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GUIDELINE
FOR PROMOTING
A DEMOCRATIC
CULTURE OF DEBATE

Non-governmental organisations' handling of anti-democratic populism at public discussion events
Das Progressive Zentrum aims at supporting networking and raising awareness, particularly among young adults, regarding the practical approach towards anti-democratic populism and its representatives in the public space. This guideline, which is based on the experiences of practitioners and volunteers, enables us to identify challenges, point out problems and to discuss solutions. The above are not universally applicable, but instead illustrate different paths and decisions that were compiled, justified and formulated with the help of a checklist. Further information and helpful tips with illustrative material can be found at: www.countering-populism.de

In cooperation with approx. 25 representatives from German non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the project “Countering Populism in Public Space” developed this specific guideline for a confident and conscious approach towards anti-democratic populism in public space. It is important to note that the conclusions drawn in this guideline were developed within the socio-political context of Germany. Hence, applications to other contexts must be treated with caution. This project is funded within the programme “Demokratie leben” [Live Democracy], of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). We would also like to thank the Amadeu Antonio Stiftung for its substantive support.

Over the past few years, organisers of political discussion events have been faced with greater challenges than they were previously used to in the German context. Individuals, who exploited pre-existing debate formats for their own posturing and deliberately ignored respectful ways of behaving in order to reduce social discourse to certain issues, became increasingly visible in the public sphere. Misanthropic statements became more socially acceptable and values and definitions believed to be consensus were seen in a different light. False statements, targeted provocations, playing down right-wing extremist violence, wholesale recriminations of migrants and glorifying the idea of a “homogeneous people” pose a threat
to democratic exchange and form the character of such anti-democratic populism. In the following, we refer to drivers of this development as "anti-democratic populists".

Since then, there has been a number of discussion events, which clearly failed to achieve their goal of a controversial, yet factual and respectful democratic dispute. Anti-democratic populists welcome the escalation of the debate and, even when excluded from such events ab initio, skilfully present themselves as "victims", for example, of a seemingly unfair treatment by journalists.

Civil society organisers often find themselves confronted with a worldview that is diametrically opposed to their own. They want to constructively react to this, not least because of their role. Here we are not only talking about the "style of the debate" defined as a democratic culture of debate. An unopposed anti-democratic and misanthropic discourse may also encourage people to put these thoughts into action and use physical violence. This threat particularly affects minorities or vulnerable groups and is reflected in the sharp increase of right-wing acts of violence, for example by attacks on housing for refugees.

That is why civil society organisations are faced with the challenge of facilitating a free exchange of opinion and democratic competition on the one hand, while also having to create the framework for democratic debate that defends against anti-democratic and misanthropic movements on the other. This requires an active rather than reactive approach towards dealing with populism. This guideline serves as an aid in doing so.

### 2. PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

The first step of any problem solving is the problem detection. That is why during the initial working phase of the project, representatives of civil society organisations at first discussed challenges facing them in their approach towards anti-democratic populism. The following points are a summary of the most pressing problems.

#### 1. CHALLENGES AT THE WORKPLACE AND IN DIRECT CONFRONTATION

**The Approach towards Anti-Democratic Populism is Resource-Intensive and Time-Consuming**

The NGOs' strategic and conscious handling of anti-democratic populists is a drain on time and personnel resources; since those committed to it have to increasingly moderate on social media, or receive information and training with workshops against barroom clichés. This should be taken into account when planning the workload of civil society organisations. Experiences from the work against right-wing extremism demonstrate that sustainable success requires investing resources over the long-term, too. This point should play an important role for NGOs when evaluating their own work.

**Civil Society Organisations are Themselves Often Affected by Hostilities**

Civil society organisations and initiatives, which are active in efforts to integrate migrants for example, often find themselves as targets of serious attacks and threats from anti-democratic populists. In particular, colleagues in civil society organis-
2. THE CHALLENGE OF THE MIND-SET, LANGUAGE AND REACTIONS OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POPULISTS

DEFINING AND ENFORCING ISSUES, DETERMINING YOUR OWN LANGUAGE

When dealing with anti-democratic populists, it is difficult to preserve your own chosen thematic focus and to continue applying your own language in a reflective way (in other words, not falling in the trap of using disrespectful language yourself). Owing to systematic provocations, false statements and an overpowering monothematicism, for example surrounding “refugees”, moderators and co-panellists have a hard time staving off populists’ reinterpretations or even language domination (for example when talking about an alleged “Messereinwanderung”). Provocations and reinterpretations often result in co-panellists or moderators focusing on the new issue (that was deliberately raised), too, and allowing terms that are harmful or misleadingly instrumentalised to reoccur. That is why your own choice of words and language should be reflected by your circle of colleagues in order to prevent the adoption of anti-democratic terms.

DEALING CONFIDENTLY WITH THOSE PRESENTING THEMSELVES AS VICTIMS

From being disinvited, to regulations on seating and language right through to the frequency and length of the speeches: anti-democratic populists often assume the role of a victim. They stridently complain about how they are disadvantaged compared to others. Even though this perception is often unfounded, those confronted with the accusations generally find it difficult to effortlessly expose the instrumentalisation behind the alleged victim status.

PREVENTING A POLARISATION OF DIALOGUE

In disputes of opinion with populists, it is difficult to persuade third parties when your own tone is perceived as know-all or “morally superior”. The democratic side should not resort to adopting the exclusionary thought pattern of “we and them” as is the case with their populist counterparts. “I”-messages can avoid further polarisation and verbal escalation, which anti-populist democrats themselves readily promote. When dealing with provocation and exaggeration or misleading simplifications of facts and simplifying argumentation, it is easy to fall into the same pattern yourself. Having said this, an evidence-based reasoning is seldom enough to convince people and to rally them behind your own cause. A successful address must also create empathy, for example by relating to other views and ways of life, by emphasising commonalities and sharing reports on experiences.

2. “Messereinwanderung” is a propaganda term assimilated by a number of sensationalist media (“Messer-Angst!”). There is no serious statistical evidence to support the claim that violent knife crime committed by migrants has significantly increased throughout Germany. Cf.: Glossar der neuen deutschen medienmacher*innen.
3. Checklist
Approach for Public Events

The following diagram places the above-mentioned challenges in a chronological context for the purpose of planning and implementing public discussion events. Explanations and options for action can be found in the numbering on the following pages.
4. COURSES FOR ACTION

TO ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL DISCUSSION EVENT

1. PREPARATION

1A. EVENT UNDER EXCLUSION OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POPULISTS

Some civil society organisations refrain from inviting anti-democratic populists to or from participating in public discussions as a matter of principle. If there is such a position, it is advisable to communicate it in a public and well-founded manner. This makes it possible to react confidently and professionally to critical questions. Retrospectively disinviting a guest who was already invited – usually because of public pressure – appears unprofessional and should therefore be avoided.

A frequently mentioned reason for a general refusal to talk is the incompatibility with association rules and democratic principles, which are explicitly opposed to any form of discrimination. During the workshop, a civil society representative recommended as a justification that “Populists operate via visibility, volume and provocation; not dialogue – there is no need to provide them with an additional platform.”

“DESPITE ALL ATTEMPTS OF CONFRONTING POPULIST ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY WITH ARGUMENTS, THERE STILL NEED TO BE PROTECTED SPACES WHERE DEMOCRATS CAN EXCHANGE THEIR VIEWS.”

In turn, other organisations working specifically with marginalised groups reject the participation of anti-democratic populists to ensure the protection of those affected by discrimination: “The protection of those affected is always more important than representing all political positions”. We must bear in mind that these positions may still be represented in the public even when excluding panel guests with anti-democratic positions. Therefore, the moderator should nonetheless be prepared for populist rhetoric and content in case of discussion contributions (see 2A).

1B. EVENT ON THE TOPIC OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POPULISM

A successful event on the topic of populism does not need to include any representatives of populist positions. What is important is a differentiated view of the issue, an inclusion of various perspectives (for example historical, sociological, medial etc.), as well as a discussion about what can counter an estrangement from democratic principles. It is worth noting that there are different forms and definitions of the phenomenon of populism, and it may be useful to create a common understanding at the beginning of the event. Furthermore, in all too many cases, those who themselves are affected by discrimination are not included. A civil society representative explained: “The main priority in all efforts against group-related misanthropy should be the integration and strengthening of the affected groups, while also protecting them at the same time.” A lack of expertise was also recognised and addressed as a problem: “When it comes to controversial topics, it is necessary to develop expertise across the breadth of civil society organisations so that you are not reduced to discussing complex issues at amateur level.”

1C. EVENT WITH ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POPULISTS

The argumentative debate with populists should be carried out in such a way that the moderator can confidently set the topic of discussion, while the participants are all afforded equal opportunities when it comes to presenting and discussing their positions, ideas and political measures. When selecting the discussants, care should therefore be taken to only invite representatives of populist groups who signal a genuine willingness to engage in dialogue. Essential prerequisites are that discussants engage in an argumentative exchange without adopting misanthropic and anti-constitutional language. If certain statements cannot be clearly identified as discriminatory, but merely give rise to a sense of unease, the rejection should be expressed by fellow discussants or at least by the moderator using “I”-messages. A civil society representative recommends the following as a rule of thumb when making the decision: “You should speak with populists if and only if you, as organiser, have control over the event’s framework and procedure.” The moderator is assigned the most important role when implementing a successful event and especially when preventing invited populists from exploiting the event as their “exclusive stage” (see 2A). If there is a scenario in which
anti-democratic populists themselves invite you to an event of their own, such an invitation should only be accepted, if at all, after extensive substantive and rhetorical preparation (if necessary with the help of experts on the subject matter and communication experts). At this point, it is important to critically examine to what extent participation makes sense and whether you will be used as a “fig leaf” for gaining a democratic take on anti-democratic populists.

The format of the event also plays an important role when deciding whether representatives of populist groups should be invited or not. As an alternative to panel discussions, events can also be used to enable citizens to directly exchange views with one another. Citizens’ initiatives may introduce various perspectives, while the political representatives primarily listen and only react to citizens’ points where necessary. “There can only be a constructive debate if discussions are based on evidence, in other words, it must be possible to provide positions, programmes and decisions that can be contrasted.”

3. The following sentence was jointly formulated by the Mobile Beratung gegen Rechtsextremismus Berlin (MBR) with the Cultural Office of Saxony and lawyers: Those organising the event reserve the right to make use of their domestic authority and to deny access or exclude those persons belonging to right-wing extremist parties or organisations, those who are associated with the right-wing extremist scene or who already became visible in the past due to racist, nationalist, anti-Semitic or other misanthropic comments.

4. “Fake news” is a political buzzword to defame the media. Since the 2000s, it has mainly been used by Neo-Nazis and right-wing extremists. This is based on the conspiracy theory that the media supposedly adopt a policy of disinformation in a planned and controlled way. Cf.: “Glossar der neuen deutschen medienmacher*innen”.

5. “Flüchtlingswelle” is a metaphor in current reporting to describe the entry of refugees. It conveys the image of a natural phenomenon, which portends that politics is at the mercy of a force of nature. Hence, it makes those seeking protection responsible for asylum policy or structural problems in their inclusion in Germany: It would be more appropriate to cite a specific number, to make comparisons and to speak of forced migration or immigration, for instance. Cf.: “Glossar der neuen deutschen medienmacher*innen”.

1.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Those organising the event should obtain information in advance about what the legal frameworks are, and how the domestic authority can be practically applied in accordance with the German Civil Code. These agreements are to be recorded in writing for the safety of all involved parties. Questions such as “Is there an exclusion clause for persons who attract attention due to their racist or sexist remarks?”, should be answered in advance. A template of an exclusion clause can be found on the internet3 and should be clearly visible at the entrance. A clear decision and an announcement should be made as to whether it is authorised to take photos and to film.

1.2 LOCATION & SET-UP

The event location, whether public or private, characterises the event in exactly the same way as the legal framework conditions. Hence, an inclusive location is easily accessible and barrier-free. The physical elevation of the discussants owing to the stage usually leads to a greater distance between the audience and the speakers. A podium can reinforce populist motifs such as “those up there – and us down here”. In addition to the direct address, a feedback box at the exit affords the audience the option of silent feedback. Online viewers can also interact by using the commentary box of a live stream, for instance. This requires a moderator and close supervision by trained social media and communication staff.

1.3 TITLE & INVITATION

Even when selecting the event title and the associated information, attention must be paid to the wording of the issue and the terms used. It should not adopt any terms clearly coined by anti-democratic populists. This applies to terms such as “fake news”4 or “Flüchtlingswelle”5. It is also worth clearly highlighting the thematic objective of the event and the discussion. Even if a sensational event title could attract more attention, it should be avoided as it might create a heated atmosphere from the outset, which in turn impedes constructive dialogue.

"WE NEED TO FIND LANGUAGE THAT DOES NOT POLARISE".
1.4 TARGET GROUP

By distributing flyers in church, you tend to reach different people than those via online advertising on Facebook. Is the goal to invite the most wide-ranging audience possible, diverse in age, occupation groups, origin and political positioning, or is the event aimed at a very specific population group (for example, dedicated young people)? If you invite populists, you should consider how homogeneous or diverse the audience should be and how much time the audience will have for questions. This is because greater polarisation within the audience is likely to create more need for discussion and the latter will be more difficult to moderate, too. The desire to bring together an audience comprising both sympathisers of anti-democratic tendencies as well as their opponents requires a topic approach that is as factual as possible, vehemence in the goal to listen to one another, and a neutral, public place of encounter (see 1.2 and 1.3).

1.5 DISCUSSION FORMAT

It is often recommended to focus on formats beyond traditional panel discussions in order to achieve an inclusive and constructive debate with populists. One option is to open several smaller rounds of talks at tables. These small groups facilitate a more direct and personal discussion (World-Café-Method). During citizens’ initiatives, the event can be structured according to various thematic blocks for example. When it comes to encounter and dialogue formats, the main focus is on listening. It may be possible to prevent rising tensions due to populist argumentation by holding debates in small groups, in which the immediate and direct discussion situation has a moderating effect. The "Fishbowl" format affords the opportunity for direct audience participation on the one hand, but may also intimidate some and favour those who often speak in front of an audience. A keynote speech at the start of an event may use definitions and structural knowledge to limit the debate to an issue, and thus help provide a fruitful basis for subsequent discussions.

1.6 DISCUSSANTS

The co-panellists should be on an equal footing rhetorically as well as politically and functionally. It is imperative to only invite discussants who have made a demonstrable contribution to the issue themselves, have expert knowledge or whose area of responsibility the issue lies in. When inviting populists, the following additionally applies: thorough research prior to contact needs to clarify whether the person is affiliated with the extremist spectrum. It may also be useful to obtain information from those who organised past discussions to find out whether the guest engaged in argumentative exchange. In principle, there is nothing negative about emotional discussants; however, the podium should be composed in such a way as not to heighten the escalation. A discussion event designed in a balanced way represents not only political diversity of opinion, but also various life realities (age, sex, socio-economic situation, sexual orientation, migration history etc. depending on the discussion topic).

"TIME AND AGAIN I WITNESS ORGANISATIONS HOSTING PANEL DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT BEING PROPERLY PREPARED OR ENQUIRING ABOUT THEIR GUESTS IN ADVANCE."
2. IMPLEMENTATION

2A. MODERATION

The moderator needs to look through discussion tactics and must not allow anyone to dominate: Being a good moderator entails obtaining prior information about the backgrounds, tactics and narratives of all discussion participants and not leaving the discussion entirely to them. The following considerations are helpful here: clearly stated rules for all participants make it all the more difficult for anti-democratic populists to stylise themselves as victims. The moderator needs to be friendly, yet strict when ensuring compliance with the rules. The discussion setting should avoid a situation of “all against one” – for example by comparing the individual policy fields with other actors in isolation. Pointing out that some positions were already expressed by other parties and hence are nothing “new”, may break down the “special status” that populists like to adopt. It requires the moderator to have rhetorical skills and substantive expertise: Substantive briefings on the issue and the co-panellists should be provided to the moderator and the panellists in good time prior to the event. When selecting the moderator, above all attention should be paid to whether the person can moderate well – professional expertise is of secondary importance. The ability to moderate and to lead a fair and interesting dialogue is therefore even more important than extensive knowledge on the issue discussed. Hence, it is necessary to refrain from automatisms such as “the chairperson moderates”.

The preliminary discussion is essential: It is necessary to clarify in advance which type of argumentative exchange should take place, what the format and procedure of the event will be. Will questions from the audience be considered during or after the event and can they be expressed verbally or in writing? Are people aware of the speakers’ biographies? It is also important for the moderator to highlight that guests have equal amounts of time to speak. Is it clear what the moderator plans to do if speakers dominate the discussion, or in case of false statements or self-staging? It is also advisable for the moderator and the discussion participants to agree on a time to get to know one another.

Clear communication rules are required: Prior to the discussion, clear rules, applying to everyone, should also be communicated to the audience; for example to let people have their say, or to refrain from abusive language. The moderator is at the helm of communication at all times and should never relinquish this role.

2.1 SUBJECT MATTER

A traditional task of the moderator is to align the dialogue with a predetermined subject of discussion. If a discussant intentionally or unintentionally digresses from this issue, the moderator must either directly intervene or give another discussion participant the chance to speak. Here it helps if the moderator is aware of the participants’ positions. Discussants should be afforded the opportunity to explain why, in their eyes, an issue is related to another. If that is not clear, the moderator should request to stick to the agreed topic. In most cases, the audience appreciates it when the moderator doggedly follows up on questions evaded.

2.2 ADDRESS

Successful moderators speak confidently and only when they deem it appropriate. They can interrupt, stop, follow-up, answer, reject, pass on questions and involve the audience. They should politely and directly address all discussion participants in equal measure (for example not informally addressing one while formally addressing others); ensure clarity (for example following up if an opinion or term was not clear); providing summaries (such as reflecting on what was discussed at half-time and at the end as well as representing positions in their own words); and being absolutely certain that the discussion develops from a problem description to a solution finding process. Organisers may lend support by keeping an eye on the time, signalling to the moderator as well as collecting questions from the audience on slips and passing them on.

2B. AUDIENCE

The audience plays a major role in setting the atmosphere in the room. Loud reactions, enquiries, applause or boos may influence the atmosphere of an entire debate. However, let us not forget the viewers on the internet if there is a live streaming. Respectful behaviour may be expected from all viewers, but will not always be accepted. It is important to identify troublemakers (2.3) quickly and quietly, and get all the others involved (2.4).
2.3 DISRUPTIONS

Disruptions may manifest themselves as heckling, derisive laughter, prohibited filming and photography or chants. Public events can also bear witness to physical disturbances, such as a storming the stage. In these cases, preventative measures might include a security concept or announcing the event to the police in advance. The most common disruption is of a verbal nature, however.

Regarding disruptions from the audience, it may be possible to defuse the situation by challenging the troublemakers to present their “viewpoint” by using arguments. Such an approach seems unusual, but it illustrates how there is no “golden rule” when it comes to provocations from panellists or from the audience. While in some cases it is advisable to ignore verbal or physical provocations, in others we recommend aggressively challenging this. In any case, evidently disparaging, racist and misanthropic statements should be clearly contradicted in order to avoid the impression that you silently consent to them.

The microphone, and hence the sovereignty over the volume and length of contributions, should never be handed over during the event. It is recommended to caution troublemakers at an early stage so they are too inhibited to cause disruptions during the remainder of the event. If there are massive disruptions, we recommend briefly pausing, jointly assessing the situation and then making a decision. In doing so, you should also consider the option of actively digressing from the frame of the event. Based on the communication rules laid down at the beginning, there may also be sound justification for excluding a troublemaker from the event.

2.4 PARTICIPATION

If the public participates by using the microphone, it is useful to position the microphones so they are clearly in sight in the aisles. Those who need to go to the microphone, stand there as an individual citizen, are visible and therefore rather moderate in their speech. For pragmatic reasons, we recommend being in close contact with the sound technology during the event for technically inhibiting any justiciable or misanthropic comments (by muting). Participation is important, whether that be on the panel, with the microphone, paper and pen, on the internet via hashtag or comment column. Citizens often come not only to be passive listeners, but to actively contribute, too. Following particularly heated political discussions, it is a good idea to provide space and time for an exchange of views such as during short discussions at standing tables or by means of a box for written feedback.

FOLLOW-UP AND REFLECTION

You should carry out an evaluation and follow-up discussion with the event team after any public discussion event, and even more so if it was politically explosive. This makes it possible to incorporate empirical data into your own strategy formation over the long-term. This may include feedback from the audience, the guests, the moderator as well as the organisers. Guiding questions are:

- Did the event achieve its intended goal?
- Was the atmosphere safe for all those involved, inclusive and constructive?
- Were provocative verbal contributions intercepted? What was missing?
5. PUBLIC POSITIONING

A public positioning vis-à-vis anti-democratic populism is an opportunity for NGOs to actively take a stand and send a signal. Several organisations from various sectors have successfully done this over the past few years. Hereafter you will find guidance on the positioning process of NGOs to ensure the event proceeds smoothly:

- **Internal extensive opinion-forming process** for or against a public positioning.
- The organisation should formulate clearly for itself, before a public positioning, the impact it intends to have.
- **Search** for positionings from comparable organisations and persons taking account of what worked well and what did not + making contact.
- **Review of** whether the positioning is possible for political/administrative/economic reasons.
- **Risk analysis** of various reaction scenarios to the public positioning.
- Checking as part of your own articles of association or mission statement whether this can be supplemented by a suitable passage (basis of the political positioning).
- **Search** for allies who support the opinion.

A confident approach would be to provide the opportunity for dialogue on the platforms on which positioning took place, for example in the form of an event about the reason for the positioning. Given that the positioning is likely to provoke reactions, resources should be deployed for online moderation. A positioning will herald the start of a discussion process, which the organisation must not neglect or ignore. It is also imperative to prepare for communicative “worst case scenarios”, such as coordinated shit storms. NGOs report how important signs of solidarity are: if an association clearly positions itself and subsequently faces strong criticism and attacks, other organisations need to display public support for their colleagues and should do so in an official way.

“A POSITIONING IS ONLY EFFECTIVE IF IT WAS COMMUNICATED TO THE PUBLIC.”

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6. RECOMMENDED READING


Das Progressive Zentrum (DPZ) is an independent and non-profit think tank based in Berlin. DPZ aims to foster new networks of progressive actors from different backgrounds and to promote innovative politics as well as economic and social progress. To achieve this goal, Das Progressive Zentrum involves mainly young thinkers and decision-makers from Germany and Europe in its progressive debates.

The “Guideline for promoting a democratic culture of debate - non-governmental organisations’ handling of anti-democratic populism during public discussion events” resulted from a collaboration between Das Progressive Zentrum and the Amadeu-Antonio Stiftung. During a workshop, with some 20 representatives from non-governmental organisations in the areas of youth, education, art, anti-discrimination, religion, trade union, digital and research, discussions were held in working groups about known challenges and possible assistance.

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WWW.COUNTERING-POPULISM.DE