Talking about poverty
Lessons learnt

"Framing is about finding a balance between **authenticity, authoritativeness** *and* **appropriateness***"*

"It **bridges the gap** *between research and lived experience of poverty"*

"A big part of framing was to **connect my story** *to more widespread structural issues"*

Stakeholders with lived experience of poverty in the UK

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Acknowledgements

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A special thank you to the team of people with lived experience of poverty who guided, supported and co-designed this evaluation project alongside Rights Evaluation Studio. Your feedback has been invaluable.

Executive summary

Introduction

The Talking about Poverty (TaP) project, which ran from 2016 to 2021, aimed to develop a more effective way of communicating about UK poverty through 'framing' – an evidence-based communications strategy. For this project, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) worked with the FrameWorks Institute, which is a not-for-profit communications research organisation based in the United States. In 2021, a sister organisation, FrameWorks UK, was established in the United Kingdom (UK), which focuses on supporting mission-driven organisations to apply strategic communications research in practice.

The TaP project set out to understand the public's attitudes to poverty in the UK and used insight from research with 20,000 people (Volmert et al, 2016) to develop ways to talk about poverty in a more effective way. To challenge the unhelpful narratives identified in the research, the project developed an evidence-based communications strategy ('poverty framing') to increase the public's understanding of UK poverty and provide support for measures to address it.

Research process and methodology

Rights Evaluation Studio (RES) conducted an independent evaluation of the TaP project between July and November 2022. The purpose of this evaluation was to research, evaluate and identify lessons learnt from the project, with the aim of pulling out key findings and learnings and supporting JRF in its future projects and work.

The evaluation engaged a group of co-designers with lived experience of poverty who provided input into the evaluation methodology, tools and analysis.

The research methods consisted of:

- desk-based research and a document review
- media and political content analysis using key-word searches in a media database, in the House of Commons and on Twitter
- surveys of and small focus groups with people who attended JRF framing workshops and events
- interviews with present and former JRF staff, partners, experts on poverty and a third sector ally
- learning workshops.

Key findings and conclusions

JRF internal project management and impact

Having an evidence-based research output to inform strategic communications was an asset for the TaP project, making it persuasive. Where JRF staff felt confident using the framing, they felt they had successful and more effective conversations with different stakeholders and thought they were better received.

We found that the good practices of the TaP project overlapped with the main challenges. The framing tools were consistent, making them quick and easy to use, but too inflexible and restrictive. The intense and passionate roll-out of the framing ensured it was part of JRF culture for a given time, but in the longer term, staff felt there was not enough consideration of how different roles and teams would apply the framing for different audiences, and that consideration was not given to whether all members of staff wanted, or had the capacity, to take on strategic communications as part of their role. Although the framing was applied throughout the organisation, there was a lack of clarity about the target stakeholders for the project.

It is our evaluation team's opinion that a stronger project strategy, theory of change, project plan, risk assessment process and evaluation plan would bolster future narrative change programmes at JRF. These would help to make sure future framing projects are able to sustain themselves beyond the individual who conceived them, to adapt to a changing environment and to identify what is working, what is not and improvements that can be made to make it stronger.

Engagement and impact for people with lived experience of poverty

Overall, our evaluation found that people with lived experience (PWLE) of poverty who engaged in the project had a positive experience, increased their confidence, gained communication skills and had an increased interest in and awareness of the social narratives of poverty more generally and the connection between the structural issues of poverty and personal experience.

The workshops and events themselves had strong participation from PWLE, who felt their needs were centred. The majority of PWLE survey respondents also reported that they felt that the project had centred the needs of PWLE, and 78% reported that the project had a positive impact on their life.

PWLE found the framing particularly effective when speaking to politicians and the media. However, the findings raised some questions around:

- how useful the framing content and tools were for PWLE when speaking with other PWLE
- the extent to which the framing was accessible for disabled people and marginalised groups
- the lack of involvement from PWLE from the very beginning of the project.

Significantly, PWLE were generally hopeful and confident that the TaP project would have a positive and accumulative effect on how poverty is being talked about in public discourse and reported believing the project to be achieving positive outcomes and results in the media, noting they had seen framed media headlines and public attitude changes.

External engagement and impact: the third sector, the media and politics

The vast majority of third sector partners and allies engaged in our evaluation both valued and used the framing in their work. Many credited the framing with adding more dignity, positivity and effectiveness to their communications. Many cited the Keep the Lifeline campaign (conducted in 2020–1) as an example of the effectiveness of framing. This campaign was reported to have seen hundreds of charities and other organisations engaged in and using the framing of the 'lifeline' to refer to a £20 uplift in Universal Credit and Working Tax Credit.

In our media and political content analysis, we identified a clear pattern in the use of certain key words common to the framing toolkit – for example, the word 'lifeline' during the Keep the Lifeline campaign period and a peak of mentions of this word in the House of Commons and the media. More generally, other key words such as 'trapped' and 'locked' also saw uplifts in their frequency within the poverty conversation in these spaces, which coincided with the TaP project.

However, there were challenges concerning buy-in to and the implementation of the framing in the long term – most notably, people feeling too restricted in using the framing, people feeling unable to convince others of the framing and a lack of authenticity and resourcing in relation to applying the framing. Our analysis pointed towards three key root causes of these challenges:

- a lack of engagement with and inclusion of the wider sector in the project design and objectives

- an inability to sufficiently train and skill staff, as well as the third sector, to use and adapt the framing – people described feeling restricted by the most memorable parts of the framing (the metaphors) despite there being many other aspects of the framing methodology (such as values and context)

- a lack of clear project planning, sustainability planning, monitoring and evaluation, and impact assessment planning, as well as no clear 'end' or transition point for the project, with participants from the third sector wanting to know what was next.

Final conclusions

There are some key development areas for future framing projects such as stronger project planning and management, monitoring and evaluation, and sustainability planning. However, the TaP project made PWLE who were engaged in the project feel more hopeful about the future and confident that the project would have a positive, accumulative effect on how poverty is being talked about in public discourse, with some indications that the project may have had some influence in the media and the House of Commons. The TaP project created a buzz in the third sector and was credited with helping to build a movement, leading to a more co-ordinated sector. While we identified a need and desire to engage the third sector and PWLE earlier on in the project, the vast majority of third sector partners and allies who were engaged in our evaluation both valued and used the framing in their work, crediting the framing with adding more dignity, positivity and effectiveness to their communications. The TaP project brought hundreds of organisations together for the Keep the Lifeline campaign and provided a robust and evidence-based communications strategy for their internal staff and external allies.

Recommendations

Our team have put together the following recommendations to help JRF improve future projects.

Project planning, management and risk assessment

1. **Ensure modules such as 'Flex the Frames' are part of the core package of tools** – or find other ways to equip people with the confidence not only to use the most memorable aspects of the framing, but also to adapt framing to changing circumstances and to their audience.

2. **Develop a clear theory of change and project strategy**, including a close-out or transition plan, and document it.

3. **Conduct an in-depth risk assessment**, not just on the practical side of things, but also including ethics, design, relationships and risks to outcomes being achieved.

4. **Do not leave monitoring, evaluation, learning and impact assessment until the end.** Develop a plan, capture baseline information and collect data in real time so you can learn, adapt and celebrate successes along the way.

5. **Cultivate a culture of friendly critique**, being open to questioning and debate.

6. **Think about when and how framing is going to be most effective.** Use it as a tool in your tool belt, not as a magic bullet.

7. **Have a clear and strong plan for monitoring public attitude change** in relation to framing projects. Often it is not possible to capture this data retrospectively.

Collaboration and sharing

1. **Involve PWLE, partners, allies and other groups early on in your project.** Involve them in the objective-setting and design phases, not just the implementation phase.

2. **Develop a more advanced set of tools for framing projects**, providing a range of information at different levels, including audio, written and in-person and online sessions.

3. **Create a resourcing plan** with third sector organisations, providing tools, guidance or other support so that they are able to resource their framing efforts and embed framing in their work.

4. **Develop a community of practice or champions across the third sector**, who can be a resource for others and for each other.

5. **Keep listening to and involving the wider sector in your planning.** The co-ordination, hope and innovativeness of the framing were a powerful uniting factor that was clearly meeting a need. Is framing the right tool to continue to perform this function? Are there other ways you can support similar movement-building outcomes?

6. **Consider your role in framing projects in relation to others.** People valued the credibility and resources you had to do this work, but could there be creative ways to roll framing projects out? For example, could you do the research for the credibility aspect and grant a consortium of organisations to drive it forward? Or could a strategically placed organisation lead the roll-out?

Intersectionality, inclusion and centring people with lived experience

1. **Develop a clear intention, strategy and plan towards intersectionality and poverty** and resource this. Also collect relevant data to assess how well you are doing in this area.

2. **Keep up the momentum in facilitating the engagement of PWLE and centring their needs** in your communications and media work, as well as any future framing workshops. Consider how else the skills of PWLE can be developed so they can tell their stories and engage in meaningful conversations with the media and politicians on their own terms.

3. **Keep building on existing expertise to consider how to facilitate access** to people with physical or mental health conditions.

4. **Foster better connections and collaborations** across diverse movements and communities.

Introduction and report outline

Introduction and report outline

Introduction

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) contracted the Rights Evaluation Studio (RES) to research, evaluate and identify lessons learnt from the Talking about Poverty (TaP) project, with the aim of pulling out key findings and learnings and supporting JRF in its future projects and work.

The Talking about Poverty project

The TaP project, funded by JRF and run in partnership with the FrameWorks Institute, aimed to develop a more effective way of communicating about poverty in the United Kingdom (UK). The project ran from 2016 to 2021. It was developed as a response to the millions of people in the UK who are struggling to get by, leading insecure and precarious lives, and who are held back from improving their living standards.

JRF worked with the FrameWorks Institute to understand the public's attitudes to poverty in the UK using insight from research with 20,000 people to develop ways to talk about poverty in a more effective way. In 2016, FrameWorks published the research report 'Talking about poverty: how experts and the public understand poverty in the United Kingdom' (Volmert et al, 2016), which further informed the TaP project. The core of the report is a description of the cultural models – implicit shared understandings, assumptions and patterns of reasoning – that the UK public draws on in thinking about poverty.

To challenge unhelpful models and narratives identified in the research, the TaP project developed an evidence-based communications strategy ('poverty framing') to increase the public's understanding of UK poverty and provide support for measures to address it. The poverty framing was designed with its audience as the general public and those engaging in poverty conversations.

Since 2016, JRF has held several poverty-framing conferences, workshops and webinars across the UK, both online and in person. Stakeholders have included other organisations in the third sector, as well as government officials, media professionals and people with lived experience (PWLE) of poverty. Presentations and webinars have included 'Talking about benefits' (Hyatt, 2019) and 'An introduction to framing poverty' (Hyatt, 2020). In 2019, JRF produced a 'Framing toolkit' to explain what framing is, why it uses it and how others can put it into action (Brook, 2019). The toolkit describes framing as making deliberate choices about how you communicate about poverty, understanding how people think and feel, and telling stories that change people's hearts and minds. It outlines that framing is about making a moral case for tackling poverty and appealing to

people's values of compassion and justice. JRF has also published several other tools and articles on framing, including 'Five doodles that help to make sense of UK poverty' (Brook, 2018) and 'Talking about coronavirus and poverty: a guide to framing your messages' (Hyatt and Brook, 2020). In addition, JRF has worked in collaboration with FrameWorks to produce 'Reframing in action: talking about poverty to solve poverty in the UK' (FrameWorks and JRF, 2020) and has partnered with On Road Media (see https://onroadmedia.org.uk/work/poverty), which supports PWLE to communicate safely and effectively with the media, to develop 'Reporting poverty: a guide for media professionals' (Hetherington, 2020).

About the Joseph Rowntree Foundation

JRF is an independent social change organisation working to solve UK poverty. It is a registered charity in England, Wales and Scotland.

About Rights Evaluation Studio

RES is a research and evaluation consultancy providing evaluation services to help measure, demonstrate and improve the results and impact of human rights and social change projects and programmes.

This evaluation project was led by Patrick Regan, Director of RES, and supported by Sophie Nicholas, Facilitator and Researcher, and Hugh Atkinson, Associate Researcher, both at RES. For more information about the RES team, see Annex A. We were also supported by a team of co-designers with lived experience of poverty, who helped to develop and refine our research questions, tools and analysis.

Report outline

In the remainder of this report, we first set out our research methodology, approach and some research limitations. We then outline the findings from each step of the mixed-methods approach, analysing and summarising key findings and learnings. Finally, we present our conclusions and recommendations.

Methodology

Methodology

Research objective and questions

Research objective

The overall objective of this evaluation was to identify lessons from the TaP project and produce key recommendations to inform and support JRF's future programmes.

Research questions

We developed a series of research questions and sub-questions (see Annex B) to guide our research process. The key indicators and data sources for each overarching question were developed alongside our research methodology to ensure a clear sense of what data would be used to yield insights into each question. The overarching research questions are as follows:

- Q1: How meaningfully were diverse PWLE of poverty engaged in the project?

- Q2: How has the TaP project affected PWLE of poverty?

- Q3: How have third sector allies who received/took part in the JRF framing toolkit/workshops applied their understanding (and shared information) of how poverty could be framed differently?

- Q4: What worked well and what were the challenges in relation to the way JRF applied the framing in its own work?

- Q5: How has the framing of poverty changed (a) in the media and (b) among government actors?

- Q6: What are some key reflections and learning points from the TaP project that are transferable to other projects and work?

- Q7: What other unexpected outcomes and impacts can be identified in relation to the TaP project?

Approach and ethical considerations

RES sought to take a participatory approach to the evaluation. We also took a 'do no harm to any stakeholder' approach. PWLE were involved in several stages of the evaluation process as co-designers, whereby they supported and advised concerning the evaluation objectives, design, analysis and intended deliverables.

RES also took an intersectional approach to the evaluative process by considering how types of identity markers – such as gender, ethnicity and disability – might intersect with experiences of poverty.

As part of our research limitations assessment, we acknowledged that we may hold biased views due to our cultural backgrounds or perspectives, and this could affect the legitimacy and validity of our research. It is also possible that we hold biases towards data and results that only support our hypotheses or arguments. To mitigate this, we made sure we consulted with the co-designers on a regular basis to spot gaps and highlight research bias, as well as to represent the perspectives of PWLE. We also critically challenged one another's assumptions and ensured we had evidence available to support all findings and conclusions, drawing on principles from intercoder reliability.

Finally, due to the nature of this evaluation project and the complexity in identifying causality in public attitudes, government actions and media change, we focused on JRF's contribution to change, as opposed to attribution. We acknowledge that the TaP project could be one of several influences that helped produce a change or set of changes, as well as other influences such as the actions of other organisations or external socio-economic or political factors.

Methods

In this section, we outline our research design process and methods.

Consultation and co-designing

After an initial consultation meeting with JRF, RES organised scoping interviews to explore key areas of interest in the project, further refine our draft research questions and preferred research outputs, and identify and agree on outputs. A total of 16 scoping interviews were carried out, including with key members of (present and former) staff from JRF, the FrameWorks Institute and On Road Media (see the later subsection 'Interviews').

Lived experience of co-designers

We recruited a group of six co-designers, all PWLE, who we found through JRF and RES contacts, to feed into the evaluation process. The co-designers were invited to collaborate flexibly in different parts of the research design process and participate in aspects of the evaluation, as follows:

- design and methodology – such as designing research questions, processes and materials, for example topic guides
- designing and reviewing focus group and interview materials such as presentations and agendas
- supporting in the design of media analysis processes and analysis
- co-facilitating focus groups (focus groups for PWLE)
- attending learning workshops.

Each stage was optional depending on each co-designer's time, interest and availability to take part. The co-designers supported the evaluation, helping to highlight blind spots and biases, making the design of the evaluation and processes more relevant and inclusive, adding a different perspective and valuable insights to the evaluation, helping to make meaning of the findings and ensuring our research products were more accessible. The co-designers represented a diverse group of PWLE, and had the following characteristics:

- age: people's age ranged from 19 to 58, with three under the age of 21 and three over the age of 49
- disability: three stated that they considered themselves to have a disability
- ethnicity: one person identified as White, two as British, one as Latin American, one as Asian and one as African

- sexual orientation: four identified as straight/heterosexual, one identified as lesbian and one identified as having no sexual orientation
- gender: the majority (five) stated they were female/a woman, with one person identifying as male.

We gave vouchers to the co-designers to express our appreciation for their efforts and the expertise they shared with the project.

Desk-based research

The desk research phase of the evaluation consisted of an analysis of the socio-political context in which the TaP project took place and explored factors that may have influenced how poverty was framed during that time. The research looked at relevant academic studies and secondary literature. We also drew on secondary data sources, including the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey to gauge shifts in the public's perception of poverty.

Document review

RES conducted an in-depth document review phase in which key documents and information were reviewed and analysed using a thematic coding framework, to collate and capture the key learnings, outcomes and impacts of the TaP project period. Items reviewed included survey data that JRF had collected, agendas, attendee lists, presentations from events and workshops, JRF reports on poverty and the TaP project, project-related reports, contracts and analysis. The findings from the review also helped to identify gaps in data that needed to be prioritised during the subsequent phases of the data collection. A full list of the documents reviewed is provided in Annex C.

Surveys

We developed two online surveys: one for PWLE who had attended any of JRF's workshops targeted at supporting PWLE to use the framing; and one for people in the wider third sector who had attended one of JRF's framing conferences, webinars or events. The surveys sought to gather feedback on the events themselves, understand participants' reaction to the concept of framing and identify to what extent, if at all, participants had used or applied the framing in their work. Both surveys were disseminated online using SmartSurvey and a £100 prize draw was offered as an incentive to complete them.

The surveys were short, with only seven questions, to increase the likelihood of people responding, and they were designed to be able to identify key findings that could stimulate conversation and reflection during a series of focus groups that followed.

The surveys also collected demographic data (which was optional) to help us understand gaps and differences in the outcomes and impact of the TaP project based on different identities.

Focus groups and a JRF staff workshop

RES conducted focus groups to dive deeper into the initial survey findings and to collect more qualitative feedback from participants engaged in the TaP workshops and events. The aims of these focus groups were to:

- provide an opportunity for participants to expand on what they enjoyed or what they did not enjoy about the TaP workshops, events and tools

- find out about whether/how participants had applied the framing, the challenges they may have faced, the outcomes and their hopes for the future

- create a space for people to engage directly with each other.

For these focus groups, we took a convenience sampling approach: we engaged with those who we could reach, were willing to take part and who had opted in via the surveys or a separate sign-up form that JRF had sent out. We also monitored demographics to understand how diverse the achieved sample was. All focus groups were held online, and participants were given a voucher as a small thank you for taking part.

RES conducted a total of five small focus groups, typically with two to three participants each. Three focus groups took place with third sector professionals and two involved PWLE. (One interview was also conducted with one PWLE who could not attend at the time of the focus groups.) A total of six PWLE joined the focus groups (and interview) and a total of eight people joined from the third sector. The number of participants who attended the focus groups and the number of focus groups we held were smaller than anticipated. We believe this was due to the timing of the evaluation, which was carried out over the summer months. Another potential limitation for the focus groups was an underrepresentation of people from minority ethnic groups, with most of the participants identifying as White British.

We also conducted an in-person workshop with 11 JRF staff to explore the lessons in relation to how JRF has used and applied the framing itself.

Interviews

In addition to the interview noted above, we conducted 16 interviews, with seven current JRF staff, four former JRF staff, a representative each from partners the FrameWorks Institute and On Road Media, an academic and a professional expert in the field of poverty in the UK and a third sector ally from The Trussell Trust. We used a combined targeted and snowball sampling approach to the interviews and took recommendations from JRF on stakeholders it engaged in the project as well as recommendations from interviewees. Before the interviews, semi-structured topic guides were developed based on the key research themes and questions and tailored to each stakeholder group.

One limitation in relation to the interviews was that we were unable to conduct interviews with journalists and government officials as planned due to having a limited timeframe to complete the interviews and a lack of responses to an invitation.

Media and House of Commons political content analysis

The media and political content analysis component of the evaluation was designed to assess how the poverty conversation in the UK changed over the course of the TaP project and to evaluate the extent to which the poverty framing had contributed to the shift. The analysis had three key areas of focus:

- print and online media conversations
- parliamentary debates in the House of Commons
- social media discussion on Twitter.

For collecting and analysing data from print and online sources we used Factiva (see https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva), a research and social listening tool that aggregates content from a wide range of sources, including newspapers, academic journals, websites, blogs and other forms of online media.

Using Factiva, we created key-word searches to identify discussions that were specific to the UK poverty conversation. This included a master search phrase – 'Poverty + UK + not foreign not development' – which generated more than 120,000 results and was used as our baseline search. The term 'not foreign not development' was introduced to exclude media discussions relating to international development and aid. Nonetheless, in the thousands of results we collected from print and online sources, it is possible that some results not relating to UK-based poverty have been included.

We then created search phrases that were linked to elements of JRF's framing toolkit – specifically, water metaphors and other key phrases mentioned in the toolkit – and compared results for these 'framed' searches with the master search results.

When focusing our search on the use of framing in the media and government, we used key words related to the TaP framing. However, as JRF's framing approach spans beyond just these metaphors and key words, our results may not capture the full range of framing that may or may not have been adopted in the media and government and among the broader public.

To monitor and analyse discussions taking place within the political sphere, we used Hansard (see https://hansard.parliament.uk) – the official database for parliamentary debates in the UK. Once again, we built a range of search phrases to produce results relating to UK poverty, and specifically to identify statements from Members of Parliament (MPs) who potentially used elements from JRF's framing toolkit. We then collected more than 100 example statements and looked at key factors such as the poverty theme being discussed, which political party the speaker belonged to, any applicable cultural model being used and which elements of JRF's framing had been used, if any.

For analysing conversations about poverty in the UK taking place on Twitter, we used TweetDeck – a social media dashboard tool to monitor and analyse tweets and threads about specific topics based on user profiles, mentions or key-word searches. We used key-word searches to come up with results specific to UK poverty and, again, created search phrases that would result in tweets and threads using elements of JRF framing, such as metaphors or values. We then identified a set of tweets from across the project period that garnered the highest level of engagement – indicated by having the most re-tweets – and analysed whether and how these statements had used framing language. We also monitored conversation themes, the job occupation of the source and the sentiment expressed. We then divided these 'high engagement' tweets into 'framed' and 'non-framed' examples and conducted further analysis on the subsequent Twitter threads beneath these tweets to assess the influence of framing language on how people talked about poverty.

Although we sought to shed light on the poverty conversation taking place across social media to gain insight into wider public conversations about poverty, due to both capacity and tool constraints, our search was limited to Twitter. While using TweetDeck produced interesting results, they did not capture the full range of poverty conversations that may have taken place across other social media platforms.

Learning workshops

In the final stages of the evaluation, RES held two learning workshops. These workshops sought to dive deeper into, interrogate and refine our findings. The first was a small learning workshop held in the evening with PWLE co-designers who were unable to attend a daytime session, and the second was a larger daytime workshop with co-designers and JRF key members of staff. We factored in the reflections and learnings from the learning workshops into our next level of analysis.

Graphic illustrator Blanche Ellis (see https://blancheillustrates.wordpress.com) recorded and captured key points and learnings from the larger learning workshop in an 'Exploring learnings' graphic design poster (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Exploring learnings

Source: Produced by Blanche Ellis as part of this evaluation

Findings and analysis

Findings and analysis

Desk-based research

The core objective of the desk-based research phase was to analyse the socio-political context in which the TaP project took place and to explore factors that may have influenced how poverty was framed in the media during the time of the project (from 2016 to 2021). We identified key words and trends to feed into our key-word search terms, as well as conducting an initial scoping of media analysis tools, approaches and platforms, which we then used during the media analysis.

British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey

As the TaP project ultimately sought to change public attitudes towards poverty to create a more fertile environment to address it, understanding changes in public opinion helped us identify to what extent there was a shift on key issues such as benefits and poverty. As we could not conduct additional research on this directly, we used British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey data. This data mainly relates to attitudes towards welfare, which we have used as a proxy indicator for poverty and related issues. The BSA data from 2021 indicates a trend for a more pro-welfare stance since 2016, steadily increasing since then. This finding is important to note as this wider social narrative movement was happening at the same time as the TaP project, which may have helped to create momentum for the project.

This stance was sustained during the COVID-19 pandemic, but the pandemic did not lead to a change in that stance:

On this measure at least, Britain entered the pandemic with a somewhat more supportive stance on welfare than had been in evidence over the previous twenty years, albeit one that was still not as supportive as that in place in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Between them the four surveys that we conducted during the pandemic suggest that, while this new mood was largely sustained, public opinion did not shift any further in that direction. Rather opinion continued to appear evenly divided. On average across these surveys, 37% agreed with the statement, while 36% disagreed.

Curtice, 2022, p. 11

Some other key findings from the two most recent BSA surveys (2020 and 2021) – which were carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic – in comparison with previous years include the following (NatCen Social Research, various years):

- Between 2005 and 2019, the proportion of respondents who agreed that 'most unemployed people could find a job if they wished' fell from 69% to 51%. In the 2020 and 2021 surveys, the figures were 51% and 42% respectively.

- The proportion who agreed that 'most people on the dole are fiddling' fell from 41% in 2004 to 18% in 2019. In the 2020 and 2021 surveys, 25% and 22% respectively expressed this view.

- In 2019, 56% agreed that there was 'one law for the rich and one for the poor'. In the 2020 and 2021 surveys, this had risen to 64% and 67% respectively.

- Whereas in 2019, 57% agreed that 'ordinary people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth', in 2021 this had risen to 67%.

- In 2021, 49% agreed with the proposition that 'the government should redistribute income from the better-off to the less well-off', the highest since 1990.

Key contextual factors

Over the past 20 years, poverty has been on the rise in the UK. According to a report from JRF: 'Between 2002/03 and 2019/20 the number of people in very deep poverty (below 40% of median income after housing costs) increased by 1.8 million, from 4.7 million to 6.5 million people' (Schmuecker et al, 2022, p. 1). Under austerity, in 2016, a 'financial cap on the amount of welfare benefits a family can receive … [was] further lowered' and in the four years from 2016 'the government … implemented a freeze on most working-age welfare benefits to "workless" (unemployed) households' (Human Rights Watch, 2019, pp. 4 and 5). Destitution (lacking the essentials) has also risen, with JRF reporting in 2020 that 'the number of households experiencing destitution in the UK had increased by 35% since 2017' (Fitzpatrick et al, 2020, p. 2). Now, according to JRF, 'more than 1 in 5 of our population (22%) are in poverty in our country [the UK] – 14.5 million people' (JRF, 2022, p. 10).

Looking at some of the major contextual factors in the UK over the TaP project period, Runswick-Cole and Goodley (2015, p. 645) describe the role of 'poverty porn' in shaping public perceptions of poverty, defining 'poverty porn', from Jensen (2013), as 'reality television programmes that seek to individualise poverty, and to blame and shame "the poor" for the situations they find themselves in' (see also Poverty and Social Exclusion, 2014). One example of this is Benefits Street, broadcast in 2014.

In 2019, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights highlighted the systemic issues involved in poverty rather than individualising poverty. His report stated that despite the UK having the world's fifth largest economy, a fifth of the population lived in poverty (Alston, 2019). On publication, the report sparked a major response from the UK media – including the BBC (2019), *The Guardian* (Booth, 2019) and *The New Statesman* (Chakelian, 2019) – and from the public and civil society, with many deploring the Government's decision 'to dismantle the social safety net and focus on work as the solution to poverty' (BBC, 2019). The Special Rapporteur also highlighted how the UK's austerity programme had forced millions of people into poverty and homelessness (*BMJ*, 2019).

Migration was another factor that influenced narratives around welfare, benefits and poverty during the life of the TaP project (see Vargas-Silva et al, 2016, for a discussion about the impacts of migration on poverty in the UK). Danaj and Wagner (2021) have argued that British and German newspapers problematised migration from Eastern European states by emphasising its influence on national labour markets and welfare systems, problematising the idea of 'benefit tourists' (people who moved to the UK with large families to take advantage of the welfare system).

The COVID-19 pandemic was another major contextual factor. According to Francis-Devine (2022, p. 5), poverty seemed to fall at the beginning of the pandemic 'due to a combination of falling median incomes and increased benefits', but this 'decrease was likely reversed in 2021/22 as the £20 per week Universal Credit uplift was withdrawn and the cost of living increased'. According to the BSA survey, 'following the pandemic, more people now think that Britain is unequal – and an increased level of support for redistribution to the less well-off has been maintained' (Curtice, 2022, p. 2). In a 2022 article in *Nutrition Bulletin*, individuals' tweets were found to overwhelmingly contain views on the rise of hunger, food poverty and food insecurity because of the pandemic, which hit the UK in March 2020 (Eskandari et al, 2022).

Document and data review

In this section, we explore the key findings from the survey data that JRF collected as part of our wider document review. Other documents provided useful context, background and detail, which we integrated into our wider research.

During our review of JRF's documents, we found that JRF involved PWLE across its events, workshops, conferences and webinars through organising targeted workshops for PWLE, inviting PWLE to present and share their experiences at events, and ensuring PWLE were present in panel discussions. JRF showed a commitment to involving PWLE in, and recognising them for their contribution to, its work and developed tailored modules and resources to support them to use the framing.

We also found that the workshop content limited its exploration of the relationship between different identities and how they intersect with poverty, as the focus on values, language and metaphors during the workshops employed a 'one-size-fits-all' approach.

To assess the usefulness of the TaP workshops for PWLE, we reviewed data collected from JRF's framing feedback surveys, including both the mid-course feedback results (from participants after their first workshop sessions) and the final survey results (from participants at the end of their respective sessions). JRF received feedback from participants who attended sessions in April, May, July and September of 2021. From the 40 attendees, it received 18 responses (a 45% response rate) for the mid-course feedback form and 16 responses (a 40% response rate) for the final feedback form.

Looking first at the delivery of the sessions, participants noted that the 'Practice Context and Solutions' session was clear and easy to understand. They also highlighted the benefits of interacting with other participants. Participants scored the 'Content Creation' session highly in surveys, noting it was useful for the practical application of skills, and that the 'currents' metaphor was easy to understand. In their mid-course feedback, respondents noted that the 'Values' session was clearly structured and well delivered. One participant described the 'Causes and Solutions' sessions as the most effective part of the training.

The session feedback surveys were also a useful indicator for whether participants felt confident and motivated to use the tools and framing approach that they had learnt from the training. This was overwhelmingly positive. All survey respondents reported feeling confident or very confident to talk about poverty using the skills they had gained from the training, and they felt confident that they could start using the approaches they had learnt in conversations with friends and family, and in their communities. All survey respondents also reported feeling confident or very confident that they could speak to politicians using the framing and write about aspects of poverty on social media, in blogs or other types of written content using the tools from the training.

In terms of overall satisfaction with the sessions, 75% of respondents to the final survey stated that they would be interested in sharing their learning as a co-facilitator in the future. Several practical suggestions were made for improving the sessions, including:

- increasing the length of the sessions
- having more in-depth discussion on media analysis and concepts
- supporting people to use new tools such as Zoom and Jamboard
- providing physical copies of the materials.

Media and political content analysis

The aim of this section is to highlight whether and how media reporting (including print, social and online media) on poverty and discussions about poverty in House of Commons debates evolved over the course of the TaP project and evaluate the extent to which key terms from JRF's framing appeared in the reporting/discussions. As we are only basing our analysis on key words, across select media and political discussion databases, a degree of caution must be exercised when drawing conclusions about the wider impact of the TaP project based on these analyses.

House of Commons – how is the House of Commons talking about poverty?

Using Hansard (which records debates and statements in the House of Commons), we chose 33 key word searches to retrospectively track the conversation about poverty in the UK between 2016 and 2022. We chose this year range to collect results starting the year before the first TaP sessions were rolled out and to track the change in conversation across the project timeline to 2022. See Annex E for a full list of key words.

We found that mentions of UK poverty in House of Commons debates rose gradually from 2017 to 2021 (see Figure 2), with a high in 2021 with 516 mentions of poverty across debates that year, and 419 in 2022 (up until August) despite the year not yet being over. This represented a 20% increase in mentions of poverty in 2021 compared with the year before. Of the 88 House of Commons statements that we collected, they came from 70 individual MPs. The increase in mentions of poverty coincided with a general increase in mentions of JRF in the House of Commons during the same period (see Figure 3). There was a notable increase in mentions of JRF in the House of Commons between 2018 and 2019, rising by 118%, then remaining fairly constant between 2019 and 2022. This suggests that poverty became an increasingly common theme of debate in the House of Commons over the course of the TaP project, which coincided with an increase in the number of mentions of JRF during this period (particularly from 2019).

## Figure 2: Mentions of UK poverty in the House of Commons
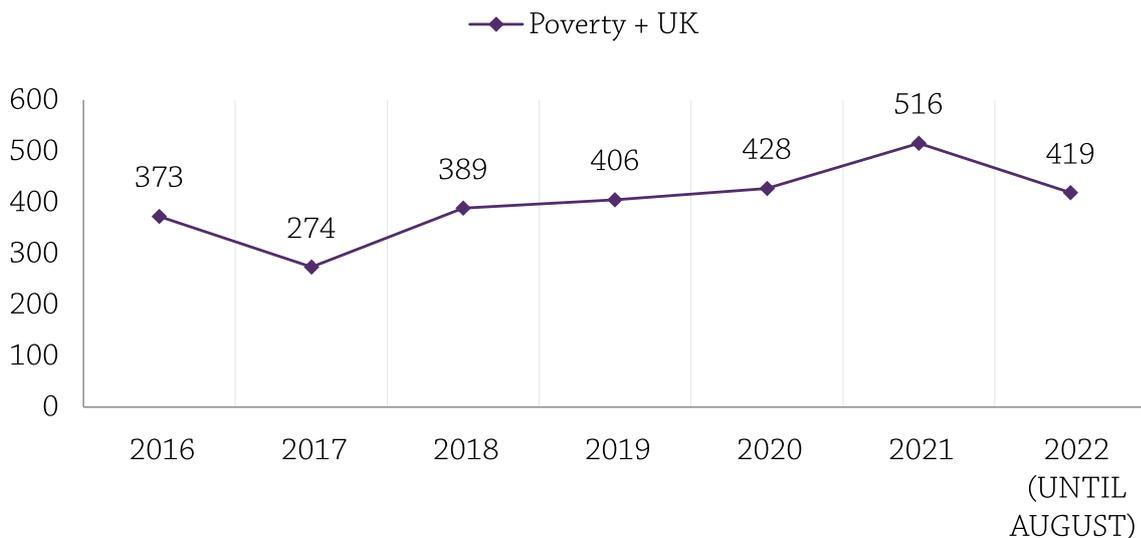
—◆— Poverty + UK

Source: Hansard

Figure 3: Mentions of JRF in the House of Commons

—◆— Poverty + UK + Joseph Rowntree Foundation
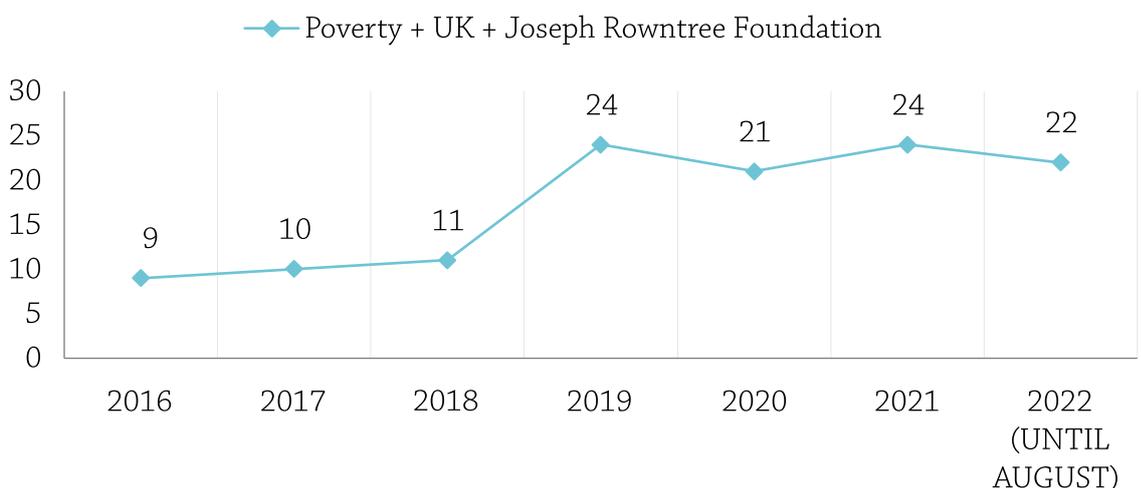
Source: Hansard

In some mentions that we analysed, the same MP had raised poverty in multiple different debates, for instance we identified that Labour MP, Margaret Greenwood, had mentioned poverty on five separate occasions. Within these examples, Greenwood used JRF framing in two statements, and both were value-driven, outlined benefits as part of the solution, described systemic causes and solutions and proposed redesigning the economy to address poverty. In another case, we found that Scottish National Party MP, Alison Thewlis, mentioned poverty on seven occasions during House of Commons debates and we determined that she used JRF framing in six of her statements. In these examples, her statements were value-driven, described benefits as part of the solution, highlighted systemic causes and solutions and, in five examples, used metaphors for descriptions of poverty.

When looking at data relating to conversations and debates about poverty in both the public and political arenas, it is important to consider the context in which those conversations took place and the role of external factors as a driving force in those conversations. The year 2021 and the first eight months of 2022 saw a significant rise in mentions of poverty combined with the terms 'energy' + 'bills' (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Mentions of UK poverty + energy + bills in the House of Commons
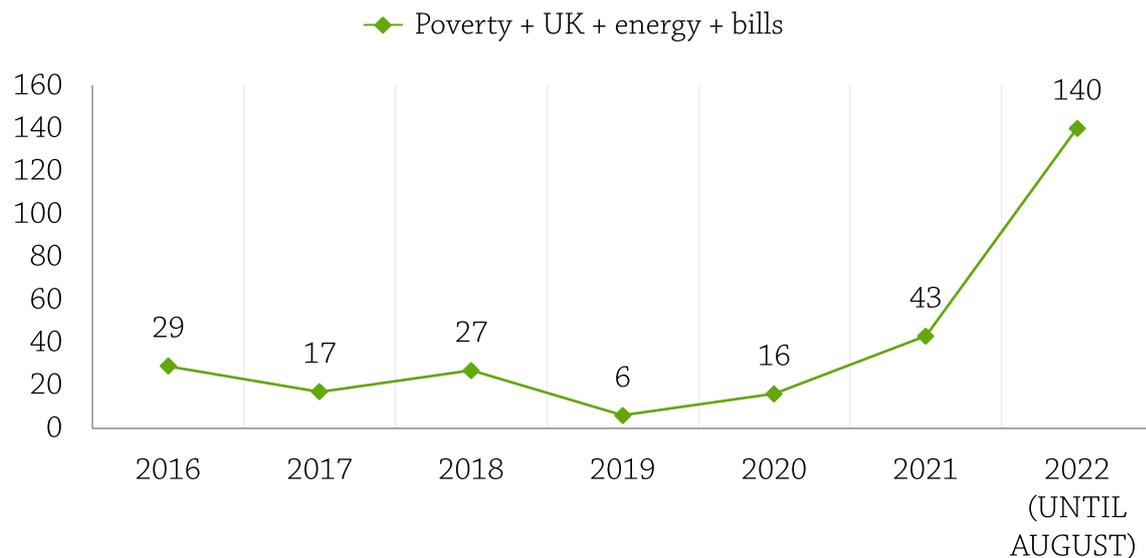
Source: Hansard

In the case of 'poverty' + 'cost of living', there was a 218% increase in mentions between 2021 and 2022, despite only having data for the first eight months of 2022. We can reasonably assume that some of the increase in conversations concerning poverty in recent years is linked to the current cost-of-living crisis and the use of this term to describe the situation ('cost of living' was a phrase used heavily during and after the Keep the Lifeline campaign).

With regards to specific nations of the UK being mentioned as part of the poverty conversation, our research found that Scotland was the UK nation most mentioned in the House of Commons, followed by England, Wales and finally Northern Ireland (see Figure 5). The year 2021 saw a notable increase in mentions of Scotland and England alongside poverty, while the number of mentions of Wales and Northern Ireland increased more gradually.

**Figure 5: Mentions of poverty in the House of Commons by UK nation**
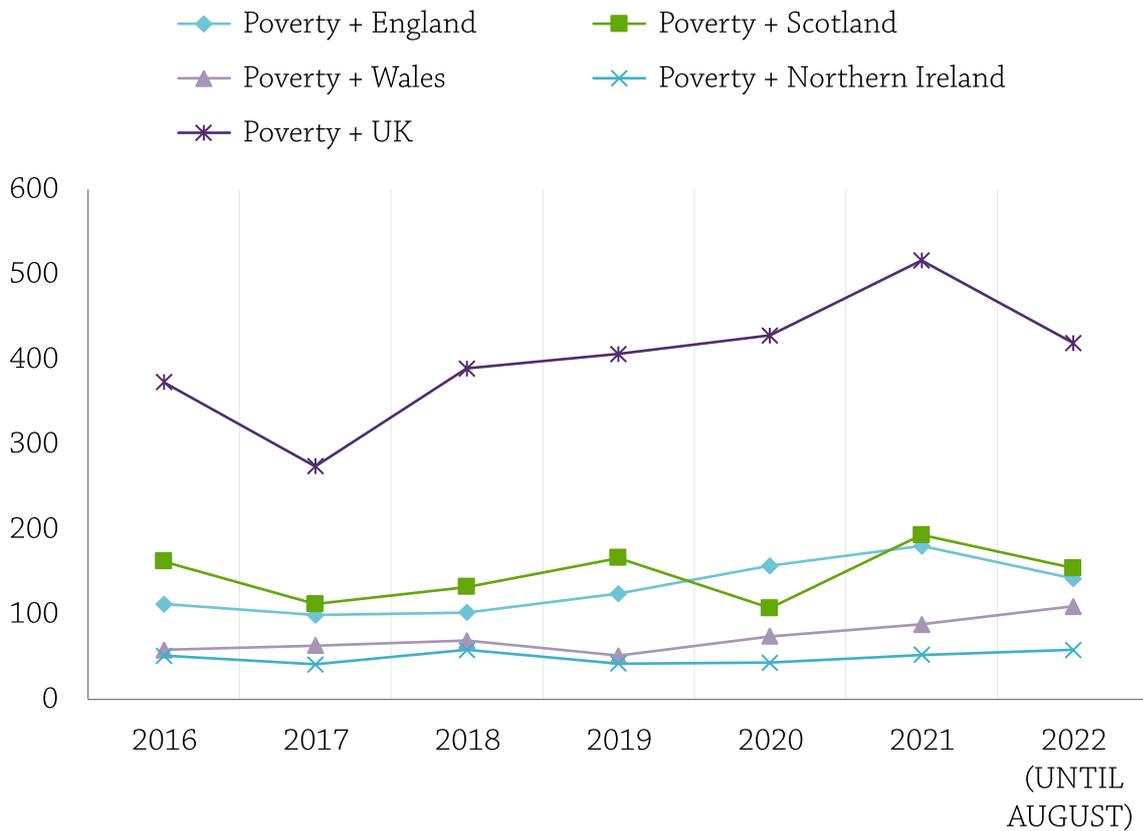
Source: Hansard

House of Commons – use of JRF framing

With regards to the use of JRF framing as part of the poverty conversation, Figures 6 and 7 paint an interesting picture of how framing may have informed the language that MPs used during House of Commons debates about poverty. Here we calculated the proportion of the overall poverty mentions that used key framing terms, to distinguish between an increase in framing language used from an increase in poverty mentions overall.

For the search phrases 'poverty + locked', 'poverty + grip' and 'poverty + restrict', there was a rise in the percentage of poverty mentions that also referenced these terms from 2017 onwards, with a significant rise in the prevalence of 'poverty + locked' between 2017 and 2018, and a similarly large increase in the prevalence of 'poverty + grip' between 2020 and 2021 (see Figure 6). However, in comparison with other words and phrases associated with poverty, the use of the terms 'locked', 'grip' and 'restrict' were less common. For example, mentions of 'cost of living', 'energy' and 'bills' were considerably higher (see Figure 4), while the use of the term 'destitution' evolved at a similar rate and volume to that of 'locked' and 'grip' as part of the overall poverty conversation. This data is encouraging from the perspective of JRF's framing efforts, as the first peaks in the prevalent use of these terms coincided with the first years of the TaP project, suggesting that at least these elements of the framing toolkit found their way into the highest level of policy- and decision-making in the UK.

Figure 6: Percentage of UK poverty mentions that also referenced JRF terms (part 1)
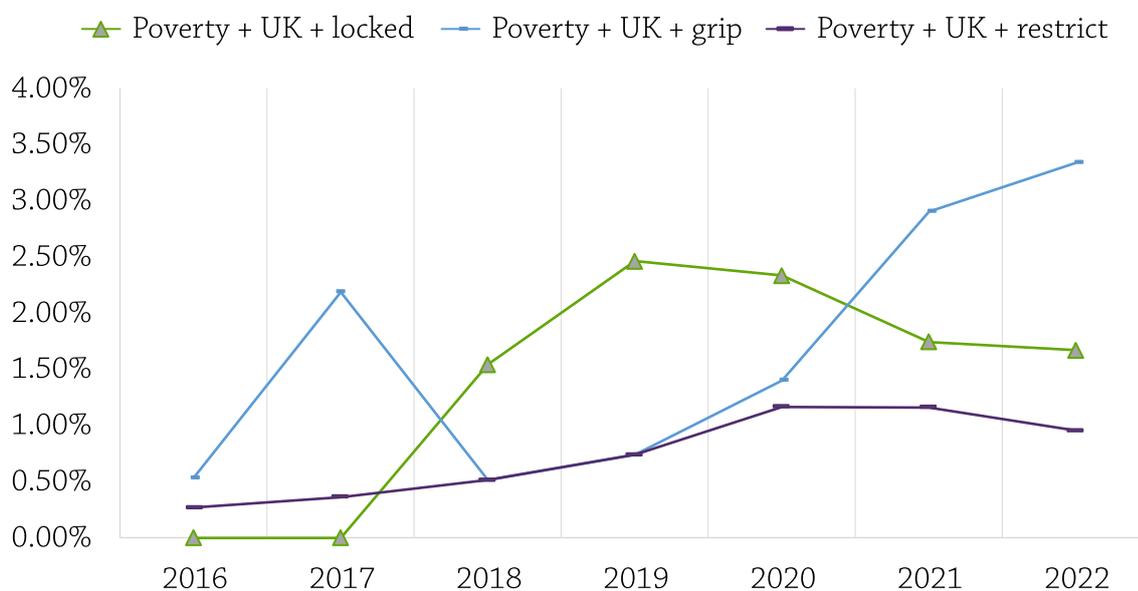
Source: Hansard

A more complicated picture emerges when we look specifically at other terms and metaphors, such as 'poverty' + 'dragged', 'swept', 'trapped' and 'afloat'. From 2016 to 2017 there was a rise in mentions of 'poverty + trapped', occurring in more than 3% of poverty mentions in 2017 (see Figure 7). However, this dropped to around 2% between 2019 and 2022, apart from another peak in mentions in 2021. With regards to the terms 'dragged', 'swept' and 'afloat', their use in House of Commons poverty debates fluctuated across the period, between 0% and around 1% of the conversation.

Figure 7: Percentage of UK poverty mentions that also referenced JRF terms (part 2)
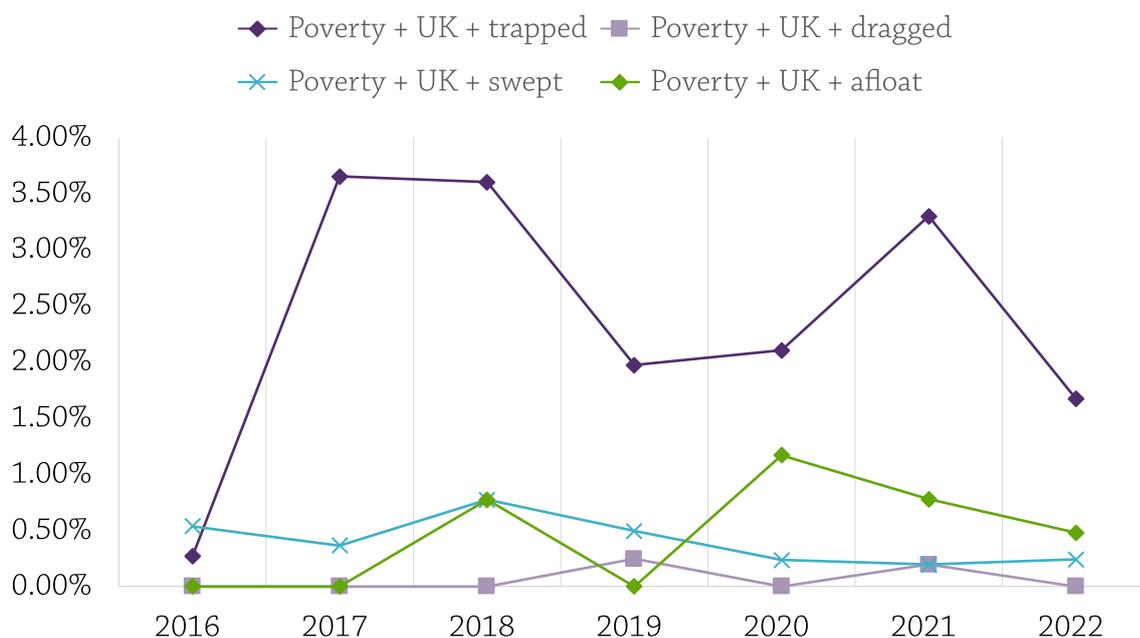
Source: Hansard

A more direct link between the TaP project and the language being used in House of Commons poverty conversations can be found when we look at the search phrase 'poverty + UK + lifeline'. There was a notable increase in the use of the term 'lifeline' alongside 'poverty' in 2021, with an increase of more than 5% from the previous year (see Figure 8). This is arguably linked to JRF's Keep the Lifeline campaign, which called on the Government to keep the lifeline of £20 a week in Universal Credit and Working Tax Credit. This highlights how MPs adopted the language that JRF and the third sector used throughout this campaign, and the potential influence that framing can have within political discourse around poverty.

Figure 8: Percentage of UK poverty mentions that also referenced the JRF term 'lifeline'
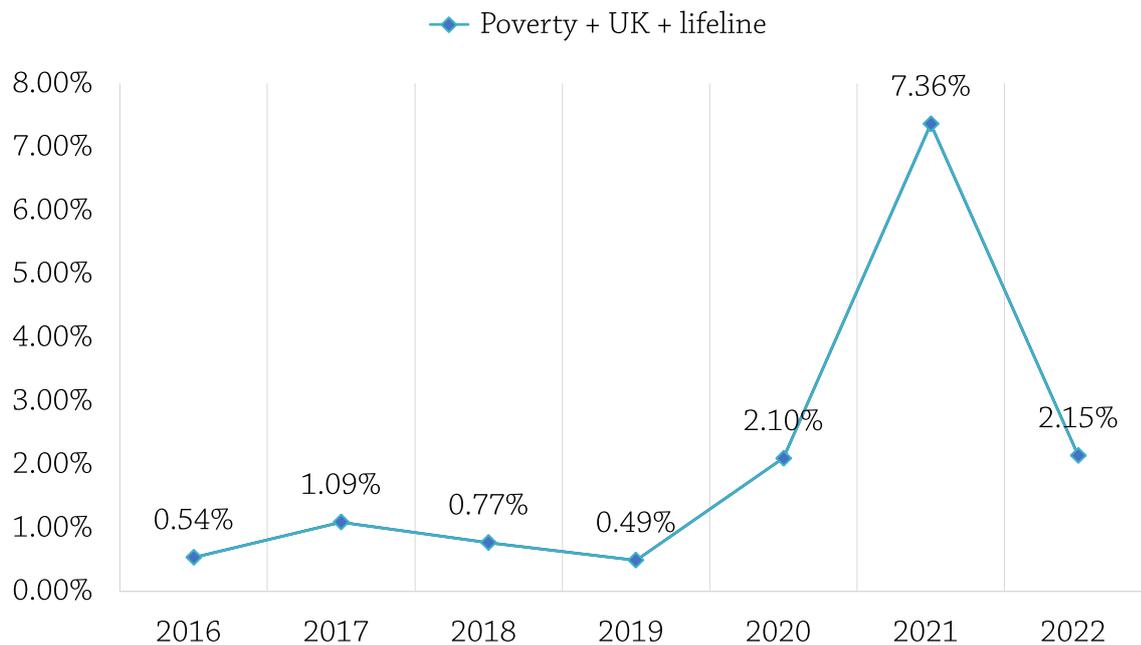

Source: Hansard

It is worth noting that we found some examples of framing being used in House of Commons debates about poverty in a way that negatively portrayed individuals living in poverty, such as suggesting they should find work as a solution to the poverty they were experiencing and criticising the benefits system and Universal Credit as structures that trapped people in poverty. In a 2018 statement, one Conservative MP stated that the benefits system 'trapped people into staying on benefits and ensured that people got out of the habit of working. The best way out of poverty is through work and we need a benefits system that allows for that.' This demonstrates the complicated use of framing language in political discourse around poverty, as the 'trapped' metaphor, in this case, was applied to the benefits system itself, rather than describing benefits as a solution to poverty (as JRF's framing toolkit advocates). This also raises a question of caution regarding using key-word searches for tracking framing influence – as key words might be used by coincidence or with an alternative motive – and it is essential to keep in mind the context and where the framing is being used. Within the context of non-framed conversations in House of Commons debates, we found that poverty was being used within conversations crossing a range of different themes, including immigration, councils, housing, Universal Credit, children, education, debt and mental health. In many cases, the statements revolved around non-negotiable societal needs such as fuel, energy and housing, as well as exploring the lack of opportunities afforded to people living in poverty.

Print and online media – how are they talking about poverty?

We wanted to explore shifts in the overall poverty conversation in print and online media, the prevalence of framing language and which actors had the most significant share of voice in the poverty conversation across the project period. We used the search phrase 'poverty + UK + not foreign not development' to bring up the most relevant results relating to UK poverty, and to avoid collecting content that referred to global poverty. There were 124,889 results (2016–22) linked to this master search phrase, with a high in 2021 of 21,971 articles, meaning 18% of the poverty conversation during this period took place in 2021 alone.

There has been a steady increase in articles relating to UK poverty since 2016 – with 13,503 hits in 2016, compared with 21,971 in 2021, and 20,674 hits already in the first eight months of 2022 (see Figure 9). This mirrors the growth in the number of mentions of poverty in House of Commons political discussions – with 373 mentions in 2016, compared with 516 mentions in 2021 (see Figure 2) – and highlights an overall increase in the significance of poverty as a theme in public and political discourse.

Figure 9: Poverty + UK print and online mentions
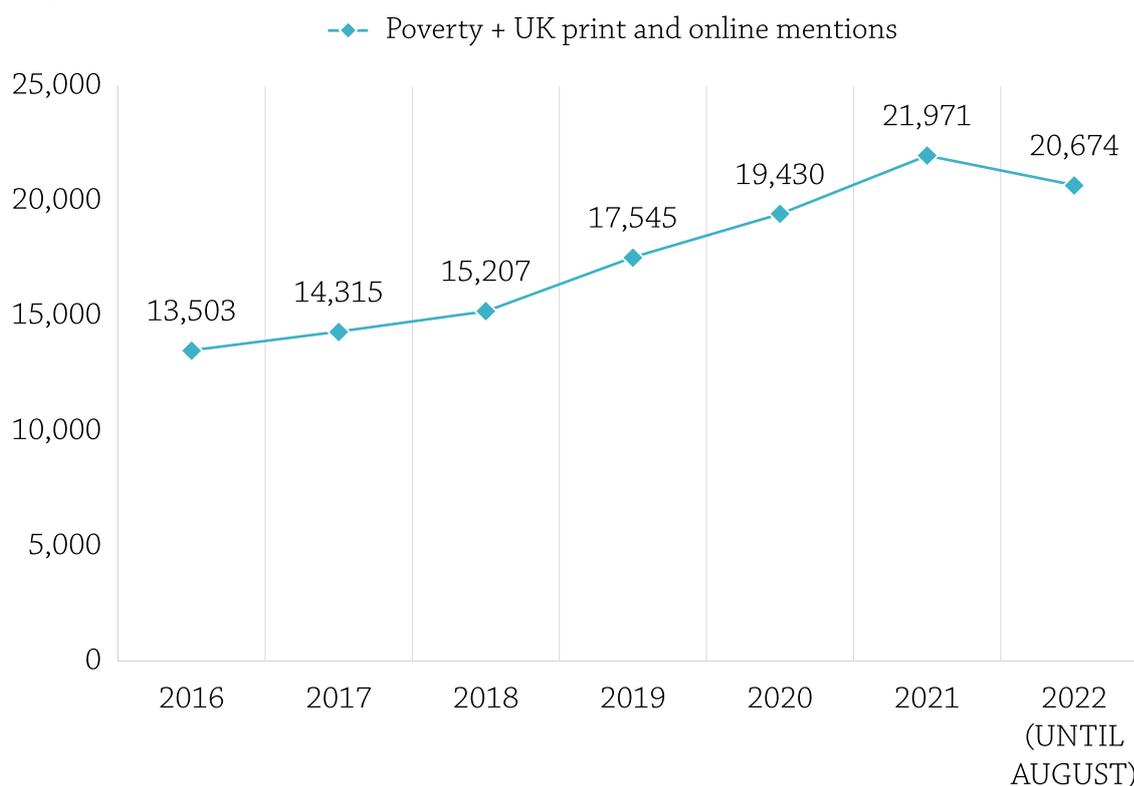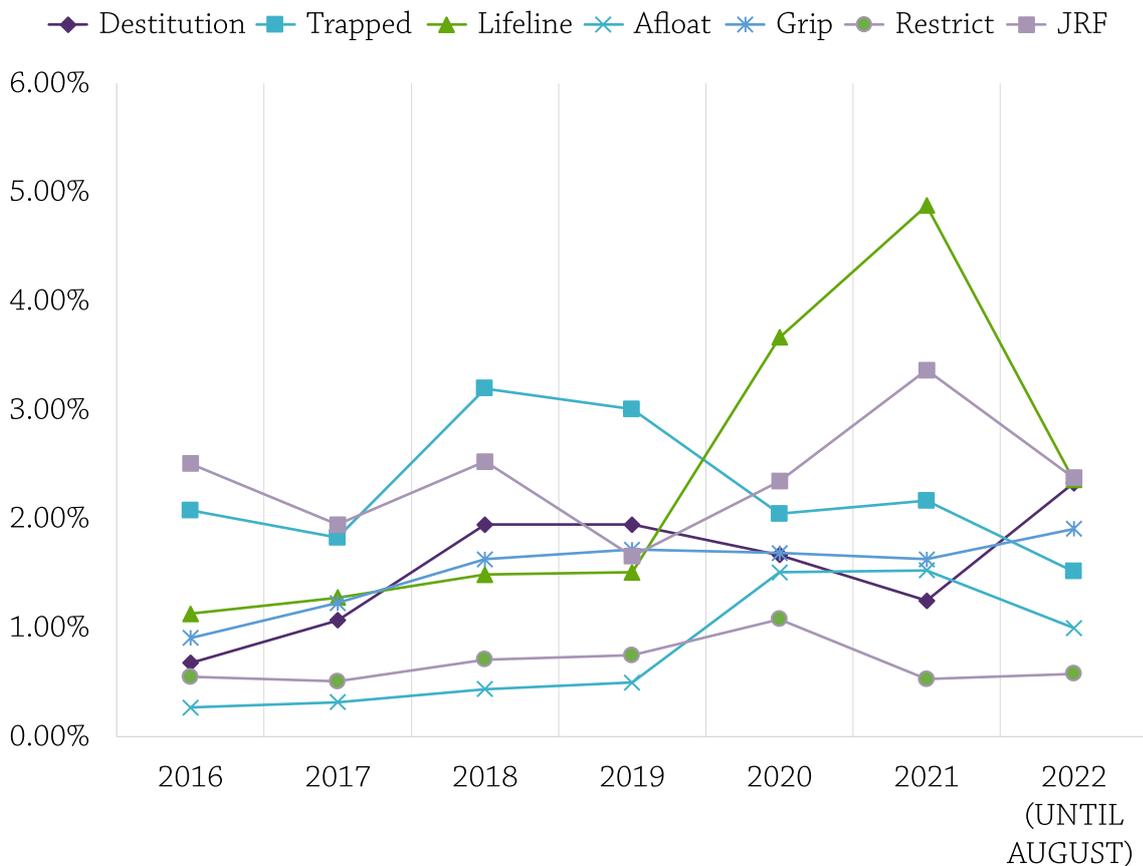

Source: Factiva

Framed searches and the overall poverty conversation in print and online media

Using 'framed' key-word searches on Factiva, we sought to assess what proportion of the overall poverty conversation contained key words from framing language – with a focus on key terms from the TaP toolkit. Based on our searches, we found that articles using 'poverty' and 'destitution' together when discussing poverty rose between 2017 and 2018 – around the time when the TaP sessions were being rolled out – almost doubling and making just below 2% of the overall poverty conversation up until 2022, when this figure rose again to 2.3%.

A similar increase was seen in the use of the term 'trapped' in articles about poverty in the UK, with 'trapped' results representing 1.8% of the poverty conversation in 2017, jumping to 3.2% in 2018 and hovering around 3% in 2019 (which coincides with the TaP roll-out and workshops), before decreasing again from 2020 onwards.

As in our House of Commons analysis, the potential influence of framing in informing media discourse around poverty is illustrated further when we look at the use of the term 'lifeline'. Between 2016 and 2019, articles mentioning 'poverty' and 'lifeline' made up between 1.1% and 1.5% of the overall poverty conversation. This doubled to 3.7% in 2020, and increased even further in 2021 to almost 5% (see Figure 10). This increase coincided with a rise in mentions of 'Joseph Rowntree Foundation' in articles about UK poverty – articles mentioning JRF made up just 1.7% of the overall poverty conversation in 2019 and rose to 2.4% in 2020 and 3.4% in 2021 (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Articles using key words as a percentage of the overall poverty conversation

Source: Factiva

Based on this data, there is strong evidence to suggest that both the Keep the Lifeline campaign and the TaP framing work had a degree of influence on the language used in print and online media in this instance. The most mentioned actors between 2016 and 2022 were the UK Government, the European Union, The Trussell Trust, the Department for Work and Pensions, the Office of Gas and Electricity Markets (Ofgem), the National Health Service, the BBC, the Scottish Parliament and the Office for National Statistics.

JRF's share of voice in the poverty conversation

Looking at data such as the 'share of voice' in the UK poverty conversation (a metric that reveals the number of times an actor/organisation is mentioned as a percentage of the overall mentions of a specific topic), we see that the prominence of different voices in the poverty conversation can be revealing of the kind of power and influence different actors have in that conversation. We chose to compare JRF's share of voice with that of The Trussell Trust as the latter was the only other charity in the top 10 most mentioned organisations in the poverty conversation. This provides us with a useful organisation to compare JRF's share of voice with across the project period, as well as providing a point of reference for the figures given.

JRF maintained a share of voice ranging between 0.7% and 1.5% in the overall UK poverty media conversation across the project period – apart from in 2019, when JRF was not in the top 10 most mentioned organisations/actors in the poverty conversation (see Table 1).

Table 1: Comparison of the share of voice between JRF and The Trussell Trust (data only available for those in the top 10 most mentioned organisations)

Year	JRF's share of voice (%)	The Trussell Trust's share of voice (%)
2016	1.5%	0.9%
2017	1.0%	1.4%
2018	1.1%	1.9%
2019	N/A (JRF not in top 10 in 2019)	2.2%
2020	0.9%	1.2%
2021	1.3%	1.2%
2022	0.7%	0.8%

There were peaks in JRF mentions in 2016 and 2021, with a 1.5% and 1.3% share of voice respectively. The Trussell Trust similarly maintained around a 1% to 2% share of voice in the poverty conversation across the period; however, this peaked significantly in 2019 – the same year that JRF fell out of the top 10 – with a 2.2% share of voice. However, as Figures 11 and 12 indicate, JRF and The Trussell Trust have both been two of the most prominent organisations referenced in the media when talking about poverty, with the Government or institutional entities often being the only actors mentioned more often as part of the poverty conversation in the UK. As th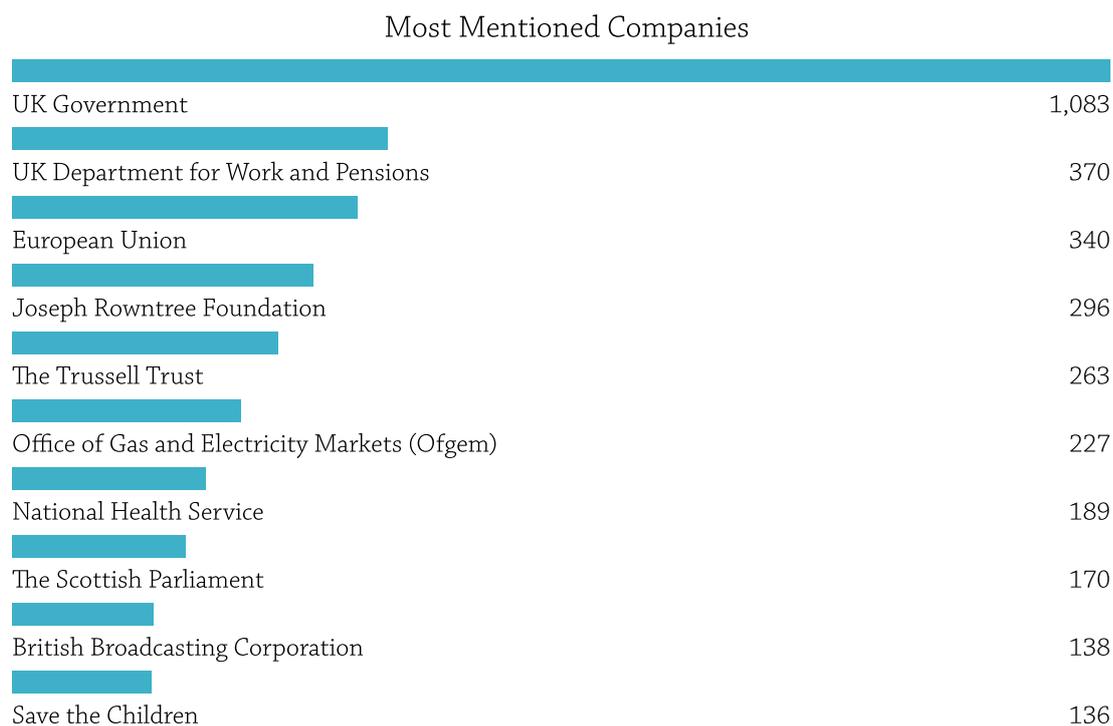e Figures indicate, the European Union, the UK Government and the Department for Work and Pensions were the only groups mentioned more than JRF as part of the poverty conversation in print and online media. In many cases, articles mentioning UK poverty simultaneously discussed the role of the UK Government and government departments in addressing the rise in poverty levels and/or outlining the Government's response to poverty. As a result, governmental institutions are disproportionately mentioned more within the UK poverty conversation in print and online media.

Figure 11: Print and online media share of voice, 2016

Most Mentioned Companies

Company	Mentions
European Union	910
UK Government	352
Joseph Rowntree Foundation	202
The Trussell Trust	120
National Health Service	116
The Scottish Parliament	70
British Broadcasting Corporation	68
Office for National Statistics	55
United Nations	52
Charity Commission	49
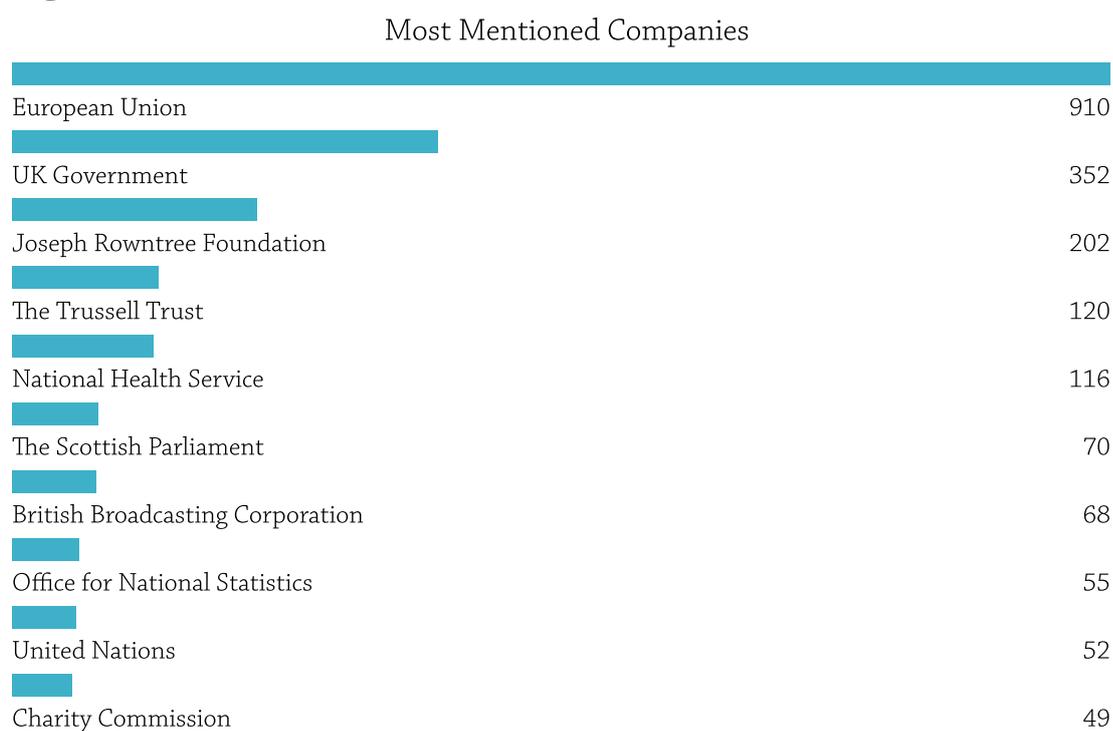
Source: Factiva

Figure 12: Print and online media share of voice, 2021

Most Mentioned Companies

UK Government   1,083

UK Department for Work and Pensions   370

European Union   340

Joseph Rowntree Foundation   296

The Trussell Trust   263

Office of Gas and Electricity Markets (Ofgem)   227

National Health Service   189

The Scottish Parliament   170

British Broadcasting Corporation   138

Save the Children   136

Source: Factiva

With regards to the European Union being mentioned in the poverty conversation, the vast majority of such mentions were regarding Brexit. With such a huge volume of print and online media articles covering Brexit since 2016, it is unsurprising that the European Union was one of the most mentioned organisation as part of the poverty conversation during this period.

JRF's share of voice in framed searches

The close relationship between framing language and JRF mentions became clearer when we looked at more framing-specific searches, such as 'poverty + UK + trapped' – in which case JRF's share of voice increased considerably. JRF's share of voice in 'framed' content rose dramatically between 2016 and 2018, from 1.4% to almost 7%. This dropped down to around 2% between 2019 and 2020, before experiencing another increase in 2021 when JRF had a just over 5% share of voice (see Table 2). These spikes align with the early years of the TaP project and the 2020–1 Keep the Lifeline campaign. What this data tells us is that in print and online content that used elements of framing, JRF had a significant share of voice, and was often mentioned as part of these conversations. We can confidently assume that JRF, and the TaP project, contributed to increases in the use of framing language in the media more generally (our framed searches included 'poverty + destitution', 'poverty + lifeline', 'poverty + trapped', 'poverty + afloat', 'poverty + grip' and 'poverty + restrict').

Table 2: Example of JRF's share of voice in a framed search ('poverty + UK + trapped')

Year	Mentions of 'JRF'	Total	% share of voice
2016	4	281	1.4%
2017	Unknown (data only available when JRF is in the top 10 organisations mentioned within the search)	263	Unknown
2018	34	487	6.9%
2019	11	529	2.1%
2020	9	400	2.3%
2021	26	477	5.5%
2022	4	330	1.2%

Twitter – how are Twitter users talking about poverty?

Using TweetDeck, we broke up our search of Twitter into two sections. The first looked at high-engagement tweets (more than 200 re-tweets) relating to the terms 'poverty + UK'. The second search looked at high-engagement tweets relating to the terms 'poverty + UK + trapped'. We chose 200 re-tweets as the threshold for a level of 'high engagement' as we needed to limit our sample due to the time we had available to conduct the analysis and identified this value as a clear benchmark in dividing the larger sample into a more manageable one. We focused our analysis on tweets from 2017 to August 2022 and used the two searches to compare general tweets about poverty in the UK with tweets that potentially used framing language. We also entered searches for high-engagement tweets using the terms 'locked', 'lifeline' and 'afloat'; however, these did not produce relevant results with regards to the UK poverty conversation.

We found that the search 'poverty + UK + trapped' produced the most relevant, framing-related searches. We then conducted further analysis on the discussions and debates that followed framed tweets versus non-framed tweets. In total, we identified 16 examples of high-engagement tweets relating to 'poverty + UK' and nine examples of high-engagement tweets for the search 'poverty + UK + trapped'.

Twitter results for 'poverty + UK'

From the sample of high-engagement tweets that we analysed, for the 'poverty + UK' search, 19% used elements of JRF framing in their language, while 81% were assessed to have not used any such language. This means that, of the tweets reaching the highest engagement level (that is, had the most re-tweets), almost a fifth contained elements of JRF framing.

With regards to the themes to which these high-engagement tweets referred, the most frequently mentioned topics were 'children and education' and 'councils and government', followed by 'in-work poverty'. Looking more closely at the type of framing language that the high-engagement tweets that did have elements of framing used, we found that all the examples were 'value-driven' and described 'systemic causes and solutions', while only some of the tweets talked about 'redesigning the economy' as a solution to poverty. Interestingly, none of the most highly engaged, framed examples used the key JRF metaphors when talking about poverty, and similarly, none of the examples we identified expressed the idea that 'we all rely on public services'.

Twitter results for 'poverty + UK + trapped'

To focus our Twitter analysis on examples of framing, we also used the search phrase 'poverty + UK + trapped', which identified nine examples of framed language being used in high-engagement tweets. We found that almost all the examples referred to 'systemic causes and solutions' for poverty. Furthermore, a third of the examples expressed the idea that 'we all rely on public services', compared with none of the 'poverty + UK' examples.

Twitter sentiment discourse analysis

We sought to understand whether the use of framing language in tweets affected the way Twitter users responding to these tweets talked about poverty. This was not a quantitative analysis of the topics, and therefore those described below highlight the range of topics, without seeking to infer that any of them are more or less prevalent than others in our sample.

If we look at the data in Table 3, an interesting pattern emerges with regards to the themes and discourse expressed in the sentiments of Twitter conversations in response to 'framed' versus 'non-framed' tweets. For the non-framed tweets, we found that most comments and conversation threads centred on the accountability and failures of the Government to support people in poverty, a lack of compassion from the Government and concerns about the impact of poverty on children and schools. Some of these sentiments were also expressed in response to framed tweets. For example, the failure of the Conservative Government to respond effectively to the poverty crisis was raised across both search sets.

Table 3: Themes raised and topics discussed in tweets

Search phrase	Framed/ not framed	Key themes raised	Topics discussed
Poverty + UK	Framed	Councils and government Children and education	Single parents are part of the problem The role of Brexit in the current poverty crisis The need for the Universal Credit uplift to be maintained The idea that poor choices lead people into poverty The failure of the Conservative Government to distribute resources fairly
Poverty + UK	Not framed	Universal Credit Councils and government Children/ education Stigmatisation	Rates of 'in-work' poverty are disgraceful A lack of government care or compassion Accountability of the Conservative Government in the poverty crisis Concerns for the size of classes in schools Child food poverty Questions about definitions of poverty Lies of the government A lack of media transparency around poverty
Poverty + UK + trapped	Framed	Fuel and energy Children/ education Councils and government	Poverty statistic is 'misleadingly alarmist' Argument over definitions of poverty 'How can people go on holiday if they are in poverty?' Education as the primary root out of poverty – equipping children with skills Intolerable for the UK to have widespread poverty as a 'top economic' nation

However, looking at example responses to the framed tweets, we found that users often blamed people in poverty for their circumstances – for example, some put specific blame on 'single parents', suggested that people cannot be in poverty if they are 'going on holiday' and described poverty statistics as 'misleadingly alarmist'. For instance, one user stated that 'the way to stop child food poverty is to stop their parents spending their money on cigarettes and drugs'. Another user criticised people in poverty for having children at all, questioning: 'Why do some single parents have a lot of children? Contraception and the morning after pill are readily available.' Moreover, we found examples in conversations under both framed and non-framed tweets of users questioning the definition of poverty and doubting that those falling below the poverty line were struggling. This could suggest that, in some cases, Twitter users reacted similarly to both framed and non-framed tweets. However, our sample was small – 41 tweet examples and 82 comments/replies – and therefore the results are not conclusive, so a more detailed qualitative analysis is warranted. We did not identify any noticeable shifts or patterns in these responses based on the year the tweets were from.

Surveys and focus groups

We circulated two surveys to participants who had attended at least one of JRF's framing events or workshops (either in person or online). One survey was aimed at PWLE of poverty who took part in different workshops that JRF had facilitated. This survey was circulated to 55 people and we received a total of nine responses (a 16% response rate).

The other survey was targeted at participants from across the third sector who had attended JRF framing events and conferences. This was sent via email to a total of 637 participants; however, 218 were undeliverable due to changes in email addresses or changes in posts. This gave us a total possible sample of 419 and we received 52 responses (a 12% response rate).
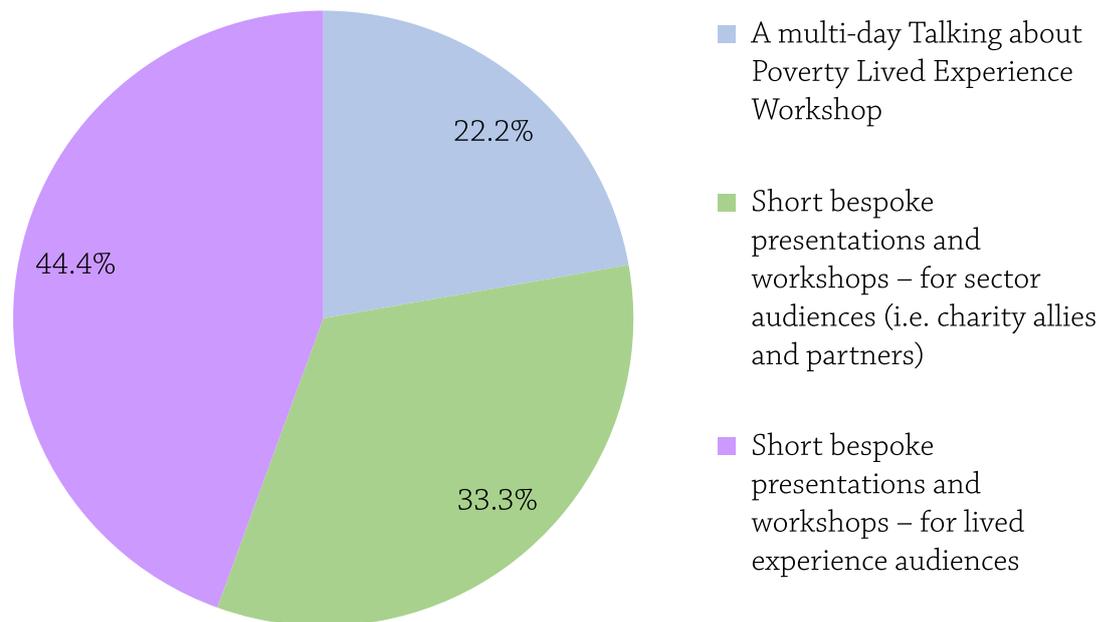
We also conducted focus groups with PWLE and third sector participants from TaP events. While the total pool of focus group attendees was small (14 participants), there was a degree of diversity in terms of age, gender, sexuality and region – but to a much lesser extent ethnicity (the majority described themselves as White British). Just over half of participants stated they had some kind of disability.

Perspectives of people with lived experience of poverty (survey and focus group findings)

In one word, how do you feel about the future of TaP? "Resilient, potential, hopeful"

We first asked survey participants which type of event they had attended. Most participants were engaged through short bespoke presentations (see Figure 13). Just under half of the respondents also attended one of JRF's other framing events as a facilitator (and were therefore highly engaged participants).

Figure 13: Which Talking about Poverty workshops or events did you attend?

■ A multi-day Talking about Poverty Lived Experience Workshop

■ Short bespoke presentations and workshops – for sector audiences (i.e. charity allies and partners)

■ Short bespoke presentations and workshops – for lived experience audiences
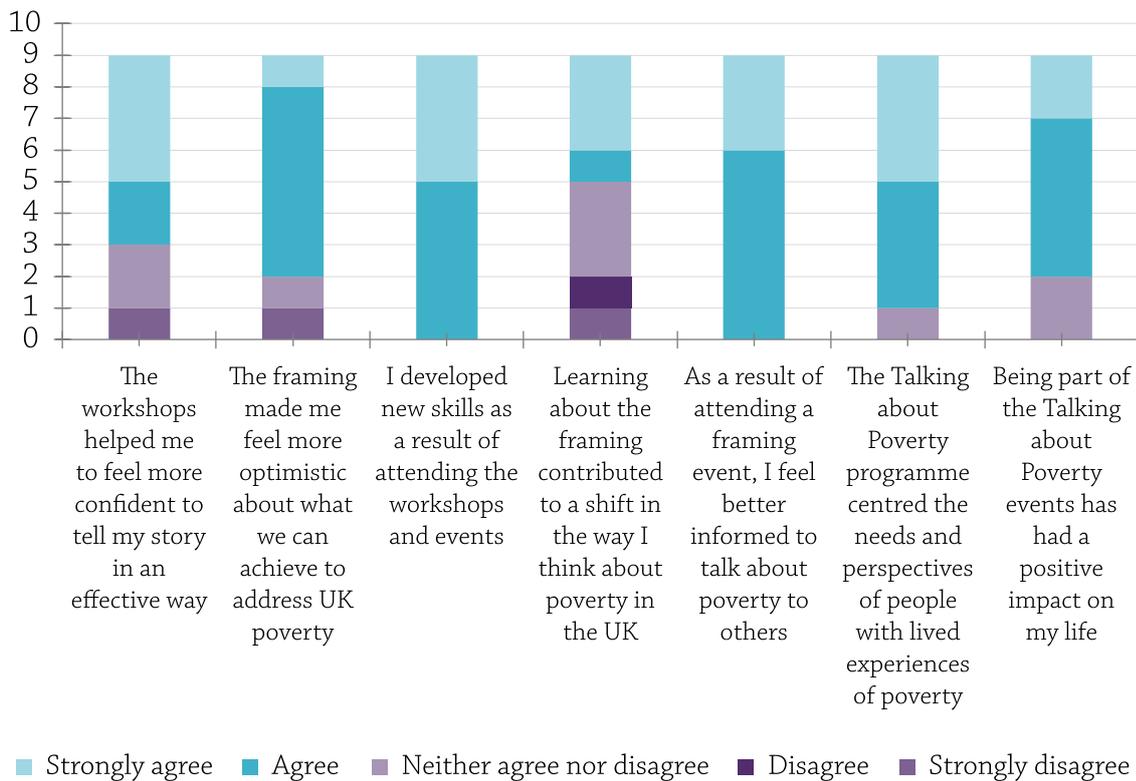
Source: Survey findings from this evaluation

We then asked people to what extent they agreed with a series of statements relating to their impressions of, reactions to and perceived benefits of the event and the TaP framing more generally. All respondents reported that they had gained new skills as a result of a workshop and felt better informed to talk about poverty to others. The majority also reported that they felt the programme had centred on the needs of PWLE, and 78% reported that the programme had had a positive impact on their life.

Most focus group participants also stated that they enjoyed how the workshops were presented, were satisfied with the content and resources, and felt they took something away from the workshop (especially 'soft skills' and knowledge about poverty and framing). Most participants also referred to the workshops as being inclusive and accessible overall, full of well-presented, relevant and useful content and examples. Participants described that the workshops helped them to develop confidence, communication skills and ways to tell their story more effectively (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Legend: ■ Strongly agree ■ Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree ■ Strongly disagree

Source: Survey findings from this evaluation

"This workshop really helped me understand the needs of people power and how we [the voices that are usually unheard in society] can make a change."

"I loved the use of Google Docs and the involvement of other participants involved to have an input despite the fact that we were in lockdown."

Participants also reported that some of the most useful things about the workshops were hearing other people's experiences, the supporting written resources and visuals (such as the doodles created for the project – see Brook, 2018) and identifying ways to connect their individual experience of poverty to the wider 'structural issues' of poverty. By 'structural issues', the participants alluded to the idea that they could connect their individual experiences with broader social narratives about poverty and harmful cultural models, as opposed to other social structures such as the economy.

"One of the most useful parts of the workshops was hearing other people's experiences, you hear that and make connections – a big part of framing was to connect with structures, connect my story to more widespread structural issues."

"I am truly grateful of the experience having taken this workshop, I can only recommend this to my colleagues, friends and family."

In our survey of PWLE, we asked them what they thought worked well and what could have been improved regarding the workshops and events they attended, yielding the following responses.

What worked well were:

- Top tips section.
- Everyone worked together for change.
- Sharing my story to others about my experience of poverty.
- The UK Campaign Manager's sharing and listening, she was excellent.
- Giving people an opportunity to practise framing their experiences.
- Google Docs, input from participants.

Suggested improvements were:

- Updated examples.
- The communication groups didn't communicate well to each other so it was hard to plan around them.

In response to our survey question about the **value** the workshop had added for them, two of the nine PWLE survey respondents reported feeling uncertain about the value it had added. Others reported that it gave them more structure, enhanced their understanding of how other people see poverty and made their communication more effective and clearer.

"People pay more attention when I speak because they can hear how important change means to me by the way my sentences are now phrased."
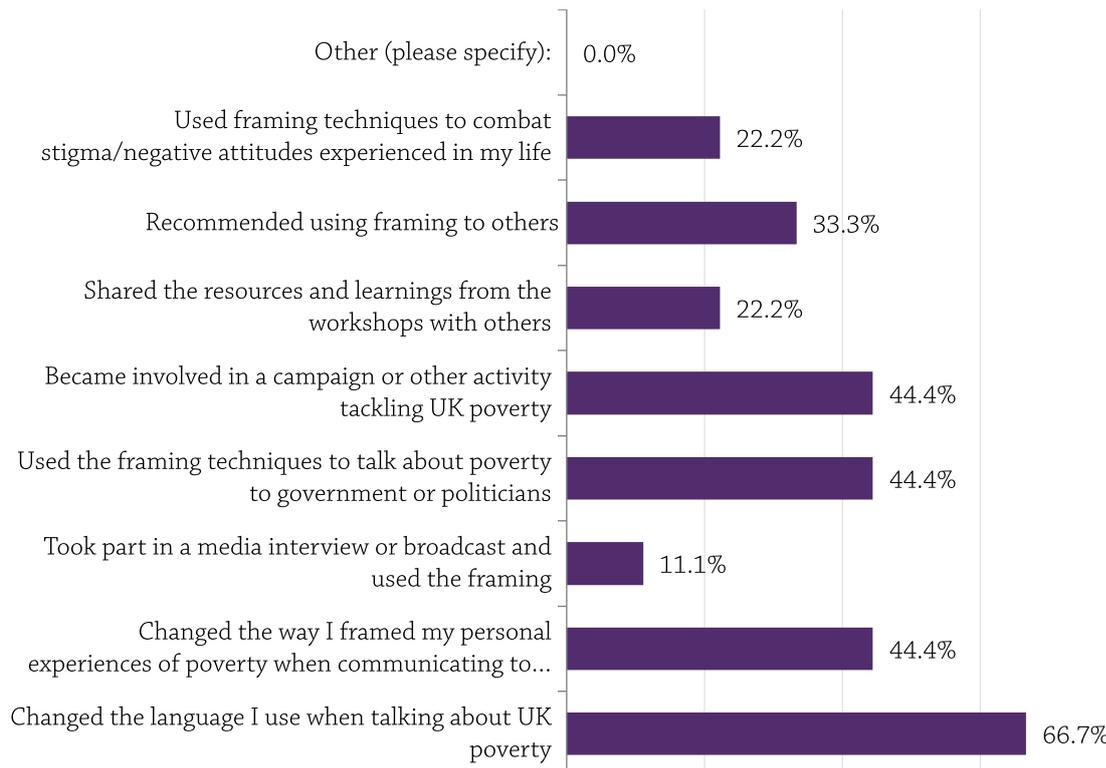
"The framing helps to ground recommendations we are making for better public services by clearly expressing outcomes – i.e., the reasons why effective policy and public services are needed."

Differing from the feedback during the focus groups, the survey data showed that the only statements for which there were any levels of disagreement were:

- The workshops helped me to feel more confident to tell my story in an effective way (one of nine respondents).
- The framing made me feel more optimistic about what we can achieve to address UK poverty (one of nine respondents).
- Learning about the framing contributed to a shift in the way I think about poverty in the UK (two of nine respondents) – this was the only statement with which fewer than half of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed.

We then explored what actions people had taken since attending the workshops and what the challenges had been in implementing the framing. Our survey found that two-thirds of respondents had changed the language they used when talking about poverty. Just under half had used the framing for campaigning activities or speaking to politicians or changed the way they spoke about their personal experience of poverty (see Figure 15). All respondents had taken at least one of the listed actions.

Figure 15: Which (if any) of the following actions have you taken since attending a workshop?

Action	Percentage
Other (please specify):	0.0%
Used framing techniques to combat stigma/negative attitudes experienced in my life	22.2%
Recommended using framing to others	33.3%
Shared the resources and learnings from the workshops with others	22.2%
Became involved in a campaign or other activity tackling UK poverty	44.4%
Used the framing techniques to talk about poverty to government or politicians	44.4%
Took part in a media interview or broadcast and used the framing	11.1%
Changed the way I framed my personal experiences of poverty when communicating to…	44.4%
Changed the language I use when talking about UK poverty	66.7%

Source: Survey findings from this evaluation

During the focus groups, several examples of **short- to medium-term results** of the project were reported. One participant stated they had used the framing in a letter to their MP and had received a positive response. Another participant reported having used the framing in discussions with government officials at a conference, and another stated they were planning on using the framing to present an idea for a project to their volunteer manager.

In terms of **longer-term impact**, participants acknowledged that this is difficult to evidence, but they expected that there would be an 'accumulative effect', explaining that more and more people would start talking about poverty using the framing, which will have many unseen impacts over a long period of time. As one participant noted: "I read a lot about poverty, and I can see when someone in the media is using it – people talking about being pulled down, crashed by waves – you recognise it immediately."

Participants also reported having seen changes in how the media talk about poverty. They suggested that this was as a direct result of the TaP project, as the language reflected the metaphors that they had heard in the framing workshops, although this observation is not necessarily attributive to JRF alone.

Challenges and areas for improvement

During both the surveys and focus groups, we identified several themes concerning challenges in applying the framing and areas for improvement looking forward, including the following.

Access to more examples of framing

Looking at the thematic areas of improvement above in more detail, PWLE reported wanting to see more examples of how framing had been applied successfully in different contexts and how people were using it to tell their stories. Reasons for this were for reassurance, reinforcement and being able to see the framing in practice. One participant said: "I would like to see more options and how to make it sound more natural!"

Less restrictive terminology and themes

Restrictiveness and a lack of framing options were reported to be an area of improvement that may allow for a more organic and less 'top-down' or hierarchical approach to framing poverty conversations. This learning connects with the idea of finding a balance between the agency of individuals and their being able to shape their own narrative and having some consistency in the framing. Participants reported that language was sometimes too restrictive, and that more metaphor options would allow people to have more control over the kind of language being used. One participant noted: "Framing is about finding a balance between authenticity, authoritativeness and appropriateness."

Participants also reported that the framing felt restrictive in terms of avoiding speaking about certain topics, such as the economy. Some felt that talking about the economy was an important issue, with one participant stating: "It got to me a bit, it felt restrictive – the most important structure is [the] economy. How do we address structural issues if we can't address the economy?" Other social structures, and the issues with these structures, were also reported as missing from the workshops. For example, a few participants wanted to see more systemic issues addressed as they were interconnected with poverty (including hidden poverty), such as duty of care, housing, the cost-of-living crisis, the social care system and disability.

Improved access and inclusion

We also explored how different types of identity or experiences might intersect with experiences of poverty and the **accessibility** of the TaP project, in particular people with disabilities. There were several overlapping suggestions as to how the workshops and resources could have been more accessible. One common suggestion around accessibility was to have disabled PWLE involved in the design and delivery of the project, but especially with regards to the workshops and tools. For example, participants stated that there could have been more consideration around the location of in-person workshops and conferences for those with physical disabilities, for example, making sure an email was sent before the event stating whether it was on the ground floor or not and whether the building was accessible for those with physical disabilities. Another participant cited the need for longer breaks for both in-person and online workshops to make sure that those with physical disabilities were comfortable and could take comfort breaks.

Participants reported that more work needed to be done on framing poverty alongside 'hidden disabilities' such as bipolar disorder and depression, mentioning that disability and poverty were often connected. More than one participant mentioned 'hidden disabilities' such as cognitive disabilities and auditory processing disabilities as a challenge. Using the framing more in written work than when speaking was a recurring finding, with one participant stating that they used the framing more in written format due to not being able to remember the framing because of a cognitive disability (although those without cognitive disabilities also reported this as a challenge).

In our surveys, when asked how the events could be made more **inclusive**, many respondents felt that the JRF team made people feel comfortable and that the content was accessible overall. However, one survey respondent suggested that JRF should reach out more to 'less heard' voices, for example refugee communities and "people who use Jobcentres".

The inclusion of marginalised groups was also raised in the focus groups. Participants mentioned that more could be done to advertise and promote the framing 'in the community', with examples given such as putting up posters or putting flyers in libraries or on community centre notice boards, and more proactive outreach to ensure greater diversity in terms of religion, age and ethnicity. Making sure there is a balance between online and in-person events was also noted as important. A broad message that came through was that PWLE wanted to see the framing bringing people together, making sure everyone is included and can access the training and resources. One participant summed things up as follows: "I hope the framing connects people, connects diverse people together and brings communities together despite difference."

Framing for specific audiences

Another key learning area from the surveys, interviews and focus groups, was not being clear about the audience and who the TaP project and framing were meant for. Many participants reported not wanting to use or not using the framing with other PWLE of poverty as well as in their personal lives. For example, one participant stated they "wouldn't use framing techniques for personal life, like a patronising doctor, I don't start talking about drowning or water". Participants reported that framing was more useful for speaking with 'middle-class audiences', more specifically with media professionals and academics, with a smaller number of participants mentioning using the framing with politicians as well.

Perspectives from the third sector (survey and focus group findings)

In relation to the survey we sent to people in the wider third sector, in terms of age, we had respondents from most age groups except the 80+ age group (see Figure 16). It should be noted that while this was a specific survey aimed at the wider sector, some individuals in the sector also have lived experience of poverty and are therefore captured in the survey findings set out here as well as the survey findings presented in the previous subsection called 'Perspectives of people with lived experience of poverty'.

Figure 16: What is your age?
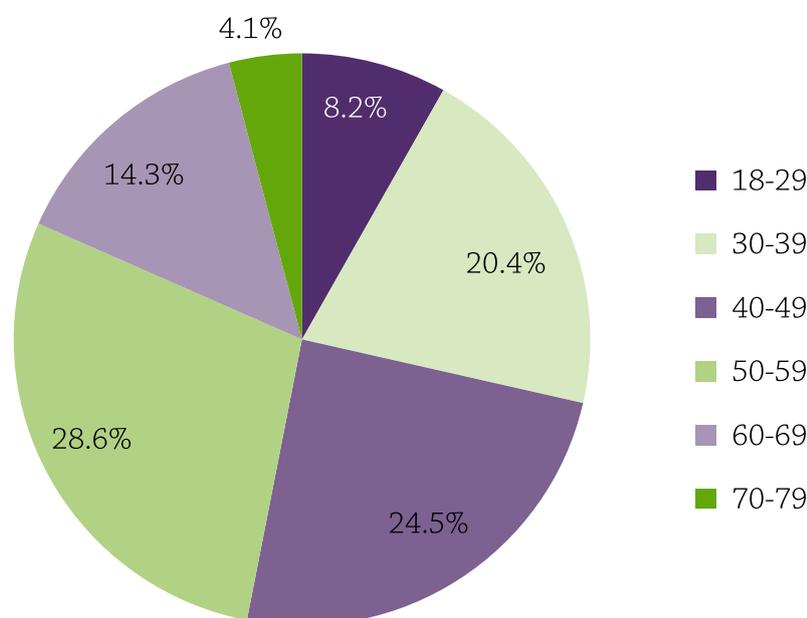
Source: Survey findings from this evaluation

Respondents attended different TaP events. Just under a third had attended the coronavirus and TaP webinar, with approximately a fifth attending the event in either Manchester or Glasgow.

The majority of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the events were relevant to their work and that framing would be beneficial to their organisation's work (88% and 85% respectively) (see Figure 17). The only statements for which there were more than 15% of respondents disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with them were:

- Learning about the framing contributed to a shift in the way I think about poverty in the UK.

- As a result of attending a framing event, I feel better informed to talk about poverty to others.

This may be because this was already a well-informed audience working on poverty and some people may have already felt confident in relation to the topic – comments in the free-text box following the latter statement allude to this, for example:

'I was already heavily involved in anti-poverty work and very well informed about poverty prior to attending the event but nevertheless found the event very useful in thinking about how we talk about the issues.'

Figure 17: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
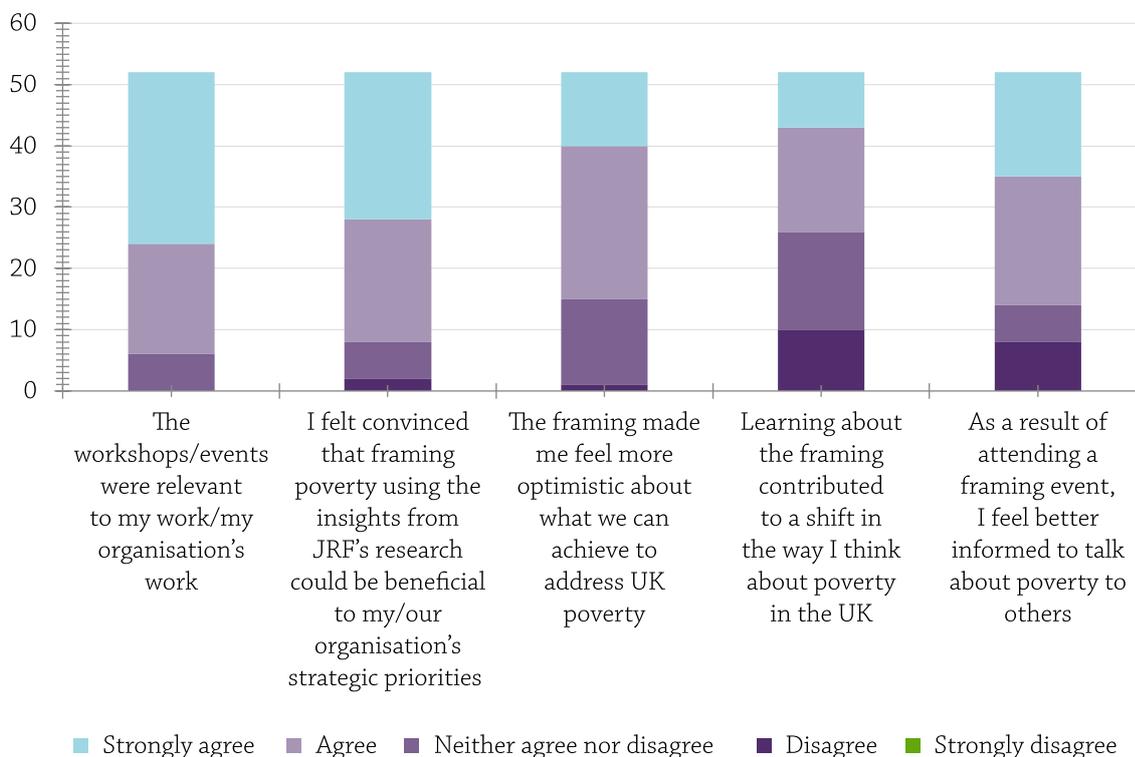
Source: Survey findings from this evaluation

Free-text comments in relation to these statements highlighted a range of sentiments towards the framing. On the one hand, people praised the framing and described it as being useful, illuminating and accessible. On the other, people reported criticism of the framing in not being able to capture the systemic nature of poverty and how poverty changes, and described the framing as restrictive.

The following quotes are indicative of the types of comments people made following the agree/disagree statement question:

'As a person with both personal and professional experience of poverty, I found the attempt to describe poverty as highly binary. On one side, people experiencing poverty talk in brutal and graphic detail about their circumstances. On the other, you have those who talk about other people's poverty in very metaphorical terms and use nauseating language like "tides of poverty" and "being swept under" as if they grew up in a harbour. It is a binary splicing of those who have and those who do not. I found the workshop highly divorced from my personal circumstances as a UC [Universal Credit] claimant at the time.'

'The real shortfall of the framing for me is that it doesn't talk about systemic change and doesn't talk about the root causes and the government's role in forcing people into poverty. It presents poverty as an unlucky disposition and doesn't point out disproportionate impacts on people of marginalised identities.'

'Thoroughly informative, excellent exercises, constructive positive guidance and worthwhile for growth and learning.'
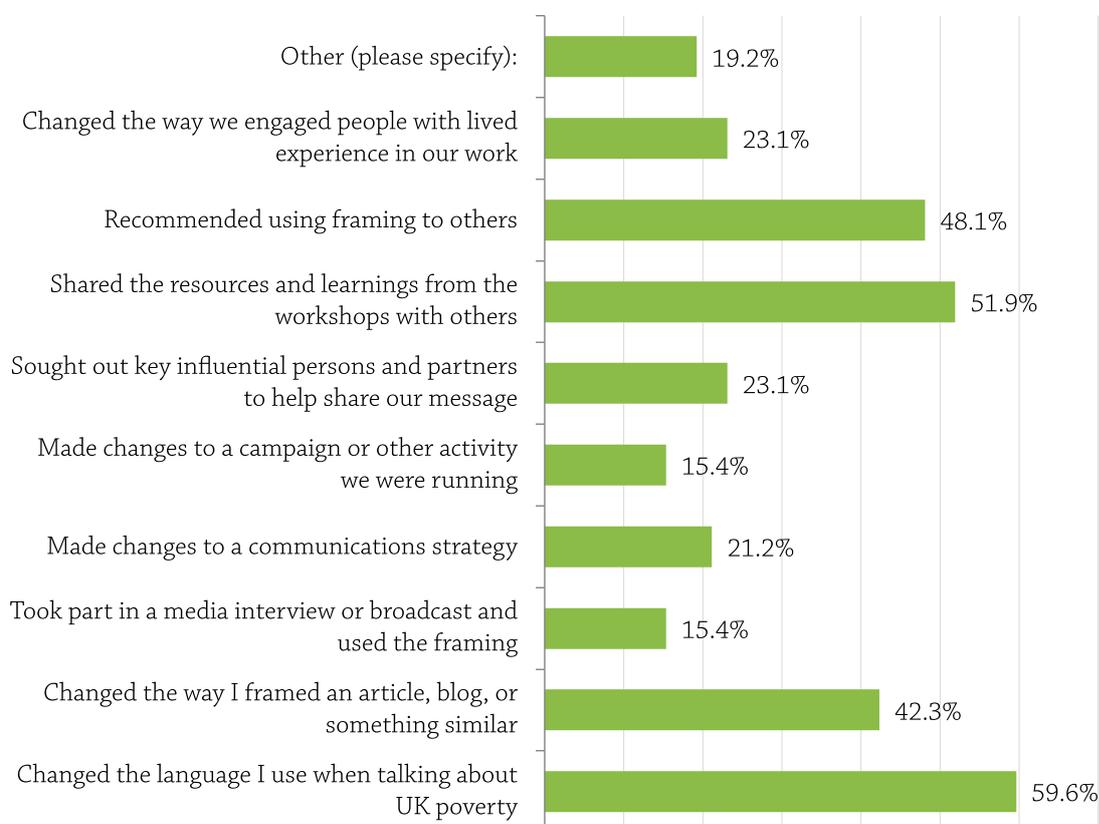
'It was super influential for me, and I disseminated the recommendations for TaP to colleagues locally and have worked to embed it in the language we use to talk with others locally.'

'JRF do a brilliant job of presenting framing in an accessible way, with tangible examples and helpful resources to refer back to.'

Applying the framing

Similarly to the findings in relation to PWLE, almost two-thirds of third sector survey respondents reported changing the language they used after attending a workshop, and just under half had made concrete changes to the way they framed an article, blog or similar output (see Figure 18). Approximately half of the respondents had shared the resources with, and recommended using framing to, other people. Almost a quarter had made changes to the way they engaged PWLE in their work following the event. Other respondents mentioned not having the opportunity to apply the framing. Two respondents mentioned not wanting to apply the framing.

Figure 18: Which (if any) of the following actions have you taken since attending a workshop? (Tick one or more options)

Action	Percentage
Other (please specify):	19.2%
Changed the way we engaged people with lived experience in our work	23.1%
Recommended using framing to others	48.1%
Shared the resources and learnings from the workshops with others	51.9%
Sought out key influential persons and partners to help share our message	23.1%
Made changes to a campaign or other activity we were running	15.4%
Made changes to a communications strategy	21.2%
Took part in a media interview or broadcast and used the framing	15.4%
Changed the way I framed an article, blog, or something similar	42.3%
Changed the language I use when talking about UK poverty	59.6%

Source: Survey findings from this evaluation

Added value of the framing

In the focus groups, many participants reported that the TaP project was relevant to their work and that they were using the framing. Participants were able to cite specific examples of how they had used the framing. For example, some participants stated that they had trained others at their organisation in the framing and/or were using the framing as part of their organisation's communications and campaigns, in articles and podcasts. One participant working in the social housing sector stated that they had used the framing for their organisation's strategy as well as in communications.

"My communications manager is very big on framing and edits staff's pieces. I use framing as part of my organisation. I found the workshops relevant to my work, and it was useful for organisations not directly involved as well. We use it in press releases and campaigns."

Participants also described the usefulness of moving away from myth-busting as well as framing poverty in a way that is action-orientated and solution-based. They described the relevance of the framing, not only for colleagues and those directly involved in communications and campaigns, but also for those not directly involved in their organisations, such as partners and social housing tenants, and said that, after talking about framing with others, they had received a "positive response".

Participants often stated that their use of the framing was effective as it was persuasive, because it was evidence-based. They reported that they felt this effectiveness had led to them being able to explain poverty in "a measured tone".

Another theme that participants raised in the focus groups was that framing gave them a consistent way to talk about poverty in communications and campaigns and that, through this consistency, the third sector was able to have a more collective voice when it came to talking about poverty and framing it. In practical terms, some also reported that this made signing off on communications easier because there were fewer blockages in getting others to agree on communications as everyone was already "on the same page". However, one participant suggested that "a lot more needs to be done in relation to movement-building".

In our survey, we asked respondents about the **added value** that using the framing had given to their work and we identified several themes (see Table 4).

Table 4: Values resulting from using the framing, with illustrative quotes

Value	Illustrative quotes
Dignity	'More dignity for the people the charity was supporting. Our communications became more positive and dignified.'
	'Gives people a more human focus.'
Positivity and solution-focused	'Speaking with a more positive emphasis, allowed more people to feel they could engage with us.'
	'It has helped to discuss in a more positive way the idea of why people need help at times and helped to change the views of some who think some people are just lazy or milking the system.'
Having a shared language/ connection across the sector	'The most important aspect was the focus on movement-building – the attempt to get the whole sector using consistent, effective framing and messaging. It's the only way we'll shift perceptions and mindsets or affect the dominant narratives about poverty.'
	'Having a shared language that the sector uses is useful because of the power being co-ordinated brings. It's also useful to remember that the framing is supposed to also influence the general public and so metaphors and imagery can be very helpful for diluting complex language.'
Stronger/better communications	'Hopefully a more compelling and persuasive narrative.'
	'It has helped clearly frame my thinking and presentation in several settings.'
Connecting to a wider audience	'Helped not falling into traps I wasn't aware of previously, helping make my language more accessible to those who are more likely to be sceptical about the causes/"blames" involved with poverty.'
Developing a better understanding of poverty	'The knowledge gained has given a deeper insight to the issues our community face and the way in which we help people while maintaining their dignity and confidence.'

One person also mentioned that they felt JRF being behind the framing and events added credibility to the work, making it easier for them to share things with others.

Survey respondents also highlighted the challenges in using the framing and we drew up the most cited ones as common themes (see Table 5).

Table 5: The challenges in using the framing, with illustrative quotes

Challenge	Illustrative quotes
Building the habit/changing behaviour	'Remembering to use it consistently.'
Feeling restricted by limited vocabulary and metaphors	'We have had some feedback from clients and experts by experience saying that when the metaphors are used in excess, it makes them feel like the subject is reduced to imagery and takes away from just how serious it is.'
	'The challenge is ensuring we don't sound like we are obsessed with water/the weather!'
Feeling less authentic	'Worries about it sounding forced sometimes – so it's hard to deploy smoothly and naturally.'
	'I think there is a risk that the framing approach can become formulaic, leading to messaging that feels a little clunky and less authentic. As above, I think it is more effective when it helps people to apply the key principles but allows them to do so in a way that they can personalise to fit their own experience.'
	'The fact that when I interact with fellow peers on limited or restricted incomes, we consider it absurd because it does not articulate how we communicate our poverty.'

The focus groups also revealed some common challenges that the third sector experiences. One of the common topics of discussion revolved around a feeling that the framing was too restrictive, as highlighted in the surveys. Restrictiveness was presented in different forms. The first was that framing may be inadvertently promoting fatalism and the myth that people do not escape from or enter poverty. Fatalism in poverty discourse is the belief that poverty is predetermined and therefore inevitable, while the myth that people do not escape from or enter poverty refers to the idea that poverty is a permanent state of being rather than a state that any person, at any one time, can be in or out of. It was stated that "poverty is fluid and people's circumstances change", so using framing metaphors such as 'trapped' may imply a permanency and a fatalism in how poverty is perceived and communicated.

Another way restrictiveness was discussed was in terms of the parameters of the framing. Participants felt that the framing content at the workshops did not cover the economy, economic inequality or accountability. This may have made participants feel this restricted them in how poverty could or should be framed. Some participants felt that the framing did not acknowledge the causes of poverty (political decisions were given as a cause), and therefore may not resonate with those who are more politically motivated in tackling poverty in the UK. One participant noted: "I was excited about JRF building a network and convinced about the training, but the parameters were quite strict, for example focusing on benefits but excluded economic inequality."

Most participants suggested several areas for improvement – for example, having an easier way to recommend framing to and share the findings with others and having more conversations about discrimination. A few participants referred directly to the usefulness of having a one-page document with key points and examples of framing, tying into the idea of needing to remember them, and share things, more easily.

Finally, we found that third sector participants wanted news on the next steps of the TaP project, with some stating they were disappointed it had 'come to an end'. This could be considered a challenge for the sustainability of the project, as third sector stakeholders reported that, despite having adopted framing strongly during the training and the project, they were adopting it less now the project appeared to have stopped.

"They could have [a] simple one-pager with rules of thumb, something people can forward on to friends or family, a checklist or crib sheet, as it's less accessible to share a whole framing report."

"I have trained others in my organisation on the framing, and we adopted it very strongly during the project; a bit less now."

Challenges and areas for improvement

In the survey we sent to the wider third sector, the following **challenges** were mentioned, overlapping with findings from the focus groups in many cases:

- reaching non-English speakers
- having to avoid politics and/or economics
- being too focused on benefits
- having to explain framing to others.

During the focus groups, discrimination, inequality and intersectionality were raised as **areas for improvement**, tying into the challenge of reaching non-English speakers. Some participants argued that the discrimination and inequality that marginalised groups experience could have been considered in the framing more.

The intersection of age and poverty was also raised as an area needing further consideration, as those in the third sector who work with children and young people might not use the framing in the same way as those working with other age groups. Participants said that framing "can't necessarily be used with all groups and not all groups will understand or relate to it" and that "young people might struggle with it and not want to be told they are being pulled into poverty".

However, focus group participants also said that, in taking an intersectional approach, there is a risk of complicating things if there is an attempt to tailor language to different identities. Therefore, finding a balance between acknowledging discrimination, being intersectional and finding common ground is a learning point in need of further consideration.

In terms of improving accessibility, most survey respondents felt that the events they attended were accessible, people with disabilities were well catered for and JRF had taken a proactive approach in ensuring that the events were inclusive. One respondent wrote: 'From memory, the workshop was well facilitated, technical knowledge wasn't assumed, and resources were provided.'

A small number of **areas for improvement** were also identified in our survey:

- engaging other organisations in a more genuine dialogue and consultation before developing the project
- having more regional events
- having more online events
- having more follow-up events.

When respondents were asked if they had any other comments, many simply chose to emphasise the need for this type of programme, for example:

'Just keep doing this – it is so important in how we tell the stories of those we are able to give a voice to, and must support a wider public shift in general assumptions about those pushed into poverty.'

Others suggested that JRF should update the examples and resources, or chose to emphasise how effective they felt the TaP project had been, for example: 'Its success has been shown by the number of politicians now using framing and many people in poverty I know say it has empowered them.'

Perspectives among the JRF team and other key partners and experts

We conducted interviews with a total of 16 people, mainly former and current JRF staff (11), but also partners (two), experts in the field of poverty (two) and a third sector ally. This section covers findings from these interviews as well as a JRF staff workshop that we conducted, and is divided into the thematic areas that emerged.

Almost all participants reported that the TaP project was based on strong evidence, with overall positive feedback on the research. JRF staff felt the research was unique, robust and evidence-based and that it gave JRF and the third sector the means to challenge harmful narratives.

We found the framing to have been applied 'intensely' within JRF, but it was not embedded in a more meaningful way across the organisation. For example, framing was not being championed in all JRF teams and training was not re-delivered when there were staff changes. We found that PWLE were involved in the development of the workshops and events, but they were not involved at the start of the project, in the project's design, planning and research phase.

Project roll-out, flexibility and the embedding of framing

JRF staff felt there was knowledgeable and passionate leadership for the TaP project, especially from those who spearheaded the project's design and roll-out. This helped in staff uptake and, in turn, framing being disseminated "far and wide". One participant said: "The intensity with which it was rolled out – you couldn't escape it."

However, interviewees reported several challenges over the roll-out of the project, which related to a lack of flexibility in using the framing, an over-emphasis on metaphors and challenges in applying the framing across different teams and for difference audiences. While some JRF staff interviewees reported that there were training modules called 'Flex the Frames', aimed at making framing more flexible, this was only at the train-the-trainer level, which only a limited number of JRF staff attended.

Certain parts of the framing were reported to be inflexible, too repetitive and outdated (many interviewees gave examples of overusing and feeling restricted by the water-based metaphors, which seemed to be the most memorable metaphors for people). Notably, some interviewees felt they were being told what to say and did not have any creative control or autonomy, despite having in-depth knowledge of their stakeholders. One external stakeholder reported: "Sometimes the recommendations felt a bit too prescriptive and there were suggestions to flex frames but how to do that wasn't so straightforward." They asked: "How do we play with it [poverty framing]? How could we be creative? How could we dial it up or dial it down for different audiences?"

This also caused a certain amount of internal polarisation within JRF both due to a lack of flexibility of the framing, but also as a result of ideological differences between staff. For example, some staff reported not wanting to use the framing as they felt it was neither politically neutral nor objective, with one participant stating: "There was also worries about seeming too left-wing." Another said: "When done badly it can make people sound robotic, but you also sound robotic reading stats."

JRF staff said that they felt concerned about their ability to critique the framing. Staff reported that the language and metaphors aspect of the framing became "too much of a driving force with no room for anything else". One participant stated: "It became [that] people shouldn't use their own metaphors ever, which is counter-productive because JRF wanted people to use this in their own lives." A lack of flexible framing options and a polarisation in opinions between staff were reported to have caused internal tensions. As one noted: "It worked best when we could have a conversation around it, rather than it being too prescriptive."

However, although participants reported some initial resistance to the TaP project, the case was made that some JRF staff were transformed once the research behind the project was understood better. This reflects a wider challenge: people equating the framing with (only) specific words and metaphors, and forgetting the wider model that the framing research proposes.

"What is going on in the external world is a huge influence on how the public absorb information, so understanding the context of framing is perhaps more important than certain words being seen as good or bad."

Looking forward, staff reported wanting more open dialogue, as well as a more flexible approach to adopting new communications strategies tailored to different audiences.

Embedding framing within the JRF teams was also reported to be a challenge. We found this to be in terms of:

- needing to embed expertise across JRF as an organisation
- staff changes at JRF
- a silo team dynamic.

It was suggested that the project needed more champions at senior levels and the resources (time/capacity) for the teams to use framing. One interviewee stated:

"For someone like me, it works as it's my skills set, but for policy people or analysts, we were asking them to take on an additional skills set [strategic communications] that they didn't want to do or weren't comfortable with."

One participant also reported that having two communications teams internally created some confusion. One way to mitigate these challenges might have been for staff, as well as those in the third sector and in the media, to learn more about how to use the framing flexibly and to have more of a grasp of the evidence and rationale behind the framing.

Monitoring, evaluation and risk assessment

Overall, monitoring, evaluation and risk assessment were found to be aspects of the project that were either unclear or underdeveloped. It should be noted that the evaluation team was not able to identify a documented project plan, a project strategy, an evaluation plan or a risk assessment process (nor did these appear to exist). Several participants agreed that embedding a robust monitoring, evaluation and learning structure from the beginning would have been helpful to be able to monitor the effectiveness of the framing, build an evidence base for documenting its successes and identify ways to adapt and improve its use and dissemination.

The will and interest of some key individuals drove most monitoring, evaluation and learning efforts for the project, rather than a planned or robust team tracking impact and learning from what is and is not working. The Edelman social listening tool used to track and monitor poverty conservations in the media was reported to have waned enthusiasm, with some participants stating that JRF did not routinely follow or analyse the data.

Concerning risk, the tone of some interviews with former and current JRF staff, as well as partners, alluded to a tension around whether framing poverty warranted any risk assessment as it was based on evidence. Some reported that the framing itself is attempting to do less harm to others through communications, and as a result is a risk mitigation strategy in and of itself. However, others reported having raised concerns, but said that their concerns were not addressed. For example, one participant stated that they raised the issue of "telling people what to say" but that there was little space for discussion on this. A potential power imbalance between JRF and PWLE was also mentioned as individual narratives may get lost in the framing. There is some cross-over here between interview findings and findings from the JRF workshop as other JRF staff mentioned wanting to embrace challenge more, as one mentioned: "We should be responding more positively to challenge rather than trying to eliminate it."

Another risk area was having spent a significant amount of money on the research, with the concern that this research might not continue to be used. One participant stated that "framing is a good insight, and it can be a source of creating change and it can make a huge difference" but due to the cost of the project, different issues emerge – for example, the need or feeling to use the evidence to drive that change so the investment has been "worth it", but also a feeling of needing to justify the use of those funds and make it work, despite changes and challenges or uncertainties. One external stakeholder mentioned feeling there was another potential for risk regarding the research, asking: "How has stuff like the [COVID-19] pandemic impacted the models of how people think?" They were alluding to the need for an evaluation of the poverty framing impact in relation to the pandemic.

Communications, audiences and relevance

Overall, feedback on external communications during the interviews was positive. Many participants reported improved communications from being more consistent, easy to understand and value-based, while remaining politically neutral and being able to pull out phrases 'ready to go'. One interviewee noted: "It gave everybody a means of expression at JRF that was powerful."

However, some people reported that the metaphors and language – for example, 'pulled into poverty' – were too negative. Others stressed the importance of making sure the framing balanced communicating individual experience and the structural issues of poverty. One participant stated that "it's fine if you use the framing in the public sector, but not to those with lived experience of poverty", suggesting that PWLE of poverty already know about it and so framing may be less relevant for this group. Participants also reported that there was resistance from some grassroots groups when presented with the findings as they were concerned with authenticity being lost in the framing.

We also identified some challenges regarding framing poverty for different audiences and in different contexts, exemplified in the following quote: "We needed to have a mature conversation about how this [framing poverty] could be adapted for different groups."

There appeared to be some tension between those who believed framing to be for the 'general public', with no need for flexibility as it is rooted in a certain human psychology applicable to the public, the media, academics and politicians alike, and those who wanted the framing to be adapted to different audiences. Concerns were raised about how different audiences and different contexts frame poverty. For example, economists, analysts, the civil service and business actors may not be receptive to framed messages or find that the language resonates for their communication purposes. Staff reported that the TaP project could have made improvements in terms of how it moved from the robust research phase to the strategic communications phase. One participant stated that if they were to do the project again, they would want to "identify more clearly the specific contexts in which the framing should be used as well as being open in adapting to different audiences".

Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were also mentioned as distinct contexts that may require different framing techniques and language, as their political and media discourses are different from those in England and Westminster. Although the framing research included specific research in these areas, this was a question that emerged across our data collection methods, for Welsh language speakers in particular.

JRF's internal application of the framing

Overall, we found that many within JRF used the framing, with most interviewees stating that they used the framing techniques in their communications to some degree, for example in reports and press releases. However, we found that the framing was not fully embedded. Participants reported that during the project's more intensive phase (before the strategic communications team leading the work disbanded), all press releases, reports, social media posts and blogs went through editing to be framed before release. However, this also appeared to have an impact on the efficiency of JRF's communications due to additional sign-off processes and re-edits to incorporate framing language.

Several interviewees mentioned one senior JRF spokesperson in particular as someone who was a good example for how framing should be used, referring to interviews with the media where the framing was used to steer the conversation in a more positive direction. They were also reported as having applied the framing naturally, alluding to the idea that framing can sound natural and be successful.

An added benefit of the framing was that many staff members reported having more recognition and more awareness of strategic communications, stating that they were now able to recognise the cultural model of fatalism in campaigns, and challenge the use of myth-busting, beyond the life of the project. Being able to recognise 'negative' cultural models and harmful frames was reported to be something staff took away with them, beyond the direct application of the TaP framing.

One challenge that interviewees cited in relation to using the framing was that, in terms of practical application, it could be 'clunky' as framing metaphors were slotted in inorganically and inconsistently in a document. Another interviewee reported the potential risk that staff may apply framing to "get things through management".

External application of the framing

According to many interviewees, the extent to which the framing was used in the media, on social media and in the third sector was a success. One noted: "It happened as a result of our passionate and tenacious attempt to make it happen." Another described their attitude as "very enthusiastic" towards the project and applying the framing in their work. An external stakeholder gave an example of using the framing in their communications strategy, as well as at food banks they work with, whereby food banks would speak to the public face to face, and challenge misconceptions about poverty through conversation.

Application of the framing was said to have been "everywhere" for a time, in the newspapers, in the media and on social media. Some described there being a "buzz", especially in the third sector for the many organisations that had attended the framing workshops or conferences or who had been engaged.

"Engagement around the framing was phenomenal. Four conferences got sell-out attendance, which was indicative of the philosophy and practical application of it. There was a buzz around it."

Certain examples of results and outcomes from using the framing were given more than others. But many participants cited common examples of where they felt framing was effective and successful. The most-reported example of effectiveness was the **Keep the Lifeline** campaign, conducted in 2020–1. This campaign was reported to have seen hundreds of charities and other organisations engaged and using the framing of the 'lifeline' in relation to Universal Credit and Working Tax Credit. Although it did not achieve the £20 uplift in Universal Credit and Working Tax Credit it campaigned for, as a temporary support measure the Government extended it for six months. However, the Government invested a lot of money ("millions of pounds") back into the Universal Credit and Working Tax Credit system for working families, which many interviewees felt was in response to the pressure that the campaign, which relied on the TaP framing, created. It was thought that this would have a potential long-term impact on people experiencing poverty in the UK as they would, in theory, benefit from this government investment. Some suggested that the Keep the Lifeline campaign worked well with the framing as it was about a single issue with a strong message, it had a specific objective and the campaign was time-limited, rather than an attempt to "rewire people's perception of poverty" overall.

There were many other cited examples (which several participants raised) of the framing language and values being seen externally in the third sector as well as in many different contexts such as in film, photography, media headlines and politics, including:

- the footballer Marcus Rashford, who was said to be a "good framer and communicator" and was commended for his use of poverty framing in a free school meals campaign

- Amber Rudd, a former politician, who used the framing

- news headlines, for example 'pulled out of poverty' was on the front page of *The Guardian* newspaper

- the 'Picture Britain: Our Poverty, Our People' photography project – a body of work commissioned by JRF and supported by Comic Relief, which reflects our social landscape and the experiences of people swept into poverty (see Paul, 2020)

- the Made in Britain film – a video journalism project with the Guardian Foundation looking at poverty, inequality and the challenges that our communities face (see https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/series/made-in-britain).

In terms of learning, we found the experts on poverty who we interviewed (a small sample of only two) did not use the framing in their work so much, as their work is conveying information to other academics or ministers, with the explanation that some audiences want facts and statistics.

When asked about impact, we found that many participants believed the TaP project had, and will continue to have, an 'accumulative effect' in the third sector and in the media (this was a perception/hope). Overall, interviewees believed that the project had contributed to making the third sector more aware of the importance of language and had led to a change in the general public's attitudes to poverty overall.

To have had more impact, one expert interviewed suggested that working with different third sector organisations and with those who work with groups disproportionately affected by poverty or with different experiences of poverty due to their identities would have helped. It was suggested that these are groups who are particularly at risk of poverty, yet we do not hear much about them. Roma/Traveller communities were mentioned as especially marginalised in this context. One expert stated that refugee and asylum-seeker organisations rarely come together.

People with lived experience of poverty: engagement and impact

JRF staff expressed their pride and happiness with the involvement and engagement of PWLE in the TaP project, such as co-facilitating the framing workshops. Several members of staff also mentioned the benefit for PWLE in being able to apply the framing in media interviews.

Many participants reported that they were proud to have facilitated PWLE to gain confidence in communications and campaigning skills. One noted: "It was a central tenet of enabling people to raise their voice in a productive and helpful way." A common example given was, during media work, PWLE using the framing as a 'coat of armour' to prevent media interviews going in the wrong direction – with PWLE taking control to change the direction of discussions.

We found one unexpected and positive outcome for PWLE to be that they were influenced not just in terms of the framing of poverty, but also in being more interested in poverty as a subject and more generally in social narratives and cultural models (this was evident in both the interviews and focus groups). This overlaps with what we found in the workshop with JRF staff as they also gave positive feedback with regards to learning more about narratives and framing and having a broader understanding of strategic communications more generally. Notably, one participant suggested carrying out "broad media training with people" rather than only delivering poverty framing training, suggesting that broader training would also help to contextualise poverty framing training and develop people's skills.

According to several participants, intersectionality was not considered as part of the project's design in an explicit way. Individuals engaged in our research highlighted how different groups, whose identities might affect their experiences of poverty or how they want to talk about poverty, might be missing from the poverty conversation.

Finally, for a smaller number of participants, the framing guidance was described as "restrictive and blunt". For some interviewees, there was a feeling that the framing was telling PWLE how to tell their stories, which contrasts with JRF's prioritisation of the agency and experiences of PWLE.

JRF's role and reputation

Several participants repeated the following positive findings regarding JRF's role and reputation:

- JRF is known for great analysis and number crunching and has now started to communicate through values.

- JRF is seen as trusted and a leader in having both rigorous research and a value-based message.

- JRF is seen as a leader in funding and supporting smaller organisations that cannot afford to conduct their own research.

"JRF is politically neutral and it [framing] was a way to communicate right and wrong without saying left or right in politics is right or not."

"We have a responsibility to take the sector forward."

Interestingly, some participants mentioned that the use of repetitive language and metaphors may have a negative impact on JRF's reputation as people may see the organisation as not coming up with anything new and sounding too robotic. One participant reported that they would like to see JRF playing an even larger role in the networking between organisations, as a leading force for change. Other interviewees stated that they wanted JRF to work together with more organisations as this would be more effective in terms of mobilisation and movement-building: "Being able to pull different voices together, to move in the same direction, was especially important and powerful when you are facing so many messages saying the opposite."

However, one participant raised a concern around the potential danger of JRF moving into new areas or starting new projects rather than consolidating work it has already done and revisiting its influence and work. They suggested the need for JRF to "think carefully" about starting new ventures.

Sustaining what the TaP project achieved

We found that there are several threats to sustaining the legacy of the TaP project. The list below outlines some of the common challenges raised during the interviews:

- The project closed too soon and the final steps of the project were unclear. Some key members of JRF staff have left the organisation. This has had a knock-on effect as there are now very few key members of staff trained extensively on framing poverty and so there are no new framing workshops and a limited number of staff to go to with questions about framing.

- The toolkits and framing workshops are no longer being promoted.

- JRF is not maintaining partnerships with the third sector. It was suggested that JRF should work more collaboratively in the future and encourage a mutually beneficial relationship with the sector as opposed to "speaking at them".

- Another challenge is not having new framing language and metaphors developed as staff do not want to use the same metaphors repeatedly.

- Key members of staff who have left were producing quality, framed outputs but now outputs deviate from framing guidelines, for example the blog on deep poverty and ethnicity (Matejic and Earwaker, 2022)

- There was an over-reliance on FrameWorks in terms of accessing expert knowledge of the framing and how to use it.

One participant suggested that the TaP project focused on the media more than social media, but that some age groups are watching social media such as TikTok more than the news. Similarly, one third sector participant suggested the need to engage with television and film producers as "things like that, that you really enjoy emotionally with content in the home, that's more effective than the news or websites".

Many participants raised the same external threats to sustainability. Most commonly, the continuing right-wing Government and conservative political climate were reported as a potential threat to succeeding in shifting the narrative on poverty through the TaP project and similar programmes, due to the hostile political environment.

Conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions and recommendations

In this section we outline some conclusions based on our analysis and make recommendations for JRF going forward.

Framing poverty in the media and politics

Our media research has shown that poverty has continued to be a growing matter of interest, with more and more media articles mentioning the word each year as well as there being more mentions in the political sphere. We have also seen that attitudes across the UK towards poverty-related issues have been shifting. Since 2013, the BSA survey has noted a softening of attitudes towards benefits, as well as a growing feeling that there are systemic-level economic inequalities in the UK.

Many factors have influenced these shifts, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, government actions and remarks, Brexit and migration. While we cannot attribute the changes directly to JRF, what we can identify is a clear pattern in the uptake and use of certain key words common to JRF's framing toolkit, which suggests that JRF and the third sector have influenced how poverty is being talked about. The strong correlation of the word 'lifeline' during the Keep the Lifeline campaign period and a peak of mentions of the word in the House of Commons and the media is evidence of this influence. While less dramatic, other key words such as 'trapped' and 'locked' also saw uplifts in their use in the poverty conversation in these spaces, which coincided with the TaP project. Our limited social media analysis did not enable to us to better understand what effect this has then had on the public. But what is clear is that a common language, and a well-co-ordinated civil society, can influence the discussion. This is a tool and a strategy that JRF and its allies can deploy again in the future if this is part of a wider theory of change or objective.

Our analysis also indicates that, when framing language is used, JRF has a more significant share of voice regarding those mentions. While this makes us more confident in being able to connect the increases in mentions to the TaP project, it raises the question of the extent to which JRF or the wider sector is the driving force behind them.

Recommendations

- Think about when and how framing is going to be most effective. Use it as a tool in your tool belt, not as a magic bullet.

- Have a clear and strong plan for monitoring public attitude change in relation to framing projects. Often it is not possible to capture this data retrospectively.

- Consider your role in framing projects in relation to others. People valued the credibility and resources you had to do this work, but could there be creative ways to roll framing projects out? For example, could you do the research for the credibility aspect and grant a consortium of organisations to drive it forward? Or could a strategically placed organisation lead the roll-out?

Lessons in JRF's application of the framing

Having an evidence-based research output to inform strategic communications was an asset for the TaP project, making it persuasive. Coming from JRF, a well-respected organisation, also gave it credibility for the third sector. Where people felt confident using the framing, they felt they had successful and more effective conversations with different stakeholders and that they were better received.

We found that some good practices overlapped with challenges. Consistent and easy-to-use communications tools that were quick and powerful were accompanied by the framing communications strategy being too inflexible. The intense and passionate roll-out of the framing ensured it was part of JRF's culture for a given time but was also a challenge as staff felt there was not enough consideration about how different roles and teams would apply the framing for different audiences and consideration was not given to whether all members of staff wanted, or had the capacity, to take on strategic communications as part of their role. Connected to embedding the framing throughout JRF, there was a lack of clarity about the target stakeholders for the TaP project, which made it harder for people to use the framing.

The word 'authenticity' came up across our evaluation methods, with a clear learning of needing to strike the right balance between authenticity and consistency in messaging to achieve the desired impact. Our analysis suggests that, at one stage, the pendulum swung too far in favour of consistency, leading to a lack of openness, critique and debate around framing, seeing it as **the** tool to use, as opposed to one of many tools in the third sector's belt. Embracing change, complexity and dialogue around framing and its application could help to ensure buy-in, appropriateness and authenticity in communications. Having strong leadership to facilitate this would be of value.

In addition to these lessons, it is our evaluation team's opinion that a strong project strategy, project plan, theory of change, risk assessment process and evaluation and impact assessment plan would bolster future narrative change programmes at JRF. This would help in making sure JRF's future framing projects are able to sustain themselves beyond the individual who conceives them, as well as adapt to a changing environment and identify what is working, what is not and what improvements can be made to make it stronger.

Recommendations

- Develop a clear theory of change and project strategy, including a close-out or transition plan, and document it.

- Conduct an in-depth risk assessment, not just on the practical side of things, but also including ethics, design, relationships and risks to outcomes being achieved.

- Do not leave monitoring, evaluation, learning and impact assessment until the end. Develop a plan, capture baseline information and gather data in real time so you can learn, adapt and celebrate successes along the way.

- Cultivate a culture of friendly critique, being open to questioning and debate.

Engagement and impact: people with lived experience of poverty

Bringing together our findings, we found that the PWLE engaged in the TaP project had a positive experience and gained confidence and skills such as communications skills, increasing their interest in and awareness of social narratives of poverty more generally, and facilitating the connection between structural issues of poverty and personal experience. Many PWLE actively used the framing in media work and/or to speak to politicians in a more effective way and with positive responses. This contributed to their feeling that taking part in the project had had a positive impact on their life. The workshops and events themselves had strong participation from PWLE and PWLE felt their needs were centred.

While there is always more to be done to improve accessibility to projects and programmes, the PWLE we engaged with during our evaluation felt that JRF had done an excellent job in making materials easy to understand, were consultative in the development of the events and catered for any additional needs identified. Considering the common intersection between poverty and people with a physical or mental health condition, JRF might consider having accessibility needs in mind even more when thinking about planning or developing projects, events and resources in the future.

In a similar vein, having a clearer intention, strategy and resources to both understand and reach more people, particularly those communities whose identities might have an impact on their experiences of poverty, could ensure that future framing projects are relevant and useful for more people. For example, we know that the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and others (LGBTQ+) community are at greater risk of homelessness and therefore poverty than their counterparts (Fae, 2022). While poverty in general has a set of root causes, homelessness and poverty among LGBTQ+ people are also linked to societal homophobia and other types of discrimination, which might affect their experiences of trying to escape from poverty differently, potentially needing a different narrative, message and objective when communicating their experiences. We recommend that if JRF seeks to conduct future narrative change programmes and projects, it should conduct an intersectional analysis in partnership with civil society groups who can speak to and with the lived experience of a range of issues that intersect with poverty (for example, social and racial justice organisations, LGBTQ+ groups and refugee and asylum-seeking communities). In this way, JRF might be able to not only support movement-building across the poverty sector – a strength of the TaP project – but also foster better connections and collaboration across movements and communities.

In using the framing, PWLE found it particularly effective when speaking to politicians and the media. But our evaluation raised some questions as to how relatable the framing content and toolkit were for PWLE when using these resources with others. For example, several people indicated that they would not use this type of language with their friends, family or other people experiencing poverty – feeling like it was aimed at 'the middle class'. We argue that involving a diverse group of PWLE, as well as the wider sector, at the very inception phase of a project like the TaP project – not just in the implementation phase (a limitation commonly highlighted in our research) – would add value to both the development of the frames, toolkits and resources and the roll-out of the project itself.

It is difficult to gauge the impact of the TaP project for PWLE due to the complexity of the project and context. However, stakeholders we spoke with believed the project to be achieving positive outcomes and results in the media, noting they had seen media headlines and attitudes change. Significantly, PWLE were generally hopeful, and confident, that the project would have a positive, accumulative effect on how poverty is being talked about in public discourse.

One high-level change with the potential for a positive impact on people experiencing poverty was the Keep the Lifeline campaign, which is thought to have had an influence on the Government's reinvestment in Universal Credit. It is clear from our media and political content analysis that the campaign permeated into these areas. What is unclear is whether this success was due to the framing or to the strong co-ordination and unity between organisations in the sector, which the framing facilitated. However, many engaged in our evaluation said that the TaP project was pivotal in bringing the sector together, creating a buzz and building a strong movement – a positive impact in itself.

We were unable to gather enough data to answer how impacts may have changed based on different identities, although this is a finding in and of itself as it highlights a gap in the project's theory of change when considering how the project's outputs might have affected diverse groups, and a gap in the data required to make any sort of assessment on this.

Recommendations

- Keep up the momentum in facilitating the engagement of PWLE and centring their needs in your communications and media work, as well as any future framing workshops. Consider how else the skills of PWLE can be developed so that they can tell their stories and engage in meaningful conversations with the media and politicians on their own terms.

- Keep building on existing expertise to consider how to facilitate access to people with physical or mental health conditions.

- Develop a clear intention, strategy and plan towards intersectionality and poverty and resource this. Also collect relevant data so you can assess how well you are doing in this area.

- Involve PWLE, partners, allies and other groups early on in your project. Involve them in the objective-setting and design phases, not just the implementation phase.

- Foster better connections and collaborations across diverse movements and communities.

Engagement and impact: the third sector

The vast majority of third sector partners and allies engaged in our evaluation both valued and used the framing in their work, crediting it with adding more dignity, positivity and effectiveness to their communications.

However, the sector (and JRF) had struggles with buy-in and with the implementation of the framing in the long term, most notably feeling restricted, unable to convince others of the importance of the framing or to support them in using the framing, the framing lacking authenticity and resourcing issues. Our analysis points us towards three key root causes of these challenges.

First, there was a lack of engagement with and inclusion of the wider sector in the project design and objectives.

Second, the planned programme could not sufficiently train and skill staff and the sector on the depths of the framing – people described feeling restricted by the most memorable parts of the framing (the metaphors) despite there being many other aspects of the framing methodology. Being able to adapt the framing for different audiences and people in different circumstances was a significant challenge. Participants in our evaluation felt they could not come up with new language and metaphors within the framing guidelines, ultimately giving the framing a shorter shelf life.

Third, there was a lack of sustainability planning. There was no clear 'end' or transition point for the TaP project, or consideration as to how the sector (due to staff changes, changes in the external environment and resource limitations) would be able to continue to champion the framing if it was intended to be a long-term strategy and tool. These limitations mean that framing approaches might be more realistically applied to shorter-term campaigns (such as the Keep the Lifeline campaign).

Recommendations

- Develop a more advanced set of tools for framing projects – providing a range of information at different levels, including audio, written and in person and online sessions.

- Ensure modules such as 'Flex the Frames' are part of the core package of tools – or find other ways to equip people with the confidence not only to use the most memorable aspects of the framing but also to adapt framing to changing circumstances and to their audience.

- Create a resourcing plan with third sector organisations, providing tools, guidance or other support so that they are able to resource their framing efforts and embed framing in their work.

- Develop a community of practice or champions across the third sector, who can be a resource for others and for each other.

- Keep listening to and involving the wider sector in your planning. The co-ordination, hope and innovativeness of the framing were a powerful uniting factor that was clearly meeting a need. Is framing the right tool to continue to perform this function? Are there other ways you can support similar movement-building outcomes?

Annexes

Annexes

Annex A: Researcher information

Patrick Regan is the Lead Researcher of this evaluation and Director of the Rights Evaluation Studio (RES). After working in the charity and non-governmental sector for more than 10 years, Patrick set up RES in 2019 – a consultancy that pairs a creative approach with the rigorous application of research and evaluation standards to effectively evaluate complex projects and programmes. He strongly believes that the principles of inclusion, voice, non-discrimination and a rights-based lens to evaluation can help generate useful, insightful and impactful evaluation data.

As well as having a strong grounding in monitoring and evaluation, Patrick has also successfully designed many projects and proposals, securing multiple triple-figure grants from trusts, foundations and government donors for international human rights projects. Patrick has held senior-level positions in the third sector as well as board and governance positions.

Sophie Nicholas is an Impact Researcher and Facilitator at RES, providing support across RES projects and leading in the facilitation of qualitative research methods, such as focus groups and interviews. She has also managed and evaluated a range of projects, developed complex theories of change, and more. Sophie has a particular interest in the areas of qualitative research methods, intersectionality, gender-based approaches to evaluation, meaningful engagement and participation, and communications in monitoring, evaluation and learning.

Hugh Atkinson is a Research Associate at RES. He provides administrative, research and evaluation support across RES projects and works as an evaluation associate to help maintain and develop evaluation systems and conduct media analysis. Hugh has worked on numerous projects with RES, covering a diverse range of themes including digital rights, legal advocacy, judicial discrimination, freedom of expression and minority rights. He also works as a monitoring, evaluation and learning partner in an embedded capacity with a UK-based human rights organisation specialising in documenting grave human rights abuses.

Annex B: Research questions and sub-questions

Main research question	Sub-questions	Data and indicators	Data sources
Q1 How meaningfully were diverse PWLE of poverty engaged in the project?	How effectively did JRF facilitate the participation of PWLE from different identities and backgrounds? What worked well and what could be improved in terms of how PWLE were engaged?	Identification of the activities and steps that JRF took that had PWLE participation Demographic data of PWLE engaged (where available) Reports of barriers to or difficulties in engaging Perceptions of the 'quality' and 'meaningfulness' of PWLE engagement Steps that JRF took to facilitate PWLE's engagement	Document review Interviews with JRF staff Focus groups with PWLE Internal workshop with JRF

Main research question	Sub-questions	Data and indicators	Data sources
Q2 How has the TaP project affected PWLE of poverty?	How effective were the workshops, resources and training for PWLE in equipping them with the skills and information to talk about their experiences and campaign for issues they care about it? Were some sessions more effective than others? What individual-level impacts (positive or negative) can be identified for PWLE engaged in the TaP project? What examples of policy, legal or other types of higher-level changes did framing work contribute to that could affect people living in poverty? How do PWLE of poverty describe the outcomes and impacts of the TaP project for themselves as individuals, as well as for wider communities? How significant are these changes for them? How do these impacts change based on differences in people's identities and experiences of (multiple) discrimination (sexism, ableism, racism)?	Survey data with examples of how the TaP project affected PWLE/how the framing was applied Survey and focus group data relating to the effectiveness of the sessions and training provided Demographic data from the surveys Examples of outcomes, impact and significance for PWLE Identification of gaps and/or differences based on different individual identities Third-party data on shifts in social attitudes – including British Social Attitudes (BSA) data from 2015 to 2021 on public attitudes towards poverty, social inequality, welfare and COVID-19	Survey of PWLE Focus groups Co-analysis workshop (PWLE attendees)

Main research question	Sub-questions	Data and indicators	Data sources
Q3 How have third sector allies who received/took part in the JRF framing toolkit/workshops applied their understanding (and shared information) of how poverty could be framed differently?	What types of actions have third sector allies taken since the training and what were the results of these actions? What have third sector allies changed in their ways of working with PWLE and in their communications? What were the barriers to applying learnings into their work? Could JRF have changed anything in the delivery of the workshops or taken any other actions to produce even more results or reduce barriers for partners? Were there any significant gaps in terms of who was reached through the resources and workshops?	Examples of TaP training actions and results Examples of barriers to applying learning Comparison of JRF tools and training to examples of barriers Examples of improvements to reduce barriers for the third sector Demographic data from TaP project training/tools	Document review Surveys Focus groups with external stakeholders Interviews with external stakeholders Co-analysis workshop

Main research question	Sub-questions	Data and indicators	Data sources
Q4 What worked well and what were the challenges in relation to the way JRF applied the framing in its own work?	To what extent did JRF apply the framing to its own work? What worked well in relation to how JRF rolled out the framing internally? What challenges did different teams or individuals face when using the project framing tools for their audiences? And how did they respond to these challenges? What were the main strengths and challenges for JRF internally in terms of project implementation and management? To what extent did JRF establish relationships and partnerships with influential groups, partners and individuals to help promote the framing?	Examples of / perspectives on how JRF used and applied the TaP project in its own work Examples of / perspectives on how JRF used the reframing of poverty for different audiences and associated learnings Examples of / perspectives on internal strengths and challenges in project implementation and management	Document review Interviews with JRF staff Internal JRF workshop Co-analysis workshop with JRF

Main research question	Sub-questions	Data and indicators	Data sources
Q5 How has the framing of poverty changed (a) in the media and (b) among government actors?	What are the main thematic changes in how these different stakeholders are reframing and communicating about poverty (if any)? What did the TaP project contribute to these changes and how significant was this contribution? What were the driving (internal or external) factors behind these changes and who else contributed besides JRF?	Examples of reports or other documents that suggest reframing in the third sector or for individuals Key informants' perceptions of changes in the language being used in the media and government External stakeholder accounts of how the TaP project reframed poverty Accounts of other driving factors of change besides JRF Quantitative analysis exploring: The frequency of 'framing' present across years Trends/changes in the 'conversation' around poverty Sentiment/reaction data relating to key media pieces Data relating to the poverty 'conversation' and framing presence in the House of Commons	Desk-based research Media analysis Focus groups Interviews with external stakeholders

Main research question	Sub-questions	Data and indicators	Data sources
Q6 What are some key reflections and learning points from the TaP project that are transferable to other projects and work?	What can be identified from this research that could be helpful for JRF's future development and its Talking about Housing project? What good practices can be identified from JRF's ways of working?	Identification of key reflections and learnings Examples of how the TaP project is sustainable and transferable to other projects Identification of good practices from JRF	Document review Surveys Focus groups Interviews Internal workshop with JRF Co-analysis workshop
Q7 What other unexpected outcomes and impacts can be identified in relation to the TaP project?	No sub-questions agreed	No specific indicators	All methods

Annex C: Documents reviewed

Document type	Author	Date published	Title
Contract	JRF	N/A	Project award document
Event attendee list	JRF	N/A	Organisation Frame Event
Event attendee list	JRF	15 June 2021	Wales Event
Event invite	JRF	6 August 2020	Invite – Wave 1
Event programme	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	Final Master Programme
Event programme	JRF/FrameWorks/ Poverty Alliance	25 June 2019	Framing for Influence
Event programme	JRF	11 February 2020	Framing North
Event programme	JRF	N/A	Programme, Final, Welsh
Event programme	JRF	N/A	Welsh Framing Conference Programme, Final
Feedback form results	JRF	October 2021	Copy of 2021/2 TaP – review
Framing data findings	JRF/FrameWorks	October 2020	Cultural Model Slide Deck
JRF policy	JRF	N/A	Paying partners with lived experience
JRF policy	JRF	N/A	Thank you guidance for participation
Learning indicators	JRF	October 2020	Levels of Learning Framing
Radio report	BBC	21 November 2018	Moral Maze
Report	FrameWorks	November 2016	UK Poverty MTG 2016
Report	JRF	N/A	Talking about UK Poverty 2019/20
Report	On Road Media	June 2022	Narrative Change, Less Talk More Action
Report	JRF	July 2022	Summary of Edelman Analysis
Report	JRF	Unknown	Framing 2021 Analysis
Report/data findings	JRF	21 December 2018	JRF Published Conversation

Document type	Author	Date published	Title
Report update	JRF	23 March 2020	Paper D: Solve Poverty Outcome Update
Slide deck	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	Frame Mobilisation Master
Slide deck	JRF	N/A	Full Follow Up – Outcome Strategy Deck
Slide deck	JRF	August 2019	JRF in Entertainment
Social listening findings	JRF	December 2020	Edelman Findings
Social listening findings	JRF	January 2021	Poverty in Scotland
Toolkit	Citizens UK	N/A	Remote Video Interview Tips
Toolkit/resources	JRF	December 2021	Framing Handover
Video	N/A	N/A	Ayesha Hazarika, *Question Time*, BBC
Video	N/A	N/A	Helen, ITV Wales
Webinar proposal	JRF	N/A	JRF Webinar Proposal – TAP and Coronavirus
Workshop agenda	JRF	N/A	TAP Online Agenda
Workshop application form	JRF	N/A	TAP Registration Form
Workshop slides	Citizens UK	16 July 2021	M&C Train Master
Workshop slides	Citizens UK	N/A	National Training Workshop
Workshop slides	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	TAP 1 Master
Workshop slides	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	TAP 2 Master
Workshop slides	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	TAP 3 Master
Workshop slides	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	Framing North ASP
Workshop slides	JRF/FrameWorks	N/A	Framing for Wellcome
Workshop slides	JRF/FrameWorks	26 May 2021	Introduction to Framing and Framing Poverty

Annex D: Key words for the media analysis

Search tool	Key words
Factiva	1. Poverty
	2. UK
	3. Destitution
	4. Trapped
	5. Restrict
	6. Grip
	7. Lifeline
	8. Afloat
	9. Destitution
	10. Joseph Rowntree Foundation
Hansard	1. Poverty
	2. Poor
	3. UK
	4. Unemployment
	5. Cost of living
	6. Inflation
	7. Pandemic
	8. COVID
	9. Trapped
	10. Dragged
	11. Locked
	12. Children
	13. Swept
	14. Energy
	15. Bills
	16. Fuel
	17. School
	18. Crime
	19. Food
	20. Bank
	21. Benefits
	22. Mental health
	23. Council housing

Search tool	Key words
	24. Universal Credit
	25. Disabilities
	26. Poverty + Scotland
	27. Poverty + Wales
	28. Poverty + Northern Ireland
	29. Poverty + England
	30. Destitution
	31. Grip
	32. Restrict
	33. Afloat
TweetDeck	1. Poverty
	2. UK
	3. Britain
	4. Trapped
	5. Benefits
	6. Locked
	7. Destitution

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