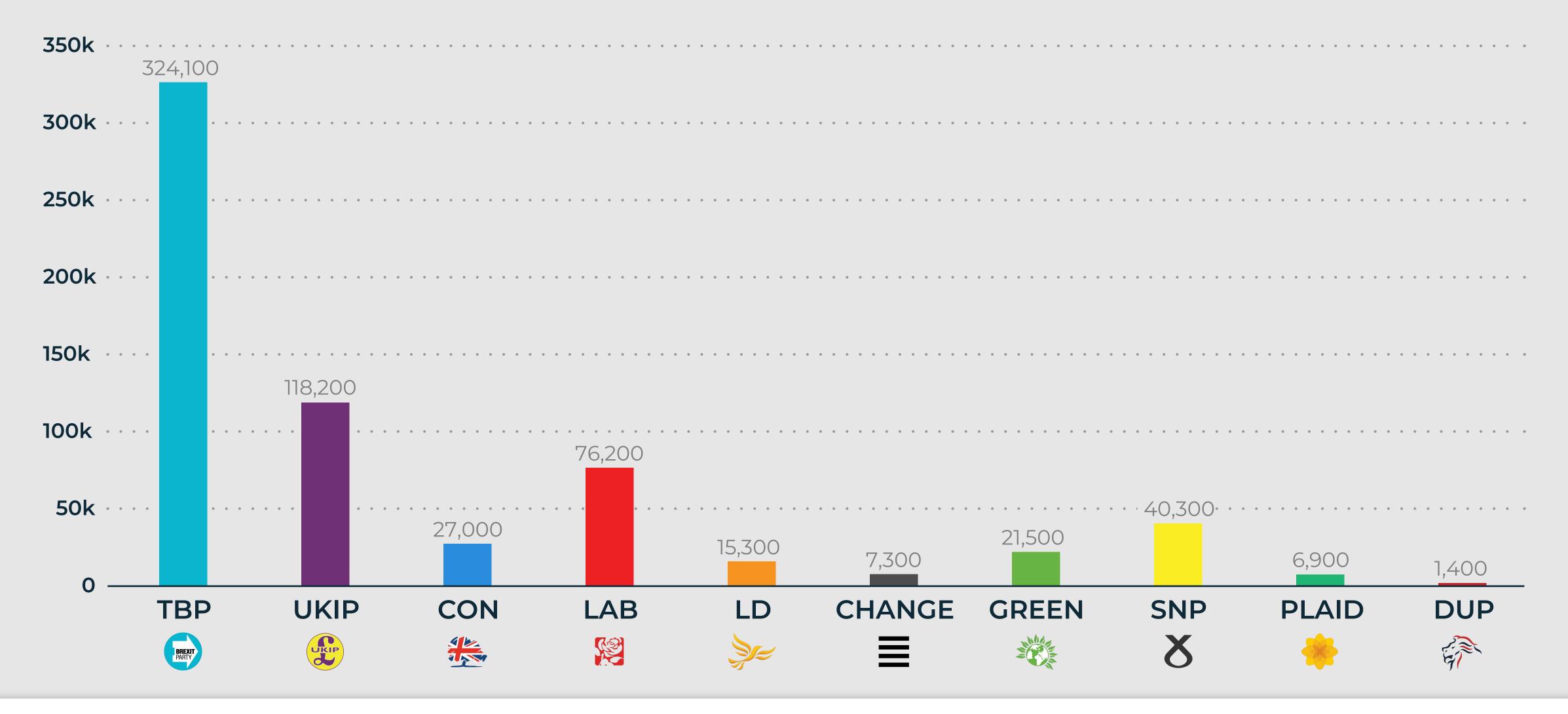
TOTAL NUMBER OF POSTS





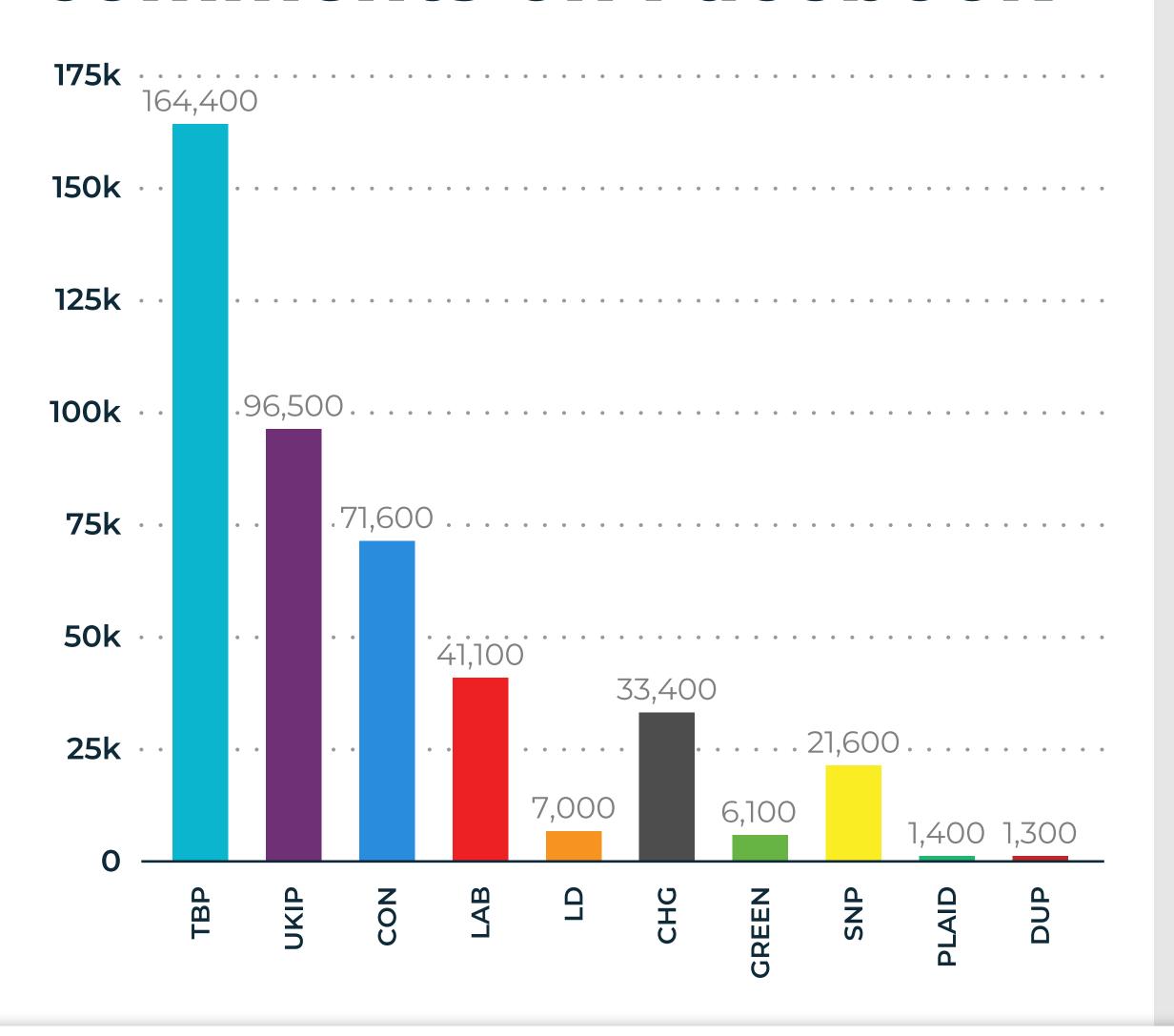
Total number of Facebook shares

5 April – 23 May 2019

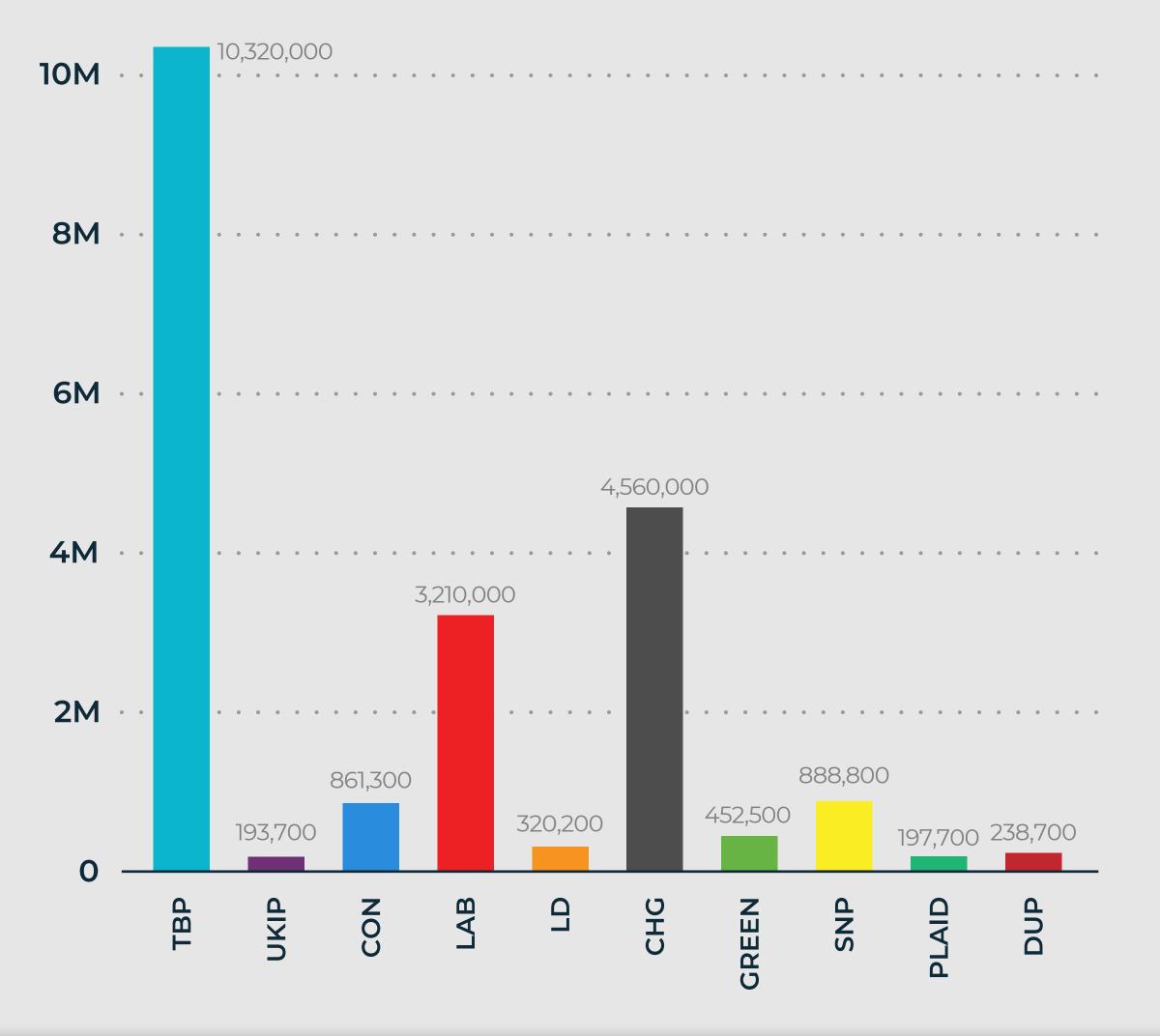




Total number of comments on Facebook



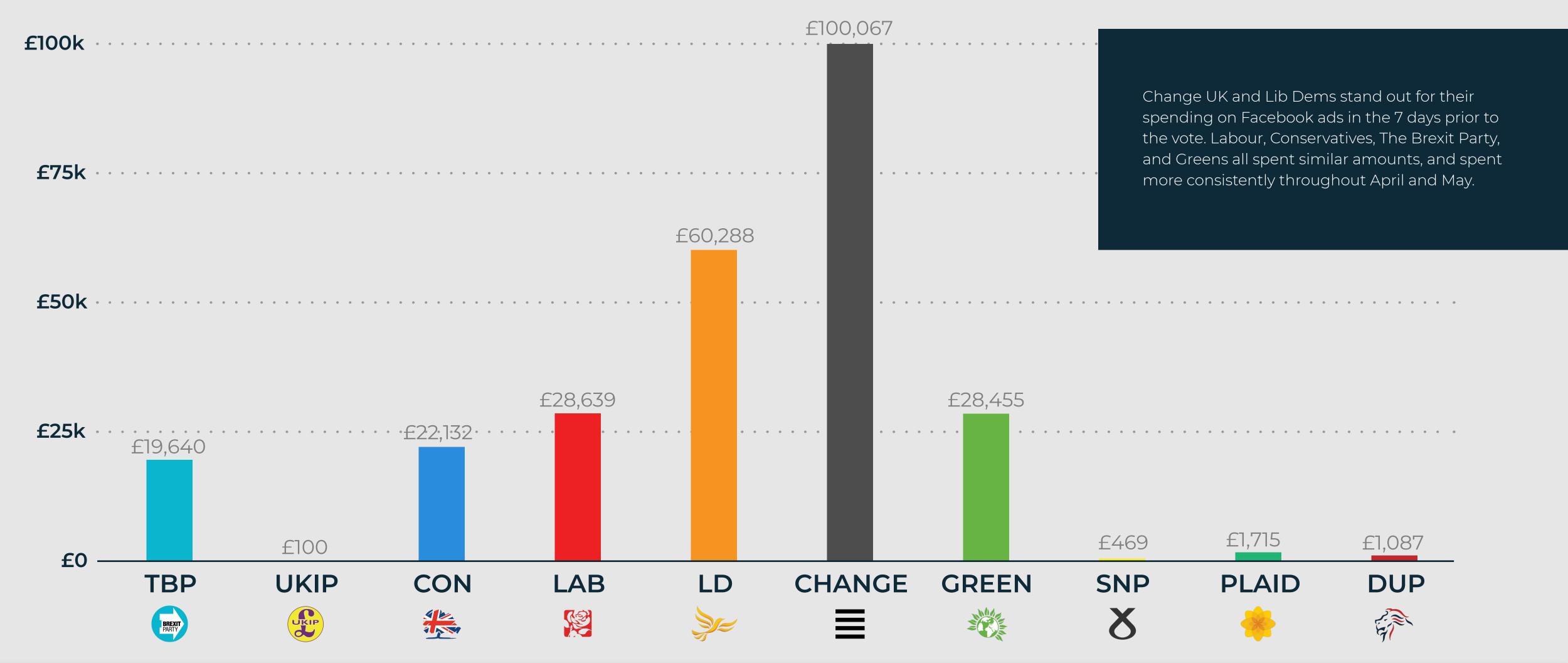
Total number of video views on Facebook





Facebook Ad Spend

15 May – 21 May 2019





Facebook users sharing party website URLs

In order to gauge interest in a party's website, we crawled a database of 1,500,000 Public Facebook Pages to see how many shares were generated when they linked to political party websites. We found that posts of linking to The Brexit Party's generated 125,035 shares. Posts of pages on Conservative's website generated 26,400, UKIP (5,368), Labour (3,917), the Liberal Democrats (3,650), the Green Party (1,615) and Change UK (56).

Note: Shares from the 500 most recent post from Public Facebook Pages are included. Some posts from established parties such as Labour or UKIP fall before the EU election cycle. This suggests that The Brexit Party's lead is actually much greater.



TOTAL NUMBER PARTY WEBSITE URL SHARES





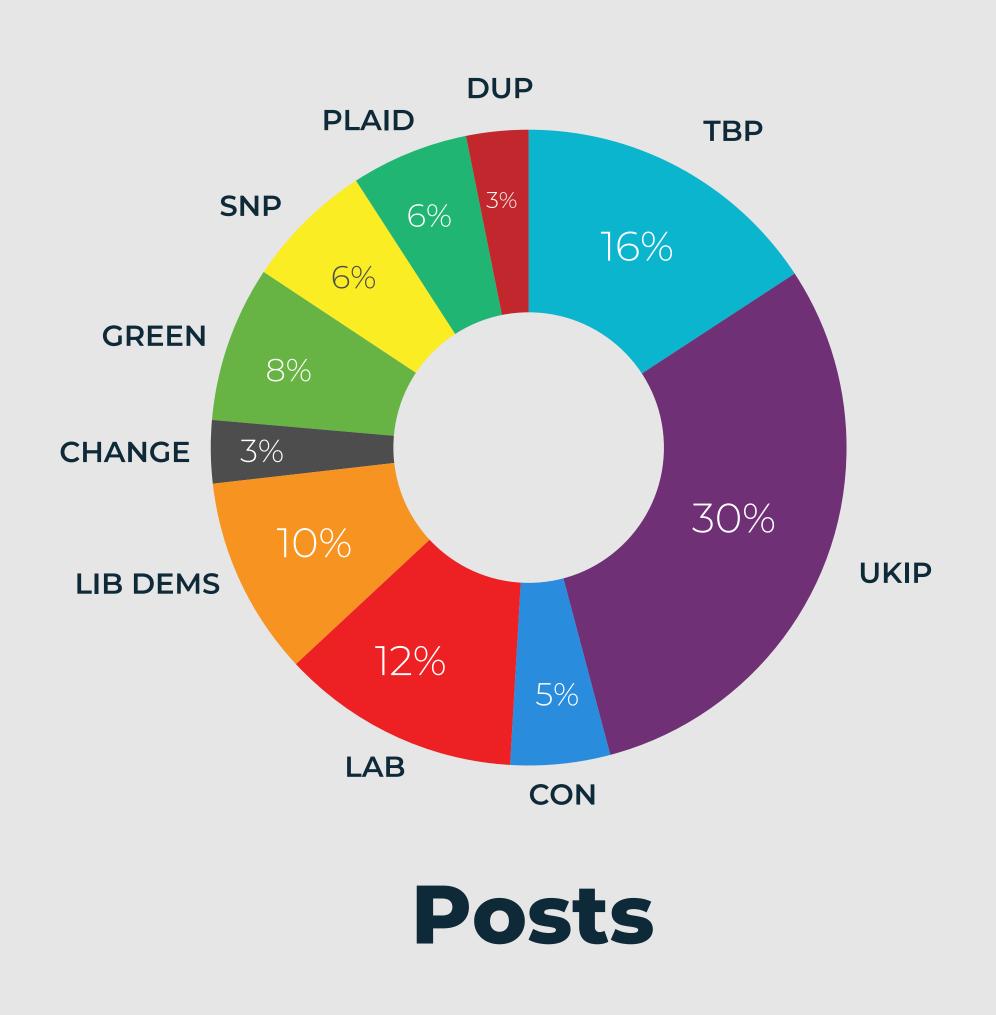
Mentions on Facebook

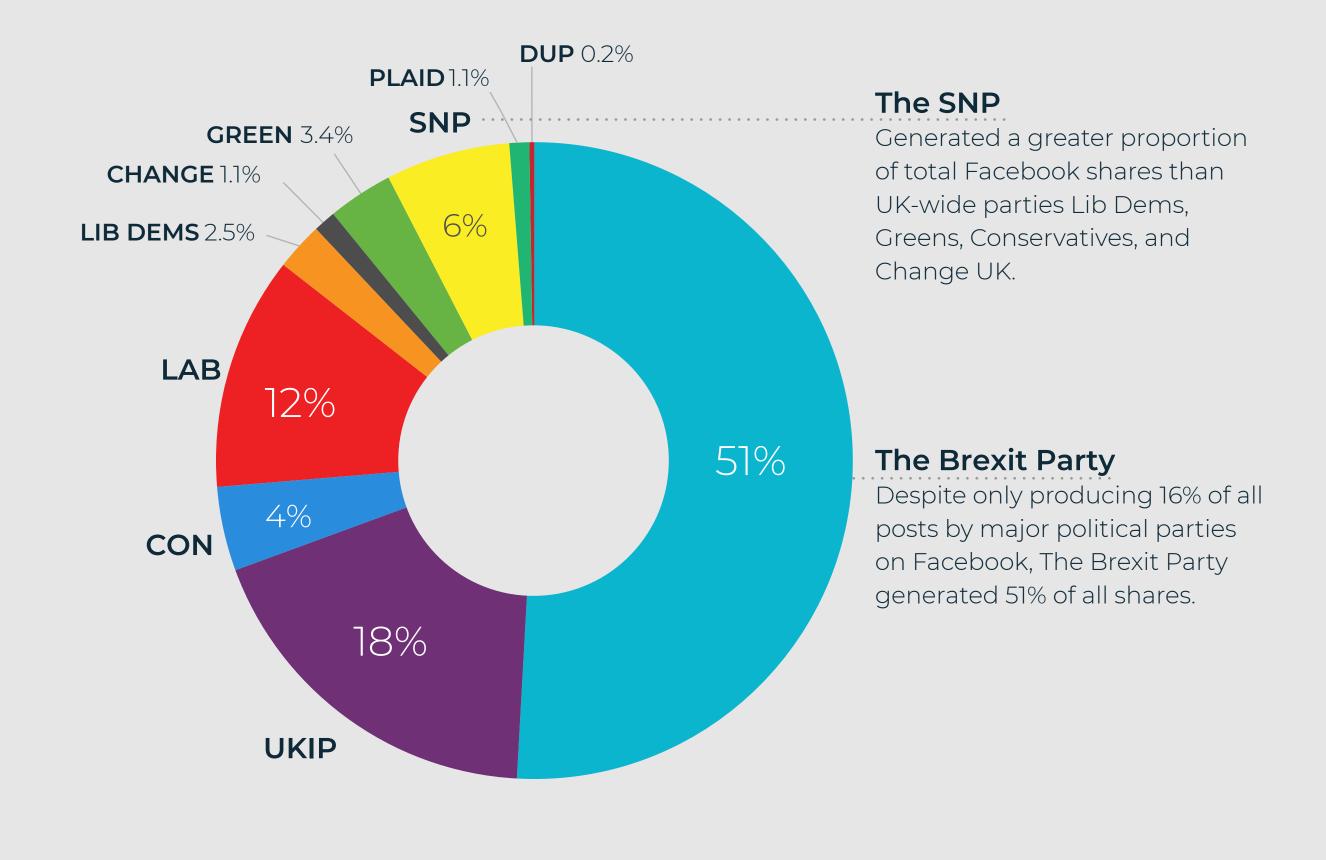
15,998 mentions of "Brexit Party" from public Facebook pages. **MOST ENGAGING MENTIONS FOR** Data includes positive AND negative mentions. **ALL PARTIES CAME FROM:** Jacob Rees Mogg: Supporters' group TBP BREXIT PARTY 15,998 I'M A BREXITEER These were overwhelmingly negative and often We support CON 🜦 mentioned **The Brexit Party** in the same post The Brexit Party LAB 🞉 6,975 Nigel Farage Mr Brexit Buy British for Brexit CHANGE = 2,386 LIB DEM



What stands out: Share of Voice

5 April – 23 May 2019



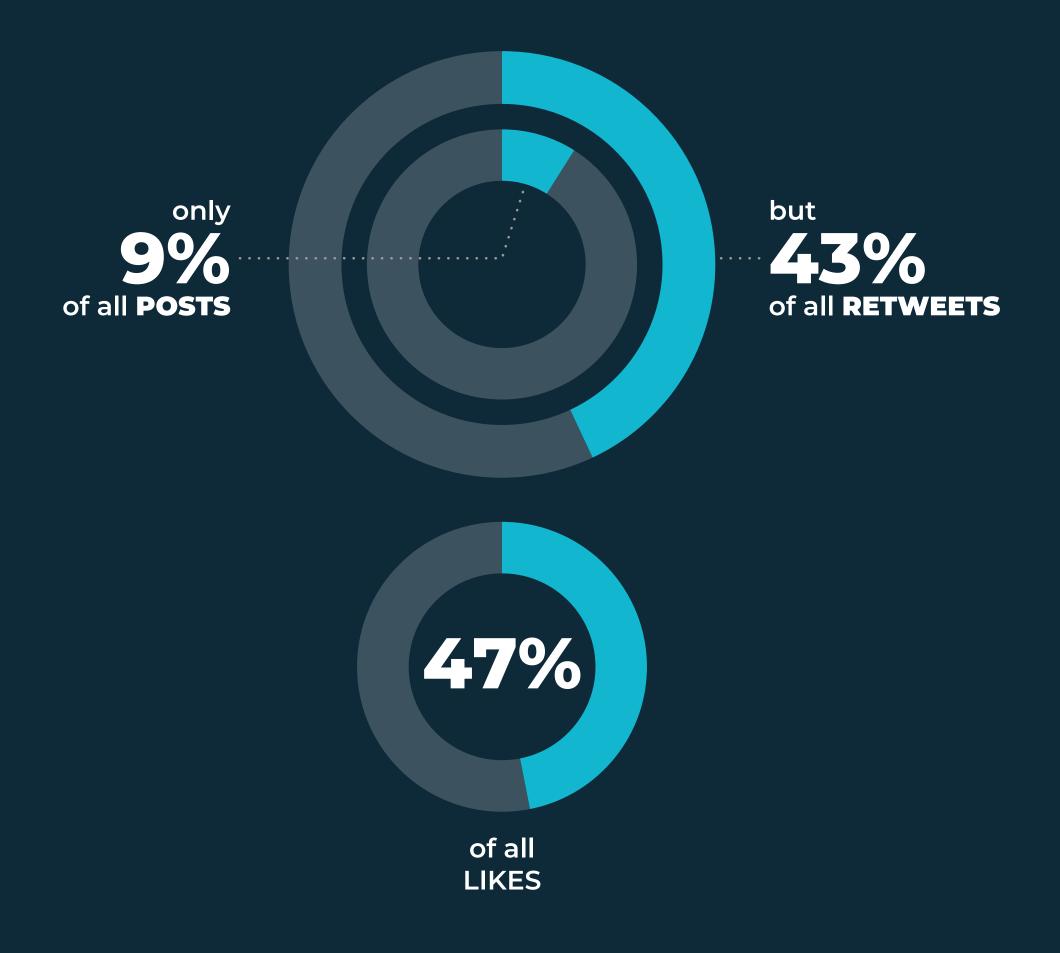


Shares



Part 4: Impact on Twitter

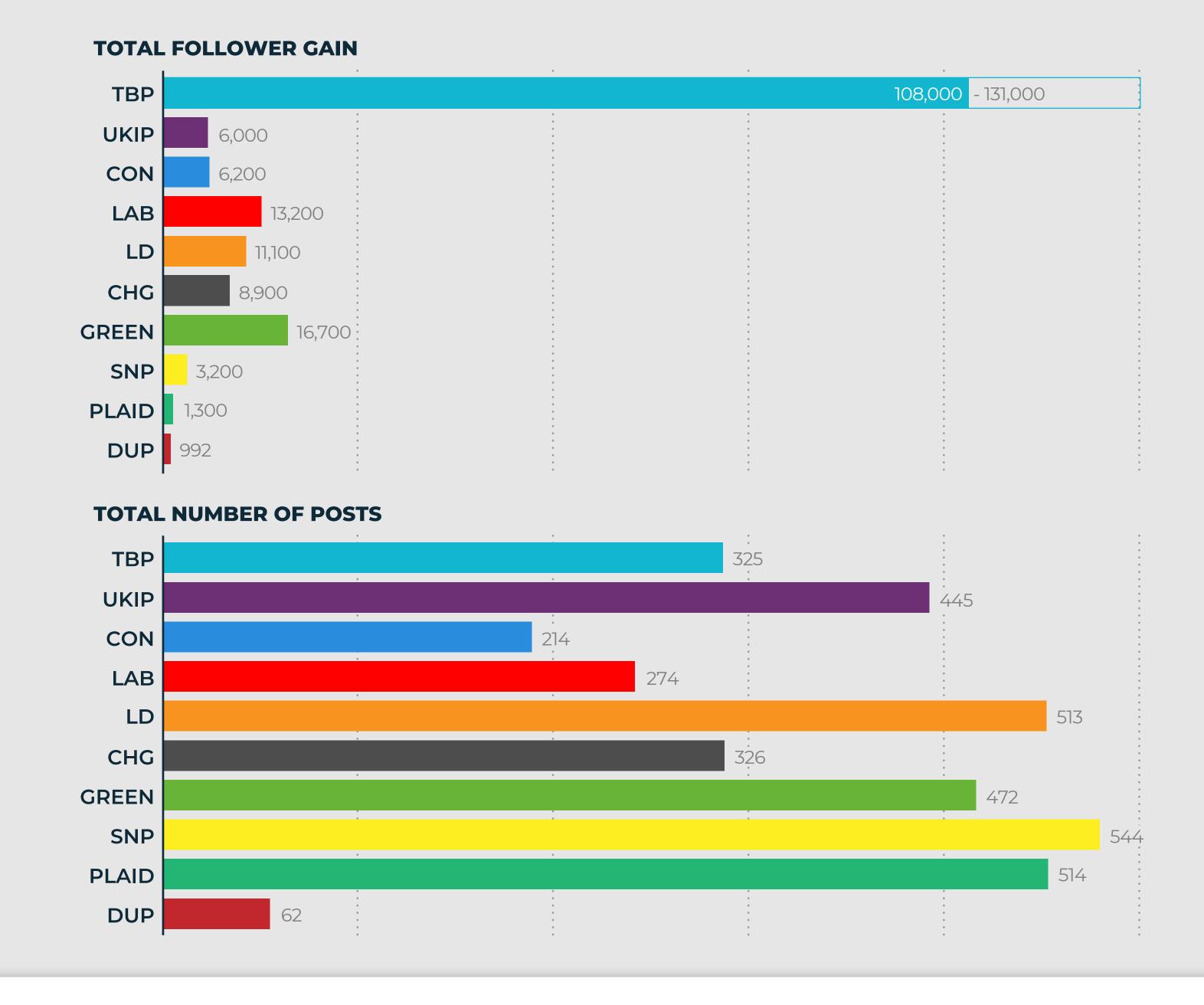
Compared to all UK political parties on Twitter The Brexit Party was responsible for:





Overall performance on Twitter

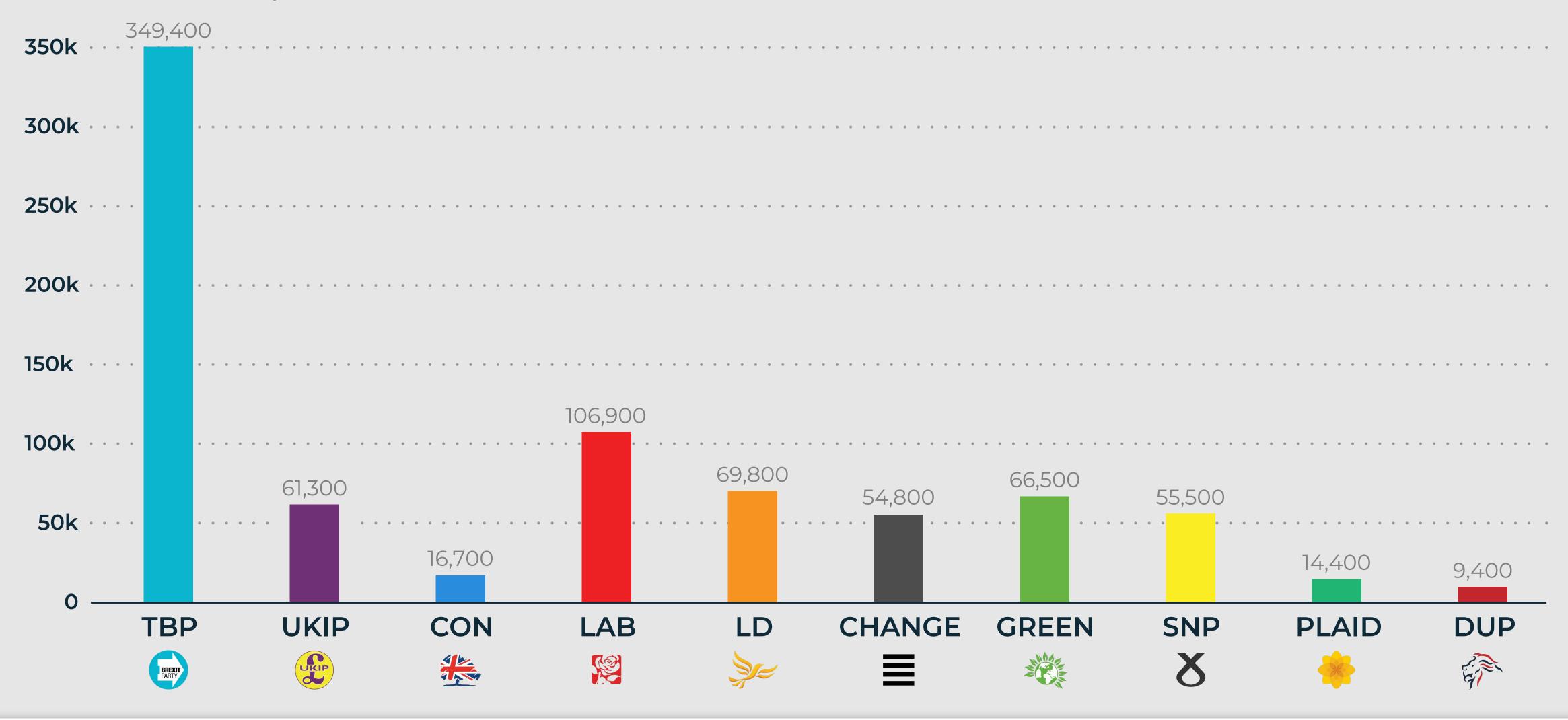
The Brexit Party also performed exceptionally strongly on Twitter. They gained more followers than every other party combined, generated more retweets than any other party, elicited more likes than any other party, and had an interaction rate (the average interactions per follower) that was an order of magnitude higher than any other party.





Total number of Twitter Retweets

21 March – 23 May 2019

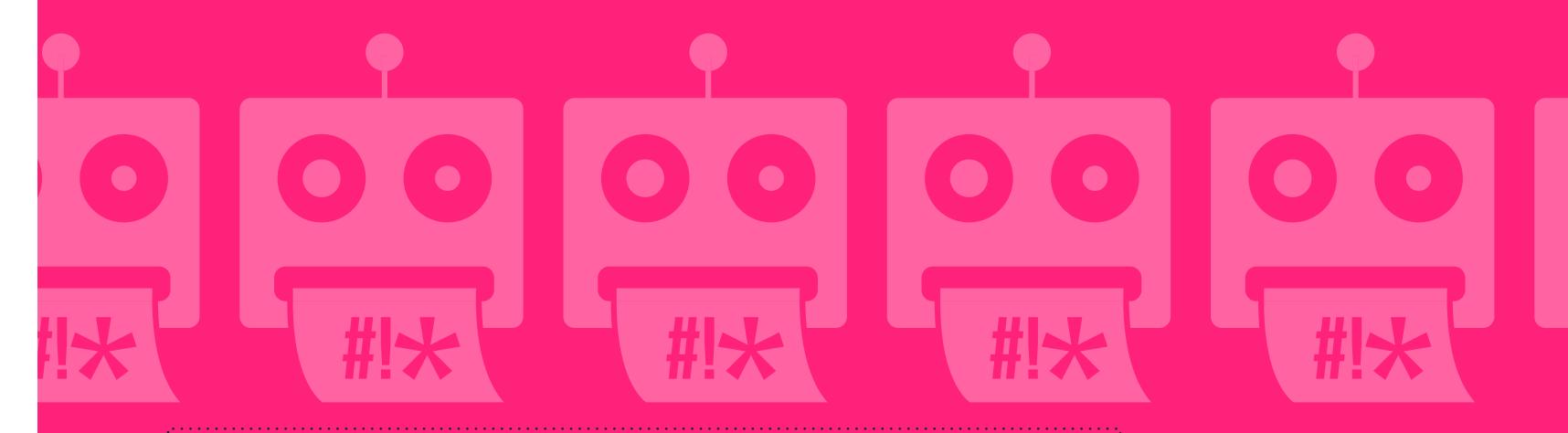




Suspected inauthentic behaviour

Over the course of our research, we uncovered dozens of pro-Brexit Party accounts with a high likelihood of being inauthentic. These accounts were all created relatively recently (most in March and April), had Brexit Party profile pictures, tweeted dozens to hundreds of times per day, posted almost exclusively about Brexit, and rarely posted original content, preferring to RT other peoples' posts instead. We were unable to quantify the scale of their impact or attribute their activity to a specific actor. There is no direct evidence to suggest that they have been bought by The Brexit Party to amplify content and the possibility remains that they were created by independent pro-Brexit actors.

According to cybersecurity firm F-Secure's Andy Patel, at least 8,800 followers of The Brexit Party exhibit inauthentic behaviour.





GO TO ARTICLE

Researchers Say Many Of The Brexit Party's Twitter Followers Aren't

High volumes. Short intervals. Odd times of day. Twitter thinks this is the online behaviour of regular

■ BuzzFeed News / REPORTING

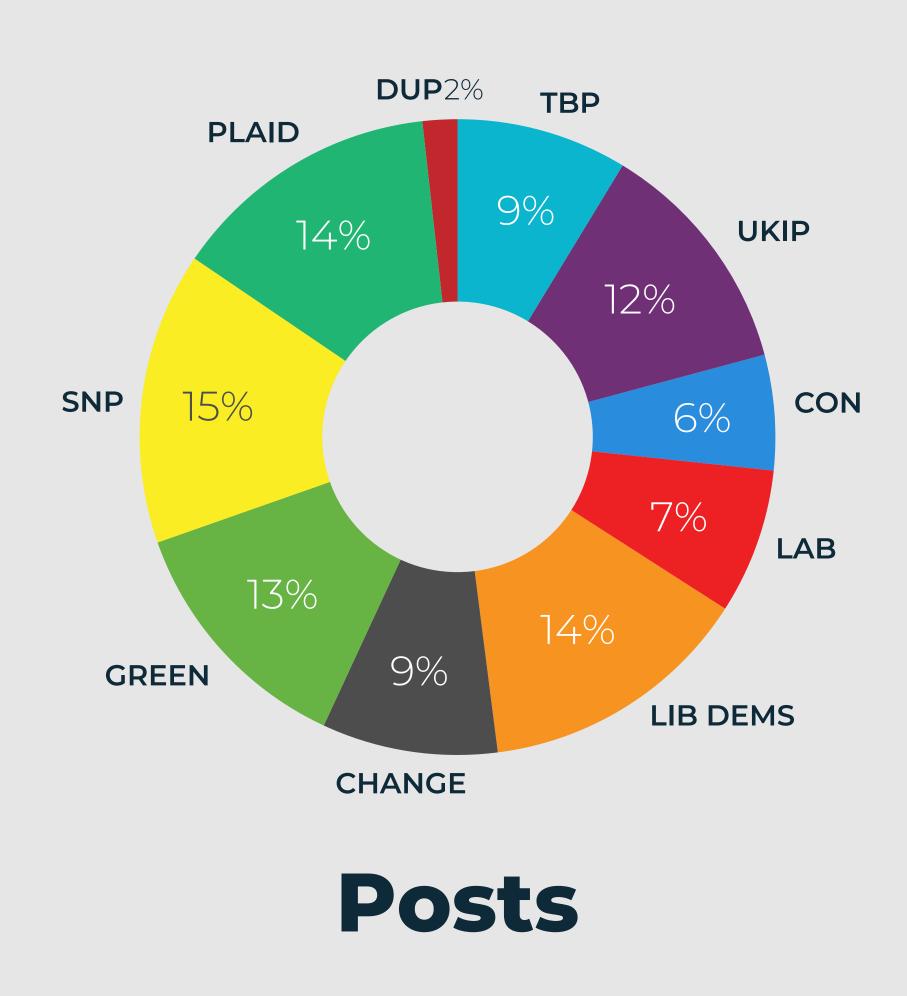
Behaving Like Genuine Voters

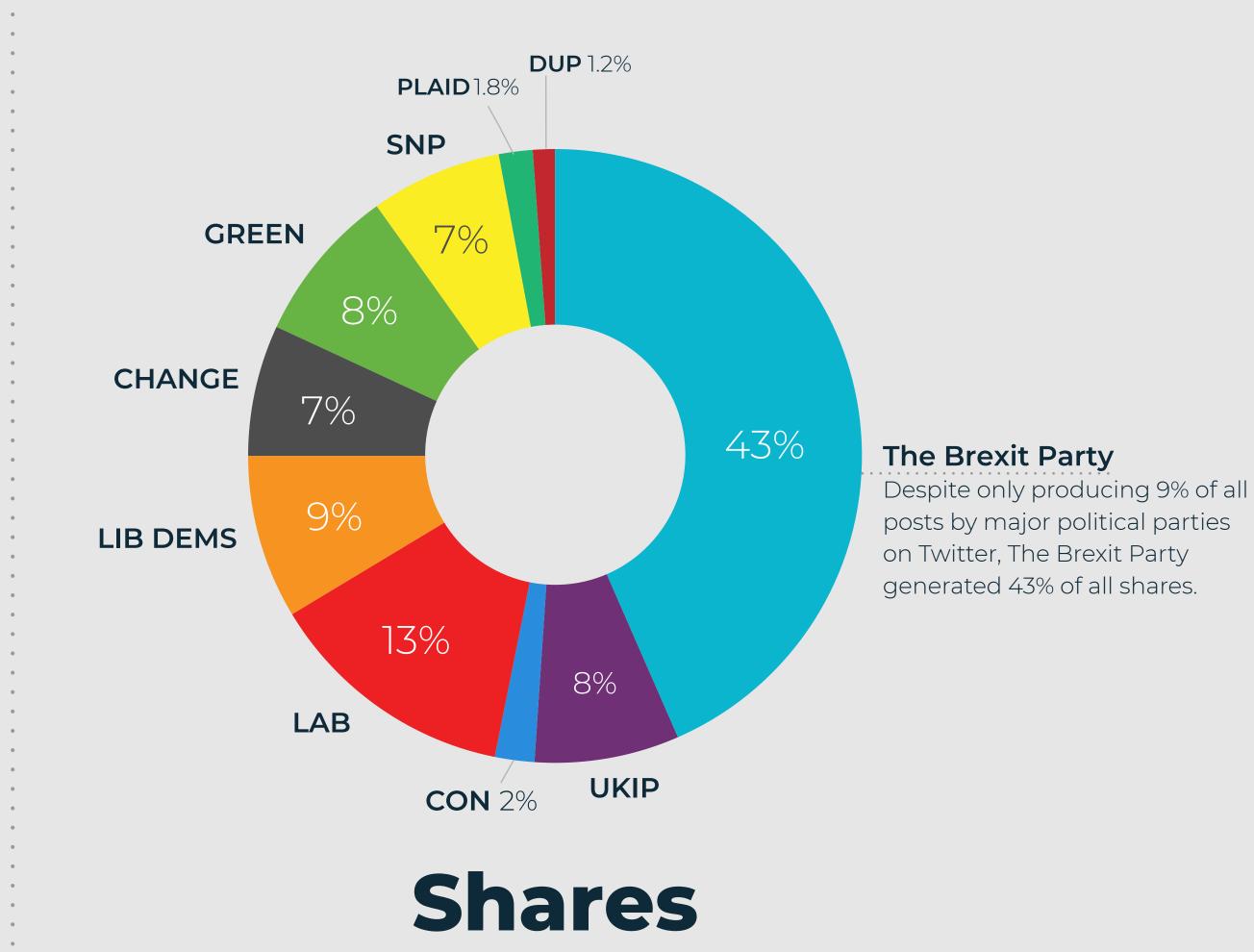
Posted on May 18, 2019, at 10:23 a.m.

buzzfeed.com/alexspence/nigel-farages-brexit-party-twitter-following

Share of voice on Twitter

21 March – 23 May 2019





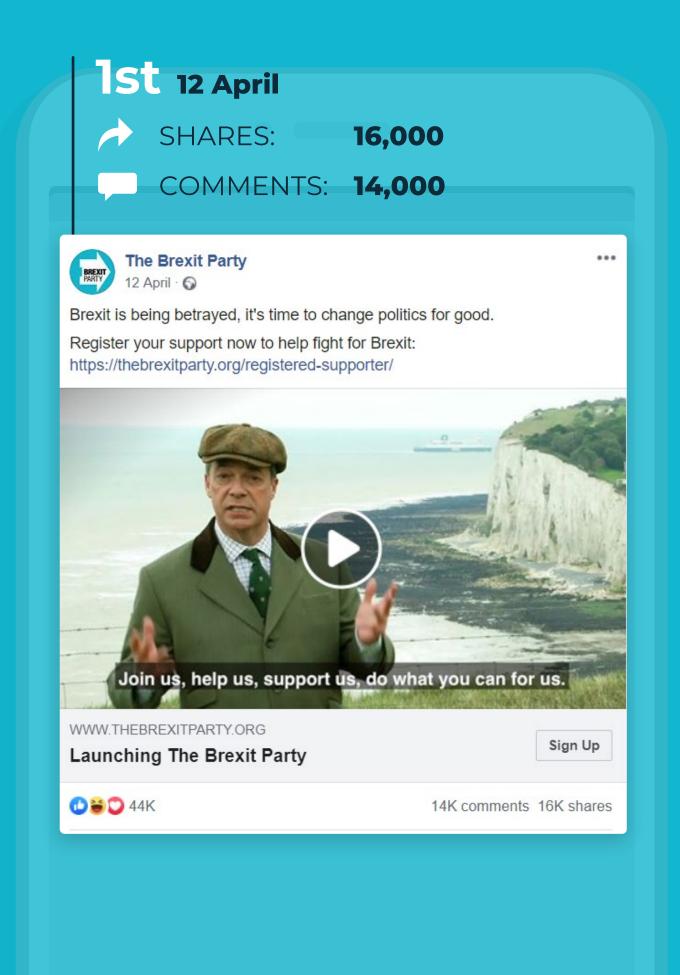
Part 5:

Top performing content

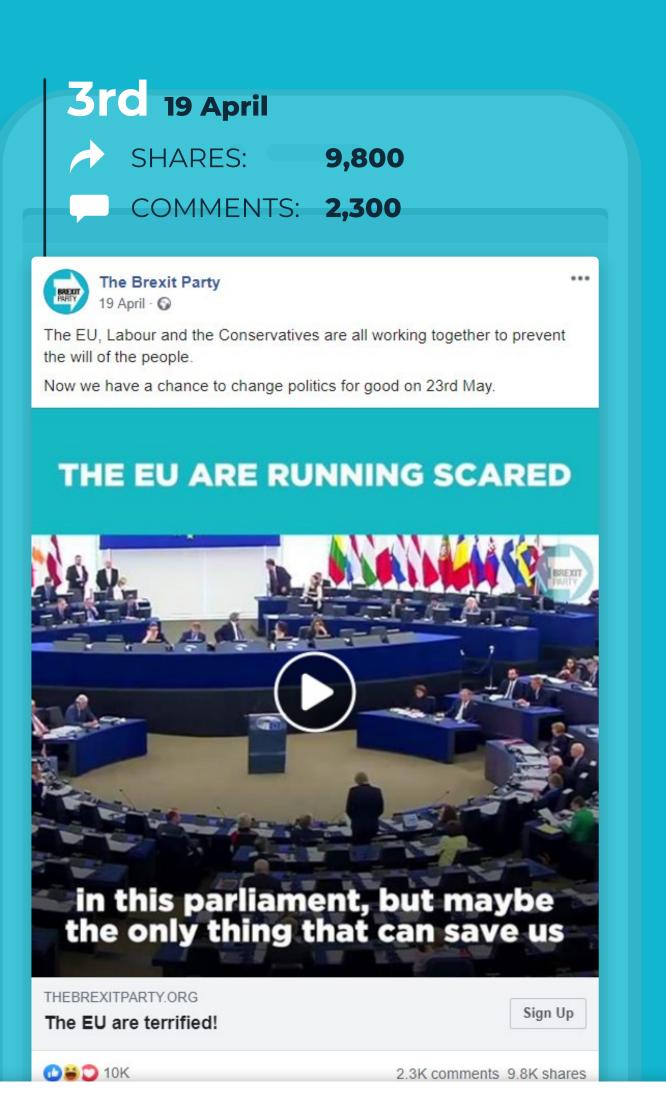




Top performing content: The Brexit Party

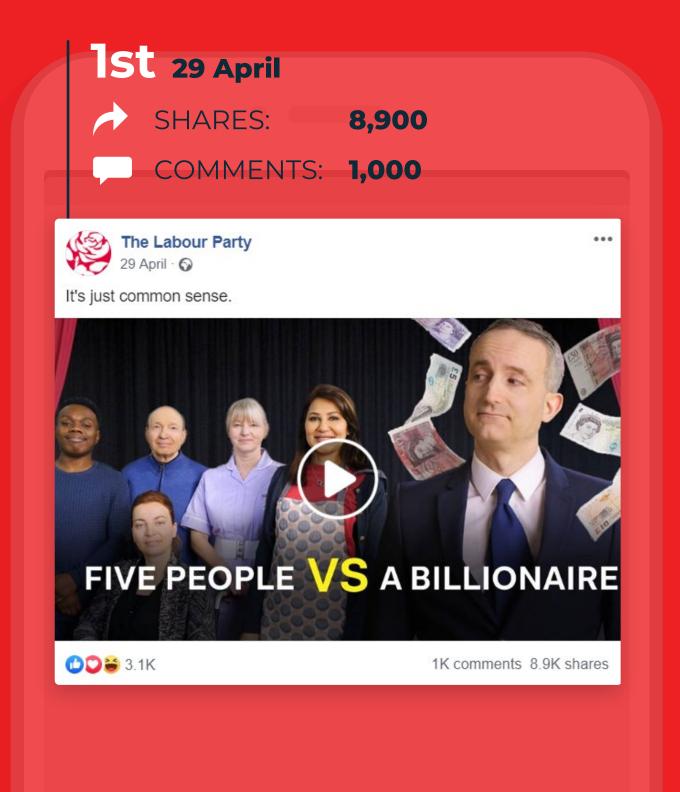








Top performing content: The Labour Party









Top performing content: Conservatives









Top performing content: Liberal Democrats

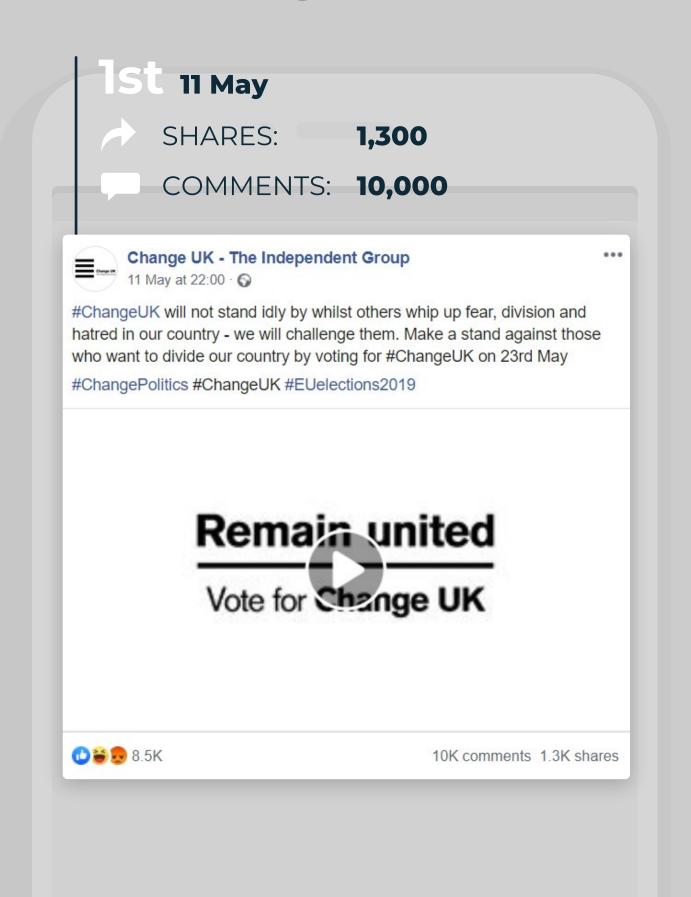


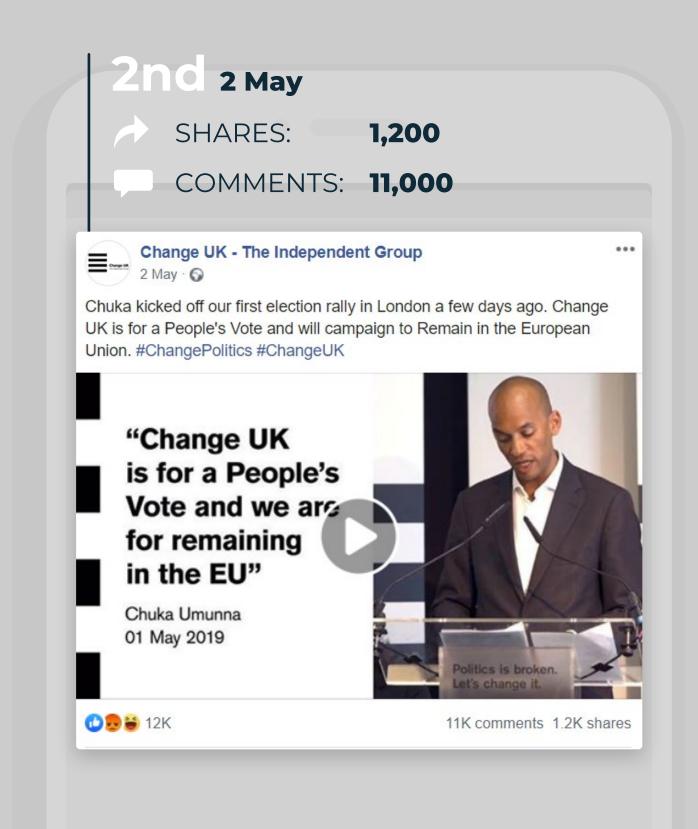


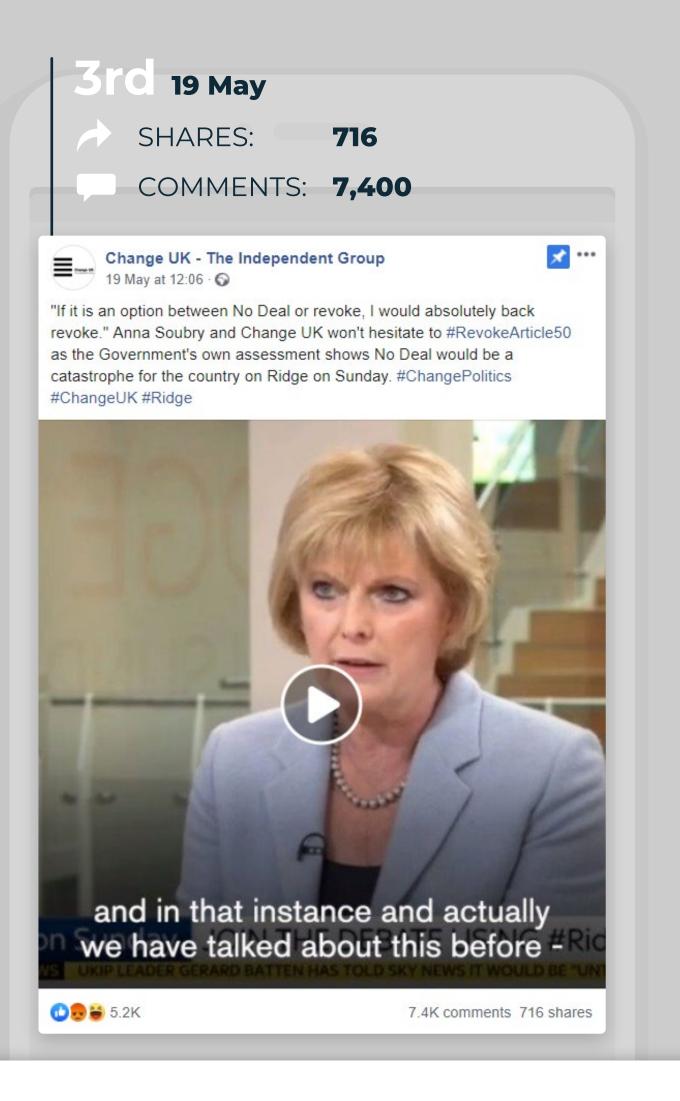




Top performing content: Change UK

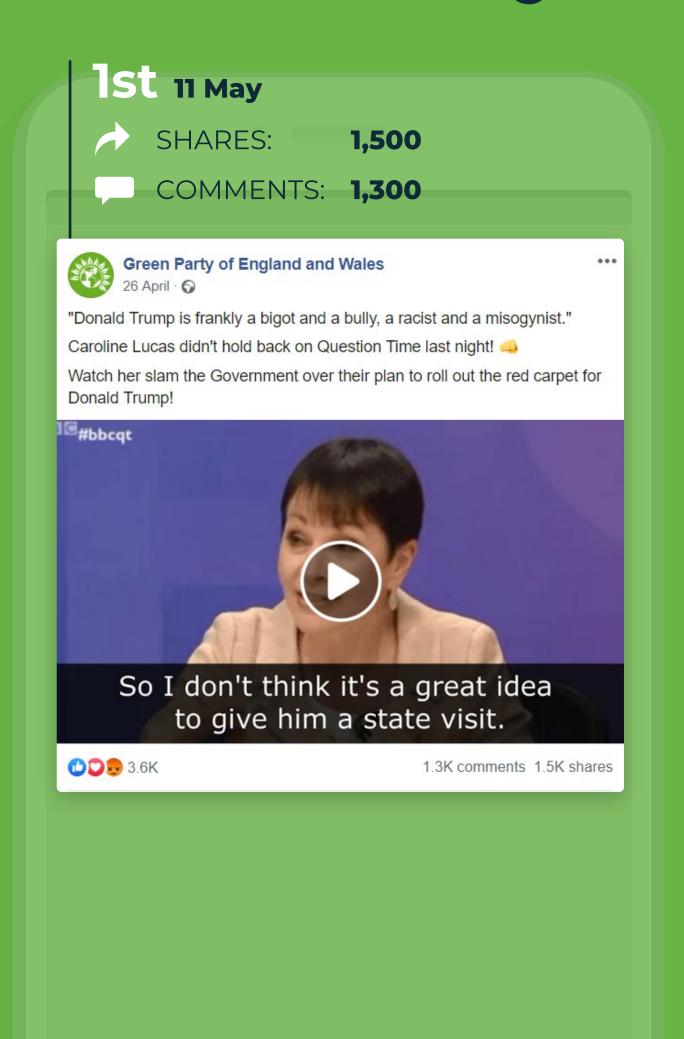








Top performing content: Green Party









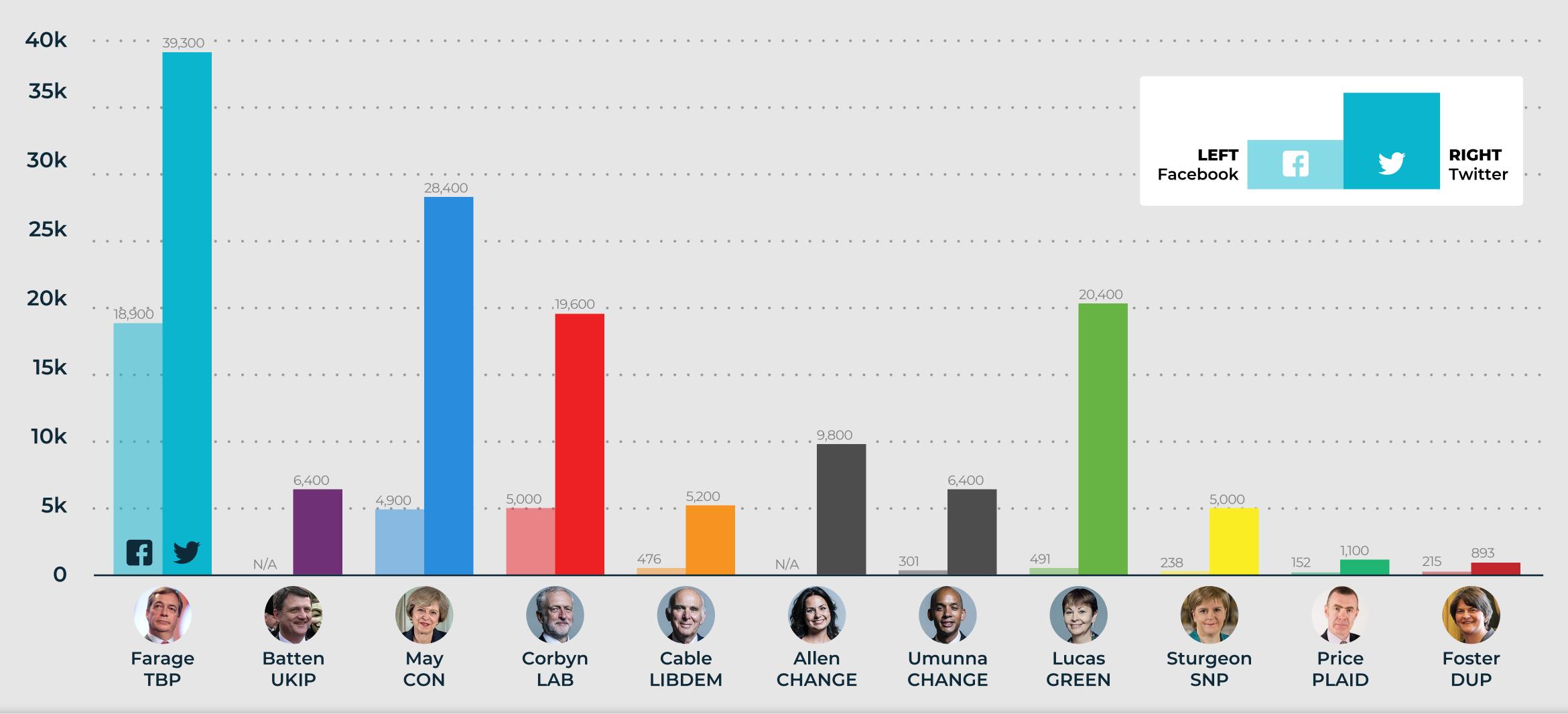
Part 6: Party leaders





Party leader follower gain

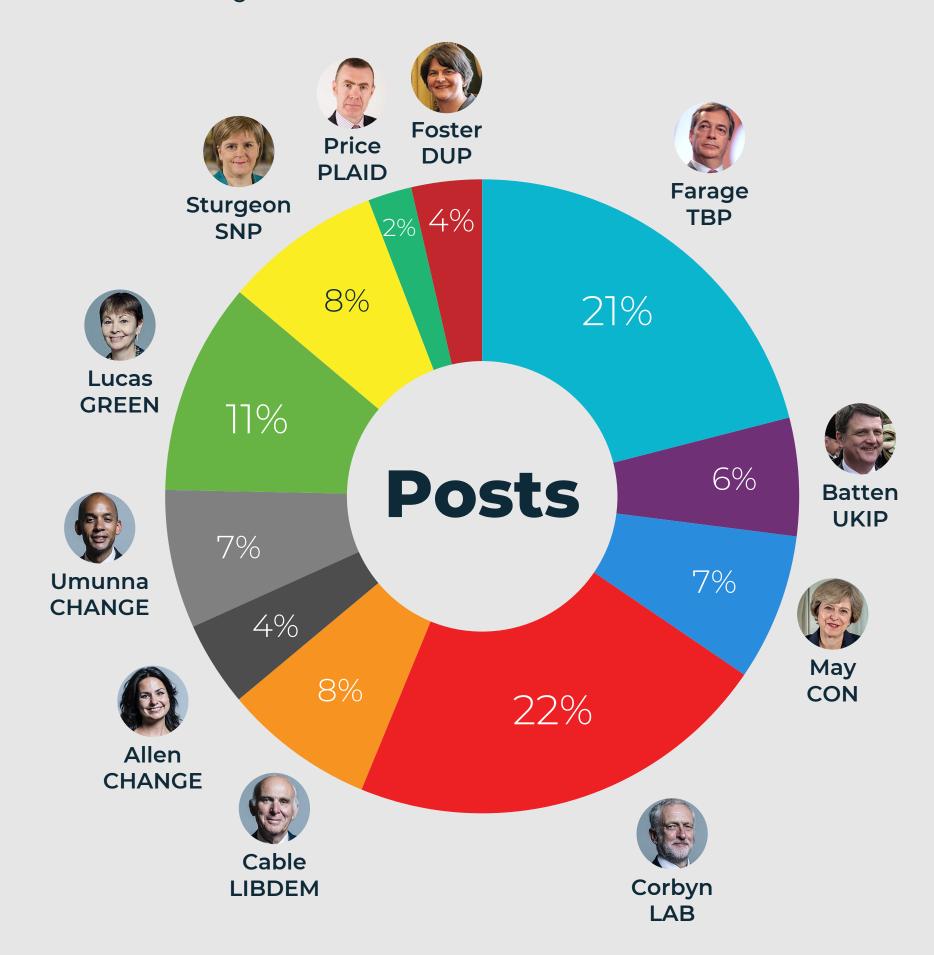
5 April – 23 May 2019

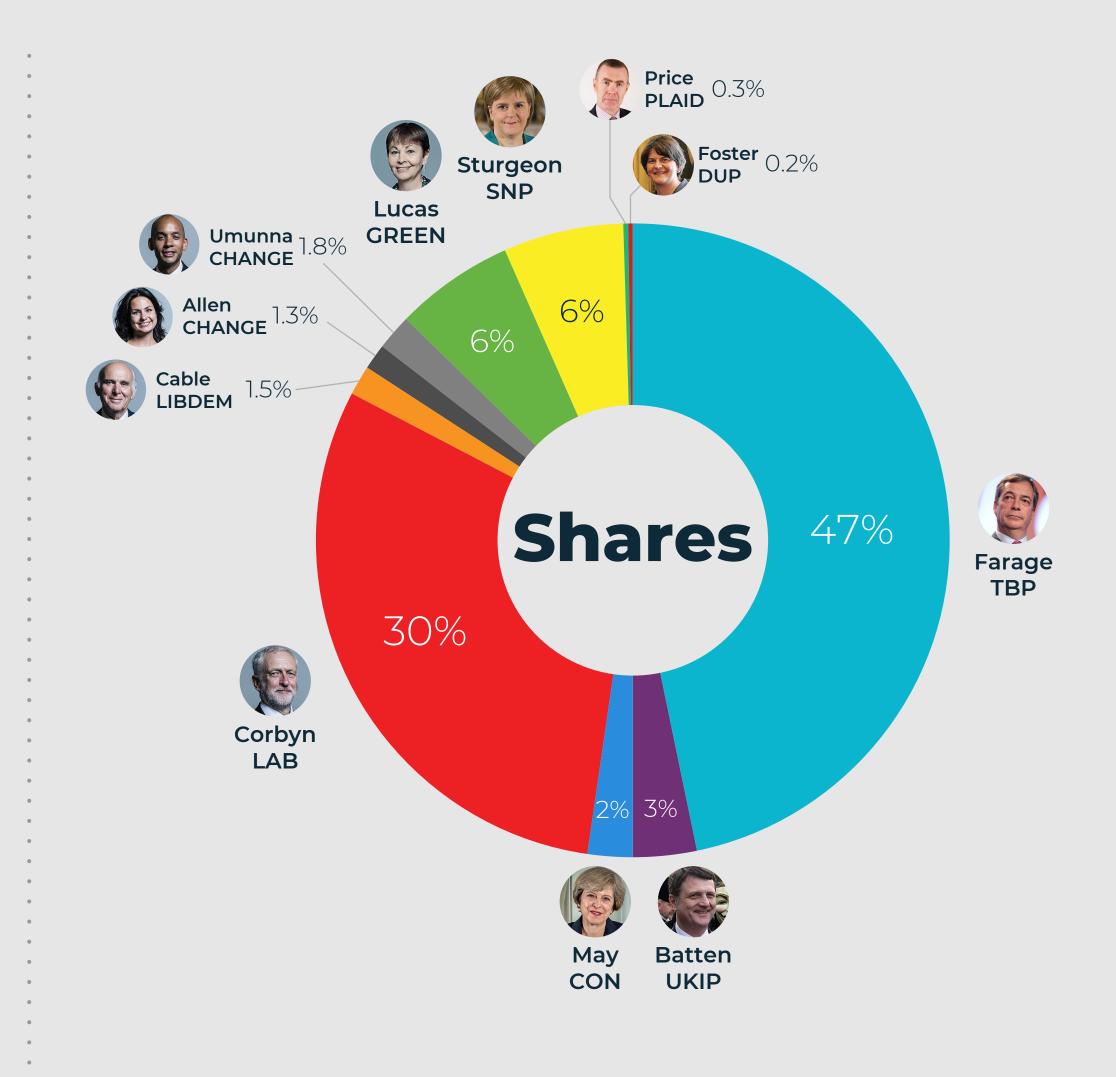




Share of voice on Facebook and Twitter

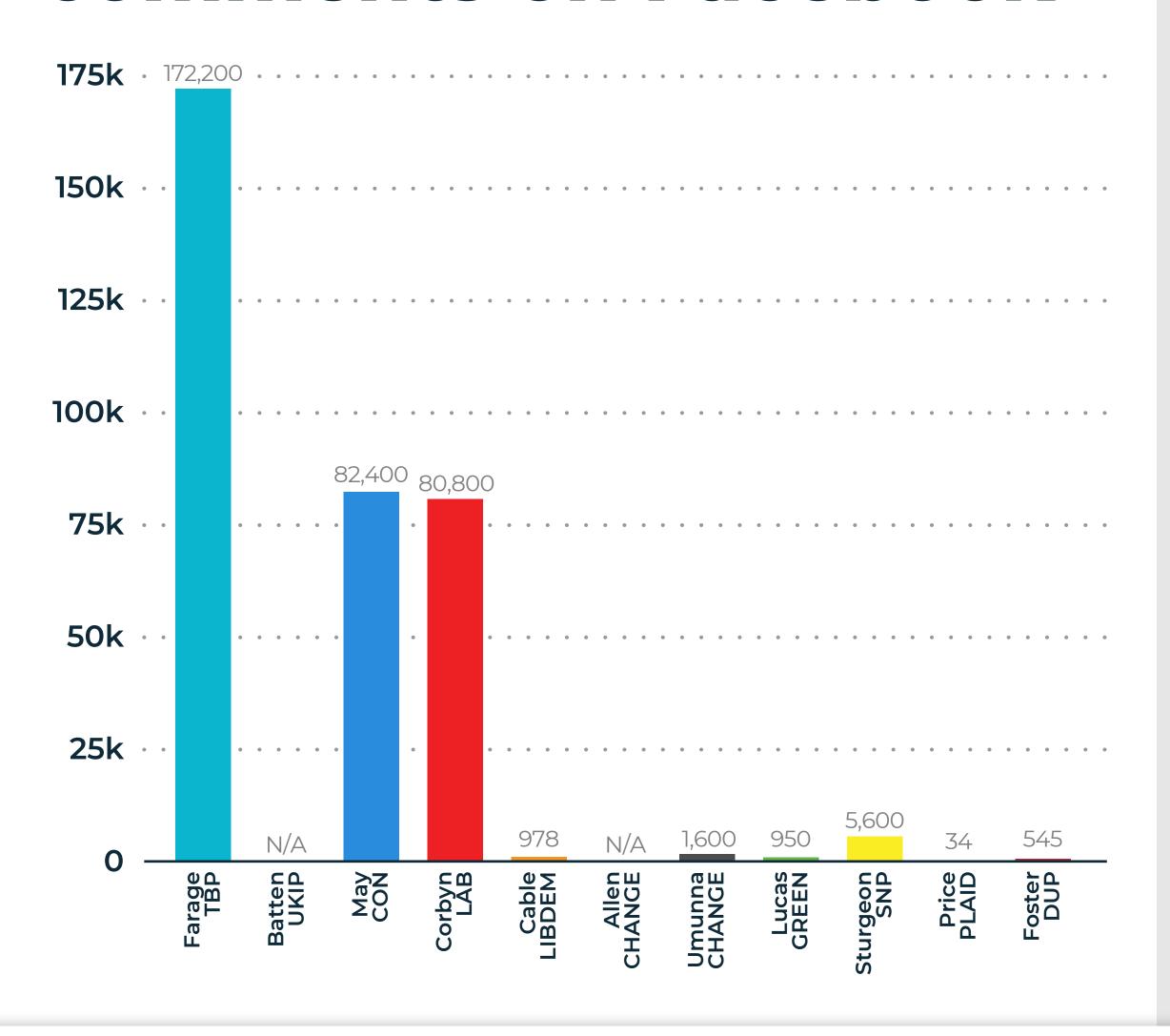
5 April – 23 May 2019



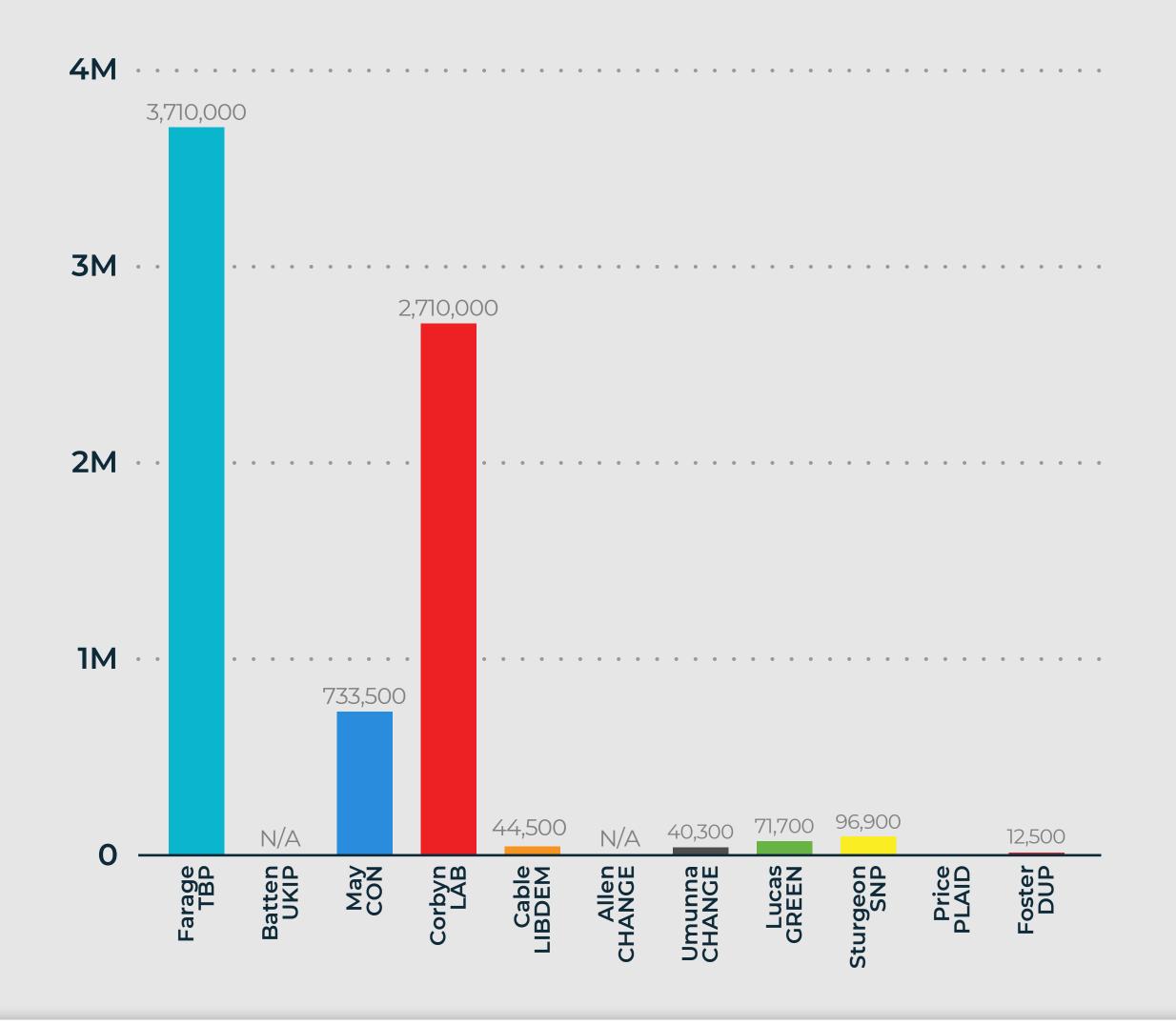




Total number of comments on Facebook



Total number of video views on Facebook

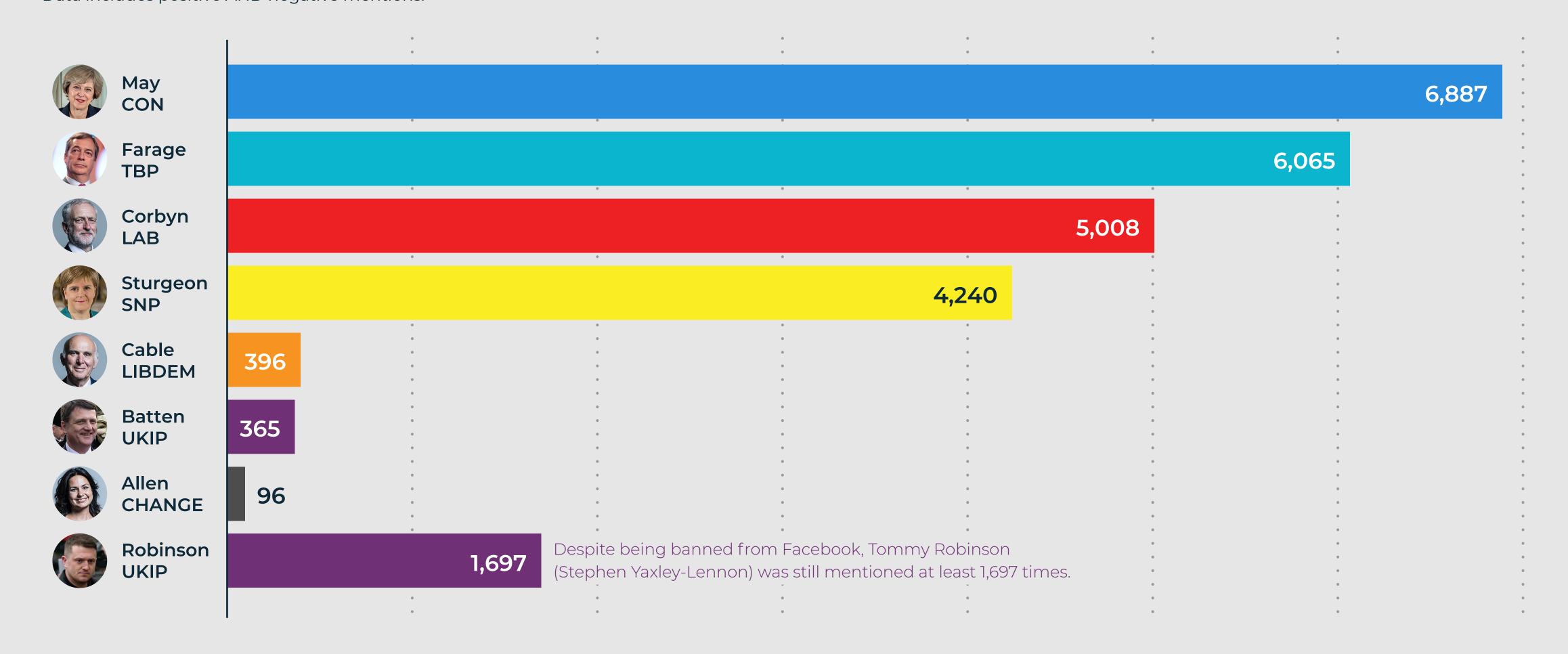




Mentions on Facebook

Theresa May was the most mentioned party leader during the election cycle (5 Apr to 23 May), appearing in at least 6,887 posts by Public Facebook Pages. Nigel Farage was a close second at 6,065

Data includes positive AND negative mentions.





Part 7:

Case study:
The Brexit Party and
Change UK ran similar
Facebook campaigns.
Why did one fail?





Three key factors

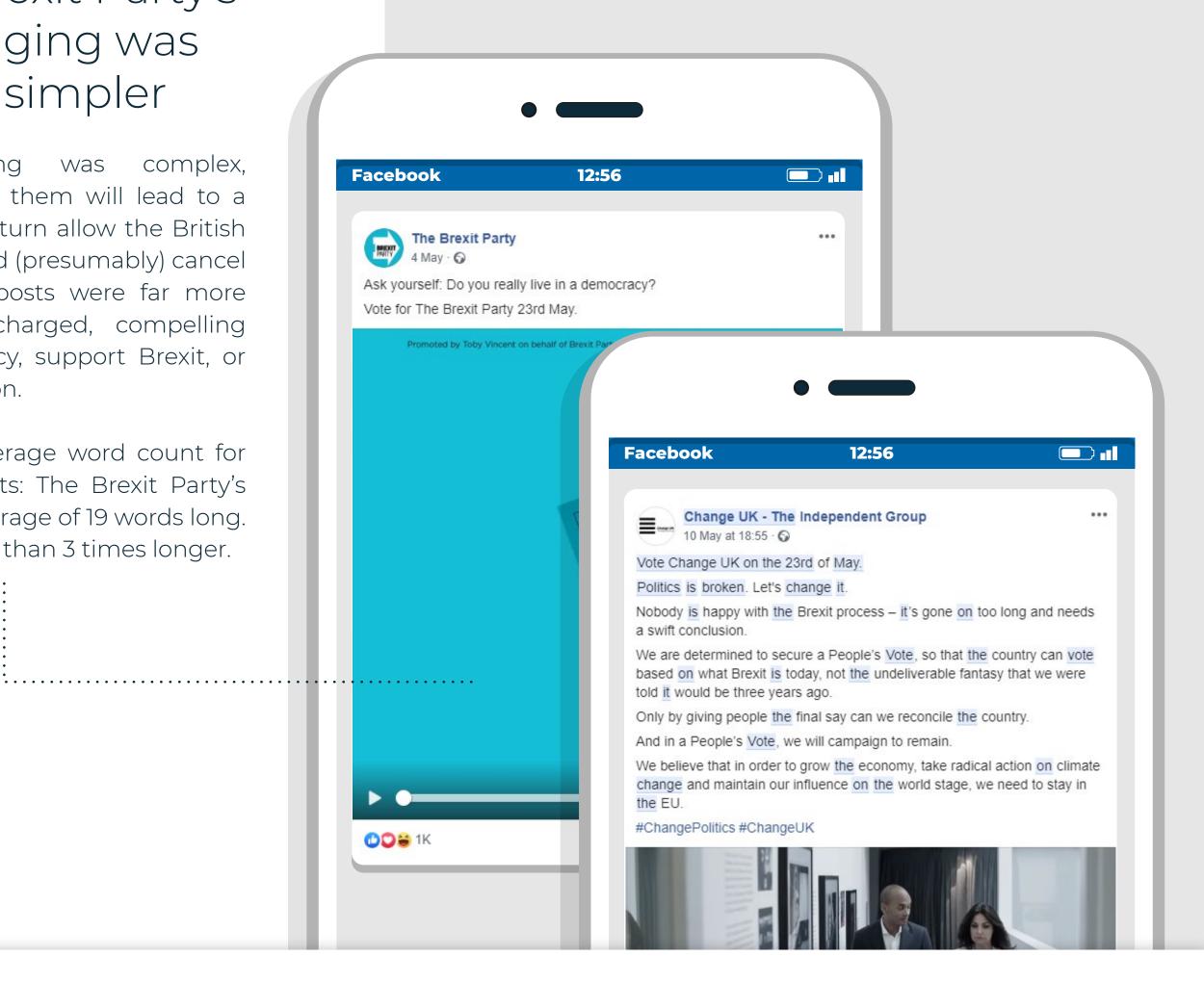
The Brexit Party and Change UK are both new political parties that ran Facebook campaigns that were big on slogans and small on policy. Both used Labour as a punching bag. Both largely avoided mentioning specific communities in the UK. And both rarely discussed the tangible benefit of their position (leave vs. remain) to the UK. So why did The Brexit Party generate more than 45 times as many shares?

After reviewing every Facebook post by The Brexit Party and every Facebook post by Change UK during the EU election cycle (5 Apr - 23 May), there were **three key takeaways.**

The Brexit Party's messaging was much simpler

Change UK's messaging was complex, suggesting that a vote for them will lead to a people's vote, which will in turn allow the British public to have a final say and (presumably) cancel Brexit. The Brexit Party's posts were far more direct and emotionally charged, compelling followers to save democracy, support Brexit, or help Britain avoid humiliation.

We can see this in the average word count for each party's Facebook posts: The Brexit Party's Facebook posts were an average of 19 words long. Change UK's were 71 - more than 3 times longer.



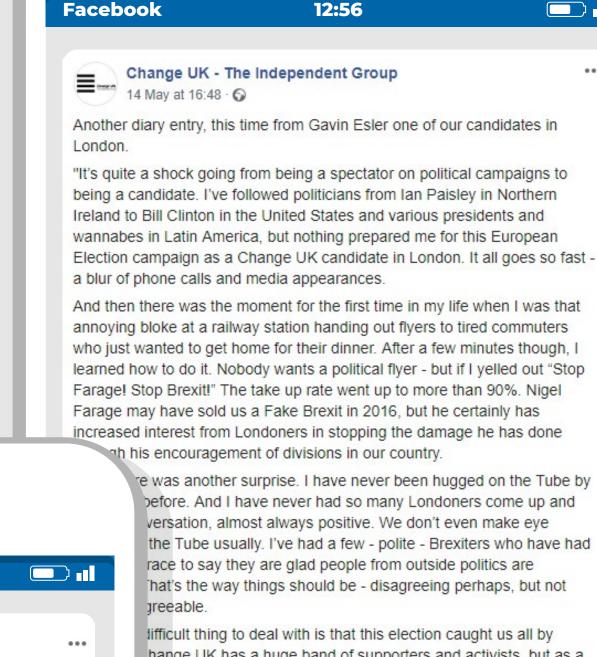


Three key factors

The Brexit Party understood their audience better

Lots of people voted for Brexit for lots of different reasons. A fisherman who wants to leave the EU in order to improve the livelihoods of people in fishing communities may not agree with someone who simply voted leave because they don't like refugees. Knowing this, The Brexit Party avoided discussing any of the topics that were so central to the 2016 referendum. In 212 posts, they didn't talk about immigration or refugees once. Even the tangible benefits of Brexit are avoided ("unlock Britain's potential" gets a passing mention). Instead, they created messaging that everyone could get behind, that cancelling Brexit would be undemocratic. Or as they'd put it: "This isn't about left or right, it's about right and wrong."

Remain voters are far less varied in their reasons for wanting to remain and their thoughts can be directly addressed without alienating other remain voters. They want to protect the environment, protect the economy, protect the benefits of EU membership, and be part of an inclusive, multicultural, connected world. This doesn't come out in Change UK's messaging, which rarely went beyond stating that Brexit is a mess. Hardly a rallying cry.



12:56

Facebook 12:56 The Brexit Party This is a movement for democracy!

lifficult thing to deal with is that this election caught us all by hange UK has a huge band of supporters and activists, but as a rty we only have a small group of paid-up of party staff. But the

me comedy moments including the reporter I met who had just om the riots in Venezuela. He was reporting on the conflict there, on the streets, huge opposition protests, when Venezuelans im and asked "what on earth is going on in Britain? It seems like a

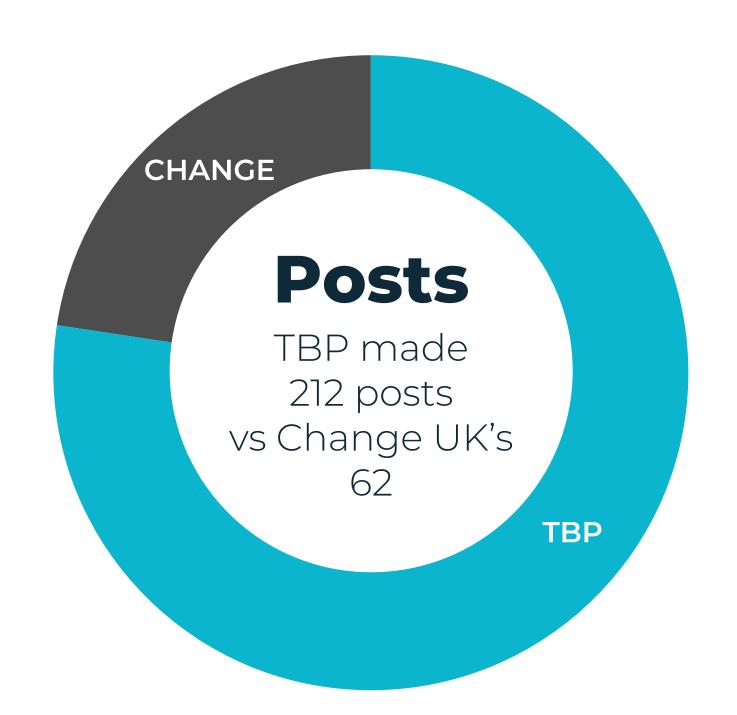
has been a real privilege to get out and talk to people about what g in Britain - street crime, pollution, lack of investment in the ice. Brexit sucks all the air out of our real problems. When we

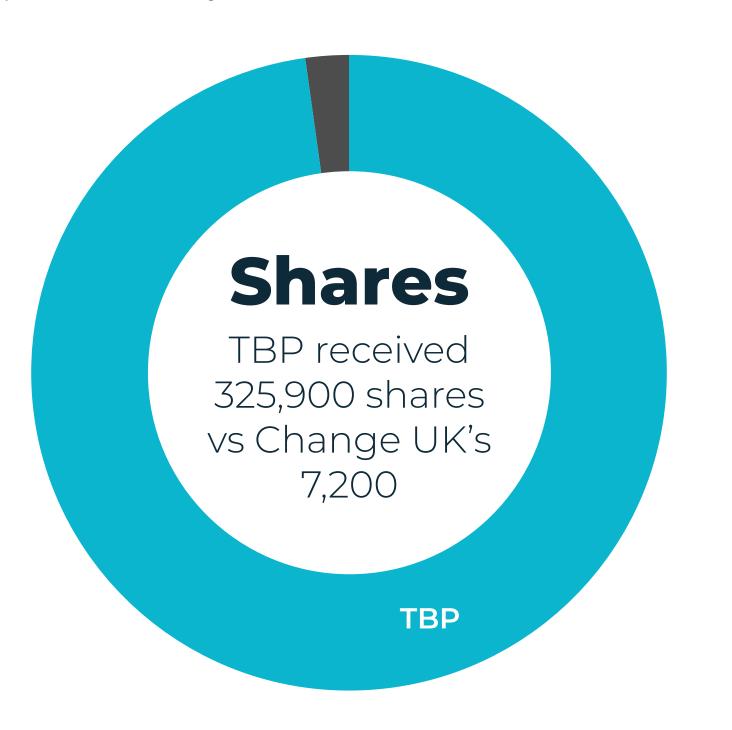


Three key factors



From our set of manually coded posts, 5 April – 23 May 2019:



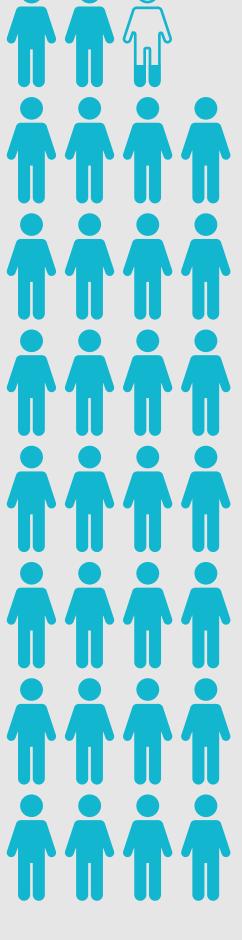


On Facebook TBP gained 30,200 followers vs Change UK's 3,600





Change UK





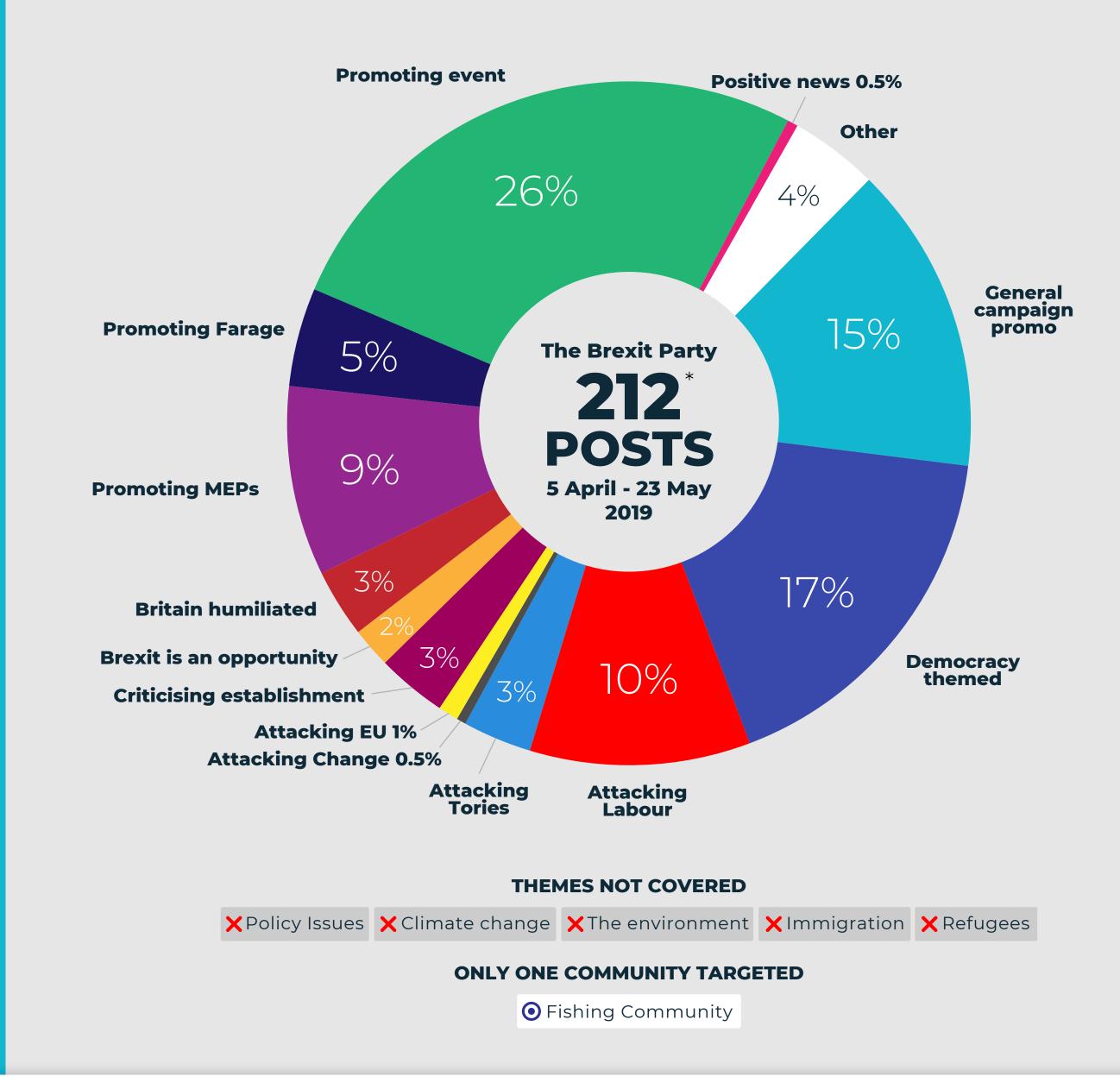


Manually coding posts by The Brexit Party on Facebook

between 5 April – 23 May 2019

We found:

- Labour was the clear target of attacks. 10% of posts were attacking Labour/Corbyn/Adonis, while 3% of posts were attacking Tories/May.
 Change UK was only mentioned once and Lib Dems/Greens were not mentioned at all.
- 26% of posts were promoting rallies or events these were the clear focus
- "Protecting democracy" was the central theme of their campaign. At least 17% of all posts focused on this message.
- We found **no posts** about specific policy issues. There was nothing on climate change, the environment, immigration, or refugees. For comparison, Labour posted about climate change at least 10 times and Conservatives posted about climate change at least 5 times.
- The only community specifically mentioned in any promotion were fisher-people. Even they were only mentioned once.
- This was an **overwhelmingly negative** campaign. Only **2% of posts** (4 in total) framed Brexit as an opportunity. Only **one post** shared positive news (by The Sun) about The Brexit Party. At least twice as many posts talked about Britain being humiliated.



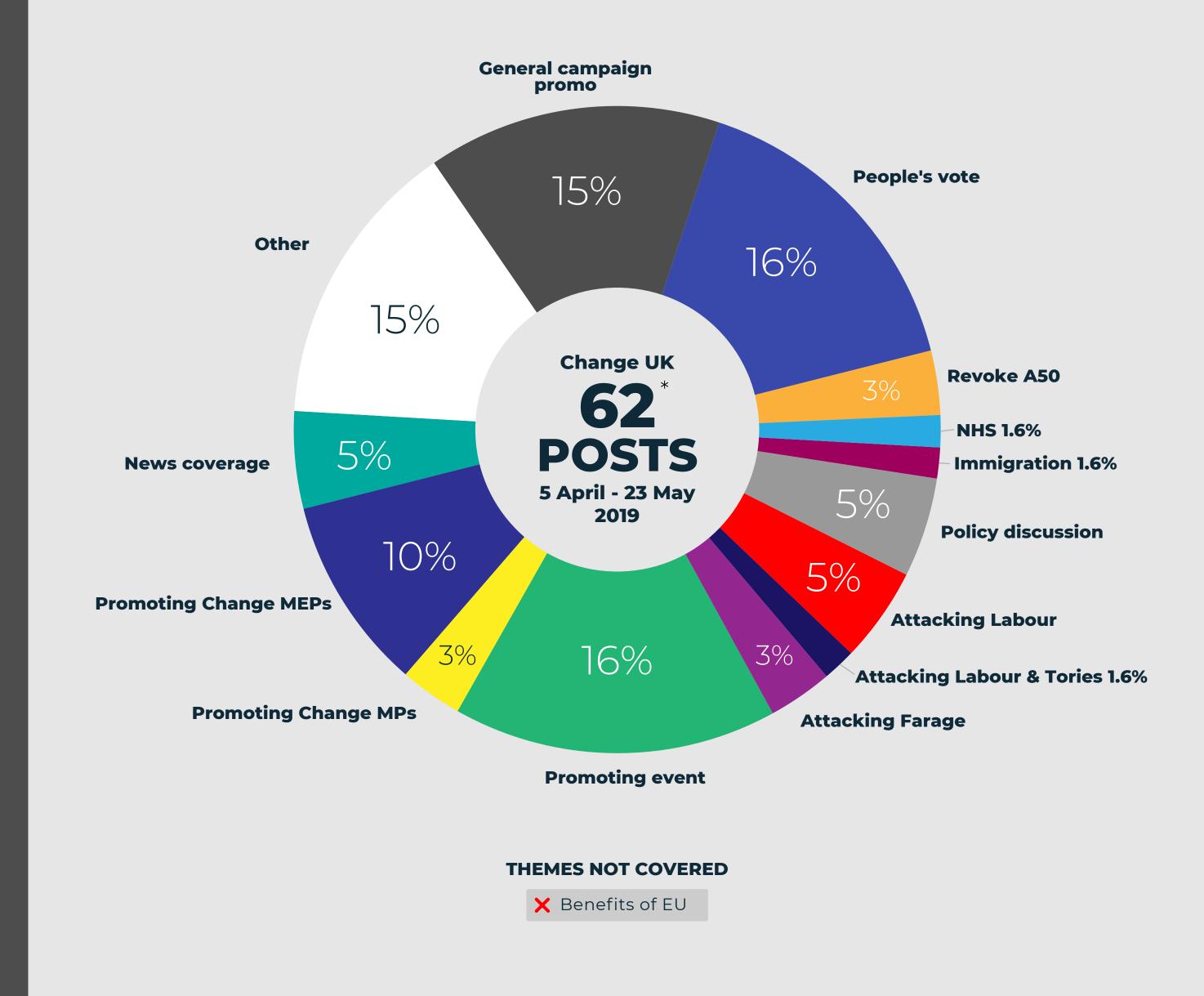


Manually coding posts by Change UK on Facebook

between 5 April – 23 May 2019

We found:

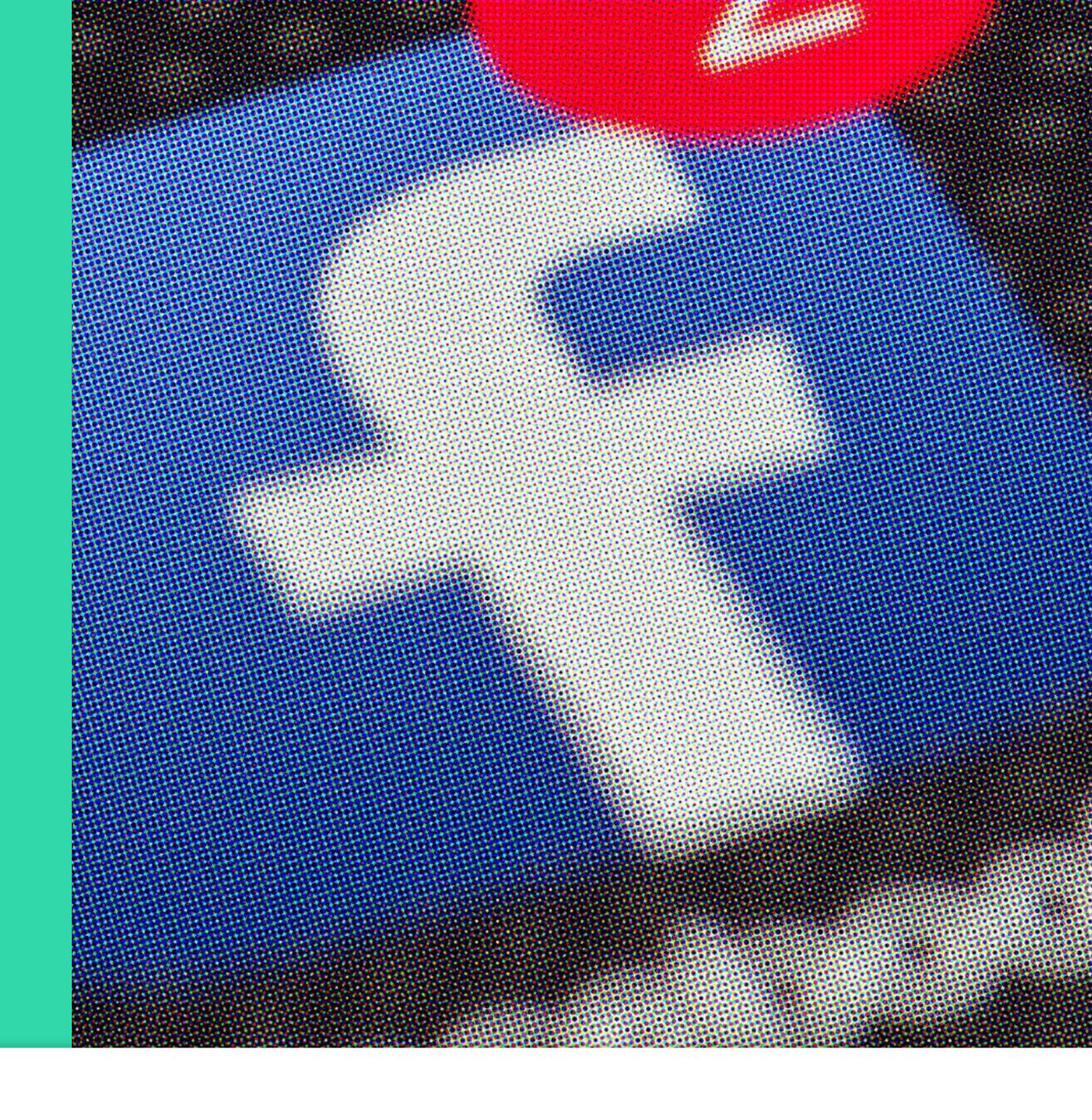
- Change UK wrote long posts. Average words per post: 71.
- 5% of posts were attacking Labour. I post attacked Labour and Tories, but no posts only attacked the Tories.
- Farage is mentioned in **9.5% of posts,** but often along with a number of other issues or points.
- 16% of posts were promoting rallies or events.
- Advocating for a people's vote was the central theme of the campaign. At least 16% of all posts focused on this message.
- We found just **two posts** about specific policy issues. One mentioned the NHS and one was a quote about immigration.
- There were no posts specifically about the benefits of the EU. We found just **one post** mentioning the benefits of the EU (investment in Cornwall, included as a part of a very long diary post).





Part 8:

Case study:
How The Brexit Party
used Facebook Ads to
reach millions



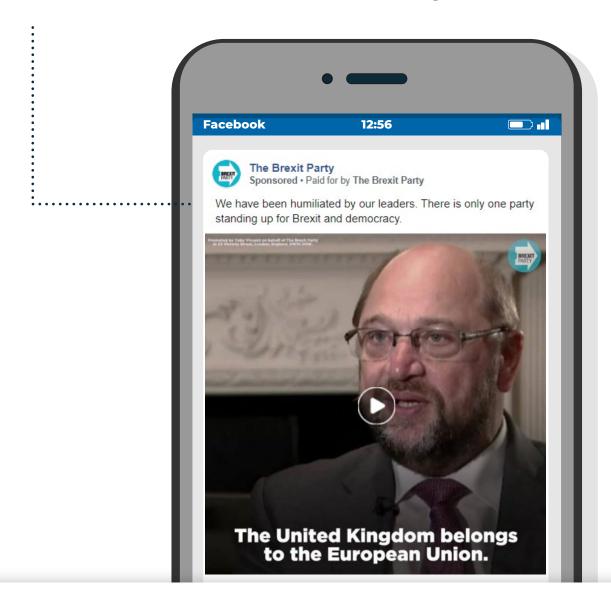


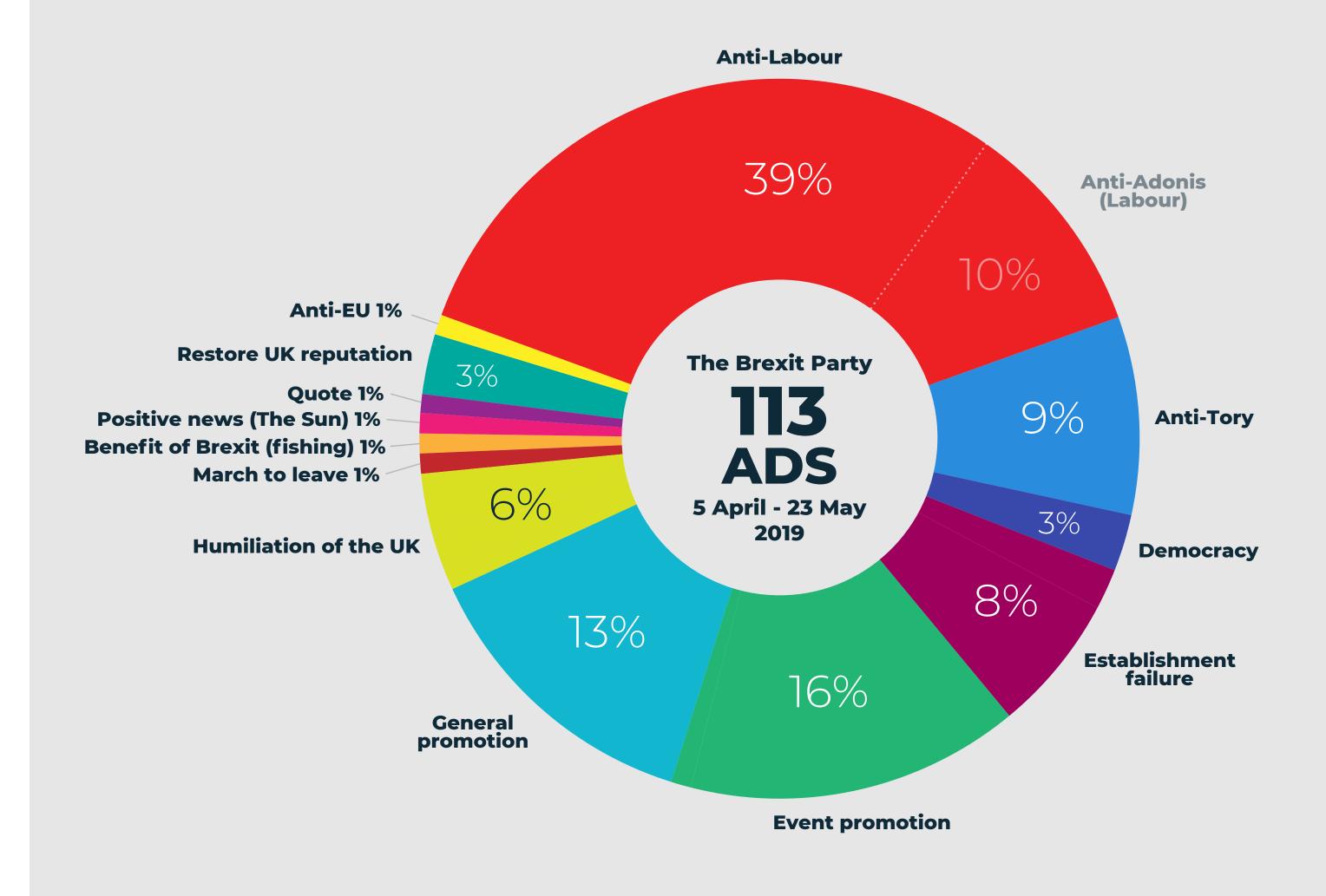
Case study:

How The Brexit Party used Facebook Ads to reach millions

The Brexit Party spent £118,000 on 113 Facebook Ads during the EU election campaign. By manually analysing every one of them in Facebook's Political Ads Library, we were able to build a complete picture of what they wanted to communicate, who they were interested in reaching, and how they allocated their money.

Overall, ads were **overwhelmingly negative.** Just one presented Brexit as an opportunity. Many more presented Britain as humiliated and pushed the narrative that the establishment is failing Brits.



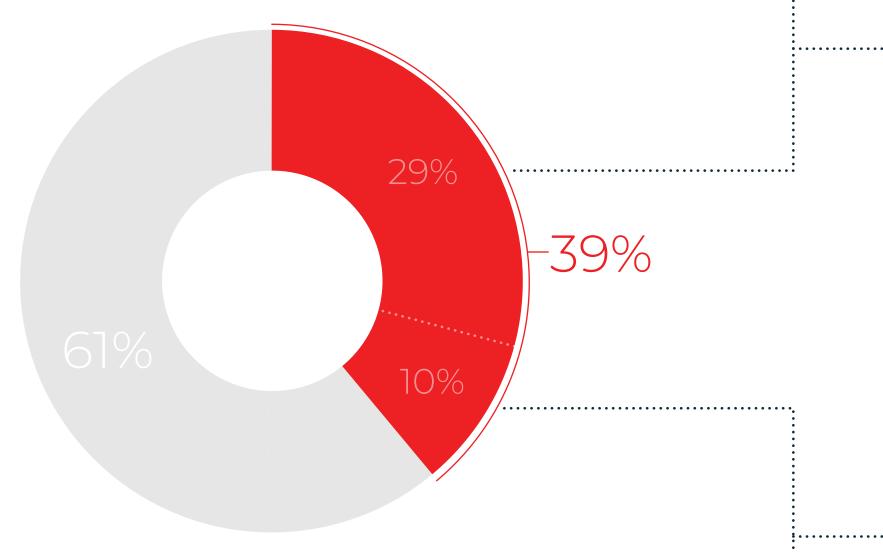




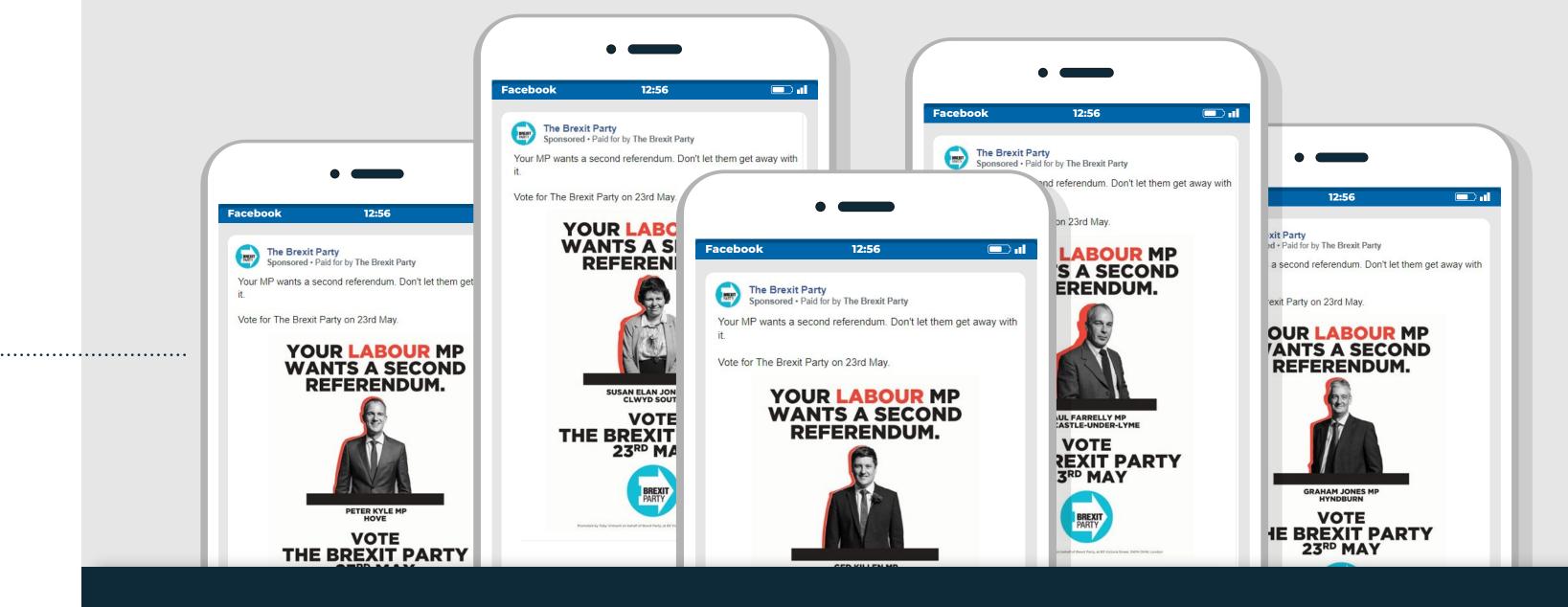
Targeting Labour

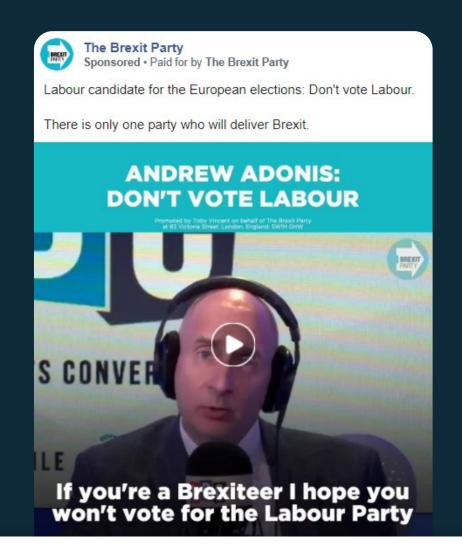
How The Brexit Party used Facebook Ads to reach millions

Labour was the primary target of attack ads, with **39% of all ads** (44 in total) being anti-Labour. Most of these
alerts about Labour MPs who back a second referendum,
which were then targeted to their constituents.



Within these anti-Labour ads, it was Lord Adonis, not Jeremy Corbyn, who was the primary target. 10% of all The Brexit Party's ads (11 in total) attacked Lord Adonis for comments he made about Brexiteer voters. In fact, there were more anti-Adonis ads than there were anti-Tory ads.











Targeting age groups

How The Brexit Party used Facebook Ads to reach millions

Older Brits were the primary target of The Brexit Party's ads. On average, **45-54-year-olds** accounted for **24% of impressions** while **18-24-year-olds** accounted for **4.5% of impressions**.

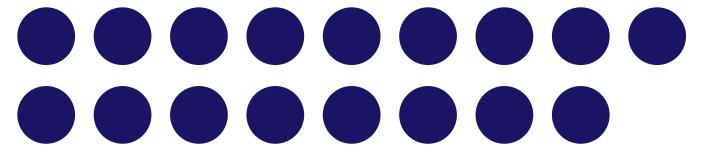
There were **5 times as many ads** promoted to people **over the age of 65** than there were to 18-24-year-olds.*

Events were also a major focus of The Brexit Party's Facebook ads. 16% of all ads were promoting events and they were almost exclusively promoted to people over the age of 35. We found just one event promoted to people aged 18-34.

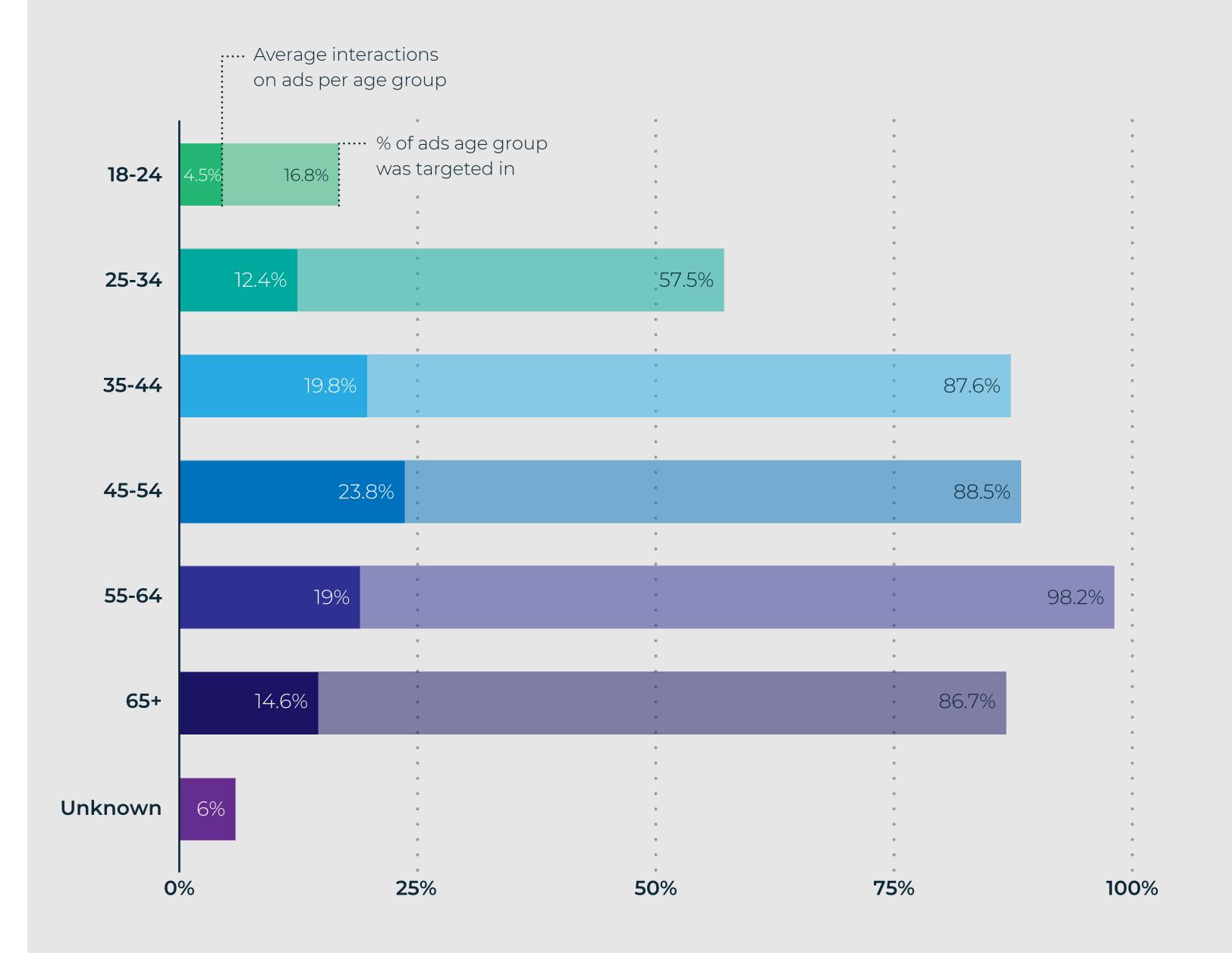
Events Promoted to 18-65+ (all ages)



Events Promoted to 35-65+



Most ads were viewed by both men and women.



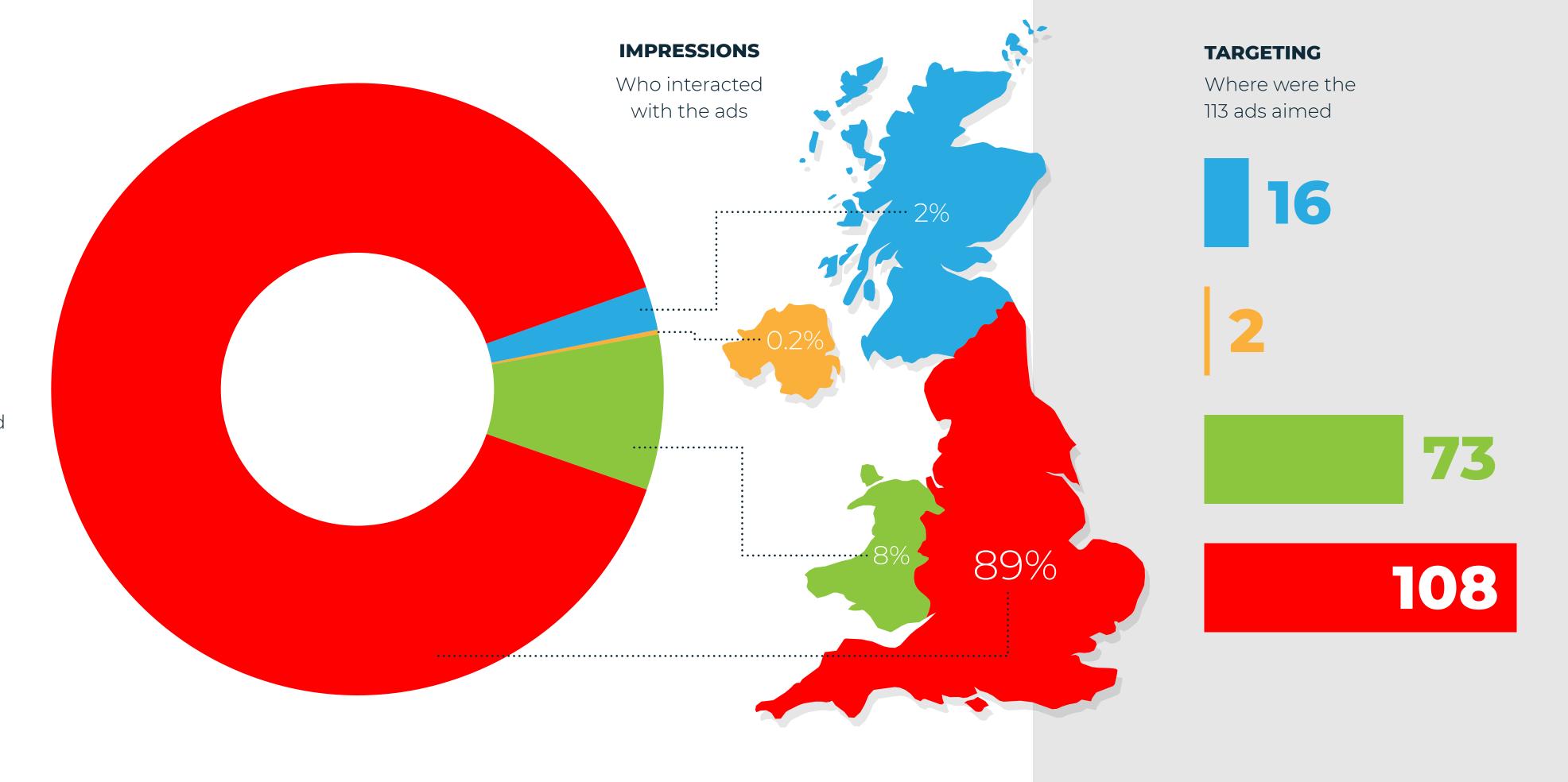


Targeting UK population

How The Brexit Party used Facebook Ads to reach millions

Northern Ireland and Scotland were largely ignored in The Brexit Party's ad campaign.
Northern Ireland was only included in targeting for 2 ads out of the 113 in total.

On average, England accounted for **89%** of impressions and Wales accounted for **8%**, while Scotland accounted for just **2%**.



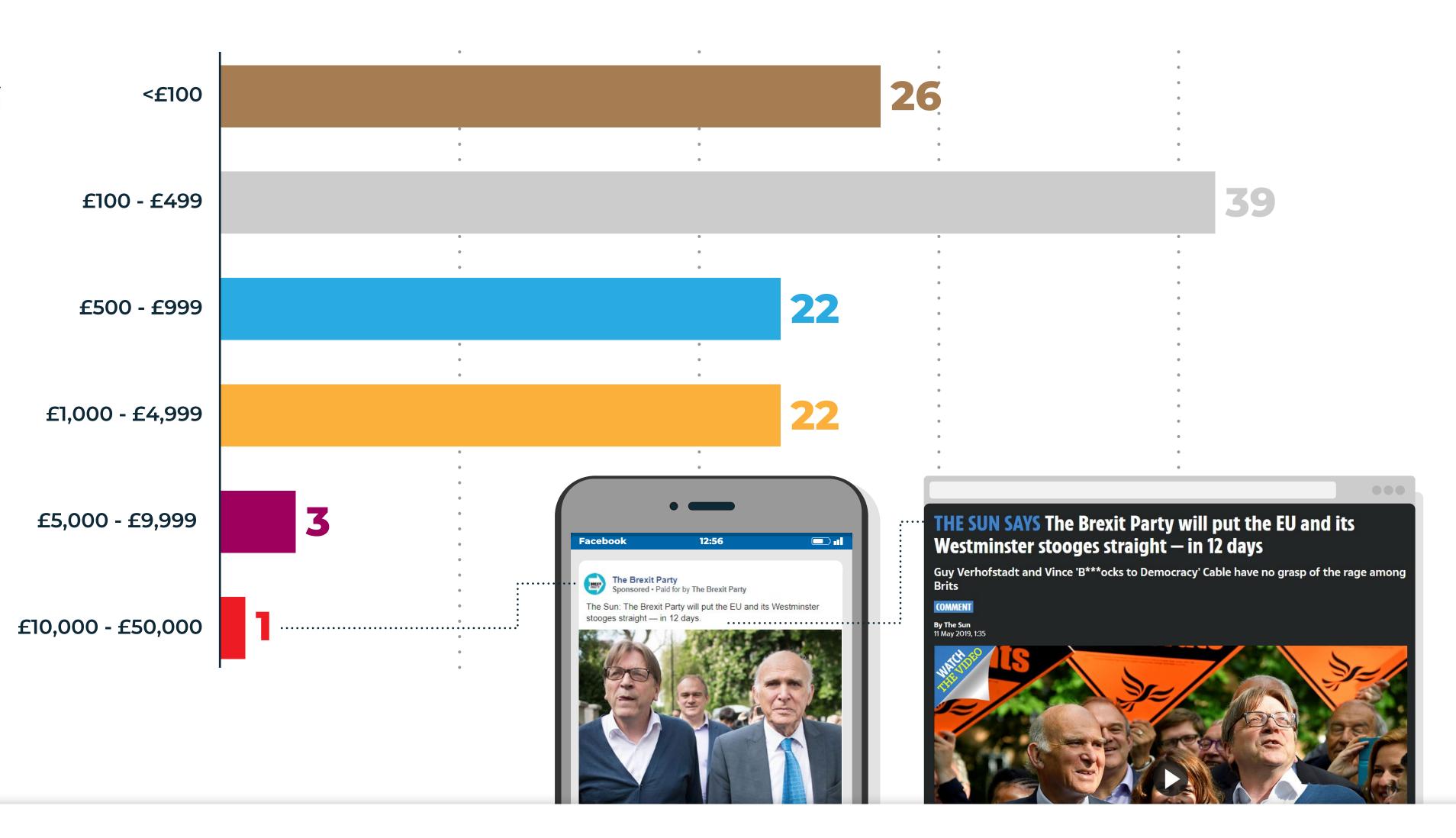


Spending Breakdown

How The Brexit Party used Facebook Ads to reach millions

Most ads had budgets of less than £500. 35% of ads had a budget of £100-499 and 23% had a budget of <£100. 1 ad had a budget of £10,000-50,000 - it was promoting an article by The Sun.

Estimates from Facebook Political Ads Library suggest that The Brexit Party's ad campaign generated 5M - 13M impressions in total.







89up.org

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Thank you

The European Elections:

How The Brexit Party won the online battle in the UK

June 2019 By: Ziad Ramley, Luke Rossiter & Mike Harris