

EUROPEAN POLICYBRIEF



Varieties of Populism and Democratic Efficacy: Civic Strategies Addressing Populism

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INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have seen a rising support for populist movements, actors and narratives throughout Europe.¹ This trend is observed in the **increasing number of populist parties represented in Parliaments and Governments.**² Populist narratives come in many shapes and forms: right wing and left wing, authoritarian and non-authoritarian, or strongly nationalist and least nationalist³. In his "Two Faces of Representative Democracy",⁴ Pappas identifies populist models based on three factors: **single cleavage, adversarial politics and majoritarianism**. These factors are opposed to liberal representative democracies based on multiple cleavages, an overlapping consensus and constitutionalism. In short, populist movements are threatening liberal democracies as their fundamental ideas oppose one another. Different liberal actors adopt different approaches to tackle populist narratives, as, for example, reflected in the role of political parties⁵ and in the role of journalism.⁶ One strikingly under-researched area

¹ Louwerse, T., Otjes, S. (2019). *How Populists Wage Opposition: Parliamentary Opposition Behaviour and Populism in Netherlands.* Political Studies, 67(2), 479-495. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0032321718774717#articleCitationDownloadContainer

² Boros, T., Freitas, M., Kadlót, T., Stetter, E. (2016). *The State of Populism in Europe*. FEPS & Policy Solutions, Brussels. Available at: https://www.politico.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/state_of_populism_in_europe_in_2016.pdf

³ Kubát, M., Mejstřík, M. (2020). Populist Parties in Contemporary Europe (Working Paper). Available at: https://openarchive.tk.mta.hu/424/

⁴ Pappas, T. S. (2014). *Populist democracies: Postauthoritarian Greece and Post-communist Hungary*. Government and Opposition, 49(1), 1–23. Available at: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/government-and-opposition/article/populist-democracies-postauthoritarian-greece-and-postcommunist-hungary/C25A68B6B8AD01966AD8C3E6488E7BC7

⁵ Barber, N. W. (2019). Populist leaders and political parties. German Law Journal, 20(2), 129-140. Available at: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/german-law-journal/article/populist-leaders-and-politicalparties/BA883B7AE8798F07E88F85FB66111741

⁶ Krämer, B. (2018). *How Journalism Responds to Right-Wing Populist Criticism*. In: Otto K., Köhler A. (eds). Trust in Media and Journalism. Springer VS, Wiesbaden. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-20765-6_8

is that of projects carried out by civic actors (civil society organisations or movements) aiming at tackling populism. Such projects come in a variety of different shapes and forms and can be identified all over Europe, with a great number of them also being supported with EU funds.

Given the threat of liberal democracies by populist movements, projects tackling populism play an important role in plural societies. A general understanding about whether or how they work is therefore valuable. Answering questions like 'what factors of success can be applied to measure their impact?', 'what are the problems that such projects face and how do project implementers address these challenges?' and 'what elements do managers consider worthy to apply in any future projects?' may help better tackle populism with civic project work in the future.

Therefore we have conducted extensive research on the types of such projects, their applied strategies, the circumstances under which the projects were set up, the challenges they faced, what their indicators for success are and what strategies they would recommend to future projects. Based on this, we formulated recommendations towards the general public and provided guidance for future civil society projects that aim to address populist movements and narratives.

EVIDENCE AND ANALYSIS

There is a great diversity of action taken by civil society and the academic community to tackle populist movements. Every project can do its part to plant the seeds for more democratic, open and pluralistic societies.

We found that the **approaches taken towards addressing populist narratives** in participatory projects were rather open whereas research projects, in contrast, tended to focus on more narrowly defined types of populist narratives (e.g. neo-feudalism, neo-traditionalism).

Participatory projects tended to apply an open approach to defining the narratives addressed in their activities. Some projects, *such as Democracy an idea and an ideal*, chose to establish the narratives together with participants, rather than having a clear definition set from the beginning: "the questions [...] were supposed to be: what is democracy? What is populism?"⁷ Hence, "there was no specific populist narrative that was supposed to be addressed".⁸

The project implementer of *Empowering youth – Countering Populism* started the project from the point that "different countries had different challenges, but we did not know which ones the participants would like to address. [...] The intention was to see what the largest problem they have related to populism in their community is".⁹

Another project implementer (*Europe – Old Roots New Stories*) outlined that they "have not directly worked with populism as a theme"¹⁰ and that their focus was more on "understanding what is behind stereotypes and how to deal with them and how to break them".¹¹

Other projects carried out surveys to find out what participants' thought about populism in the first place (e.g. *Democrisis*).¹²

Two projects took a strikingly different approach, beginning their activities with pre-set narratives but leaving the exact definition to the interpretation of the participants. The *Youth Democracy Academy*

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⁸ Claude Anthierens, Teacher and Librarian, Sint-Lodewijkscollege

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¹⁰ Christian Aigner, Studienrat (Senior Teacher), Gymnasium Wertingen

 ¹¹ Christian Aigner, Studienrat (Senior Teacher), Gymnasium Wertingen
 ¹² Paweł Tempczyk, Coordinator and Vice President, Stowarzyszenie "Poczucia"

addressed "anti-EU narratives"¹³ in a generalised way, whereas *INCLUSION! Actions across boundaries* focused on three separate narratives: the exclusion of marginalised people and minorities, the demonisation of elites and Euroscepticism.¹⁴ One project that stood out for its unique approach to populist narratives was *FACT*, which had the goal of raising awareness while maintaining a research-oriented approach. The project sought to "listen to citizens and see what narratives they hear (incl. right- and left-wing populism)"¹⁵ and by doing so, the project implementers aimed to "check if there are different narratives in the member states".¹⁶ *FACT* constitutes an exception in the way that it carried out research while maintaining an open approach to defining the populist narratives its activities addressed. Although it is difficult to identify specific narratives addressed by the projects, Euroscepticism appears to be a reoccurring issue.

In contrast, more research-focused projects tended to define the populist narratives addressed prior to beginning their project implementation. The narratives defined were more specific, targeted and differentiated. The project implementer of *TruLies* stated that "populism was [...] looked at in the context of Euroscepticism. We unearthed the critiques of the EU, differentiating between hard/soft Euroscepticism and analysing these arguments".¹⁷ Others (*PACE*) explained that they sought to divide narratives into "populist, nativist and anti-democratic narratives".¹⁸ *POPREBEL's* starting point was a conceptual framework "built around two key concepts, designed to approach the different work packages, to focus on slogans embedded in these two concepts: Neo-traditionalism and Neo-feudalism".¹⁹ The narratives addressed by these projects are both detailed and diverse. Euroscepticism is once again a prevalent narrative, but nativist narratives, neo-traditionalism and neo-feudalism were all common subjects of more research-focused projects.

These detailed approaches to addressing populist narratives are not surprising. Academic research places a great emphasis on developing well-defined subjects of investigation, which facilitates focusing on more specific narratives. More participatory or awareness-raising projects, on the other hand, are more likely to address broader populist narratives given that participants are encouraged to play a more central role in their identification and definition.

There are **common strategies applied to tackle populism**, including projects focused on listening to everyone, implementing intercultural training, creating participatory space, identifying and deconstructing populist narratives, and engaging stakeholders. Not all strategies can be carried out at the same time and the most suitable strategy depends on the individual project design and a number of other factors (e.g. goals, resources). Research and awareness-raising projects focused more on identification and deconstruction of populist narratives while participatory projects (e.g. tool creation, multiplier training or educational projects) focused more on intercultural training.

Being part of an organisation or network with a proven track record in implementing projects tackling populist narratives is a clear benefit when starting a new project. Most project managers had previous experience with the implementation of projects tackling populist narratives and their experience proved highly beneficial to their projects. It must be noted that the projects studied are EU-funded projects and, as stated by the interviewees, EU funding applications involve a relatively high administrative effort.

The difficulty associated with **engaging less interested or less active citizens was one of the most common and pressing challenges** in the implementation of project strategies. The question of how / whether or not to include populist actors or narratives was also found to be a difficult question to answer

¹³ Bruno António, Coordinator, DYPALL

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¹⁵ Héctor Sánchez Margalef, Researcher & Project Manager, CIDOB (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs)

¹⁶ Héctor Sánchez Margalef, Researcher & Project Manager, CIDOB (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs)

¹⁷ Representative of Institute for European Politics

¹⁸ Bruce Edmons, Director, Centre for Policy Modelling, Manchester Metropolitan University Business School
¹⁹ Jan Kubik, Professor, Department of Political Science, University College London

for many project managers. Multicultural conflicts that could take place in intercultural training environments (including language barriers) were also a challenge. Aside from the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, the commitment of participants (especially youth) and the bureaucracy associated with this type of project management were also found to be elements that complicated the implementation of project strategies.

Defining the indicators of success for projects tackling populist narratives remained a common

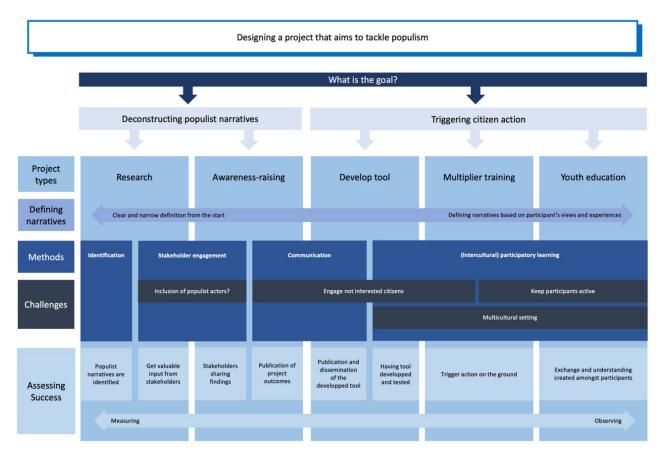
challenge regardless of the individual goals and strategies of the projects. Project managers struggled to identify suitable qualitative approaches to measure their projects, leading the vast majority of projects to use numerical indicators to evaluate their success. There were nevertheless a number of projects that observed the behaviour, participation and impact of activities in order to evaluate their success. Educational youth projects often prioritised the empowerment and personal development of young participants, for example, with the goal of empowering youth to become more active in their local communities and to act as multipliers for the enduring success of their projects. Some project implementers interpreted broader public conversations and discussions surrounding the issues explored in their project as a mark of their success, whereas others prioritised the mid-to-long term sustainability of projects as a means to enacting local change. Regardless of the approach adopted to measure success, all interviewees were adamant that their projects were successful in reaching their goals and, in their own unique ways, contributing to tackling populist narratives.

The project implementers interviewed shared a number of **poignant recommendations for future projects** seeking to address populist narratives. First, projects should seek to listen to all citizens and to understand all perspectives expressed in order to create the most inclusive, approachable environment possible. Second, future projects should seek to embrace self-production by participants and introduce more organic, bottom-up processes to empower participants. Through involving citizens from the planning and design phases through to the implementation stages, projects' participatory activities can evoke a sense of ownership in participants and increase the likelihood of project sustainability. Last, projects can benefit from thinking outside of the box in relation to the physical environment of their activities. Populist narratives transcend national borders and undertaking activities outside of the conventional environment of conference or youth projects can boost the engagement of participants and contribute to more inclusive projects.

In conclusion, while there is **no silver bullet to countering populist movements**, supporting relevant synergies between different projects can help make projects even more effective. Therefore, the shared willingness of all interviewees to connect with one another in the future was a promising finding.

Considering the evidence gathered and based on the analysis conducted, the following **Guide for project Managers** when designing projects that aim to tackle populist narratives, movements and actors was developed. The goal is to provide a first starting point to better understand the overall strategy. This includes the goals, types of projects, how to define the narratives addressed, what methods can be used and the challenges that should be considered as part of a future project. The guide should, however, not be understood as an exhaustive roadmap for a complete project design.

Figure 1 Designing a project that aims to tackle populism



While it is impossible to combine all of the complex, multi-faceted aspects identified as the ingredients of the civic projects tackling populism into simple categories and claim universal validity, this guide aims to provide a starting point for **establishing ideal types of projects**.²⁰ The evidence gathered leads us to believe that **certain types of projects are better suited towards certain goals and require specific methodologies** and sets of measurement criteria to evaluate success.

When applying the guidance practically, however, there may be the need for further modification depending on the environment in which the project is set to be implemented.

As a first step, project managers should decide whether their project aims to deconstruct populist narratives or trigger citizen action.

1. As displayed in *Figure 1*, we have identified two types of projects that serve the goal of deconstructing populist narratives: research projects and awareness-raising projects. **Research projects** are better at identifying populist narratives or engaging stakeholders on the respective topics. When applying the latter methodology, the question of whether or not to include populist actors must be addressed and there are multiple different ways of measuring success. Another type of project that may serve the purpose of deconstructing populist narratives is that of **awareness-raising projects**. These projects can be carried out with the help of stakeholder engagement or solely as communication projects. Projects that seek to engage stakeholders would also have to decide whether or not to include populist actors. The way to measure success would be to assess how broadly stakeholders share the findings of the project. When it comes to communication, the biggest challenge would be to reach out to citizens that may not be interested in engaging with the content in the first place. The assessment of success here would be the numbers of interactions achieved with citizens.

²⁰ See the report 'Mapping of Initiatives, EU Programmes and Projects Countering Populism'

2. An alternative overarching goal may be to trigger citizen action. Here, we have identified three types of projects that can assist this goal.

The first type would be to **develop new tools**. Projects usually focus on communication or intercultural participatory learning as core methods. In both cases, engaging the unengaged is a clear challenge that must be addressed. If managers decide to carry out a communication-based project, the dissemination and the use of the new tool(s) developed could be indicative for measuring its success. In the case of intercultural participatory learning projects, the exchanges between participants when applying the new tool(s) would be the recommended way to observe its success. Additionally, the extent to which other stakeholders use the tool should also be considered when seeking to measure success.

The second type of project identified is one that **trains multipliers**. Project managers in such projects must be mindful about the challenge of keeping multipliers engaged while ensuring that they reach out to people who are more likely to be targeted by populist narratives. The action the project triggers on the ground is the indicator for the success of the project, albeit challenging to measure.

Finally, the third type of project is one that sets up **youth education projects**. These projects would ideally take place in intercultural learning settings and the social and cultural exchanges between participants would serve as indicators for success. Once again, these indicators are challenging to measure. For all intercultural learning experiences, the involvement of a variety of different cultural backgrounds represents a challenge.

It is important to also clarify the **difference between multiplier training and education projects**. Although multiplier training is an educational exercise, the goals of both types of projects differ greatly in terms of their immediate output: youth education projects do not have the primary objective of follow-up actions by participants. Those projects focus on the participants' experience instead (e.g. multicultural setting). This approach is supposed to prevent populist movements from flourishing in the long run by making people's mindsets resilient to populist narratives. These experiences may ultimately also lead to adjusted voting behaviours and civic engagement as a secondary output. In contrast, multiplier training has the immediate goal of triggering direct follow-up action on the ground as a primary output. Every project that aims to tackle populism must eventually define the specific narratives it seeks to address. The evidence shows that **research-based projects that** include **more participatory elements**, **on the other hand**, **may apply a more open approach** to defining narratives. Project managers may choose the narratives addressed together with participants once their experiences and views are understood.

The evidence also shows that certain approaches to addressing populist narratives have a horizontal importance for all projects. If applicable, project managers should be mindful about

- Listening to everyone adopting an inclusive approach.
- Ensuring meaningful participation.
- Enabling the project in alternative environments.

While future projects must take into account the specific environment they operate in and the circumstances in which their activities are implemented, this Guide could be a helpful tool when designing a respective project. By doing so, civic actors can implement actions addressing populism have the potential to be further strengthened and to safeguard liberal democracies in the long run.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While there is **no one-size-fits-all approach to tackling populist narratives** and every project is unique (considering the constituency, funding, goals, etc). the analysis of the ten projects not only shows the great potential for civic responses to populist movements, but also the abundance of possibilities that exist to address them. Implementing smart and innovative projects can be a successful way to prevent populist

actors and narratives from gaining traction. At the same time, projects cannot flourish without **new ideas** or **innovative means of implementation**. This does not only require civil society to support new approaches and strategies for such projects. Also, funders (including public actors) must support the implementation of innovative ideas. Here, a **reduced bureaucratic burden** is an important factor to consider.

Recommendation 1: Sufficient and easy-to-access public funding for (innovative) projects addressing populism must be ensured.

The evidence shows that **projects are not isolated initiatives separated from the work of other societal actors.** Research and awareness-raising projects in particular have great potential to assist political, academic and civil society leaders in providing public alternatives to populist movements and deconstructing populist narratives. In parallel, projects with more participatory approaches can lay the foundation for preventing individuals from supporting populist actors.

Recommendation 2: Policy maker; should become more proactive in using the outcome; of project; addressing populism.

The evidence shows that there are **substantial differences between the different types of projects** in relation to their goals, methodologies, challenges and means of measuring success. However, this does not indicate a patchwork of approaches. This diversity is a clear strength of projects tackling populist narratives and represents great potential for improved synergies. At first glance, it might be difficult to draw a connection between a project addressing young people, which engages youth politically in their local community, and an academic project that undergoes theoretical research on populist narratives. Yet, upon closer inspection, these two projects may be able to **benefit from one another and support each other**. Project managers who design educational youth projects can build upon the findings of researchers when defining the goals of their projects. At the same time, researchers can make use of the outcomes of participatory projects to better formulate their strategies to counter populist narratives.

Recommendation 3: More synergies between different types of projects should be enabled to embrace the added value of diversity of the projects addressing populism.

All interviewees in the study stated that they would be interested in **joining a network of initiatives or projects that aim to tackle populist movements**. The potential for further cooperation between projects in the future is twofold: on the one hand, projects with similar scopes, goals or problems can discuss among themselves how to best overcome common challenges. On the other hand, a community of civic actors aiming to tackle populism can share their approaches and display the diversity of their projects to cultivate new synergies and innovation. This would facilitate dedicated channels for exchange and communication on projects addressing populist movements.

Recommendation 4: Civil society actors should establish dedicated channels to facilitate the exchange of expertise between project managers addressing populism.

The findings show that there has been a large variety of projects implemented in the field globally in recent years. While the selection for this study is based on carefully chosen criteria, we cannot claim absolute representativeness. The assessment of the efficiency of the different strategies identified is based to a large extent on the views and experiences of its interviewees. However, the observations included remain valuable and reliable sources of information, especially when considering the common interest of all project managers to contribute to the broader community tackling populist narratives.

Research Parameters

In order to illustrate different civic strategies addressing the populist challenge, ten projects were selected as case studies in a five-step process:

- 1. extensive desk research on different databases of EU funding programs and further sources (mainly foundations);
- 2. the identification of four relevant EU funding programs (Erasmus+, Horizon2020, Europe for Citizens, Creative Europe) and 13 further sources, resulting in a selection of 338 projects;
- 3. the analysis of the respective project descriptions;
- 4. the identification of 31 projects that are generally relevant in light of the conceptual framework and
- 5. the identification of 10 projects that best fit the established conceptual framework and goals (the detailed selection process is outlined in the DEMOS report '*Mapping of Initiatives, EU Programmes and Projects Countering Populism*', June 2020 by ECAS).

Table 1 Case selection based on the report 'Mapping of Initiatives, EU Programmes and Projects Countering Populism'

Funding program	Project name	Project leader	Project type
Erasmus+	INCLUSION! Actions across boundaries	Internationale Akademie Berlin für Pädagogik, Psychologie und Ökonomie, DE	Awareness-raising
Horizon 2020	Populism And Civic Engagement – a fine-grained, dynamic, context-sensitive and forward-looking response to negative populist tendencies (PACE)	The Manchester Metropolitan University, UK	Developing New Innovative Tools
Horizon 2020	Populist rebellion against modernity in 21st-century Eastern Europe: neo-traditionalism and neo- feudalism (POPREBEL)	University College London, UK	Research
Foundation: Stiftung Mercator	TruLies – The Truth about Lies on Europe	Institute for European Politics, DE	Research
Erasmus+	Empowering youth - Countering populism	European intercultural Forum e.V., DE	Educating/training young people and youth workers
Erasmus+	Europe - Old Roots, New Stories	Gymnasium Wertingen, DE	Educating/training young people and youth workers
Erasmus+	DEMOcrisis, fostering active citizenship in times of crisis	Stowarzyszenie "Poczucia", PL	Educating/training young people and youth workers
Erasmus+	Media4Democracy*	Europäisches Gymnasium Bertha- von-Suttner, DE	Developing New Innovative Tools
Erasmus+	Youth Democracy Academy	Dypall, PT	Educating/training young people and youth workers
Europe For Citizens	Centre for International Information and Documentation in Barcelona	Centre for international information and documentation, ES	Awareness-raising
Erasmus+	Democracy an idea and an ideal**	Sint-Lodewijkscollege, BE	Developing New Innovative Tools

*Project implementers did not reply to request for interview; **Replacement for 'Media4Democracy'

We approached the project implementers of the ten projects selected and invited them to an online interview. All but one project implementer (*Media4Democracy*) agreed to such an interview. An eleventh project (*Democracy an idea and ideal*) was therefore chosen based on the following criteria: it was shortlisted in the report '*Mapping of Initiatives, EU Programmes and Projects Countering Populism*', funded by Erasmus+ and fell in the category of '*Developing New Innovative Tools*'. Before carrying out the interviews, a privacy statement was signed by all interviewees involved. The interviews were semi-structured, consisting of a set of twelve questions and were carried out between October and December 2020.

This policy brief is based on the evidence, the analysis and the recommendations, including the developed guidance for managers of possible future projects that aim to tackle populism, collected and developed by the European Citizen Action Service (ECAS), following the above described methodology.

PROJECT IDENTITY PROJECT NAME 'Democratic Efficacy and the Varieties of Populism in Europe' — 'DEMOS' COORDINATOR Centre for Social Sciences (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre of Excellence), Budapest, Hungary. Contact email address: Zsolt BODA, Principal Investigator. Email: Boda.Zsolt@tk.mta.hu TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KUTATOKOZPONT (Centre for Social Sciences), Budapest, CONSORTIUM Hungary UNIVERSITAET HAMBURG (UHAM), established in MITTELWEG 177, HAMBURG 20148, Germany UNIWERSYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU (AMU), established in ul. Henryka Wieniawskiego 1, POZNAN 61712, Poland KAUNO TECHNOLOGIJOS UNIVERSITETAS (KTU), established in K DONELAICIO 73, KAUNAS 44249, Lithuania Elliniko Idryma Evropaikis kai Exoterikis Politikis (HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY) (ELIAMEP), established in VASILISSIS SOFIAS AVENUE 49, ATHENS 106 76, Greece SKOLA KOMUNIKACIE A MEDII NO (SKAMBA), established in HANDLOVSKA 45, BRATISLAVA 851 01, Slovakia. UNIVERSITET ZA POSLOVNI INZENJERINGI MENADZMENT (PEM), established in DESPOTA STEFANA LAZAREVICA BB, BANJA LUKA 78000, Bosnia and Herzegovina UNIVERZITA KARLOVA (CUNI), established in OVOCNY TRH 560/5, PRAHA 1 116 36, **Czech Republic** EUROPEAN CITIZEN ACTION SERVICE (ECAS), established in AVENUE DE LA TOISON D OR 77, BRUXELLES 1060, Belgium UNIVERSITA DEGLI STUDI DI TORINO (UNITO), established in VIA GIUSEPPE VERDI 8, TORINO 10124, Italy THE GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY (GCU), established in Cowcaddens Road, City Campus 70, GLASGOW G4 0BA, United Kingdom. UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM (UVA), established in SPUI 21, AMSTERDAM 1012WX, Netherlands KOBENHAVNS UNIVERSITET (UCPH), established in NORREGADE 10, KOBENHAVN 1165, Denmark UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA (UB), established in GRAN VIA DE LES CORTS CATALANES 585, BARCELONA 08007, Spain and UNIVERSITE PARIS I PANTHEON-SORBONNE (UP1), established in Place du Pantheon 12, PARIS 75231, France. **FUNDING SCHEME** Horizon 2020 Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020), Societal Challenge 6 – 'Europe in a changing world: inclusive, innovative and reflective societies', topic GOVERNANCE-03-2018 'Addressing populism and boosting civic and democratic engagement'.

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BUDGET	EU contribution: € 3,037,781.25	
WEBSITE	https://demos-h2020.eu/	
FOR MORE INFORMATION	Contact: Zsolt Boda, Principal Investigator, email: <u>Boda.Zsolt@tk.mta.hu</u> Vinicius Gorczeski, Communications Manager, email: <u>Vinicius.Gorczeski@tk.mta.hu</u>	
FURTHER MATERIALS	www.demos-h2020.eu/ www.twitter.com/DEMOS_H2020 www.facebook.com.DEMOSH2020 www.youtube.com/DEMOSH2020 www.anchor.fm/demos-h2020	