

Practical Guide to Transformative Change Making

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- When technological, economic or social changes are transforming society, but effective mechanism to shape these transformations are missing, crises can occur. Transformative Change Making (TCM) introduces a new method to create the societal buy-in needed to tackle such transformation crises.
- TCM uses a set of techniques to break social silos, makes use of the knowledge disseminated through society, and visualises the challenges in the political field. TCM strengthens the ability of policy makers to reach out to constituencies, encourages private sector contribution to the common good, builds the strategic capacity of civil society and political literacy of all stakeholders.
- Making use of discourse steering as an instrument, TCM proposes an alternative vision for a better tomorrow, constructs a credible change narrative and aims at creating success stories around catalytic projects.
- TCM has been successfully used to facilitate reform processes in India, Pakistan, and Thailand. As a work in progress, it will be further adapted to match the local context. This beta version of the practical guide is meant to give practitioners an easy to use introduction into the method.

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The Concept

Quick introduction

What is Transformative Change Making?

Transformative Change Making (TCM) is a method to create maximum societal buy in for disruptive reforms. To achieve the ultimate objective of shifting the development path, the aim is to build a broad societal transformative alliance. By using a set of techniques to visualise the political playing field, TCM facilitates strategic debates over the best entry points, incentive structures and narratives to bring about change.

Why is a new method needed?

Transformations create winners and losers, prompting those who benefit from the status quo to resist change. Creating awareness and understanding, incrementally optimising the system or cutting deals are therefore ill suited to shift the development path. With seemingly everything being connected to everything, policy debates then tend to endlessly go round in circles, with stakeholders blaming each other for inaction. New ideas cannot diffuse across social and cultural barriers, local knowledges are not sufficiently included in the policy making process, and stakeholders find it difficult to find common ground. What is needed is a forward looking, solution oriented approach to identify concrete entry points for action.

Going after the low hanging fruits: Transactional coalitions

To create some initial momentum for change, it makes sense to first go after the low hanging fruits. Even within the status quo, transactional coalitions based on the lowest common denominator between different interest groups are capable of implementing some win win projects. Natural champions (e.g. “the already convinced”) working together with fence sitters (e.g. those who come on board provided it is in their best interest) not only produces tangible results on the ground, but can also create the goodwill and trust needed to lay the foundation for a lasting coalition.

Breaking the glass ceiling: Transformative alliances

Transactional coalitions, however, can only get so far. Sooner or later, they run into resistance, or simply out of win-win projects. To break through the glass ceiling of the status quo, a broader societal alliance with a bolder agenda is needed. This means the “already convinced” have to go even further out of their comfort zone and reach out to those who do not share their values. Building transformative alliances means to bring on board at least some of the spoilers, e.g. those who, for whatever reason, believe their interests are best served within the status quo.

The three foundations of Transformative Change Making

Different social groups have different interests, priorities, and identities. This means broad societal alliances are hard to build on a platform of common interests. Transformative Change Making therefore uses discourse steering, e.g. the instrumental use of strategically crafted narratives, as a means to build alliances. Essentially, to prepare the ground for a transformative alliance, a discursive foundation for a discourse alliance is laid.

1. *Alternative vision of a better tomorrow*

This practical utopia is not an arbitrary pipedream, but a strategic location where the (redefined) interests of key constituencies converge. The vision is the lens through which key constituencies imagine the future and interpret the situation today. The vision needs to be vague enough to allow different groups to project onto it, yet concrete enough to alter the calculation of risks versus opportunities.

Example: The American Dream

The American Dream, the Promise of a "life better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each" is the practical utopia of the New Deal United States. Appealing to the hopes and dreams of every individual, it is the convergence point for key constituencies. As long as the New Deal social contract was intact, the American Dream mobilised and channelled enormous social energies.

2. *Change narrative*

The change narrative must credibly explain how this vision can become a reality. A powerful change narrative needs to combine two elements:

- *Game Changers*: A change narrative explains how structural drivers (e.g. connectivity, trade, education, people to people contacts etc.) will transform the field in a way that makes it possible to achieve the alternative vision.
- *Claim to Morality*: The change narrative makes the claim that the Doable is also the Right Thing to do. This means that facts need to be framed in such a way that makes them emotionally accessible and cognitively tangible through metaphors evoking shared historical experiences, myths, legends, norms and values.

Example: US Presidential Campaign

In vast, diverse and fragmented societies, no single group can form a majority on its own. Hence, an umbrella coalition must be built which includes members with different interests, priorities, and identities. The common platform for such a heterogeneous alliance is built by vision and narrative. The Obama 2008 campaign, for instance, pointed to a Better Tomorrow ("The Audacity of Hope"), rallied a diverse coalition around a platform ("Change you can believe in"), and added credibility to the change narrative ("Yes, we can").

3. *Catalytic projects*

Translate discourse into action. Catalytic projects aim at unleashing structural game changers. Working together creates networks of trust. Success stories make the case for wider cooperation. Catalytic projects form the nucleus of a social coalition.

Example: Chinese 'One Belt, One Road' (OBOR)

The practical utopia of the 'Chinese Dream' opens the imagination of new possibilities, namely a prosperous Eurasia. The vision becomes credible because it is backed up by concrete hardware projects: roads, railways and bridges. These catalytic projects aim at unleashing structural drivers like trade, energy cooperation and people to people contacts. The change narrative resonates emotionally by recalling the legendary Silk Road. It is this combination of hardware and software which shifts the expectations of how the future will unfold, thereby changing the definitions of interests of policy makers and investors all over Asia.

By resonating with as many discourse communities as possible, these narratives form the platform for a discourse alliance. Taken together – the vision, the change narrative and the success stories– change the imagination how the future will unfold. If people have different expectations about the future, they will recalculate their interests based on risks versus opportunities. And if people start to redefine their interests, they can come together to work towards the alternative vision.

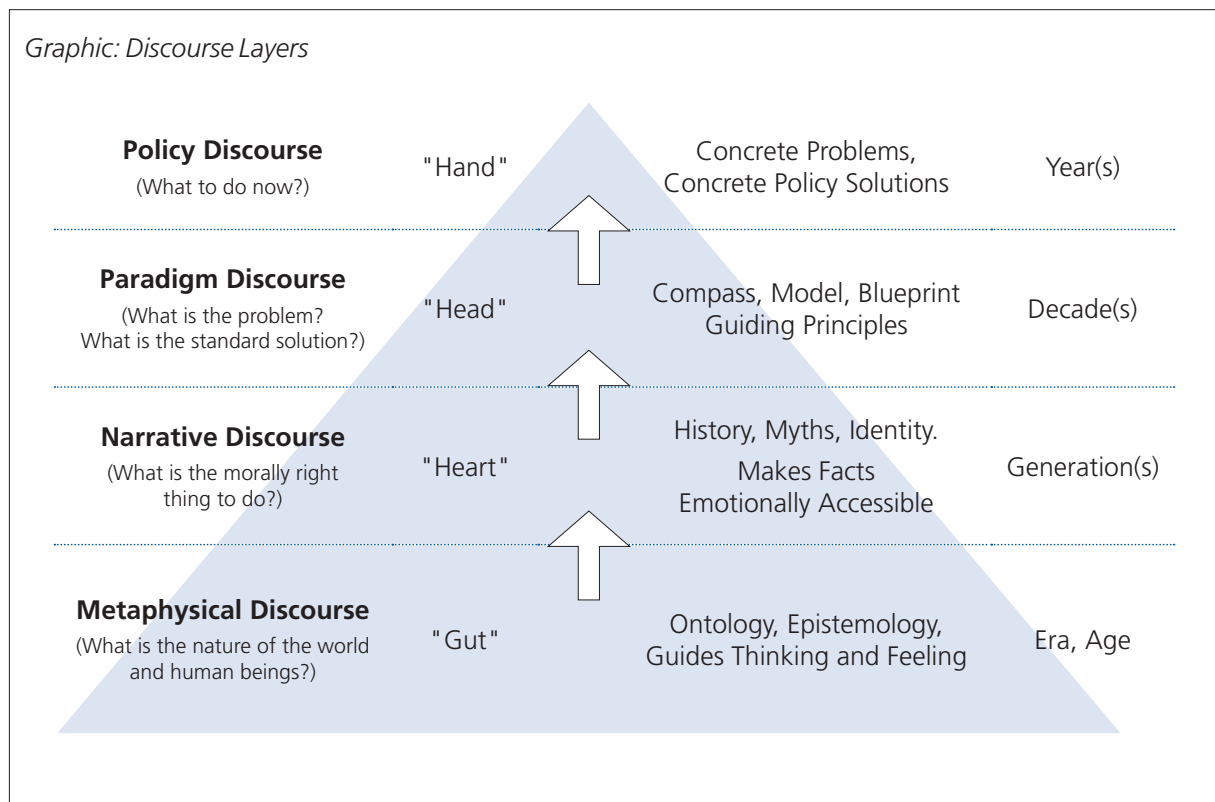
In other words, while the discourse alliance inspires stakeholders to work together, the concrete experience of cooperation around catalytic projects creates the necessary trust and goodwill between social groups who thus far have not considered each other allies. Once the transformative alliance grows, it can generate the social buy in, the financial resources and political leverage needed to implement disruptive reforms.

How does Transformative Change Making work?

As long as key stakeholders see their interests best served in the status quo, it is very hard to build a broad societal coalition for change. The main challenge for change makers is then to sway some of these spoilers to embrace change. Stakeholders are unlikely to act against what they perceive to be in their best interest. However, people do not determine what is in their best interest in an isolated way, but within the echo chamber of their lifeworld. To be more precise, "what is happening" and "what can be said and done" is defined within their discourse community.

What is a discourse community?

A discourse community is a group of people who share a set of discourses, understood as basic values and assumptions, and ways of communicating about those goals. These shared discourses can be broken down into four layers. On the surface is the policy discourse, which explains what needs to be done to solve a clearly defined problem (e.g. repealing Obamacare). The paradigm discourse defines the underlying policy making manual. It identifies the problems, and suggests standard solutions (e.g. discipline the weak). The narrative discourse explains why the Doable is the morally Right Thing to Do. It translates facts into emotionally accessible frames (e.g. the role of the father is to make his children fit for the world). On the deepest level is the metaphysical discourse, which echoes our view of the world and human nature (e.g. the world is a dangerous place).



<i>Example: Conservative Discourse Community</i>	
<p><i>Policy Discourse</i></p> <p>What is the concrete problem? What is the concrete solution?</p>	<p><i>Economy:</i> Tax cuts for the rich, welfare cuts for the poor. <i>Social Policy:</i> Cut back distortive incentive system (welfare) <i>Foreign Policy:</i> Discipline (Conditionality) and Punish (Austerity and War) <i>Education:</i> Discipline to teach right from wrong. Spend lavishly on winner schools, cut back on loser schools.</p>
<p><i>Paradigm Discourse</i></p> <p>Where to suspect the problem? What is the standard solution?</p>	<p><i>DISCIPLINE and PROTECT:</i> Primacy of national and domestic security. Install moral incentive system which rewards the winners (=the moral, hard working) and punishes the losers (=immoral, lazy).</p>
<p><i>Narrative Discourse</i></p> <p>Shared experiences? Common norms and values? Emotional frames?</p>	<p><i>STRICT FATHER FAMILY:</i> Role of strict father is to protect and support his family in a dangerous world. As a moral authority, he must teach his children right from wrong. It is his moral obligation to maintain moral incentive system, or the society will decay and fall prey to the bad people.</p>
<p><i>Metaphysical Discourse</i></p> <p>What kind of world do we live in? What is the nature of humans?</p>	<p><i>DOG EAT DOG WORLD:</i> The nature of Man is bad. The world is a dangerous place. Us versus Them, Zero sum logic.</p>

Taken together, these discourses define what can be said and done within this discourse community. By regulating the thinking and actions of community members, discourse is a source of power. For social actors with little financial or coercive power, discourse is often the only available source of power.

Is it necessary to win discourse hegemony?

On every political field, a dozen or so discourse communities are competing over hegemony. Hegemony means that a vast majority

accepts the basic assumptions of a discourse community, and even naturalises them as the unquestioned ‘truth’. By dominating the mainstream imagination of “what is the problem” and “what is the reasonable thing to do”, discourse hegemony is a source of enormous power. Discourse power, however, is deeply intertwined with political, social and economic power. Winning and keeping discourse hegemony, therefore, seems far fetched without the control of the institutions which produce discourses and the channels which distribute them.

For Transformative Change Making, discourse hegemony would be a great asset, but it is not a must have. Winning over spoilers means to shift the framework within which they define their interests. Different from the pragmatic fence sitters, spoilers perceive their position to be fundamentally at odds with the change agenda. In other words, this conflict is defined by a clash of paradigm discourses. To address this conflict of paradigm discourses, a discourse intervention is needed.

How can we shift the paradigm?

Paradigm clashes can be tackled in two different ways:

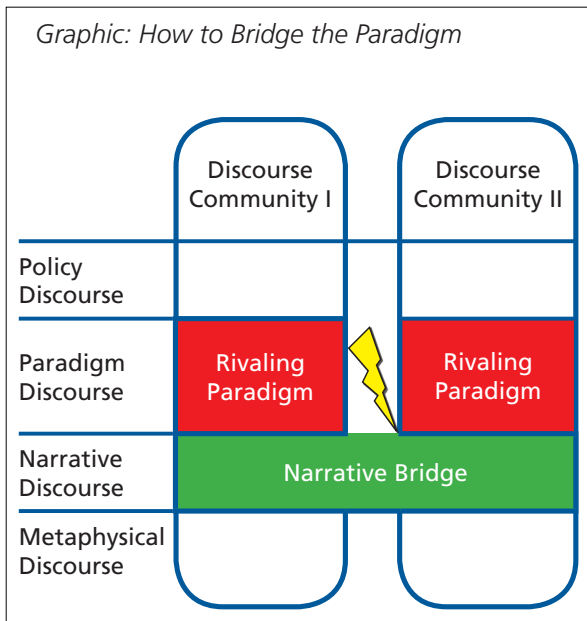
First, by transcending the paradigm. By shifting the imagination of what is possible, the expectations of how the future will unfold will start to shift. Shifting expectations about the future, changes the interpretations of the situation today. Shifting calculations of risk versus opportunity is what makes stakeholders redefine their interests. Redefined interests pave the way for cooperation in a transformative alliance.

Second, by bridging the paradigm. Conflicts of interest are often rooted in clashing policy paradigm, e.g. the standard understanding of what is happening and the guidebook of what needs to be done. Bridging the paradigm means to introduce a change narrative which turns the allegedly rivaling principles into two sides of the same coin.

Example:
 As long as economic growth and environmental protection are seen as trade offs, there is little room for cooperation between opposing camps. Bridging these clashing paradigm means to understand green energy transformation as the precondition for future growth.

How does discourse alliance building work?

In the absence of a common platform based on interest, the best way to build a transformative alliance is to start with a discourse alliance. Discourse alliance building means introducing a new narrative which resonates with several discourse communities. It goes without saying that the quality of the change narrative is front and centre. This is why TCM makes extensive use of the knowledge produced by cognitive linguistics, e.g. the techniques of political framing. Accordingly, all three foundations of TCM have a discursive dimension: the alternative vision of the future, a change narrative which explains how to get there, and the success stories which provide tangible proof that change is possible.



A new format: the seed communities

TCM needs a container within which stakeholders can produce the ingredients for a transformative alliance. Seed communities are multiannual, multistakeholder working groups with a clearly defined mandate to produce the vision, narrative and catalytic projects needed.

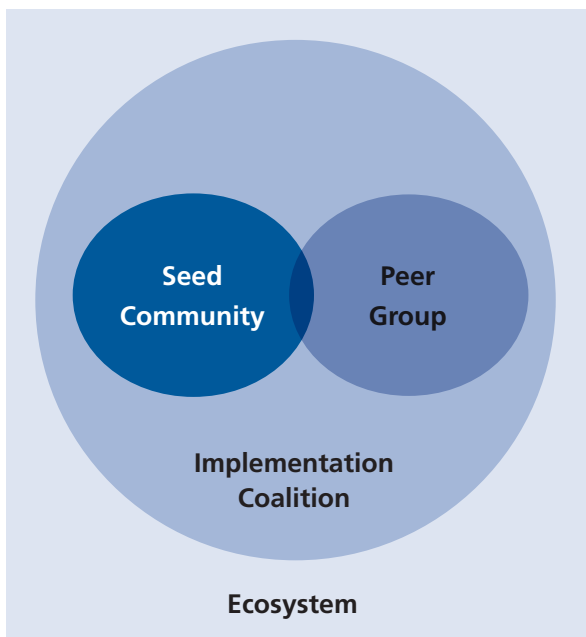
In order to build transformative alliances, natural champions need to learn to understand the logics, cultures, needs and interests of potential allies. This is why seed communities, different from narrow capacity building workshops, reach beyond the comfort zone of the 'already convinced'. On the other hand, seed communities stop short of the 'bringing-the-entire-system-into-the-room' approach underpinning many multistakeholder Dialogues. Having spoilers in the room will cripple any effort to create momentum for change, often turning such platforms into mere talk shops.

Seed communities, by contrast, serve as laboratories in which change makers can experiment with new ideas, formulas and

narratives, as well as incubators where the nucleus of transformative alliances can be formed. They seek to create networks of trust as well as ownership for common projects. Bringing together some of the most creative and prolific thinkers and opinion makers, they are ideator groups as well as launch pads for new discourses.

In order to run successfully, the seed community needs a convenor (ideally a partner with a wide network and knowledge capacity) who identifies and approaches new members. Seed community meetings will be conducted by a facilitator who moderates, guides and steers the discussions. To conduct the exercises, a small team of two rapporteurs is needed who can visualise and report the discussions.

In line with the mandate to think-outside-the-box, seed community membership should emphasise creativity and commitment over representativeness and experience. However, in order to check against unrealistic pie-in-the-sky thinking, a reality check is needed. Ideas should run through a stress test with a peer group of experienced decision makers and senior experts.



The working process: combine creativity with experience and influence

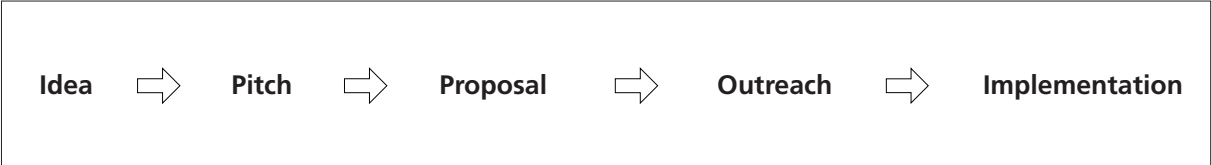
Given the enormous task at hand, seed communities should have a time horizon of two to three years, depending on the logistical challenges involved in bringing participants together. In every session, seed community members identify project ideas, vet them thoroughly, and decide whether to go ahead, redesign or drop the project. In between meetings, the facilitators (e.g. the conveners or FES) can help to polish up ideas, provide the necessary empirical background, and refine vetted project ideas into elaborate and detailed project proposals.

These project proposals will be discussed with the peer group of experienced decision makers and experts. To maximise the benefits of this collaboration, the roles of seed community and peer group need to be clear. The seed community chooses project ideas, assesses their viability, develops the project design and finally endorses the project proposal. In this project design phase, the peer group acts as an advisory body, which adds information, roots out flawed assumptions, and contributes to the overall project design. The role of the peer community will become bigger in the outreach phase. Peers can also play a critical role in the implementation of the catalytic project, as well as mobilise keyholders from their networks.

To avoid confusion, the working process should follow a clear sequence. Only after the seed community has developed a clear idea of the project design should the peer community be consulted. To facilitate focused discussions, a draft project proposal outlining the incentive structure, technical feasibility, business model and political narrative needs to be available. This project proposal should be the point of reference for all discussions. Additions, clarifications and changes will then be built into this open source document.

Seed communities will take up this feedback, and redesign the project proposal taking these points into account. If a catalytic project is deemed ready and implementable, seed and peer groups together reach out to their respective communities to find allies for implementation. The goal is to win the support of each identified keyholder. Once this implementation coalition is formed, the implementation of the project can begin.

To create awareness and ownership early on, FES can engage with the ecosystem surrounding the seed community with the entire spectrum of instruments for capacity building, knowledge and experience sharing as well as public deliberation. In the outreach phase, FES will support the organisation of public platforms. The role of FES ends in the implementation phase of the catalytic project.



What is different from classic instruments?

	Capacity Building	Transformative Change	Multistakeholder Dialogue
<i>Target Group</i>	“Comfort Zone” (5%) Friends and partners with progressive agendas	Potential Change Makers (60%) Actors with diverging interests in the status quo, whose interests may converge in an alternative paradigm	“System in the Room” (100%) Stakeholders from the entire political spectrum, including hawks and spoilers
<i>Goal</i>	Support progressive struggles	Shift development path	Technocratic optimisation of the system
<i>Strategy</i>	Raising awareness and creating understanding	Building alliances	Influencing decision makers
<i>Modus</i>	Transactional	Transformative	Transactional
<i>Output</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacities strengthened • Solidarity • Grassroots projects • Campaigns • Training of future activists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New narrative • Catalytic projects • Communicative and strategic capacity • Training of future activists • Agenda setting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consensus based on the lowest common denominator • Policy recommendations (best practices and lessons learnt) • Agenda setting
<i>Time horizon</i>	Ongoing workshop series with changing participants	2-3 year project	Ongoing dialogues with partly overlapping participants
<i>Role of FES</i>	<p>“Trainer”</p> <p>Strengthen content and organisational capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify participants, experts and trainers • Program design 	<p>“Coach”</p> <p>Consult on strategy, process</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Select and win seed members • Method trainer • Handholding, trust building • Build strategic capacity • Visualise the challenges • Support outreach 	<p>“Platform”</p> <p>Exchange of expertise and experiences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify participants • Identify experts • Program design
<i>Role of partners</i>	<p>“Trainee”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation • Identify participants • Roll out projects or campaigns 	<p>“Captain on the field”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify and win seed and peer members • Organise process • Prepare pitches, proposals • Develop vision, narrative • Mediate conflict • Organise outreach • Build implementation coalition 	<p>“Primus inter pares”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation • Identify participants • Moderator

Transformative Change Making, Step by Step

Designing catalytic projects

Step 1: Brainstorming project ideas

Catalytic projects are the entry points to transformative change. This is why they need to be carefully chosen and designed in order to work as structural, social and discursive catalysts. In a first exercise, participants brainstorm over potential catalytic projects. The following questions need to be answered:

Is the project idea catalytic?

1. *Is it transformative?*

Which structural game changers will the project unleash? How would these game changers transform the situation over the next few decades?

2. *Can it scale?*

Does it reach well beyond the original ecosystem, and reach the lives of millions? How can the project be institutionalised?

3. *Critical mass of early supporters?*

Which interest groups support the project? Is there a support coalition to get the project off the ground? Do these early supporters have the means to implement the project? Does this support coalition have the potential to grow into a broad societal alliance?

4. *Can a powerful narrative be spun?*

With which discourse communities does the narrative resonate? Can the narrative be optimised to bridge more discourse

communities? Can the narrative form the platform for a discourse alliance?

5. *Is it a success story?*

Does the project exemplify how a formula can be successful, here and somewhere else?

Is the project idea doable?

1. *Is it technically doable?*

What technological, fiscal, legal ingredients are needed? Where are the gaps and difficulties?

2. *Is it commercially viable?*

Is there enough demand and supply? Who provides the initial investment, subsidies, access to credit or maintenance cost?

3. *Is it politically sellable?*

Is there an electoral mandate? Which political factions support the initial agreement? Is there a budget? Is public as well as published opinion in favour? What are the political agreements and environments needed? How strong is the opposition?

By running project ideas through this set of criteria, gaps and shortcomings can be identified. The discussion should focus on these gaps and seek to sense whether they can be addressed or not. If the seed community deems a project idea neither catalytic nor doable, it should be set aside.

Example: Solar Irrigation in India's Rural Areas.

1. Transformative?

Thousands of Indians villages are still not connected to the electricity grid. In order to irrigate the fields, pumps powered by diesel generators are being used. Diesel is not only a health hazard, but the most expensive source of energy. Replacing diesel generators with photovoltaic panels will accelerate the electrification of off grid rural areas. Electrification of the rural areas will boost social inclusion as well as economic activity.

2. Scalable?

Solar irrigation has the potential to reach millions of farmers. Solar panels can also be used to power households and markets.

3. Support coalition?

Given the right incentives, potential allies are farmers, local entrepreneurs, elected politicians, environmental groups, as well as donor agencies.

4. Resonating narrative?

Solar irrigation resonates with the green discourse community ("cutting emissions"), the social justice discourse

community ("access as justice") as well as the development discourse community ("rural empowerment and entrepreneurship"). Discourse bridges may be possible to appeal to the women empowerment discourse community.

5. Success story?

Solar irrigation makes the green energy transformation tangible for millions ("Seeing is believing"). The formula can be easily replicated not only in India, but also in other developing countries.

6. Technically doable?

The technology needed is already available in India. A gap remains: the intermittent nature of solar energy.

7. Commercially viable?

Local entrepreneurs have already introduced the product and are ready to install as well as maintain them. A potential gap is access to credit for villagers. A possible solution could be to use the local cooperatives to provide credit.

8. Politically sellable?

Given the potentially broad social coalition backing the projects, it seems likely that political champions will promote solar irrigation.

Step 2: Vetting a project pitch

If the project idea is deemed promising, it should be developed into a project pitch. Ideally, someone volunteers to put together a short pitch (max. 1 page) and present it to the seed community. If not, the convenor or FES can prepare the pitch in between the meetings.

Seed community members will run this pitch through a thorough vetting exercise. The goal of this step is to narrow down the list to identify the most suitable projects and begin a strategy discussion on how best to design the project with a view to creating maximum social buy in.

The steps to be followed for this are:

- Collect the ingredients that would be required to make the project a success, in a comprehensive manner from planning to maintenance.

- Which societal actor holds the key to these ingredients?
- Are these keyholders natural champions (those who are already convinced: mark green), fence sitters (those who need extra incentives to be on board: mark yellow), or spoilers (those who are ideologically opposed or have vested interests in the status quo: mark red).
- In Case of the fence sitters: What incentives are likely to sway them?
- In Case of spoilers: Are they critical for the success of the project?

At this point, the seed community should come to a conclusion if the project candidate should be adopted, or needs to be redesigned, or should be dropped.

Example: Vetting Rural Electrification

Natural champions Transactional Allies Spoilers

<i>What is needed to successfully implement the project?</i>	<i>Are the keyholders on board?</i>	<i>What incentives can sway keyholders?</i>
R&D, Product development	Renewable energy/ Development institutes	
Supply: Market introduction	Local entrepreneur	Profitability: Subsidies
Demand	Consumers/ Farmers	Price cheaper than diesel
Funding, subsidies	Treasurer, Donor	
Access to credit	Cooperatives, commercial banks, local lenders	Local lenders not needed
Installation, maintenance	Local entrepreneur	Subsidies
Political support	Elected politician	Votes, Caps on budget
Administrative support	State Ministry of Agriculture	
Public opinion	Media, Civil society	

An in depth vetting shows that with the exception of local lenders (who often happen to coincide with the provision of diesel generators for local markets), no spoilers can be identified. Given the alternatives, especially the local cooperatives (who are being pushed out of the market by commercial banks and need a new mission), the support of local lenders is not needed. Demand in the rural areas depends on the price (solar will be significantly cheaper than diesel), the initial funding (incentives such

as subsidies) as well as the technical doability (intermittency problem needs to be addressed). Mirroring demand, local entrepreneurs are on board if profitability is given. Given the natural allies of Academic Institutes, NGOs and international donors, availability of expertise and funding seems to be guaranteed. Given the potential of thousands of votes, as well as a benign public opinion, political support seems to be likely as long as the budgetary commitment is kept in check.

Step 3: Designing project proposals

Drawing from all the information provided by the seed community, a project proposal will be developed. The developer will enrich the proposal with further research, e.g. additional data or feasibility studies. The project proposal will develop incentive structures which are carefully designed to

bring transactional allies on board. The proposal also suggests how the projects can be embedded in the Vision and Change Narrative. After an in depth discussion, the seed community (incubator and peer group) will either redirect it to the drawing board for further refinement, or ultimately endorse the project design.

Constructing the change narrative

Step 1: Identify discourses

First, the major discourse communities in the chosen field need to be identified and analysed. Collect all the narratives relevant

for the analysed political field. Identify the paradigm discourse (e.g. the assumed problem and default solution prescribed by the policy blueprint) and the development narrative (e.g. the vision and path for society as a whole) for every discourse community.

Example: Energy Discourse Communities

	Policy What is the concrete problem? What is the concrete solution?	Energy Paradigm Where to suspect the problem? What is the standard solution?	Development Narrative What is the bigger picture? What is the future scenario?
<i>Discourse Community 1</i>	build clean coal plants	cheap, accessible energy for industrialisation	growth first, environment later: Industrialisation at all cost in order to fuel GDP growth
<i>Discourse Community 2</i>	small hydro power, solar, wind etc etc	clean energy	sustainable growth
<i>Discourse Community 3</i>	coal, eclectic energy mix	good quality, affordable and reliable energy	quality of life
<i>Discourse Community 4</i>	cheap energy	financially sustainable clean energy generation	poverty reduction
<i>Discourse Community 5</i>	all energy forms	employment generating energy (primary, secondary, tertiary sectors)	job creation
<i>Discourse Community 6</i>	subregional energy cooperation	energy to all	inclusive growth
<i>Discourse Community 7</i>	optimising clean energy generation	financially sustainable clean energy generation	equitable growth
<i>Discourse Community 8</i>	renewables, efficiency, skill development, employment	green energy, green jobs	green growth

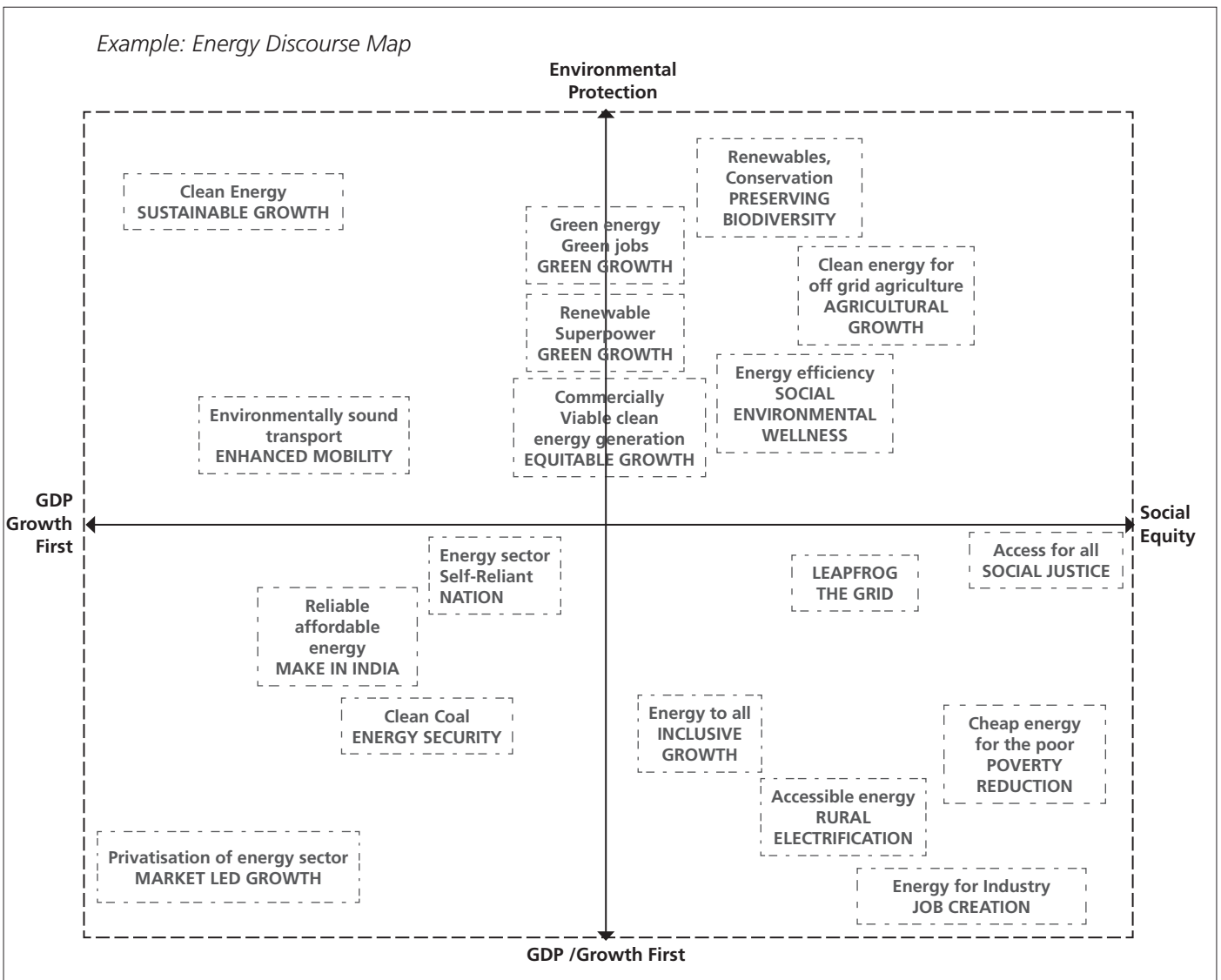
Step 2: Map discourses

Map these discourse communities onto a coordinate system reflecting the main conflicts in the analysed sector (e.g. the paradigm and narrative cleavages. When in doubt, as a rule of thumb, the axes may reflect a material and cultural conflict).

The mapping should be done in a participatory manner. Stakeholders will need to be encouraged to discuss exact positions in order to sharpen understanding of the differences, commonalities, and overall character of the discourse communities. The aim is to bring all participants onto the same page with a view to enabling strategy debate.

Some participants may find it hard to make the step from policy to discourse. This reflects a deeper unease of being forced to acknowledge the relativity of one’s own belief in the larger political field. The exercise is designed to break participants out of their “truth box” (e.g. the belief that “I speak the one and only truth, hence I am righteous, while you are not only wrong but must be immoral”). With a view for building the strategic capacity and political literacy of civil society, this ability to analyse the political field from the eagle’s perspective is a crucial first step.

Example: Energy Discourse Map



Step 3: Analyse the discourse landscape

By only looking at the discourse map, what lessons can be learned?

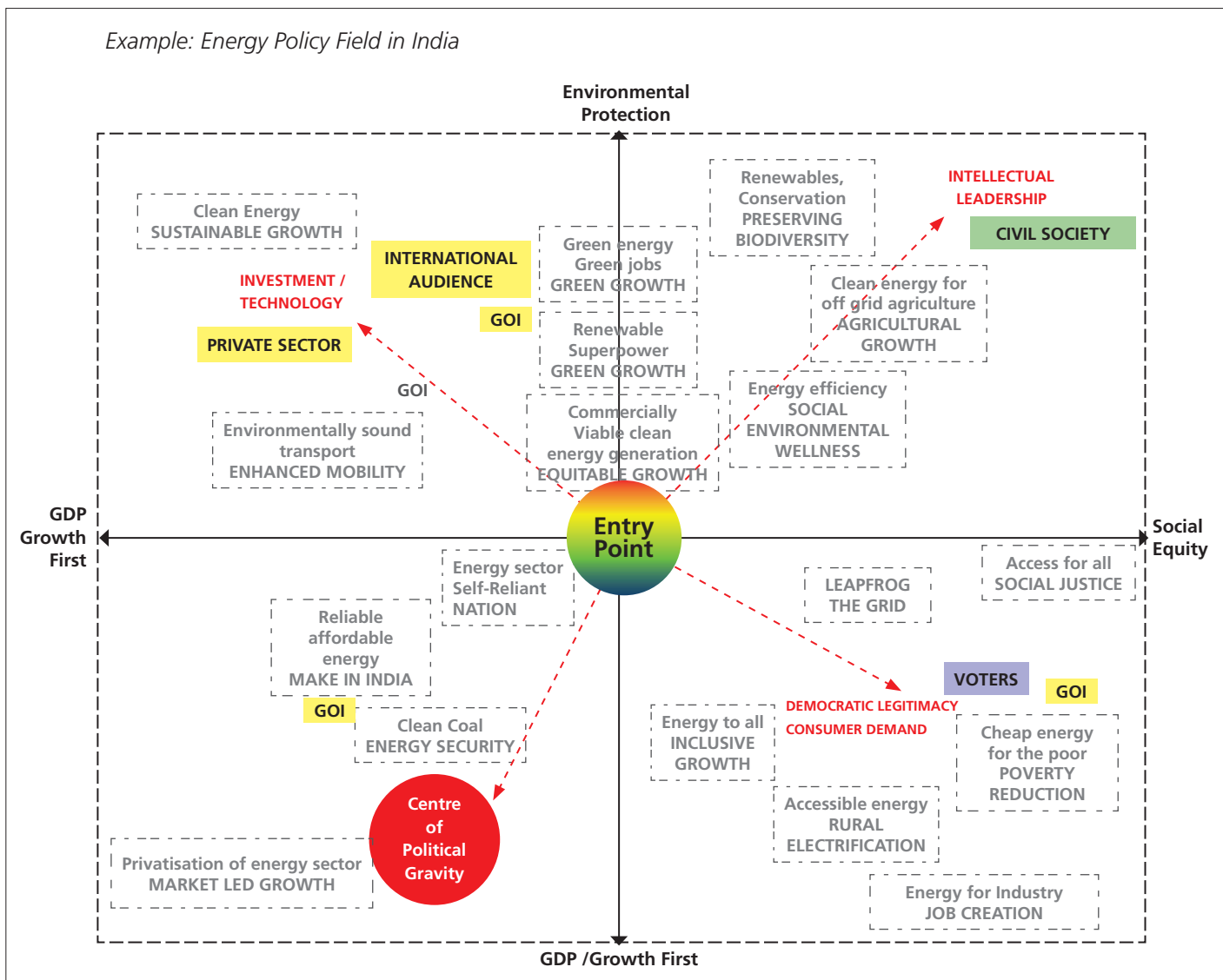
- What discourse communities dominate the field?
- Does a discourse alliance exist or are there only scattered discourse communities?
- Which existing narratives could resist change?
- Did the discourse landscape shift over the last year(s) or decades? If so, what is their trajectory?

Step 4: Visualise the social field

Not all narratives are equally powerful. While some hail from the fringe, only a few occupy the mainstream of public discourse. The difference reflects how widely a discourse resonates with social groups. Vice versa, the predominance of a discourse depends on the political, social and economic power of the social groups propagating it.

In this step, participants map main political players (e.g. government and major opposition

Example: Energy Policy Field in India



parties), economic groups (e.g. domestic and international industry and finance) and social groups (e.g. major voter blocs, civil society). In a quick analysis, participants should elaborate why certain social groups propagate a certain narrative, and if this association has changed over time.

Step 5: Identify the centre of political gravity

In this step, participants should analyse the interplay between discourse and political action. The aim is to find out what paradigm guides the decision making of the political and economic establishment.

- Under the current political constellation, which political, economic, and social groups are dominant?
- What kind of narratives do these dominant groups propagate?
- Looking at major political decisions over the past year, what is the common denominator?
- Did the policy paradigm shift; if so, what is the trajectory?
- Do the trajectories of discourse and action point to the same direction, or is there a divergence between talk and action?
- What does all this mean for the room for manoeuvre of political decision makers?

Step 6: Discuss the entry point for the new narrative

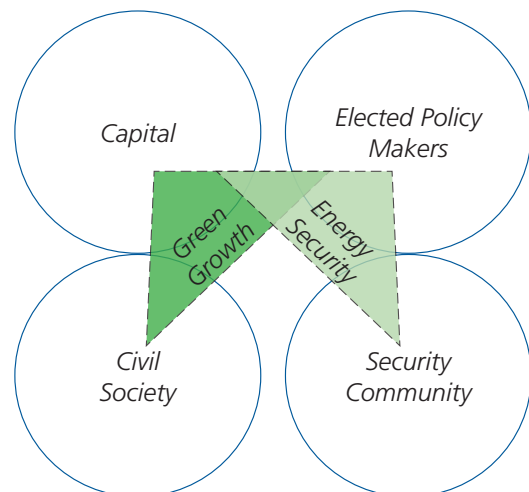
Given the lay of the social and political land, where is the best entry point for a new paradigm discourse

- Where is the strategic entry point for a change discourse alliance?
- Which neighbouring discourse communities can be won over for a discourse alliance?
- Which social, economic, and political resources are a must have to shift the development path?

- What kind of narrative would resonate with these major keyholders?
- How must the change narrative sound like to serve as the platform for the discourse alliance?

Example: Green New Deal

For decades, economic growth and environmental protection were understood by a majority to be at odds with each other. As a consequence, environmental policies were dismissed as “bad for business” by the market liberal discourse community, and as “bad for jobs” by the social justice discourse community. With the introduction of the “Green New Deal”, this dichotomy has been transcended. The “Green Growth” narrative defines green energy, mobility and production as the precondition for future growth. And the “green jobs” narrative defines green businesses as the job engine of the future. As a result, a discourse alliance has emerged which increasingly uses the same frame to imagine the future possibilities, and defines its interests through similar calculations of risks versus opportunities.

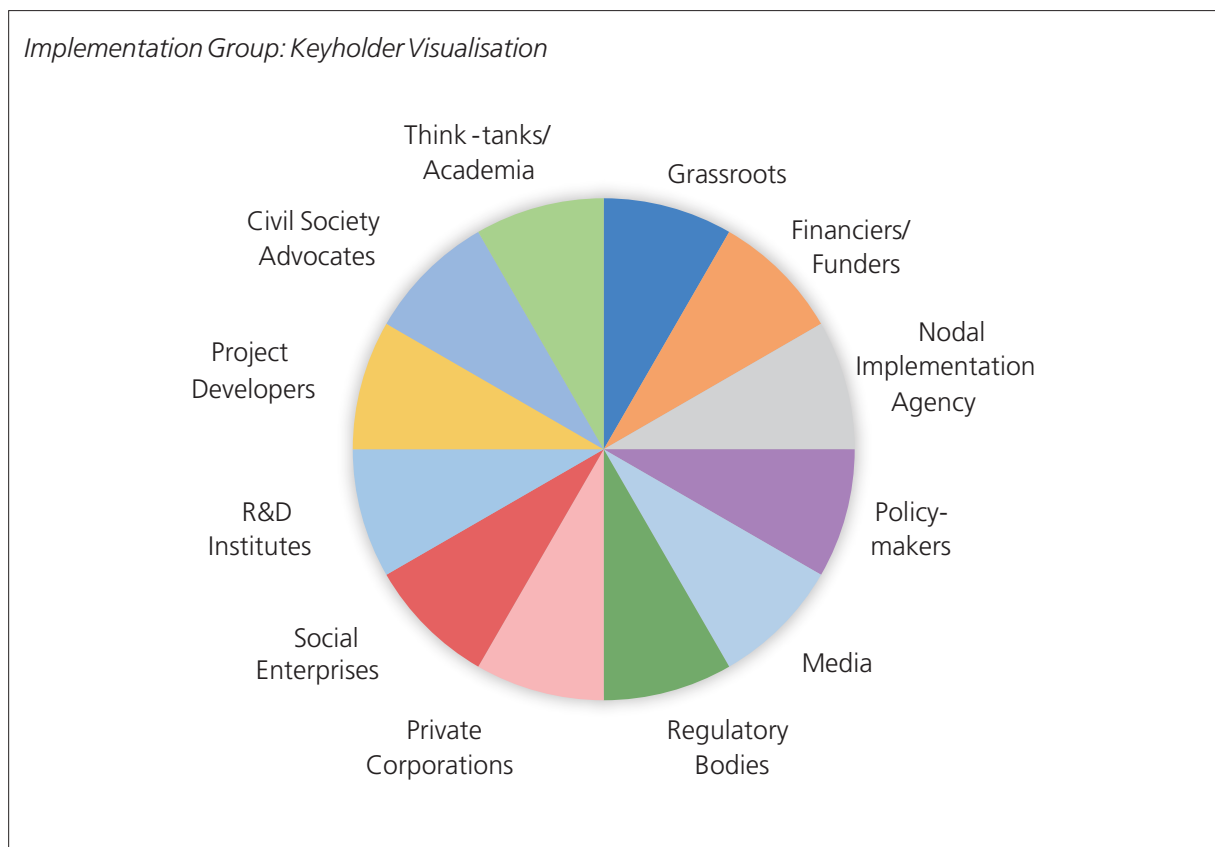


Outreach

When a project proposal has been endorsed by the seed community and its peer group, it is then time for public outreach. Seed and peer communities organise public fora, lobby decision makers and carry out fact finding missions. How this outreach will be organised of course depends on the nature of the project. The ultimate goal, however, remains the same: to build an implementation coalition

which includes all the identified keyholders needed for the successful implementation of the project.

To visualise the task, the keyholders identified in the vetting process should be plotted into a pie chart. The outreach group will need to identify, woo, and finally win the support of all the keyholders needed. Once the implementation coalition is formed, the project implementation can begin.



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TCM has been successfully used to facilitate reform processes in India, Pakistan, and Thailand. As a work in progress, it will be further adapted to match the local context. This beta version of the practical guide is meant to give practitioners an easy to use introduction into the method.

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