

ADVOCACY RESOURCE HANDBOOK

Developed by the Advocacy Institute for
Tamkeen Project & Palestinian Civil Society Groups

PHASE II: Fellows Program
May 2004
West Bank & Gaza

ADVOCACY INSTITUTE

MAKING SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP STRATEGIC, EFFECTIVE, AND SUSTAINABLE

1629 K STREET, NW, SUITE 200, WASHINGTON, DC 20006-1629
TEL : 202-777-7575 FAX : 202-777-7577 WWW.ADVOCACY.ORG

“You must be the change you wish to see in the world.”

Mohandas K. Ghandi, 1869-1948, Political and Social Activist

“We ask ourselves: Who am I to be brilliant, gorgeous, talented, fabulous? Who are you not to be? Your playing small does not serve the world. There is nothing enlightened about shrinking so that others won't feel insecure around you. We were born to make manifest the glory of God that is within us. It's not just in some of us: it's in everyone.”

By Marianne Williamson. An American Author and Lecturer

“Large change doesn't come from clever, quick fixes; from smart, tense people; but from long conversations and silences among people who know different things and need to learn different things.”

Anne Herbert, Contemporary American Writer and Activist

“Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home -- so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.”

Eleanor Roosevelt, 1884-1962, former Chairperson of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights

“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 1929-1968, Civil Rights Movement Leader

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	7
A Comparison of Dialogue and Debate	9
Defining Advocacy	11
Advocacy Approaches.....	17
Leadership	21
Demystifying Power.....	23
Strategy Planning	25
Uses of Information	43
Outreach and Mobilization.....	45
Coalition Building	49
Media Advocacy	53
Lobbying	55
Conflict Management.....	59
Story Circle Process.....	61

INTRODUCTION

The Advocacy Resource Handbook is an effort to distill essentials of social justice advocacy and leadership practiced in different parts of the world and in varied cultures. The handbook is designed to provide the tools and a conceptual understanding of advocacy that will enable you as social justice advocacy participants to deal with the demanding situations you face in overcoming resource disparity and achieving gender equality. Resource allocation equity in services and gender equality are central to attaining fairness and justice for people deprived of their justice.

This handbook offers practical tools and working definitions of elements of advocacy (e.g., power, politics, coalitions and lobbying) which should be discussed, argued about, modified or substantially changed based on your experience and understanding. Each section, including those on leadership and strategy planning, is designed to open up discussion. Our purpose is not to provide set answers to age-old questions.

The Advocacy Resource Handbook draws on stories and experiences shared by advocates who have participated in our multi-week leadership development, capacity building and advocacy programs. Participants in those programs have come from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Eastern and Central Europe and North America. We also referenced and quoted from the following: *Advocacy for Social Justice* (2001) a publication jointly authored by the Advocacy Institute (David Cohen and Rosa de la Vega) and Oxfam America (Gabrielle Watson), materials from The Midwest Academy, the Coady International Institute *Advocacy and Networking Manual* (2003), and *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation* (2002) by Lisa VeneKlasen with Valerie Miller.

The Advocacy Resource Handbook is a work in continuous process. It directly applies learning gained from social justice leadership advocates. Guided by your experience and knowledge, tell us what you think. We eagerly await your comments and would love to know if and when you refer to it in your work. Just write info@advocacy.org.

Advocacy Leaders Program Team
Advocacy Institute
February 2004

A COMPARISON OF DIALOGUE AND DEBATE

Dialogue is a collaborative: two or more sides work together toward common understanding.
Debate is oppositional: two sides oppose each other and attempt to prove each other wrong.

In dialogue, finding common ground is the goal.
In debate, winning is the goal.

In dialogue, one listens to the other side(s) in order to understand, find meaning, find agreement.
In debate, one listens to the other side to find flaws and to counters its argument.

Dialogue enlarges and possibly changes a participant's point of view.
Debate affirms a participant's own point of view.

Dialogue reveals assumptions for re-evaluation.
Debate defends assumptions as truth.

Dialogue causes introspection on one's own position.
Debate causes critique of the other position.

Dialogue opens the possibility of reaching a better solution than any of the original solutions.
Debate defends one's own positions as the best solution and excludes other solutions.

Dialogue creates an open-minded attitude; Openness to being wrong and openness to change.
Debate creates a close-minded attitude, a determination to be right.

In dialogue, one submits one's best thinking, knowing that other peoples' reflections will help improve it rather than destroy it.
In debate, one submits one's best thinking and defends it against challenge to show that it is right.

Dialogue calls for temporarily suspending one's beliefs.
Debate calls for investing wholeheartedly in one's beliefs.

In dialogue, one searches for basic agreements.
In debate, one searches for glaring differences.

In dialogue, one searches for strengths in the other positions.
In debate, one searches for flaws and weaknesses in the other position.

Dialogue involves a real concern for the other person and seeks not to alienate or offend.
Debate involves a countering of the other position without focusing on feelings or relationship and often belittles or deprecates the other person.

Dialogue assumes that many people have pieces of the answer and that together they can put them into a workable solution.

Debate assumes that there is a right answer and that someone has it.

Dialogue remains open-ended.

Debate implies a conclusion.

Adapted from a paper by Shelley Berman, which was based on discussions of the Dialogue Group of the Boston Chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR).

DEFINING ADVOCACY¹

Advocacy is conceptualized in many different ways by theorists such as Michael Edwards, Alan Fowler and Kumi Naidoo among others, and practiced in many different ways by activists and their organizations around the world, as well as by advocates in the corporate and government sectors. Depending on the issue, context and catalyst, advocacy can be either a top-down or a bottom-up process.

The Chambers Dictionary defines advocacy as “to call a cause to a higher tribunal,” while the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as “speaking for another” or “in favor of a proposal.

Some describe advocacy as the process of using information strategically to change policies, programs, laws and behaviors that affect the lives of disadvantaged people. For Michael Edwards (1993), the aim of advocacy in the global context is:

“...to alter the ways in which power, resources and ideas are created, consumed and distributed at a global level, so that people and organizations in the South have a more realistic chance of controlling their own development.”

For grassroots organizations and national civil society organizations in South Africa who are involved in advocacy work, the word has other meanings:

- Advocacy is an action directed at changing the policies, positions or programs of any type of institution.
- Advocacy is pleading for, defending or recommending an idea before other people.
- Advocacy is speaking up, drawing a community’s attention to an important issue, and directing decision-makers towards a solution.
- Advocacy is working with other people and organizations to make a difference.
- Advocacy is putting a problem on the agenda, providing a solution to that problem and building support for acting on both the problem and solution.
- Advocacy can aim to change an organization internally or to alter an entire system.
- Advocacy can involve many specific, short-term activities to reach a long-term vision of change.
- Advocacy consists of different strategies aimed at influencing decision-making at the organizational, local, provincial, national and international levels.

¹ Coady International Institute: Advocacy and Networking Manual, 2003

- Advocacy strategies can include lobbying; social marketing; information, education and

Advocacy: A working definition

Advocacy consists of organized efforts and actions based on the reality of “what is.” These organized actions lift invisible issues that have been neglected to influence public attitudes and policies so that the reality of what “should be” in a just and decent society becomes a reality. Advocacy works to get results that enable people to access and influence those who make decisions that affect their lives. It means confronting the distortions of power coming from institutions that affect people’s lives. Institutions need change and people’s lives need to be improved.

Ten Lessons from Social Justice Advocacy²

Around the world social justice advocates want to reflect on their experiences, and understand the political, economic, social and cultural contexts in which their efforts have taken place. These advocates are initiators and event makers. They are part of social movements larger than their immediate geographic community. Increasingly these organized actions are part of trans-national efforts.

Ten lessons from social justice advocates:

1. Draw on your own source of power to create change. Understand your history and culture to do so.
2. Social change creates threats and risks. Be prepared to face them and work with others to overcome them.
3. People-centered advocacy is needed for far-reaching change.
4. Public support requires public argument.
5. Public argument requires public spaces for people to discuss, deepen understanding and reach a result.
6. Advocates must learn and engage policy-making systems.

² Cohen, David; De la Vega, Rosa; and Watson, Gabrielle; 2001. Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide. USA, Kumarian Press, Inc.

7. Stories provide tremendous power to those who tell the story and those who listen to it.
8. Advocates need to innovate and that requires their organizations to be learning ones.
9. Effective leadership is critical to strengthening movements over the long term. People who can lead and follow model effective leadership.
10. It is easier to destroy a movement than build one. Guard what is constructed to enable movement building to continue.

Advocacy: How to recognize it:

- Advocacy helps citizens be aware of their power, and use this power to effectively participate in the decision making process.
- Advocacy works for the collective (versus private) good.
- Advocacy uses many tools and techniques. Some of the tools are information, coalition building, media advocacy, and lobbying.
- Advocacy sets public agendas.
- Organizations initiate, innovate and invent actions and ideas to organize change in public attitudes and policies.

What are the characteristics of advocacy?

- Advocacy asks something of others.
- Advocacy creates demands on the political and policy systems.
- Advocacy deals with issue conflicts that are otherwise avoided.
- Advocacy creates an issue experience for participants that they would not otherwise have.
- Advocacy engages people in policy formulation and implementation.
- Recognizes the power and politics are a part of, and critically influence, people's quality of life

What are the personal and institutional benefits of social justice advocacy?

- Advocacy builds confidence in the individual and the group.
- Advocacy makes public processes understandable to people.
- Advocacy recognizes that all are needed to accomplish advocacy advances.
- Advocacy gives people the ability to deal with groups outside of their own.
- Advocacy teaches people to use modern methods of communication.
- Advocacy overcomes isolation.
- Advocacy reinforces the value of being part of something larger than oneself.

Why is public argument central to social justice advocates?

- It gains legitimacy for the organized effort, its ideas and proposals.
- It establishes the authority and credibility of the organization and its ideas.
- It helps resolve differences by making them part of public debate and discussion.
- It creates the possibility of reaching full or partial agreement on unresolved issues.

How do social justice advocates organize public argument?

They:

- Make room for their constituents, or their representatives, to participate.
- Gather anecdotes.
- Organize collection of facts.
- Observe and report to their constituents what they see and learn.
- Interview people who know from experience.
- Use independent outside information including official government documents.
- Create knowledge by using data, classifying it and understanding the relationship among the available facts.

ANTICIPATED ADVOCACY OUTCOMES³

3

Citizens are aware of their power, and use this power to influence the decision making process.

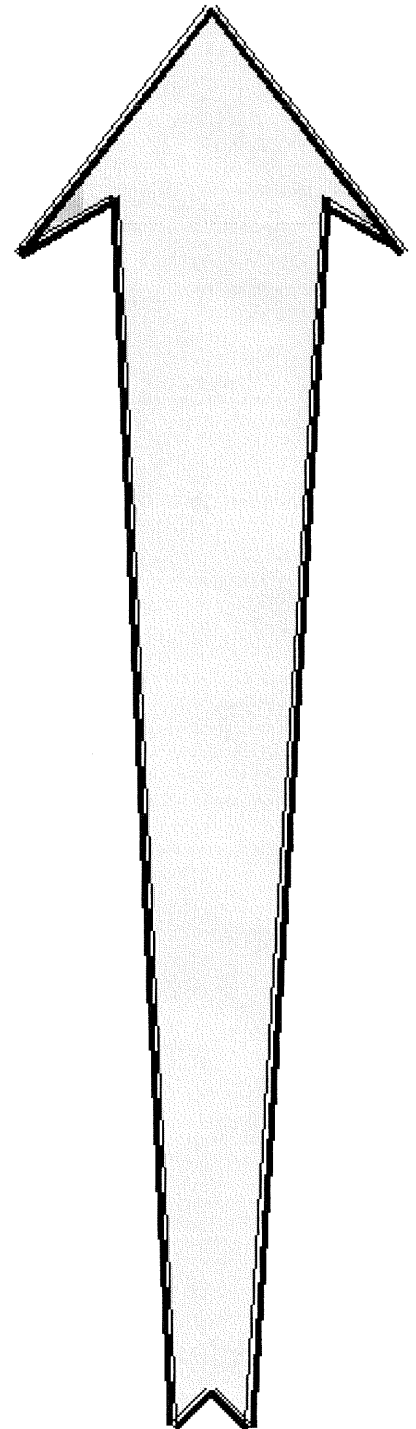
2

The decision making process is changed toward more:

- Involvement of citizens
- Accountability
- Transparency

1

A problem is dealt with by having a law amended, a policy made, decree issued, etc.



³ Developed by Nader Tadros, 2000.

ADVOCACY APPROACHES

According to Edwards and Hulme (1993), two British researchers and writers on international advocacy, NGO advocacy usually takes two forms:

- **attempts to influence global level process, structures and ideologies (abolitionist approach):** which requires a huge base of support to achieve its aims, is likely to be confrontational and publicly critical of dominant ideology, involves high stakes and includes calls for lifestyle changes, e.g. consumption practices
- **attempts to influence specific policies, programs or projects (reformist approach):** which is more likely to take place behind closed doors, is co-operative rather than confrontational; aims for incremental reform

In the Advocacy Sourcebook (1997), Jane Covey and Valerie Miller present another view. They write that too frequently an advocacy campaign's success is defined solely in terms of winning immediate legislative or policy victories (as in the reformist approach above) – which ignores whether a group has attained the strength or capacities to sustain those gains over the long haul. Without strong NGO and grassroots groups able to hold governments and corporations accountable over time, policy victories will be short lived, and in some case cases winning those victories can actually weaken groups. Leaders can become so focused on advocacy that they lose touch with or do not involve their base in any meaningful way, thus alienating members from the process. If this happens, the ability of groups to sustain their power and organizational energy for the long process ahead of monitoring the implementation and enforcement of policy changes is significantly diminished. Incorporating these other dimensions of impact beyond just immediate policy victories, therefore, is crucial. This kind of multi-dimensional approach allows for a more complete analysis and understanding of the campaign's overall effectiveness and potential for long-term impact.

IMPACT FRAMEWORK

Covey and Miller propose that for sustainable change to occur, impact must be successfully achieved at three levels:

At the policy level – where success is winning a desired policy, program or behavioral change in institutions or decision-makers.

At the level of civil society – where success is strengthening non-governmental and grassroots groups to be capable of holding government and private sector institutions accountable and responsive to community needs.

At the level of democracy – where success is increased political space for NGOs and popular organizations to operate without repression and opposition to their participation in politics. They have legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of influential others in society and the world at large.

Covey and Miller also present a different framework for looking at NGO advocacy approaches. They write that since power is embedded within the institutions that define our society and our daily life, from the family, through neighborhood associations, religious groups, corporations, the courts, and governmental and international agencies, it is an essential ingredient to effective advocacy and social change. Yet how does power work in the political process? How does it affect advocacy? Who gets access to power and influence? Who is denied power? And what do grassroots organizations and NGOs need to do in order to promote more balanced relations of power? The ways in which organizations answer these questions shape their approaches to advocacy and their long-term effectiveness. When groups do not ask themselves these kinds of questions, they may develop advocacy strategies that do not respond to the power relations in their societies.

The authors identify three common advocacy and empowerment approaches that take into consideration the questions they raise about power. These are presented separately for analytical purposes, recognizing that the boundaries between them are never neat and can sometimes overlap and change.

Public Interest Approaches

- based on a pluralistic idea of power
- organizations which use this approach tend to use professionals and expert lobbyists who mount policy campaigns to bring their client group's special interests to the political table
- assumes the political system is essentially open and fair and that people only need help in articulating and pressing their interests to get their concerns addressed
- does not usually concern strengthening or organizing grassroots groups beyond basic skills related to their campaigns such as writing letters to politicians
- based on the premise that a policy change is enough to get concerns addressed and that lobbyists, related experts and accurate, persuasive information are fundamental for achieving change
- *"advocacy for the people"* (impact at the policy level)

Citizen Action Approaches

- advocates of this approach recognize that the political arena is not egalitarian; barriers prevent certain groups in society from participating in or gaining access to the political process
- power is not about who wins and loses on important issues, but about determining what issues and actors get to the table in the first place
- to get their voices heard, people need to be organized around common grievances and learn how to use power in order to bring their views into the system
- grassroots groups need to be built, strengthened and brought together in powerful coalitions to address the discriminatory structures present in the system
- NGOs help to ensure people can participate in the process
- *"advocacy with and by the people"* (impact at the policy and civil society levels)

Transformational Approaches

- advocates using this approach have a different view of power and how it should be exercised
- believe politicians and society marginalize certain groups from the political system through a process of self-blame and misinformation, or by denying information; as a result, people come to internalize their oppression (Freire), and a sense of “learned helplessness”
- requires a strong education component to help people develop greater political awareness, confidence and sense of their rights so they can work to acquire the necessary information, participate in public decisions and transform the structures that operate against them, both locally and globally
- need to change media and educational systems
- “*advocacy by the people*” and “*people power*” (impact at the policy, civil society and democracy levels)

LEADERSHIP

Effective leadership is central to improving people's lives. Resourceful leadership in civil society, and outside of it, can bring about positive and lasting changes. Understanding leadership processes among social change practitioners is critical to advance changes that lead to a just and equitable society. Leadership is critical for advocates to move an effort from discussion to action to some form of completion.

Leadership is present in unexpected places. It shows itself in ways that surprise many including those who exercise power. To appreciate such leadership, the following questions can be asked:

- What kinds of leadership get results?
- What are its principal qualities?
- How does it sustain itself beyond individual efforts?
- Does it have to be inspirational?
- How does it derive meaning for others?
- What qualities make it strategic?
- What do practitioners need to know about its social context?
- Must leadership be strategic in relation to others in civil society and those who exercise power?

Identifying and Naming Leadership Qualities

People can exercise leadership in many ways. Sometimes they can exercise it in more than one way. Never can it be exercised in all ways. Leadership is exercised in these ways:

- Role models and mentors;
- Visionaries who think in the long term;
- Strategists who identify the part of the vision that is attainable;
- Historians who keep a movement's memory alive and collect stories;
- Resource mobilizers who cut through institutional inertia;
- Statespersons who provide credibility and authority;
- Communicators who use symbols and metaphors to help educate the various publics;
- Organizers who assemble others to raise the stakes and make the powerful uneasy;
- Inside negotiators who know the system and use that knowledge to apply pressure to the powerful; and
- Generalists who bring many years of experience to the effort.

Leadership Styles

Comparing *traditional* leadership styles with *emerging* styles helps us understand why the emerging ones strengthen social justice advocacy. Just as learning is every participant's responsibility so is finding the ways that use a person's strengths to exercise leadership.

<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Emerging</u>
authoritarian	participatory
hierarchical	empowering
elitist	democratic
information hoarder	information sharer
results oriented	people-centered
single leader, rescuer	cooperative and shared
vertical	horizontal
manipulative	transparent
leaders born	leaders made

Traditional leadership uses "power" over organizations and members. It creates an environment of command and control. Emerging leadership contrasts with traditional leadership and focuses on participation, cooperation and learning. People employ their power to influence public agendas and improve their lives.

Emerging leadership recognizes that renewal, reflection and sustenance are necessary to sustain effective leadership in the pursuit of social justice's agenda.

DEMYSTIFYING POWER

“Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.” – Paulo Freire

To get a handle on the diverse sources and expressions of power—both positive and negative—the following distinctions about how we see power can be useful⁴.

Power Over

Power With

Power to

Power Within

⁴ VeneKlasen, Lisa and Miller, Valerie, 2002. A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen participation. World Neighbors, Oklahoma, USA.

STRATEGY PLANNING

Strategy Planning: A working definition

Strategy planning is a disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions and actions that shape and guide an organization on an advocacy issue.

Strategy planning is at the core of effective advocacy efforts. It can help you:

- **Assess your particular situation**, including the current reality, your sources of power and current capacity, and possible starting points for creating change.
- **Select achievable objectives** for getting started.
- **Create an action plan**, including how to use your resources, what capacities to build, and which actions, tactics and tools to use.
- **Navigate the little victories**, setbacks, compromises, unexpected opportunities, and uncertainties that line the road to the long-term change you want to achieve.

Steps in the Strategic Planning Process:

Step 1 – Articulate a Mission

Step 2 – Identify Short Term Objectives

Step 3 – Assess the Environment (Internal Advantages and Challenges; External Threats and Opportunities)

Step 4 – Select a Strategy that Best Fits Your Issue and Your Organization

Step 5 – Develop an Initial Action Plan and Next Steps

Step 6 – Review Progress

ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

Definition

The word strategy comes from the Greek word “strategia.” It is a broad plan for achieving an end.

Often citizens and their organizations use a combination of several different strategies to achieve their advocacy goals. Generally speaking, these advocacy and empowerment strategies can be grouped into six categories based on their primary purpose or core activity. They include the following:

BUILDING THE CONSTITUENCY FOR CHANGE

Main purpose is to raise awareness, educate, organize and mobilize those affected by the problem/issue, or are interested in it, to get involved and take action.

CO-OPERATION STRATEGIES

Main purpose is to build collaboration between community groups, the state and/or business sectors to disseminate innovations, provide state services, or improve local infrastructure.

EDUCATION STRATEGIES:

Main purpose is to build political awareness and raise critical consciousness; involves strengthening NGOs and POs to express themselves, providing information or collaborating in gathering data, analysis, and developing policy alternatives.

PERSUASION STRATEGIES

Main purpose is to use information, analysis and citizen mobilization to press for change. Often involves lobbying and using the mass media to influence policy makers and public opinion. Strong communication and negotiation skills and the use of numbers to demonstrate clout are keys to success using this strategy.

LITIGATION STRATEGIES

Main purpose is to promote social and economic change by using the court system to test and challenge laws and institutions.

CONFRONTATION STRATEGIES

Main purpose is to use direct action to challenge and draw attention to negative policy impacts and to bring greater pressure for political change than in other strategies; can involve non-violent or violent approaches to direct action.

¹ Coady International Institute: Advocacy and Networking Manual, 2003

MAPPING THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE⁵

An advocacy strategy will vary depending on the nature of the government in power. Political scientists interested in political transitions describe different “regime types.” This is useful for determining the level of political risk and the possibility for change. They describe three regime types as following:

Pre-transition (less open)

- Centralized power, rule is sometimes vested in one person
- One party and/or low tolerance for opposition
- No or minimal public dissent
- Minimal freedom of association
- Controlled media
- Public avoidance of state (apolitical)

Transition (opening up)

Stage 1: Political liberalization

- State exploring idea of considering legal change
- Relaxing restrictions on individual and group rights and freedoms
- Controlled permission given to citizens and opposition to engage in the public arena

Stage 2: Democratic Transition

- Increased opportunities for political competition
- Increased public dissent and engagement with the state
- More active opposition
- Negotiations between government and citizens and opposition
- Elections
- Re-writing constitutions

⁵ Coady International Institute: Advocacy and Networking Manual, 2003

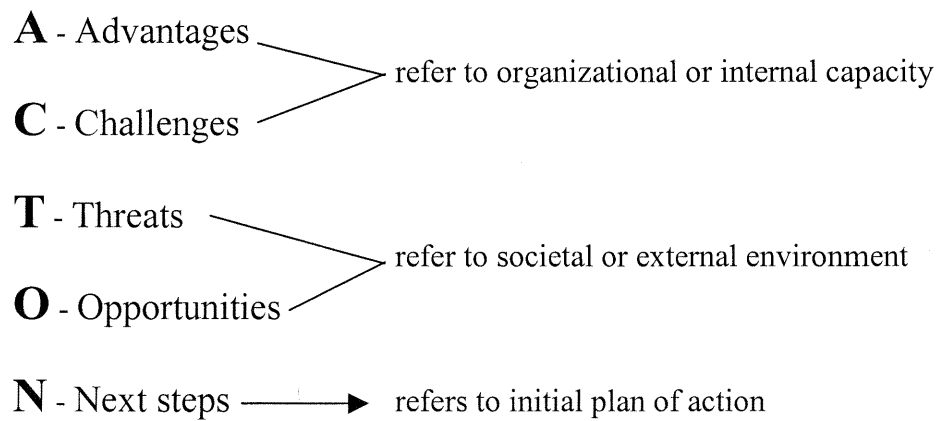
Consolidation of more open (democratic) system

- Fair and free elections
- Emerging public debate and public opinion
- Increased tolerance for dissent
- Increased conflict among different social and ethnic groups
- Creation of institutions for public participation
- Strengthening rule of law, independence of judiciary
- Growing public expectation of government
- Growing awareness of citizen rights and responsibilities

The opportunities for and the nature of advocacy strategies are extremely different in each one of these contexts. Advocacy opportunities also depend on the number and types of associations in civil society who can join together to create a momentum for change.

“ACT – ON”

A Tool for Assessing your Environment and Creating an Initial Strategic Plan



CHECKLIST FOR CHOOSING A PROBLEM AND ISSUE

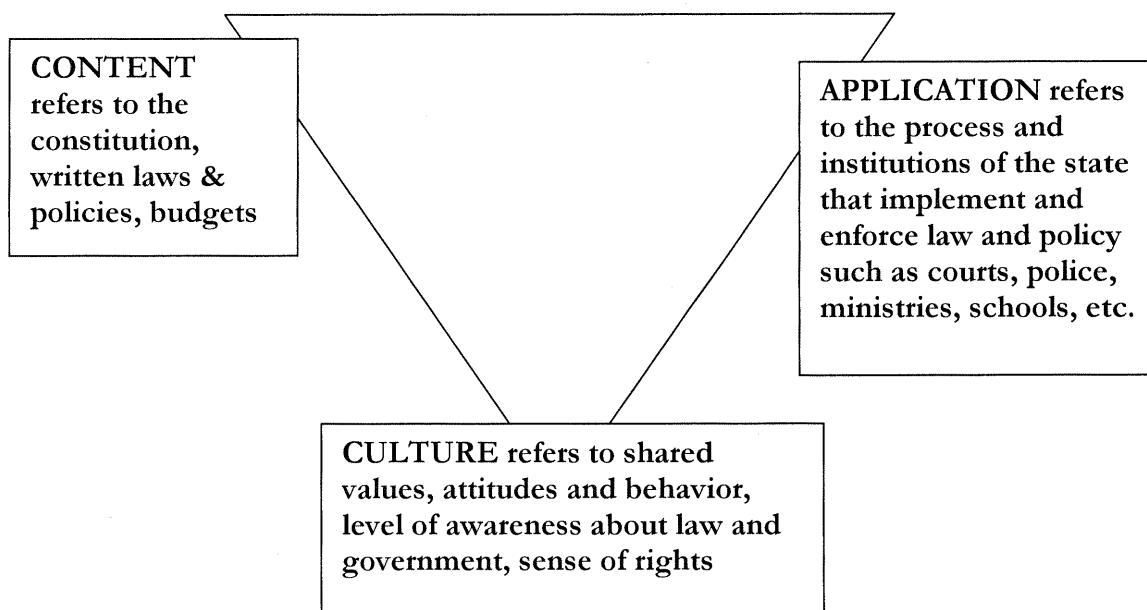
A good choice is one that matches most of these criteria. Use this checklist to compare issues or develop your own criteria. A “yes” answer scores “1”. A “no” answer scores “0”. Problems/issues with higher scores have the potential for multiple positive results. (Adapted from Midwest Academy)

Problem/Issue 1	Problem/Issue 2	Problem/Issue 3	Will resolving the problem/Will the issue?
			1.Result in a real improvement in people’s lives?
			2.Give people a sense of their own power?
			3.Build strong lasting organizations and alter the relations of power?
			4. Raise awareness about power relations and democratic rights?
			5. Be winnable?
			6. Be widely felt?
			7. Be deeply felt?
			8. Be easy to communicate and understand?
			9. Provide opportunities for people to learn about and be involved in policies?
			10. Have clear advocacy targets?
			11. Have a clear time frame?
			12. Be non-divisive among your potential constituency?
			13. Build accountable leadership?
			14. Be consistent with your values and vision?
			15. Provide potential for raising funds?
			16. Link local issues to global issues and macro policy context?

TRIANGULAR ANALYSIS⁶

Now that you have selected an advocacy issue, you need to identify where the change needs to occur – at the level of policy, at the implementation level, or in the culture and behavior of the people themselves? This is known as triangular analysis.

Political solutions to problems often take more than just law or policy reform. There are many examples from different countries where laws were changed, while the people did not. Laws are a critical part of public policy because they regulate work and social relations, and access to economic resources, opportunities and political power. Laws and policies, however, can be unjust in three ways: **content** (the written law or policy may be discriminatory or inadequate in today's context); **application** (policies may not be implemented or at least as envisioned. Laws may not be enforced or done so in a prejudicial way); and **culture** (if citizens are unaware of policies, the laws or their rights, or social attitudes run contrary to the substance of the law or policy, even a just law or policy cannot benefit people in practice).



Questions to guide triangular analysis

- Is a new or improved law or policy needed?
- Is the existing policy or law being implemented or enforced adequately?
- Do people know the law and believe that they have rights in order to pursue solutions or make demands on the system?

⁶ VeneKlasen, Lisa and Miller, Valerie, 2002. A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation. World Neighbors, Oklahoma, USA.

The “Nine Questions” Strategy Planning Tool

The Advocacy Institute’s colleague, Jim Shultz of The Democracy Center, has developed Nine Questions that have usefully guided organizations through the strategy planning process. Drawing from the experience of practitioners helps deepen the questions.

1. What do we want? (GOALS)

Any advocacy effort must begin with a sense of its goals. Among these goals some distinctions are important. What are the long-term goals and what are the short-term goals? What are the content goals (e.g. policy change) and what are the process goals (e.g. building community among participants)? These goals need to be defined at the start, in a way that can launch an effort, draw people to it, and sustain it over time.

2. Who can help us get it? (AUDIENCES)

Who are the people and institutions you need to move? This includes those who have the actual formal authority to deliver the goods (i.e. legislators). This also includes those who have the capacity to influence those with formal authority (i.e. the media and key constituencies, both allied and opposed). In both cases, an effective advocacy effort requires a clear sense of who these audiences are and what access or pressure points are available to move decision-makers and stakeholders. It means analyzing power.

3. What do the decision-makers need to hear? (MESSAGE)

Reaching these different audiences requires crafting and framing a set of messages that will be persuasive. Although these messages must always be rooted in the same basic truth, they also need to be tailored differently to different audiences depending on what they are ready to hear. In most cases, advocacy messages will have two basic components: an appeal to what is right, and an appeal to the audience's self-interest.

4. Who do they need to hear it from? (MESSENGERS)

The same message has a very different impact depending on who communicates it. Who are the most credible messengers for different audiences? In some cases, these messengers are "experts" whose credibility is largely technical. In other cases, we need to engage the "authentic voices," those who can speak from personal experience. What do we need to do to equip these messengers, both in terms of information and to increase their comfort level as advocates?

5. How can we get them to hear it? (DELIVERY)

There is wide variety of ways to deliver an advocacy message. These range from the genteel (e.g. lobbying) to the in-your-face (e.g. direct action). The most effective means varies from situation to situation. The key is to evaluate them and apply them appropriately, weaving them together in a winning mix.

6. What advantages do we have? (RESOURCES)

An effective advocacy effort takes careful stock of the advocacy resources that are already there to be built on. What are your organization's sources of power? This includes past advocacy work that is related, alliances already in place, your staff and membership capacity, and other people's capacity, information and political intelligence. For example, can you undertake a power or stakeholder analysis? In short, you don't start from scratch, you start from building on what you've got.

7. What do we need to develop? (CHALLENGES)

After taking stock of the advocacy resources you have, the next step is to identify the advocacy resources you need that aren't there yet. How will they be met? This means looking at alliances that need to be built, and capacities such as outreach, media, research, and internal abilities, which are crucial to any effort.

8. How do we begin? (NEXT STEPS)

What would be an effective way to begin to move the strategy forward? What are some potential short term goals or projects that would bring the right people together, symbolize the larger work ahead and create something achievable that lays the groundwork for the next step?

9. How do we tell if it's working? (WHAT HAS CHANGED? WHAT HAS IMPROVED? WHY?)

As with any long journey, the course needs to be checked along the way. Strategy needs to be evaluated revisiting each of the questions above (i.e., are we aiming at the right audiences, are we reaching them, etc.) It is important to be able to make mid-course corrections and to discard those elements of a strategy that don't work once they are actually put into practice.

When using this model, keep the following in mind:

- To be useful, the strategy planning process requires:
 - Systematic and disciplined effort.
 - On-going action, reflection, and refinement.
 - Research and planning to tailor your strategy to your context and capacity.
 - Time.
 - Flexibility and the ability to work in a non-linear order.
 - The ability to give a diagnosis (to understand the current reality, what is possible, and how to get started) despite uncertainty or incomplete information.
 - Willingness to experiment and to learn by doing.

- Models are created to simplify otherwise complex processes. When you compare them to your own experience, some parts will work, some won't. For example, with strategy planning models in particular, one challenge is putting the questions in order. You may find you naturally ask the questions in a different order – or ask different questions entirely! We encourage you to try this model, pull it apart, and adapt it to fit your own style and experience.
- You may not be able to answer all of the questions at first, and may need to gather more information along the way. You may return to one or more stage throughout the advocacy effort. You may not have answers to all of the questions. Don't be discouraged! Over time, you will learn which questions to ask and how to find the answers you need. Nor do you need to answer all the questions with certainty to decide next steps.
- Strategy planning often works best as a participatory process that draws upon multiple perspectives. We suggest working in a group – with members of your organization or within a coalition – to develop and refine your strategy.
- Some groups will need more time to address the questions. This may be true if the group is newly formed; does not yet believe that change is possible; or focuses on critical consciousness, social analysis skills, group problem solving, and facilitating members' empowerment to advocate on their own behalf. Remember, learning by doing is a core principle of advocacy – we encourage you to take the time you need.

The Midwest Academy's "Direct Action Organizing" strategy chart (page 30) is an extremely useful tool for campaign planning. It can be used for overall campaign strategy, for planning a specific event such as a public hearing, or an accountability session with an elected official. The chart is valuable as the focal point of a group planning process because it poses the necessary questions in a logical order, and moves people through the planning process step by step.

There are five major strategy elements to consider:

1. Long-term, intermediate, and short-term goals
2. Targets - the people who can give you what you want
3. Allies and opponents
4. Organizational considerations
5. Tactics

The chart is like a computer spreadsheet. Whenever you change anything in one column, corresponding changes need to be made in the others. For example, adding an additional goal may require a different type of constituent group, new tactics and new targets.

Set Long-term, Intermediate & Short-term Goals for the Campaign

Set a series of goals that represent what can be won in a specific time frame. Your goals should be three-dimensional, assessing what you ultimately seek in the long term, what can be gained in the midst of the campaign, and what needs to be achieved right away.

Long-term goals reiterate the overall objectives of the campaign. For example, if your organization is concerned about public education, your long-term goal might be to achieve universal literacy. Part of your long-term goal might also be to significantly increase the percentage of the national budget devoted to education, and to make this an issue in upcoming elections for parliament and the presidency.

Intermediate goals reflect victories that might be accomplished midway through the campaign that could ultimately lead to achieving your long-term goals. For example, you might promote support for increased funding by lobbying with local governing councils, mayors, assemblies, and delegates to support new schools - perhaps convincing local governments to donate land for school sites, and local officials to lobby ministries and parliamentarians for new school funding in their areas. The shortage of schools combined with immense popular support for schools at the grassroots could effectively mount pressures on the government to increase funding for education.

Short-term goals are the steps required to achieve intermediate goals - organizing citizen participation at council and assembly meetings, or gaining initial endorsements from local officials and parliamentarians. Other short-term goals might include producing a report showing the gap between the number of children of school age, and actual enrollment levels in particular local sections or communes, and gaining air time to present the issues and campaign on local radio stations or the print media.

The Midwest Academy – www.midwestacademy.com

Setting specific goals that address both the largest concerns and the smaller dimensions of the problem allows you to get results that can build momentum and morale, demonstrating to members, allies, and opponents alike a constant stream of success. Continual small victories will keep your organization in the public's eye and in the media as you strive towards more complicated, long-term objectives.

Identify your Primary and Secondary Targets

Primary targets are people who have the power to make your solution a reality. When filling in your strategy chart, fill in the actual names of decision-makers who are primary targets of your advocacy campaign. Even if the target is in reality an institution, personalizing the target helps make your goal seem more attainable. It seems much easier to influence Mayor X and Deputy Y than to fight the entire government administration. Wherever possible, have more than one main target. This is important because power is generally split amongst branches of government, and pressure is better able to spark change if it comes from a variety of places.

You can also work to influence **secondary targets**—individuals who do not have direct power to achieve your goal but are in a position to pressure your target into making the changes you desire. To be effective, the secondary target should have more power or influence over the target than does your organization, and simultaneously, should be more easily influenced by your group than the primary target.

Allies and Opponents

Your advocacy campaign **allies** are individuals, institutions and associations that either:

- support your cause;
- can be easily convinced to support you; or
- will collaborate with you in advocacy.

Your **opponents** are individuals, institutions and associations that either:

- are firmly against your cause and very vocal about it;
- are likely to oppose you but may be convinced to support you; or
- are undecided.

For each goal, short- or long-term, you should list the person or groups whose power would be most threatened or supported by the realization of that goal. Ask what they may win or lose, what power they have, and their level of organization. Every battle for change is an uphill fight! To assess how difficult your challenge might be, you need to assess how determined your possible opponents are to defeat you, and how willing your potential allies are to support your campaign. You need to know how and where you are outmanned, outspent, and outflanked, and how you might compensate.

Recognize that neither your adversaries nor advocates are likely to be a single force. For example, some business leaders may support your issue while others oppose it. Determining your friends and opponents means knowing what other groups are all about, and what their biggest issues are. While your organization will not compromise on key issues, you can make adjustments on smaller issues. It may be that your most important issue is not the primary problem for your opponents; therefore, you could agree not to oppose them on their primary issue—if it's not key to your campaign—in return for their neutrality on your top issue.

Create a list of all your potential allies and opponents in each of the following categories, keeping in mind that for each issue, you would have a different set of allies and opponents. Examine your list to determine the level of organization and influence of your allies and opponents.

ANALYSIS OF ADVOCACY TARGET⁷

Statement explaining your advocacy position:

Target's Name:

After doing your research, rank your target on each of the following (1 is low, 5 is high):

1. Level of knowledge of your organization	1	2	3	4	5
2. Level of knowledge of your cause	1	2	3	4	5
3. Level of agreement with your cause	1	2	3	4	5
4. Level of previous support for your cause (if totally opposed, mark 0)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Level of your communication to date	1	2	3	4	5
6. Level of mutual trust	1	2	3	4	5

Describe your previous contacts with the target:

Other considerations (for example, declared or undeclared interest that your target has in the issue):

Level of influence you may have over your target suggested by the responses to the previous questions:

⁷ Developed by Nader Tadros, 2000

Questions to ask about your allies and opponents:
How many people are involved in this group, business or institution?
What is their financial situation?
What kinds of political or legislative connections do these people have?
What is their reputation?
What are some of the negative qualities of these people?
What is their ability to mobilize citizens (to vote, raise money , public rallies)?
Do these people have any special skills (legal, political, publicity)?
What is the media's relationship to these people? Are they national figures or celebrities?
Can these people offer you research, access to political leaders, additional volunteers, geographic spread?
How do your allies and opponents view you? If you are seen as having a strong grassroots support base with little political clout, you might wish to use the strength of your grassroots organization to build alliances with recognized political leaders.

Organizational Resources

Issues are not everything in a campaign. You can have the best issue in the world, but if you lack the organization necessary to bring forward your issue, and sell your message to target audiences, nobody will pay attention.

Before starting work on the issue, examine the resources you can devote to the campaign. Your resources include not only the money your group has available or can raise, but also:

- ⇒ the number of committed members and potential volunteers for your organization;
- ⇒ the talents of your members and volunteers (for example, knowledge of the legal system, good writers and communicators, marketing skills, research abilities, fundraising skills, public speaking, connections, etc.);
- ⇒ access of your members to community leaders and other organizations;
- ⇒ equipment within your organization or the possibility of donated equipment for the campaign period;
- ⇒ means of transport - horses, motorcycles, cars or trucks according to the situation;
- ⇒ other donations, including time, supplies, materials, etc.
- ⇒ your group's general reputation and the good will that your organization has already generated.

Tactics

Changes in public laws and public behavior are shaped by more than good intentions. An effective public advocacy campaign must be built from a series of interrelated, coordinated actions and well-planned events that keep your group's issues in the public eye, and force targeted decision-makers and the broader public to pay attention to your cause.

An advocacy group needs to employ a broad range of tactics, but they must be used wisely and for a purpose. Your group should not organize a public demonstration for the sole purpose of getting into the newspaper. A march should be carefully calculated to accomplish something, support the issue, draw attention to the individuals who are there, and be timed at an important political moment.

How can you force your target to give you what you want? You may choose any number of tactics, from writing letters and making phone calls to non-violent activism. As you explore different tactics and plan your campaign, think how these tactics fit into your strategy for change. Never use a tactic just because it seems interesting or because it was successful on a different issue. ***Your tactics must be directed at your targets and work to pressure them to yield to your requests, and keep the issue in the public mind.*** All of your events—including media events—should work toward forcing the target to fulfill your goals.

Of all the outreach tactics involved in an advocacy campaign, use of "free media" is one of the most critical, especially for geographically broad based campaigns. It provides the best opportunity to reach the most people within your target audiences at any given time. Using the mass media to get your message out is key to mobilizing awareness and support for your issue.

Guidelines for Choosing Appropriate Tactics

How do you know what tactics and techniques to use? How do you know when to march, make a statement, or host a news event? In planning your actions, try to:
Make your Tactics and Actions Suit Your Goals
A small goal should be achieved with a small tactic, while a larger goal will require a larger tactic.
Be Mindful of What Your Organization Can Handle
Your group may have a limited budget, number of volunteers, and resources, but that doesn't mean you can't accomplish big things. Put together a few well-chosen, well-planned events that are successful rather than over stretch your limitations at the beginning. Use smaller successes to build your organization, attract new members, develop new leaders, and raise more funds.
Don't Violate Your Own Rules
Make sure that the activities of your campaign do not conflict with the policies and guidelines of your organization. The means should be consistent with end goals.
Stay Within Your Members' Experience
The experience and beliefs of your members must be taken into account. Some individuals and communities are far less likely than others to engage in civil disobedience, even if they agree with the cause. You do not want to exceed your members' standards of appropriate behavior.
Go Outside Your Targets' Experience
Before choosing any tactic, ask yourself how effective it would be in pressuring this specific target. The most effective tactics are those that are unfamiliar to your target but comfortable for your members.
Work to Ensure Media Coverage

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT CHART

GOALS	ADVOCACY AND OPPOSITION TARGETS	ORGANIZATION CONSTITUENTS AND ALLIES	TACTICS/ ACTIVITIES.
<p>1. List the long-term goals of your advocacy campaign, the goals aimed at transforming the inequitable and undemocratic structures of society in relation to your specific problem</p> <p>2. What actions, decisions or changes do you want in the long-term – what will best address the basic cause of your problem and how will you be able to maintain your gains if successful?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On a <i>policy or political dimension</i>, what specific changes do we want in a policy, law, program or behaviour? - On a <i>civil society dimension</i>, what will strengthen NGOs and grass roots groups as a result of our advocacy so we can sustain and expand our gains? - On a <i>democracy dimension</i>, what will increase the political space, participation, and legitimacy of civil society with our advocacy effort? <p>3. State the intermediate goals.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What constitutes victory? To what extent will the campaign? - Win concrete improvements in people's lives? - Alter the relations of power? - Give people a sense of their own power and confidence? - Build strong organizations that can make relations of power more equitable and democratic? - Improve alliances between colleague organizations? - Incorporate political awareness and citizen advocacy skills? - Increase citizen/NGO access to policy-making? <p>4. What short term or partial victories can we win as steps toward our longer-term and transformational goals?</p>	<p>Advocacy Targets</p> <p>1.Primary Advocacy targets: local, national and international.</p> <p>An advocacy target is always a person. It is never an institution or elected body.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What institution (s) has the authority to grant you what you want? - Who in the institution has the power to give you what you want? - What power or influence do you or your allies have with them? How might they best be influenced? <p>Secondary Advocacy Targets: local, national, and international.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who has influence over the people with the power to give you what you want? - What power or influence do you or your allies have with them? How might they best be influenced? <p>Opposition Targets</p> <p>Opponents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who wants and has the power to stop you? - What are their strengths and weaknesses? - What will your victory cost them? - What risks do you incur by opposing them? - What level of force are they willing to use a gains you? - How can you diminish their power, take advantage of their weaknesses and lessen any danger to you? 	<p>1.Organization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is your organization's vision and understanding of power and powerlessness? - What are your organizational strengths and weaknesses - Where can you get support to overcome weaknesses? - What resources are needed? - What risks does the organization take by pursuing this issue? - What does the organization gain if it wins? - What are the sources of your organization/s credibility, legitimacy and power? <p>2.Constituents. Who cares about this issue enough to join the organization/ campaign?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Whose problem is it? - What do they gain if they win? - What risks are they taking - What power or influence do they have with target? - How can you engage and sustain them? - How will they participate in decision-making <p>3. Allies. Who cares enough to participate in a coalition or joint effort?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Whose problem is it? - What do they gain if they win? - What risks are they taking? - What power do they have over the target? - Into what groups are they organized? - How will they participate in decision-making 	<p>For each target list the tactics and activities that each constituent group can best use to make its power felt.</p> <p>Tactics and activities need to be</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the context of the political moment and environment - Flexible and creative - Directed at a specific target - Make sense to the membership; - Be backed up by a specific form or source of power - If you're confrontational will cause a backlash? - If you're not, confrontational will you gain any attention or make headway? <p>Advocacy tactics and activities can include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Action research - Workshops and conferences - Media events - Actions for information and demands - Public hearings - Strikes and demonstrations - Voter registration and voter education - Consciousness raising - Lawsuits - Accountability sessions with officials - Negotiations - Lobbying - Model projects - Policy reports - Polls - Policy writing

USES OF INFORMATION

Information: A working definition

Information is gained through research, interview or instruction. Information gatherers provide new knowledge by synthesizing information that is drawn from data, observation, analysis and experience. The use of information requires sufficient understanding to see the relationships, contradictions, trends and patterns among different facts and data. The continuous use and application of information is compelling since it often leads to the creation of new knowledge.

How Is Information Used?

Advocacy groups use information through:

- Research;
- Analysis; and
- Dissemination.

As part of strategy planning, initiating next steps and deciding what to do—information serves to:

- Understand how a problem affects people's lives.
- Identify key audiences and their position on the issue.
- Identify possible entry points into the political or policy system.
- Identify possible policy remedies.
- Develop effective messages for different key audiences.
- Identify the effective media and messengers for the key audiences.

**“Participation is
empowering only
when those who
participate make
decisions and
choices.”**

⁸ VeneKlasen, Lisa and Miller, Valerie, 2002. A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation. World Neighbors, Oklahoma, USA

Outreach includes a wide variety of strategies – participatory planning and organizing, media, education, mobilization, and direct recruitment – that aim to gain the support and direct involvement of constituencies and to build their capacity as active citizens.

Four Ways to Do Outreach

- Participatory planning and organizing
- Media
- Events
- Direct recruitment

Mobilization engages people as political protagonists and includes activities that build and use the strength of numbers and organization.

Different Ways to Do Outreach and Mobilization?

Outreach and mobilization include a diverse range of activities that:

- transform people's concerns into the organized expression of rights and specific proposals for change;
- recruit sympathetic and affected people to be involved;
- enable people to practice citizenship and public leadership.
- Outreach and mobilization strategies can also:
- expand public and political support for specific advocacy efforts;
- demonstrate citizen support for your issues;
- increase legitimacy and leverage to reach and be persuasive at the negotiating table;
- generate broad ownership of a campaign;
- create new forms of practicing and expressing citizenship;
- strengthening the bond between the grassroots base of a campaign, organizational leadership, and lobbyists.
- Organizers who see constituency-building both as a practical strategy for leveraging power

Organizers who see constituency-building both as a practical strategy for leveraging power and as a way of promoting inclusive participation will devote sufficient time and resources to do it. But in many cases, outreach and mobilization are reduced to the bare minimum necessary to advance a policy agenda and appear legitimate.

Citizens need to be prepared before they mobilize. They need:

- clarity and agreement about the issue they are addressing and why;
- knowledge of how the political system can help address their issue;
- strategies and skills to articulate demands and alternative solutions;
- organization to give them a base of collective power from which to speak;
- a sense of identity with a broader campaign, and an understanding of how their actions link with other advocacy strategies;
- an understanding of the power dynamics in which they operate and the risks they may face;
- a clear, tested message to communicate to the public and decision makers.

Criteria for Designing Mobilizing Actions

Below are some criteria for designing actions. If possible, actions should:

- *present opportunities to learn new skills*—such as planning, defining clear demands, public speaking, going door-to-door to get others involved, running a meeting, etc.;
- *offer practice in leadership*—encourage new leaders to emerge, and build their leadership skills;
- *demystify politics and power*—by exposing people to how public decision making works through direct contact with decision makers, research about how decisions are made, etc.;
- *have a concrete and feasible aim*—constituents must be able to see their victories and assess their losses;
- *boosts morale* and give constituents a sense of their collective possibilities;
- *encourage people to try new things*—if they have never spoken publicly before, they should be encouraged and helped to do so.

Actions should also:

- *be thoroughly planned*—careful planning increases confidence;
- *be fun*—people’s lives are full of demands and duties, so advocacy has to be more than just exhausting;
- *take account of the political environment*—to ensure that your constituents do not take unnecessary risks.

Sometimes it is not possible to check off everything on this list. In reality, there are times when it is more important to take action quickly than to wait until there is a common argument.

COALITION BUILDING

Coalitions: A working definition

A coalition is an organization that connects other organizations that have a goal to pursue common policies while each organization maintains its autonomy.

Why coalitions are important

Coalitions provide:

- *Strength in Numbers*—Advocacy is about addition. An advocacy effort is likely to be more effective when there are more people involved.
- *Strength in Diversity*—A coalition is often stronger when it draws together coalition members who are not usually seen as partners.
- *Broadened skills and expertise*—Different skills and knowledge meet the need to have specialized skills and a greater range of experience to address tough problems.

Picking the right issues to start and strengthen coalitions

Issues must:

- Be big enough to matter.
- Be small enough to produce results.
- Reflect the coalition's larger goals.
- Build the base for future alliances.
- Lay the groundwork for future campaigns.
- Facilitate grassroots experience as it strengthens people's skills and confidence.
- Gain acceptance by the general public.

Coalition Tools

Tips for making coalitions work:

- Avoid formal structure as much as possible.
- Understand the limits each group has on itself.
- Delegate responsibility.
- Make key decisions as a group.
- Keep everyone informed.

Tips for anticipating and overcoming tensions in coalition building and actions:

- Recognize that conflict will occur no matter how good all participants' intentions are.
- Mixed loyalties are unavoidable. Coalition members owe their primary loyalty to their own organization.
- Coalitions have to be accountable to their purpose and mission. They must sometimes take fast action but do not surprise their members.

- Balancing unity and diversity is demanding. You can avoid problems by examining whether potentially troublesome matters will be addressed. Consider:
 - Goal differences.
 - Ideological differences.
 - Different expectations on results of actions or efforts.
 - Power differences within the coalition.
 - Differences of commitment and intensity to coalition objectives.
 - Dealing with differences in financial and in-kind commitments.
 - Differences in organizational style among different sized groups.

PROS AND CONS OF COALITIONS

Groups can examine the pros and cons of coalitions and the myth of coalitions as magic bullets through a simple brainstorming process. Generating a list of advantages and disadvantages allows organizations to analyze the advisability of joining coalitions.

Below is an example of common responses received during advocacy workshops in Asia and Africa.

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Generates more resources to accomplish your goal: alliance members can pool human and material resources and so achieve much more. -Increases credibility and visibility: decision makers and the broader public are more likely to pay attention to a force of ten organizations than they are to one or two. -Produces safety in numbers: it is more difficult for the state to crack down on several groups than harass one. -Broadens your base of support: joining forces brings together the different constituencies that each member works with. -Creates opportunities for new leaders: when existing leaders assume positions in the alliance, they can create opportunities for others. -Creates opportunities for learning; Working together on an issue provides lessons in democratic culture. -Broadens the scope of each organization's work: working in coalition adds to the activities and potential impact of each organization. -Contributes to long-term strength of civil society more networking that exists among actors in civil society, the more it is capable of holding decision makers accountable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Distracts from other work: the demands of the coalition can lead to neglect of other organizational priorities. -Generates an uneven workload: weaker members of the coalition benefit from the hard work of the stronger members who may become resentful. -Requires compromises to keep the coalition together that some members feel dilute their objectives. -Causes tensions due to inherent inequalities of power: because members differ in terms of resources, skills, experience, etc., there are imbalances of power; a few powerful organizations may dominate, even when weaker ones have a lot to offer. -Limits organizational visibility: each member may not be recognized sufficiently for what it contributes. -Poses risks to your reputation: if one member has problems, there can be guilt by association; one member can hurt the coalition as a whole.

MEDIA ADVOCACY

Media Advocacy: A working definition

Media advocacy is the strategic use of media by social justice advocates and organizations to communicate with large numbers of people to advance a social or public policy objective or change public attitudes on an important public matter.

Gaining access to the media

- Make sure the information is timely.
- Show the local connection to the issue and story.
- Emphasize the human-interest part of the story.
- Show support for the issue from someone who is credible and not of your organization.
- Use respected sources because they are believable.

The heart of media advocacy requires **framing issues for access** and **framing issues for content**.

Frame issues for access by using the following:

- Controversy.
- Injustice.
- Local reason.
- Personal reason.
- Something new that has happened (i.e., a breakthrough).
- Anniversaries of an achievement or tragedy.
- Celebrities with credibility and personal experiences.
- Visuals that tell the story.

Framing for content and shaping the public argument:

- Translate the individual problem into a public issue.
- Fix responsibility for the problem on the political or social system and name the decision makers who are responsible for not fixing the problem.
- Present a workable solution that has appeal to others and support from them.
- Suggest practical steps that decision makers can take.
- Develop a story element:
 - Use compelling visuals and symbols.
 - Develop quotes for the media that shape the argument.
 - Use hard-hitting numbers that draw a clear picture.

LOBBYING

Lobbying: A working definition

Lobbying organizations or coalitions urge decision makers to take a specific action e.g., cast a vote, adopt a regulation, write an editorial. They work to build relationships that provide access to decision makers and to determine what pressures or acknowledgment of agreement must be communicated to the membership and the public.

Those who lobby serve as a resource to provide accurate information. They can serve as a bridge and connector to other decision makers or organizations and coalitions, including the opposition. To members and allies those who lobby can help people understand the formal and informal parts of the policy system.

Effective social justice lobbyists:

- Know that there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies in decision-making bodies.
- Know the informal and formal processes, including the procedures of the institutions in which the lobbyist relates.
- Identify strong supporters in elected bodies for the organization's objectives.
- Appreciate their own limits—lobbyists on social justice matters rarely influence votes.
- Stay true to principles and be flexible on details of timing and scope.
- Establish themselves as credible information sources to gain authority and access.
- Always network.
- Make obscure procedures and practices of legislative bodies and government understandable to the people affected by government's decisions.
- Listen to others including the opposition to identify possible openings.
- Appreciate the unpredictable. A good idea or proposal sometimes gains support in unexpected ways.
- Share credit for victories.

Keep the following in mind when preparing your presentation for a lobbying visit with an elected or appointed official or a bureaucrat:

- Do your homework. Know how to open the meeting as positively as possible. Know how to introduce each person.
- Focus on one issue.
- Know what you want to ask the decision maker. Make it specific.
- Keep your presentation short and focused.
- Know what is negotiable and what is not negotiable.
- Help the decision maker with information and support.
- Everyone is needed. Each person on the visit should have a role.
- Leave the decision maker with some piece of paper, but give it to s/he after the oral presentation is made.

HOW TO LOBBY⁹

Policymakers are usually busy people who are bombarded with ideas, opinions and recommendations, both good and bad, all the time. The bus, as they say, is crowded with people like you who are trying to make an impact so you need to be particularly focused and clear in your communication, as well as determine to be heard and understood.

A large part of effective advocacy depends on the relationships advocates develop with decision-makers, influential leaders and other key audiences. The stronger the ties of trust, mutual support and credibility between the advocate and the audience, the more effective the advocate will be. Before you begin to lobby, however, it is useful to keep the following steps in mind:

Prepare your Plan of Action

- Build a strong case for proposed change
- Identify precise policies which need changing
- Contact like-minded organizations for potential collaboration and support;
- Formulate the proposal and request a meeting with targeted individual.

Prepare a strategy to get yourself and your issue heard

- Locate crucial person (call her/him A) and the people who influence A
- Locate key officials who are sympathetic to your proposal and try it out on them, seeking guidance on how best to influence A
- Seek advice from influential people on how to influence A
- Invite influential officers to visit your organization to familiarize themselves with your work
- Use the media to create a favorable climate for your proposal
- Create a contingency plan if your proposal is rejected: for example persuading the person above A to get them to reconsider the proposal, or waiting until the staff member has moved on and try again with their replacement.

Follow through if your proposal is accepted

- Suggest that a drafting committee be established, with a representative from your organization, to bring about the proposed change;
- Offer your organization's services to assist the officer responsible for implementing change;
- If these formal offers are rejected, keep informal contact;
- Follow through all procedural levels until the policy change becomes a reality;
- Remember to thank everyone who had anything to do with bringing about the policy change - even those who were reluctant collaborators: you may need their help again in the future.

⁹ Coady International Institute: Advocacy and Networking Manual, 2003

Ritu Sharma (2001) in *An Introduction to Advocacy* suggests five ways to begin the process of building relationships with decision-makers:

Establish Points of Entry – Think creatively about how you can get a meeting with the audience you need to reach. Is there something you have in common which would help you connect? Or with someone you know. For example, if a friend of yours attends the same church as the decision-maker, maybe your friend could arrange for you to make a presentation at the church.

Schedule a Meeting – Getting a meeting with a decision-maker or key audience is in itself the first successful step in reaching your advocacy goal.

Send a Letter of Invitation – The most common way to set up a meeting is to send a letter explaining what your advocacy goal is and why you would like a meeting. Afterwards, follow up with a phone call. Often you will not get a meeting with the official, but with a staff person. Always meet with the staff, and treat them in the same way you would treat the decision-maker.

Invite them to Visit - Another way to meet with and persuade people is to invite them to view your facility or project. This way you can show them what is working and why they should support it. If the decision-maker cannot come, try taking the project to them. Ask several members of the constituency affected by the problem to join you at a meeting, or show a videotape or photos of the project.

Make the Invitation through a Friend – If you have a friend or colleague who knows the decision-maker or someone on his or her staff, have your friend send the letter or make the phone call. Decision-makers will be more likely to meet with you and will likely give more credence and attention to the matter if the invitation comes from someone the decision-maker already knows and trusts.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Conflict management styles are:

- **Forcing**—No room for negotiation
- **Avoiding**—Not facing or dealing with a conflict situation
- **Accommodating**—Yielding to the conflict
- **Compromising**—adjusting differences to achieve a larger objective
- **Collaborating**—working together and knowing that a conflict exists

Key questions to be asked with suggested answers:

When is “forcing” appropriate?

- When someone is in danger.
- When there is nothing else at stake.
- When there are no other options.

When is “forcing” inappropriate?

- When it is the first thing done without trying other options.
- When there is no danger.
- When the relationship is important.

When is “avoiding” appropriate to conflict management?

- When the issue is of little consequence.
- When the timing does not work for raising the issue.
- When you fear for your safety.
- When you have pushed the other so hard in the past that a reaction has set in.
- When there is a heated situation and people are not listening to one another.
- In a setting where it is easy to misinterpret another person’s tone, e.g. e-mail.

When is “accommodating” appropriate?

- When the goals are the same.
- When the relationship is important.
- When you are working with staff responsible to you.

When is “accommodating” inappropriate?

- When the outcome is inevitable regardless of the situation.
- When you are giving up something that is really important.
- When values are sacrificed out of fear.

When is “compromise” appropriate?

- When there is time to accomplish the larger objective.
- When the issue is important.
- When the relationship is important.
- When the issue is of long-term significance.

When is “compromise” inappropriate?

- When the mission or the long-term goals would be sacrificed.

When is “collaborating” appropriate?

- When concern for others and you is high.
- When the focus is process and it can lead to establishing a fair way of working together.

Guidelines for building consensus and avoiding creating opposition:

- Provide access to information.
- Involve people and groups immediately and provide adequate time for meetings.
- Begin with needs and encourage options.
- Be inclusive, erring on the side of more.
- Focus on issues and respect dignity by not personalizing opposition.
- Accept responsibility and do not blame others especially those with less power.
- Make the occasion special by creating a culture of openness and inclusion that is built on respect and fosters creativity.

Levels of support needed to persuade decision makers:

- **Ideal**—active participation from allies and coalition partners
- **Helpful**—support from others in civil society, the corporate sector and government
- **Minimal**—acceptance, without opposition, from others in civil society, the corporate sector and government.

The continuing challenge to social justice advocates: building public relationships. What are the ways to build these necessary relationships?

- Find the opening or entry point to the political and policy system.
- Use your organization or sector’s source of power.
- Create space for cooperation and collaboration
- Work with unlikely allies.
- Be strategic in using the power to punish and reward, expose and embarrass, praise and recognize.

STORY CIRCLE PROCESS¹⁰

The story circle process is essentially oral in nature; so, it is not easy to communicate it in writing, but her goes.

- 1) Begin by stating the reason for calling the circle, i.e. the story telling theme.
- 2) Ask participants to sit in a perfect circle, which allows everyone to see, and be seen, by everyone else. We usually talk about how democratic the circle is. Everyone on the circle should always be able to see everyone else. If you can't see everybody else in the circle you need to make an adjustment. It is also important to point out that being democratic does not mean without leadership. The facilitator of the circle has to get things started and monitor the progress of the story circle to make sure that everyone stays aware of what the guidelines are.
- 3) Have each person take a moment to remind one another of their first name and home country. It helps the facilitation to have each participant introduce herself/himself first and then ask the person on her/his left (which is clockwise) to go next. This gets the group into thinking in terms of taking turns moving around the circle. Setting it up this way saves time – no deciding who's going to talk next. It also helps the less extroverted people in the group to have a fair chance to speak.
- 4) Remind Fellows of the ground rules for the story circle.
 - a) No note taking while listening to stories.
 - b) Hold questions and comments until everyone has told her/his story.
 - c) Keep each story within 3 minutes.
 - d) Go clockwise.
 - e) Only tell a story. Do not add your opinion, lessons learned or give a mini-lecture on how to do social justice.
- 5) Ask for someone to volunteer to keep time. The timekeeper should give the storyteller a sign when she/he has 1 minute left.
- 6) In storytelling, listening is more important than talking. If you are thinking about your story while someone else is telling his or her story; you won't enjoy what he or she has to share. Trust the circle to bring your story to you. You don't have to like other people's stories but you must respect their right to tell it.
- 7) Tell the participants that they do not have to tell a story. If they have no story to tell when their turn comes, they can just pass, they will get another chance before the round ends.
- 8) Allow each person three minutes to tell her/his story. After the person finishes her/his story, the person on the left starts her/his story. It's good to take a moment of silence between stories.

¹⁰ Adapted from Junebug Productions; Junebug's Story Telling Process; <http://www.gnofn.org/~junebug/>.

- 9) Leave time for people to digest and have cross-conversation.
- 10) Take the last 10-15 minutes to decide how the group will present the storytelling experience to the larger group. You have two minutes to report back to the larger group. Be as creative as possible. Tell everyone up front before splitting into the actual story circles about this piece of the process too.