



European Network Against Racism
Réseau européen contre le racisme
Europäisches Netz gegen Rassismus

Tool Kit N°1

Successful Campaigning

This Tool Kit offers a basic overview of useful campaigning tips and advices for ENAR members with little or no experience in campaigning activities to start engaging and supporting ENAR in that area. Conceived as a capacity building and empowerment tool, this Tool Kit presents the essential of good campaigning: what is campaigning? How to undertake effective campaigning? Why collect information? How to set objectives? How to choose a methodology and what kind of tool? A double case study of effective campaigning in the field of antiracism is proposed at the end of the Tool Kit.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To devise the following Tool-Kit, ENAR relied principally on different books or T-Kits on campaigning developed by organisations renowned for their long standing expertise in the field, the purpose being not to re-invent the wheel in this rapidly evolving area of NGO campaigning but to facilitate access of ENAR members in particular to ready-to-use information about the most current available tools.

Therefore, ENAR would like to express its most sincere acknowledgments to the work carried out by Amnesty International, the Minority Rights Group and the Directory of Social Change which have respectively issued the following in-depth publications:

1. *Amnesty International Campaigning Manual*, 2nd ed., London, Amnesty International, 2001;
2. BALDWIN (Clive), *Minority Rights Group Campaigns Guide* (available at: [://www.minorityrights.org/?lid=456](http://www.minorityrights.org/?lid=456));
3. LATTIMER (Mark), *The Campaigning Handbook*, 2nd ed., London, Directory of Social Change, 2000.

1. INTRODUCTION

From the very beginning, the development of ENAR has been rooted in campaigning as an offspring of the Starting Line Group¹. Over the years, ENAR has been able to develop a number of interesting international campaigns, varying in scope and intensity (e.g. the campaign for a citizenship of residence in 2003; an awareness raising campaign on 2007 European Year of Equal Opportunities for All in the course of 2006). Although successful, these campaigns have demonstrated the increased need for the development of campaigns totally embedded in ENAR's strategic and work plans and better articulated between the European and the different national levels for a maximised impact.

Indeed, contrary to dedicated campaigning organisations which benefit from a greater internal coherence due their specific organisational development through the opening of branch offices in various areas of the EU, ENAR, as an umbrella organisation created as an emanation of an increasing membership, faces specific challenges linked to the great variety of ENAR's member organisations and structures. While vibrant and dedicated to the furthering of antiracism, all those member organisations have developed different cultures and experiences in terms of lobbying, advocacy and campaigning. This requires a certain levelling up with the view to harmonise campaigning practices and the structured delivery of messages in a coherent way across the board.

As a consequence, the present Campaigning Tool Kit is designed to provide ENAR members with a first set of advices on managing their campaigns, be it a Europe wide coordinated

¹ Founded in 1991, the Starting Line Group was a consortium of NGOs from the EU15 defending the view that racism was a European problem and that a European measure against it was needed. Its final objective was the adoption of a European directive that would require Member States to develop legal measures to prohibit direct or indirect discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, descent, nationality, national or ethnic origin. Most of its member organisations were founding members of ENAR in 1998. After the adoption of the Race and Employment Framework Equality Directives in 2000, the Starting Line Group ceased to exist and ENAR carried over the task to monitor the transposition and implementation of those directives. For more information, see below chapter 5: *Case study the Starting Line Group*.

campaign or a national campaign that they would like to initiate in order to reach a number of specific objectives in their country. As broad as they are, these advices nevertheless constitutes the basics of campaigning and cannot be easily overlooked by antiracist activists desiring to make a change and transform their aspirations for a world freed of racism into real and concrete societal progress. This Took Kit is not aimed at professional campaigners used to the subtleties of campaign development but for starters or grass roots activists that would like to better team up with ENAR present campaigning activities. Further specific trainings on campaigning will be developed in the coming years for ENAR members. In the meantime, this Took Kit provides a first induction to this complex set of intertwined activities as well as a rough "one size fits all" methodology enabling the achievement of good results.

2. WHAT IS A CAMPAIGN?

A campaign could be defined as a planned group of activities which are intended to achieve a particular aim (Cambridge Dictionary). It is not a single action, but a series of actions organised in a plan, which involves putting a problem on the agenda, providing a solution to it, and attempting to build support for action in order to solve it.

There exist many forms of campaigns. Lobbying, publications, using the media or the internet are only a few of them. Yet it is not possible for NGOs to achieve everything at once; they must do choices, and they must do them at the right time. The following pages will provide some keys for planning efficiently.

3. HOW TO UNDERTAKE AN EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGN?

Each campaign is unique and there is not a single key to success. Strategies have to be adapted to the specific contexts of action (European, national, local), policy areas, available resources and to your specific objectives. Yet there are a few steps that each campaigner must undertake.

3.1 RESEARCH

Research is important. It will provide factual weight to your arguments and will give you expertise on the field. Without a previous research, your opponent could dismiss your campaign by arguing that you do not understand all aspects of the problem. Therefore, you need to have more than a basic understanding of your issue. You have to understand its complexity; otherwise your campaign will be marginalised.

- Make sure that you understand the background of the issue, the relevant legislation or government policy, as well as and the expectations and concerns of your target audience. For example, if you are defending the right of a minority group, make sure that you consult that group, assess their situation and find what specifically needs to be done about it.
- Your research must be relevant to the current context, and you should keep in mind that it will not only serve to inform your target audience but also to strive for changes.

3.2 DEFINE YOUR CAMPAIGN

Previous research on the field will allow you to define your issue and to set your objectives.

- **Your objective should be simple.** If it cannot be expressed in a single sentence, you might be trying to reach several aims at the same time. In such case, you should decide on your priorities.
- **Your objective should be focused.** Vague aims will not lead to any action. As an example given by Minority Rights Group illustrates², if your campaign is defined as “Equality for the Roma”, everyone will agree with the statement but nobody will be required to do specifically something about it. Therefore, such statement is meaningless. If you define your campaign as “Ending segregation in education for the Roma”, you will increase your chances of success but it will still be too broad. “Stopping Roma children being sent to separate and inferior schools in Slovakia in 2008” is clear, specific and achievable.
- Do not forget to address the question of **why** you want to campaign for that cause, and why you think that others should do so as well. It will be easier to persuade people to act if you can offer them a good reason to bring changes.
- The best campaigns are based **on the hopes and dreams** of the public, rather than on fears and problems. The latter will attract attention but the support that you will receive will not last long. For a sustainable campaign, you should try to inspire the public and generate enthusiasm among your supporters.

3.3 DESIGN A STRATEGY

Once you have defined your objectives, you should agree on a strategy.

- **Your goal has to determine your strategy** and not the contrary.
- **Stay focused** on what you want to achieve. Focus is important to set priorities, but also to allocate your resources and energy where they will have the most impact. Along the campaign, stick to your objectives and do not get diverted by other issues. Remember that a successful campaign never turns away from its message.
- You should always set **achievable** goals and strategies, even if these do not look ambitious at first sight. It is important that you start with objectives that you are certain to achieve when launching the campaign.
- **Set priorities.** You cannot achieve everything at the same time and you must know which actions are the most urgent.
- **Keep it clear and simple.** Clear and simple plans are easier to organise, to explain and to be understood. Communications must also be clear, both internally and externally. The more clear and simple your strategy is, the more efficiently actions will be taken.
- **Be creative.** Do not forget that decision-makers have little time and that they tend to be overwhelmed by requests. Your message should stand out among all others, and a creative, clear and short request is more likely to attract their attention.
- **You should always propose an alternative.** Criticism alone will not lead to change. You must have an alternative solution which you want to implement.
- **Identify your weaknesses.** Several factors may hinder your ability to act, such as a lack of experience, lack of human resources or limited funding. Therefore, you should know your limits in order to take measures to overcome them or to avoid strategies that you would not be able to support.

² BALDWIN (Clive), *Minority Rights Group Campaigns Guide*, p.1.

3.4 IDENTIFY YOUR TARGET

Targets could be divided into three categories:

1. *The primary targets*: the persons or institutions detaining the power to bring changes. These are often the formal authorities which are able to shape the legislation and policies or to ensure their implementation.
2. *The secondary targets*: the persons or institutions able to influence the primary targets. These could be the persons that the decision-makers will listen to, such as advisers or other politicians, but they can also be the media, NGOs or other associations.
3. *Opponents to your campaign*, which will try to hinder your steps. It is important that you determine how much a threat to your campaign they can be, and what could be done to decrease their influence.

If you are acting on the behalf of a community, keep in mind how your actions will impact on them. You will lose in credibility if your campaign is not supported by the people that you are trying to defend.

3.5 BUILD ALLIANCES

Your campaign is more likely to succeed if you act in cooperation rather than alone.

- Acting in group will not only increase your chances to be heard, but will also allow to share information, know-how, resources and workload.
- Try to seek potential partners in other NGOs, but also associations, businesses, local authorities or trade unions. You should not forget to look for alliances beyond your own policy sector.
- The disadvantage of alliances, however, is that you will inevitably have to compromise. Set clearly from the outset the responsibilities of each and agree on a common strategy.

3.6 TIMING

In a campaign, timing is everything. The same action will have a different impact at different times, depending on the context and on the interplay of actors. For example, issuing a report on human rights before the meeting of an aid association in that country will have much more impact than if the report is published afterwards³. When working with the media, timing is also very important to get coverage. For example, if you are working with a daily newspaper, you should better send your report early in the morning and during the summer months, when competition with other news is lower. Similarly, a report issued to the press right after an event will have more chances to be covered than if published a week later.

³ Example taken from Amnesty *International Campaigning Manual*, p.21.

3.7 COORDINATION BETWEEN THE EU AND THE NATIONAL LEVELS

In the framework of an ENAR campaign, it is important to determine whether your cause is related to a national or to an EU competence. Remember that nowadays, the EU impacts in almost every aspect of the Member States competencies.

If your issue has a European dimension, make sure that you undertake an effective coordination with the ENAR Secretariat or with relevant ENAR national coordinations. Without coordination at the EU or transnational level, your campaign will lose a lot in efficiency and credibility. Moreover, ENAR is working as a network of NGOs and therefore provides you with existing professional relationships which could be a great advantage for your campaign.

4. CAMPAIGNING METHODS

There can be many different ways to approach your campaign. You might want to work publicly and to attract publicity on your campaign, but you might as well want to work behind the scene. In some cases, your campaign will take the form of collaboration with the decision-makers; in other cases, confrontation will be unavoidable.

The methods of campaigning presented below are described individually, but none of them is really efficient in isolation. To work best, they should be associated with each other. For example, working with the media or trying to change the public opinion will not lead to any change if not combined with contacts with decision-makers. On the other hand, decision-makers will rarely feel forced to implement changes if not feeling some form of indirect pressure, through the lobbying of secondary targets or through public support for your cause.

As NGOs often have a low budget, it is better that you prioritise the use of the cheapest campaign strategies. Contrary to widespread beliefs, it is possible to campaign efficiently for a low cost. For example, you could privilege the use of the internet over other kinds of communication. You could also avoid costly advertising techniques for your campaign and instead privilege working with the media.

4.1 DIRECT ACTION

The straightest way to campaign is to directly contact the decision-maker (primary target) and to explain him clearly what your objectives are and what you are expecting him to do⁴.

- If you are unsure whether the decision-maker is friendly or hostile to your cause, approach him as if he was neutral and wait for his reaction.
- The most effective way to influence a decision-maker is to demonstrate what he will gain from acting and what he will lose from not acting; note that sometimes the costs of not taking any action could be heavier than if an action was taken.
- If you cannot persuade the decision-maker yourself, use indirect pressure through one of the methods described below: lobby secondary targets, use the media, work on the public opinion, etc.
- Make the decision-maker accountable for his actions. Expect arguments such as “this decision was taken by the board” or “this is how the system works”. By focusing the

⁴ The following section is adapted from the *Minority Right Group Campaigns guide*.

responsibility (or the blame) on the individual, you will make the decision-maker accountable both personally and professionally.

- The decision-maker could also be sympathetic to your cause from the outset and be willing to take action. In that case, you will not need to persuade him any longer, but you will need to provide him with solutions to the problem, clear justifications for his action, and in some cases assistance, such as training. Note that a decision-maker could appear friendly simply as a way to get rid of you, while in reality not being willing to take actions.

4.2 LOBBYING

Another way to make your voice heard is to lobby a secondary target: a person or an institution that will then lobby the decision-makers.

- Choose carefully who the secondary target will be. The secondary target could be other formal authorities, institutions or NGOs. They could also include the decision-maker's advisors or staff, because these will be the first persons that the primary target will consult when making a decision. Do not underestimate the power of transnational relations either: your own government can have a certain influence on foreign decision-makers. Similarly, international institutions such as the EU or the UN are very influential on their member states as well as worldwide. Ask yourself the questions: Will the secondary targets be interested in your cause and will they present it accurately? Why would the primary target listen to them?
- You should privilege the use of that method if you can influence the secondary target and if the secondary target has a lot of influence on the decision-maker.
- On the contrary, using this method would be a waste of time if the decision-maker is already sympathetic to your cause, in which case you should work with him directly, or if the secondary target has little influence on the decision-maker.
- You need to know clearly what you want the secondary target to do as well as the own motivations of the secondary target. Present him clear and achievable objectives, as well as credible and reliable information⁵.

4.3 INFLUENCE THE PUBLIC OPINION

Decision-makers can also feel a lot of pressure from the public opinion, especially if they are concerned about their image. Yet it takes a lot of patience, advertising and costs to persuade the public. Influencing the public opinion is closely related to the section 4.4 on working with the media, because the media both reflect and shape public opinion.

- **Use this method** if the decision-maker cares about his image. In a democracy where he is accountable to the public, the decision-maker is more likely to pay attention to the opinion of his electorate, as well as to listen to some media which he believes reflect that opinion. He can also care if his image is important in attracting foreign investment and tourism.
- **Do not use this method:**
 - If the public opinion or the media have no influence on the decision-maker, because you would just be wasting your time and your resources.

⁵ You can find more advises on lobbying in the Amnesty International Campaigning Manual, <http://www.amnesty.org/resources/pdf/campaigning-manual/chapter11.pdf>

- Be also careful about using this method if you are campaigning for an issue that fades quickly from public attention. In this case, it will take a lot of effort to attract the public attention on the long-term.
- The public or the media could be hostile to your cause; be careful that they do not use your campaign on purposes that are unfriendly to your objectives.
- **Before undertaking any action** to influence the public opinion:
 - You must be clear about what you want the public to do. For example, do you want them to sign a petition, to make a public protest or to give you funding?
 - You also need to present them a clear and concise message. Most of the time, people will only listen to your message for your first three sentences, or even less. Make sure that you explain why they should care and which solutions you propose.

There are different ways to influence the public opinion.

- **Use advertisement techniques.** The possibilities are numerous: TV adverts, billboards, leaflets, banners, stickers, badges... Yet, this solution might end up being very costly; therefore, you must ensure that such steps are absolutely necessary before engaging in an advertising campaign.
- **Contact other organisations.** It is a good way to enter pre-existing networks of people. You might want to contact groups that share your concerns, but also other associations, businesses, political parties, within or beyond your policy field. In the framework of an ENAR campaign, you could use the existing NGO networks to ensure coordination.
- **Talk to people on the street.** It is a good way to mobilise people, but requires human resources and therefore costs. Moreover, it might not be appropriate to all forms of campaigns.
- **Work with the media,** as explained in the following chapter.

4.4 WORK WITH THE MEDIA

Working with the media is closely linked with the public opinion: most media claim to represent the public opinion and also shape the framework for debates. The media have a great influence in setting the political agenda and are usually listened to by politicians when they decide on government policy.

There are different forms of media.

- **Media could either be local, national or international.** You could use each kind of media for different purposes.
 - *Local media* could promote your cause to potential supporters and local associations. They could be very useful if your campaign is aiming for changes at the local level.
 - *National media* could give your campaign more credibility and attract the attention of the public, of other organisations or even of decision-makers at a national scale.
 - Some media, like the BBC, are essentially national but have a worldwide influence. You could also target the European media (European Voice, Euractiv, EU Observer...) if you would like to defend your cause on a European scale.
- **Newspapers and magazines** encompass a wide range of publications: they could be daily, weekly, monthly, local, national, European, specialised or general. When

approaching a newspaper, think about its *audience*, its *editorial line*, and whether it *covered stories similar to yours* before. For example, if you are aiming for changes in the medical sector, you might want to target a newspaper specialised in medicine. However, it may also be useful to target other newspapers which may indirectly be linked to your campaign issue in order to reach as wide an audience as possible (e.g. if you are leading a campaign on the issue of migrant workers, it may be useful to target press specialised in agriculture, as many migrant workers work in that sector). Similarly, you will not present your story under the same angle if you are approaching a tabloid or if you are approaching the financial press. You should also not limit yourself to newspapers whose editorial line is friendly to your cause; you will gain more credibility if your campaign is covered by newspapers that would not be likely to defend your arguments at first sight.

You must also pay a particular attention to timing. The coverage that your story will receive will depend on the journalists' deadlines. On the one hand, in the daily press, the best time to contact journalists is early morning; a story is less likely to be covered if it arrives in the afternoon, when the content of the next day's edition has already been decided. Moreover, you have to offer the daily press a new angle to your story every day, otherwise it will have nothing 'new' to cover. On the other hand, weekly or monthly newspapers or magazines all have different deadlines and allow for more space for features. They are often more specialised than the daily press and do not need to be provided a new angle regularly.

- **The television** needs for visual stories, for images and for filmed interviews. If you cannot provide attractive or shocking images, the television will be less likely to be interested in your campaign. For example, public demonstrations are more likely to lead to spectacular footages than reports. The television is viewed by millions and could be a great way to attract support for your cause; yet, organising events that will provide them with the necessary footage is often costly.
- **The radio** relies heavily on sound. Targeting the radio is generally cheaper than targeting the television: a good speaker with catchy phrases could be particularly effective on the radio, while the television will require a story whose potential goes beyond a simple interview.
- **The online media** are also a way to reach a wide audience. Some media exist exclusively on the internet (e.g. Euractiv, EU Observer), and most news organisation have their own website on which a team of journalists often write stories that do not find their place in the usual news. Some websites can also reach a more international audience (e.g. BBC Website).

Working with the media will not fit every kind of campaign. There are some general tips on when and how to use that method.

- You should always **combine the use of the media with other methods**. Use it either as a means to put pressure on the decision-makers, to attract publicity on your campaign or to influence the public opinion.
- There are two criteria on which journalists decide what makes a good story: **the media's audience and whether the story is part of the 'news'**. All media have a different audience and define differently what makes their readers' interest; take that aspect into account especially when approaching the specialised media. As aforementioned, your story also has to be relevant to the 'news' and therefore should regularly offer new angles to the press; how regularly will depend on the deadlines of the media that you are targeting.
- **Have a clear message and offer clear solutions**. The clearer your explanation will be, the more likely your story is to be presented accurately. You should have a

maximum of 3 messages in order to stay as clear and concise as possible. On interviews, stay calm and thoughtful, it will give you more credibility.

- **Use facts and figures** in order to substantiate your arguments and add 'meat' to your message.
- **Be able to respond quickly** if your issue suddenly becomes the focus of public attention.
- There are **several ways to target the news**. Usually, NGOs write press releases which could be used by press agencies or by the media that you are targeting. Press releases are usually disseminated to different media after their publication. Try to make personal contacts with the journalists who might be interested in your stories to increase chances of coverage. Also try and identify the influential media and/or journalists who are more likely to shape public opinion or influence decision makers. Always follow up your emails and faxes by phone calls to make sure that your information landed on the right desk. You should also be ready to make quotable comments that could be used by journalists. You can also provide more detailed briefings to interested journalists; write opinion editorials (op-eds); or write letters to the editor in response to an article which was linked to your campaign issue.

4.5 PUBLICATIONS AND INTERNET

At some point during your campaign, you will have to disseminate information. You will be faced with two options: the internet or the paper format. Both are often used together.

- **The internet** can serve for a wide range of purposes: publishing reports, publicising the campaign, generating responses, posting audiovisual material, setting up discussion forums or even setting systems for online fundraising. It allows for diffusing large amounts of information, for changing it, for updating it, for reaching a large number of persons, at very little costs. In the 21st century, the internet has become a primary tool for campaigning. However, campaigning through the internet presents a danger of information overload; your message needs to stand out more than ever among the flood of information circulating on the web.
- **Publications** might take many forms: leaflets, reports, briefing papers... But they usually involve more costs, and your budget will therefore limit the amount of information that you can publish on paper. However, having a publication nicely laid out and on paper format provides you with a serious document to back up your argument and to lobby decision-makers (e.g. ENAR's European Shadow reports).
- There are many **linkages** between the two kinds of publications. Even if emails are usually more effective to circulate information than the post, important publications usually exist both on paper format and on the NGOs' website.
- In both cases, a publication could help you to lobby primary and secondary targets and, accompanied by a press release, it gives information to the media. Yet, **do not see the publication as an end in itself**. If used in isolation, this method will not persuade people to act. Always use it combined with other methods.
- As for all your communications, **keep your message clear and simple, and be creative**. Your publication should stand out in order to attract the attention of those who have little time to read them.
- **Keep in mind who you want to read your publications** and adapt your message if necessary.

4.6 MOBILISE THE PUBLIC OPINION

There is not one single way to mobilise the public opinion and not every campaigning group would advise to do it. While mobilising the public opinion can put pressure on the decision-makers by proving support for your campaign, it generally involves heavy costs (with few exceptions) and requires much more efforts and risks than other methods of campaigning. There exist different forms of mobilisation of the public opinion.

- **Demonstrations** are a way to physically demonstrate the determination of the campaigners and the support of the public for their cause. Yet, organising and publicising a demonstration require a lot of human resources and funding, the cooperation of large sections of the population, and involve the risk of a poor turnout. If you are planning to organise a demonstration, ensure that your cause will mobilise a sufficient number of people; otherwise the lack of participants will demonstrate your weakness rather than your strength.
- **Civil disobedience** involves actions such as sit-down protests, where a group of protestors sits down or lies down on the ground until they obtain what they want; the occupation of a building or a place, especially if that place is the object of the campaign; vigils, when people stay awake during usual sleeping times, etc.
- For both forms of protests, the participants might face **the intervention of the police**. It is therefore always better to seek the permission of the police before organising the protest. It is fundamental that all forms of public mobilisation remain peaceful; otherwise your campaign will lose its credibility. In the case of tensions between the police and the protestors, you need to give the impression that the police is acting against you and not the contrary. Keep in mind that the media might be present at the event and that video footages might be shot. If the police are present but react, the media will display the state as publicly enforcing repressive measures. Yet, if you reply back, you could be charged with obstruction in the execution of their duty or even with assaulting them in the execution of their duty.
- **Letter-writing and petitions** are another way to mobilise the public opinion. They are simple to organise, are personal and could be done at a relatively low costs.
 - A *petition* will give concrete evidence of support for your campaign and allow you to gather a database of supporters.
 - *Letter-writing* will provide an easy way for people to feel involved.
 - In both cases, you need to *make it easy* for the person you are approaching in order for them to take action. The less people have to do, the more they are likely to do it. For example, the easiest way to generate a large number of letters is to prepare them in advance. Is the text already written? If you require the letter to be sent by post, is the postage prepaid⁶?
 - *Keep it short and simple*: the more you write, the more you will find people disagreeing with the content.
 - Remember that in this case, *the sender* might have as much influence as the number of people. A letter or a signature from a personality might be worth a hundred actions taken by the population.
- In specific cases, **inaction instead of cooperation** may hinder the actions of the authorities more than any other form of protest. For example, when the poll tax was implemented in the United Kingdom, many activists campaigned for the non-payment of the tax. When it was abolished in March 1991, 17 million had not paid it. The implementation of the poll tax depended on cooperation from citizens. In that sense, it is the force of inertia that allowed for the success of the campaigns.

⁶ A good illustration of this is provided by Amnesty International Website, <http://www.amnesty.org/actnow/>

5. CAMPAIGNING CASE STUDIES IN ANTIRACISM

5.1 AT EUROPEAN LEVEL: THE STARTING LINE GROUP

The following example illustrates how the Starting Line Group (SLG) managed its campaign for a Race Equality Directive⁷.

Researching

When it was founded in 1991, the Starting Line Group defended the view that racism was a European problem and that a European measure against it was needed.

Defining the campaign

Therefore, it defined its objective as the implementation of a directive that would require Member States to develop legal measures to prohibit direct or indirect discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, descent, nationality, national or ethnic origin. The entire SLG campaign was based on drafting proposals for legislation changes and on provoking debate around them, thereby maintaining the issue on the political agenda.

Timing

The first Starting Line proposal was officially presented in 1992 prior to the Edinburgh Summit. Because of this choice of timing, the proposal had an influence on the adoption of the Declaration on Racism and Xenophobia which followed the Summit, specifying the need to adopt European legal measures.

Designing a strategy and identifying targets

The Starting Line Group then engaged in intensive consultations with the institutions of the European Union. The European Parliament proved to be particularly supportive, and adopted two resolutions calling on the European Commission to use the Starting Line proposal as a basis for drawing up the directive. In this case, lobbying a secondary target (the European Parliament) which lobbied the primary target (the European Commission) has been a highly effective choice of method, as the Commission generally listens to the Parliament and as the Parliament was sympathetic with the Starting Line Group from the outset.

Adapting the strategy

Yet even after it considered the Parliament's resolutions, the Commission remained divided on the issue. Some Member States acknowledged that the legal basis necessary for adopting such a directive was missing. Other Member States invoked the subsidiarity principle and their preference for intergovernmental cooperation. The political will to change the situation was lacking.

⁷ This chapter is based on CHOPIN (Isabelle), "The Starting Line Group: a Harmonised Approach to Fight Racism and to Promote Equal Treatment" in *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 1, 1999, pp.111-129.

The Starting Line Group decided then to adapt its strategy to focus on the needs of its specific targets. If racism is a European issue and the EU is to take action against it, the new strategy should focus on one of the EU core mandates: facilitating mobility of workers within a unified market requires the elimination of racial and ethnic discrimination in the different fields of life. Such a rationale would be easily supported by Member States to bring in the necessary changes. Therefore, it drafted a proposal to amend firstly the *EC Treaty*, granting Community competence to act on racial and religious discrimination. It called its new proposal "the Starting Point".

Building alliances

From then on, SLG campaigned intensively through lobbying and contacts in preparation for the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) designed to review the EC Treaty. The SLG lobbied against the European Institutions, but it also sought to gain support from national governments and national NGOs which could, in turn, influence the European level.

Influencing public opinion

In addition to lobbying, SLG also organised conferences and meetings in order to create a debate around this issue.

Refocusing on the primary objective

The SLG campaign met its objective: the Amsterdam Treaty, which followed the IGC meeting, adopted an anti-discrimination clause (Article 13). The Starting Line Group then refocused on the goal that it had set at its foundation, which was the implementation of a Race Equality Directive. The SLG convened an expert group meeting to begin a revision of the original proposal for a directive, which would take into account the recent legislative developments (called "The New Starting Line").

Eventually, the SLG's goal was met when the 2000 Race Equality Directive was passed. The success of the Starting Line Group was based on its capacity to adapt its strategy to respond to the expectations of its primary targets while keeping the focus on the final objective, and on its consistent provision of proposals, which did not only have the effect to provide a legislative reference for a Race Equality Directive, but also provoked discussion and maintained the issue on the political agenda.

5.2 AT NATIONAL LEVEL: KISA AND THE TRANSPOSITION OF THE LONG TERM RESIDENCE EU DIRECTIVE IN CYPRUS⁸

Researching

In 2006, the Cypriot government decided not to transpose the long term residence EU directive (2003/109/EC) despite the approaching deadline for transposition set by the European Commission. At the same time, the government's migration policy was made stricter, leading to long term migrants being deported or directly or indirectly forced to leave Cyprus. They were also left without residence permits given that the residence permits of all those who already had five years' legal residence were not renewed in the context of the government's policy of 'zero' permanent migrants in Cyprus.

⁸ See: http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/pdf/enargy_20_en.pdf

Defining the campaign

As a result, KISA - Action for Equality, Support, Anti-Racism, member of ENAR-Cyprus, decided to fight this policy and to campaign for the protection of migrants in Cyprus

Designing a strategy

KISA decided to:

- Sensitise public opinion and politicians and highlighting the positive aspects of migration;
- Inform migrants of their rights and empowering them to claim them.

Identifying targets

As the Government was not willing to change its approach, and in order to create the required balance of power to obtain the expected policy shift, KISA opted for:

- Influencing political parties and lobbying the House of Representatives during the discussions on the relevant bill;
- Denouncing the Cypriot government to the EU institutions.

Timing

As soon as the transposition deadline had expired, KISA launched its campaign.

Influencing public opinion

In order to raise awareness of the different stakeholders and the broader public, KISA organised the following activities:

- During two weeks, it organised information days for long term migrants at the Migrant and Refugee Centre of KISA, providing individual advice and general information about the provisions of the directive.
- It printed information leaflets containing the main provisions of the directive.
- It encouraged long term migrants to submit applications prepared by KISA for receiving long term resident status.

Direct action and working with the media

KISA also issued press releases and gave press conferences to publicise its position on long term residence rights and organised, together with the main migrant communities in Cyprus, a demonstration to demand long term residence rights for migrants.

After the Ministry of Interior had submitted the bill to the House of Representatives, KISA prepared a detailed analysis of the provisions of the bill as compared to the provisions of the EU directive, in order to show how the provisions of the bill violated Community law. The analysis was submitted to the European Commission's Directorate General for Justice and Home Affairs and copied to the Ministry of Interior. The European Commission assured KISA that they would examine the law once it was adopted by the House of Representatives.

The same analysis was prepared for the Parliamentary Committee of Interior, which was examining the bill in the House of Representatives, and focused mainly on the integration conditions that migrants had to fulfill in order to get long term resident status (language and Cyprus history knowledge).

During the ongoing discussions in the House of Representatives, KISA organised its annual multicultural Rainbow Festival under the slogan "Integration of Migrants - Long Term Residence to Migrants Now". At the same time it ran two workshops, one on the long term residence directive and one on the integration of migrant children.

The week preceding the vote on the long term residence bill in the House of Representatives, KISA lobbied all the political parties of the House of Representatives, focusing only on the need to remove the provisions of the bill which set integration conditions for third country nationals to receive resident status. On the day the House of Representatives voted the bill, KISA organised a demonstration outside the House of Representatives.

Building alliances

KISA managed to:

- Convince the socialist party about the validity of its position;
- Win some allies such as employers' associations and trade unions;
- Shift the overall negative climate prevailing over the possibility of granting rights to migrants to a more positive one, by focusing on the positive aspects of migration and by revealing the strict and inhumane policies and practices of the Migration Department of the Ministry of Interior.

The end results of the campaign were:

- The bill voted by the House of Representatives was generally much improved compared to the one initially submitted by the government;
- Integration conditions were taken out of the bill by the House of Representatives;
- The Minister of Interior made a political commitment before the House of Representatives and in the media, promising that all migrants who were legally in Cyprus for five continuous years on 23 January 2006 (the transposition deadline) would be considered as long term residents, irrespective of the possession or not of a residence permit, and would not be deported if found without a residence permit. They would also be given the chance to submit an application once the new law had passed.

6. RESOURCES

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ENAR is a network of some 600 European NGOs working to combat racism in all EU Member States. Its establishment was a major outcome of the 1997 European Year against Racism. ENAR is determined to fight racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, to promote equality of treatment between EU citizens and third country nationals, and to link local/regional/national initiatives with European initiatives.



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