



WAYS FORWARD: Let's Talk & Listen

A Public Forum for Hong Kong

2019.11.16



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真對話:如何推動變革及化解衝突 Authentic Dialogue: Promoting Change & Resolving Conflict Hannes Siebert + 胡紅玉Anna Wu

Dialogue, Peace & Change Processes

Societies in transition: managing change, securing peace & restructuring Hannes Siebert

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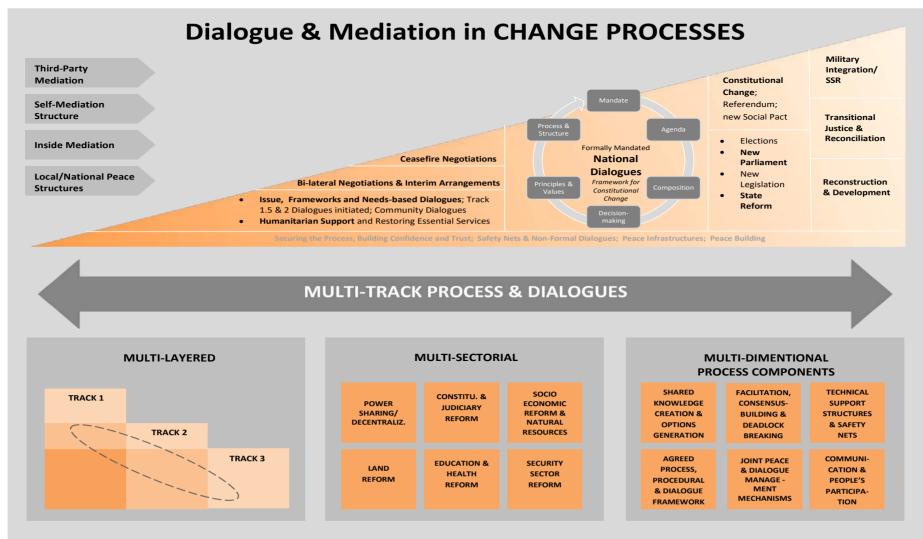
Authentic Dialogue: Promoting Change & Resolving Conflict

- <u>Questions</u>: What do we want to change? What is broken? Who should be part of the process to change it? Who is affected by it? Who has the power to change it? What are the change instruments? Who should decide? How do we decide?
- <u>Human dignity</u>? Trust-building? Transforming relationships? <u>Self-mediation</u> mechanisms and processes?
- Different types of processes: dialogues and negotiation at different tracks – 1, 1.5, 2 and 3
- <u>Cases</u>: Lebanon, South Africa, Yemen, Myanmar, Nepal, Zimbabwe – successes and failures

Many Societies in Transition



Change Processes



National Dialogues

Lebanon









- Occupied/invaded by by France, Syria and Israel in past 100 years
- Independence in 1943
- Christians, Shia, Sunni & Druze
- Civil War: 1975-90
- 11 rounds of negotiations since 2008
- Wars with Israel in 1978, '82, '93, '96 and 2006

Lebanon Revolution 2019







Status May 2009, MW

National Dialogues

Yemen

Yemen National Dialogue Conference





Yemen: Structure of the National Dialogue Conference

<u>remen. Structure of the National Dialogue comerence</u>									
Leadership Committee (nominated/approved)			Consensus Committee (leadership com, chairs of WG, 10 nominated by President)						
 Plenary: Opening Meeting (2 weeks) 565 participants: representing Political Parties (GPC, JMP, et al), Southern Movement, Houthis, Women, Youth, Civil Society; 50% from South; 30% women Opening speeches; to agree on procedures; elect committees 									
Working Groups (2 months)									
Working Group (South)	Working Group (Sa'ada)	Working Group (State building)	Working Group (Security)	Working Group (Rights & Freedoms)	Working Group (Develop- ment)	Working Group (Trans. Justice)	Working Group (Indep. of Institut.)	Working Group (Good Govern.)	
Plenary: Meeting (1 months) to review state of discussion in working groups 									
Working Groups (2 months)									
Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	Working Group	
Plenary: Final Meeting (1 months) to finalize all open issues approval of final report closing session 									

 Committee for Norms and Discipline
 General Secretariat

 Decision-Making by voting
 Decision-Making by voting

 Plenary and Working Groups: 90% majority vote
 Consensus Committee: 75% majority vote
 Discussion & proposals until 75% consensus

National Dialogues

Myanmar

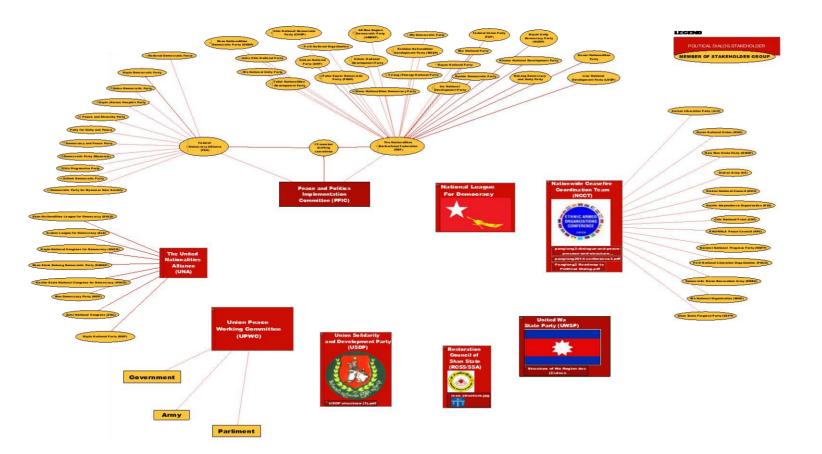
Myanmar Union Peace Conference

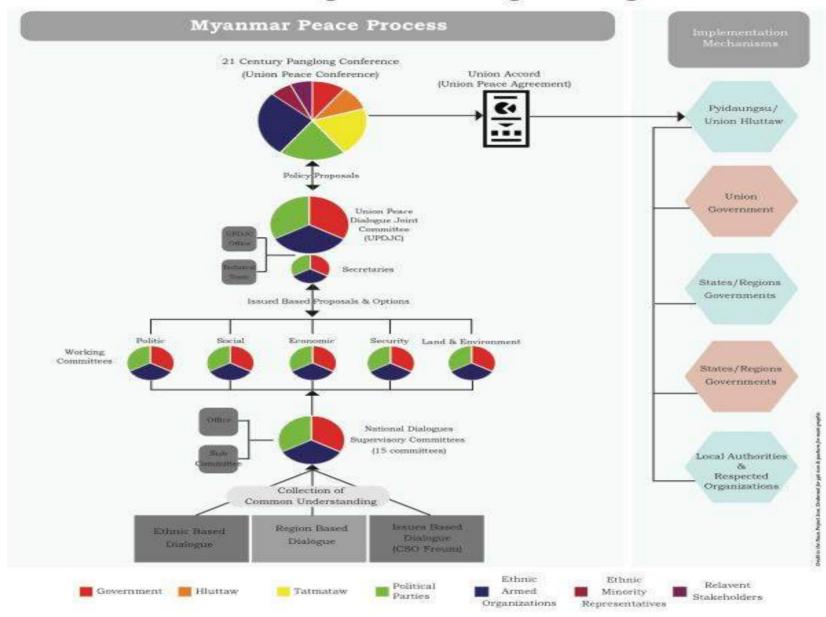


Myanmar National Political Dialog Stakeholders

MYANMAR NATIONAL POLITICAL DIALOG STAKEHOLDERS MAY 2015 - DRAFT

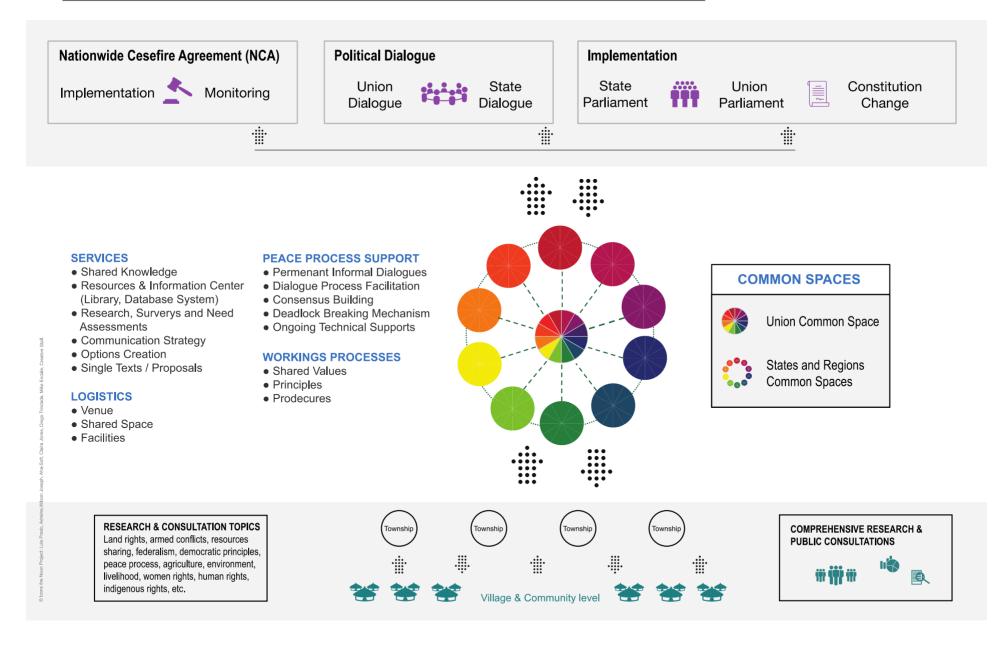
This map shows the parties involved in follow negotiations of the national political dialog. The statebolders are represented in red, some of whem are groupings or organizations outputed of signed statebolders, such as participation of the national political dialog. The statebolders have represented in red, some of whem are groupings or organizations outputed or signed embedded resources on the doing frameworks and/or granizational structures of these statebolders. There are also explorating have grouping or organizations of the state statebolders. There are also explorating have grouping or organization of the state statebolders in the state statebolders. There are also explorating have group in the doing frameworks and/or dialog statebolders, and the matching of the statebolders, and the indication of the statebolders, and the indication of the statebolders, and to hald a visual filterary of information-chaled to political dialog statebolders for the purpose of learning. The politics, materials, and organization of these statebolders is subject to obarge, on this manifest of a variable for exame of a vector in the undered are films.

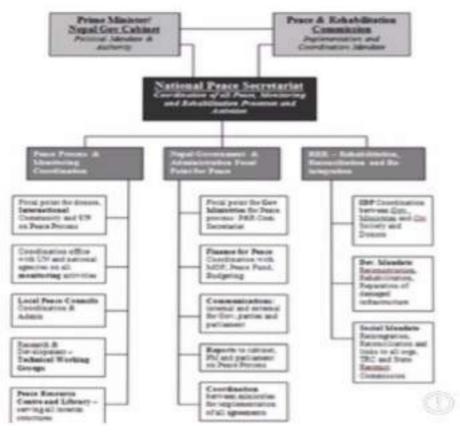




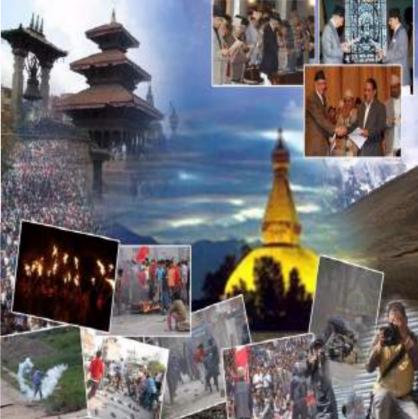
Framework for Political Dialogue-National Dialogue & Management Structure

SUPPORTING COMMON SPACES TO STRENGHTEN MYANMAR PEACE PROCESS

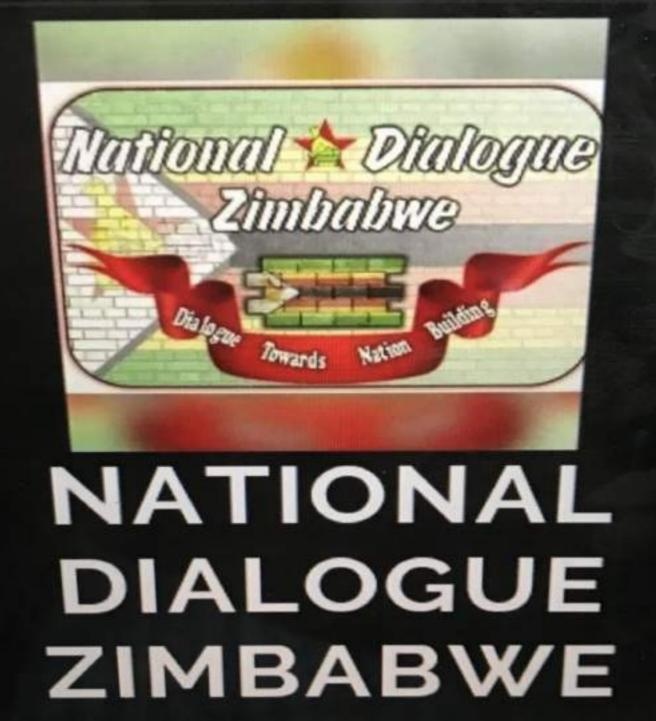




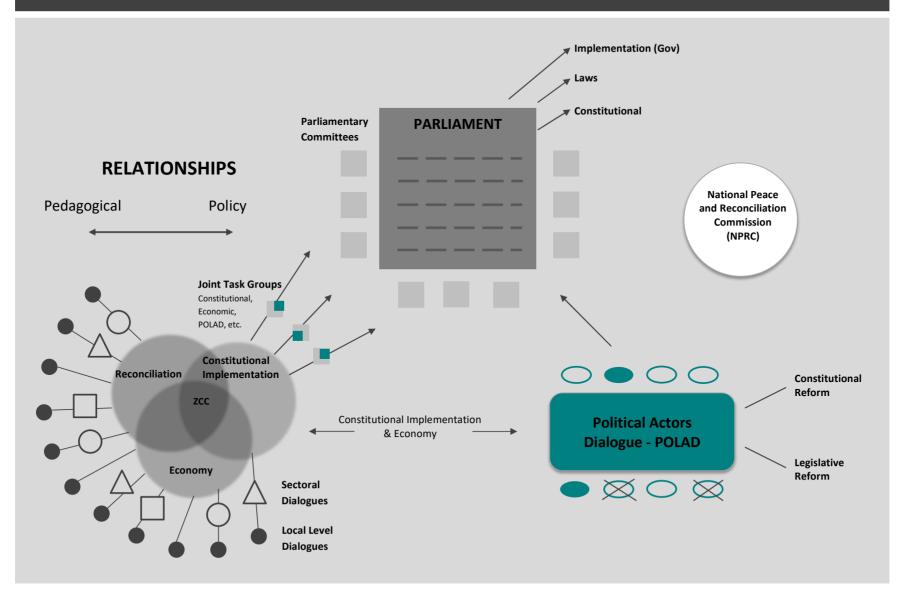
Nepal's Change Process



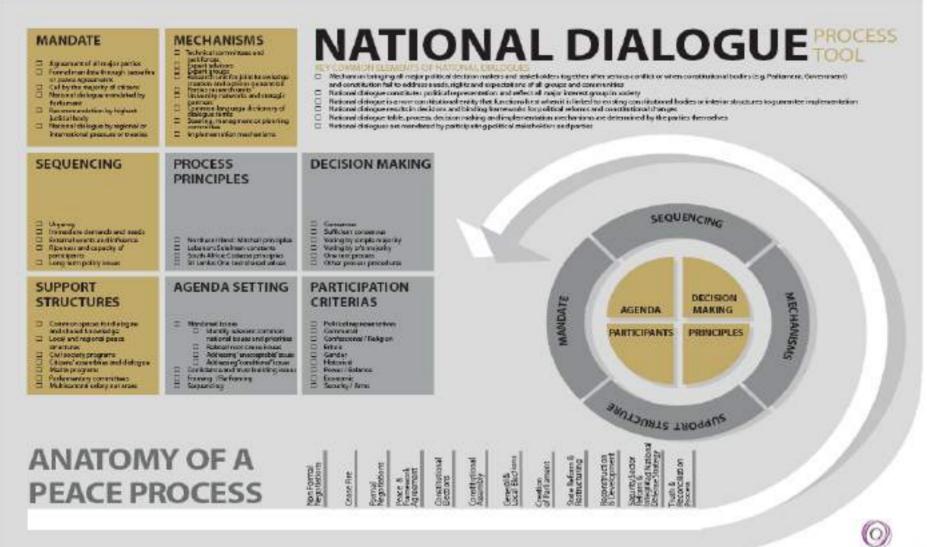




ZIMBABWE DIALOGUE & CHANGE PROCESS



Process Tools



Reflection

• Why Dialogues fail?

- When the mandate is insufficient.
- When objectives & agenda of the ND are contradictory to the expectations of the participants.
- When participation criteria excluded groups.
- When no constitutional/legal/societal change impact.
- When no safety nets and support structures.
- When it failed to create new vision and social contract

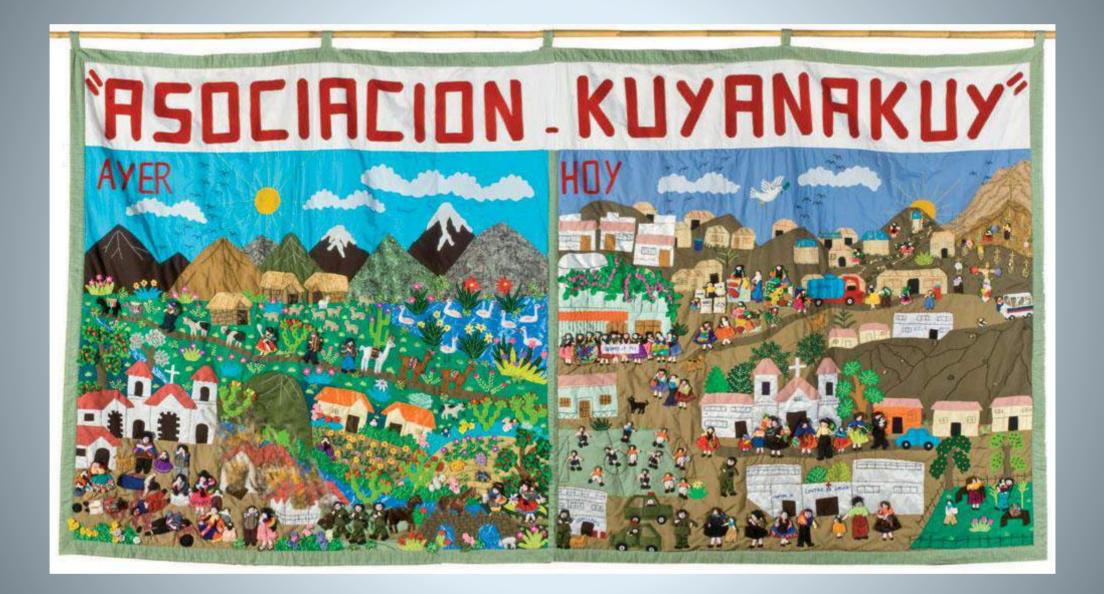
- <u>Dialogues as interconnected</u> <u>change instruments:</u>
- A bridge from what's broken to a new shared future
- Value of
- Track 1
- Track 1.5
- Track 2
- Track 3



設計對話的考慮因素 Design Considerations for Dialogue Clem McCartney + 紀佩雅Puja Kapai









Design Considerations for Dialogue Clem McCartney

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Communication is always happening but it is not always effective

- No time or -> Create time & space for reflection space
- Too polarized → Joint co-operative analysis & problem
- Joint co-operative analysis & problem solving

It suits some people

Every situation requires its own dialogue process

But there are 3 basic assumptions:

- Dialogue is not only about speaking/voice
 - It is also about listening/hearing
- The most effective dialogue process will be as inclusive as possible
 - But not necessarily the easiest
- Designing the process is the art of the possible
 - Talks about talks

A process that encourages willingness to test new thinking has the following characteristics

It should

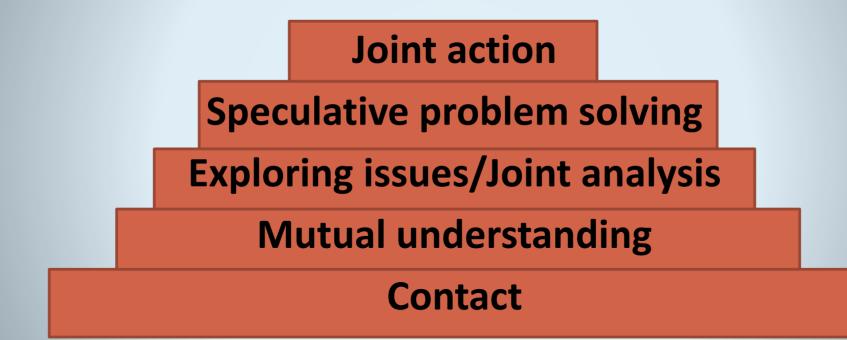
- enhance the parties' confidence, which in turn allows them to be more flexible
- help the parties believe that they and their ideas will be taken into account
- value new ideas and critical analysis
- use new ways of discussion and argument
- involve new people
- acknowledge the realities the parties and the society are facing
- search for a common vision or aspiration

Are we ready for that?

Key design considerations

- WHO?
- WHERE?
- WHEN?
- WHAT BASIS?
- WHAT ABOUT?
- WHAT FOR?

Pyramid of group interactions in the dialogue process



Does it help to have a framework agreement for entering talks? (1)

- Clarifies basis for entering into talk
- Acknowledges both sides' problems/concerns
- States the problems in terms of each side's concerns and shared problems
- Puts limits on demands on parties
- States format on negotiations
- States method of confirming agreement

Does it help to have a framework agreement for entering talks? (2)

On the other hand:

- It does not commit parties to anything beyond entering into talks
- It does not even require explicit agreement but simply acknowledges the basis on which parties are participating
- It allows some issues to be reserved for later
- It helps to avoid ethical and moral judgements Is it worth considering? Feasible? Who drafts it?

Diversity by Design: Cultivating Understanding and Legitimacy in Dialogue Processes

Puja Kapai

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Dialogue: Diversity of Objectives & Meanings

Outcome- Incident/issue-specific oriented

Reconciliatory

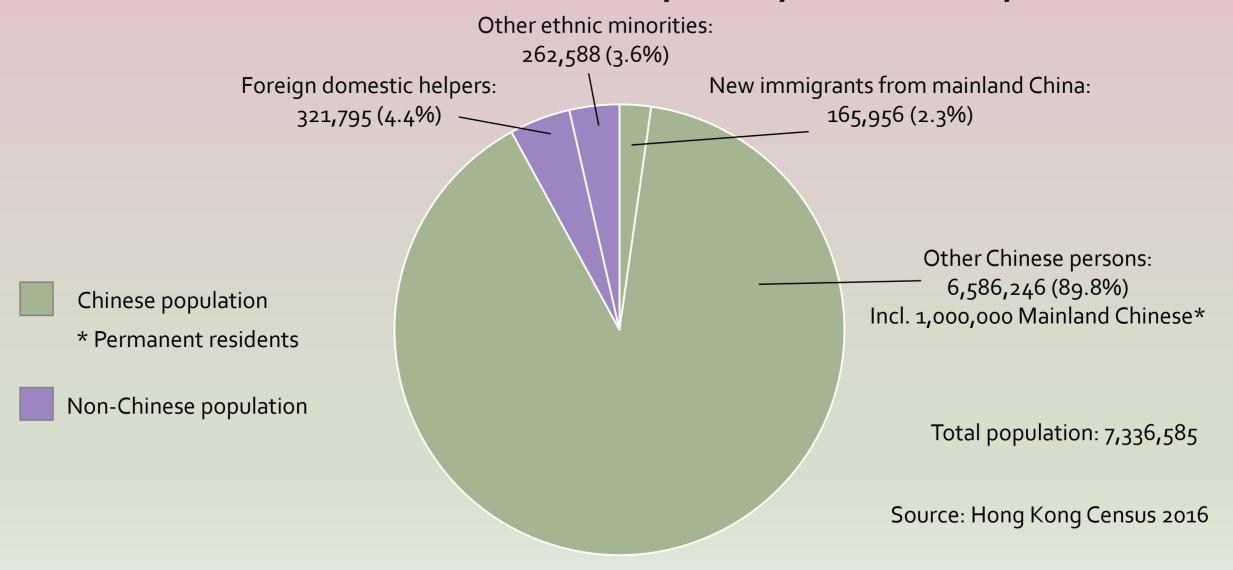
Process-
orientedTransformative: of people, discourses/narratives

Longer-term: Looking back in order to move forward, looking at history, power, place and relations to inform visions for the future

Diversity is Integral to Dialogue Processes

Legitimacy	Acknowledgement	Accountability	Empowerment through knowledge, participation, contribution
Deliberative & iterative process	Inter & Intra- group trust-building	Co-creation of meaning, understanding, narratives, solutions	Preventive peacebuilding cannot succeed if it excludes

Diverse Stakeholder Groups: by ethnicity



Diverse Stakeholder Groups: by Age and Gender



Source: Hong Kong Census 2016

Overlapping Identities & Intragroup Differences

Self identification: complementary; younger, more HongKonger



Puja Kapai, Future of Democratisation in Hong Kong, Centre for Comparative and Public Law, HKU (2018 & 2019)

Barriers to Inclusion (1)

Hierarchies of Race & Acceptance



Source: Puja Kapai, Status of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong 1997-2014, Centre for Comparative and Public Law, HKU & The Zubin Foundation (2015). Graphics: The Zubin Foundation (2015)

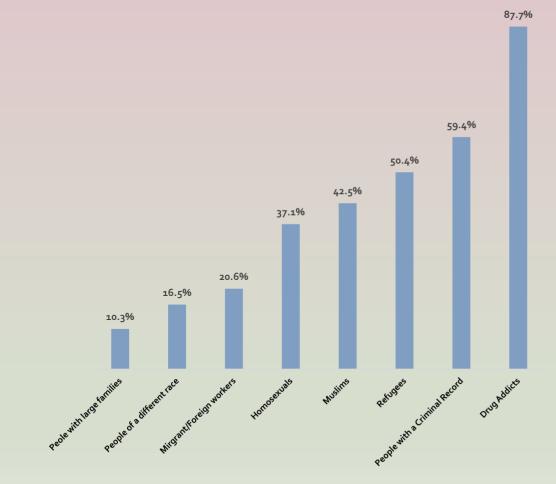
Intergroup & Intragroup Biases

Lowest bias level	Highest bias level	
Gender-Career Gender-Science	Hong Kong-Mainland	
	Chinese-South Asian	

- Widespread unconscious racial and gender biases
- Unconscious bias stronger in racial cf. gender
- South Asians more susceptible to higher levels of bias cf. now surpassed by Mainland Chinese
- Networks & direct engagement matter but preparation and process are key drivers for effective and meaningful outcomes

Levels of Intolerance (2019)

Language Barriers





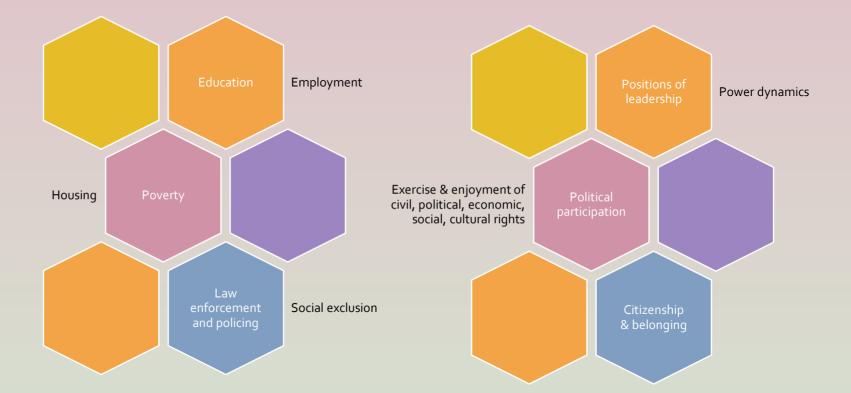
More than half

of the youth say that language (52.1%) is their greatest challenge, followed by discrimination (9.6%) and career prospects (9.6%).

Puja Kapai, *Future Directions in Hong Kong's Governance*, Centre for Comparative and Public Law, HKU (2018 & 2019)

Source: Puja Kapai & Gunjali Singh, #HongKonger, Centre for Comparative and Public Law, HKU & The Zubin Foundation (2018). Graphics: The Zubin Foundation (2018)

Impact on All Spheres of Life: Entrenched exclusion & Hierarchies of Power



Intersectionality: Individual & Structural Marginalisation of Groups

The Way to Move Forward through Dialogue is by Taking Diversity & Inclusion as a Point of Departure

Working on Process

• To move forward, we must look back

Designing Dialogue to be Inclusive

- Deliberate & intentional re inclusion
- Seeking out voices of diversity/ the 'other'
- Creating conditions for cooperation & understanding
- Law of group polarisation (Sunstein)
- New loyalties & alliances with shared visions
- Harnessing trust from such processes
- Importance of understanding power dynamics and their consequences
- Engagement with potential to breed empowerment
- Justice as a larger loyalty

The Way to Move Forward through Dialogue is by Taking Diversity & Inclusion as a Point of Departure

Working on Self

- Recognising unconscious bias
- Suspension of entrenched beliefs, keeping an open mind
- Learning about others helps us learn about ourselves
- Cultivating empathy, developing social trust
- Allowing a new narrative to be scripted to inform future interactions

Dialogue as Iterative

HK context is KEY to inform the design of any Dialogue Process
Building Democracy from the Ground Up: Citizenship and Democracy are not something we attain - they are performative.



對話實驗室 Dialogue Lab



對話實驗室(一) 實踐對話:案例分析 Dialogue Lab(1) Dialogue in Action: Case Studies

Imagining Dialogue Processes

Michael Frank A. Alar

Independent Consultant on Conflict Transformation, Dialogues and Peace Processes

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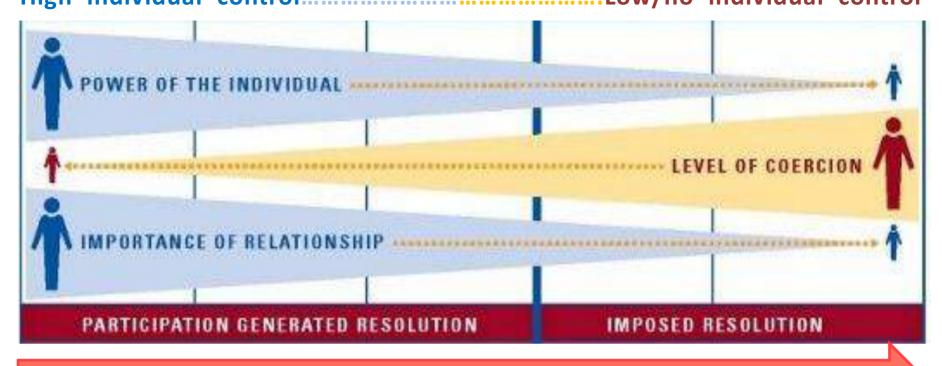
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Dialogue is...

a form of conversation & a form of relating to people that differs from mediation, negotiation, and debate in that it seeks to inform and learn, but not persuade or *resolve anything*. Progress ... requires the breakdown of stereotypes, a willingness to listen and respect others' views, and a willingness to open oneself to new ideas. Dialogue allows this to happen, often before people are willing to sit down to discuss "resolution," "consensus," or areas of "common ground."

> Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess Co-Directors, Conflict Research Consortium University of Colorado http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/transform/dialog.htm

Locating Dialogue in the Conflict Resolution Spectrum



DIALOGUE

Dialogue Lab

Case studies

- the Philippines
- South Sudan

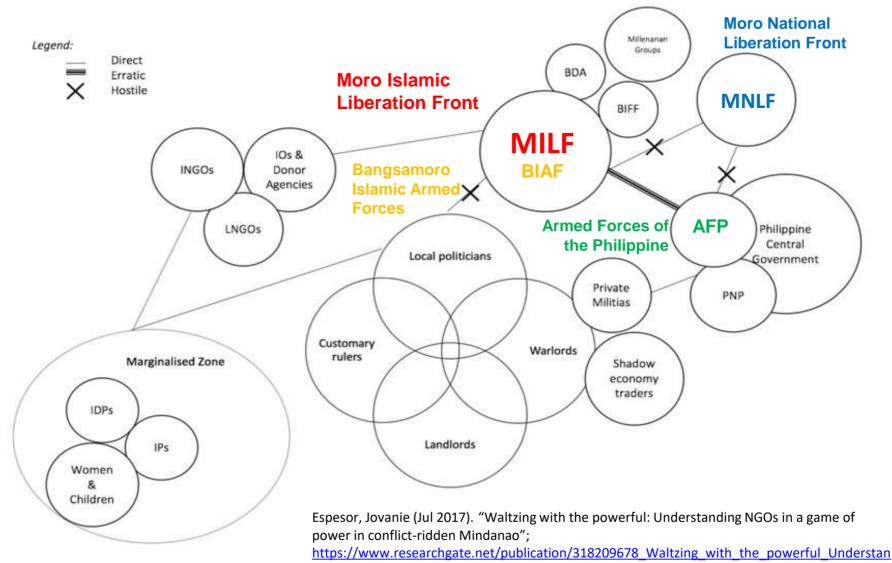
Two tools

- conflict mapping
- pyramid of dialogue approaches

Conflict Map: Mindano (1970s)



Conflicts Map: Mindanao (1997-2014)



ding NGOs in a game of power in conflict-ridden Mindanao

Political Dialogue towards Peace



Pyramid of Peacebuilding: Actors & Approaches

Track III

Type of Actors

Top Leadership

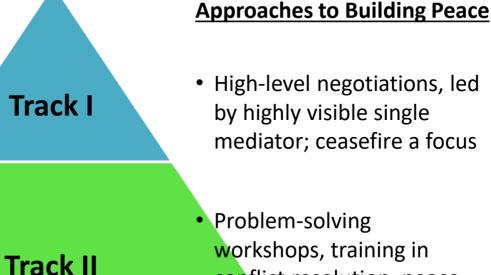
• Military/religious/political leaders with high visibility

Middle-range Leadership

- Leaders respected in sectors
- Ethnic/religious leaders
- Academics/intellectuals
- Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Grassroots Leadership

- Local leaders
- Leaders of indigenous NGOs
- Community developers, local health officials, refugee camp leaders

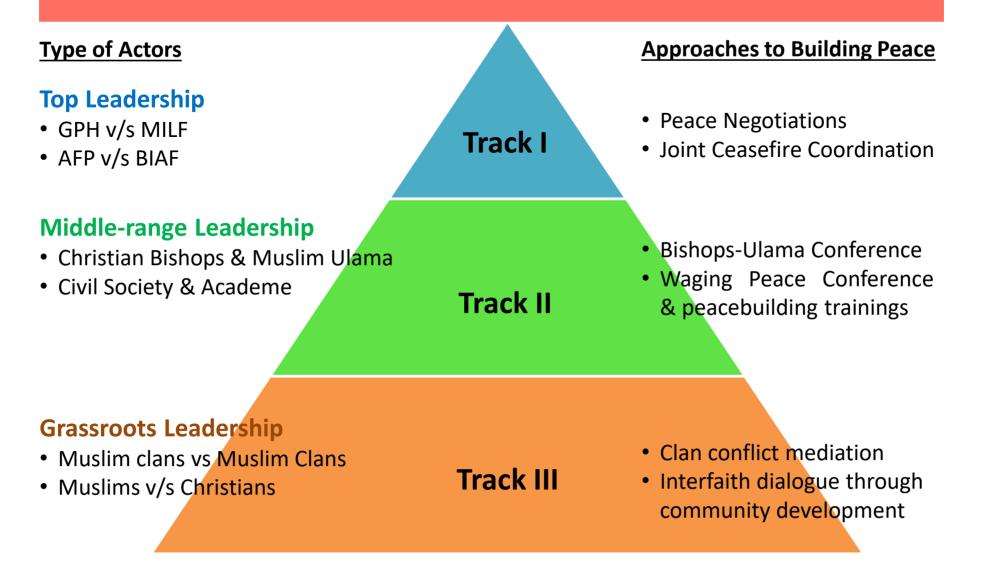


workshops, training in conflict resolution, peace commissions, insiderpartial teams

 Local peace commissions, grassroots training, prejudice reduction, psychosocial trauma work

Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.*

Pyramid of Peacebuilding: Mindanao Conflict



Pyramid of Peacebuilding: South Sudan Conflict

Track I

Track II

Type of Actors

Top Leadership

- Academe, faith leaders, businessmen, eminent persons
- 29 Youth and 40 Women delegates

Middle-range Leadership •Civil Society Forum

Women's Coalition for PeaceCoalition of Youth Organizations

Approaches to Building Peace

• Political dialogue process

Civil Society Coordination

- Research & technical support
- Media & Information

Grassroots Leadership

- Broader youth constituencies
- Communities

Track III

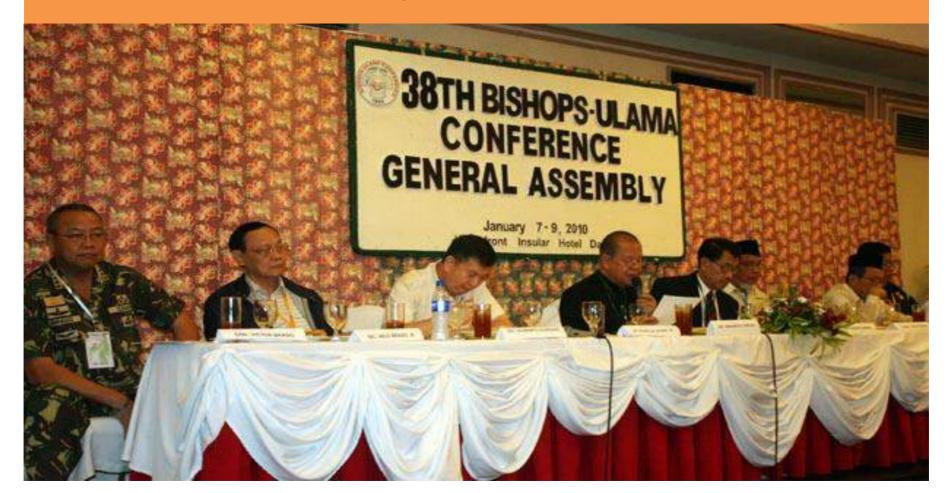
- Coordination via Whatsapp
- E-Delegates Forum
- Info Campaigns
- Consultations

Track I



Track II

38th Bishops-Ulama Conference



Track II

Waging Peace Conference



Track I.5

Bringing Track I and Track II Together



Track III

Clan Conflict Mediation

Army settles feud involving Maranao families

By Edwin Fernandez Min April 30, 2019, 10:19 am

COTABATO CITY – As part of its advocacy, the military's 6th Infantry Battalion (IB) has helped prevent more bloodshed by facilitating a clan war settlement, involving Maranao families in a coastal town of Lanao del Sur.

Lt. Col. Clairemont Pinpin, 6th IB battalion commander, led the settlement on Monday - along with the Philippine National Police and the local government of Balabagan, Lanao del Sur.

The historic "rido" (family feud) settlement between the Jamison and Magaluyan families was held at the Balabagan town hall after a series of negotiations initiated by the Army.

"As a public servant, you should be fair in serving the people, Muslims and Christians will have the same weight in my shoulder as far as peace is concerned," Balabagan Mayor Edna Benito said.

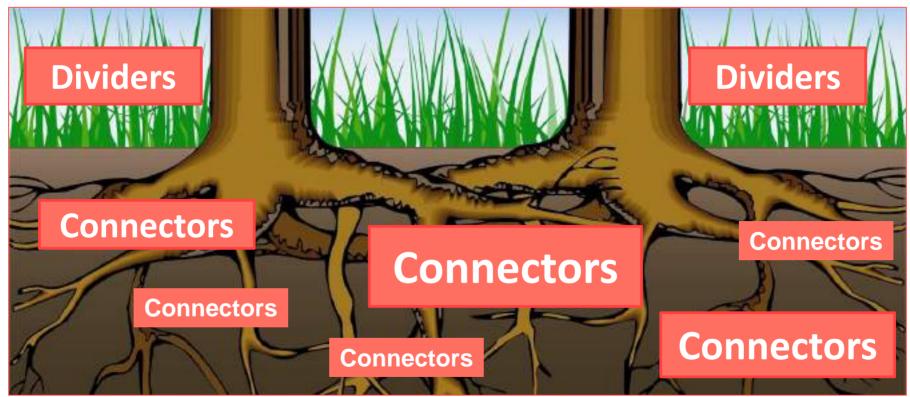


FEUD SETTLEMENT. Mayor Edna Benito of Balabagan, Lanao del Sur speaks before members of the warring families emphasizing the Army's desire to attain peace in the locality. (Photo courtesy of 6th IB)

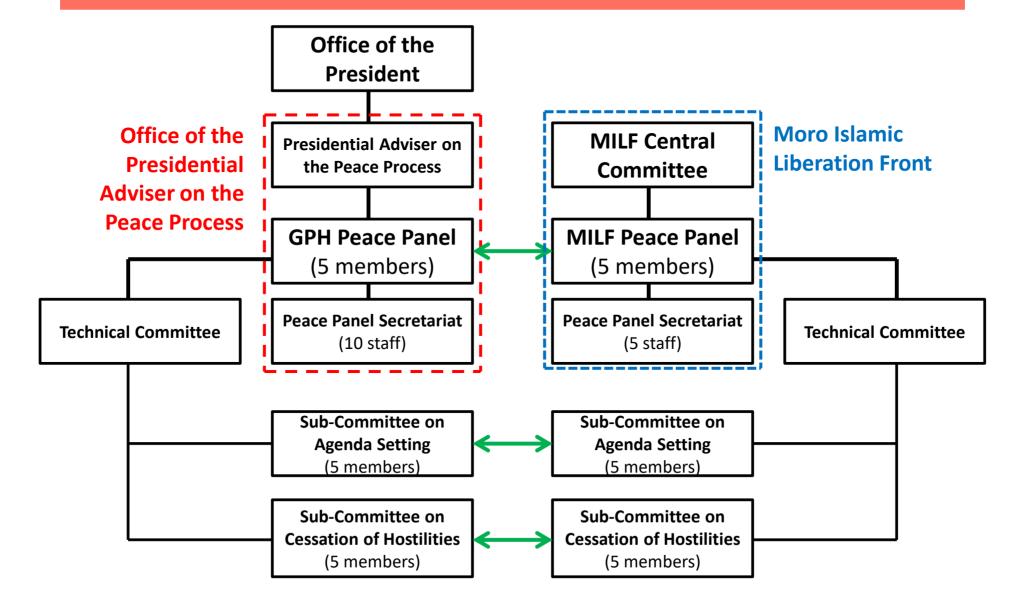
"I appreciate the military's initiative of bringing together in a table of peace warring families in Balabagan," she added in the vernacular.

Key Points

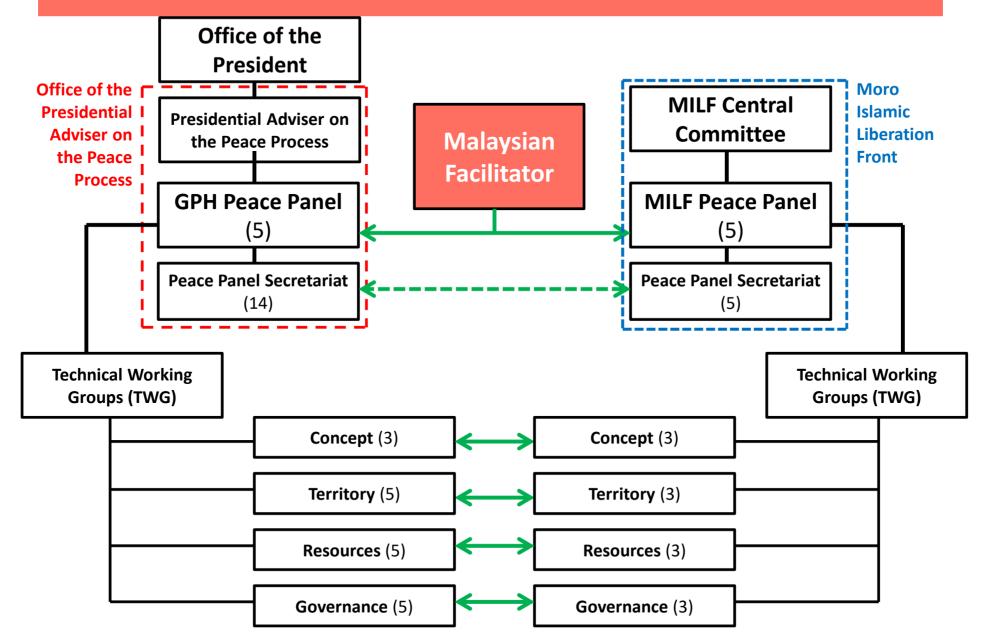
- Conflict mapping is an opportunity for dialogue
- Dialogue opportunities existing at all levels link them
- Invest in building trust explore & use natural connectors



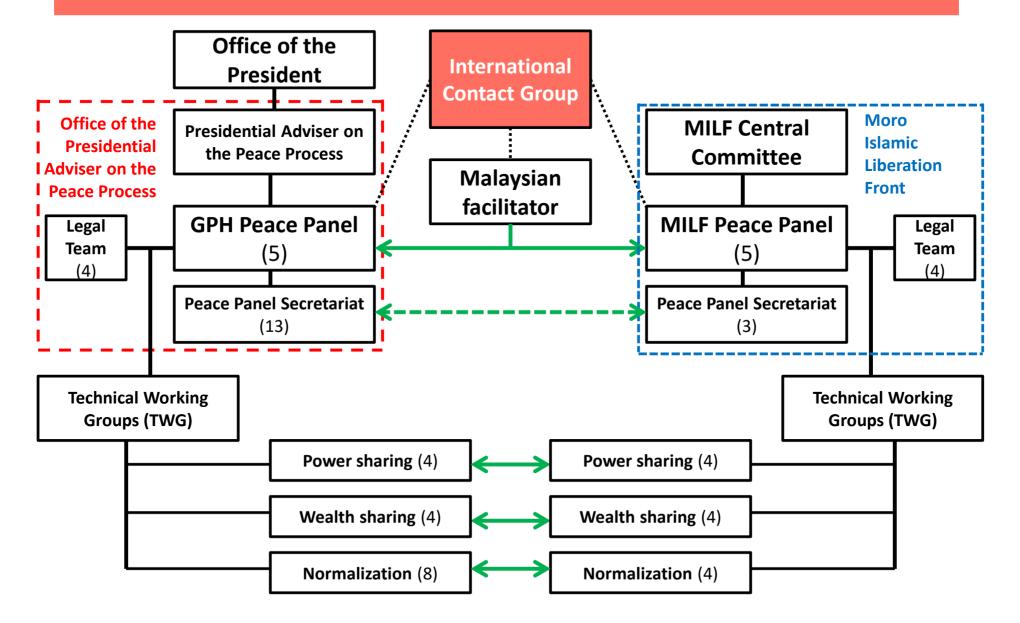
Domestic Phase (1997-2000)



International Phase (2001-2009)



ICG Phase (2010-2014)



Democracy & Freedom in Malaysia The BERSIH Experience

Thomas Fann Chairperson of Bersih 2.0

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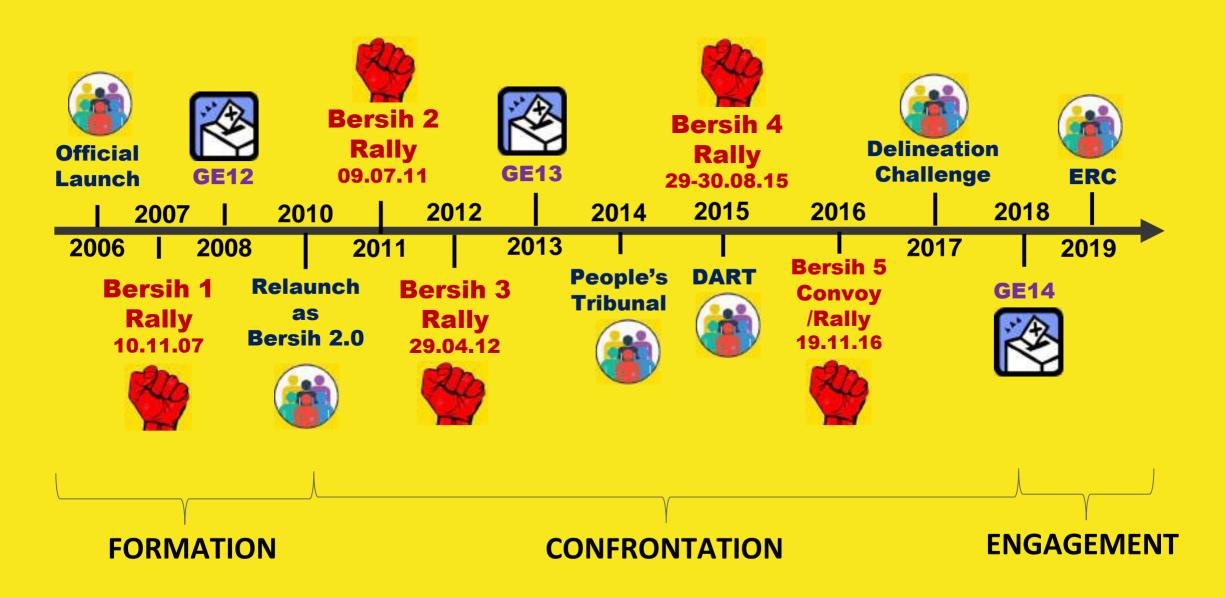
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A New Government after 61 Years



General Elections 14 – 9th May 2018

Timeline of Bersih 2.0



Key Values of Bersih 2.0

- DIVERSITY Broad-based support from all ethnic groups, political ideologies, social-economic backgrounds, 93 NGOs
- NON-VIOLENCE Civil disobedience, peaceful protest and adherence to legitimate democratic process.
- NON-PARTISAN Not aligning to any political parties strengthened our integrity and allows us to reach out to all sides.
- CONSULTATIVE Collective decision-making by the Steering Committee (SC) and consultation with endorsing NGOs and other stakeholders.
- **COURAGE** Display of courage by the SC through statements and actions in a restrictive and intimidating environment emboldened the masses.

Key Strategies of Bersih 2.0

- BUILDING ALLIANCES WITH KEY STAKEHOLDERS Legal fraternity, political parties, student groups, 93 other NGOs, global Malaysian support and importantly, government
- MAINTAIN LEGITIMACY THROUGH LEGAL & MORAL POSITIONINGS Basic rights guaranteed under Federal Constitution, non-violent protests
- CLARITY OF MESSAGING, IDENTITY & LEADERSHIP Clear demands for every protests, yellow t-shirts, strong chairpersons & Steering Committees (elections)
- SUSTAINED ADVOCACY BEYOND PROTESTS Over 2,500 statements, 30+ papers/reports, voters awareness campaigns



Bersih 1

10 November 2007

- Kuala Lumpur
- approx.10,000
- Police action/violence
- Majority ethnic Malay **4 demands**
- Clean electoral roll
- Use indelible ink
- Abolish postal voting for soldiers & police
 Free media



9 July 2011

- Kuala Lumpur
- approx.50,000
- Police action/violence
- Majority ethnic
 Malay, more others
 8 Demands:
- Clean the electoral roll
- Reform postal ballot
- Use of indelible ink
- 21-day campaign period
- Free & fair access to media
- Strengthen public institutions
- Stop corruption
- Stop dirty politics





20 April 2012

- Kuala Lumpur + other
 cities + global
- @250,000
- Police action/violence
- Suhakam inquiry confirmed police violence
 8 Demands plus
- EC must resign
- Implement 8 demands before G£13
- Allow international observers





29/30 August 2015

- KL & global
- US\$680mil in PM Najib's account
- @450,000
- Peaceful
- More non-Malay **Demands:**
- Clean elections
- Clean government
- Right to dissent
- Protect parliamentary
- democracy
- Save the economy

Bersih 4 locations







1 Oct to 19 Nov 2016

- Nationwide convoy & rally on 19 Nov
- DOJ expose of 1MDB
- Maria arrested
- @50,000
- Peaceful
- Demands:
- Clean elections
- Clean government
- Right to dissent
- Protect parliamentary democracy
- Empower Sabah & Sarawak

Bersih Convoy

ADIBERSIH 5 ADIBERSIH 5 NEMBER 2016 NEMBER 2016



Promise 15 : Separating the Office of Attorney General from Public Prosecutor
Promise 16 : Restore the dignity of the Parliament
Promise 17 : Ensure transparency and robustness of our election system 47
Promise 18 : Create a political financing mechanism that has integrity 49
Promise 19 : Restore public trust in the judicial and legal institutions 50
Promise 20 : Make the Malaysian Armed Forces and the Royal Malaysia Police a respected and an enviable force
Promise 21 : Empowering the public service
Promise 22 : Make the governance of our GLCs world class at par with international standards
Promise 23 : Ensure government procurement produces the best value for taxpayer's money
Promise 24: Revive the true spirit of federalism
Promise 25 : Strengthen the role and powers of the local authorities 59



After GE14



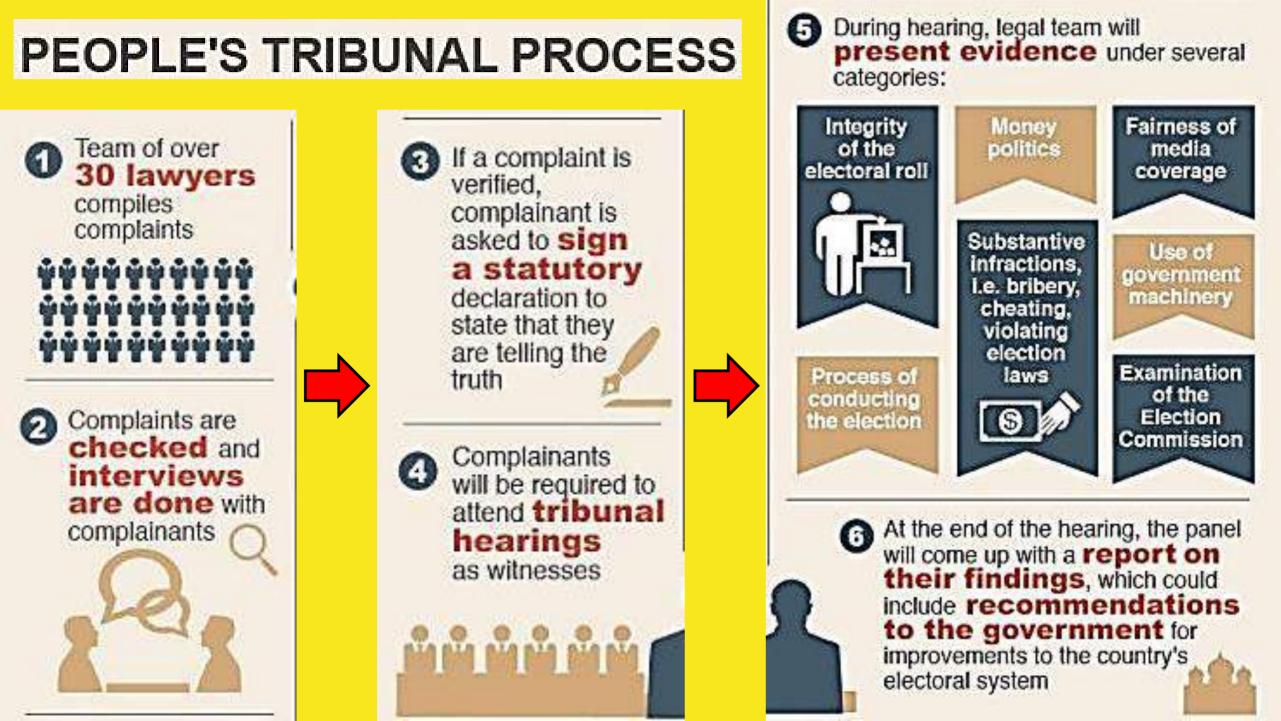


Demanding Reforms on the streets Securing Reforms in Parliament

Innovative Approaches

- In a restrictive political environment, Bersih 2.0 had to innovate within the limited legal space it has in order to get its message out to the public, for we recognize that without mass public support we can do nothing.
- The following are some innovative projects we have undertaken...







WHAT IS **GERRYMANDERING?**

P158

P160

P161

P159

...the manipulation of electoral boundaries for the political advantage of one party/coalition even when it defies other more natural boundaries like those of local authorities

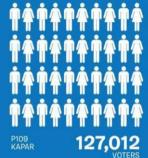
MALAPPORTIONMENT

WHAT IS **MALAPPORTIONMENT?**

Some seats have a lot LESS people



Some seats have a lot MORE people



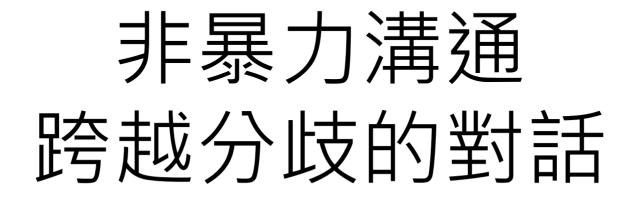




對話實驗室(二) 非暴力溝通:跨越分歧的對話 池衍昌

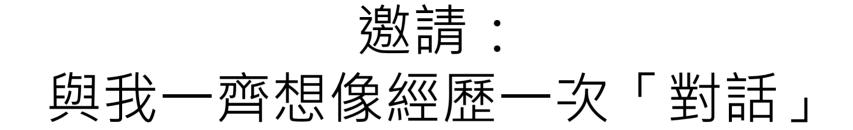
Dialogue Lab (2)

Nonviolent Communication:Talking across Differences Chi Hin Cheong



池

香港未來之路 公衆論壇 2019年11月16日



對話是艱難的

比喻:對話各方一齊 走過地雷陣



- 我好容易會情緒激動,對對方有好多評價、控訴、指罵
- 我會好想糾正、指出對方嘅問題
- •世界觀、政見的爭論,容易有優越感/對錯
- 以強硬方式堅持我要想的解決方案

我會有憤怒、仇恨

我經歷過的痛苦,會以憤怒、仇 恨、指罵、語言和肢體暴力的方 式呈現出來

●控訴、指責、標籤、人身攻撃

- 對立,視對方為問題的主因/敵人
- 強烈的對錯思維,認為對方要負責任、應 接受懲罰



- 接觸到訊息不同、事件的面向地不同
- 對事實有不同的解讀
- 對如何解決問題有不同的想法 / 願望
- 對建議的解決方案有不同理解
- 不信任/懷疑彼此的意向 / 意圖
- 難以相信對方理解和重視我們

在對話進展中,我需要?

互相聆聽的空間

當沒有人願意聆聽時, 對話就已終結

在衝突對話中,首要修 復的是連結

看到彼此的故事和需要

盧旺達和解故事

創造各方共同意願,尋 找回應彼此需要的共贏 方案

重建連繫

●信任自己的需要被重視●明白對方的需要



● 幫助人看到彼此的故事/人性

- 感受和需要是人内心的語言,促進人互相連繫和理解
- 視自己和對方的需要是同等重要
- 解決方案是基於大家的意願和選擇



對話實驗室(三) 社交媒體: 善與惡的距離 Dialogue Lab (3)

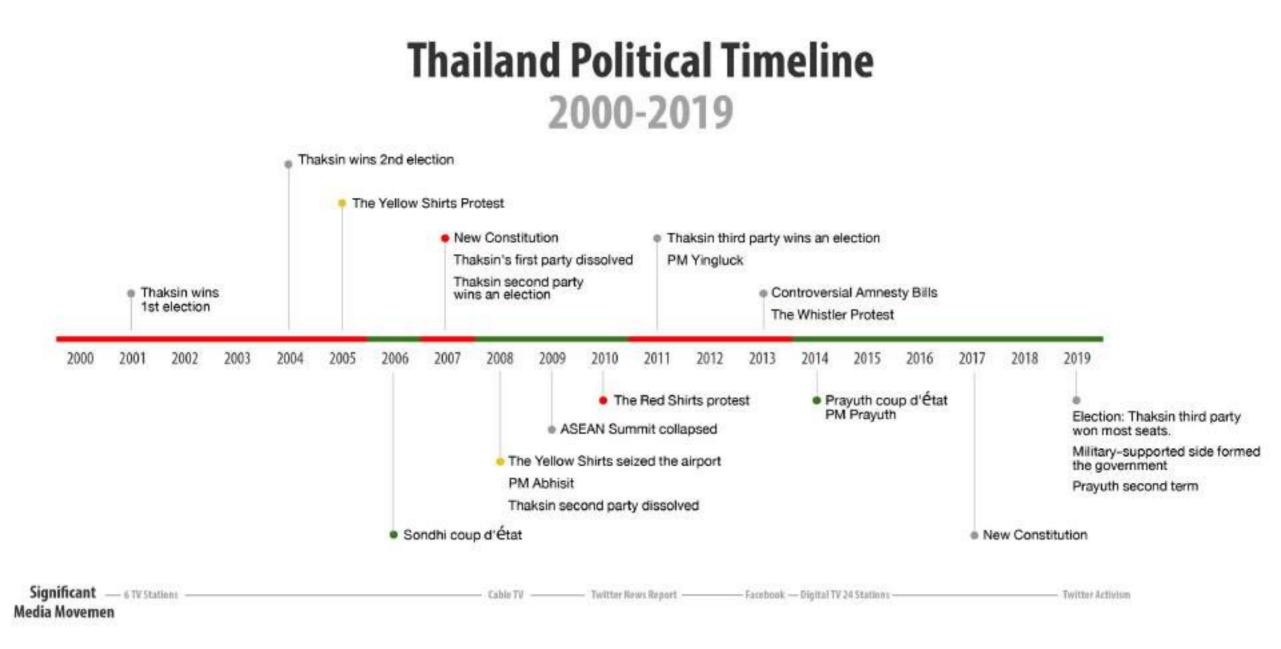
Social Media: Between Angels & Demons

Thailand: Politics and Media 20 Years Timeline

Noppatjak Attanon

WAYS FORWARD: Let's Talk & Listen

A public forum for Hong Kong 16 November 2019





KEY POINTS 2001

- Thaksin wins first election
- No social media
- 6 main TV stations (Free-to-air)



key points 2005-2005

- Red Shirt (pro-Thaksin) protests
- Violence and casualties

- Advent of Cable TV



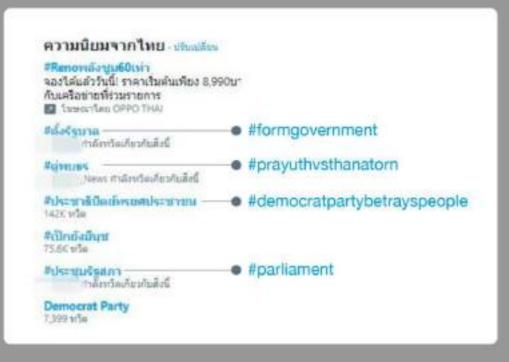
$\frac{\text{KEYPOINTS}}{2014}$

- PDRC "Whistlers" protest
- Protest against Yingluck governmentv

Participate via social media
 especially Facebook



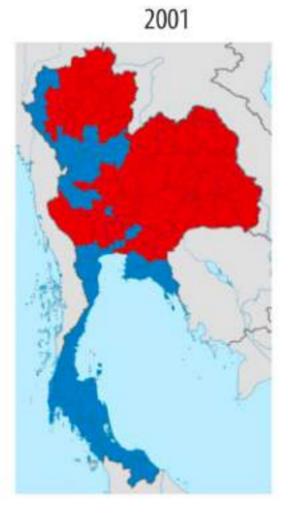




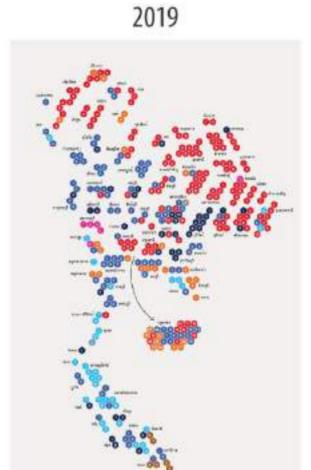
KEY POINTS 2019

- Thaksin party won most seats
- Prayuth formed the government
- Emergence of Future Forward Party
- First time social media plays in all aspects of politics
- Younger generations politically active on twitter

Election Results







Politics & Social Media in Thailand

- * Massive impact
- * Supports plurality
- * Multi-way communications
- * More difficult to control compared to traditional media
- * Instant and impulsive
- * Allows government to monitor

	📧 Hong Kong	Thailand
Population (millions)	7.35	69.04
Internet Usage (%)	78	82
GDP per capita (USD)	46,193	6,593
Size (SQ.KM)	1,106	513,120

Let's Talk & Listen...



對話實驗室(三) 社交媒體: 善與惡的距離 Dialogue Lab (3)

Social Media: Between Angels & Demons

Hong Kong isn't just battling on the streets

Facebook

Instagram

YouTube

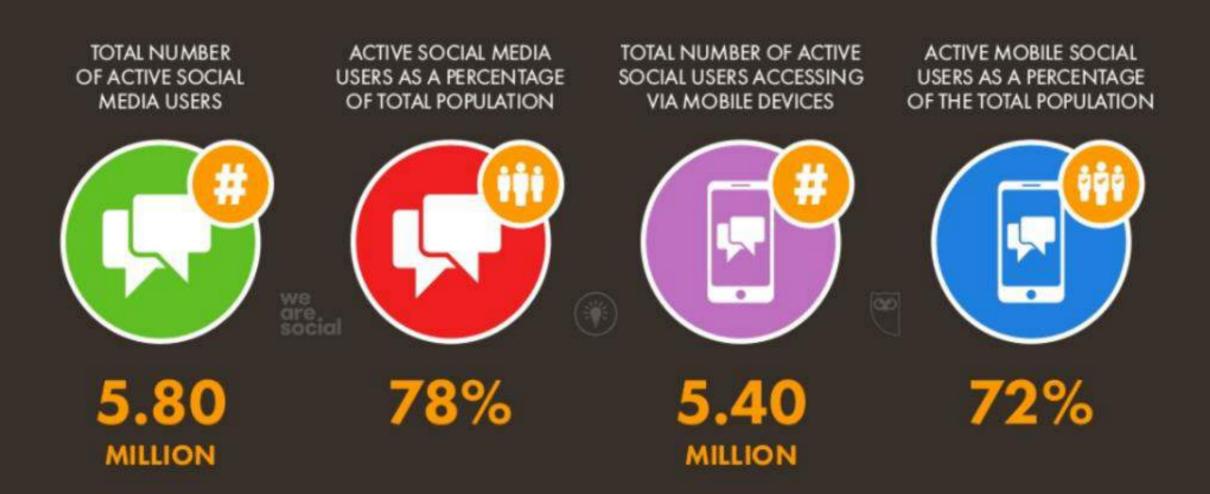


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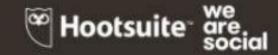
SOCIAL MEDIA OVERVIEW

BASED ON MONTHLY ACTIVE USERS OF THE MOST ACTIVE SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS





SOURCES: LATEST DATA PUBLISHED BY SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS VIA PRESS RELEASES, INVESTOR EARNINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND IN SELF-SERVE ADVERTISING TOOLS; ARAB SOCIAL MEDIA REPORT; TECHRASA; NIKLAGHAEL ROSERU; KENOS ANALYSIS.





Quick Facts (Hong Kong students: social media time)

56% spend 5+ hours/day 32% spend 9+ hours/day

data source: Hong Kong Paediatric Foundation, July 2018

- create and share information only if it matches their beliefs
- comfort zone with no outsiders
- emotional content, hate speech

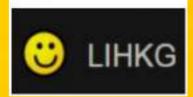




- marginalize or bully in-group members with different views
- "leaderless" call for action
- no one to lead any negotiation







Worst of all: misinformation & fake news

Tweet

坦克裝甲車隊,已經開進深圳!六九 他們決定血腥鎮壓香港人嗎? 0.00/011 938 PM Jun 5, 2019 Twitter for iPhone photo source: CNN, August 2019

Bridging before rebuilding

- a platform for all
- relevant purposes and topics
- high level of public participation
- trusted & representational results
- endorsement from authorities in order to drive impact

3-in-1 online platform to handle polarisation

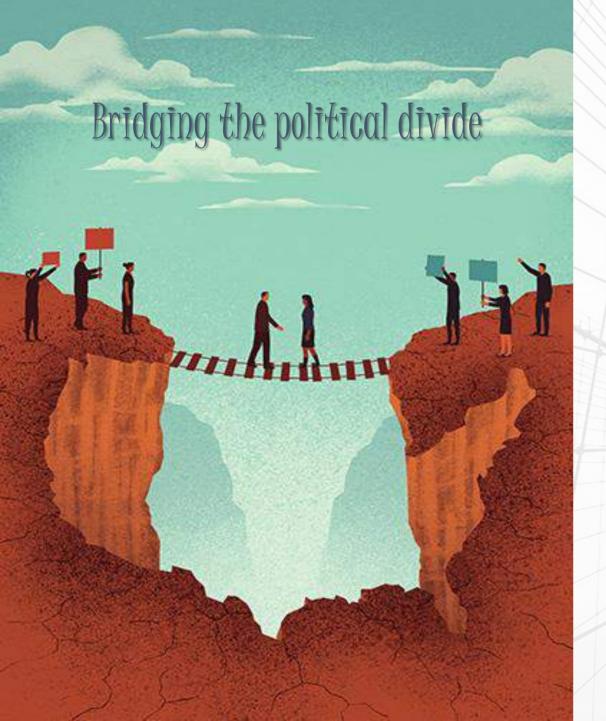
Unbiased Opinion

use online random sampling surveys to track public opinions on selected topic

Public Sentiment

conduct pulse check on public sentiment level to an issue via open online polling Influential Views

initiate qualitative and constructive debates / discussion with limited rules



5 key success factors

- apolitical positioning of initiator
- "1 person 1 voice" & identity protection assurance
- widely respected & transparent topic selection mechanism
- fair rules (fact-based, no personal attack etc.)
- support & inputs from both camps

Let's Talk & Listen

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WAYS FORWARD: Let's Talk & Listen

A Public Forum for Hong Kong <u>http://www.hongkongforward.org/</u> https://www.facebook.com/TheForwardAlliance