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Advocacy Training and Technical Support for Key Policy Partners

AMIR II Achievement of Market-Friendly Initiatives and Results

January 2006

This document was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development. It was prepared by Chemonics International Inc.

JORDAN AMIR II

Achievement of Market-Friendly Initiatives and Results

Contract No. 278-C-00-02-00210-00

The author's views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

Contract No.: 278-C-00-02-00210-00

Contractor Name: Chemonics International, Inc.

USAID Cognizant Technical Office: Office of Economic Opportunities
USAID Jordan

Date of Report: January 2006

Document Title: Advocacy Training and Technical Support
for Key Policy Partners
FINAL

Authors' Names: Nader Tadros/Chemonics

Activity Title and Number: Achievement of Market-Friendly Initiatives
and Results Program (AMIR Program)
PSPI Component, "Advocacy Training and
Technical Support for Key Policy Partners,"
Task No. 537.01

**Advocacy Training and Technical
Support for Key Policy Partners**

Final Report
January 2006

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Data Page

Name of Component: Private Sector Policy Initiative

Author: Nader Tadros/Chemonics

Practice Area: Trade and Investment

Service Offering: N/A

List of Key Words

Contained in Report: Advocacy, legislation, Parliament, constituency, advocacy, strategy planning, government, Customs Department, National Library, National Procurement Committee, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Industry and Trade, Audit Bureau, IBLAW

Abstract

This report outlines the major findings and recommendations of a consultancy undertaken to support key USAID-funded AMIR Program partners involved in policy-making. The objectives of the consultancy were to (i) develop an advocacy system and/or process, (ii) improve the skills of participants and the mechanisms for lobbying with their government counterparts and parliamentarians for amendments to laws or regulations, and (iii) outline advocacy plans for each partner. The scope also involved the development of a manual that covers the advocacy processes, mechanisms for implementation of plans including position papers, and a brief review of best practices, preferably according to those in practice in the United States.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

GPA Government Procurement Agreement
PSPI Private Sector Policy Initiative

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Executive Summary

The Private Sector Policy Initiative (PSPI) of the USAID-funded AMIR Program organized a two-fold activity --training and technical assistance-- to advance advocacy skills and applications with partner government agencies involved in policy-making in Jordan. The following were the objectives for this activity:

"To provide technical assistance to key government partners by (i) preparing and delivering training on advocacy in Amman, Jordan; (ii) developing a manual on advocacy based on international best practices and customized to Jordanian culture, and (iii) in conjunction with the government partners, developing an outline for advocacy plans customized according to pressing issues."

The Advocacy Concepts and Practices training workshop took place during December 11-15, 2005. Seventeen participants representing six government partner agencies and one law firm participated in the workshop. The participants positively received and evaluated the workshop as practical training that has implications to the kinds of work and issues that they face in their organizations. The participants received an advocacy training manual that included all the topics and skills covered in the workshop.

Following the training workshop, AMIR Program consultant worked with three participating organizations to develop advocacy campaigns on issues they are facing in their organizations. The three government agencies were the Customs Department, the National Library, and the National Procurement Committee. Out of these three agencies, the National Procurement Committee seemed to be most advanced in developing an advocacy campaign plan. One recommendation that this report would like to make for AMIR staff is to follow up on the campaigns developed, especially the one of the National Procurement Committee.

I. Introduction

“Since its inception the USAID-funded AMIR Program has supported wide-ranging economic reforms in Jordan. Its Private Sector Policy Initiative (PSPI) has worked with staff at key ministries to help them develop economic policies related mainly to trade and investment, and has provided technical training to ultimately help the country effectively compete and succeed in the global economy. PSPI assistance has focused on legal, economic, and trade-specific support through its three subcomponents dealing with improved trade and market access, customs reform, and general policy implementation.

Strong institutions that can advocate sound economic policies in Jordan are necessary to ensure that the country’s economic progress proceeds with international best practices in mind, and in recognition that ultimately the private sector will react to those policies. At the present time, key PSPI partners are faced with the challenge of advocacy so that the policies that their respective ministries have developed will be adopted and then implemented.

The focus of this consultancy is to support key PSPI partners in developing an advocacy system and/or process, improving their skills and mechanisms for lobbying with their government counterparts and parliamentarians for amendments to laws or regulations, and outlining advocacy plans for each partner. The scope also involves the development of a manual that covers the advocacy processes, mechanisms for implementation of plans including position papers, and a brief review of best practices, preferably according to those in practice in the United States. Finally, a briefing paper will be prepared that outlines the major findings of the consultancy and recommendations.¹”

The trip took place during December 9-22, 2005. The objective as set by the USAID-funded AMIR Program staff was as follows²:

”To provide technical assistance to key government partners by (i) preparing and delivering training on advocacy in Amman, Jordan; (ii) developing a manual on advocacy based on international best practices and customized to Jordanian culture, and (iii) in conjunction with the government partners, developing an outline for advocacy plans customized according to pressing issues.”

The above objective identifies three main activities and outputs for the trip as follows:

1. Provide an advocacy training to identified government agencies;
2. Develop an advocacy training manual; and
3. Work with trained government agencies to develop advocacy campaign plans on pressing issues of their choice.

Following is a report on the trip activities, its results, and recommended follow on activities.

¹ Short-Term Consultancy Agreement Scope of Work.

² Ibid.

II. Advocacy Concepts and Practices Workshop

A. Workshop Objective

This activity was preceded by training key business association partners on policy advocacy skills. It was geared towards building advocacy concepts and skills in key government partners of the USAID-funded AMIR Program. The Advocacy Concepts and Practices workshop took place in Amman, Jordan; December 11-15, 2005.

The training workshop had the following objective:

By the end of the program, participants will be able to:

- *Identify basic advocacy elements and anticipated outcomes;*
- *Develop advocacy strategy plan utilizing key advocacy strategic analysis tools;*
- *Apply commonly used advocacy skills including media advocacy, lobbying, and budget advocacy to actual advocacy campaigns.*

Annex 1 is the workshop agenda.

Seventeen participants representing six government agencies and one law firm participated in the workshop. Following is a list of participating organizations:

Audit Bureau (1 Participant)
Customs Department (2 Participants)
Ministry of Agriculture (2 Participants)
Ministry of Industry and Trade (2 Participants)
National Library (2 Participants)
National Procurement Committee (7 Participants)
IBLAW Law Firm (1 Participant)

Annex 2 is a workshop participant list.

B. Training Methodology

Based on the assumption that all participants came to the training with broad experience, the training methodology was highly interactive. Through exercises, games, small group discussions, and many other training methodologies, participants reflected on their past experiences and used their analytical skills to formulate relevant advocacy concepts, analyze the situations they work in, and strategized to advocate for their issues.

C. Training Evaluation

The end of training evaluations were mostly positive and indicated that the training was helpful and can be applied to specific situations that the participants face in their work.

Annex 3 is a summary of end of training evaluations.

III. Developing Actual Advocacy Campaigns

After the workshop, the consultant worked with three government agencies to assist them in developing advocacy campaigns for certain issues they face. The three agencies were:

- The Customs Department, working on supporting passing a draft law to stiffen fines on smuggling tobacco and alcohol.
- The National Library, working on ensuring the application of an existing law to maintain government documents.
- The National Procurement Committee, working on introducing a new unified procurement regulation to be used by all government entities in Jordan.

Annex 4 is a report on the work with the Customs Department.

Annex 5 is a report on the work with the National Library.

Annex 6 is a report on the work with the National Procurement Committee.

Annex 7 is an English translation of an overview of reforms on government procurement regulation.

IV. Advocacy Training Manual

An advocacy training manual was prepared for the use of the participants.

Annex 8 is the Advocacy Concepts and Practices Manual.

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

Working with AMIR's government partners in the area of advocacy has met real needs of these agencies in this area. In their end-of-training evaluations and in the meetings with these agencies that followed the training workshop, participants indicated the importance of learning about advocacy and how they were able to link this topic to the kind of work they are doing in their organizations.

Given the short time that is left in the life of AMIR Program, the main recommendation is for AMIR Program staff to follow up on the campaigns of the three organizations, especially the one of the National Procurement Committee. That campaign seems that it will take more concrete steps in the coming few months than the others, and given the importance of that subject, should be tracked accordingly.

Annex 1 AMIR Program Advocacy Training Agenda

**AMIR PROGRAM
ADVOCACY CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES WORKSHOP
Amman, December 11-15, 2005**

AGENDA (*As of December 11, 2005*)

Program Objectives

By the end of the program, participants will be able to:

- Identify basic advocacy elements and anticipated outcomes;
- Develop advocacy strategy plan utilizing key advocacy strategic analysis tools;
- Apply commonly used advocacy skills including media advocacy, lobbying, and budget advocacy to actual advocacy campaigns.

Day 1: December 11, 2005

9.00 10:45 Opening

Introductions to the participants and the Advocacy Program
Expectations & review and revise the proposed agenda
Management Teams

10.45-11.00 Coffee Break

11:00 -11:45 ADVOCACY CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

What is advocacy?

11:45 – 12:45 Demystification of Power and Politics

12:45 -1.45 Lunch

1:45 – 2:30 Demystification of Power and Politics (Continued)

2:30 – 3:00 Advocacy and the role(s) of State, Market and Civil Society

3.00-3.15 Coffee Break

3:15 – 3:45 Anticipated advocacy outcomes

3:45 – 4:00 Wrap up

Advocacy Training and Technical Support for Key Policy Partners

Day 2: December 12, 2005

9.00 – 10:45 Review of Previous Day

ADVOCACY STRATEGIC PLANNING

What is “Advocacy Strategic Planning”?

ACT-ON (a Strategy Planning tool)

Analyzing the root causes of a problem

10.45 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11:00 – 1:00 Selecting Your Advocacy Issue

Triangular Analysis

1.00-1.45 Lunch

1:45 – 3:00 Formulating Your Advocacy Campaign Objectives

3.00-3.15 Coffee Break

3:15 – 3:45 Formulating Advocacy Campaign Objectives (*Continued*)

3:45 – 4.00 Wrap up

Day 3: December 13, 2005

9:00 – 10:45 Review of Previous Day

Stakeholder Analysis

10:45-11:00 Coffee Break

Selecting Your Advocacy Strategy

Common Advocacy Strategies and Tactics

1:00-1:45 Lunch

Constituency Building *and* Coalition Building – A Core Strategy

3:00-3:15 Evening Coffee Break

3:15 – 3:45 EXPLORING COMMON ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

Lobbying as an Advocacy Tool

3:45 – 4.00 Wrap up

Day 4: December 14, 2005

9:00 – 10:45 Review of Previous Day

Media Advocacy

10.45-11.00 Morning Coffee Break

11:00 – 1:00 Legislative & Budget Advocacy

Developing Actual Campaign Plans

1.00-1.45 Lunch

Advocacy Training and Technical Support for Key Policy Partners

Developing Actual Campaign Plans (*Continued*)

3.00-3.15 **Coffee Break**

3:15 – 4:45 Developing Actual Campaign Plans (*Continued*)

4.00 **Wrap up**

Day 5: December 15, 2005

9:00 – 10:45 Review of Previous Day

Presenting Advocacy Campaign Plans

10.45-11.00 **Morning Coffee Break**

11:00 – 1:00 Presenting Advocacy Campaign Plans (*Continued*)

PROGRAM CLOSURE

What Is Next?

Program Evaluation

Program Wrap up

1.00-1.45 Lunch

Annex 2 Participant List

ADVOCACY CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES WORKSHOP

Amman, Jordan; December 11-15, 2005

Participant List

	Name	Title	Company	Mobile	Bus. Phone	Bus. Fax	Email Address	P O Box
1	Mr. Ayman Irshaidat	Senior Advisor	Audit Bureau	0777377708		5533019		9993 Amman, Jordan
2	Mr. Firas Al-Momani	Cases Department	Customs Dept.	0795739865	4623186 ext: 2327	(6) 4623182		90 Amman, Jordan
3	Mr. Ziad Gharaibeh	Cases Department	Customs Dept.					
4	Ms. Nour Sultan	Lawyer	IBLaw		(6) 5525127	(6) 5527052	nsultan@iblwa.com.jo	9028 Amman 11191 Jordan
5	Mr. Aimen Al-Husni	Economist and international trade agreements specialist	Ministry of Agric.		(6) 5686151	(6) 5686310	alhusniaimen@hotmail.com	P.O. Box 961043/4, Amman, Jordan
6	Mr. Sofian Adwan	Trade Agreements Unit	Ministry of Agric.		(6) 5686151	(6) 5686310	sofian7hasan@yahoo.com	P.O. Box 961043/4, Amman, Jordan
7	Mr. Ahmed Hammad	Economic Researcher – International Organizations section	Ministry of Industry and Trade		6 5629030	6 5607640	ahmed.h@mit.gov.jo	2019 Amman, Jordan
8	Mr. Ziad Allawi	Bilateral Trade Relations with Arab Countries Section	Ministry of Industry and Trade		6 5629030	6 5607640	ziad.al@mit.gov.jo	2019 Amman, Jordan
9	Mr. Sami Dibsi	Supervisor of copy right office	National Library	0795990337				6070 Amman Jordan

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	Name	Title	Company	Mobile	Bus. Phone	Bus. Fax	Email Address	P O Box
10	Ms. Rania Soudani	Legal Advisor	National Library	0795584284				962780 Amman 11196 Jordan
11	Ms. Suhair Amireh		National Procurement Committee	0777387668	(6) 5858311	+ 962 (6) 5344448	suhairgsd@yahoo.com	3383 Amman 11953 Jordan
12	Ms. Insherah Atieh Shehadeh	Dir. Gen. Tech'l Secretary, Sec. of the new procurement Regulation Committee	National Procurement Committee	0777622626	(6) 5857582	(6) 5857583	gmsecreary@gtt.gov.jo	1122 Amman 11118 Jordan
13	Mr. Mohammad Hazaimah	Tenders & Contract Expert - Bidding Director	National Procurement Committee	0795311524	(6) 5858311	(6) 5857639	bitting@gtt.gov.jo	1122 Amman 11118 Jordan
14	Mr. Khamis Andi		National Procurement Committee	0796795009	(6) 5857582	(6) 5857583	khamees@mpwh.gov.jo	1122 Amman 11118 Jordan
15	Ms. Tharwat Nouredin		National Procurement Committee	0777622626	(6) 5857582	(6) 5857583	t.nouredin@epc.gov.jo	1122 Amman 11118 Jordan
16	Mr. Assad Jamokha	Head of Section for Water, Sewerage and Dams Tenders	National Procurement Committee	0777812472	(6) 5857582	(6) 5857583	asad@gtt.gov.jo	1122 Amman 11118 Jordan
17	Mr. Yahya Kissbi		National Procurement Committee		(6) 5857582	(6) 5857583	gmsecreary@gtt.gov.jo	1122 Amman 11118 Jordan

Annex 3 Evaluation Summary



برنامج دعم وتطوير بيئة الأعمال في الأردن
Achievement of Market-Friendly Initiatives and Results Program
Funded by the United States Agency for International Development

(Advocacy Training)
AMIR, December 11-15, 2005

Evaluation Form

Filled by 14 participants

Please check the rating which best describes the quality of this training:

	<i>Materials</i>	<i>Trainers</i>	<i>Practical Application</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Overall Training</i>
<i>Excellent</i>	5 (31.25%)	12 (75%)	8 (50%)	8 (50%)	8 (50%)
<i>Good</i>	1 (68.75%)	4 (25%)	8 (50%)	6 (37.50%)	8 (50%)
<i>Fair</i>				2 (2.5%)	
<i>Poor</i>					

- *Which topic did you think was the most useful?*
 - Building allowances
 - All Topics are most useful, but the second one is the most useful
 - Advocacy analysis
 - Triangle Analysis – How to analysis the problem
 - The element of advocacy and the overall training
 - How to develop advocacy strategy working in groups
 - How to develop advocacy
 - Advocacy strategic planning (analysis tools) x 4
 - Fun Teaching methods and materials. (has a very impressive impact)
 - Constituency Building, Concept of advocacy
 - 3rd topic, advocacy campaign exercise

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- ***Which topic did you think was the least useful:***
 - All of them are useful, but the least useful may be the 3rd topic
 - Strategic advocacy planning
 - I think all the topics were important and useful
 - The way of giving the topic itself as a lecture (even though) it was rare
 - Training games
 - Budget advocacy
 - First topic, organizing time in better manner

- ***How could this course be improved?***
 - Documents to be provided in advance
 - Making a lot of courses for the majority of the employees in Jordan
 - To hold more advocacy workshops in all government institutions, using overmanned institutions training rooms
 - By practice
 - If we can have practical examples of good and successful advocacy companies
 - To hold more specialized workshops on Advocacy

- ***Would you recommend the training to others? Yes: 14 (100%) No: 0 (0%)***

- ***Comments:***
 - Good course
 - To employ issues covered and discussed in this workshop in government institutions in coordination with AMIR program and the trainer
 - To come up with to develop advocacy in government institutions
 - The training is very useful it should be implemented in day by day living, Mr. Tadros is very efficient and professional, he was able to communicate the information in an excellent way
 - Thanks for giving me this opportunity to know more about advocacy
 - Because he need awareness about the advocacy because it's very important in our life
 - Thanks for AMIR program and thanks for Mr. Tadros for his creativity and interest

Thanks!

Annex 4 Report on the Meeting with the Customs Department

REPORT ON THE MEETING WITH THE LEGAL SECTION, CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT

Date: Monday, December 19, 2005

ATTENDANTS:

Customs Dept.

1. Mr. Mohamed Galoudy, Legal Section Director
2. Mr. Firas Almomni, Legal Researcher
3. Mr. Ziad Garaybeh, Head of Lawsuits Unit
4. Mr. Shayesh Al-awawdeh, Head of Legal Consultation Section

AMIR Program

1. Jamal Olaimat, Customs Specialist, Private Sector Policy Initiative
2. Nader Tadros, Advocacy Consultant

Background on the Issue Raised in the Meeting

On November 19, 2005, the Provisional Law # 23/2005 regarding stiffening the fine on smuggling tobacco and alcohols was issued. With this new provisional law, the minimum fine on smuggling tobacco or alcohols is JD 1,000. The Customs Department still needs to have the Parliament pass this law to make it a permanent one. The House of Representatives rejected this law based on their perception that the fine is exaggerated. Now the law is passed to the Senate to determine if it will be totally rejected or it needs to go back to the House of Representatives for further discussions. The Legal Section of the Customs Department wants to save this law as an important one.

Rationale behind the New Provisional Law

The Legal Section of the Customs Department supports this new law for the following reasons:

- Customs on tobacco and alcohols are very high resulting in making them among the most smuggled items;
- Loss in national revenue lost by smuggling tobacco and alcohols;
- Smuggling tobacco and alcohol has attracted organized crime gangs that exploit minors; and
- With a high profit margin on tobacco products, a part of smuggled items is counterfeited, which poses health risks to local consumers.

Major Opposition/Criticism

The major criticism that the House of Representatives expressed was that the fine is too high for such a crime; especially it is the poor who are caught in the act of selling tobacco.

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Proposed Actions

Through the discussions that the AMIR Program team had with the Legal Section, the following actions were proposed for the Section to follow to defend the law:

- Document the potential loss of national revenue due to tobacco and alcohol smuggling;
- Document the ratio of counterfeited products that might pose threats to citizens;
- Network with other groups whose work is related to this issue and coordinate their efforts to echo same messages. Examples of these networks are NGOs working on eliminating child labor, and NGOs working on public health issue that can highlight the threats of using counterfeited tobacco and alcohol products.

Annex 5 Report on the Meeting with the National Library

REPORT ON THE MEETING WITH THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

Date: Monday, December 19, 2005

ATTENDANTS:

National Library

1. Mr. Mohamed El Abady, Deputy Director
2. Mr. Sami Dibsi, Writers' Intellectual Rights
3. Ms. Rania Soudani, Legal Advisor
4. Ms. Magd Ma'aïta, Head of Private Documents
5. Ms. Montaha, Head of Government Documents
6. Ms. Inaam Motawa, Head of Studies Section

AMIR Program

3. Sulaf Mubaideen, Communication Specialist
4. Nader Tadros, Advocacy Consultant

Background on the Issue Raised in the Meeting

There is a law in Jordan that requires all government bodies to involve the National Library in any committee responsible for destroying government documents. This law is not fully applied as many government agencies do not invite the National Library to join such committees.

Rationale behind Keeping Government Documents

- The National Library acts like the memory of the nation. Preserving government documents is an important part of this national memory; and
- Many researchers use the National Library as a resource to study different aspects of science in their research.

Proposed Actions

Through the discussions that the AMIR Program team had with the National Library staff, the following recommendations were made.

- Use the upcoming inauguration of the new National Library building expected to happen in November 2006 as a prime political moment to advance the causes of the National Library. The National Library needs be ready to make the best use of such an occasion in many, including
 - Reviewing their mandate and programs;
 - Be very specific about what they might require from the decision-makers that will help them meet their mandate; and
 - Organize "friends of the National Library" who have benefited from it to organize a campaign to highlight the services and contributions of the Library to Jordan and reiterate the requests that the National Library makes.

Annex 6 Report on the Meeting with the National Procurement Committee

REPORT ON THE MEETING WITH THE NATIONAL PROCUREMENT COMMITTEE

Date: Monday, December 20, 21, & 22, 2005 (totaling 11 hours)

ATTENDANTS:

National Procurement Committee

1. Mr. Yahya Kissbi, Director General
2. Ms. Suhair Amireh, Committee Member
3. Mr. Khamis Andi, Committee Member
4. Mr. Mohammad Hazaimah, Committee Member
5. Mr. Assad Jamokha, Committee Member
6. Ms. Tharwat Nouredin, Committee Member
7. Ms. Insherah Atieh Shehadeh, Committee Secretary

AMIR Program

Nader Tadros, Advocacy Consultant

Background on the Issue Raised in the Meeting³

The National Procurement Committee was formed about five years ago with a mandate to establish a unified procurement regulation to be used by all government agencies. Currently, Jordan has around forty procurement regulations that government entities use for their procurement. Many of these regulations are not well developed and using them causes many problems for both government agencies as well as the providers who cannot cope with the sheer number. The committee worked very hard and also used the expertise of international procurement experts to develop a comprehensive procurement regulation that will be state of the art in that field and, if approved, will be the most advanced in the Arab world.

The work of the Committee went through a major setback several years ago when it wanted to present the draft regulation to the stakeholders, who criticized it very much. This criticism was largely due to the way the regulation was presented and how it was perceived. On one hand, this setback helped the Committee to significantly improve the regulation they were developing. On the other hand, it pushed the Committee to close in on themselves and not share the great advancement they had achieved for fear of having it killed by powerful opponents.

One of the obstacles that the committee has repeatedly faced is the frequent change in the executive branch of Jordan. With routinely changing government leaders, the Committee had to establish relationships with every new cabinet, and by the time they got some momentum going, a new cabinet was appointed and they had to go through the cycle again.

³ This background is based on an Arabic document summarizing the process the Committee has gone through to date. The document is attached to this report.

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The point that this report will mention about the work of the National Procurement Committee has to do with the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The procurement regulation that the Committee has prepared had in mind the conditions for joining the GPA and included many articles that should support Jordan's application to join this agreement. The World Bank Country Procurement Assessment Report also made an important impact on legislative changes to the existing regulation in the course of reforming the procurement sector. However, joining the GPA clearly goes beyond the authority of this committee as it falls under the authority of the Jordanian Parliament that should endorse such agreements. The issue with the GPA is that many Jordanian stakeholders, especially the private sector, has fears about the GPA. The Committee is, however, perceived as the biggest promoter of the GPA and thus these stakeholders may initially reject the new regulation on the basis that it only serves the purposes of joining the GPA.

Proposed Actions

AMIR Program consultant Nader Tadros held three meetings with the Committee to help them develop an advocacy campaign to advance the process of issuing and enacting the new unified regulation. As a result, the Committee proposed and discussed the following actions.

Guidelines for the Campaign:

The discussion about the above points helped the group to identify the following guidelines for the campaign:

- While the ultimate decision of joining the GPA rests on the Parliament, it is the responsibility of the Committee to advocate reform and explain the consequences (pros and cons) to the stakeholders of accession. The main message is the new procurement regulation is badly needed for Jordan.
- Given the frequent cabinet changes, the Committee should move quickly within one year to ensure the issuance of the new regulation.
- The Committee should overcome its fears resulting from its past experience and adopt a campaign based on transparency and involvement to advance the issue. Transparency and involvement will force the discussion to be more objective than subjective, and will help to hold all the stakeholders accountable to address all relevant issues.
- Showing the political will of the Jordanian leadership represented by the Prime Minister is critical to ensuring the full involvement of all the stakeholders in the process.

Campaign Objective and Action Outline

Campaign Objective

By the end of 2006, a unified procurement regulation for Jordanian government entities is issued and enacted.

Outline of Proposed Actions

1. Garner and demonstrate political will of Jordan leadership to establish and apply an advanced procurement regulation that is tailored for the Jordanian context while

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meeting the international procurement standards and practices. The main output of this activity is an invitation by the Prime Minister addressed to the stakeholders to participate in a workshop to review the draft regulation. Hopefully, the Committee will try to have the Prime Minister give the opening speech as a strong show of political will for reform.

2. Involving all stakeholders in a transparent way to develop, adopt and implement a new regulation. This activity includes the following:
 - a. Inviting all stakeholders to a workshop to review and revise the draft regulation. The stakeholders will include:
 - i. Representatives of all government agencies who are involved in procurement processes.
 - ii. Representatives of the private sector including trade unions and chambers of commerce.
 - iii. Local experts and university professors who can give an unbiased opinion about the regulation.
 - iv. Representatives of international agencies. This group should be carefully selected to avoid allegations that they might be exercising external pressure on Jordan to accept the GPA or other controversial agreements.
 - b. Organize a workshop to present the draft regulation and start a process of involving all stakeholders in the process. The National Committee will form a working group with stakeholders to receive and review their comments and revise the regulation accordingly, which will be presented to the Legal Bureau in final format.

The main outputs of this activity are (1) the workshop, (2) the preparation of a final draft of the regulation to be submitted to the Legislative Bureau for Cabinet approval.

3. Work with political leadership to approve and enact the new regulation. This activity recognizes that the Committee can not rest on the assumption that the Cabinet will necessarily approve the submitted draft regulation. The Committee will need to follow up with the Cabinet to ensure the proper explanation and rationale behind the whole regulation and also ensure keeping the momentum in the Cabinet till the new regulation is passed and enacted.
4. Develop a plan to implement the regulation, which could include training and technical assistance for the end users of the new regulation. This training and assistance would ensure smooth and efficient transition and application so that the gaps are closed between the old and new regulations.

The National Procurement Committee has initially approved the above plan and is interested in following its outline.

Annex 7 Overview of Reforms on Government Procurement Regulation⁴

A World Bank delegation visited Jordan at the end of 1998 and looked through the government procurement bylaws. In participation of a Jordanian specialized task force, the delegation prepared a Country Procurement Assessment Report (CPAR) that included comprehensive assessment of general status of purchasing. The report was delivered to the Jordanian authorities in June 1999. Public procurement – related legislations development and reform were among the most important recommendations that the report concluded. The reforms are the following:

a- Legislative Reform: It includes drafting a comprehensive law for procurement and tendering procedures, develop a legal mechanism for objections, set a mechanism to review limits of committee's jurisdiction and competencies, and develop methods of selecting tenders' consultants.

b- Institutional Reform: It includes reviewing the role of Bureau of Auditing in various committees, and creation of a regulatory board for procurement management to be in charge of regulation affairs and public policies drafting.

c- Procedural Reform: It includes preparation of booklets of contracts' management, and preparation of a special brochure on tendering, contracting, purchasing and related circulations.

d- Develop staff capacities, and enhance information technology to include implementing capacity building and upgrading of staff, and improve computer software used in the sector.

e- Importance of entering Government Procurement Agreement related to the World Trade Organization.

The CPA report proposed an action plan for such reforms with a budget estimate of US \$ 3.15 million. To start plan implementation, the World Bank offered a US \$ 150 thousands grant for two years to develop legislations applied in Jordan. Prime Ministry was addressed along with a recommendation to establish a ministerial steering committee with representatives from procurement – related ministries to participate in pursuing and developing government procurement legislations in country. An approval was issued, the ministerial committee was established, and a team was created to follow up the study and commencement of work procedures. Government Tendering Department was appointed as a supervising and implementing entity.

On Feb. 2nd. 2000 an international specialized expert was outsourced, and on March 2nd. 2000 a local consulting office was contracted to prepare a unified law for government procurement procedures, in accordance with the recommendations of World Bank's Country Procurement Assessment Report to upgrade the legislation level in Jordan. The ministerial committee refused that as it contradicts with the Constitution. Therefore the legislations to be issued should be on the form of a bylaw instead of law.

The World Bank was addressed to extend duration of grant. The WB requested a timeframe to be provided detailing time needed to issue the final bylaw. Due to the

⁴English translation of a document prepared by the National Procurement Committee, December 2005.

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complexity of topic, the committee could not provide WB what was required, therefore; the grant was not renewed. US \$ 90,000 was spent to the international expert and the local consultant. Ministry of Planning was addressed to allocate US \$ 30,000 from 2002 / 2003 budget to continue studying purchasing legislations. The request was approved.

The team continued outsourcing same international expert to re-draft the draft law on the form of a bylaw. In April 2003 the expert submitted the draft bylaw which was discussed among members of the task force. They found that the Arabic text version of draft needed re-phrasing to be in consistent with Jordan's specificities, valid local and international legislations.

On April 11, 2000 Jordan was officially accepted to become a member of World Trade Organization (WTO). This constitutes a number of commitments in the scope of WTO agreements among which is enrollment to Government Procurement Agreement (GPA). Jordan submitted an application on July 22, 2000 to the Secretariat of WTO to join GPA.

A Jordanian delegation headed by HE Director General of Government Tendering Department was established to negotiate Jordan's joining to GPA. The delegation participated in all rounds convened in Geneva for this purpose during the last three years. On February 6, 2003 the initial proposal was submitted, noting that acceptance of proposal to join GPA depends on completion of legislation modernization and issuance of a unified bylaw for procurement in coherence with GPA and international requirements that WTO operates within. Therefore, the Jordanian negotiating delegation was established. It was a permanent delegation headed by HE Director General of Government Tendering Department.

During the bilateral meetings with few countries, the US delegation expressed willingness to assist and finance legislations modernization project. USAID was instructed to start implementation. In order to re-draft the GPA draft bylaw to be in consistent with Jordan's peculiarities and in accordance with GPA Arabic version, a local law firm (IBA Law) was appointed to work in cooperation with the task force. IBA Law fees were covered by AMIR Program. IB Law submitted an initial Arabic text draft of GPA for discussion. The committee is currently reviewing it with collaboration of the representative of IB Law. 3-hour three intensive meetings are conducted weekly.

Noting that the bylaw is of great importance and it will be implemented widely in all government procurement sectors except security items procurement of Armed Forces, and it is a new and modernized bylaw. It needed thorough and precise review process, and exerted lot of effort and time.

After what was mentioned above, the following procedures have been taken:

1. An initial draft of the reviewed bylaw was submitted to Prime Ministry on February 27, 2005.
2. The task force still conducts a comprehensive review of the bylaw as a preliminary step forward to be discussed at Legislation and Opinion Bureau when requested.
3. The bylaw was discussed by the Economic & Social Development Committee of the Cabinet on September 4, 2005.

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4. HE Minister of Finance / General Supplies Dept. had provided the Prime Ministry with remarks on the draft bylaw based on the discussions of the Development Council (Committee) on that date.
5. Replies of the remarks were sent in our letter ref no. t/4/70/2069 dated September 29, 2005.
6. Remarks and replies received were forwarded to Legislation & Opinion Bureau for study. We are still waiting for the reply of the Bureau.

ADVOCACY CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES HANDBOOK



IDEA: IMAM MANDOUR AND NADER TADROS DRAWING GOLD

AMMAN, JORDAN

DECEMBER 11-15, 2005

Nader K. Tadros

Founder & Director, People's Advocacy



INTRODUCTION TO THE ADVOCACY PROGRAM

A WORD ABOUT OUR ADVOCACY MODEL

This advocacy manual reflects *People's Advocacy's* own experience in advocacy. People's Advocacy, however, recognizes that other groups have different perspectives on advocacy. What this manual presents reflects how People's Advocacy sees advocacy and how it contributes to building a democratic society where ordinary citizens use their power to effectively participate in the decision-making processes. We do claim, however, that this is *our model of advocacy* that we believe in, promote and share with many other social justice advocacy groups and colleagues.

INTRODUCTION

The USAID-funded Achievement of Market-Friendly Initiatives and Results (AMIR) Program has been playing an active and effective role assisting the Jordanian business community and public sector organizations to address issues critical to the growth and health of the Jordanian economy. Past efforts of the AMIR program did not only include working with Jordanian business association, but have gone farther to include many of its partners involved in advancing Jordanian business sector, including working with government agencies that are closely related to achieving this goal. Organizing this workshop comes as a natural part of these efforts.

This training workshop, followed by developing actual advocacy campaigns that the USAID-funded AMIR Program is organizing in Jordan is kind of a unique setting for a few reasons.

- *First*, it challenges the mainstream concept that advocacy is done by civil society groups towards government agencies. This model shows that advocacy is not confined to civil society groups, but could be done by any group that seeks to bring about a just balance to the power structure.
- *Second*, this activity emphasizes the importance of inter-sectoral collaboration to address common issues. This collaboration among the three sectors – government, business, and civil society – is step towards establishing a strong and lasting democracy where every citizen can effectively participate in the public decision-making processes.
- *Third*, this two-fold activity combines learning with actual field application to specific issues.

The impact of this activity will likely reach farther than its immediate objectives to positively influence other democratic practices in the Jordanian society.

INTRODUCTION TO THE METHODOLOGY

A typical outcome that happens almost every time People's Advocacy organizes an advocacy training program is that most participants start by indicating their lack of experience of advocacy. As the program advances, and examples of advocacy are discussed, participants realize that they too have profound experiences in advocacy. The realization of the depth of their experience in advocacy usually comes as a nice surprise to them. Throughout this manual, and the trainings you will go through, we will keep asking you to refer to your own experience and link the dots together to reach your own model of advocacy that goes with your context and experience.

This introduction about *your* own experience in advocacy aims at encouraging you to trust your own instinct and judgment about advocacy. You will be surprised at the advocacy insight, skill, and knowledge you will manifest throughout this series based on the experience you already have!

This is an essential principle in the facilitation methodology in which the facilitation team creates many opportunities for the participants to use, share, and analyze their experiences. Using this approach, we will not provide you with a ready made definition of advocacy. We would rather have you do this by yourself and with the help of your colleagues.

As the methodology is very hands-on and experiential, in the end of each module, we will ask the participants to perform specific tasks to apply (or even challenge) the concepts and skills we discuss in that module.

STRUCTURE OF THIS MANUAL

First Module: *What Is Advocacy?*

Basic Elements of Advocacy
Common Advocacy Definitions
Advocacy and the Three Main Sectors: State, Market & Civil Society

Second Module: *Key Advocacy Concepts*

Advocacy and Power
Advocacy and Politics
Anticipated Advocacy Outcomes

Third Module: *Advocacy Strategic Planning*

Introduction to Advocacy Strategic Planning

Advocacy Strategic Analysis Tools

- ACT-ON
- Selecting an Advocacy Issue
- Triangular Analysis
- Stakeholder Analysis
- Analysis of Political Environment

Selecting an Appropriate Advocacy Strategy

- Review of Common Advocacy Strategies
- Selecting Your Advocacy Strategy(ies)
- Setting a System for Revising Your Advocacy Strategy
- Constituency Building and Coalition Building; a Core Advocacy Strategy

Module Four: Campaign Design and *Common Advocacy Techniques and Applications*

- The Nine-Questions Tool
- Media Advocacy (or employing the media in your advocacy campaign)
- Budget Advocacy
- Legislative Advocacy

MODULE ONE

WHAT IS ADVOCACY?

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this session, participants will be able to:

- Formulate a contextual definition of advocacy; and
- Determine how advocacy can play a role in the three major sectors of State, Market and Civil Society.

INTRODUCTION

In most advocacy training programs, many people who work in the areas of social justice, community development and organizing, or in providing social services to the needy, get intimidated by a relatively new terms, such as *advocacy*, and immediately discredit any relevant experience they have actually had. Once the group starts to describe advocacy and discuss what happens in it, this *novice* group starts seeing the good news - they have actually done a few advocacy activities without calling it advocacy. In fact, advocacy is so much a part of almost every person's life and experience.

In this session, as in the following ones, we are going to ask you to trust your experience and intuition. You can definitely remember a time when you participated in addressing or formulating a policy or a public decision with the intention of helping a group of people out in a certain way. This activity could be in increasing or changing women's roles in your extended family, addressing a school rule that did not help your fellow students, organizing the community to address a common issue such as neighborhood safety, or even in addressing issues at a larger scale that goes all the way up to the national or even international levels.

Basic Elements of Advocacy

Advocacy is still a new term that has recently been widely used. It is, however, not necessarily a new concept. Reaching a definition of advocacy that fits the context is critical for people to identify with. To formulate a contextually appropriate definition of our advocacy, we first need to identify the basic elements of advocacy. By the *basic elements* we mean the characteristics that *must* exist in our efforts that are essential to advocacy. The assumption here is that if any of these elements does not exist, we will not be able to call it advocacy.

To do this, we ask you to think back on one of the experiences you either have witnessed, or participated, in which you helped to address a social justice issue by working on formulating public decisions or policies that helped regulate the matter.

EXERCISE

Please write such elements on a piece of paper, and discuss them with other colleagues to see if you all agree on these elements. Remember, we are asking you to identify the BASIC elements without which we cannot call it advocacy.

Please examine the elements you have identified against these elements that we have identified when we did this exercise among ourselves and with other colleagues.

Having done this exercise with many groups around the world, we found the following elements to be among the *basic* ones:

- *People-Driven Activity*: Advocacy is about people. It helps people realize their power, and use it to participate effectively in making and shaping public decision. In all of our advocacy work, we need to assess how much each activity and step can advance people's sense of power and their ability to influence public policies! You need to ask yourselves this question in all your advocacy efforts.
- *Value Based (or for a Just Cause)*: to be involved in social justice advocacy, citizens' groups should have a fair cause they are fighting for and struggling to address as a starting point or a platform to achieve social justice. David Cohen⁵ argues that those involved in doing social justice advocacy should be aware of their values as they determine the issues and advocacy strategies they use in doing advocacy.
- *Reshaping Power Balance*: many people describe advocacy as a power game in which the powerless gain enough power to influence the power holders. When you do advocacy, you certainly need to analyze the power structure and design strategies that should give power to the powerless and counterbalance the power that goes against the cause.
- *Influencing/involving decision-makers*: as advocacy has to do with influencing the policies or public decisions, those who do advocacy should always seek to influence the decision-makers be them official decision-makers, or public opinion leaders who can influence the attitudes of people toward an issue.
- *Inclusive*: advocacy efforts should seek to be inclusive of all who support a just advocacy cause. The more advocacy campaigns are open to others to join, the more



DELA WAM MANDOUR AND NAJIB TURKUS DRAWING ©2010

⁵ Cohen, David; de la Vega, Rosa, and Watson, 2001. Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide, Chapter 2. Kumarian Press, Inc., Connecticut, USA.

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successful they will be in bringing about a lasting change and in helping people to realize their power.



Exercise

*Take one of the issues you are currently tackling or will tackle in the near future. Analyze this issue in relation to your context to see if the elements you have identified apply or not. Are there elements that were not included? Are there other **basic** elements that did not apply to your issue? Please write them down in the space below to make sure to include in your advocacy work.*

- _____
- _____
- _____

Defining Advocacy

Advocacy might take slightly different shapes based on the basic elements you identify for each context. Consequently, your advocacy definition might also change to emphasize specific points that are critical for your context. It is important that you work with your colleagues to formulate your own definition of advocacy.

Following are some examples of advocacy definitions that are helpful to consider.

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“Advocacy: A working definition⁶

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.”

David Cohen, et al⁷

“Advocacy is a planned action directed at changing the laws, policies or programs of institutions, and/or the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of citizens in the pursuit of social justice.”

Coady International Institute, St. Francis Xavier Univeristy, NS, Canada⁸

“Citizen-centered advocacy is an organized political process that involves the coordinated efforts of people to change policies, practices, ideas, and values that perpetuate inequality, prejudice, and exclusion. It strengthens citizens’ capacity as decision-makers and builds more accountable and equitable institutions of power.”

VeneKlasen and Miller⁹

Victory Ayer¹⁰ presented a useful chart for what makes good advocacy.

⁶ ‘Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide,’ prepared by David Cohen, Rosa de la Vega, and Gabrielle Watson, 2001.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Advocacy and Networking Manual* by Olga Gladkikh, 2005. Coady International Institute, St. Francis Xavier University. Nova Scotia, Canada.

⁹ ‘A New Weave of Power, People, and Politics: An action guide for policy and citizen participation,’ by Lisa VeneKlasen, and Valerie Miller, 2002. World Neighbors, Oklahoma, USA.

¹⁰ ‘Public Policy Advocacy for Jordanian Business Associations,’ prepared by Victoria Ayer for the AMIR Program, Amman, Jordan, 2005.

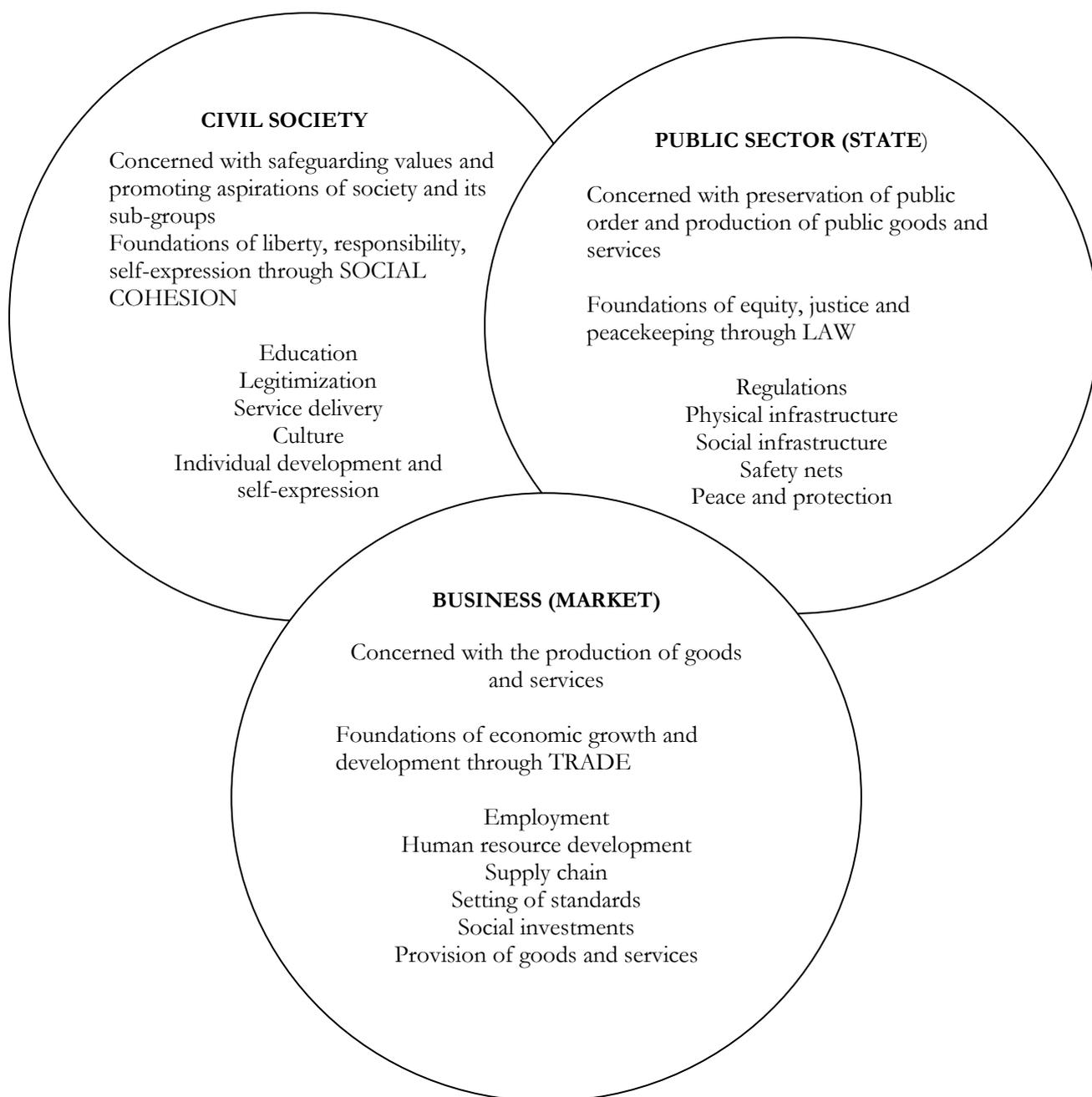
What Makes a Good Advocate?

As in any effort, there are challenges when conducting advocacy. Advocates maximize their impact through Good Practices:

Challenge to the Advocate	Marginalization of beneficiaries or Members views	Becoming corrupt or compromising Members' needs to gain political or financial status	Need authority to speak on Members' behalf	Abuse of power or position as an advocate
Good Practice	Participatory Decision-Making	Accountability Towards Members	Seeking Legitimacy from Members	Representing Members Needs
Benefits of the Good Practice	When all members are involved in decision-making, advocate receives greater support, members' motivation remains high, and lowered levels of conflict.	Members' understanding of the steps being taken to advance their cause, along with any set-backs or challenges, increases the advocate's ability to act quickly and with confidence, especially during a crisis.	Increased legitimacy gives advocate better relationships with policy makers and outsiders (other groups, the media) Members' support allows advocate to draw on their diverse skills and expertise, which increases the likelihood of success	Increased capacity of members to analyze and understand their situation will result in policy proposals that shaped by real life experiences, leading to longer-lasting solutions and easier implementation.
What the "Good" Advocate Does	Use collective, open decision making processes that allow all members to participate in creating strategic plans, outputs, and advocacy efforts.	Inform members of the risks involved and progress made towards advocacy efforts on a regular basis.	Respect and incorporate the variety of members' opinions and experiences into advocacy effort.	Ask members' approval to serve as their advocate. Build capacity of members to advocate for themselves.

Advocacy and the Three Main Sectors: State, Market & Civil Society

A common impression people have is that advocacy is only done by civil society groups and organizations. We argue that this is not necessarily the case. Going back to the examples we used, we probably discussed examples of when advocacy is used to give voice to the voiceless, or those who do not have the power to make the decision. No matter where you are, your efforts can be a just advocacy campaign if they include the basic advocacy elements discussed earlier. To further understand the political arena where decisions are made, we need to see how advocacy is played in the three main sectors: *State*, *Market*, and *Civil Society*. It is helpful to think of these sectors as independent functions – and not people – in any society. Thinking about these sectors as functions is essential as each one of us contributes to and plays a role in the three sectors. One person could be a trader who also does non-business related shopping in the weekend (*market functions*); works with the government to acquire special permits and also votes for the local and national elections (*state functions*); and is an active founding member of a business association and a regular volunteer in her children's schools (*civil society*).



SECTORAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT¹¹

¹¹ Gladkikh, Olga, 2005. Advocacy and Networking Manual. Coady International Institute, St. Francis Xavier University. Nova Scotia, Canada.

MODULE TWO

KEY ADVOCACY CONCEPTS

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this session, participants will be able to:

- Understand how the dynamics of power and politics present in their advocacy work
- Analyze power in relationship to the issues with which they are faced
- Relate advocacy and social justice work to politics and the decision-making processes that affect people's lives
- Identify key advocacy outcomes and their implication to their advocacy work

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADVOCACY, POWER AND POLITICS

POWER

Have you ever been in a meeting and said something that almost nobody noticed, yet a few minutes later, someone else said exactly the same thing and everyone in the group paid attention, perhaps even praised the “brilliant” idea she/he had? In thinking about this, you may have thought that the person who repeated your idea had a great deal of leverage (or power) in the group.



Technical Idea: Imran Mandour & Nader Tadros. Artistic Idea: Golb

Conversely, you could be in a group where the ideas that you have are taken seriously, and you have some leverage. Your power is *relative*. Many women (VeneKlasen & Miller 2002), especially in traditional societies, for instance, share great ideas when there is an all-women meeting. When the same women are in another gathering where men are present, they shy away from sharing their ideas for fear of not being taken seriously. In another example, villagers may generate great ideas among themselves, but when they

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meet with “well-educated” people, they may tend to undermine their innovation and deep life experience. There are numerous examples of this perception of one’s own power. Again, power is *relative*.

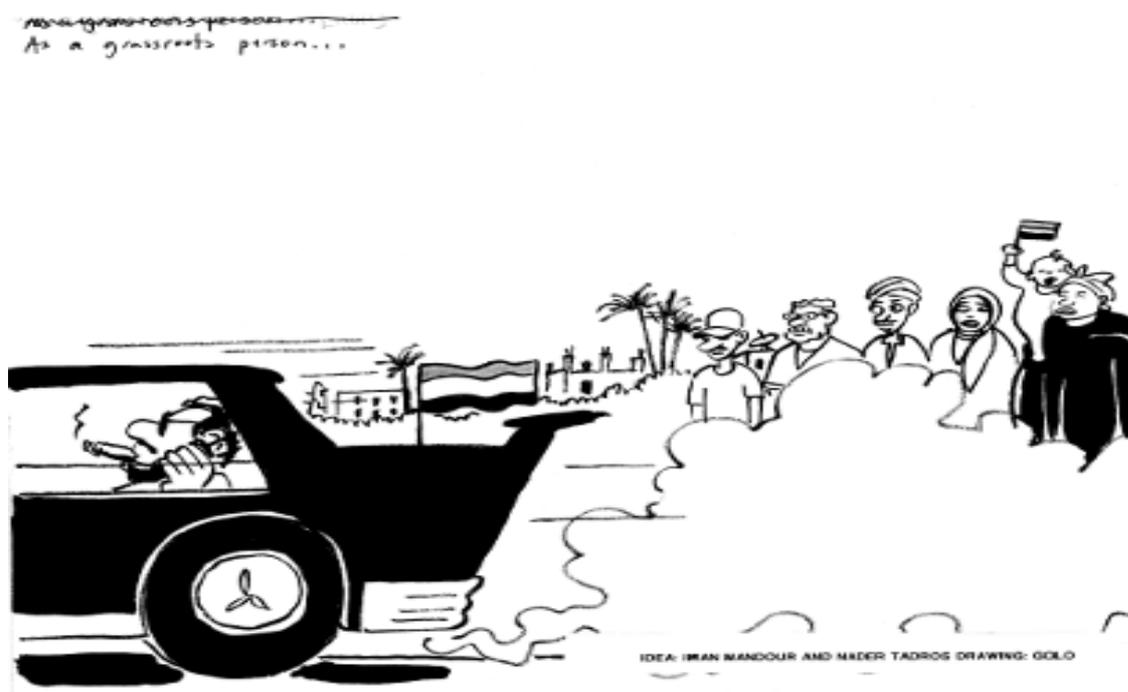
Taking the dimension of power into account is crucial to our advocacy work. Many groups, especially those who are disadvantaged, fragmented, or marginalized, may feel that they are totally powerless. When you ask why they have not taken any actions to address an injustice in their community, they may answer by saying, that a company is too powerful, or has too many connections, or too many people in the area work for them, etc. In other words, they see themselves as powerless and the other party as powerful.

As advocacy practitioners, we need to address the issue of their perception of their own power versus the other people’s power. We need to help them analyze their power from different angles and help them identify their own sources of power (Cohen, et al; 2001). The following tools help us analyze the dimensions of power.

Power is expressed in a different ways (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002)

Power Over is likely the most common way of power expression that comes to mind when the word “power” is mentioned. Power over is when someone has the power to enforce or coerce. A vivid example of this is dictatorships around the world. Although this form of power has a mostly negative connotation, it can also be positive based on intent. A parent, for example, has the power to discipline their child if the child does not behave well. A judge has the power to pass sentencing on a criminal.

It is the negative utilization of this expression of power that we, as advocacy and social justice practitioners, need to change. The way to change the negative aspect of *Power Over* is to help people find alternative positive expressions of power. Following are alternative expressions of power that people can use to counterbalance the negative prevailing *power over* expression.



Alternative Power

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To counterbalance the destructive *power over*, we need to help people recognize other forms of power they already have.

Power To is the abilities, skills and talents that individuals and groups have that help them achieve success. This *power to* may be traditional crafts, special skills learned in school, specialized education, or merely the unique life experiences of individuals and groups. It is important for advocacy practitioners to help surface this unique potential to help shape a more just world.

Power With is about the collective voice. “*Power with*”, VeneKlasen & Miller (2002) *multiplies individual talents and knowledge.*” Many disadvantaged communities and groups are fragmented and are often challenged by working together. *Power with* helps the group see common issues, and get organized to take action.



Power Within is believing in one’s own worth and abilities. It is overcoming the sense of powerlessness, and shifting it into a confident, yet realistic, frame of reference. This expression of power recognizes that a good part of one’s powerlessness is actually the perception of being powerless. Helping disadvantaged individuals and groups realize their worth and power, while respecting and appreciating the worth of others, is likely the biggest step toward addressing the state of powerlessness. Both Cohen, de la Vega, & Watson (2001), and VeneKlasen & Miller (2002) talk of story telling as a powerful means to help disadvantaged groups restore their the feeling of self worth and power.

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Ignorance



Helping disadvantaged groups realize these different expressions of power, and how to turn all of them into positive forces is crucial for effective advocacy and social justice work.

Doing advocacy work requires the need to analyze power around the issues. This means that you need to analyze the power balance that helps to maintain the status quo.

Exercise

Go back to your circle of advocacy colleagues and answer the following questions:

- Think of an issue that you are currently addressing, or an issue you addressed recently. Analyze how power was manifested.
- Did you see any of the above expressions of power in your analysis? Describe them? How has the analysis of power changed the way you are dealing with the issue?

POLITICS

How many times have you heard in your work, “This is not about politics”, or “We don’t get involved in politics”. To be able to examine these statements, we first need to define the word *politics*.

Exercise

- Go back to your group with whom you work and answer the following questions.
- Where do we see politics happening? List the arenas, (i.e., parliament, congressional committees, coalitions)
- Now, reflect on your organization. Does politics happen in your organization? How is it manifested?
- Think of your neighborhood, your apartment building, homeowners association, or even at home. Can you also see politics happening?

The more you talk about this with your colleagues, the more you begin to see politics as part of our daily lives. It is everywhere we go. Politics exists wherever there is a group decision to make.

Politics is simply what goes in the process of collective decision-making, be it for a family, or for a whole country. The realization of how fundamental politics is, is critical to our advocacy and social justice work. Collective decisions, which are made through a political process, greatly affect our daily lives. In doing advocacy, we need to know the political process and how to be part of it. Our work is, in a sense, political, whether we like it or not (Cohen, et al, 2001, and VeneKlasen & Miller 2002).

Politics and power are closely related. If politics is what goes in the process of collective decision-making, it is the powerful who influence this process. The more we work in redistributing power in favor of the disadvantaged, the closer we are to achieving social justice.

Political power is very difficult to analyze, as it is not always visible. The less visible the power is, the more difficult it is to deal with.

- *Visible Power: Observable Decision-Making* is the most straightforward kind of political power. It is simply the person or group that is officially responsible for making the decision. Examples are the CEO who makes a decision to promote a competent staff member; or a parliament that is responsible for passing a certain law. These are the visible (official) powers that are responsible for making such decisions. Of course identifying the official decision-making bodies is not always that clear. As discussed in the next module, advocacy practitioners must identify the official (visible) powers that should take a certain decision. However, passing the buck, or shifting the responsibility to another body, is a common phenomenon that we are all familiar with, which is also a part of the political game.
- *Hidden Power: Setting the Political Agenda* is power that works from behind the scenes to influence the decision. It is usually the powerful groups that get a chance to play this role. Disadvantaged groups are traditionally removed from this process through a process of systemic exclusion. For instance, these groups almost have no chance to make their voices heard in the venues of mass media. Their absence from the media gives the impression that their point of view is not the mainstream. Advocacy and practitioners need to either create alternative media venues to voice

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these groups' concerns, or help them get organized to show the power of their numbers in attracting the attention of the media.

- *Invisible Power: Shaping Meaning* is the most difficult form of power. It is the power that shapes people's minds and the way they think. It is through this process that many disadvantaged groups have very low self-esteem and consequently a profound feeling of powerlessness. Women, in many cultures, feel inferior to men. Some ethnic and indigenous groups almost inherit this profound feeling of being inferior to other groups. "*Processes of socialization*" (VeneKlasen & Miller 2002) explain, "*culture, and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequity by defining what is normal, acceptable, and safe.*"



Working against these beliefs and cultural norms is always received by resistance and will lead to encountering politics. The first step – and the most difficult one – you need to do is to help the community realize that there is an injustice that needs to be addressed. There are many successful examples of addressing such difficult injustices. Think of examples in your region that have already been tackled, or have achieved great progress. How was this done? What means were used to uncover these injustices and have them addressed?

Advocacy is part of the power and politics 'game'. We would rather be equipped to be involved in this game and use it (in the good sense of the word) to tackle the difficult issues of injustice we are all dealing with in our work.

Exercise

- Go back to the group of colleagues you work with and pick an issue that you are currently addressing, which can be the same one you picked in Module One.
- Using the tools and learning you have had throughout these two modules, and any other past experience that might help, analyze the power dimensions in this issue. How do you see them coming to play?
- Do the same exercise for the part of politics. What were the parts where you see politics influencing the whole process? How were the political powers (visible, hidden, and invisible) manifested in the case of your issue?
- Have these analyses helped your team to improve the strategy you are using to address the issue? If yes, how?
- Write 2-3 pages about your findings and the way this module might have informed the way you work on social justice issue.

ANTICIPATED ADVOCACY OUTCOMES

advocacy has three major anticipated outcomes.

- 1) A problem is dealt with by having a law amended, a policy made, decree issued, etc. *This is the probably the easiest level of outcomes to achieve.*
- 2) The decision making process is changed toward more involvement of citizens, accountability, and transparency. *This outcome would take a few campaigns to convince the decision makers to change the decision-making process in such a way.*
- 3) Citizens are aware of their power, and use this power to influence the decision making process. *This is the ultimate outcome of advocacy which usually take more than a generation as it deals with cultural attitudes toward participation and possibility of influencing the decision making process.*

In any advocacy activity, we need to take into consideration the three levels of outcomes, otherwise, advocacy will be limited by changing one or two policies without addressing the decision making environment nor the critical piece of people's power and effective participation in the decision-making process.

The following chart presents these three areas of advocacy outcomes!



**ANTICIPATED
OUTCOMES¹²**

ADVOCACY

3

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

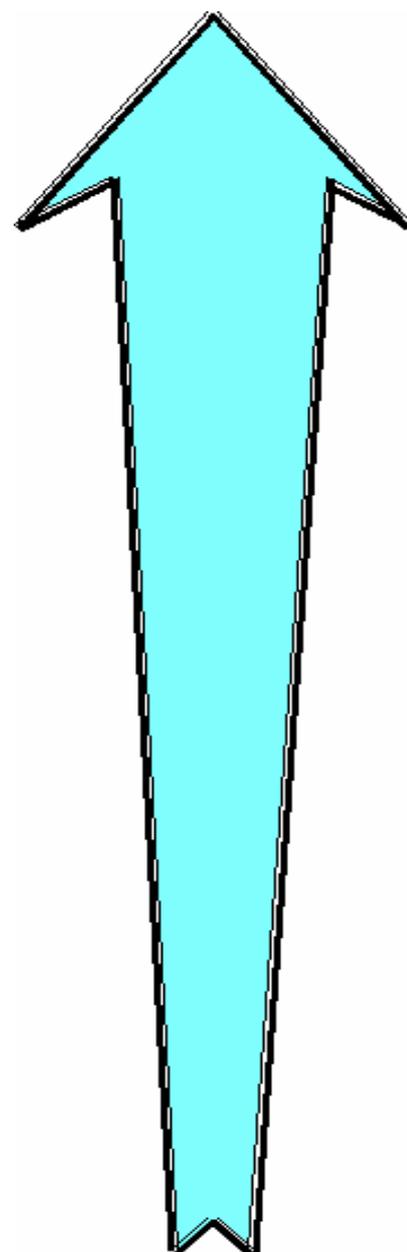
2

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.



¹² Developed by Nader Tadros – © 2000
AMIR Program

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¹ Cohen, David; de la Vega, Rosa, and Watson, 2001. Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide, Chapter 2. Kumarian Press, Inc., Connecticut, USA.

MODULE THREE

ADVOCACY STRATEGY PLANNING

MODULE OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to do the following:

- Conduct advocacy strategic analysis using different advocacy strategic analysis tools; and
- Select, design, and modify advocacy strategy that is appropriate for achieving advocacy goals.

INTRODUCTION TO ADVOCACY STRATEGY PLANNING

The word ‘strategy’ is so often used in today’s language that we may get to a point where we are not really sure of its exact meaning. While there are many definitions of *strategy*, we selected the definition that the University of Illinois has on its website (www.ds.uillinois.edu/glossary.asp):

Strategy is a framework guiding those choices that determine the nature and direction to attain the objective.

Organizational strategy planning implies long-term planning with specific activities. It assumes that things will more or less follow a certain path. In advocacy strategy planning, the variables are often great and almost impossible to anticipate. It is often difficult to anticipate whom you might win on your side and whom you will have for opponents. You may often be surprised by “wild cards” those opponents may throw your way, and that you will have to respond to on very short notice. This is why having a flexible structure to change strategies quickly should the need arise, is an important tool in your survival strategy toolkit.

The last thing you want to have in your advocacy work is a plan that restricts you rather than a plan that gets the best out of you and your team. Having a clear, flexible, yet participatory, mechanism to change your strategy quickly is likely the most permanent component of your strategy plan.

Cohen, de la Vega, and Watson (2001)¹³ give us the following outline of the advocacy strategy development process:

“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.*

¹³ Cohen, David; de la Vega, Rosa, and Watson, 2001. Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide, Chapter 2. Kumarian Press, Inc., Connecticut, USA.

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- *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.”*

ASSESSING OUR SITUATION: ADVOCACY STRATEGIC ANALYSIS TOOLS

Before we review some of the advocacy strategic planning tools in this module, we would like to draw the reader’s attention to the following points:

- There are several strategic analysis tools that are either widely known, such as the SWOT Analysis, or the Forcefield Analysis; and others that you might have developed in your organization. You might also be already familiar with the tools we discuss in this module, or they might be new to you. Please feel free to pick and choose the ones you are already familiar with, while being open to new ones that may give you new perspectives into analyzing your situation.
- Building on the above point, each tool, and model will give you a part of the picture and help you better understand the situation. However, no one tool will give you a full analysis. This means that you are better off using more than one strategic analysis tool to get a better handle on the situation. It also means that certain tools will help you understand the situation from a specific angle.
- Analysis from using one tool for a specific part of the plan may change all of the other parts of the plan. Therefore, a careful review of your different analyses to keep synchronized is critical.

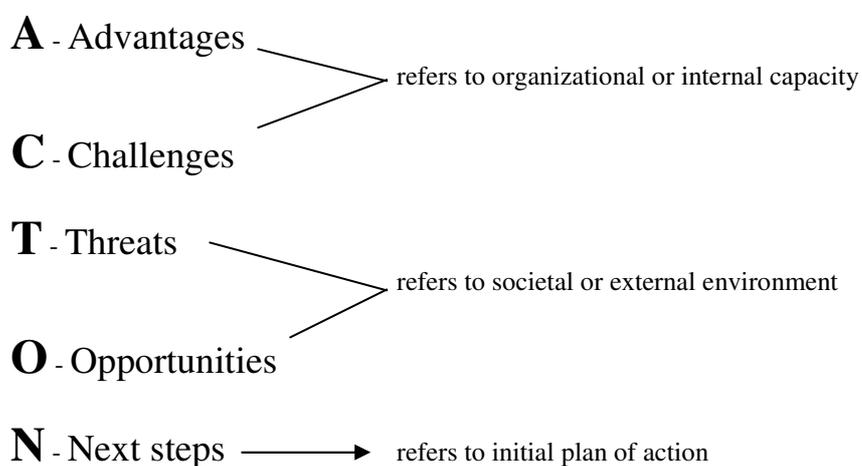
ACT-ON¹⁴

This tool, developed by the Advocacy Institute gets you moving, and is the prep work for the next step. ACT-ON is a variation of what many people know as the "SWOT Analysis." Where SWOT stands for "Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats," the Advocacy Institute variation stands for "Advantages, Challenges, Threats, Opportunities and Next Steps." In the psychology of advocacy, the Institute believes that there is power in the words we choose to advance our work. Instead of "Weaknesses" in the SWOT model, we choose "Challenges". Why? We can work to overcome challenges in our advocacy efforts. While SWOT ends the process on a negative note (Threats), ACT-ON ends with Opportunities and Next Steps, again with an eye toward what is possible, and actions (Next Steps), that move the process forward, leading planning and analysis into action.

ACT-ON is a tool best used to conduct an initial 'big picture' assessment and see the potential areas for interventions.

"ACT – ON"

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



Exercise

Go back to your circle of colleagues. Apply the ACT-ON to your situation and see what it tells you, and what actions it might direct you to do.

¹⁴ Cohen, David; de la Vega, Rosa, and Watson, 2001. Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide, Chapter 2. Kumarian Press, Inc., Connecticut, USA.

SELECTING AN ADVOCACY ISSUE

Advocacy organizations and groups are often faced with many problems, and within each problem, there may be a number of issues. Needless to say, one organization, or even one coalition, is never able to tackle all problems and issues simultaneously. They need to exercise judgment on which problem to start with. The following tool, Checklist for Choosing a Problem and Issue (adapted from the Midwest Academy), is a useful one in making an educated judgment of the problems/issues that the organization or coalition can/should undertake at a given moment.

CHECKLIST FOR CHOOSING A PROBLEM AND ISSUE¹⁵

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?

Exercise

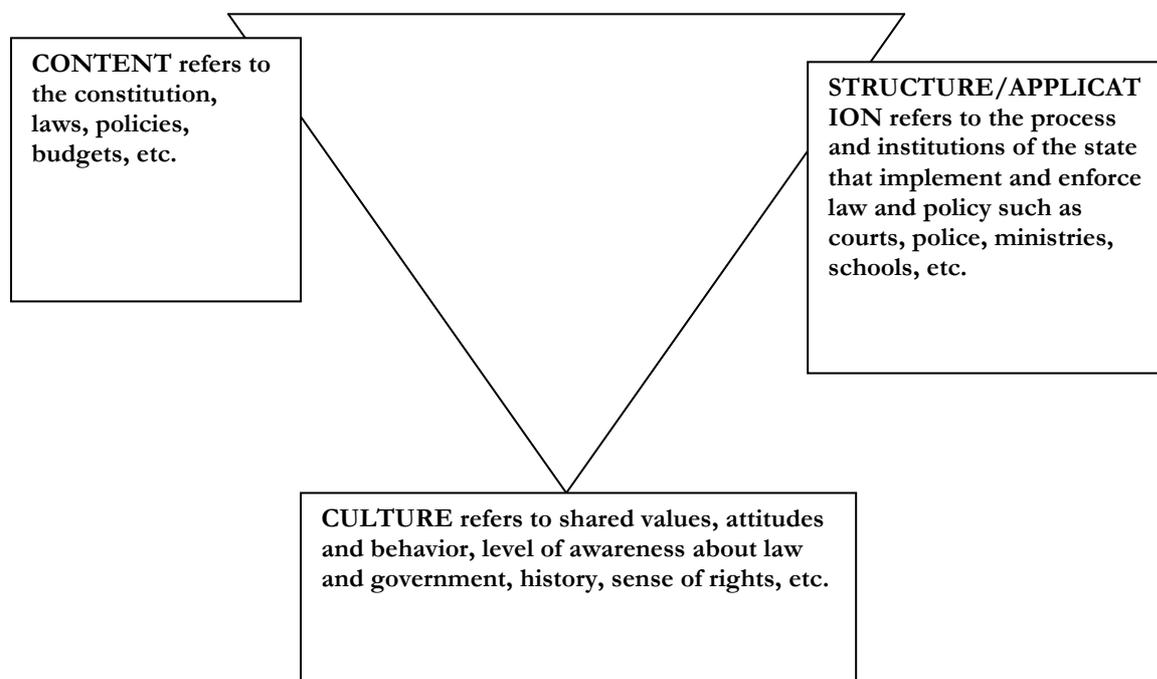
In your circle of advocacy colleagues, perform the following tasks:

- *Brainstorm the problems/issues you would like to tackle.*
- *Make a short list (3 to 4 problems/issues only) of the ones you think you can tackle.*
- *Answer the questions you have in the above Checklist For Choosing A Problem And Issue.*
- *Does the outcome appeal to your team? Do you feel comfortable tackling the winning issue? If not, eliminate this issue from the brainstormed list and run the same steps again until you reach an issue that you are comfortable addressing.*

¹⁵ Adapted from the Mid West Academy. <http://www.midwestacademy.com/>

TRIANGULAR ANALYSIS

Having going through the ACT-ON analysis, and selected potential problems/issues to address, we recommend that you perform the Triangular Analysis (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).



As the name implies, you examine the issue from three aspects

Content – Regulations

When your community or group is challenged with a problem, you first need to examine the regulations (or what is referred to here as *Content*) around this problem/issue. This content may include existing laws, policies, decisions, court sentences, international law, constitution, etc. Careful study of all of these elements is wise before making a hasty judgment on them. Sometimes you will find contradictions between two or more of these elements. In addition, many laws, or decisions exist addressing the issue, but they may have serious loopholes through which the law becomes ineffective. Question if you can live with these exceptions, or whether they are unjustly used against the poor and disadvantaged, or not. Sometimes, the law or decision is so much out of context, or so unrealistically tough that it is almost impossible to apply. Studying this angle of the triangle, will likely give you one of three choices for your strategy:

- The content is adequate and you ought to make sure that it is not touched in your campaign. You will also need to examine the other two angles as described below.
- The content has serious loopholes and you need to have it overhauled or amended.
- The content seriously lacks the elements that you need to address the problem/issue. Your efforts should include something about introducing this new content.

Structure/Application

We can always think of content (laws, decision, or policies) that was never applied, or has been idle for so many years. A simple example could be the parents who made a rule that the children can only watch one hour of television a day. Whether this rule (content) is applied or not is another thing. Laws, decisions, or policies also may not be applied for many reasons. For instance, applying these laws (etc.) need trained personnel or funds that are not available; or maybe those who are responsible for applying the law are not really interested in doing so, and no one holds them accountable. You need to examine if the laws (etc.) are not applied, and the reason(s) why they are not.

Culture

This is a critical piece of the analysis. It adds depth to the advocacy process other than only to change policies. In fact, working on the cultural part, where you are dealing with the beliefs and traditions of people is often harder than changing laws and policies. In examining this part, you will need to answer difficult questions such as, “*What is in the culture that helps perpetuate the problem?*” “*What belief systems support the status quo?*” “*Where in the culture can we find support for the change we need to achieve?*” Examining these questions help us link this analysis to the Invisible Power discussed in the Second Module.



One of its great uses of the Triangular Analysis tool is that it helps you sharpen your advocacy strategy to identify where you need to work most. For instance, if you have good content, you do not need to spend your efforts calling for having a law that already exists but is seldom applied. You would rather spend your efforts in advocating for the authorities to apply this good content. Using the same logic, the more the issue is related to prevailing beliefs, the more your advocacy interventions will be directed towards public opinion leaders more than legislatures (content) and executives (structure).

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Exercise

In your circle of advocacy colleagues, do the following:

- *Take the issue you have identified in the previous exercise and apply the Triangular Analysis to it.*
- *What strategic direction has the Triangular Analysis steered you to?*

DEVELOPING YOUR ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVES

Developing Advocacy Objectives

STAKEHOLDERS ANALYSIS

Analyzing the stakeholders around your issue is another critical component to reach a viable advocacy strategy plan. Before we go into the details of analyzing the stakeholders, we need to highlight the following principles:

- In Module Two, we established the linkage between advocacy and social justice on one side and politics and power on the other. Analyzing stakeholders brings these linkages to reality. The fact that you are playing politics and changing the power dynamics is crucial in your calculations.
- In playing politics, it is important to remember that there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies. Your best supporters in one issue could be your worst enemy in another. You always need to test this principle. You cannot take people for granted unless you approach them on each issue every time. You may be surprised at finding unlikely allies, and disappointed at failing friends.
- Always remember that you are dealing with individuals, and not groups. One of the very common mistakes is that we assume that institutions have one position. The reality is that within any institution you can find contradicting opinions. The official position of an institution may be against you. But if you dig deep enough you may find supporters within this institution whose voices are not heard. It is important to seek such individuals and work with them.

The following stakeholder categories (adapted from the Midwest Academy, <http://www.midwestacademy.com>) are useful in giving us a way to analyze the stakeholders we are going to see in advocating for our cause(s):

Constituents

Constituents are those who support the advocacy cause and work together to achieve justice in regards to this cause. The use of the word *constituents*, which is a political term meaning those who have the right to cast votes, serves a specific purpose in the context of advocacy. In traditional social development, this category is referred to as the *target group*. The use of the word, *constituents* carries a meaning that the advocacy leaders are really the representatives of those people, and are also accountable to those people.

Advocacy constituents come from two different groups, the *affected* (those who are affected by the problem/issue), and the *concerned* (who are not affected, but care much about the problem/issue and are heavily involved in addressing it.) It is important to have the support of the *concerned* as an indicator that this cause is a just one. Nevertheless, those *concerned* should be careful not to fall in the trap of stealing the power from the affected

Building a constituency and being accountable to it is an integral part of the advocacy model that we promote. In other words, if these efforts depend only on benevolent people who like to do good, even to the extent of risking their own lives for a cause, without building such a constituency, we do not view it as people-centered advocacy.

Allies

Your advocacy campaign *allies* are individuals, institutions and associations that are willing to provide you with limited support when asked. It is advisable to ration, and be strategic about your use of these allies as you are not sure when you will need them most.

Targets

In the context of advocacy, targets are the decision-makers whom you want to influence. Identifying the decision makers is a very tricky exercise and there is not formula for it. Before we go into this discussion, we need to draw a distinction between a decision-taker and a decision-maker. A decision-taker is the person who ultimately signs off on the policy or the decision. The higher the rank of the decision-taker, the more remote she/he is from *making* the decision. Being a person with several responsibilities, she/he would rather delegate much of the decision-making power to one of her/his subordinates. The decision-maker is actually the person who prepares the decision for the signature of the official person. Our advocacy efforts should be directed toward the decision-maker with less advocacy effort directed at the decision-taker. Finding the real decision-maker is the tricky part as she/he is not necessarily the person officially responsible.

To further complicate the task, many decisions are officially made by a committee and not by a person. If we go back to the principle of dealing with individuals and not solid groups, we will find out that in the case of a collective decision-making, such as in committees, there are individuals who are the ‘movers and shakers’ in a committee. It is hard to go against these leaders, but it is not impossible. This also brings us back to the point of politics and how the idea of equal votes is not really *equal* in application. Some committee members’ votes carry more weight than others. In working with committees, it is important to do our research and homework in identifying whom the real decision-maker(s) are in the committee.

This leads us to identifying the following three *target* categories:

The **Primary Target** is the person who is the most influential in making the decision. We need to know who that person is and how to influence her/his decision. We put much emphasis on analyzing the position of the *Primary Target* as she/he plays a crucial role in addressing our issue. The following is a tool to analyze the *Primary Target*’s position.

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ANALYSIS OF ADVOCACY TARGET (Nader Tadros, 2000)¹⁶

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:

¹⁶ Adapted by Nader Tadros from an unknown source, 2000

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The ***Support Targets*** are those who also play a role in the decision-making process, but are not the most influential. They are the other committee members who could show some support (or resistance) to the *primary target*. Reach out to those targets to reduce any resistance that they might show if they hear about your requests for the first time.

The ***Access Targets*** are those who can give us access to the *primary target*. This person could be the driver, the administrative staff, the spouse, or even distant family members of the primary target.

Opponents

Opponents are those who will not support your position and efforts in dealing with the issue. They are in a continuum between those who trust you, and agree with the need to address the issue, but do not agree with your approach, to the other end of the continuum that are people who simply do not trust you nor agree with you on the issue.

Fence Sitters

It is often not easy for people to take sides. Unless feeling strongly about something, people will tend to be neutral, at least in how they express their opinions. In your advocacy campaign, think of ways to move these fence sitters on your side and avoid losing them to your opponents.

Relationships as a Point of Our Strength

In analyzing the stakeholders, it is very important to emphasize the importance of relationships and relationship building. The relationships we have with others are one of the key points of collective strengths the group has. The more the group brings these relationships to the process the better chance they have in reaching out to and influencing all of the stakeholders.

THE STRATEGIC INFLUENCE GRID

The Grid is a reference tool that helps categorize stakeholders in a different way based on these two factors.

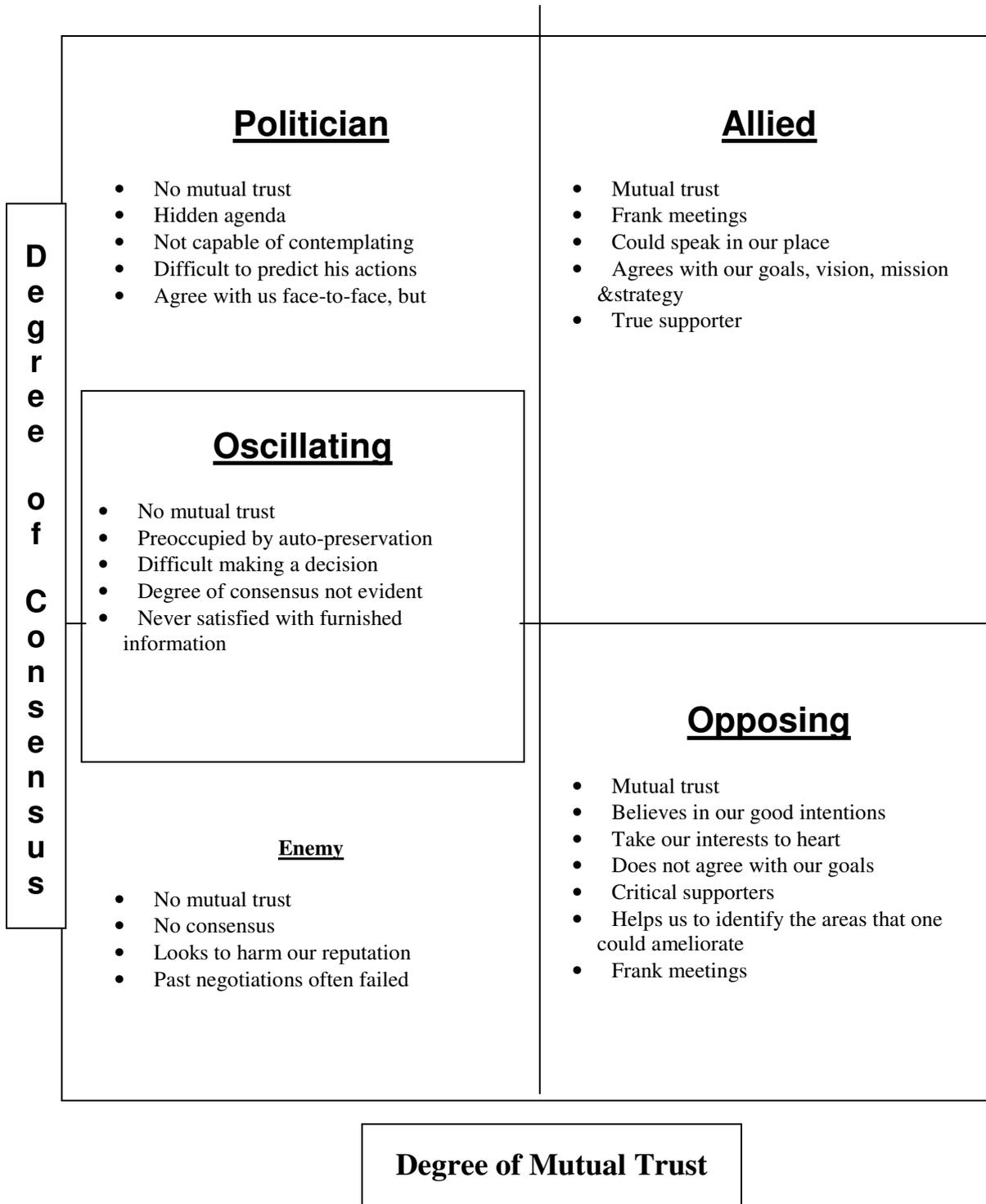
The following grid (adapted by Nader Tadros from an unknown source, 1998) is a tool to help us analyze the different stakeholders (individuals) according to two factors, the level of trust with us, and the level of consensus or agreement on the issue itself.

Exercise

Applying the stakeholder analysis to your issue, identify the different stakeholders with a description of the position of each one of them.

Strategic Influence Grid

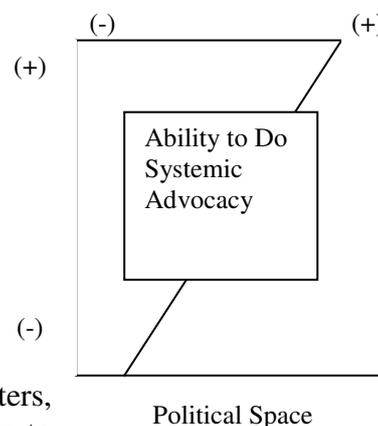
(Adapted by Nader Tadros from an Unknown Source, 1998)



ANALYZING THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

One of the strategic analyses that advocacy strategy planning teams often run is an assessment of the external environment and how open it is for advocacy work. The assessment process is important as it helps advocacy organizations and groups explicitly articulate their political fears and hopes as a team and makes them clear for the time of determining their advocacy strategy.

In assessing the external environment, the organization needs to look at two factors: the political space and the cultural red tape that might trigger political conflict. By political space we mean both the ability to express one's opinion about the political system and political leadership, and the availability of access points to influence the political system. Naturally, some political societies and systems are more open and tolerant to criticism than others. In some countries, for instance, it is acceptable to criticize the prime minister and cabinet ministers, than to criticize the president. In others, it is very sensitive to criticize some ideologies. In addition, most of the time, it is very tough to criticize the "Ministry of Defense" than any other ministry.



Assessing the political space goes beyond the *formal* political arena into the *informal* or cultural one. Public opinion leaders and cultural institutions have so much political power that makes it critical to assess as part of the external environment. For instance, in many countries, religious institutions and leaders influence shaping prevailing policies and culture, and thus politics. Addressing cultural issues, such as the status of women, in many parts of the world is a so sensitive an issue that it likely leads to a political conflict. Another example can be in the sensitivity of criticizing well-established religious institutions in some parts of the world. Should the organization decide to criticize such institutions, it should be aware of the potential political danger that may result.

As described, assessing the external environment should take into considerations both the political space and cultural sensitivities before getting into planning for advocacy work. Conducting this analysis helps the organizations assess these two elements of the external environment and determine how it wants to strategize for its advocacy work with these factors in consideration. The advocacy strategy planning team should help the organization(s) determine whether it wants to get engaged in "systemic advocacy", or in "sectoral or local advocacy"¹⁷. Systemic advocacy means that the organization/group deals with how the system is open for and tolerant of criticism, or how it is organized. Organizations working on systemic advocacy issues have campaigns that explicitly seek to bring about change to the political system. Many current political systems in the world somehow punish those who criticize how the system works or the style of political leadership. Sectoral and local advocacy, on the other hand, is a safer way of doing advocacy. It addresses issues that are limited to specific sectors, such as the health or the education sectors. Local advocacy may also be safer than system advocacy as it deals with more limited power figures than those at the national level. In many countries where political space is fairly limited, advocacy organizations intentionally limit their

¹⁷ This distinction was offered by Leslie Fox during a visit to the NGO Service Center, Egypt, 2000.

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work to sectoral and local advocacy, while still making significant policy change, with the hope to address the systemic work at a later stage when people gain confidence in dealing with power figures and playing politics.

The advocacy strategy planning should help the organization(s) or groups determine the type of advocacy they need to engage in based on the assessment of the external environment they go through.

SELECTING AN APPROPRIATE ADVOCACY STRATEGY

COMMON ADVOCACY STRATEGYS

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 following¹⁸:

Pilot or Model Programs

Where it is difficult to influence the public agenda, a successful model intervention can demonstrate to government a better way to solve problems. The pilot program could be in one or more of the areas in which the issue exists with some variance.

Building the Constituency for Change, a Core Strategy

This is an *advocacy core strategy* without which we cannot claim that what we do is advocacy in our own definition. Constituency building's main purpose is to help people feel their power and their ability to bring about desired change. Through building a constituency, advocacy groups and organizations make themselves accountable to their constituencies, and help these constituencies hold government and public decision makers accountable to the general public. Constituency building takes place through raising political awareness, organizing and mobilizing those affected by the problem/issue, or are interested in it, to get involved and take action. As a core strategy, it must happen together with any other selected advocacy strategy.

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 educate 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. This strategy 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.

¹⁸ Adapted from VeneKlasen, Lisa; and Miller, Valerie, 2002. *A New Weave of People, Power and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Chapter 3. World Neighbors, Oklahoma, USA.

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.

SELECTING YOUR ADVOCACY STRATEGY¹⁹

The advocacy team should carefully review the analysis that they conducted and then select the most appropriate strategy, or a combination of strategies that best addresses the issue. The following guidelines should help you select the most appropriate strategy at a given moment.

- This strategy should help you grow your constituency and help the constituency to feel and exercise their power to change a difficult situation.
- Some strategies do not allow you to use others at the same time. If you choose to use litigation, for instance, you will find it difficult to use a persuasion strategy at the same time.
- Build the strategy around the strength of your organization/coalition. If you are good in research, see how you can use research as a main tool in your strategy.
- Certain times through your advocacy campaign, you will find that your opponents will use counter strategies that you have not thought of before, or you will discover new facts that you never knew of, that require you to change your strategy over night. You always need to be prepared for changing the strategy swiftly and properly. It is imperative that the group discusses how and who to change the strategy, and the means to communicate the new strategy to the constituency.

Exercise

After analyzing your issue and discussing all available considerations, which strategy, or a combination of strategies, from the above, will you select for your campaign? Please explain the reasons behind your selection.

¹⁹ VeneKlasen, Lisa; and Miller, Valerie, 2002. A New Weave of People, Power and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation, Chapter 3. World Neighbors, Oklahoma, USA.

MODULE FOUR

**ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN DESIGN &
COMMON ADVOCACY TECHNIQUES AND APPLICATIONS**

MODULE OBJECTIVES

By the end of this session, participants will be able to do the following:

- Design an advocacy campaign using “The Nine-Questions” tool; and
- Design and carry out the basics of media advocacy, lobbying, legislative and budget advocacy,

INTRODUCTION

You have already done a strategy plan for your advocacy campaign and exercised designing a advocacy campaign using the Nine Questions. This module helps you learn more about the skills, techniques and applications most advocacy groups use to achieve their advocacy objectives. This module provides you with a useful tool to design your campaign, *The Nine-Question*, and reviews the most common of these skills and applications.

THE NINE QUESTIONS – STRATEGY PLANNING TOOL²⁰

In Module Three, we discussed an overview of advocacy strategy planning, and introduced two advocacy strategy-planning tools, ACT ON, and the Triangular Analysis. ACT ON is useful to help groups assess their advocacy capacity and the external environment and create an initial strategic plan. Once an issue has been identified, the Triangular Analysis helps to clarify where the organization or coalition may need to focus its resources for maximum effectiveness.

In this module, we introduce the Nine Questions Strategy Planning tool. Developed by *Jim Shultz of The Democracy Center*, the Nine Questions have usefully guided organizations through the strategy planning process of issue campaigns. It is straightforward, almost intuitive, and, according to activists around the world, it works! Drawing from the your own experience 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?

²⁰ Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide, David Cohen / Rosa de la Vega / Gabrielle Watson, 2001.

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.

EXERCISE:

In your circle of advocacy colleagues, apply the Nine Questions to the following scenario:

You have been informed that a high-ranking member of the state legislature or Parliament plans to introduce legislation to place tough restrictions on the ability of nonprofit organizations/NGOs to advocate for policy change in your state/province. Using the "Nine Questions" tool, develop a strategy designed to persuade the legislator/parliamentarian to drop (or modify) his/her plan.

When using the Nine Questions model, keep the following in mind:

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- 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.

MEDIA ADVOCACY

First, let us define what media is for our purpose.

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.

Basic Functions in a Media Campaign

Utilizing the media is a tool that advocacy workers and groups find very important. When used appropriately, the media can play an important role in involving and broadening constituencies, neutralizing opposition, and favorably influencing decision-makers. If you can think of any media campaign, whether for commercial reasons or for social justice ones, you will notice that it does the following functions that should exist together²¹:

- Alerts the intended audience(s) to the existence of a problem that needs to be addressed;
- Explains the causes of the problem and the best ways to tackle it;
- Invites the audience(s) to adopt the same point of view; and
- Urge the audience(s) to take an action.

The last piece of “urging people to take an *action*” is a critical one to our work in social justice, as social justice often use the expression “raising the awareness” as a goal in itself. This reference to “awareness raising” falls short of emphasizing the *action* piece that characterizes advocacy. As advocacy workers, you need to ensure that your media messages, even if you say it in a meeting, carries this clear *call for action* piece.

Developing a Core Message and Tailored Messages

The Nine Questions tool we discussed in the last Module provides us with a set of questions of how to identify and analyze our target audience(s) and how to best influence them. In designing your media message, David Cohen, Rosa de la Vega, and Gabriella Watson (2001) draw a distinction between developing a *core message* and a *tailored one*.

A *core message* is one or a few brief, straightforward statements that reflect:

- Your analysis of the problem.
- The problem’s cause.
- Whom you hold responsible for solving the problem.
- Your proposed solution, if you have one.
- The actions you ask others to take in support of the solution.

²¹ Adapted from an unknown source

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The core message guides the tailored messages, slogans, sound bites, and stories that an advocacy effort uses at different times with different audiences.

A *tailored message* is created for a specific audience, based on an analysis of:

- What will be most persuasive for that audience.
- What information it needs to hear.
- What action you want that audience to take.

Such analysis will guide the message's:

- Content.
- Form (words, images, etc.).
- Length.
- Medium (mass media, one-on-one meeting, demonstration, street theatre, etc.)
- Messenger or spokesperson (member of the affected group, an expert, etc.).

Guidelines For Building Your Message (Coady International Institute's *Advocacy and Networking Manual, 2004*)

Craft each message for an individual *even if you're targeting an institution*. Think yourself into their shoes before you begin to communicate.

- Hammer the message home, using as many different forms and using as many types of media as you can.
- Make sure that the message is consistent: do not change your message until it has been absorbed by your audience.
- Create different 'entry levels' for people with different knowledge levels, so that there is something for everyone who wants to be involved. But don't patronize people by producing materials that over-simplify the issue and create distorted understanding.
- Feedback progress of the advocacy work to those people on the ground who are doing the legwork. You will need them again.
- Let those on whose behalf you are advocating - for example, farmers in southern Sudan - speak, write, lobby etc. for themselves rather than through an intermediary.
- Identify and exploit external and internal events and opportunities. Prepare a timeline and make sure you have the appropriate, well-researched information to feed into them.
- Use the language of the target audience and avoid technical terms or jargon.
- Be clear about what you want your audience TO DO as a result of hearing your message.
- If you're working as part of a broader network or collaboration, make sure that the message neither surprises nor compromises any of the members.
- Opportunities to get your message across are few and slim: grab them when they do come and make sure you have the research ready so you can respond immediately.

Cohen, et al, advise advocacy groups to invite the audience to "fill in the blank" and reach your conclusions in their own way as a way to increase the people's ownership of the issue and the solution. However, he also advise us to provide solutions if possible as people are more receptive to the message when they see a solution presented.

Put your frame around the issue.(Cohen, et al, 2001)

Frames are boundaries that highlight specific parts of an issue, place others in the background, and leave out some entirely. They influence how the audience thinks about the issue, including who is responsible for the cause and its possible solutions.

Your frame guides the content of your messages, including the use of particular symbols, metaphors, and visual images. You need to frame the issue in a way that is as vivid and compelling as the opposition's frame, and shifts the audience's attention to your perspective.

As a team of advocacy workers, you should pay great attention to the frame you want to put around your issue as it can make or break your campaign.

Selecting the Right Medium(s)

What is a “medium” (Cohen, et al, 2001)?

A means or channel of communication. “Media” is the plural of medium.

“Mass media” are those specific means used to communicate to large groups of people. For example, national newspapers, magazines, radio and television. In many situations, David Cohen also advises advocacy groups to consider creating alternative media that can work for them. This might include, but not limited to, songs, popular theater, dances, recognizable motifs. Of course the expanding use of the internet creates several new opportunities for new media channels of media such as internet logs (blogs) and e-petitions.

You will likely need multiple media to communicate your messages to your key audiences. For each audience, choose a medium based on your assessment of that audience, as well as your access to and capacity to work with that medium.

For each audience, think about:

- What are the audience's primary sources of information and influence? Who or what do they listen to? What do they read? What do they watch?
- What are the audience's characteristics? Where do they live or work? What language do they speak? Do they read? Can they afford to buy newspapers and other media? Do they have access to the Internet?

Once you have chosen a medium, assess whether it is possible to use it. Think about:

- How do we access the medium? Who owns it? Who are the gatekeepers?
- How do we get attention for that medium?
- Is it possible that the gatekeepers will distort our message? If so, is it worth it to use this medium? Why?

Next, assess whether you have the organizational capacity to work with that medium. Think about:

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- What skills are needed?
- What resources are needed?

Using Media as a Tool for Social Action (Coady International Institute's *Advocacy and Networking Manual*, 2004)

Many tactical tools are available to help you get positive media coverage and sustain media interest in your issue. The following chart offers a brief summary of the many media tactics available to activists and suggests how to use them effectively.

MEDIA GRABBING TACTICS	WHEN TO USE
News Release	To raise awareness about an issue, explain a position, describe an event
News Advisories	To invite reporters to attend an event
News Conferences	To explain breaking news to reporters
Letters to the Editor	To respond to media coverage, demonstrate community support for an issue
Editorial Meetings	To influence the editorial position of a newspaper, radio or TV station, especially before an important vote or decision
Editorial Mailings	To explain the status of an issue or campaign And ask for editorial support
Opinion Editorials	To express your opinion on issues and establish your credentials as a spokesperson
Special Events	To demonstrate strength, solidarity, gain attention for a cause, apply pressure on decision-makers

The Diffusion Process (Coady International Institute, Previous Source)

The diffusion process shows how people and groups make decisions. It can be broken down into the following six phases:

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Phase I Awareness	Phase II Information	Phase III Evaluation	Phase IV Trial	Phase V Adoption	Phase VI Reinforcement
Learns about and idea or practice but lacks detail.	Gets facts, develops interest, sees possibilities.	Tries it mentally, weighs alternatives.	Social acceptability, experimentation.	Full-scale use, adopts it.	Continued commitment, unswerving.

According to the research:

- mass media are effective only in Phases I, II & VI
- information by itself has almost no power to influence behaviour or attitudes
- impersonal media like print and broadcast are effective and efficient ways to create awareness and satisfy the information-seeking that follows awareness
- to gain adoption of an idea, product or behaviour, personal media (people, experts, opinion leaders) are necessary in order to provide psychological support and social acceptability.

Cultivating Good Media Relations (Coady International Institute, *Advocacy and Networking Manual*, 2004)

It is important that social development organizations establish good relations with the media in their working areas. Knowing journalists and editors personally helps establish a feeling of trust and credibility which, in turn, makes it more likely that an issue you want covered will be.

The idea is not to promote the organization, but to promote its credibility to speak about development issues in the community.

To cultivate good media relations, an organization should make an effort to visit media personnel in their area once a year, and to provide background information about the organization and the work it is currently doing. In all dealings with the media, be professional, courteous and provide factual information in a clear, concise and timely manner.

As social justice workers, you will need to develop clear media objectives and a plan to achieve these objectives.

Exercise

With your circle of advocacy workers, develop a media plan that includes an analysis of your target audience(s), a core message and tailored messages, the media that will help you achieve your media objectives.

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 Lobby?²²

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.

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.

²² Coady International Institute: *Advocacy and Networking Manual*, 2003

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- 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.

Exercise

Working with your circle of advocacy colleagues, identify your lobbying target and a plan to lobby this target including follow up steps.

BUDGET ADVOCACY²³

Public budgets ultimately determine policy outcomes. They show who benefits from public spending and who is bypassed, where the money is allocated and where it is not. Budget analysis can be a pivot to focus on local, national, and international issues.

Historically, public budgets have been formulated in secrecy by an elite corps of government bureaucrats, who mostly guide elected government officials, who in turn regularly respond to organized interests. In parliamentary systems, the Finance Minister is the major power. In the U.S., it is the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and, sometimes, the Secretary of the Treasury as well.

Macro-economic policy, which directs the budget's formulation, is also barely debated and rarely challenged. Arguments do occur but only over slices of specific items. For all practical purposes, the public, even those who are most active, is left out of budget policy deliberations.

To create space for public argument, organized advocates around the world have begun to analyze their national and local budgets. Their work includes summarizing official information that is readily available, and sharing it with other advocates to be used in their efforts.

In the U.S., major changes have taken place in fewer than 20 years. A small number of highly skilled budget analysts have emerged to work on the national and state levels. Premier among the national organizations is the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities. Born out of crisis during the Reagan Administration's severe cutbacks to social programs, the Center has played a significant role in showing how the U.S. budget affects low-income families, the poor, and the near poor – including millions of people who work for a living and yet remain poor.

Idasa in South Africa, DISHA and Vidhayak Sansad in India, Proshika and IDPAA in Bangladesh, and many organizations in Latin America have started similar efforts, independently and in collaboration with the Center. For example, in Bangalore, India, the Public Affairs Centre has launched a "report card" that enables users of urban public services to rate levels of performance and their satisfaction. The idea is catching on in other cities, thereby widening the numbers of people familiar with the budget and primed for action.

In these ways, social justice advocates are using budget analysis to:

- Amplify the voices of people who are not heard.
- Raise issues that would otherwise be neglected, and draw the attention of the media and others in civil society.
- Confront unequal power dynamics that affect the distribution of public resources.
- Pressure governance institutions to treat marginalized people with dignity.

²³ This section is taken from: *Cohen, David; De la Vega, Rosa; and Watson, Gabrielle, 2001. Advocacy for Social Justice: A global Action and Reflection Guide. Kumarian Press, Inc., Connecticut, USA.*

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- Create new public spaces for people's participation.
- Connect micro-level experiences to macro-level economic and social policies.
- Learn how their decision making system works and how to make interventions earlier in the policy making process.
- Gain the skills needed to effectively participate in public argument.

A public document once created in secrecy by a small governing elite is no longer perfunctory. It is under public scrutiny and, increasingly, public pressure to be responsive to people's needs.

In many countries, national governments have devolved or are devolving power to local governments, as seen with neighborhood associations in Latin America, the Panchyat Raj in India, and the union *parishads* and other locally-elected bodies in Bangladesh. Within this context, budget analysis has become an entry point for building relationships with local officials to address the problems closest to people's lives. These same local officials place pressure on national officials to change budget allocations so the coffers for poverty elimination, education, and other programs that help people are not left empty.

Budget analysis is also an entry point for tackling economic liberalization and globalization on an international level. For example, an international coalition – including faith-based organizations, development agencies, NGOs in the South and North, and others – has organized to critique SAPs and to push for cancellation of the vast majority of the debt created by these harmful programs. They see debt cancellation as a critical step in changing the direction of economic policies away from neo-liberal ideology.

Through budget analysis, these advocates have been able to:

- **Target the G-7 countries of Western Europe, North America, and Japan as the key decision makers in the IMF, World Bank, and other IFIs.**
- **Translate an international declarative policy – reduce absolute poverty by 50% by 2015 – into a practical policy demand – forgive all or most of the debt based on a country's ability to repay.**
- **Use “jugular information” to frame the argument clearly and to make counterarguments ineffective. For example, in a short period of time, the stock market wealth in the richest countries has grown to 50 times more than the combined debt of the 42 poorest countries. As wealth grows, the case for forgiving the debt becomes even more compelling.**
- Show what each country has lost in paying off the debts, rather than supporting public programs to meet people's basic needs: food, shelter, health, and education. Such information may include the number of deaths that were preventable through basic health services, or the number of children – especially girl children – that go uneducated. For example, in Tanzania, the debt payments are nine times greater than what it spends on primary health care, four times what it spends on primary education.

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In your circle of advocacy colleagues, put a plan to get and analyze the public budget that has to do with your issue. Answer the following questions:

- Was it easy to get the budget, or rather difficult?
- Were the affected people and the activists aware of the role of the budget in addressing or hindering the problem?
- Does the budget help the affected people overcome the problem, or it helps to aggravate the problem?
- Is the budget applied as allocated, or there is a gap between the plan and the implementation?