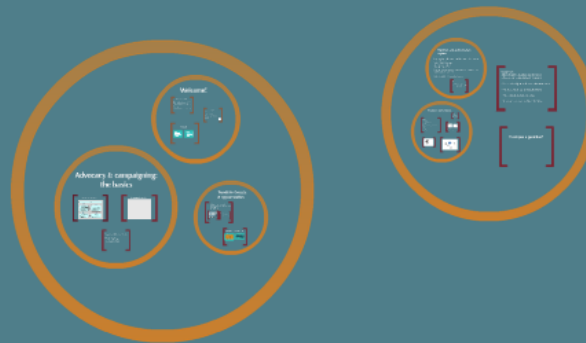


# Advocacy in polarised political climates

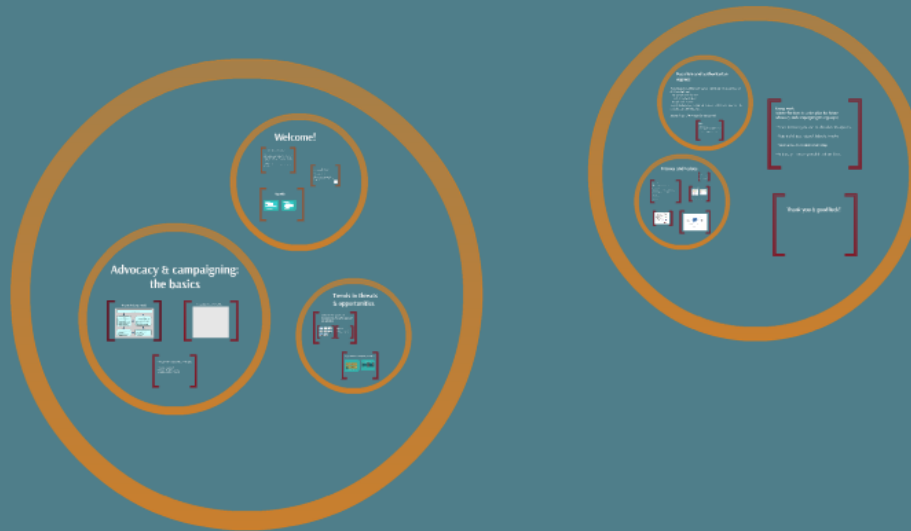
## *Training for Dutch Council for Refugees*



November 4th 2019  
Sharon Becker / Huub Sloot  
[sharon@impactrack.eu](mailto:sharon@impactrack.eu) / [huub@impactrack.eu](mailto:huub@impactrack.eu)

# Advocacy in polarised political climates

## *Training for Dutch Council for Refugees*



November 4th 2019  
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## Welcome!

**Introduction of the course**

**Introduction**

**Agenda**

## Advocacy & campaigning: the basics

**Theory of Change model**

**The campaign strategy tool kit**

**Advocating for refugee rights in Hungary**

## Trends in threats & opportunities

**Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy and campaigning**

**Opportunities and inspiring examples**

# Welcome!

## Objectives of this training

### Objectives

1. Learn more about advocacy and campaigning for refugee rights in polarised political climates/ illiberal democracies
2. Learn about the good, the bad and the ugly (sharing best practices)
3. Identify concrete recommendations to improve future advocacy and campaigning

### Secondary objective:

4. Participants get to know each other and know who to turn to for specialist advice

## Introductions

- Your name and organisation
- Your role or job title
- If you could assume a completely different advocacy role for a day, what would it be?



## Agenda

09:00	Registration
09:30	Introduction
10:00	Objectives of this training
10:30	Introduction to advocacy and campaigning
11:00	Case study: [unclear]
11:30	Break
12:00	Introduction to [unclear]
12:30	Introduction to [unclear]
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Campaign  
Strategy mix



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# Agenda

Time slot	Content
9.30 - 10.00	Registration & coffee
10.00 - 10.15	Opening, agenda and introductions
10.15 - 11.00	Advocacy and campaigning: the basics <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The basic campaign cycle</li><li>• Theory of Change model</li></ul> Advocating for refugee rights Hungary <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mini presentation HHC</li><li>• Mini presentation DCR</li></ul>
11.00 - 11.15	Coffee break
11.15 - 12.30	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy and campaigning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Key barriers to civic action and activism</li><li>• Trends in Hungary</li></ul> Opportunities and inspiring examples <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Eight tactics for civic action</li><li>• Reframing the debate (introduction)</li></ul>
12.30 - 13.30	Lunch break

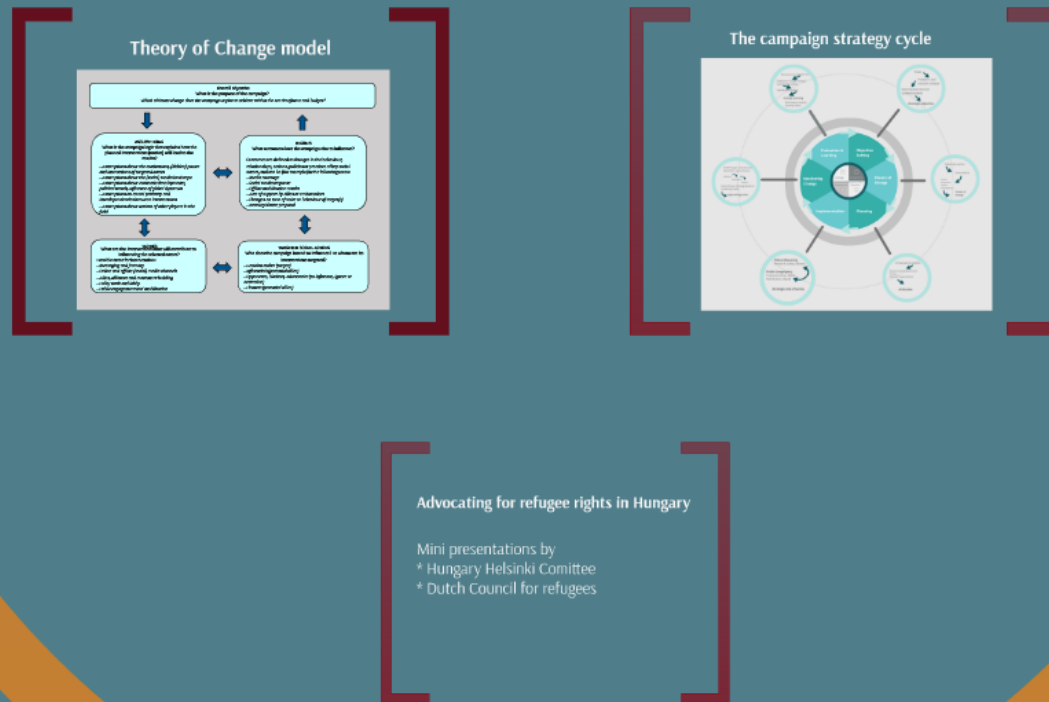
Time slot	Content
12.30 - 13.30	Lunch break
13.30 - 15.00	Communication for the good and the bad: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Populism, propaganda and fake news</li><li>• Opportunities and threats of social media channels</li></ul> Frames & values Theory: from facts to emotions Group work (two groups) on: (1) Communication and (social) media strategies, countering propaganda and fake news (messaging, senders, channels, technologies, ethics). (2) Alternative influencing tactics in illiberal democracies (policy analysis & lobby/ research & legal routes/ building communities/ mobilisation and allies/ digital strategies, other)
15.00 - 15.15	Coffee break
15.15 - 16.30	Both groups present back + Q&A Joint reflections and action plan for future advocacy and campaigning (in 2 groups) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Areas to investigate and involve relevant expertise</li><li>• Potential allies or stakeholders to involve</li><li>• New tactics to explore or develop</li></ul> Key conclusions of the day
17.00 - 17.30	Evaluation and closure



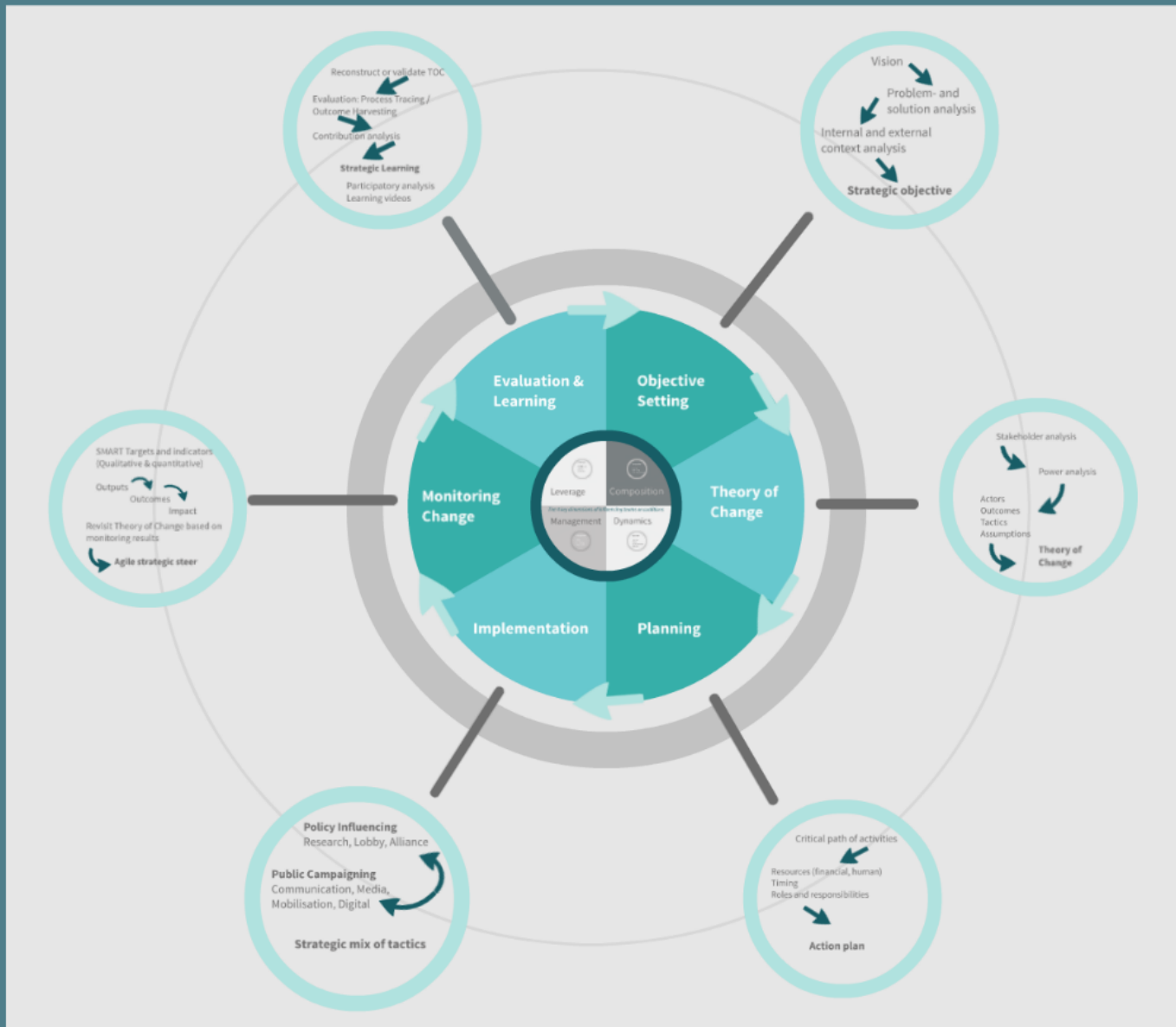
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# Advocacy & campaigning: the basics



# The campaign strategy cycle



Monitoring  
Evaluation



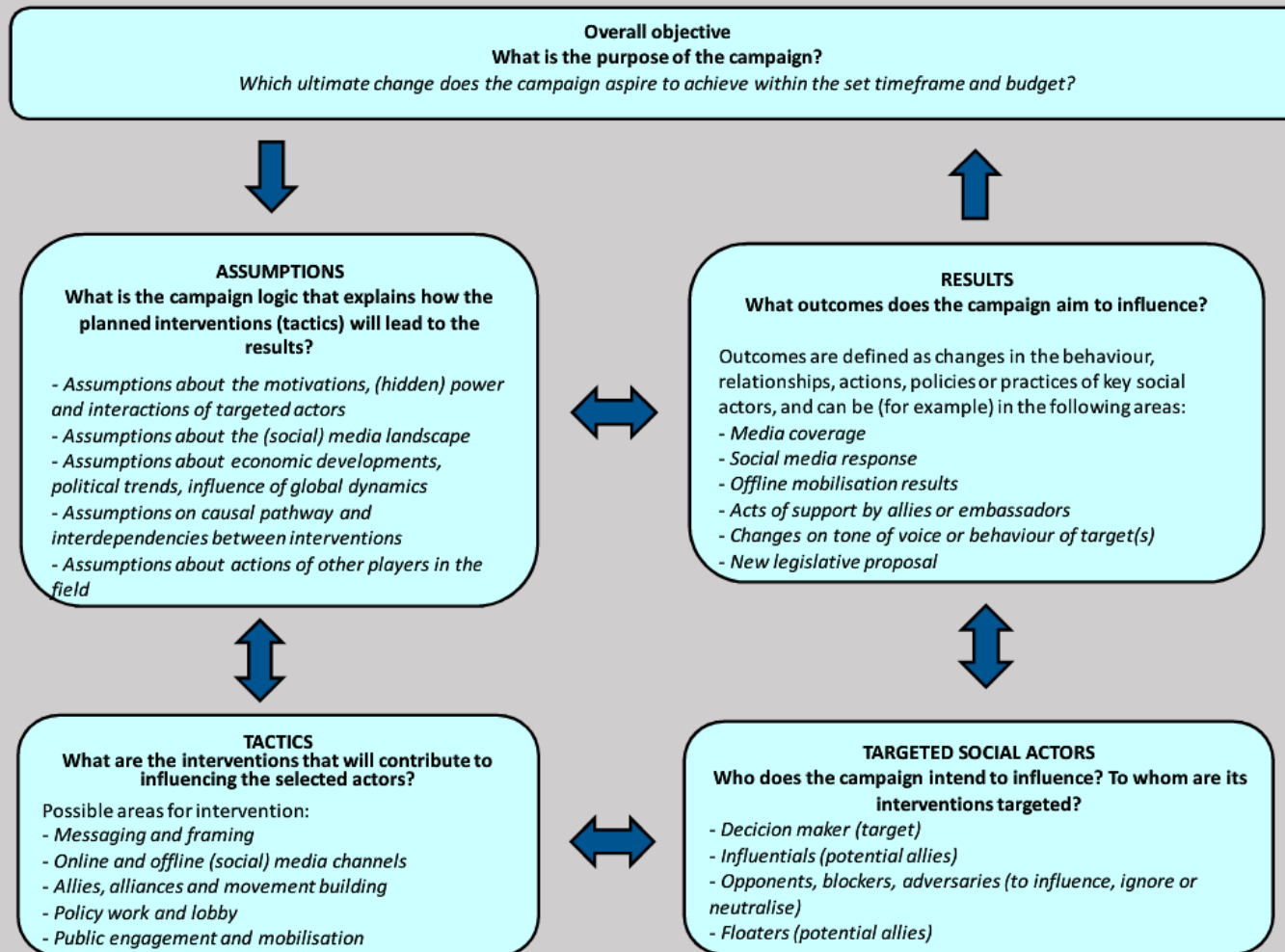
Theory of  
Change

Implementation

Planning



# Theory of Change model



**Overall objective**  
**What is the purpose of the campaign?**

*Which ultimate change does the campaign aspire to achieve within the set timeframe and budget?*



**ASSUMPTIONS**

**What is the campaign logic that explains how the planned interventions (tactics) will lead to the results?**

- Assumptions about the motivations, (hidden) power and interactions of targeted actors
- Assumptions about the (social) media landscape
- Assumptions about economic developments, political trends, influence of global dynamics
- Assumptions on causal pathway and interdependencies between interventions
- Assumptions about actions of other players in the field



**RESULTS**

**What outcomes does the campaign aim to influence?**

- Outcomes are defined as changes in the behaviour, relationships, actions, policies or practices of key social actors, and can be (for example) in the following areas:
- Media coverage
  - Social media response
  - Offline mobilisation results
  - Acts of support by allies or ambassadors
  - Changes on tone of voice or behaviour of target(s)
  - New legislative proposal



**TACTICS**

**What are the interventions that will contribute to influencing the selected actors?**

Possible areas for intervention:

- Messaging and framing
- Online and offline (social) media channels
- Allies, alliances and movement building
- Policy work and lobby
- Public engagement and mobilisation



**TARGETED SOCIAL ACTORS**

**Who does the campaign intend to influence? To whom are its interventions targeted?**

- Decision maker (target)
- Influentials (potential allies)
- Opponents, blockers, adversaries (to influence, ignore or neutralise)
- Floaters (potential allies)

# Advocating for refugee rights in Hungary

Mini presentations by

- \* Hungary Helsinki Committee
- \* Dutch Council for refugees



# Trends in threats & opportunities

## Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy and campaigning



### Trends in Hungary: Group work (in pairs)

Which types of constraints (as presented in the table) are mostly experienced in your advocacy work (or your partners' in Hungary)?

## Opportunities and inspiring examples

### Eight tactics for civic action



### Authoring the debate



# Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy and campaigning

Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning



**Questionnaire**

What are the main constraints to your advocacy work in Hungary?

1. Lack of information  
2. Lack of resources  
3. Lack of political will  
4. Lack of public support  
5. Lack of legal framework  
6. Lack of international support  
7. Lack of media freedom  
8. Lack of civil society participation  
9. Lack of transparency  
10. Lack of accountability

What are the main constraints to your advocacy work in Hungary?

Consequences for advocacy & campaigning

## Trends in Hungary: Group work (in pairs)

Which types of constraints (as presented in the table) are mostly experienced in your advocacy work (or your partners) in Hungary?

## Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning



Table 1: Summary of the ten international trends that constrain civil society today  
 Source: TICAD Working Paper, Working paper, April 2017

Country	Trend	Impact
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of assembly and association	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of expression	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of movement	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to information	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to justice	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to public services	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to public spaces	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to public facilities	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to public infrastructure	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning
Algeria	Restrictions on freedom of access to public services and facilities	Reduced civic space and consequences for advocacy & campaigning

Constraint	By whom?	Mechanisms	Effect on civil society
Political rights restrictions	Government, Funding agencies	Legal and other government measures	Drinks down civil society's effectiveness of funding agencies
Restrictions regarding CSO operations, including registration, financing, reporting, and accountability	Government, Funding agencies	Legal, political and private of conduct laws	Drinks down civil society's effectiveness of funding agencies and consequences for accountability
Right to freedom of assembly and association restrictions	Government, Police, Religious and military institutions	Legal, political and administrative measures	Drinks down civil society's ability to organize public meetings and protests

Constraint	By whom?	Mechanisms	Effect on civil society
Right to freedom of expression	Government, Media companies, Religious groups, and other actors	Legal, political, and administrative measures	Drinks down civil society's effectiveness of funding agencies and consequences for accountability
Freedom of expression restrictions	Government and private actors	Legal and political measures	Drinks down civil society's effectiveness of funding agencies and consequences for accountability
Restrictions on freedom of assembly and association	Government, Police, Religious and military institutions	Legal, political and administrative measures	Drinks down civil society's ability to organize public meetings and protests

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## Considerations

Space for whom?  
 → Civil society is very diverse and heterogenous  
 → Different interests within civil society  
 → There is not and never has been one single space in which everyone participates on an equal footing

Civic space is often used to "politically manage" space for civil society organisations... Reducing space for certain "negative CSO actors" (such as radical and more critical actors) and enlarging space for certain "positive CSO actors"...

Some CSOs themselves take advantage of focussing on "reduced civic space" to use this new space for their own causes...

## What does this mean for our advocacy & campaigning?

**Better understanding of the problem:** What space is being reduced exactly? By who, and how?

**Better understanding of the power dynamics:** Power dynamics within CSO and between CSOs and public and private sectors

**Focus on those stakeholders who are generally challenging power and who face the most serious threats**

**Governments and corporations should not be able to claim that they support civil society while they are repressing them / co-opting them (subcontracting them for their own goals)**

**Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere: we should give visibility to those whose struggles are being repressed to the ultimate detriment of us all → We need to strengthen solidarity**

## Consequences for advocacy & campaigning

**This means, amongst others:**

- Profound analysis of the (developing) political and social context, social norms and values ([www.globalsites.com](http://www.globalsites.com) and [www.worldofglobalsites.com](http://www.worldofglobalsites.com))
- Alliance building should be based on in-depth CSO analysis, particularly legitimacy, (hidden) interests and goals and objectives
- Identify most appropriate advocacy & campaign interventions and messages for each specific context and target

Reduced civic space and  
consequences for advocacy &  
campaigning

## Table 1: Summary of the ten interrelated trends that constrain civil society today

Source: TNI, On Shrinking Space, a framing paper, April 2017

Table 1: Summary of the ten interrelated trends that constrain civil society today

Constraint	By whom?	Mechanism	Effect on civil society
Philanthropic protectionism	Governments, funding agencies	Laws and other government-imposed restrictions	Limits domestic CSO's international funding options
Broad laws regulating CSO operations, including registration, licensing, reporting, and accountability	Governments, funding agencies	Laws, policies and procedural mechanisms	Creates more work/overhead for CSOs and increases barriers for compliance, enabling operations to be shut down for non-compliance
Rights to freedom of assembly and association constrained	Governments often through police and/or military enforcement	Laws, policies and practices, often in the name of 'public order' and 'security', intimidation	Limits civil society's ability to openly gather, mobilize, and protest
HRDs and refugee solidarity groups criminalized, stigmatized, and de-legitimized	Governments, media companies, Far Right groups	Laws, propaganda, media outlets, intimidation	Limits the nonviolent means by which HRDs and refugee groups engage politically, and undermines human rights protection
Freedom of expression restricted, including online repression	Governments and private security agencies,	Laws and policies that induce censorship, mass surveillance, as well as intimidation	Reduces the ability of CSOs to spread information and raise awareness within society, with a range of repercussions
Intimidation and violent attacks upon civil society actors	Religious conservatives, corporations, Far Right groups, other non-state actors	Direct threats, blackmail, harassment, slander, violence, and intimidation, through in-person confrontations, lawsuits, and the internet	Presents existential threats to CSO actors and their operations, endangering their right to be free from fear
Funding withdrawn and/or limited by donors due to risk aversion and securitization	Public and private donors, (and indirectly through government policies)	Stricter funding requirements that favour less politicized organizations and issues	Limits the sources of funding for CSOs, which in turn creates greater competition amongst CSOs for funds, and threatens their operations
Spaces for CSOs reduced as they are captured and co-opted by other actors	Private interest groups, lobbyists, GONGOs, and CSR initiatives	Discrediting and legitimizing certain CSOs through media and other sources	Impedes the financial lifelines of CSOs as well as their spaces for political engagement
CSOs excluded from the banking system, due to rising counterterrorism measures	Banks (and indirectly through government policies)	Government definitions on terrorism and stricter banking requirements that block certain CSOs	Limits the sources of financing for CSOs, in turn threatening their operations

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## Opportunities and inspiring examples

### Eight tactics for civic action



### Reframing the debate



# Opportunities and inspiring examples

## Eight tactics for civic action



Source: Activism, Activism and Beyond, inspiring initiatives of civic power (The Spindle, Partos, 2017)

## Reframing the debate



# Eight tactics for civic action

## Artivism

Visual art as a means to resistance, raising awareness and influencing



## Crowdsourcing

Mobilising global knowledge

E.g. citizen journalism, increase collective knowledge, build communities, foster civic engagement and promote human rights.



## Humour & public shaming

Can be risky, but also very powerful: communicates group norms and can undermine the status of those in power



## Unmask the corrupt

Transparency & Fact checking

Examples:

- Budget transparency (electronic platforms)
- Facts checking through mass media (TV, radio)
- Fact checking of fake news and smear campaigns = "new democratic institution"
- Whistleblowers' platform for corruption

## Virtual uprising

The mobilising power of social media



## Teaching what matters

Education

Examples:

- Smartphone curriculum
- Online games
- Sex education through smartphone app

## Performance

Music, dance & theatre



## Building safety & protection

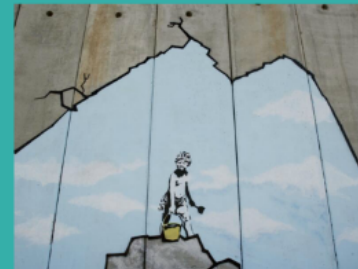
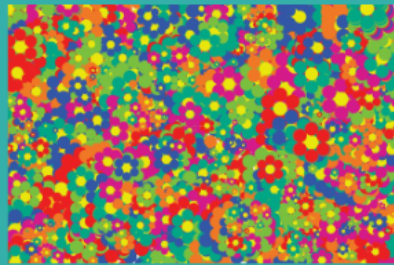
Examples:

- Building Human Rights Defenders Spaces offline, eg. safe houses, or online, eg. whistleblowers' platforms
- Legal support
- Data encryption
- Online platforms with security advice
- Anonymity

Source: Activism, Artivism and Beyond, inspiring initiatives of civic power (The Spindle, Partos, 2017)

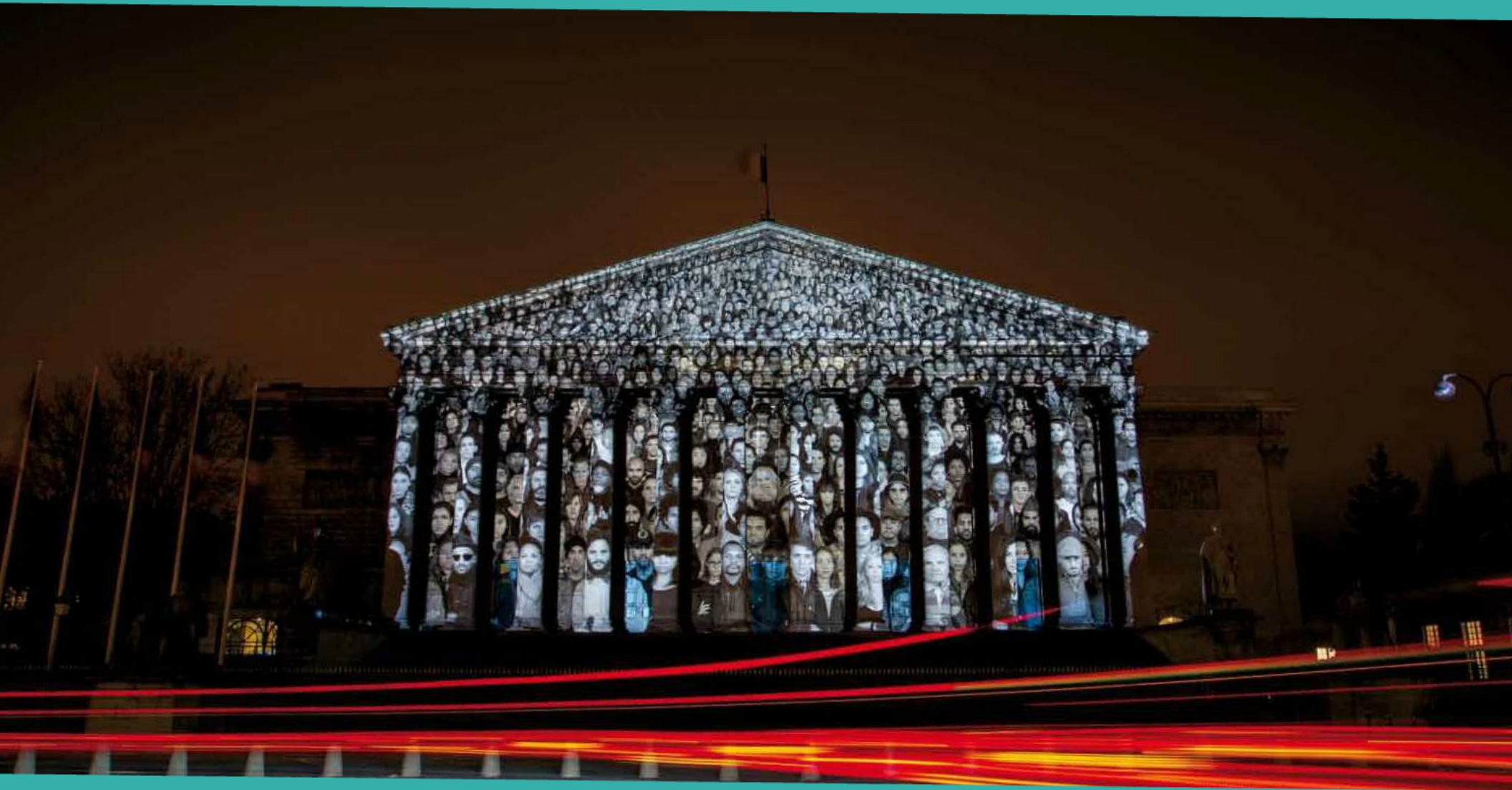
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Visual art as a means to resistance,  
raising awareness and influencing







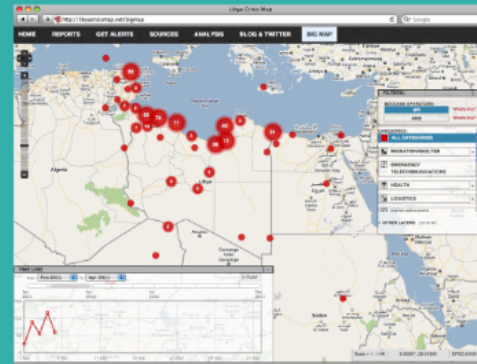




# Crowdsourcing

## *Mobilising global knowledge*

E.g. citizen journalism, increase collective knowledge, build communities, foster civic engagement and promote human rights.





**FILTERS:**

**BOOLEAN OPERATORS:**

OR *What's this?*

AND *What's this?*

**CATEGORIES:**

- ALL CATEGORIES
- MIGRATION/SHELTER
- EMERGENCY TELECOMMUNICATIONS
- HEALTH
- LOGISTICS

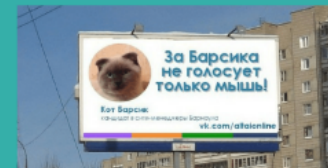
**OTHER LAYERS (SHOW)**





# Humour & public shaming

*Can be risky, but also very powerful: communicates group norms and can undermine the status of those in power*





**Nigel Farage** ✓

@Nigel\_Farage

Follow

If Brexit is a disaster, I will go and live abroad, I'll go and live somewhere else

27 Mar 2017

I didn't tweet it, I actually said it!  
On my LBC radio show. **What changed?**

LedByDonkeys @ByDonk

TIME TO  
START  
PACKING

OUTDOOR

Mobile Media

08450 7... 75









**За Барсика  
НЕ ГОЛОСУЕТ  
ТОЛЬКО МЫШЬ!**

**Кот Барсик**

кандидат в сити-менеджеры Барнаула

[vk.com/altaionline](http://vk.com/altaionline)

# Unmask the corrupt

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- Fact checking of fake news and smear campaigns = "new democratic institution"
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# Virtual uprising

*The mobilising power of social media*



## Risks and limitations

- Censorship of content
- Population without internet access excluded
- Monitoring of outlets
- Severe punishments





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- Population without internet access excluded
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# Teaching what matters

## *Education*

Examples:

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- Online games
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Music, dance & theatre



# Building safety & protection

Examples:

- Building Human Rights Defenders Spaces: offline, eg. safe houses, or online, eg. whistleblowers' platforms
- Legal support
- Data encryption
- Online platforms with security advice
- Anonymity

# Reframing the debate

## Why the populist right are currently winning the debate....

Source: World Economic Forum

1. The populist right are better equipped to respond to globalisation

2. The populist right are more vocal

3. The populist right are more effective in their communication

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## Four reasons to be optimistic about the possibility of turning the tide:

1. Mainstream liberal progressive forces that support the populist right are more vocal

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# Why the populist right are currently winning the debate....

Source: World Economic Forum

1) The populist right are better organised (e.g. in established political parties)

2) The populist right care what people think

*"The populist right spends their time trying to influence this, while the [progressive actors] focus on practical support, policy work and lobbying [...] and very little on engaging and influencing the public."*

3) What people think doesn't (primarily) relate to the facts but to perceptions and emotions.

*"Myth busting (...) does not work, and in most cases it actually reinforces the negative frames of the arguments they are trying to rebut."*

4) The populists are effectively tapping into wider insecurities

*"With high levels of economic insecurity, large scale political disillusionment with 'mainstream' politics and growing concerns over terrorism, the populist right have been adept at linking the immigration and refugee debates to the growing insecurities of the host population."*

5) Governments have no public strategy

*"Mainstream politicians in most cases are clueless on how to deal with the public debate. Petrified by the rise of the populists they try to neuter them by taking their ground and aping their rhetoric. Far from closing down the debates, these steps legitimise their views, reinforce their frames and pull the debate further to the extremes."*

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# four reasons to be optimistic about the possibility of turning the tide:

## 1) Mainstream opinion is more progressive than you think

Survey in 28 EU member states found that in almost all countries, convincing majorities are in favour of accepting refugees: On average 73%!

However: in Hungary (52%) and Poland (49%)\* = significantly lower!

After attacks in Paris and Cologne, support % only fell by 2% -> the base of public support may be more robust than many expected.

\* <https://www.pewresearch.org/>

## 2) The supportive constituencies are highly motivated but under-utilised.

\* 16% of people say they would open up their homes to refugees.  
\* 53% of the public say they would like to do more to help, of whom 27% declare that the reason they haven't done more is they don't know how to do so.

-> Provide more effective ways for these constituencies to engage!

## 3) Demographic trends are on our side

\* In almost all countries, young people are more progressive than older people.

\* In the US, UK and France, young people (18-34) are between three and four times more supportive than older people.

\* People who know refugees and immigrants are much more likely to be supportive of them and of migration as a whole.

Like the battle for LGBT rights, there could be a tipping point when debates stop being abstract and start to be based on personal experience.

## 4) We have great allies

If you were to design an ideal set of campaign allies you would want to unite labour unions and big business, faith groups and the fashion industry, football and public intellectuals.

In most countries these groups are already supportive though under-leveraged. What is needed is a strategy to bring them together, reduce the political risk to them individually and increase their collective impact.

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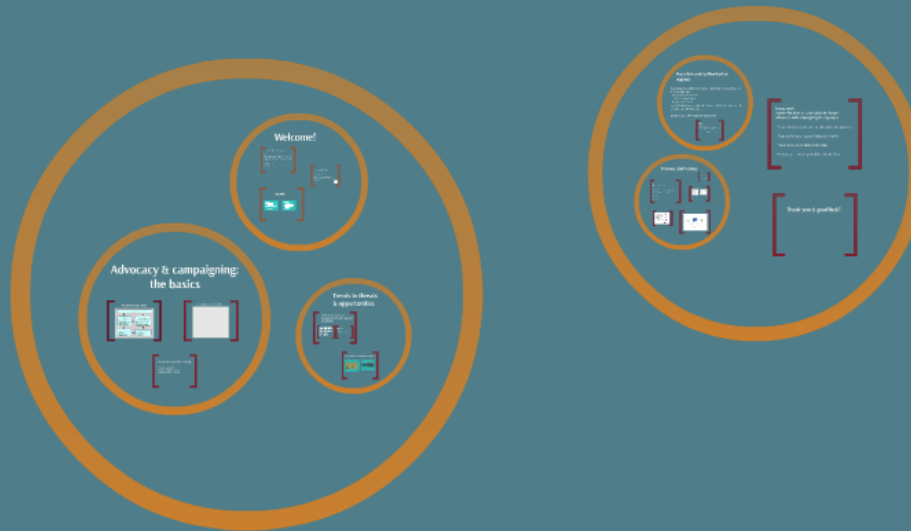
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# Advocacy in polarised political climates

## *Training for Dutch Council for Refugees*



November 4th 2019  
Sharon Becker / Huub Sloot  
sharon@impactrack.eu / huub@impactrack.eu



### Populism and authoritarian regimes

Populist politics relies foremost on Manichean dichotomies and divisions between:

- the people and the elite
- insiders and outsiders
- friends and enemies

Populism deepens existing polarisations and invents new ones in societies contaminated by it.

Source: <https://www.opendemocracy.net>



### Frames and values



### Group work: Joint reflections & action plan for future advocacy and campaigning (in 2 groups)

- \* Areas to investigate and involve relevant expertise
- \* Potential allies or stakeholders to involve
- \* New tactics to explore or develop
- \* Actions, persons responsible and timelines.

Thank you & good luck!

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## Links to:

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- Fake news: constructing "alternative" realities

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# Frames and values

## Misconception:

- We make rational decisions:
- We analyse the facts, we come to a decision

## NGO misconception:

- If just tell people the facts, they will reach the right conclusions.

Key scientists have shown this isn't how we work.

- George Lakoff
- Daniel Kahnemann
- Shalom Schwartz

## Group work

### Groupwork this year

Why are we doing this? We are doing it to help you get ready for the world of work. We are doing it to help you get ready for the world of work. We are doing it to help you get ready for the world of work.

## Using frames and values



Source: <http://www.oxfordjournals.org/doi/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208114.003.0001>  
Downloaded from Oxford Journals. For more information, see the Oxford Journals website.

"Frames are the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality -- and sometimes to create what we take to be reality."  
George Lakoff



**DON'T THINK OF AN ELEPHANT**  
HOW YOU SEE IT DEPENDS ON THE FRAME

George Lakoff  
PROFESSOR OF LINGUISTICS

## Kahneman: How we decide



THINKING, FAST AND SLOW  
DANIEL KAHNEMAN  
WITH AMOS TVERSKY  
© 2003 FARRAR, STRAUS AND GIROUX

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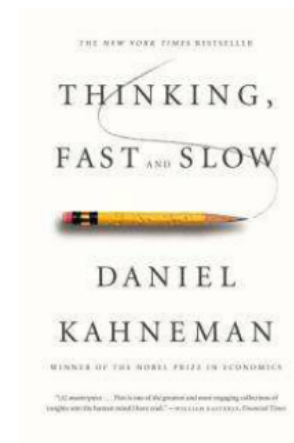
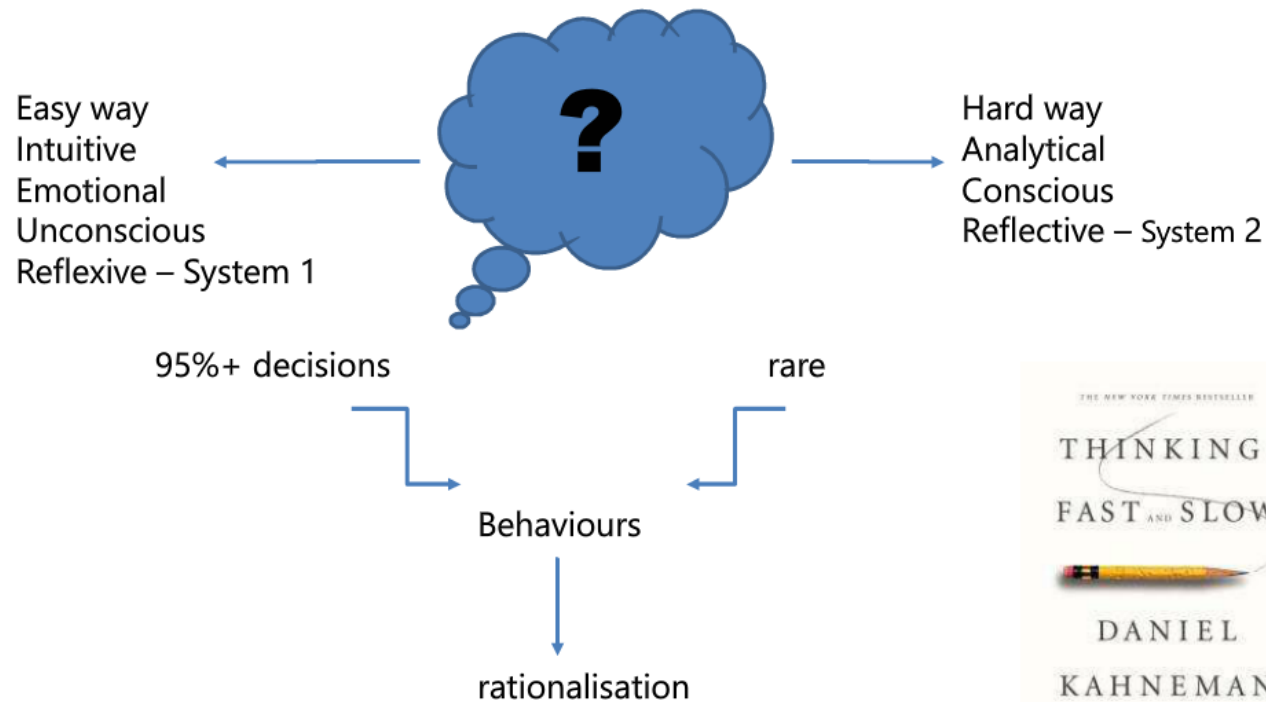
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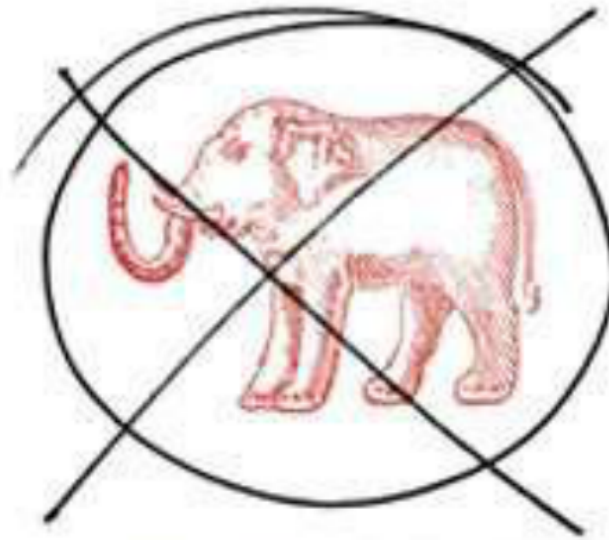
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# Kahneman: How we decide



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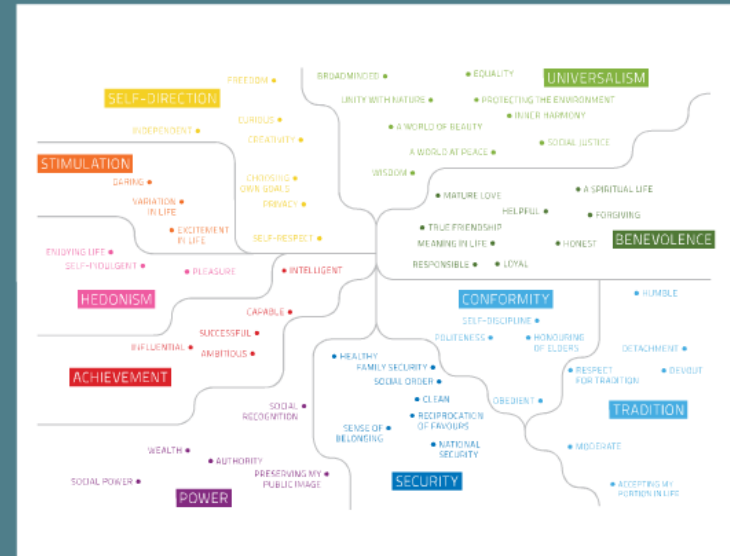
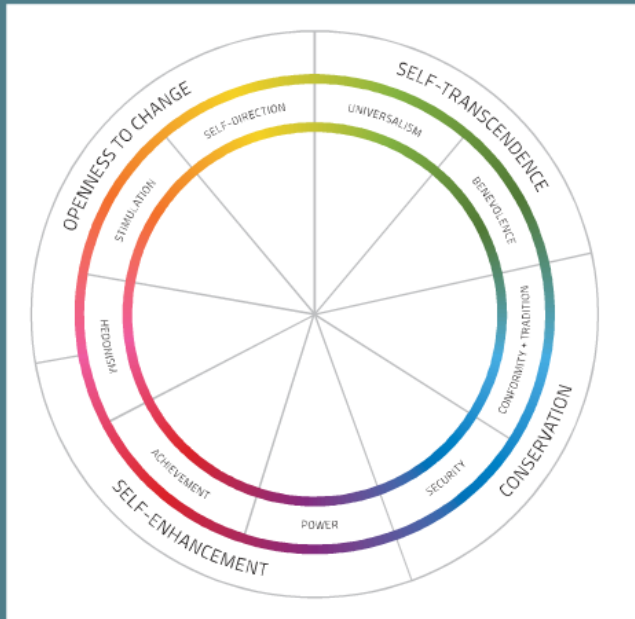
KNOW YOUR VALUES AND FRAME THE DEBATE

George Lakoff

INTRODUCTION BY JULIA BAIRD



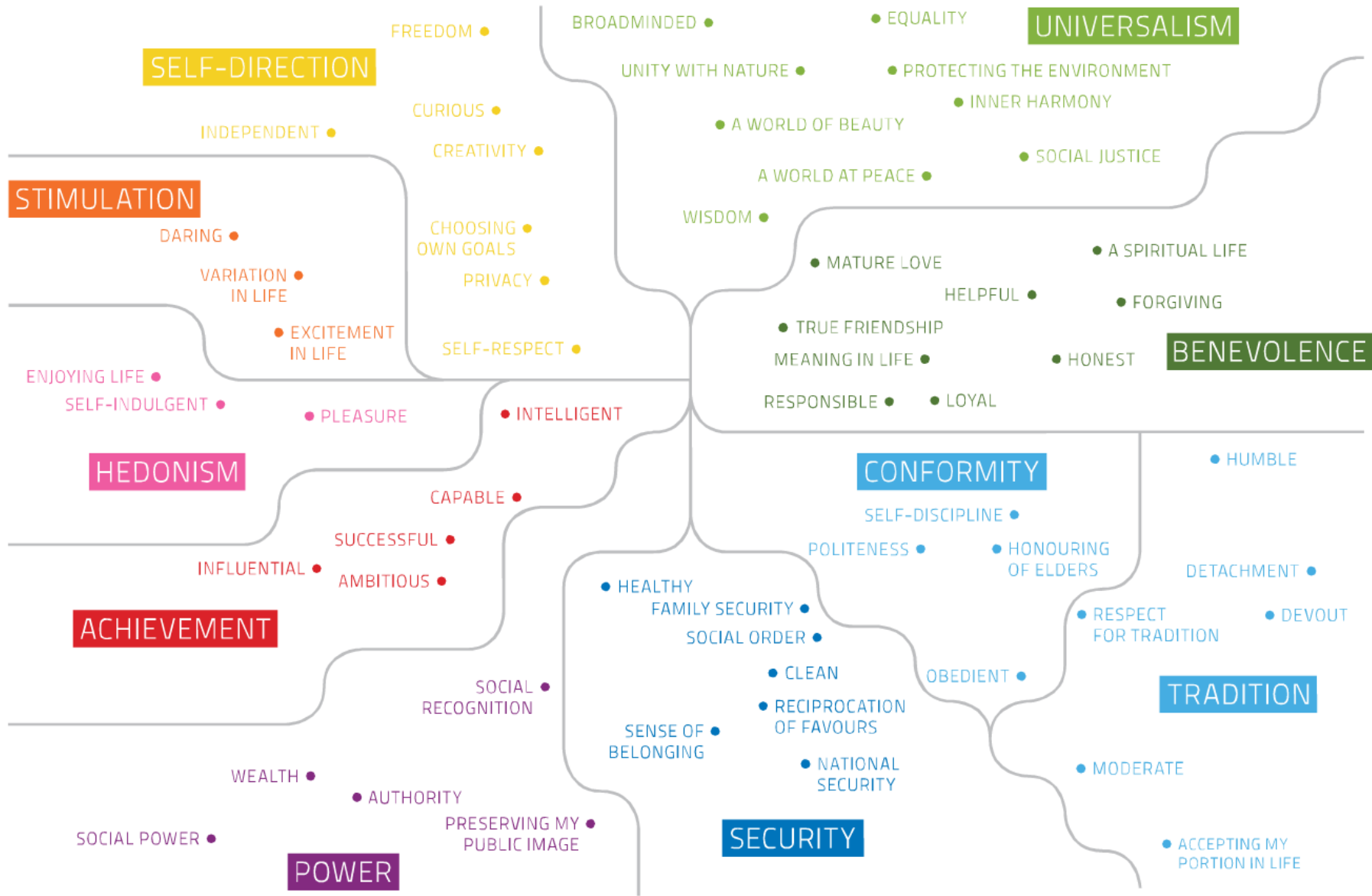
# Using frames and values



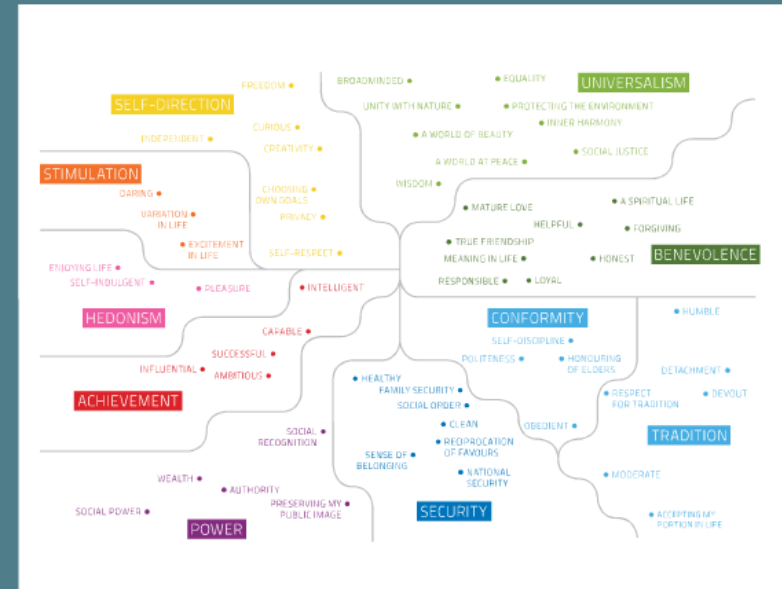
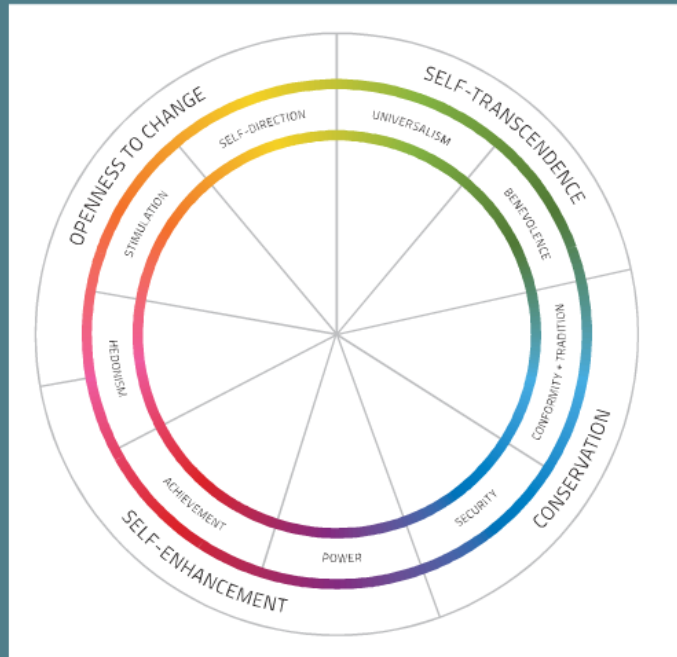
Source: <https://publicinterest.org.uk>

Download: Common Cause Handbook Frames & Values





# Using frames and values



Source: <https://publicinterest.org.uk>

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# Group work

## Group work (two groups):

What concrete tactics could you develop, to increase your own influence in the context of shrinking civic space/ increasingly polarised political climates?

(1) Communication and (social) media strategies, countering or neutralising propaganda and fake news (think of messaging, senders, channels, technologies, digital strategies, ethics).

(2) Alternative influencing tactics in illiberal democracies (policy analysis & lobby/ research & legal routes/ building communities/ mobilisation and allies/ other).

## **Group work:**

### **Joint reflections & action plan for future advocacy and campaigning (in 2 groups)**

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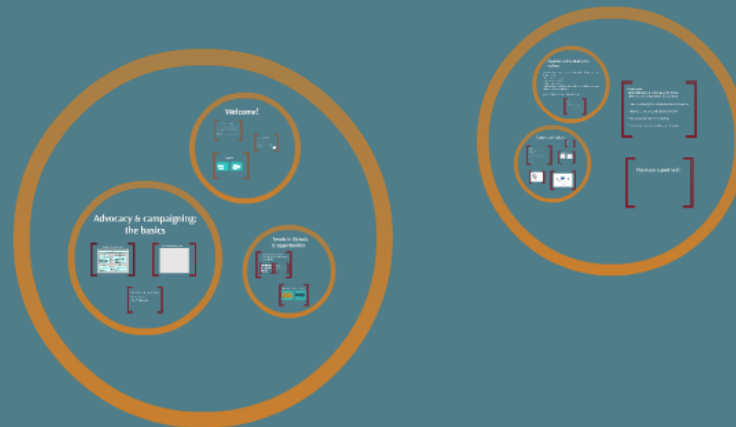
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