MIND THE GAP: BRINGING PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS AND PARTIES TOGETHER

A TRAINING MANUAL
APRIL 2017

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GRAUMANS

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PREFACE

More than three hundred young progressives from fourteen EU neighbouring countries participated last year in training seminars of which this manual is the result. Moreover, it is a result of yet another successful multi-annual cooperation between Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS), the progressive European think tank, and the Foundation Max van der Stoel (FMS), an international foundation linked to the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA). Our first project dealt with EU enlargement ("EU Enlargement Anno 2012"), while the follow-up concentrated on democracy pre- and post-EU accession ("Problems of Representative Democracy in Europe: A challenge for progressives"). This third multi-annual project and the manual discuss the relations between social movements and political parties.

Social democratic political parties in Europe are increasingly challenged in their role as actors and engines of economic and societal change. Globalisation, the rise of populism and nationalism, the increasing influence of multinationals and financial markets on the decision-making process and political fragmentation have all contributed to an image of mainstream political parties as rigid, old and unable to effectively relate to or represent the voices and interests of citizens. Moreover, the question has been put forward if politics in general still has control over increasingly intertwined global economic processes. Social movements – often with a core of disillusioned young people – have been addressing these questions in many countries.

The good news is that research, such as the FEPS Millennial Dialogue, shows that young people are not only open to a narrative based on social democratic value but are also expecting progressive politics to realise these values and bring about a more equal and just society. How to reach and involve these young people? And

how to convince and show them that social democratic parties are and can continue to be a driving force for change?

The challenge for social democratic parties also lies within their own organisation and beliefs. Political parties often don't consider social movements as potential partners and see them in some cases as an actor of threat with unrealistic goals. But as we can read in the many examples of social movements in the annex, there is often a very good cause and motive why these movements started and why citizens organised themselves in protests. Moreover, social democratic parties and social movements frequently fight for similar issues and have the same goals. At the same time, however, they don't see each other as natural partners.

The goal of this manual is to offer social democratic parties and party members tools to discuss these issues within their parties and to (re)connect with social movements. The overall objective is to bridge the gap between citizens and political parties, so that social democratic parties can work with citizens to improve the world we live in.

We would like to express our gratitude to our sister foundations and parties in Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jordan, Lebanon, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Georgia, Ukraine, Serbia and Tunisia, and to our trainers and volunteers. Without them this project would not have been possible.

Amsterdam, Brussels, April 2017,
The Editors,
Ernst Stetter, Secretary General, FEPS
Arjen Berkvens, Director, FMS
Anne Graumans, FMS Trainer

1. INTRODUCTION AND ABOUT THIS MANUAL

The Foundation for European Progressive Studies, the only progressive think tank at European level, establishes an intellectual crossroad between social democracy and the European project. In collaboration with social democratic organisations, it aims to tackle the challenges that Europe faces today. Among its numerous activities, that range from research to conferences, it supports trainings of young academics, politicians and political activists in Europe and its neighbourhood.

The Foundation Max van der Stoel has facilitated trainings for more than 15 years. On the website www.effectivetraining.org you will find training manuals dealing with building a campaign strategy, communication theory, training of trainers, negotiations and debating. All the FMS material is freely available.

In this manual we focus on the relationship between social movements and political parties. We used the examples and input that was given by more than 300 participants from 14 countries in the series of seminars and trainings in 2016-2017. The manual can be used by trainers, by boards or personnel of political parties or by individual politicians looking for methods and exercises to learn more about social movements in their region or country.

In chapter 2 we provide some background information on social movements, on where they came from and on how they can be categorised. This chapter is a good starting point for a training. The participants can discuss among each other how they perceive social movements in their country and also how political parties respond to social movements.

Chapters 3 and 4 present methods and exercises that will help political parties and social movements to better understand each other and their interdependence and explore what kind of relationship is possible. How do you define and find common ground and work from there?

Chapter 5 deals with the meetings and negotiations that will take place if political parties and social movements decide to meet and may be even work together. Chapter 6 offers some remarks about the follow up. Because after the negotiations and the meetings, the cooperation needs to be executed and the real work to reach the goal will start.

In a training, it will be impossible to deal with all the theory and do all the exercises. Some exercises can be done together or in two groups, some exercises need more interaction in smaller groups. As a trainer, it is important to discuss with the group what they need and which theory and exercises best suit the situation that they are in. In chapter 7 we summarised the FMS method and present the principles of training and the cycle of learning. If you want to read more, you will find all the material on www.effectivetraining.org.

In the annex you will find examples of social movements from all 14 countries. We refer to the examples in the text: always remember that facts tell – a story sells… Use these or your own examples in the training to explain the theory or to make up a role-play.

2. ABOUT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this chapter we discuss the wide variety of social movements, try to classify them and give examples. We also stress that the relationship between social movements and political parties is as old as the history of political parties. The same applies to civil unrest and protests. In the last paragraph we present a short theory on how social movements strategize.

The definition of social movements:

> *are a specific type of group action in which large informal groups of individuals or organisations work for or against change in specific political or social issues.*

History shows us that social movements thrive on democratisation. When freedom of speech increases, when democratic structures are in place and there is access to (online) media, the number of social movements increases.

Many social democratic parties stem from a social movement, such as those in western Europe that demanded voting rights for women, proper housing for workers or the end of child labour (19th/20th century). In the 20th century various Green parties were established, often originating from environmental non-governmental organisations. In the Netherlands an animal welfare political party was established in 2002 and has been represented in the national parliament since 2006.

More examples:

Arab Spring

At the end of 2010 a street vendor in Tunisia set himself on fire, sparking anger among the Tunisian people. They were fed up with suppression by political leaders, corruption and bad governance. The revolution spread to other countries in North Africa and the Middle East: the Arab spring was born. Movements like the 20th of February movement in Morocco demanded changes to the constitution based on democratic principles and human rights.

Podemos, Spain

Podemos ('we can') was founded in 2014 and sprang from the 15-M Movement and the Indignados, which organised broad civil protests in 2011 against the severe austerity measures that led to unemployment and poverty. Spanish people were deeply affected by the economic crisis. Podemos is a left-wing populist party that believes in the participation of the members. It is now the second largest party in Spain, with more than 100,000 people signing up in the first twenty days. It now has 390,000 members and it won 21% of the national vote in the 2015 elections.

Social movements are also a breeding ground for politics: social movement leaders often become Members of Parliament or even prime minister. We have ample examples: Lech Walesa started as a worker in the port of Gdansk, founded the independent movement Solidarnosc and became president of Poland. In the Netherlands, Diederik Samsom was a campaigner on the environment with the international NGO Greenpeace and became the party leader of the social democrats (2012-2016).

Often there is common ground and shared beliefs between social movements and social democratic parties. However, scholars argue that this common ground and cooperation that was obvious in the 20th century dwindled at the turn of the century. Social movements and political parties are perceived as growing further and further apart. Even mistrust between the two is common these days.

Very often civil and social movements were established because of disagreement or disappointment with existing policies. They want to change things, do things differently or draw attention to a cause. They do that because political parties are not doing it. Some scholars emphasise that social movements are agents of change through active democratic and civic mobilisation as an alternative to political parties. They organise and realise what political parties fail to do.

The more democratic a country is, the easier it becomes for citizens to speak out. So increased democracy and rule of law will lead to more citizens having the opportunity to participate in a social movement (and thus the democratic process). At the same time, we see another development in European countries: citizens refrain from being actively involved in political parties, in voting and in social movements. There is a new 'activism-light' in which participation is limited to clicking the 'like' button on a Facebook page or a 'stand-by' activism in which citizens choose the time and moment to be active, but also 'de-activate' for a while when it's not convenient.

A social movement only becomes a social movement if its cause attracts support from citizens. This is maybe the most important fact for political parties. People organise themselves because they are worried, dissatisfied or scared.

In chapter 4 we will discuss how to explore the common ground between social movements and political parties. In this chapter we look at the wide variety of social movements and the way that social movements define their strategy and activities.

2.1 Variety of social movements

There is a great variety of social movements. Sociologists have studied social movements and cultural anthropologist David Aberle distinguished the following four categories of social movements, based on two fundamental questions:

1. Who is the movement attempting to change?

2. How much change is being advocated?

		How much change?	
		Limited	*Radical*
Who is changed?	*Specific individuals*	Alternative social movements	Redemptive social movements
	Everybody	Reformative social movements	Revolutionary social movements

Source: Boundless. "Types of Social Movements." Boundless Sociology Boundless, 20 Sep. 2016.

The diagram illustrates how a social movement may either be alternative, redemptive, reformative or revolutionary based on whom the movement strives to change and how much change the movement desires to bring about.

An alternative social movement seeks limited societal change. It targets a small group of people and a specific behaviour, and attempt to change the behaviour of individual people in relation to that issue. An example would be a campaign to raise awareness about not sending text messages while driving or a campaign to erase bullying at schools.

A redemptive social movement is a lifestyle intended to bring about a complete transformation of an individual through radical change. Redemptive social movements are often based on religion. Examples are the spread of Christianity and Alcoholics Anonymous.

A reformative social movement works to create partial societal change in order to address injustices and inequalities. Reformative movements tend to have as their stated goal a desire to foster and promote positive change and achieve a just social order. Reformative movements tend to be single-issue movements. In many instances, the single issue will become a starting point for a larger platform of change and social restructuring.

A revolutionary movement is dedicated to carrying out revolutionary reforms and gain some control of the state. An example is the Arab spring.

Exercise

At the start of the training, you can ask the participants to discuss (in small groups) examples of social movements in their own country or region and to place them in the diagram. Ask the groups to discuss the two fundamental questions and to be as specific as possible about what they know about the social movement in question.

Social movements and political parties

The distinctions that David Aberle draws between social movements are very useful. But we want to know more: What else do we want to know? And which categorisation helps us? We will look into.

- Cause

- Origin

- Organisation

- Tactics

Cause: social – ethical – political

First, we look into the cause of the social movement. Why does a social movement exist? Why does it get support? We can distinguish between types of causes: social issues, ethical issues and political issues. The latter one is the most radical: the social movement wants to change the system and the way governing bodies work.

Examples:

	CAUSE	EXAMPLES
SOCIAL	Against poverty (against price hikes). Workers rights. Buildings.	Armenia - Electric Yerevan Serbia - Ne da(vi)mo Belgrade
ETHICAL	Raise awareness. Defend equal rights. Protect nature. Value based.	LGTB rights, Montenegro Greenpeace
POLITICAL	Against ruling parties. Political parties. Change representation. Change decision-making structures.	Serbia – Otpor: Ousting of Milosevic Georgia - Room N115 Morocco – 20th February movement

Origin: incident – institutionalised

We can also take a closer look at the origin of the social movement. Some social movements like trade unions or the Red Cross, Amnesty International or Greenpeace have a long history and are professionally organised. They have members, organisational structures, a lobby and advocacy strategy and some sort of relationship with decision makers and politicians. These social movements can be fierce opponents of political parties or welcome allies. But the relationship will remain business-like; this type of social movement has to deal with different types of governments or coalitions, and will stay around for a longer period of time than the average politician.

Example:

FNV Jong – the Netherlands
LTGB – Montenegro

Other social movements stem from an incident and evolve into a protest, demanding an alternative to current policies. It seems that they do not have a history and erupt relatively suddenly and fade away after a certain period of time. For these social movements one should realise that incidents are never isolated. They are often examples of a bigger problem, like violence against women in Georgia or poverty in Armenia. The incident is the straw that breaks the camel's back. It motivates people to stand up and act.

For political parties it is essential to both act on the incident and embrace the concerns of the protesters for the wider problem. Political parties should have an answer to the wider problem, or there will be a new incident and the protests will erupt again and again. Not having an answer to the wider problem or not working towards a solution will contribute to the distrust of citizens in politics. If a political party cannot solve the problem, it will have to involve the people concerned in working towards a solution. Otherwise the door will be wide open for populists, even if they don't have an answer either, but who take the time to listen and voice the citizen's concerns.

People will often hold all politicians responsible for the incident. But just as often, social democratic parties share the concerns of citizens concerning the wider problem. We have collected many examples in which political parties remained silent. They did not meet with the protesters, did not take part in events. In one case they even organised their own event on the same day. We will discuss how to deal with this in more detail in chapter 5.

Examples

- A sick baby that cannot travel because it was not issued a passport (Bosnia Herzegovina)

- The killing of a university lecturer by her ex-husband (Georgia)

- Public transport price rises (Armenia)

- The suicide of a 16-year-old that was forced to marry the man that raped her (Morocco)

Organised: formal versus informal

Some social movements are very effectively organised. They have funding, an official director or leader, international partners and an office. Others are informal and organise themselves around a single issue or an incident. They use social media to keep in contact with their supporters.

Examples

Informal: Armenia - Protest against price hikes in public transport.

Formal: Trade Union

Some social movements are open to cooperation with political parties and others oppose even being in the same room as a political party.

Examples

Open: FNV Jong, the Netherlands

Closed: Arab Spring

Tactics: traditional and innovative (and always also online…)

Many social movements use innovative methods to advance their cause. They are often very adept at social media, at organising events and at making catchy slogans. They use their creativity to mobilise people and to set up campaigns. In many cases wit is a powerful weapon of social movements.

Examples:

Serbia: Otpor, the ousting of Milosevic

Armenia: public transport price hikes in Yerevan

Political parties often copy the methods of social movements, but always about a decade later.

Social movements use online media and are experts at using Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. They often don't need an office because their events are publicised on Facebook and their membership or supporters click the 'like' button if they're planning to join.

Examples:

Georgia: violence against women.

2.2 Strategy of social movements

As a political party dealing, interacting and cooperating with a social movement it is important to put yourself in the position of that social movement. How do social movements draft their advocacy plan? What is their goal, strategy and what tactics do they use?

Answers to the following five questions can provide guidance:

1. What do you want to change and achieve? What is the goal?

2. For whom do you make these changes or achievements? Who will be the beneficiaries?

3. Who will make the change?

4. By how much?

5. And by when?

Before you start exploring these five questions, you research the situation. What is known about the topic, what are the statistics, what is the opinion of your party and your members? Have you cooperated before and was it successful?

Goal

Social movements need to plan and make a strategy to achieve the advocacy goal, lobby goal or political goal. Before they start thinking about the strategy, they determine their goal, the target group and the persons who will make the change. Then they will look at the amount of changes and the planning.

Start by defining the goal. Of course we all want world peace or to stop the extinction of a certain animal species, but these are not necessarily goals that a lobby or advocacy can realise. So when determining your goal, use these four criteria:

1. **Feasible:** Goals can – and sometimes should – be visionary, but if there is no realistic chance of achieving them within a reasonable term, people will lose interest and turn their backs on you.

2. **Concrete:** The more concrete the goal, the more enthusiasm it will engender amongst potential supporters.

3. **Measurable:** A goal should be measurable because you want to determine if your goal has been achieved, or whether it ought to be amended.

4. **Inspirational:** People will not get behind a goal they

are not enthusiastic about. The road to success is often long and strewn with frustrations and disappointments. The only way to keep faith in yourself is if you are inspired and motivated by the "higher" goal. So setting your aims too low (e.g. "we'll be happy if we get a single woman voted into parliament") is not a good idea either. A sound political goal strikes a middle course between inspirational value and feasibility.

Beneficiaries

The next questions to be answered are: who benefits from the advocacy work; who is the target group? Some work has probably been done on these questions during the research period. In this phase, be as concrete as possible and list the beneficiaries as specifically as possible. Also describe what their interests are. And ask yourself whether you know the beneficiaries, when did you last speak to them about the topic you are making the advocacy plan for? How do you involve the beneficiaries?

Decision makers

The third question you are dealing with is: who makes the decisions and therefore, who do I want to influence? In your advocacy work you want to target the right person or organisation, so you need to research who is in charge and also when the decisions will be taken. You want to know the interests of the decision makers.

Very often politicians receive letters from citizens on the day of an important debate and thus at the time of the decision-making, while everyone should know that a long process of debates and consultations precedes the final debate and final decision-making. For a politicians and decision makers it is very difficult to change their position at the last minute. So know the decision-making process and use it in your advocacy plan.

Defining the desired changes

The mission of your organisation might be bigger than the goal of your advocacy activities. Let us say that your mission is that all the girls in your community go to – and finish – secondary school and you are making plans to contribute to that goal. This year you want to raise the number of girls that finish secondary school by 10% and the advocacy plan you are drafting focuses on this.

Planning

We are dealing with five essential questions to draft an advocacy plan, so we will need to do some planning. Thus we need to know when you want the changes to materialise and whether this matches the decision-making process and the available resources (for example volunteers).

Exercise

You can get the participants to draft an advocacy plan for a social movement. In this exercise you can use a real example from the country if the group is experienced. Let them draft the advocacy plan in five steps:

1. Define a goal and test the goal against the four criteria.

2. Who are the beneficiaries of the advocacy plan and how are they involved? What are their interests?

3. Who are the decision makers that are relevant for your advocacy plan? How is the decision-making process organized? When and by whom will the decisions be taken that are relevant for you?

4. What are the changes that you want to have materialise with the advocacy plan?

5. When do you want the changes to materialise?

3. STRATEGY

This chapter deals with defining a strategy on how to deal with social movements as political parties. We will discuss the importance of setting a goal, conducting self-research and finding out how others perceive you as a political party. We will also explain the basics of a stakeholder analysis. It is advisable for a political party to perform this self-analysis on a frequent basis and on different topics and stakeholders. It will help parties to interact with social movements.

3.1 Setting a goal – and research

Before you research your stakeholders, your target groups and conduct – for example – a SWOT analysis, you set a goal. What do you want to achieve? What is your goal? Do you want to raise the minimum wage, stop violence against women? In paragraph 3.2 we discussed the four criteria a goal should meet: it should be realistic, measurable, feasible and inspirational.

After setting a goal, you research the issue. What do you know about it? Are there statistics available? Have you talked to the people who are impacted by the issue? Do you know their concerns? To research a topic, you can use different means. You can send out a questionnaire, conduct a poll online, organise meetings, go out canvassing, or meet with the affected people.

After you have done this, you can start drafting a strategy. In the following paragraphs we will discuss the SWOT and a stakeholder analysis.

3.2 SWOT analysis

A SWOT analysis is a good tool to investigate the situation of your political party. You can also use it to investigate yourself as a candidate, a key issue in your party (for example the position of women), your relationship with social movements or the situation of an opposing party.

In a SWOT analysis the first step is to list all the potential Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats relating to your organisation and topic of advocacy. Strengths and weaknesses are internal factors; this means that they are features of your own organisation. For example, a strength can be that you have 20 volunteers that can help you one day a week or that you have a popular party leader. A weakness can be that your budget is only 100 euro or that there your own party is divided on important topics. Weaknesses are negative, but can also be approached as characteristics that can be improved.

Opportunities and threats are external factors; you do not control them. Opportunities are positive; they may contribute to your organisation and can build up your strengths. For example, an opportunity is a good network of international partners or fear of unemployment. Threats are potential problems or risks that your organisation may face. You will have to cope with them. An example of a threat is a hostile media environment, apathy or a lack of appeal to young people.

SWOT analysis

	Strengths	Weaknesses
Internal *(You can influence these things more easily)*	1 2 3	·1 ·2 ·3
External *(You have to work with these circumstances)*	Opportunities 1 2 3	Threats ·1 ·2 ·3

When drawing up a SWOT analysis, always ask yourself:

- Am I being totally honest? Is what I note down true?

- Are the sources I use objective?

- Is my SWOT concrete and suitable for practical application?

Honesty is the key to a SWOT that will help you to define your strategy to achieve your goals.

The second step in your SWOT analysis is to make it useful to define your strategy. For your strategy you want to know which strong points you can use to seize opportunities, which strong points you can use to avoid threats, and which weak points can be made neutral by using strengths.

The completed SWOT analysis can be used throughout the rest of the work in drafting a strategy to deal with social movements or to decide a strategy on a specific key issue or cause. You need to conduct the SWOT analysis with people in your organisation and make sure you take time to discuss and agree on the various weak and strong points.

Exercise

Divide the participants into groups and have them draw up a SWOT analysis of the relationship of their organisation and social movements. You can also choose a specific key issue of a social movement like sustainability, LGBTI rights, women's rights as the topic of the SWOT exercise. Letting the group choose different topics this will make it more interesting for the group when they present their SWOT to the other groups. Depending on the programme of the training you can also choose to draw up a SWOT together.

Discuss which strong points you will use to avoid threats and seize opportunities. Then do the same for the weak points: how can you make the weak points strong by using opportunities?

3.3 Stakeholder analysis

Social movements will often conduct a stakeholder analysis as part of their strategic advocacy plan. As a political party you can also conduct a stakeholder analysis of one of your key issues, for example on creating more jobs, on achieving equal rights for LGBTI or on fighting corruption. In this paragraph we will provide information on the different steps in a stakeholder analysis and the possible exercises that go with it. In real life you should repeat your stakeholder analysis frequently since the relationship between stakeholders and the status of an issue is dynamic.

- In the training you can explain the stakeholder analysis by using one of your own examples or one of the examples in the appendix.

The first step in a stakeholder analysis is to list all the stakeholders and define who your supporters are, who is neutral and who your opponents are. So you start with a list of people and organisations and you divide them in three groups:

- Proponents: the people and organisations that agree with you.

- Neutral: the people and organisations that are neutral, don't have an opinion or are not (yet) interested.

- Opponents: the people and organisations that oppose your objectives.

In doing so, you will discuss why the stakeholders are in favour or against your objectives and why neutral stakeholders do not have an opinion. The better you know why they are not interested or why they oppose your objectives, the better you can strategize and target your message and actions. It makes a big difference if the reason people are not interested is because they do not have information or that they are neutral because they do not engage with the topic. It is important to take your time analysing and discussing who the stakeholders are and what their reasons are to support or oppose your cause.

Exercise

Choose a key issue of your party and make a list of stakeholders and divide them in proponents, neutral and opponents. Add the reasons why they are in favour or against your cause.

Another important thing you want to know is how powerful or influential the stakeholders are. For example, if a trade union supports your cause, you have a powerful stakeholder. In many countries trade unions have lots of members, are well organised and can mobilise people. Another example is if well-known people in your country support or oppose your cause. They are powerful because they have, for example, a great outreach on social media, people trust them and tend to listen to them and they are good public speakers.

A second part of this step is the interest the stakeholders take in your cause. Are they likely to actively support or oppose your cause? Is the topic important for them? Or do they focus on another topic and are they unlikely to support your cause? If a well-known fellow countryman or woman (a football player or TV star) is in favour of your cause, you will have to find out if he or she takes an interest and is prepared to use his or her position. Maybe they do not want to be associated with a political party or they are already active for a similar cause for a non-governmental organisation. Remember in this step that the same applies for organisations like trade unions, youth organisations or students boards as for your own political party: they will focus on their own key issues and will not easily divert from their own strategy.

Exercise

Take a number of stakeholders, assess how powerful they are and discuss for each of them what makes them powerful. Is it huge outreach on social media, is it a distinguished professor, number of members, the ability to galvanise masses of people?

Another part of this step is assessing whether the stakeholders have a low or high level of interest in the topic. Do they want to be involved and are they likely to become active?

In the final step we combine the knowledge that we have gathered. We now have a great deal of information about the stakeholders and we can place them on a graph. We use different colours for the stakeholders: green is a proponent. If a proponent is very influential and is highly interested in the topic, place the green dot with the name of the stakeholder in the far upper right corner. If a stakeholder is a proponent, does not have influence, but is highly interested, the green dot is placed in the lower right corner.

Stakeholders analysis
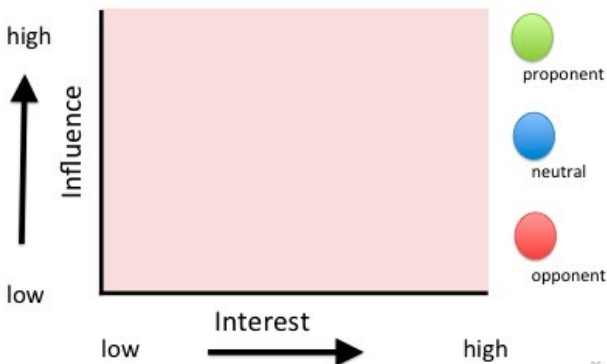
You will see the logic: if a person or organisation is highly interested in the topic + is highly influential + agrees with you, you will probably want to join forces with this person or organisation. If someone is highly interested, agrees with you, but does not have any influence, you might want to ask this person to help you as a volunteer. You can make numerous combinations!

Exercise

Place your stakeholders correctly on the graph.

C. Eden and F. Ackermann in their article 'Making Strategy' (1998) divided the stakeholders in four groups along the axes of power and interest. You can place this picture in your stakeholder analysis. Now you know who the Players are, the Context Setters, the Crowd and the Subjects.

The information from the stakeholder analysis is useful in defining your strategy and your tactics. If you have many stakeholders that can mobilise lots of people, you will be more likely to organise a street protest or march. If you have many distinguished academics supporting your cause, you might want to organise an expert meeting or write opinion articles.

The stakeholder analysis also gives you insight in which stakeholders support you, but are not likely to use their influence to promote your cause. With those stakeholders you might want to discuss and negotiate how you can help each other.

Workshop: stakeholders
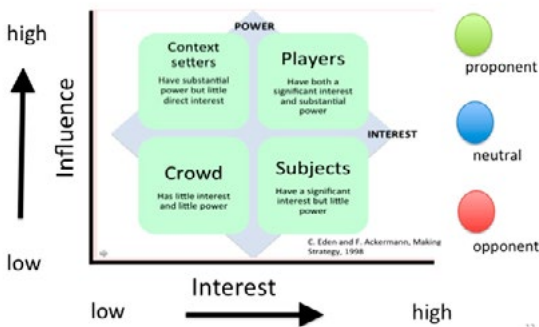
The next step is defining your relationship with the stakeholder. Is there a great deal of trust in the relationship or is there no trust?

	Little trust in the relationship	Lot of trust in the relationship
Agreement on the content ↕ **Little or no agreement on the content**	Coalition partners > business-like relationship	Allies > sponsors, closest partners
	Opportunists > they take a different stance, but you can still ask clarification	In doubt > they have a different stance, but have little info and are not involved
	Enemies > they disagree and dislike.	Opponents > they disagree, but you can still persuade them to further your cause

The above instruments provide you with information on what role you want to give the other organisation or person in a project. A role can be

- to inform the stakeholders;

- to consult the stakeholders;

- to co-operate with the stakeholders

- to co-decide.

Remember that your stakeholders will make the same analysis and that stakeholders behave in a dynamic way. You will have to adjust your analysis when the situation changes.

4. CREATING COMMON GROUND

In this chapter we will discuss different theories and explain exercises you can use to bring two parties to a position in which they can explore cooperation based on what they share, instead of what divides them. We present a motivation theory and an exercise for the big(ger) story. In the final chapter we offer more exercises you can use during a training.

4.1 'Your' common ground

To be able to find common ground with another party, you should know your own ground. Why did you go into politics? Why did you join the social democratic party? What are your driving factors, your opinions and values and what do you do with your knowledge and skills?

In this paragraph we will discuss the motivation theory of McLelland and the Iceberg, which is an exercise you can do. In this exercise you explore what motivates you to do the things you do and what the values are that define what you think. These are in most cases invisible to the public and in the way you work, but they define who you are and which decisions you take. The top of the Iceberg is visible. That is where your rational is, your head. These are your skills and your knowledge.

If you perform this exercise in a group, for example for new members of your party or a mixed group of people active in social movements and political parties, you will see that the driving factors and core values are often very similar, even when skills and knowledge are varied. If you can connect with someone on his or her driving factors or values, it will be easier to connect and cooperate on the visible part. It will create a strong feeling of being and working together on a particular cause or in a movement.
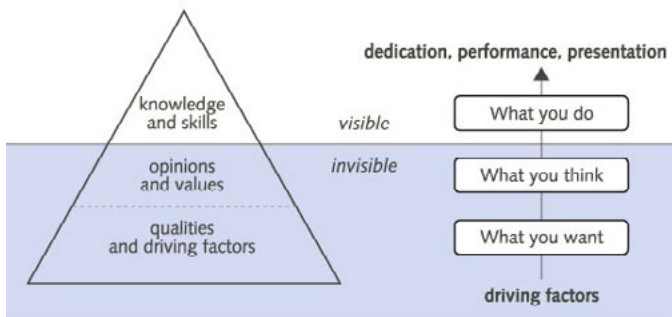
Exercise

You can base an exercise on McLelland's Iceberg, either on an individual level in order to find out more about the participants, or you can do it on a political party or social movement level.

The most important thing is that the group is aware of the visible and invisible part and that they think about and tell each other about their driving factors, opinions and values. This exercise is best done in pairs. Let each person draw an iceberg/pyramid and fill in the bottom part. 5-10 minutes should be enough. The next step is that they tell the other person about their driving forces. The person who is listening may only ask questions and not give an opinion or say anything about their driving factors or core values. This also takes 5 minutes each.

The last step is to fill in the top of the iceberg: the visible part. Depending on the participants in the training, ask them to focus on what they do in a political party, in a social movement, et cetera. You can discuss the pyramid in the group, or let everyone present his iceberg. This will take quite some time when you are with more than 10 people. You can also stick the iceberg on the wall and let everyone read what is written on it for themselves.

If you choose to fill in the iceberg as a social party and/or social movement, you make small groups of 4 people and let them work on the iceberg. Choose an example that the participants are familiar with. You can use the examples in the annex or an example of your own choosing.

4.2 The Big(ger) story

In chapter 2 we discussed the wide variety of social movements. Most political parties can deal with social movements like trade unions or long established and institutionalised non-governmental organisations. They are predictable in their core message and the cause they fight for. Political parties will know who to contact and how to schedule a meeting.

It is a different story for instant social movements. These kinds of social movements are often fluid, with maybe an organisation that organised the first protest, but not the 2nd or 18th protest in other cities. They make excellent use of online media to organise crowds of people instantly. Use of online and social media has changed the way crowds are organised.

Instant social movements often start as a critical response to the current situation or a new proposal. They blame the ruling parties for this or even all political parties or all government officials. People disagree, they are upset and galvanised into action. You will see this pattern in many of the examples in the annex.

As a political party you can connect with a social movement by responding to the incident that caused the protests (or better: by preventing the incident from occurring in the first place…), and by embracing the wider problem. How political parties respond to a protest is particular to the country, the state of the democracy, the freedom of press, the relationship you have with the social movement, and so on. Chapter 4 provides some exercises on this. In general it is wise to connect with the people protesting, to listen to and acknowledge their concerns. It may not mean that you agree with the protesters, but especially when a big and varied group of people is protesting, they will have a point. In the annex you find very clear examples of this:

Georgia: Violence against women
The Netherlands: living wage for young people.
[links to some examples]
This means that political parties have to look into the cause of the protests. You can practice this in an exercise.

Exercise

Take an example of a social movement that arose out of an incident. Use your own example or an example from the annex. Work in small groups and ask the group to first analyse the central message and the objectives of the social movements. Put them in a circle. Draw other circles and put core values and objectives of your political party in them. List key words in the circles. The next step is to draw big circles around 'linked circles'. This is the common ground and common interest for you and the other party. You can continue the exercise by listing what your party is advocating about the issue at this moment. A next step can be that you brainstorm about what you could do.
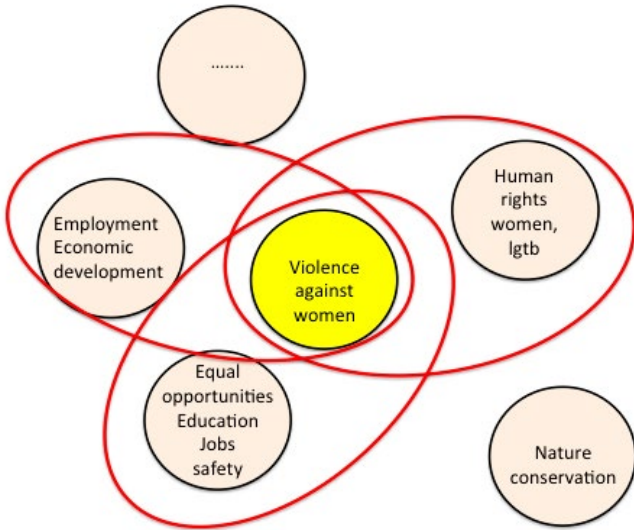
An alternative way to do this exercise is to make it into a role-play in which you have a political party and a social movement. Conduct the exercise as in the above, but let the social movement write their demands in the circles around the main topic. Ask both parties to have two meetings, followed by an online statement of the social movement and a separate online statement of the political party.

In the first meeting they clarify to each other what the issue is and what they currently do (political party) and what the protesters want. In the second meeting they organise a brainstorm about solving the problem. In the last step they think of a statement that they would make online.

Ask the group to observe the role-play and ask them to write down:

1. What do I see? What do I notice?

2. What is the impact of what I see and notice?

3. What suggestions do I have?

(You can use this format for observation in all role-plays).

Additional common ground exercises
Change perspectives

In a mixed group of representatives of the social movement and political parties, you can ask the participants to change perspectives. You ask representatives from a political party to take part in a discussion from the perspective of a social movement, and vice versa. In this exercise you can vary as you feel fit. You can ask members of a political party to divide into two groups and role-play a discussion with half the group taking part as a political party and half the group as a social movement. You can do the same with the activists of the social movement. Often these types of exercises increase the understanding of the other perspective and will make it easier to cooperate with each other.

Discussions: Goal-oriented

Meetings and discussions between people often result in numerous repetitions and diversions from the goal of the discussion. When the participants of the training feel that discussions are not fruitful, the following exercise can be helpful.

Before the discussion, write the goal of the meeting on a flip over and explain to the group why you want to discuss this issue. In the training you can write down a goal or question, for example 'Should we organise a joint event'. You can define the goal in cooperation

with the group. During the discussion you ask members of the group if the goal has been reached already, or how far we have got. At the end of the discussion, you ask each of the participants to write down the conclusion of the discussion, or the answer to the question. Make a round of the participants and let each of the them add something new (Yes, but... is not allowed). Write it on the flip over and formulate a conclusion at the end.

Discussions: Break the repetition

Participants receive a red card, which they put in front of them on the table. As soon as people start repeating themselves or provide input that diverts the discussion from the original topic, a participant can move the red card forward. If three red cards are moved forward, the trainer or facilitator stops the discussion, asks the last participant that moved the red card forward to recap where we were, and the discussion will be continued from that point.

5. GETTING TOGETHER: MEETINGS AND NEGOTIATIONS

In this chapter we will focus on political parties and social movements getting together: in meetings, negotiations and in joint actions. The most important consideration that political parties have to keep in mind, while dealing with social and civil movements is the balance of power. In the last paragraph we will discuss domination techniques.

Politicians are experts at holding meetings, negotiations and organising events and campaigns. In politics you have member meetings, party conferences, committee meetings, parliamentary meetings, cabinet meetings and regular elections on national, regional and local level. The outside world, both citizens and social movements,

in general has far less experience of holding meetings, and when they hold meetings, they do it in a different way. Combined with the fact, as discussed in chapter 2, that social movements often grow out of disagreement with the current political discourse and policies, it is essential to adjust your role as a politician so that the meeting and cooperation can be successful.

5.1 Meetings

In this paragraph we present some general tips for conducting a good meeting. We will distinguish between meetings between politicians and meetings between politicians and social movements. We further discuss a number of interaction models that can help make meetings successful.

General tips for a good meeting with unequal partners

A good meeting is conducted as efficiently as possible and results in an outcome that is accepted by all participants. In this context, a good outcome means that everyone present at the meeting feels that everything that had to be said about the issue was said, and that everyone was given an opportunity to voice their opinion.

In an ideal situation everyone present at the meeting also fully supports the adopted outcome, but especially with meetings between political parties and social movements this will not often be the case. Compromises will have been made by both parties.

If it is a first meeting with a social movement, take time to get to know each other and find your common ground. Be willing to listen to each other and to work together. This means that everyone has to enter the meeting in a constructive frame of mind, follow the chairperson's instructions and treat the other participants with

respect – even when (or especially when) the other participants are less experienced, less knowledgeable or less articulate.

In most cases political parties will have more experience with holding meetings, which makes it important to agree on the meeting procedure and to be flexible. You might act strategically as a politician and get your way at the meeting, but that does not mean that the outcome is fruitful and that it will advance your cooperation with a social movement and guarantee their support.

When meeting with civil or social movements, be willing to use their suggestion for a venue, even if it is not the ideal location or if it means that you will have to travel. It can also be wise to have a neutral chairperson, whom both parties trust.

Be clear about the mandate of the participants of the meeting. It is very frustrating when the participants hear at the end of a meeting that the political party representative has to consult before he can take a decision.

Preparing a meeting

Good preparation is crucial for a successful meeting. The first thing to ensure is that you have a good agenda containing all the issues that require attention. An agenda is not just a list of keywords. Each point on the agenda should be accompanied by information that explains the crux of the issue, so participants know what to expect and can prepare for it.

The chairperson has to ensure that the agenda and all relevant information reaches the participants well in advance, giving everyone enough time to prepare (and consult their own support base if necessary). And for their part, the participants are expected to prepare for the meeting, read all the relevant information and try to form an opinion about the issues.

Three stages to come to a decision or resolution

The first stage in a meeting is the information stage. This stage is meant to ensure that all available data is brought to light and everyone in the meeting is equally well informed. The discussion should focus on whether there is sufficient information to form an opinion about the subject. What should be avoided in this stage is a debate about the issue, let alone the adoption (or enforcement) of a resolution.

3 stages of a meeting

1. Information:
- Share information, data, facts, figures, views of experts.
- Is the information complete?
- Do we need more information?

Information

Discussion
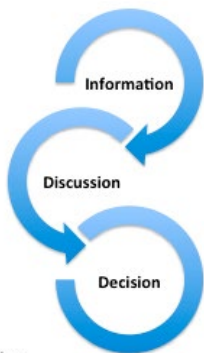
Decision

2. Forming an opinion:
- Debate.
- Exchange arguments.
- Creative contributions.

3. Decision:
- After the discussion, reach a decision based on consensus or voting.

The second stage is that of forming an opinion. This is when the actual debate takes place. This stage is all about giving the individual views of the participants free rein while trying to find a consensus. People should be given the opportunity to sway each other with arguments, and are expected to open their minds to other people's views. This is also the stage where creativity comes into play, to make all the pieces of information and aspects of various people's opinions come together in such a way that you arrive at a (new) solution or consensus that satisfies all or at least most of the people present.

The third stage is passing a resolution. When the debate no longer produces any new arguments it is time to make a decision. This can be done in a variety of ways. Sometimes it is possible to reach a consensus (everyone agrees), but often this is not attainable. In that case the issue has to be put to the vote.

It is not unusual for people in a meeting to want to return to a stage of the discussion that has already been completed. When the time comes to arrive at a resolution, participants sometimes feel the need to return to the information stage: "Do we actually have enough information to decide about this?" This can also happen in the course of the opinion-forming stage, when some participants turn out not to have all of the available information at their disposal. A request to return to a previous stage often comes from people who anticipate that their views are not going to prevail in the meeting. However, it is generally advisable for the chairman not to object to this too strongly, but to allow the discussion to return to the previous stage, if only briefly. The chairman does have to point this out explicitly, so that everyone present remains aware of the stage they are in. If there are no grounds for procedural reproaches afterwards ("we were being pressured," "we lacked the necessary information"), this improves the chances of support for the eventual resolution. The chairperson should only reject such a request if the return to a previous stage is being used as a tactic to frustrate the passing of a resolution.

Meeting procedure

After preparation it is time for the real deal: the meeting itself. You start by running through the agenda. Are all the issues listed, in the right order? Does everyone agree with the goals that have been set for each item on the agenda (providing information, forming an opinion or arriving at a resolution)? How much time do we allot for the meeting? Start the actual meeting only after everyone present has approved the agenda and the time schedule. This gives the chairperson a little more clout: the agenda and the time limit are now a shared responsibility of all participants, and they are something the chairperson can fall back on when he/she wants to round off the discussion about an item (because the meeting is running out of time).

Make sure that all resolutions are adopted deliberately and with care. If a resolution is passed too casually or as a matter of course, this may give rise to confusion or discontent afterwards. This may happen, for example, when at the end of the opinion-forming stage one particular opinion clearly carries the day. This may prompt the chairperson to simply conclude: "All right, that's how we'll do it then." This is a huge source of potential conflict, because some people will be left with doubts about what they have actually decided, or even wonder whether anything has in fact been decided at all. Such doubts will rankle especially in the minds of those who disagree with the casually adopted resolution. If they have a support base to cater to, this will cause tensions. It often results in the entire process having to be repeated, allowing all the frustrations to crop up again. Either that, or the legitimacy of the resolution continues to be contested by certain elements within the party or organisation. That is why clarity and transparency are essential when adopting resolutions.

Interaction models for meetings

It is possible to steer the communication between participants during a meeting. Basically, there are two interaction models that can be deployed: the star model and the web model. Which of these will be most effective depends on the stage the meeting is in (information, opinion or resolution). We will briefly discuss both models.

>> The star model

In this model the communication between chairperson and participants is strictly regulated. The participants do not communicate directly with each other but do so "via the chair": it is the chairman who decides who is given a turn to speak, and all remarks are addressed to him/her. An example of this type of interaction is the debating procedure in most parliaments or town councils. Rendered in a diagram, the model looks like this:

>> **The web model**

In the web model the interaction is much freer and less structured than in the star model. People directly address each other and the chairperson, who limits his/her interventions to what is required to prevent total chaos. The aim of this type of communication is to enable people to sway each other by the force of arguments and to create room for creativity. The opinions gradually take shape by "thinking out loud" in a (creative) dialogue. Everyone present can join the discussion at any point and does not have to suspend his or her own flow of thought while waiting to be "given a turn" to speak. Rendered in a diagram, the model looks like this:
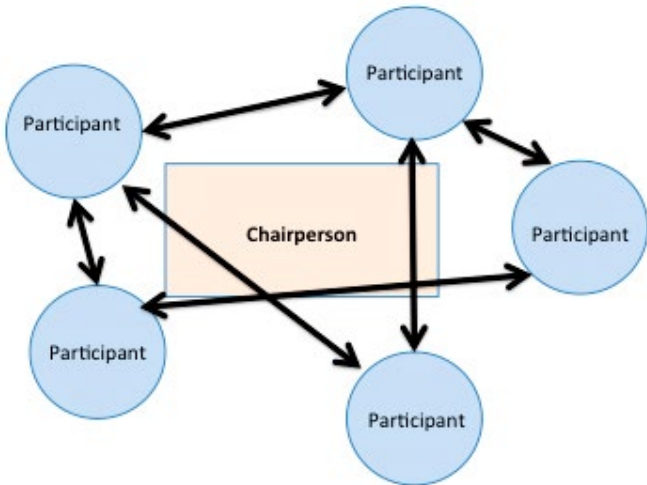
Interventions by the chairperson

How can the chairperson help the meeting proceed in a way that aids the participants in the discussion and promotes reaching a conclusion? We discuss three types of interventions.

• Summarise and ask questions

The first way a chairperson can intervene in a discussion is by summarising what has been said or putting further questions to a speaker. By summarising we mean give an accurate account of the main elements in a speaker's contribution.

Asking questions refers to the chairperson's attempt to get more information from a speaker or ask him/her to clarify a certain point. Typical questions would be: "How does that work? How do you mean? Do I understand this correctly? Why do you think that?" Here, too, the chairperson implicitly teaches a lesson: try to understand what someone is saying before you respond.

• Interventions aimed at bringing out differences

Especially at the start of the opinion-forming stage, it may prove fruitful to give free rein to the differences between the participants. It will give an overview of all the possible views and solutions. As a chairperson, you're probably inclined to organise the meeting as efficiently as possible and gear the meeting towards reaching a resolution. Try to avoid this inclination and instead ask the participants to give their views and even ask for opinions that are different. It will open up the minds of participants and provides a good starting point to focus again on finding common ground.

• Intervention aimed at finding common ground

Interventions aimed at establishing common ground, i.e. jointly held opinions and ideas, will take the opposite form to those described in

the preceding paragraph. These interventions are used in a phase of the meeting in which participants are working towards a resolution or a shared view (often at the end of the opinion-forming stage). The chairperson now focuses on the common ground in each of the various contributions. He/she does this by offering a rough summary of what has been said in which he/she glosses over the differences as much as possible. This approach will encourage the participants to start looking for common ground themselves.

Exercise

A role-play is a good way to practice meetings. You can divide the participants into small groups and give them instructions for the meeting. You also appoint a chairperson for each role-play. If you have two role-plays, you can vary with the instructions. Let groups 1 and 2 in the first role-play be a social movement and political party that want to cooperate with each other. In the second role-play you can instruct the political party to obtain the signature of the social movement to publish on their website or poster.

5.2 Negotiations

In this paragraph we discuss two different types of negotiations. The first type of negotiations is based on interests. In this type of negotiations, also known as "Getting to Yes!", the parties' starting point is to gain insight into the interests of the other party. Why does the other party want A or B, what is their intention, what do they need it for?

The second is based on both parties taking a position. I want A and the other party wants B and we will either try to convince each other with arguments, with power or we will compromise to come to a resolution. In this latter method of negotiations two styles are identified: a soft one (among friends) and a hard one (for example between a buyer and a seller).

Negotiating with a social movement or group of citizens is different from negotiations in a political arena. In the political arena you want to win and political parties use all sorts of instruments to optimise the result of negotiations for their own, and their constituencies', benefit. Negotiating with social movements is different. As a political party you represent your constituency. But social movements also represent people, maybe even the same people who voted for you. So that makes it more complex and not a simple negotiation with one ultimate winner. In chapter 4 we described how you discover your common interests. Political parties need to keep that in mind when negotiating.

The authors of Getting to Yes made the following table to make the distinctions with other negotiation methods clear.

Problem Negotiations based on positions: which game to play?		Solution Change the game Negotiate on the merits
Soft	Hard	Principled
Participants are friends	Participants are adversaries	Participants are problem-solvers
The goal is agreement	The goal is victory	The goal is a wise outcome reached efficiently and amicably
Make concessions to cultivate the relationship	Demand concessions as a condition of the relationship	Separate the people from the problem.
Be soft on the people and the problem	Be hard on the people and the problem	Be soft on the people and hard on the problem
Trust others	Distrust others	Proceed independent of trust.
Change your position easily	Dig in to your position	Focus on interests, not positions

Make offers	Make threats	Explore interests
Disclose your bottom line	Mislead as to your bottom line	Avoid having a bottom line
Accept one-sided losses to reach agreement	Demand one-sided gains as the price of agreement	Invent options for mutual gain
Search for the single answer: the one that the other party will accept	Search for the single answer: the answer that you will accept	Develop multiple options to choose from; decide later
Urge for consensus	Insist on your position	Insist on using objective criteria
Try to avoid a contest of will	Try to win a contest of will	Try to reach a result that is based on standards independent from will
Yield to pressure	Apply pressure	Reason and be open to reasons; yield to principle, not pressure

In their book, they also list three criteria to judge the negotiations:

- Does the method result in a wise outcome?

- Is the method of negotiations efficient?

- Does the method contribute to an improved relationship between the parties? Or at least not harm the relationship?

Getting to Yes – negotiations based on principles

"Getting to Yes" is the title of a book by Roger Fisher, William Ury and Bruce Patton of the Harvard Negotiation Project. The main argument of the book is that negotiations based on principles will result in wise outcomes, efficiently and amicably. The following short film illustrates this type of negotiations: https://youtu.be/MuJyDRgONls.

In the following we give a brief summary of the main points of this negotiating theory. For further explanations and examples, we refer to the online textbook: http://www.fd.unl.pt/docentes_docs/ma/AGON_MA_25849.pdf.

There are 4 main elements of negotiations based on principles:

- Separate the people from the problem

Imagine that you and the other parties at the negotiating table are tackling a problem, instead of taking positions in a negotiation.

- Focus on interest, not on positions

Imagine your goal is to fulfil the needs and interests of the other parties, while also satisfying your own needs and interests.

- Generate a variety of possibilities (possible outcomes) before deciding what to do

Before you try and come to a resolution, think of all possible solutions that enhance common interests and reconcile conflicting ones. Be as creative as possible.

- Insist that the result be based on some objective standard

Before you start your enquiry into a resolution, discuss objective criteria to assess if the resolution is based on reasonable norms, for example the market value, an expert opinion, etc.

The Getting to Yes method defines three stages in negotiations. In each stage you think about the four basic points of principled negotiations (as states above).

Analysis

In this stage, the only thing you do is gain insight in the situation. You gather information, classify and group the information and you give it some serious thought. You assess the information, both on behaviour and facts, possible criteria, and hostile emotions: anything that is part of the interaction between you and the other parties.

Planning

In this stage, you will develop your ideas and decide what you will do. How are you going to approach the human aspects? Which interests are the most important for you? What could be realistic objectives? In this stage you create additional possibilities and additional criteria, so you can choose.

Meeting

In this stage, where you actually meet the other party, you can follow the four elements. Discuss differences and gain understanding of the interests of the other party. Get to a situation in which you and the other party pose possible solutions that meet both parties' interests and seek agreement on objective criteria to reconcile opposing interests.

What if?

The theory and practice of negotiations based on principles is often met with three questions. People tend to believe that it is not possible to have fruitful negotiations based on interests because:

- There is an imbalance of power: what if the other party is more powerful?

- What if the other party doesn't want to negotiate based on principles?

- What if the other party uses (dirty) tricks?

We have so much experience with negotiations based on positions that we think it is the only way. Why would a powerful party want to negotiate and take the interests of the weaker party into account? It is one of the questions this guide is dealing with. Why do political parties cooperate with social movements and citizen's movements? And if political parties want to cooperate, how do you negotiate this cooperation?

What if the other party is more powerful?

When negotiating with a more powerful partner, strive for two objectives:

1. Protect yourself from agreeing to something you should reject. Very often you will have a limit to which you want to agree in the negotiations. If you are selling it is your lowest price, if you are buying it is your highest price. But limits like these often blur a whole lot of interests, it makes you less creative and it might have the result that you agree to something that is not in your best interest. An alternative is to determine your Best Alternative Without Resolution. When you are selling your house, and nobody wants to pay the minimum price, what is your alternative? Do you keep the house? Do you rent it out?

2. How to optimise the advantages you possess, so that negotiations meet your interests best. Again, your Best Alternative Without Resolution is important and defines the power you have. This point is

best illustrated with an example. If you go to a job interview and that is the only interview you have that month, your best alternative is weak: no job. If you go to the same job interview with two other job offers in your back pocket, your best alternative is strong. You can determine if the job is better than your other (best) alternatives. This will make you powerful in salary negotiations for example.

So take time to develop your "Best Alternative Without Resolution". Use your assets: knowledge, time, money, people, relations and your smarts. And! also think about the "Best Alternative" of the parties you negotiate with.

What if the other party does not want negotiations based on principles?

Imagine yourself in negotiations and talking about interests, alternatives and objective criteria and your negotiation partner is only talking about his position. He is attacking your proposals and is only interested in increasing his own benefits from the negotiations. You're talking about the problem and he is fighting you as a person.

How to persuade the other party to leave his position-based negotiations and start negotiations based on principles? There are three ways.

1. What you can do: You can keep focussing on the principles instead of negotiations. This method is contagious...

2. What the other party can do.

In negotiations you will be tempted to react to the other party. So if the other party is stating their position, you will reject this position.

If the other criticises your contribution, you will be tempted to defend your contribution. Eventually this will lead to a vicious cycle. Thus:

- Break the vicious cycle: do not respond and do not counterattack. Respond in a way that leads to discussing the problem, the alternatives and objective criteria.

- Do not defend your ideas, but evoke criticism and advice. Ask questions to understand the criticism of your ideas and proposals, and even ask what the other party would do if they were in your shoes.

- Divert the attack on you into an attack on the problem. So if someone is attacking you, do not get upset and angry, but address the attack on the problem and the underlying interests.

- Ask questions instead of making statements.

- Use silence.

3. What a third party can do.

- A third party can broker negotiations by talking to the negotiating parties and listening to their interests and wishes. Based on these conversations, the third party can make a proposal and ask the party to comment on it. A second version will be drafted, until the negotiation parties can agree. This is called the concept of the single text. The advantage is that the negotiating parties comment on those things they find important and see possible solutions that suit all negotiating parties.

- If you want to use the procedure of 'a single text' you don't necessarily need a third party. You can draft a single text and ask your negotiation partner to comment.

What if the other party uses (dirty) tricks?

There are three main categories of tricks in negotiations:

1. Deliberate deceit

False facts, doubtful authority, false intentions, incomplete information.

2. Psychological warfare

- Tense situations: the location of negotiations matters, noise or the temperature can influence you, like staring in the sun does or too small a venue.

- Personal attacks: comments about the way you look, letting you wait for a long time.

- Good cop – bad cop.

3. Power tactics in negotiations based on positions

- Refuse to negotiate: putting a position on the table and refusing to negotiate

- Extreme demands

- Escalating demands

- Dig in tactics

- Callous partner

- Delay

- "Take it or leave it"

Example

A disparate coalition of Tunisian unionists, employers, lawyers and human rights activists won the 2015 Nobel peace prize for helping to prevent the Jasmine revolution from descending into chaos like the uprisings in other Arab spring countries.

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/09/tunisian-national-dialogue-quartet-wins-2015-nobel-peace-prize.

Negotiations based on positions

In the political manual 'Becoming a better politician' available at www.effectivetraining.org a distinction is made between three types of negotiations:

1. Negotiation based on arguments (persuasion)

2. Negotiation based on power (the strongest wins) = hard

3. Negotiation based on exchange ("if you do this, I will do that") = soft

4. The style you adopt will depend on the position you attribute to the negotiation partner and the position you believe to hold yourself. If you choose the wrong style of negotiation at the start of the talks, this will probably come back to haunt you. Choosing the appropriate negotiation strategy is half the battle.

Negotiation based on arguments

Argument-based negotiation is the "purest" style of negotiating because it is wholly directed at finding the best solution. That is to say, both parties truly strive to find the best solution for the issue that divides them. They both present all the arguments they can muster, and the best arguments (i.e. those which persuade both parties) win.

To arrive at this kind of negotiation two preconditions must be met. Firstly, the parties must trust each other, and both must intend to maintain a good relationship in the future. Secondly, both parties must be prepared to adjust or even abandon their own point of view in the face of overwhelming arguments. They may both set out to win the other party over, but must also both put faith in the other party's being open to sound argument, and be open to sound argument themselves. This is not always easy. After all, the outcome of the negotiation might be that the opponent's point of view is accepted, and that you will have to defend this to the rest of the world, including your own supporters.

This type of negotiation comes close to negotiations based on principles. The main difference is the procedure.

Preparations:

- List your arguments.

- Be prepared to be convinced by the other side's arguments.

- Be honest about both the weak and the strong sides of your case.

- Do not use dirty tricks and avoid putting pressure on the other party.

- Try to incorporate the other party's interests in the proposed solution.

Negotiation based on power

Firstly, this type of negotiation does not rely on sound arguments ("what is the best solution?") but on the question of which of the negotiating parties is the stronger one. Secondly, in this case the parties will generally not be open about the shortcomings of their proposed solution. Indeed, they will try to conceal those as much as possible. Both parties will tend to keep their cards close to their chest and keep insisting that they are right and the other party is wrong. In fact, the negotiation process is nothing more than a contest of wills in which each party attempts to impress the other with power play.

In this type of negotiations you take position and decide beforehand what your target and resistance point is: the price you prefer to get and the minimum price you will agree to.

Preparation:

Determine the target and resistance points.

Determine and prepare your means for putting pressure on the other party.

Be selective with information.

Hide your weaknesses.

Make sure there is enough time (several negotiation rounds).

Do not humiliate a defeated opponent.

Negotiation based on exchange

In addition to argument and power-based negotiation there is a third style of negotiation: negotiation based on exchange. This type of negotiation (horse-trading, you might call it) shuns the extremes of the other two styles. The parties neither try to sway the opponent with reasoned arguments or bully them with threats and power play. The exchange method starts with the pragmatic acceptance that both parties have points of view that are not always compatible. They then try to combine their conflicting opinions in a whole package of measures catering to both parties' tastes. Not surprisingly, this negotiation method is often used when trying to form a coalition government. Each party enters negotiations with a wish list and tries to realise as many items on that list as possible. One party wants more money for education; another party wants to cut back the defence budget. One party wants to legalise same-sex marriages; the other party wants to build more roads. The main drawback of this method is that part of the agreement may prove unfeasible in practice. This will lead to tensions between the parties and may even result in a permanent rift.

Exercise

Role-play is ideal for practicing negotiations. We can use different types of negotiations with the same example. The participants will experience the difference of negotiations based on principles and based on positions. You can make your own role-play using an example from your own country or one of the examples in this guide.

5.3 Unequal partners in meetings and negotiations

In an ideal world, we are all equal and we are all looking for the best solution. In the real world that is not the case. Especially women and young people face domination techniques by men or by older, more experienced people. It can also happen between political parties and social movements.

These techniques do not contribute to a healthy and fruitful cooperation or relationship and should at all times be addressed and not applied. In this paragraph we discuss some of these domination techniques.

Stealing ideas

This technique often happens to the weaker party in meetings. It mainly means that the other participants do not pick up your contribution in a meeting. A few minutes later another participant makes the same contribution and the contribution is credited to him. Speakers after him will mention his name and the contribution he made. They will not mention the person who originally made the contribution. The idea has been stolen and nobody notices.

Women working in the White House got so fed up with this domination technique that they agreed on the strategy of 'amplification': When a woman made a key point, other women would repeat it, giving credit to its author. This forced the men in the room to recognise the contribution — and denied them the chance to claim the idea as their own. (Read more: http://nymag.com/thecut/2016/09/heres-how-obamas-female-staffers-made-their-voices-heard.html) The result was that women were promoted and enjoyed working in the highest echelons of the White House more. Over a period of 8 years (2009-2016) the number of women working there increased tremendously.

Ridiculing

It is easy to recognise this refined technique when the strong party makes fun of something at the weaker party's expense. It might be a complaint of a citizen's movement or a group of young people. In essence the strong party will belittle the weaker party. It often happens to women, jokes are made about "the time of the month" or the "hysterical nature of women".

An important rule is to never join in the laughter, neither when a joke is made about you or about another person. A second rule is to let the person know that you do not want yourself, or another participant, to be made fun of or to be ridiculed. You can say that in a meeting or after the meeting to the person who made the joke. Make sure that it is known that you do not accept this behaviour.

Withholding information

Withholding information has a lot to do with access to information and access to the places where the participants of a meeting or negotiation meet outside of the formal venue. This often afflicts women. In saunas, tearooms and mosques much is settled among the boys, deliberately or not. What then happens at the meeting – with women present – is that the matter is quickly pushed through. The women are not given the chance to properly discuss what the men have already covered in a smaller circle. Men do not understand why women must always make difficulties and prolong everything, or why women cannot be a little more "decisive".

Making invisible

When the powerful party doesn't listen to the weaker party we call this "making invisible". It often happens in meetings when the weaker party is talking; the powerful parties start shuffling their papers, checking their email, playing with their mobiles, talking to one another or goes to the toilet.

Making someone invisible is a devastating domination technique. A person who is not seen or listened to feels reduced and will not be inclined to contribute to the outcome.

Double penalty

Social movements are often groups of volunteers that want to change or influence a situation. Volunteers have jobs. If the strong,

often institutionalised party plans meetings during the day or at venues that take long to travel to, the volunteers are at a disadvantage. They need to take time off from work or school. The same goes for choosing a location that can only be reached by car, or scheduling meetings just before dinnertime when people with children need to cook and take care of their kids.

The term "double penalty" applies to women who combine children, work, political or social engagement and marriage. They often feel that they should be somewhere else. They are accused – often implicitly – by those around them (often women) of being inadequate as mothers when they become involved in working life and politics, while at the same time they are considered insufficiently committed to their work if they choose to give home and family a higher priority. Choosing both only creates dissatisfaction in both quarters. In contrast to women, men are seldom subjected to this type of double penalty. For them it is mostly self-evident to accept things at work and decline things at home.

More on domination techniques:

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, a well-known author from Nigeria, talks about this in her great TEDx talk in 2013 that you can watch here: https://youtu.be/hg3umXU_qWc. She gives many examples in which women are perceived as dependent, not able and less important than men.

A journalist asked the president of Canada, Justin Trudeau, while presenting his cabinet, why he had chosen to have 50% women in his cabinet. Watch his answer here: https://youtu.be/LLk2aSBrR6U 'because it's 2015'. In later interviews he reemphasised that he was a feminist, like at the world economic forum https://youtu.be/FUtRnkm1GlY and that it was incredibly important to not only empower young girls, but also young boys to become feminists.

Exercise:

A roleplay is a good way to make the participants aware of domination techniques. Think of a relevant topic in which a weaker party needs to address or negotiate with a strong party, or a woman is negotiating with men.

6. CONCLUDING NOTES

The real work starts after the negotiations and the meetings end. We stop talking about cooperation, and start actually cooperating. In the previous chapter we emphasised that social movements and political parties are unequal partners. Social movements are likely to have more support from young and urbanised people, people who use online media to get their message across and mobilise people. Political parties are often better organised, have a structure in place, have funding and experienced people. At all times, while cooperating with a social movement, political parties should be aware of this and should remain genuine about why they cooperate. Power play in these times will often have the opposite effect, and will lead to a separation and a longer path to reach this goal. Trust is hard to gain, but easy to lose.

When a mixed group of representatives of political parties and social movements take part in a training, you can let them do some exercises after they negotiated and held meetings. Examples of exercises are:

Press release

Divide the participants into mixed groups and ask them to write a press release of the future cooperation, event, joint action. You can

give some theory on press releases: does it contain the five Ws: When, Where, Why, Who, What, but even more importantly, how to cooperate on working together on a press release. Let the participants reflect on the way they worked together.

Video

Making a joint video is also a good exercise since it combines content and strategy with creativity. Divide the participants into a few groups and let them discuss the content of the video – it should contain the joint central message – and let them shoot and edit the video.

7. THE FMS TRAINING METHOD

A typical opening of an FMS training contains a PowerPoint slide with a bowl of borscht – or any other local soup. The message: we provide the ingredients, but only you know how to make the soup. You, the participant, are the expert.

It is one of the three FMS principles for a successful training.

Three main principles for a successful training
The participants are the experts; the trainers are the facilitators.
The programme is interactive and bottom-up, with little theory and lots of practice.
The social, cultural and political context is a point of reference, but not a topic of the seminar.


The FMS training method has been used for over 20 years. The FMS training courses build on the experience that the participants already have. Knowledge is imparted to the participants in short theoretical introductions, which are followed by an exercise. The exercises are as realistic as possible and in line with daily practice. FMS trainers aim for the information learned to be immediately applicable in practice. They create a safe and predictable learning environment in which the participants can strengthen their capabilities.

Training is not about 'What' but about 'How'. One of the main differences between a trainer and a teacher is that a trainer gives tools and helps the group apply these tools in their own situation, rather than giving a lecture. Here, evaluation, feedback and reflection are essential tools.

On the website www.effectivetraining.org you will find the Training of Trainers manual with more background information and ample examples on the essentials of training and on how to deal with resistance and cultural differences. In this chapter we will discuss the learning cycle and the essential issue of preparing for a training.

Learning cycle
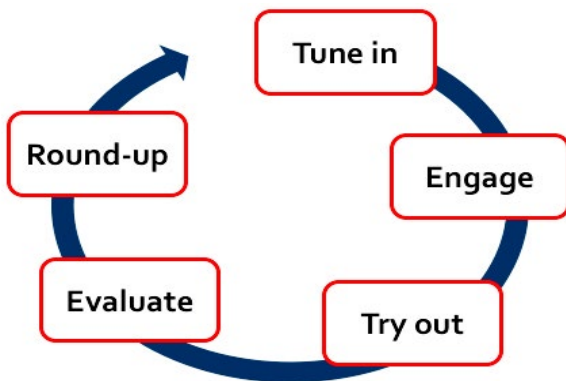
Tune in: base the training on personal/professional experience, rather than on theory

As soon as we start the training we invite the participants to translate all the theory into their own experience. As a trainer you will not know what will work in a particular region or sector. Furthermore, if you link to people's own experiences, it will foster active contribution on the part of the participants. And finally, personal experiences cannot be labelled 'right' or 'wrong'. In trainings like these political discussions are unavoidable, as participants want to respond to each other. Make sure that your feedback always focuses on the theory and method rather than on the specific content of the presentation. Here again it is not about 'What' but about 'How'. If political discussions start nevertheless, advise the participants to use the breaks for discussions.

Engage: present theory and theoretical models in a way that is relevant to the participants' own experience

Theory is best illustrated by an example that the group can associate with. It is no use talking about the strategy of the party leader if the participants are new members and will not work with the party leader in the near future. Engage means that you connect with their experience and explain the theory using examples that the participants can envisage and relate to. The group will be able to associate with the example and the theory will be easier understood. Moreover, it will probably be better applied in practice too.

Try out: use the own experience in practical exercises

The third step is to take a case study from the students' own experience and to base a practical exercise upon it. It is difficult for people to listen to and absorb purely abstract material for

any length of time. Usually, people can concentrate fully on what someone is saying for no more than twenty minutes. Participants are better able to absorb and remember new or difficult theory if they can see its practical relevance (even if only in a practice situation). By inserting practical exercises between blocks of theory you will increase the students' involvement and participation. Once they realise that they will be called upon to put what they have learned into practice and will be asked to present the results to the entire group, they are likely to devote much more attention to the theory.

People will always compare unknown subject matter (whether knowledge or skills) to that which they have already acquired. It is as if there is a sort of "filter" in people's minds. New information must pass this filter before it can be accepted. Anything, which is similar to, or an extension of, what the student already knows will be quickly absorbed. Anything that is totally unfamiliar or contradicts the student's existing knowledge runs a very great risk of being rejected or instantly forgotten. For the purpose of training, it is therefore advisable to base all material on the existing situation and expand on the students' existing knowledge and skills. The training course will never begin with a completely 'clean slate'. When meeting a group for the first time, it may seem difficult to estimate the extent of their existing knowledge. However, it is relatively easy in practice. Ask the students to describe their situation and everyday work, and ask for their personal perceptions. You should then tailor your theoretical and practical lessons to reflect the students' existing knowledge.

Evaluate and provide feedback after the exercise

The next step is an evaluation and feedback round. Ask the trainee/working group what they thought of the exercise and the results. If they made a mistake or had a blackout, this will give them an opportunity to say so. Then ask the rest of the group to comment. It is important to start with positive feedback and only

later give suggestions. If you first say something positive about the participant's performance, he or she will be more likely to take heed of any less favourable remarks.

Round up: conclude and reflect on the method and instrument

In the final step you conclude by reflecting on the method and instruments. What can be learned from the exercise? In this stage you don't give new information, but reflect on the theory and information before the participants started the exercise. A round-up is important because it will enable the participants to take a next step and start a new cycle of learning, with a new topic or instrument.

Practicalities and preparation

How do you prepare for the training? You want to have information about practical issues and you want to know more about the participants and their experience and expectations. If you are training with two trainers, you meet beforehand and discuss the design of the training.

Checklist logistics

- Venue of the training

- Arrival time participants

- Is training material available: laptop, beamer, post-it, flip over?

- Is the Wi-Fi strong enough, is sound available, can you show video clips?

Preparation training

When preparing for the training you would like to know the participants' expectations, their experience and whether they have participated in an FMS training before. You can contact the local organisation to find out or you can include a module on participants' expectations at the start of the training. To have a good interaction in a group with two trainers, the group size should not exceed 25 people.

You also want to know how the training relates to the organisation's educational and campaigning strategy. Are elections coming up or is there a special training need? Is there a follow-up to the training?

Based on the above, you draft a programme of the training in which you make clear which modules will be tackled in the training, the time schedule (breaks and lunch/dinner) and the time the training finishes. If you have to divert from the original programme of the training, you always consult with the group first. Try and stick to the time schedule for breaks and lunch/dinner, participants need these breaks! Also make sure that there is ample time for introductions of the participants and yourself. Ask the participants to place name badges in front of them.

When drafting the programme make sure you take into account the energy level of the participants. Numerous studies have shown that the energy level of participants dwindles after 15 minutes, so make sure that you keep the theory sessions short. People get energised again after a physical game or an energiser or a break. So don't be afraid to use energisers or take an extra break. When people are back to a high energy level, training is a lot more fruitful. In the following graph, the red line describes the energy level of the participants.

—

Energy level training module
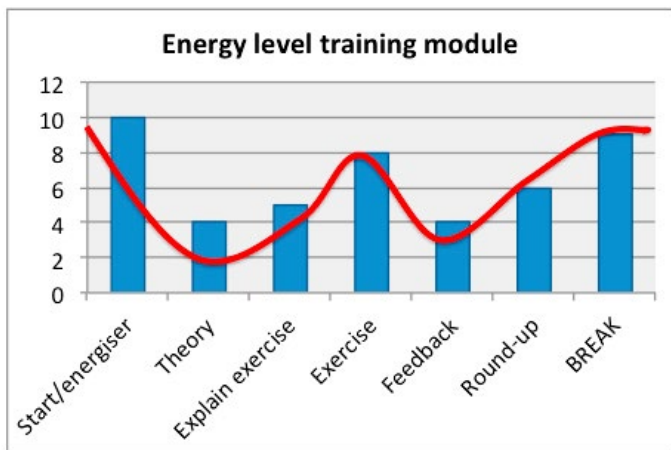
At the end of the training, you evaluate the training with the participants. What did they like in the training and what are their suggestions for future trainings?

Finally:

As a trainer you are a role model for the group and you are leading the training. This means that participants will copy your behaviour. So make sure that you behave well, be on time and be respectful to all the participants. Also be aware of your body language. An open hand is inviting ("Who wants to volunteer?"), pointing a finger is scary ("It's your turn").

ANNEX: EXAMPLES

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BIH)

Issue: law on Personal ID Number (JMBG)

Cause: life of Baby Belmina in danger

Baby Belmina Ibrisevic was born in June 2013 and needed medical treatment that was not available in BiH. She had to travel abroad, but because the law that should made that possible was not adopted, she could not obtain a passport and her life was endangered.

Due to the failure to adopt the Personal ID Number Act, known as JMBG, babies who were born after February 12th, 2013 were not assigned ID numbers, and thus were denied various rights, such as the right to be issued a passport.

Reaction: media attention, protests and blocking of parliament

The story received great media attention resulting in protests which led to blocking of the BiH Parliament building in Sarajevo. The importance of this initiative is reflected in the fact that it eliminated all the irrelevant differences among the citizens, since all of them were now confronted with the same problem, i.e. their child not having the right to get a personal ID number or passport.

Eventually the baby got a permit to travel, but died in hospital.

Political involvement

Left-wing political parties were not involved as the main multi-ethnic Social Democratic Party (SDP) was in government with nationalist parties who were blocking the implementation of the new law.

GEORGIA

Issue: violence against and killing of women by their (ex) husbands

Cause: killing of 33-year-old university lecturer Maka Tsivsiradze

In October 2014, Maka Tsivsiradze was called outside the lecture room and killed by her ex-husband. For women in Georgia it was one killing too many. It sparked protests against violence against and killing of women by (ex) husbands.

In 2014, 34 women were murdered in Georgia by their ex-husbands. In 2015, 26 cases are known of murder or attempted murder on women by their former spouses. According to research funded by the UN, one in every 11 married women in Georgia is subjected to physical, sexual and other forms of violence by her husband or partner. Rights groups say that because victims rarely speak out, the real number could be much higher.

Another survey by the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) suggests some 75% of Georgian women believe the issue of domestic violence is a private matter and should remain within the family.

Action: Georgian Women's Movement organised demonstrations and an initiative to change the law

After the killing of Maka Tsivsiradze, the Georgian Women Movement took the initiative to address the issue of violence and killings of women by their ex or spouse. They initiated demonstrations with the slogan: "Police, wake up!" Their message was that the police should take family violence seriously, fight it and protect the victims.

The first demonstrations took place in Tbilisi in November 2014. Soon after, the whole of Georgia started to protest against *femicide* (gender-based killings). In more than 20 cities of Georgia there were protests with the main slogan "Thou shalt not kill!"

At the same time, the Georgian Women's Movement worked on a project to incorporate gender-based violence in the criminal code (codex). At the time of writing a draft law is before parliament, proposing to add femicide to the criminal code. Parliament still has to vote.

Political party involvement

The prime minister spoke out during the protests and supported the struggle against gender-based violence. Other officials also commented on the case and expressed their support.

Photos: http://agenda.ge/photogallery/218/eng

MONTENEGRO

Issue: LGBTI Rights

Cause: improve situation of LGBTI

The rights of LGBTI persons in the Westerns Balkans are a complicated issue. Due to traditional perceptions of sexuality and the vital influence of traditional religious sentiments, LGBTI advocates still face a reluctant environment and violence.

The LGBT Forum Progress is the first organisation in Montenegro to bring together LGBTI people and organisations in Montenegro with the aim to improve their living conditions in Montenegro, protect the human rights of the LGBT population and promote equality in society. Due to their work Montenegro is a regional champion of LGBTI rights.

Actions: Pride, strategy paper and raising awareness

The strategy of the LGBT Forum Progress is threefold: they are visible (pride), they raise awareness (education) and they cooperate with policy makers (policy). In doing so, the LGBT Forum Progress is one of the most successful NGOs in Montenegro. The LGBT Forum Progress organised the first Pride in Montenegro in 2013.

Bearing in mind the importance of helping young LGBTI persons, Forum Progress has published a Strategy for improving the quality of life of LGBTI persons in Montenegro in cooperation with the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. One of the measures for the period of 2013-2018 is to explore the needs, rights and the position of young people, including LGBT youths, and to draft new editions of textbooks that will inform young people about the rights of LGBT persons. The organisation also promotes optional subjects in the

Montenegrin education system that will help to eliminate stereotypes among young people.

Political party involvement

When it comes to the political parties, some of the left-wing parties in Montenegro have been supporting the LGBTI community through different activities, including attending the Pride March. In addition, most of them have spoken out publicly against the violence that LGBTI community is facing every day.

Connecting with social movements is mostly not a priority for political parties in Western Balkans. The situation in Montenegro is slightly different. Due to a lack of administrative capacity, the government has invited civil society organisations to sit in on EU accession negotiations and contribute to implementing the required laws.

Read more:

Website LGBT Forum Progress: http://lgbtprogres.me/ and Queer Montenegro http://www.queermontenegro.org/

UKRAINE

Issue: 40% of wages spent on paying for gas and utilities

Cause: rise of gas prices and utility tariffs

In July 2016, the Ukrainian government decided to raise the price of gas and utilities. The price rise was such that 40% of the average income of working Ukrainians would go to pay for main services. Because of the weak economy it also meant a serious decline of living standards of Ukraine citizens.

Actions: protest march and demands

The organizers of the protest were Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, the Union of Metallurgists and Miners, Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Trade Union of Education and Science workers. The trade unions used the price hikes and protests to demand the following:

- urgent reform of fair wages;

- establishment before October 1st of guaranteed minimum wage at a reasonable cost, calculated at current prices subsistence level - 3 thousand UAH (120 USD), and raise pensions and state scholarships based on this;

- businesses to increase the wages of workers by no less than 15% before August 1st;

- to consult with trade union committees and start raising the share of wages in production costs of goods and services to the level of other European countries.

The trade unions did not cooperate with other non-governmental organisations or youth organisations and did not explicitly invite them to join the protests.

Political involvement

As a result of the march a meeting was held between Ukraine Prime Minister Volodymyr Hroysman and the leaders of the trade unions. They discussed the plan of reforms to meet the demands of the protesters.

However, as often happens in Ukraine politics, the promises remained unfulfilled. The only concrete result of the protest was the meeting of the leaders of the Federation of Trade Unions with the Prime Minister.

The Social Democratic platform in Ukraine has expressed its concern over the utility price rises in proportion to average wages. They did not participate in the protests and were not invited to discuss a joint package of demands for the government.

The Social Democratic platform does organise joint trainings with civil society and trade unions. But the country and its organisations are in transition, from old to new ways of cooperating.

JORDAN

Issue: advance democracy through democratic means

Cause: lack of democratic reform

Although there have been recent changes in the electoral system in Jordan that allowed more political parties to participate in the elections, democratic reform is a slow process. Most parliamentary candidates do not belong to a political party and do not have a political programme; they are independents, often elected because of their tribal ties or social connections. Young people – under 30 – make up 30% of the population. People under 30 are not allowed to stand as candidates for elected positions.

Young people organised themselves in 2011-2013 across tribal lines, demanding sweeping democratic reform and even regime change.

The grass-roots youth coalition Shaghaf formed in June 2016 when 60 activists, all in their twenties, met. Most were not from Amman, but from smaller and poorer cities. Some of them had tribal backgrounds, and some did not. They were not from the Islamist, leftist, nor the liberal elites.

Shaghaf means 'passion' in Arabic, but is also an acronym for Shabab al-Ghad al-Fa'il (Youths for an Active Tomorrow). In just two weeks, 4,800 fellow activists had joined the coalition, 40% of them women.

Action: control democratic institutions by democratic means

Shaghaf rejected protests and boycotts. In the recent past, those actions led the regime to state that the organisers were too radical and destabilised the country. Many protesters were put in prison or were corrupted by the government by offering them jobs. Shaghaf as a movement aims to make the shortcomings of the democratic institutions visible.

They organise candidate debates where candidates have to answer questions about poverty and other problems. In this way, candidates can be held accountable for what they say and do and accomplish when elected. The debates train young people in following up the implementation of decisions made in parliament and in holding their elected representatives accountable.

The activists have created a database that catalogues each promise made across districts, from pledges for more anti-corruption initiatives to better public transportation. Shaghaf uses social media to report on what elected politicians do and how that compares to their campaign promises.

Shaghaf also wants to make the voices of young people heard. The initiative is mainly aimed at enhancing the participation of young people in politics and preparing a programme that ensures the participation of young people in following up on the electoral platforms of the candidates, and assess the extent to which these platforms are realistic and conform to the principles of equity and justice. Shaghaf is working on preparing a list of general demands and specific demands for each governorate. The demands drafted by young people will be signed by the candidates for the parliamentary elections, and then the young people will follow up on the implementation of these demands by the MPs after elections. The alliance aims also to prompt the next House of Representatives to adopt legislation that supports young people and comply with the principles of justice and equity.

Political party involvement

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/14/how-a-new-youth-movement-in-jordan-is-emerging-ahead-of-elections/?utm_term=.173eb74502c5

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/SHAGHAFJO/

ARMENIA

Issue: price rises for public transport (2013) and electricity (2015)

Cause: public transport price rise

The "We will not pay 150 Drams" movement was an expression of civic discontent/grievances in response to the government's decision to increase prices for public transport in Yerevan in July 2013. It led to unprecedented civic mobilisation with street marches, free car rides and citizen assemblies calling on the general public to boycott the new fare and pay the previous one. After a six-day struggle City Hall officially announced that the price rise would not be withdrawn. Foreign media called the protest "the bus revolution". Thousands of Yerevan residents went out into the streets to celebrate the victory, even though all they had achieved was for the latest decision of municipal authorities to be overturned.

Another movement that emerged in June 2015, locally referred to as #ElectricYerevan or "No To Plunder", was thousands of citizens hitting the streets in Yerevan to protest a 7 dram hike in electricity prices. After being dispersed with water cannons, protesters returned to Baghramyan Avenue in even greater numbers, setting up camp behind a line of barricades improvised from dumpsters. They brought swimming goggles, arm bands and life jackets to the protests to mock the police for using a water cannon.

The protest faded eventually when the government approved the sale of Electricity Networks of Armenia (ENA) from the Russian company RAO - which critics said was highly corrupt, and needed to raise the electricity price to pay for its resulting debt - to the Tashir Group. The Tashir Group is run by Samvel Karapetyan, a Russia-based Armenian business tycoon who had retained close links

with both Armenian and Russian political elites, as well as being known for his philanthropist activity in Armenia. The government announced that they would jointly with the Tashir group subsidise the price hike until July 31, 2016.

In our analysis of these movements we identified several common features in terms of understanding achievements and failure.

- Both protests drew mostly young `people` — students, NGO activists, civil society groups, etc. — who tend to be more assertive, determined and demanding.

- In both cases there was an accompanying sense of public support and involvement that was also visible on social media websites like Facebook and Twitter. In a very short period of time, several groups and events were created as tools to bring people together and maximise public support. The Twitter/Facebook hashtags went viral immediately.

- The organisers of both movements were committed to use new and creative methods of non-violent direct action.

- Local and international media reported on both cases extensively and the level of coverage was positive overall.

- These protests also led to citizens raising follow-up concerns regarding policy and the decision-making processes in Armenia and encouraged participation in many other ways, such as through sharing opinions on online platforms, social campaigning, signing petitions, etc. Nevertheless they could not transform these small patterns of popular discontent and

struggle into a larger movement for broader change because of fragmentation and lack of organisational skills and resources and failed to enable citizens to challenge the prevailing centres of power and become active in society's decision-making process, especially at times when the normal channels for their political participation are ineffective.

- Both movements reject connections with political parties as possible allies due to the general public discontent and distrust of them in Armenia.

Read more:

http://www.ianyanmag.com/marshutka-revolution-how-yerevan-residents-reversed-a-bus-fare-hike/

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric_Yerevan

BELARUS

Issue: Peoples' Referendum political campaign (2013-2015)

Cause: presidential elections in 2015

The current president of Belarus has held that position since 1994. He wins elections with overwhelming numbers according to official results (83,7% in 2015) and rules the country as an autocrat. The country scores low on press freedom and democracy. There is little opportunity for opposition parties to develop their views and organise support. The candidates running for president often do so as independent candidates, not linked to any political party.

The People's Referendum

The People's Referendum was initiated by a number of opposition political parties:

- the Movement for Freedom,

- the Belarusian Popular Front (BPF) Party,

- the Belarusian Social Democratic Party ('Hramada') (BSDP) and,

- the Tell The Truth! Campaign,

and it was supported by dozens of NGOs. The goal of the People's Referendum was to involve as many Belarus citizens in a bottom-up organised referendum.

Actions: meetings,
organising support and a referendum

The aim of the People's Referendum was to initiate a referendum on a number of domestic topics and foreign policy issues. The general public decided on the topics of the referendum: Belarusians proposed about 50 topics of the greatest public concern. Then eleven most topical issues were formulated, and later six were chosen from those eleven as questions for the referendum.

Signatures to initiate the referendum were first collected by democratic parliamentary candidates and members of their teams. Over time, the process involved hundreds of Belarusians throughout the country. The People's Referendum activists worked very hard to promote the idea among the authorities and general public. They organised forty personal meetings with Belarusian MPs, where they made a claim to initiate a referendum on behalf of the Belarusian people. Public hearings on the People's Referendum issues were held in thirty Belarusian cities and towns with participation of more than 500 people (politicians, opinion makers, experts, and general public). The recommendations developed at the People's Referendum hearings were sent to relevant governmental agencies, ministries, and parliamentary committees. The People's Referendum representatives made 60 regional trips across Belarus. There were hundreds of publications in the media about the initiative.

Democratic structures that initiated the People's Referendum fruitfully worked on promoting the idea in Belarus between January and April 2015. Tatiana Korotkevich, who was one of the initiators of the campaign, stood for president in 2015. Her programme was based on the People's Referendum issues, supported by 120,000 signatures.

Young people took part in this social movement as volunteers.

Political involvement

In late 2015, the Belarusian Popular Front (BPF) Party, the Movement for Freedom, and the Belarusian Social Democratic Party ('Hramada') (BSDP) made a joint statement saying that the People's Referendum cannot exist in the old format. The representatives of the campaign could not agree on a number of issues concerning the 2015 presidential campaign, the campaign's format and single presidential candidate.

Even though the three oppositional structures declared that they would end their participation in the People's Referendum initiative, the authors of the statement also said they were convinced that the ideas of the People's Referendum remained relevant for Belarus and they would continue defending them, integrating them in their civil and political programmes to reform Belarus.

Many of the party members and supporters, including social democrats, continue to cooperate and promote the People's Referendum's ideas. The ideas of the People's Referendum, that now are part of the Tell the Truth! programme, are supported by members of the BPF, the Social Democratic Hramada party, and others. Activists from these parties take part in joint events and discussions in order to put into action the People's Referendum issues and find support among other Belarusians. Youth events organised by different parties are often attended by EU diplomats and politicians and invite Belarusian opinion makers and intellectuals as guests.

Involvement of the Young Front youth movement

Things with the Belarusian Young Front youth movement are a bit more complicated. Social democratic forces are ready to support the youth movement. But the Young Front itself does not want to establish contacts with Belarusian social democratic structures

(the Social Democratic Party ('Hramada') (BSDP), the Tell The Truth! campaign, etc.). The Young Front has right-wing views and chooses a more radical (protest-based) approach, unlike social democrats and other moderate democratic structures.

SERBIA

Issue: downfall of the Milosevic regime

Cause: war, repression by the dictatorship, isolation and economic stagnation

In 2000, social youth movement Otpor (*Resistance*) played a key role in the peaceful downfall of the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. Key players in the movement established an NGO that trains activists around the world in peaceful resistance.

Actions: concerts and protests

Otpor started in 1998 as a small informal gathering of friends who liked music. They started organising parties and smaller concerts that became very popular among young people in Belgrade. Gradually they developed into an organisation and resistance movement against the Milosevic regime. Their key principles included non-violence, understanding of the concept of power in numbers, developing a superior communication strategy, creating the perception of a successful movement and investing in the skills and knowledge of activists. Otpor was very successful in using humour to draw attention, increasing their name recognition and, ultimately, mobilising people. They had no leader, which made it difficult for the regime to fight them.

Political involvement

Otpor supported and cooperated with the democratic opposition (DOS) that took over power from Milosevic. They tried but failed to develop into a political party. They decided to monitor the new parties in power and train activists around the world.

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Read more: Blue Print for a Revolution

LEBANON

Issue: fighting corruption

Cause: corrupt system of awarding university diplomas

Lebanon ranks 136 (out of 176 countries) in the Transparency International Corruption Index. Leaders hold double positions and university diplomas are bought instead of earned.

The Lebanese University issued forged diplomas.

Action: awareness raising and protest

For the Progressive Youth Organisation (PYO) fighting corruption has been a priority. They organised a conference under the title of "Challenges of Reform". The recommendations of the conference focused on a reform map to be applied in four areas: electricity, the Lebanese University, the judiciary system, and finally the general administration.

The next step was to organise a big campaign targeting a specific corruption scandal. The PYO did so and targeted the president of the Lebanese University, Adnan Sayed Hussein, who was responsible for the diploma fraud.

Result: The president of the Lebanese University stepped down last year.

Political involvement

Political parties played an important role. Firstly, the appointment of the president of the Lebanese University needs to be confirmed by the majority of the political parties. PYO's mother party, the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), along with several other parties lobbied against extension of his mandate.

However, the most significant role political parties played was in the dismissal of Abdel-Moneim Youssef, at that time both the director-general of the telecommunications company OGERO and director-general of investment and maintenance at the telecoms ministry. Youssef was on trial for corruption and negligence. In 2016, the PSP filed several complaints against him and led the battle of dismissal in the Council of Ministers through 2 ministers: Health Minister Wael Abou Faour and Akram Chehayeb, the Minister of Agriculture.

MOROCCO

Issue: Article 475 – penal code

Rape carries a prison sentence ranging from 5 to 10 years, but if the victim is a minor it is increased to 10 to 25 years. However, a rapist can avoid jail if the victim's family consents to their marriage.

Cause: rape – marriage – suicide

In 2012, a 16 year-old-girl named Amina Filali from a small city in the north of Morocco was raped and the rapist escaped prosecution by marrying her. The marriage was legal because of Article 475 of the penal code, which states that he cannot be prosecuted legally unless they get a divorce. Also, the family code states that the decision of the judge authorising the marriage cannot be reversed. This marriage happened with the consent of the parents to save the honour of the family, in a community where the loss of women's virginity outside marriage is considered a dishonour to the family. Forced to marry her rapist, the young girl was mistreated and beaten up severely by the husband. After seven months of physical and psychological abuse, Amina decided to commit suicide by swallowing rat poison.

Action: protests, human rights, women's groups and individual women

This incident initiated a large social movement by human rights activists and women rights' activists. Young people, especially young women, joined the social movement either as activists or simple citizens rejecting a law that discriminates against rape victims instead of protecting them.

Petition: one million signatures

The protests and demonstrations were reported widely in the media, and more than one million people signed a petition that was presented to the authorities.

Political response

Highly involved: PSU

The movement received the support of the PSU, which participated in demonstrations. Unfortunately, the PSU boycotted the 2011 election, which left them with no voice in the parliament.

Vocal support: progressive parties

Different politicians from progressive and social democrat parties made statements condemning the law.

No support at first: government

The government first claimed that the rape information was wrong and that the girl had consented to the marriage. They focused on the incident, whilst the movement considered it as one case among many similar ones.

Insist: change the law

What mattered for the movement was resolving this issue at the source: the penal code. Therefore the pressure of the activists increased; the government made promises to change the law and expressed its support. The parliamentary justice and human rights committee proposed amending the law on abduction and rape. After two years of pressure, in 2014 parliament voted unanimously to repeal the article allowing rapists to escape prosecution by marrying the victim.

Twenty-two organisations joined together in a coalition named "Spring of Dignity". In addition to signing a petition and organising protests, the social movement also contacted international media to cover the events and international institutions to get involved. However, efforts were made to silence the movement by different means, such as by denying facts and by spreading counter attacks on social media aimed at misleading people.

Changing Article 475 was a victory, but the battle is not over: not only laws discriminating women must be changed, but the mentalities too.

Videos:

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ak3qShX71Dc

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eddD-reVi44

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p59DGClituA

TUNISIA

Issue: Reconciliation Law and anti-corruption

Cause: Reconciliation Law

The political authorities and government in Tunisia have not been able to tackle corruption since the revolution in 2011. Instead, the presidency proposed the Reconciliation Law, seeking the legitimisation of corruption and the acquittal of the corrupt, and exemption from prosecution for looting the country's resources, blurring the facts and distorting history.

Especially young people gathered to draw attention to the need to fight corruption.

Action: non-partisan youth movement protest online and offline

The newly created political party "Attayar Al-Dimoqrati" (Democratic Movement), which has a very active youth wing, launched the *Hèl èddousi* (Open the file) campaign, which advocated more transparency in governmental transactions, and requested the publication of the contracts concluded by the government with local and international companies. They said: If there is corruption, it should be dealt with by the courts, and if the contracts are clean, publish them so as to end the rumours and people's doubts. Hel èddousi is now one of the leading social movements. The campaign attracted large sections of the youth of the revolution as it called for exposing corruption, especially concerning the energy, mining, customs and banking sectors. The 'Hèl èddousi' campaign marked the unexpected awakening of Tunisia's youth, and evolved from being just a campaign on social networks to an organised social campaign that embarrassed political authorities and government structures that were not able to tackle corruption cases.

The campaign 'Hel èddousi' inspired other campaigns demanding transparency. In 2015, the "Winou el petrole" (Where's our oil) campaign drew lots of attention. It was a specific campaign focusing on the natural resources extraction. It demanded transparency and fought against high-level corruption. The campaign was led by non-partisan young people who were well aware of the general situation in the country.

Youth and post-revolution Tunisia

The interest in politics and the involvement of young people decreased after the revolution in 2011. There was a low youth turn-out in the 2014 elections. Also, young people who are actively involved in political parties make up only a small part of the country's youth population.

The gap between young people and politics is wide, while just a few years ago young people were the driving force behind the major changes that took place in Tunisia.

People, especially youth, are sceptic and suspicious of political parties and prefer independent action. They refuse to be "labelled", and are in disagreement with most of the parties for two main reasons:

- Parties are often obliged to play the "political game", which is rejected by young activists who live and still believe in the revolutionary spirit.

- There is a lack of democracy even within many political parties pretending to be democratic, and there is a general idea that most of the parties are just platforms using the youth energy to help the leaders to rise to advanced positions (in power or in opposition).

In general, there's a strong polarisation between the different political groups, and often, political labels displace ideas or messages. Also, political parties and politicians are discredited, so if you want to have a successful campaign, it has to be (or at least appear to be) independent of any political party affiliation.

Tunisia has a kind of a "magma of young activists" of different political backgrounds(mostly left-wing, but they have many colours, including a large representation of Islamists), who oppose the "establishment", and work together on specific campaigns. It is a kind of network, very similar to the network of young people we had before 2011 revolution, in which young activists converge on specific messages and ideas and collaborate on them.

Usually, in demonstrations and in actions, you may meet the same faces in more than one campaign, and some of them are involved in different political parties, while others prefer to remain politically independent. The only code is that these actions are not associated with any specific party.

The Reconciliation Law was another cause for Tunisian youths to take action. They quickly got many social parties through social networking to mobilize public opinion against passing the law, and organised demonstrations in the capital. These protest movements were later labelled under the campaign "Manish msèmeh"(I never forgive).

The "Manish Msameh" campaign represented the highest degree of youth awareness; over 90% of the participants were young people. In terms of their tactical capacity it was able to attract a large number of citizens, and succeeded in bringing together the revolutionary youths and the opposition parties in one peaceful movement.

The "Manich msameh" campaign has become the real power broker in supporting movements of civil society and political parties. Within a short time, the campaign succeeded in organising young people and led from the front in addressing all the excesses that affect public resources and fighting against corrupt practices and manipulators of public interest. It should be noted also that the social youth movements have political implications. It is no longer hidden from the followers of these movements and social organisations, now that it includes a large number of youths with different political and non-political backgrounds. They work as a link between the associations, organisations and youth movements on the one hand and the parties that intersect with them on the same issues on the other, and they have managed to establish strong coordination between them.

Post-revolution: rise in number of movements and social organisations

Since the revolution the number of movements and social organisations has increased. The movements managed to attract increasing numbers of young people and members of the labour force that turned into a real counter-power adopting means of peaceful pressure on political and governmental authorities, and it has become a means of expression for a large segment of society.

Relationship with political parties

The relationship between the youth activists and some opposition political parties is still marked by a degree of fear and scepticism. The youth social movements are still worried about being associated with a political party. They prefer to have no interaction with political parties and oppose any political manipulation.

THE NETHERLANDS

Issue: Minimum wage for 21 and 22-year-olds is below the living wage

Cause: difference of treatment

In the Netherlands, the minimum wage for adults starts at the age of 23. This means that when you are 20, 21 or 22 and work fulltime, you earn a "youth minimum wage", which is not enough to cover basic living costs.

Action: Young and United campaign

Young and United is the result of a cooperation between various youth organisations of trade unions, political parties and student organisations, including the youth organisation of the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), Young Socialists (Jonge Socialisten). *Young and United* actively rallied for the abolition of the minimum youth wage in Holland, which is lower than "adult wages". They managed to get the subject on the political agenda by campaigning very actively. They drew attention to their cause with several playful actions, for example by taking half their clothes off during a meeting of the shareholders of the largest supermarket in The Netherlands, demanding equal pay for equal work instead of half a salary. Furthermore thousands of people signed their petition calling for more permanent jobs for young people and the abolishment of the youth wage.

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Political response

In April 2016, the Dutch government announced that the age limit for receiving a youth wage would be reduced from 23 years to 21 years, meaning that people who are 21 years or older will get the higher "adult wages". Wages for 18, 19 and 20-year-olds were also raised. The minister for social affairs and employment, Lodewijk Asscher, cooperated with the youth movements to realise this policy change. They also celebrated it together (see picture below).

Young and United is pleased that these adjustments were made, but says it will continue to campaign for the minimum youth wage to be abolished altogether, and for young people to earn the same minimum wage as adults. It also broadened the campaign to improve employment contracts for young people.

www.youngandunited.nl

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Do you have a good example of a social movement in your country? Please let us know and send an e-mail to: info@foundationmax-vanderstoel.nl.

MOLDOVA

Issue: Twitter revolution following an allegedly rigged election

Cause: elections in which the Communist Party won yet again

A large-scale protest broke out in Moldova on April 6th, 2009, as a result of the announcement of the official results of the April 5 parliamentary elections, which awarded nearly 50% of the votes to the ruling Communist Party that had already been in power for eight years.

Action: spontaneous protest rallies coordinated via Twitter

Over 50,000 protesters went out into the streets with slogans like "we want a rerun" and "down with the Communists".

University students were the most active. The young people were protesting peacefully, but on April 7 after a number of provocations the movement turned more violent. The then opposition parties' leaders claimed that the elections had been rigged and demanded new elections. The leader of the Communist Party, Vladimir Voronin, continued to accuse the organisers of a coup attempt. PM Zinaida Greceanii issued a message to parents through the media, urging them to keep their children home "or they will turn to violence or even bloodshed." But political leaders did not seem to have any control of the protest movement. The movement did achieve some success, as a new election was announced eventually, in which the opposition parties cumulatively gained a narrow majority.

Political involvement

Political parties and their leaders tried to get a grip on the youth protest movement; the ruling elite trying to stop it, and the opposition parties trying to lead it into calmer waters and avoid violence. They could not, however, as the movement, which arose spontaneously in essence and was mainly coordinated by the protesters themselves through Twitter, led its own life. There does not seem to have been a centrally orchestrated initiative in the protest; rather, it consisted of young people urging each other on Twitter to go out into the streets.

ALBANIA

Issue: uniting left-wing voters

Cause: rule of authoritarian and corrupt government

In 2013, the main opposition Socialist Party (SPA) formed an election platform called Rilindje (Renaissance). Their goal was to unite young progressive voters in order topple the corrupt government of authoritarian former prime minister Sali Berisha in the June 2013 general elections.

Actions: meetings and election activities

SPA and their partners organised many meetings at universities and cultural centres in many cities and villages. They succeeded in creating an image that it was fun to go to these meetings and be a part of the change that was in the air. On the one hand it was a strong future-oriented message of change what attracted so many new young people to join the movement was that it represented a strong future-oriented message of changes, but also fatigue and frustration caused by Berisha's eight years in power, who failed to fight corruption and offer a tangible response to citizens' daily economic challenges.

Political involvement

After having been the most isolated country in Europe, Albania transformed and opened up in the early 1990s. In 2016, it is an EU accession candidate hoping to start accession negotiations in 2017. While its long-time Stalinist dictator Enver Hoxha forbade Albanians to drive cars and to travel, built over 700.000 bunkers to prepare for external invasion, Albania's current Prime Minister Edi Rama (Socialist Party of Albania, SPA) is often perceived as one of the most progressive political leaders in South-East Europe. Painter, artist, basketball player and 2004 World Mayor of the Year Rama is a highly esteemed guest in the region, Brussels and beyond. After winning the 2013 elections under the Rilindje platform he has introduced high and strict gender quotas within SPA and the government, while many young people obtained important positions in the public sector. The transformation Albania has gone through seems clear. At the same time critical voices consider - and deeper analysis shows - the country as a democracy without properly functioning rule of law.

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Social democratic political parties in Europe are increasingly challenged in their role as actors and engines of economic and societal change. Globalisation, the rise of populism and nationalism, the increasing influence of multinationals and financial markets on the decision-making process and political fragmentation have all contributed to an image of mainstream political parties as rigid, old and unable to effectively relate to or represent the voices and interests of citizens. Moreover, the question has been put forward if politics in general still has control over increasingly intertwined global economic processes. Social movements – often with a core of disillusioned young people – have been addressing these questions in many countries.

The goal of this manual is to offer social democratic parties and party members tools to discuss different challenges within their parties and to (re)connect with social movements. The overall objective is to bridge the gap between citizens and political parties, so that social democratic parties can work with citizens to improve the world we live in.

We used the examples and input that was given by more than 300 participants from 14 countries in the series of seminars and trainings in 2016-2017. The manual can be used by trainers, by boards or personnel of political parties or by individual politicians looking for methods and exercises to learn more about social movements in their region or country.