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Supporting Civic Advocacy:
Strategic approaches for donor-supported civic advocacy
programs

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Advocacy, at its core, is an action-oriented process. It plays an important role in determining social justice, political and civil liberties, and in giving voice to citizens and historically marginalized groups. At its best, advocacy expresses the power of an individual, constituency, or organization to shape public agendas and change public policies. In a broader civil society strategy, advocacy-oriented action goes beyond specific objectives (e.g., raising the minimum wage) to providing the means to mobilize society, ideas, and resources in an effort to bring about democratic change and/or its consolidation.

Since the early 1990s, USAID has supported civil society organizations (CSOs) engaged in advocacy as part of its portfolio of democracy and governance assistance. Such an instrumentalist approach to civil society development attempts to build centrist coalitions by engaging and strengthening those organizations with a political reform agenda.

When USAID first started supporting CSOs' advocacy efforts, there was little systematic information available about the field of advocacy or how to achieve desired results. Now, experience has helped to define this emerging area of DG activity. This handbook is a reflection of USAID's experience in advocacy. Compiled in consultation with the top advocacy trainers, it distills the best practices and lessons learned in advocacy programming.

Advocacy actions involve either or both of two things:

- Working on a specific issue aimed at solving an explicit problem (e.g., housing rights for urban poor people or improving tax collection practices)
- Working to transform and/or strengthen democratic institutions more generally (e.g., pressing for constitutional reforms or protection of human rights)

Thus, there are two dimensions to advocacy. One focuses on a specific issue, and another focuses on broader agendas. Both kinds of advocacy fit into a strategy to create and/or strengthen a pluralistic democratic environment.

The arenas and audiences for advocacy are many. They are local, national, and international. Regardless of the arena or audience, the main objective of an advocacy strategy is to affect decisions and decision-makers. In order to influence, advocacy typically needs to include a broad range of activities including utilizing the media, building coalitions, using information, analyzing budgets, organizing the grassroots, lobbying decision-makers, and utilizing the legal system. These types of advocacy actions can contribute to creating a public space, penetrating elitist power structures, and deepening the capacity of civil society.

Effective advocacy involves, first and foremost, a process of strategy planning. From a strategic assessment that advocacy is an appropriate tool to use in assisting democratic development, a process of strategic planning must be initiated. Through that process it will be determined if and how to use media, coalitions, information, budgets, lobbying, and grassroots groups in meeting the advocacy goals.

In this handbook, we look closely at how USAID DG officers can incorporate advocacy into DG programming. Advocacy should be considered from the beginning of any USAID civil society strategy. Since there are so many different types of advocacy and a broad range of resources available to advocacy-oriented action, it can be adapted to a broader strategic framework.

The level of political freedom, economic development, and other factors in a country will obviously determine the kinds of organizations, and the issues they advocate, to be included in program design. In

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countries with weak civil societies and/or governments that are unreceptive to non-governmental influence, advocacy programs may seem less appropriate than, say, a civil society program that focuses on support to service delivery CSOs. But supporting indigenous advocacy efforts in challenging environments may still be appropriate, even if the anticipated results are nominal, because even small victories can be very influential in building public confidence and encouraging citizen participation. Furthermore, advocacy efforts sometimes help prevent a situation from deteriorating by, for example, raising awareness in the West of human rights abuses.

After deciding that an advocacy strategy is appropriate for the DG problem at hand, a DG officer will want to consider many factors when planning or drafting a program description for an advocacy program:

- The type of the advocacy (single-issue or writ large) to be addressed
- The objectives of the advocacy
- The actors, (i.e., the advocates, as well as their constituencies, beneficiaries, proponents and opponents)
- The advocacy activities to be supported
- The arenas/mechanisms in which advocacy activities will take place
- The type of assistance to be provided under a DG program

We recognize that this handbook marks only a beginning to the Agency's work with advocacy programming. Over time, we anticipate refining the guidance contained within in order to build on our experience in this area. The Center for Democracy and Governance welcomes any feedback from those who use the handbook.

Now, experience has helped to define this emerging area of DG activity.

I. INTRODUCTION

This handbook aims to assist USAID Missions and their partners in understanding advocacy strategies and programming. It draws on a growing literature¹ and broad range of practical experiences in the field to provide guidance in assessing advocacy strategies and their relationship to a larger civil society strategy. When and how advocacy fits into a civil society strategy often remain unclear, but we hope, with this handbook, to clarify the relationship between advocacy and civil society.

Advocacy, at its core, is an action-oriented process. It plays an important role in determining social justice, political, and civil liberties, and in giving voice to citizens and historically marginalized groups. At its best, advocacy expresses the power of an individual, constituency, or organization to shape public agendas and change public policies. In a broader civil society strategy, advocacy-oriented action goes beyond specific objectives (e.g., raising the minimum wage) to providing the means to mobilize society, ideas, and resources in an effort to bring about democratic change and/or its consolidation.

Since the early 1990s, USAID has supported civil society organizations (CSOs) engaged in advocacy as part of its portfolio of democracy and governance assistance. Such an instrumentalist approach to civil society development attempts to build centrist coalitions by engaging and strengthening those organizations with a political reform agenda.

When USAID first started supporting CSOs' advocacy efforts, there was little systematic information available about the field of advocacy or how to achieve desired results.

¹ Chief among these is USAID/PPC/CDIE's *Constituencies for Reform*. The current handbook relied extensively on the CDIE publication in its development. Particular credit is given to select sections in this handbook that were borrowed directly from *Constituencies for Reform*, but credit must also be given to its influence over the rest of this publication.

In some countries, advocacy is still a foreign concept and there aren't even words in the language to express the types of activities encompassed under this heading. For some cultures, the idea of challenging government or questioning the status quo is not only unimaginable, but represents a frightening and dangerous prospect. Elsewhere, potential advocates are inactive because they interpret engaging a corrupt system through advocacy as submission or an act that serves to help legitimize that system.

Nevertheless, there are now thousands of CSOs engaged in advocacy, many of which do so under considerable duress and constraints. For example, in Kenya a cross-section of civil society groups from professional associations, human rights groups, and activist organizations within the Protestant and Catholic churches has coalesced around a major constitutional reform effort, and in the Philippines coconut farmers, small scale fishermen, and other traditionally marginalized populations have formed national coalitions to advocate their representation in policy and legislative reforms.

Purpose of the Handbook

This handbook is a reflection of USAID's experience in advocacy. Compiled in consultation with the top advocacy trainers, it distills the best practices and lessons learned in advocacy programming.² As this handbook will illustrate, an effective advocacy program is one that can help establish advocacy networks. Advocacy networks are groups of organizations and individuals working together to achieve changes in policy law or programs for a particular issue.³

² USAID is grateful to the following organizations for their participation in a [DATE??] roundtable discussion on advocacy that helped inform this guide: Advocacy Institute, Global Women in Politics Program/The Asia Foundation, CEDPA, Women's Edge, and World Learning.

³ The Policy Project, *Networking for Policy Change: An Advocacy Training Manual* USAID contract no. CCP-C-00-95-00023, October 1999.

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This handbook on advocacy meets two distinct, but complementary sets of needs from its audience. It provides an overview of advocacy and its components, as well as an explanation of how to strategically incorporate advocacy into a USAID Mission's strategy and implement its subsequent programs. It contains the following sections:

- An introduction to advocacy, including an description of advocacy, an explanation of the importance of strategic planning in advocacy campaigns, and an overview of the forms and tools of advocacy. Although this information is more directly relevant to advocates and advocacy CSOs than to DG officers, it is important for the latter to understand the fundamental elements of advocacy and be acquainted with the various tools used by advocacy CSOs. (Section II)
- An explanation of how advocacy fits into an overall DG strategy. This and subsequent sections are designed specifically to address the needs of DG officers in the planning, design, and management of an advocacy program. (Section III)
- An overview of how to design an advocacy program from the perspective of a DG officer, including specific programming ideas. (Section IV)
- Additional programming issues and recommendations to consider in the design and management of advocacy programs. (Section V)
- Performance information and analytical tools to help monitor and evaluate USAID advocacy programs. (Section VI)
- Performance measurement tools, references and additional information regarding advocacy. (Appendices)

As this handbook was not designed to produce the final word on advocacy programming at USAID, this section serves as a launching point

for further investigation in the field. We hope that it serves that purpose and stimulates debate. The Center for Democracy and Governance welcomes any feedback from those who use the handbook.

II. UNDERSTANDING EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY

What is Advocacy

Advocacy is the process by which individuals and organizations attempt to influence public policy decisions. Advocacy is directed at those officials in the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government who have the ability to influence or make public policy decisions.

There is no universal template to advocacy, and advocacy strategies are driven by the particular context in which the advocate works. Effective advocacy requires framing the essential issues, clearly defining goals and obtainable objectives, identifying potential supporters and opponents, conducting policy analysis, developing persuasive messages, and mobilizing people and resources.

The arenas and audiences for advocacy are many. They are local, national, and international. The advocacy process may be carried out through a broad range of activities including, for example, building coalitions, lobbying legislatures or administrative agencies, organizing the grassroots, litigation, marshalling information and utilizing the media. These types of advocacy actions can contribute to creating a public space, penetrating elitist power structures, and deepening the capacity of civil society.

Advocacy may be adversarial or negotiated. **Adversarial advocacy** uses actions that express opposition, protest and dissent. **Negotiated advocacy** engages stakeholders with decision-makers, and emphasizes consensus-building, negotiation and conflict management. Advocacy campaigns may simultaneously employ elements of both adversarial and negotiated advocacy, or may use the approaches sequentially. Adversarial advocacy often serves as prelude to negotiated advocacy as the campaign gains momentum and shifts its focus from problems and causes to solutions.

The very act of citizens and organizations attempting to influence governmental

decisions is important to democratic development. Citizen involvement in public policy decision-making strengthens the bonds between the governed and government, and often makes government more sensitive to the needs of citizens and more accountable for its decisions. Even regardless of the desired policy outcome, advocacy fits into a strategy to create and/or strengthen a pluralistic democratic environment.

Planning and Implementing Advocacy

This section will describe the process by which advocacy is planned and implemented. Part A of this section describes strategy planning, a process important for any size or shape of advocacy, from urging a local government to improve waste treatment, to lobbying a national government to enact constitutional reforms. Parts B through H describe advocacy tools that can be used in a variety of advocacy campaigns directed at various substantive issues and levels of government. These tools include utilizing the media, building coalitions, using information, analyzing budgets, lobbying decision-makers, organizing and mobilizing the grassroots, and utilizing the legal system.

A. Strategy Planning

Advocacy is a process informed first by strategy planning. The strategy planning process helps to determine whether and when advocacy is an appropriate tool to use in assisting democratic development in a particular country. It seeks to identify if and how to use the principle components or tools of advocacy.

Strategy Planning Definition

Strategy planning is a disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions and design actions that shape and guide an advocacy effort. Engaging in strategy planning allows CSOs to determine if the desired public policy goals are reasonably obtainable, and which advocacy tools should be used in an advocacy campaign. The extent to which CSOs use strategy planning is an

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indication of the level of the group's organizational development.

A strategy is an overall map that guides the use of specific actions or tactics towards clearly defined and obtainable goals. Strategy planning involves a hard-nosed assessment of where CSOs are, where they want to go, and how to get there. Strategy planning is essential in order to conduct evaluations. Without knowing where a CSO is to begin, it is difficult to assess progress.

This section will describe strategy planning, discuss its importance, introduce a strategic planning model, discuss the importance and the effectiveness of using a combination of advocacy tools, and introduce a model for measuring the progress of organizational development for advocacy CSO.

The Importance of Strategy Planning

Strategy planning creates a set of concrete objectives, the implementation plan for achieving those objectives, and a means to assess progress toward those objectives during the course of an advocacy campaign. Like travelers on a journey, careful strategy planning before an advocacy campaign is launched will create a map that will guide the advocate toward the ultimate destination. Encouraging CSO leaders to consistently use strategy planning involves convincing these leaders of the value of engaging in such a process and providing training or materials to facilitate the process.

A Strategy Planning Model

There are many models that can be used for strategy planning. One such model, developed from the experience of advocates and advocacy organizations in designing and conducting training and workshops, is presented below. Advocacy organizations should not be limited to this model, as it represents only a fraction of the existing strategic planning models.

The 10-Question Strategy Planning Model⁴

Questions #1-6 refer to the external environment

1. *Political climate:* Is the political environment such that advocacy organization and/or the issue the organization seeks to address has a reasonable opportunity to succeed in the advocacy campaign?
2. *Public policy objectives and goals:* What is the problem? What does the CSO want? What are the risks of an unfavorable outcome from the advocacy campaign?
3. *Key players:* Who can make it happen? Who can prevent it from happening? Who within and outside government will support or oppose the CSO?
4. *Message:* What do the key players need to hear? Are there different messages for different audiences?
5. *Messenger:* Whom do the key players need to hear the message from?
6. *Delivery:* How should the CSO deliver the message?

Questions #7-10 refer to the internal environment

7. *Organizational resources:* What capacity does the CSO possess to carry out the various tasks in the campaign? What does the CSO have to build upon?
8. *Gaps, challenges:* What does the CSO need to develop? Do the CSO's potential allies possess these capacities?
9. *Sequence of steps:* How does the CSO begin? What is the proper sequence for launching the various components of the campaign?
10. *Evaluation:* How does the CSO know the campaign is working? How does the CSO make adjustments?

⁴ This model is based upon the "Nine Questions Model" developed by Jim Shultz, Director, Democracy Center (Advocacy Institute West), 1995, but has been materially changed.

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Using the model as a guide to strategy planning:

1. *Political climate:* Is the political environment such that advocacy organization and/or the issue the CSO seeks to address has a reasonable opportunity to succeed in the advocacy campaign?

Any effective advocacy campaign must first assess whether or not the political environment in which it will be conducted is reasonably receptive to both the advocacy organization and the issue. A campaign for constitutional reforms may not be viable in a particular political environment, whereas a campaign to protect environmentally sensitive regions may be. The political assessment will also guide the decisions made throughout the strategic plan. Decisions about how issues are framed, the institutions and decision makers to be targeted, the message and messengers to be used, and the coalition to be assembled are all informed by the assessment of the political environment.

2. *Public policy objectives and goals:* What is the problem? What solution does the CSO seek? What are the risks of an unfavorable outcome from the advocacy campaign?

In every advocacy campaign it is necessary to clearly define the problem and the desired policy objective. Is the local water supply unhealthy and the local community wants access to safe drinking water? Is the central government suppressing the free exchange of ideas and non-government groups want to publish free of censorship?

Once the problem and the possible solution(s) have been clearly identified, consideration must be given to the potential risks of the advocacy campaign. By raising an issue and advocating for a public policy solution, the issue is in play and there is always a risk that the resolution is not the one sought. For instance, by asking that a sensitive environmental preserve be expanded in size, there is a risk that those who seek to economically exploit its resources will exploit this debate to argue that the preserve is already too large and should be reduced.

Advocates cannot always control the course of the debate, so the risk of a bad outcome may outweigh the likelihood of the resolution being sought. This risk must be honestly and carefully weighed before launching the campaign.

3. *Key players:* Who in government can make it happen? Who in government can prevent it from happening? Who outside government will support you or oppose you?

It is essential to identify those institutions of government and/or those individuals in government who are in a position to enact or block the desired policy outcome. The solution may lie with an administrative body who enacts regulations or enforces standards, with the courts to force the executive branch to act according to law, or with the passage of a statute. It is often necessary or advisable to pursue policy solutions in more than one forum. But in every case one must clearly examine any and all possible forums available to enact or block the public policy position you seek to effect.

Once the appropriate public policy institutions are identified one must then identify the key personnel in each institution who can influence the outcome. It may be a key legislator, minister, bureaucrat, or elected official. The challenge is to identify the key personnel in the decision making process, both those who will support and those who will oppose the position. Similarly, identifying those interests and organizations outside government that may be allies and those that are likely to oppose the advocacy effort is essential in the strategic planning. Mapping support and opposition, both inside and outside government, will allow the advocacy campaign to rally support and blunt opposition.

4. *Message:* What do the key players need to hear? Are there different messages for different audiences?

Once the issue has been developed, the desired outcome determined, and the institutions and players capable of providing the desired outcome identified, the messages needed to persuade the relevant actors must be developed. The message may be different for different

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institutions or individuals. For instance, if the advocacy campaign includes both litigation and administrative advocacy, the messages directed to the courts and the appropriate executive branch agency may be much different, in the first instance focused on a strictly legal argument, in the latter on urging the advocacy organization's policy choices over other permissible choices. As will be discussed in more detail in a later section, different, or differently packaged messages, may be used to influence public opinion.

5. *Messenger*: Whom do the key players need to hear the message from?

The most effective messenger for each audience must be carefully chosen. A skilled lawyer for litigation may not be the most effective spokesperson before a legislative committee considering the issue. Choice of the messenger can be as critical as the content of the message itself.

6. *Delivery*: How should the CSO deliver the message?

The medium through which the message is delivered will vary depending on the issue and the message. Often, the advocacy campaign will include the use of multiple media to ensure that the messages are effectively and widely disseminated to the target audiences.

7. *Organizational resources*: What capacity does the CSO possess to carry out the various tasks in the campaign? What does the CSO have to build upon?

An inventory of institutional capacity to carry out the tasks outlined above will help the organization determine what can be done with current resources. The advocacy organization may have a very effective radio and television communicator on staff who can organize and implement that part of the campaign. Similarly, the organization may have internal resources to conduct litigation, lobby the legislature, etc. An inventory of resources will not only identify an organization's gifts but also reveal any shortcomings, gaps or challenges.

8. *Gaps, challenges*: What resources and skills does the CSO need to develop? Do the CSO's potential allies possess these capacities?

After identifying gifts and resources, the organization must frankly and honestly assess any shortcomings that must be addressed and overcome. For instance, the desired policy outcome and the forum in which it must be achieved may require access to expertise that the organization does not itself possess. Acquiring the expertise, by partnering with a like-minded organization that possesses it or by hiring someone who has it, is a necessary step in designing an advocacy campaign.

9. *Sequence of steps*: How does the campaign begin? What is the proper sequence for launching the various components of the campaign?

The timing of a campaign and the sequence in which the various components of a campaign are implemented can be decisive in achieving the desired outcome. A carefully considered timeline is a necessary component in any advocacy effort.

10. *Evaluation*: How does the CSO know the advocacy campaign is working? How does the CSO make adjustments during the course of the campaign?

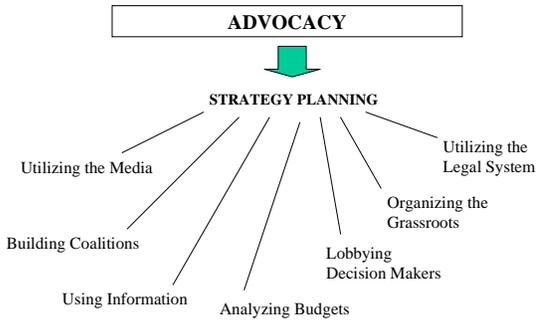
Honest, periodic, self-assessment of an advocacy campaign will allow the CSO to assess progress toward the ultimate goal. The evaluation should review the effectiveness of each element in the plan and whether or not adjustments are needed in the strategy. Constantly reexamining the assumptions and the external factors that underlie and influence the effectiveness of the plan, in addition to assessing implementation, are essential steps in a successful campaign.

Advocacy Tools

Parts B through H below describe seven advocacy tools that can be used in a variety of advocacy campaigns directed at various substantive issues and levels of government. The illustration below demonstrates how the decision to use these advocacy tools flows from the strategy planning process.

working together toward the desired public policy outcome. Problems that are complex and multi-dimensional can only be addressed by multi-faceted advocacy campaigns.

Consider the problem of domestic violence. An advocacy campaign that focuses primarily on lobbying and legal reform may not be successful in addressing change if the law is not enforced and/or if women aren't aware of their legal rights. A multi-faceted advocacy campaign would involve lobbying and legal reform, political education for officials at executing agencies (police officers, judges, lawyers), legal literacy, consciousness raising, and support and service groups for women.



There are many elements of and approaches to advocacy, and many ways to characterize them. For the purpose of this handbook, we've chosen to the word "tools" to describe the seven advocacy practices below. The list of seven is not exhaustive, but is one way to describe some of the most common approaches to advocacy.⁵ The order in which they are presented here does not imply a rank or sequence.

The Importance of Combining Advocacy Tools in an Advocacy Campaign

No two advocacy campaigns are alike and each requires a careful planning process to identify the most effective and necessary elements to reach the desired objective. However, the most effective advocacy efforts are those that are multi-faceted and combine multiple tools

⁵ The seven tools are based on a model provided by the Advocacy Institute.

B. Utilizing the Media

Utilizing the media in an advocacy context refers to the strategic use of media to advance a public policy initiative or otherwise bolster an advocacy campaign. All advocacy CSOs, from the grassroots level to high-profile national CSOs, can utilize the media. The media’s ability to set the public agenda, influence public debate, pressure policy makers, and transmit values, renders the media an essential advocacy tool.⁶

Media refers to any medium that can be used to communicate a message, whereas mass media refers specifically to media that reach mass audiences, (e.g., television, newspapers, radio, and the Internet). Mass media can be the most effective media in an advocacy effort, but other media can also play an important role, especially in countries where the mass media is highly controlled or influenced by the government. Community theater, posters, puppet shows, songs, and community radio are examples of media that are often utilized by advocacy groups, for example by introducing universal human values and peace-building measures in localities dominated by tribal, ethnic, or religious conflict.

Utilizing the media involves increasing media coverage of the advocacy issue, as well as attracting media coverage of advocacy CSO events and activities. Effective use of mass media might include co-production of talk shows, organizing events for press coverage, providing journalists with facts and ideas to form the basis of investigative reports, and building relationships with journalists and media outlets.

C. Building Coalitions

A coalition is made up of individuals or organizations who join forces to pursue a common social change goal while maintaining their own autonomy. Coalitions encompass a

⁶ Lawrence Wallack, Lori Dorfman, David Jernigan, and Makani Themba, *Media Advocacy and Public Health Power for Prevention*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993.

<p>Characteristics of Effective CSO Use of Media¹</p> <p><i>Offer relevant and timely stories.</i> Locate the issue in broader social, economic, or political trends. Use anniversaries and local events to peg stories.</p> <p><i>Use human interest stories.</i> Explain how the issue affects real people. Use personal stories to get the message across, and put information into a social context to make it meaningful and compelling.¹</p> <p><i>Provide factual and credible information.</i> Reporters are not in the business of promoting specific organizations or programs. Keep the focus of a story on the issue, not the organization.</p> <p><i>Collaborate with media on PSA production.</i> Use grant funds to co-produce public service announcements (PSAs) with local media. Include in the PSA contact information of the advocacy CSO where people can get information, volunteer, report violations, or obtain services, (such as legal assistance).</p> <p><i>Develop relationships with journalists, journalist associations, and media watchdog groups.</i> These often have similar advocacy agenda, and supporting their advocacy efforts ultimately improves the ability of advocacy CSOs to effectively utilize the media.</p>
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variety of institutional and decision making structures. Coalitions can be formal or informal, permanent or temporary, and independently or collectively funded and staffed.

Coalitions are important because they provide:

- *Safety.* Safety refers to protection against harassment and repression. Coalitions provide safety because it is usually more difficult for opponents to target a broad coalition than individual organizations.

- *Strength.* Strength refers to the aggregate sum of the individual strengths of coalition members. Coalitions provide strength because weaker organizations can benefit from stronger ones and all organizations can benefit from the individual strengths of each.
- *Legitimacy.* Legitimacy refers to the extent to which a coalition is accepted by decision makers as representing a constituency base. Coalitions provide legitimacy as they aggregate resources and include a wider constituency base. The extent of constituency support is important in demonstrating to decision makers the importance and/or urgency of a particular issue.

From a donor perspective, coalitions are important because they prevent redundancy and duplication. In addition coalitions facilitate networking and information sharing and function as “democracy schools.”

Characteristics of Effective Coalitions¹

Effective Coalitions

- Aggregate resources (financial, human, etc.) available for a specific advocacy issue
- Use the diverse perspectives of its members to facilitate creative problem solving
- Spread the risk
- Share credit and responsibilities

Effective Coalition Structures

- Have clear goals and objectives; know when to “die a peaceful death”
- Have ground rules understood by all
- Have clear decision-making processes
- Have clearly defined roles and responsibilities for members

Effective Coalition Leadership

- Functions as a “democracy school”, i.e., promotes cooperation, shared leadership, consensus building, conflict management, networking, information sharing, etc.
- Is free of personality clashes among leaders

D. Using Information

Broadly defined, information means facts and findings, ranging from numbers to stories. Information is gathered from many sources through experience, observation, interviews, and others forms of research. Once gathered, information about an issue is analyzed to show relationships, patterns, trends, and contradictions.⁷ This is how knowledge is created.

Information can be used to

- *Educate* citizens about a particular issue or problem.
- *Empower* citizens to act in ways that promote citizen involvement in decision-making processes.
- *Mobilize* citizens for protests, petitions, etc.
- *Stimulate discussion* about a particular public policy initiative.
- *Create responsibility* to hold decision-makers accountable for their actions.
- *Present a case* to citizens and decision-makers alike about a particular issue or problem.
- *Influence* decision-makers to act in a particular way.
- *Pressure* allies, moderates, and opponents to act in a particular way.
- *Harness allies and engage opponents* so they can be involved in a particular advocacy effort.

Appendix C provides a useful table highlighting different sources and types of information relevant to advocacy, and methods for gathering such information.

⁷ Advocacy Institute-Oxfam American [Advocacy Learning Initiative](#), Publication in 2000.

Characteristics of Effective Use of Information¹

Information should be:

Relevant. In order to be effective in mobilizing constituents, information must be relevant to people's lives.

Correct. In order to be effective in influencing and pressuring decision makers, information must be accurate.

Current. In order to be effective in stimulating discussion, information must be up-to-date.

Convincing. In order to be effective in persuasion, information must be convincing.

Conclusive. In order to be effective in provoking action and initiating change, information must be conclusive.

E. Analyzing Budgets

Budget analysis is the process of analyzing government budgets and using the information contained in the analysis to engage in public policy advocacy. CSOs are increasingly realizing that engaging in budget analysis will involve them directly in the governance arena and enable them to advance their interests more effectively.

The budget is the most important economic policy instrument for governments. The budget reflects a government's social and economic policy priorities more than any other document; it translates policies, political commitment, and priorities into decisions on where funds should be spent and how these funds should be collected.

The lack of accessible, non-technical information on budget issues has seriously hindered NGO efforts to participate in the debate on the distribution of national resources. Strengthening budget analysis and improving budget processes are therefore inevitable and integral parts of enhancing the effectiveness of advocacy.

Characteristics of Effective Budget Analysis

Advocacy CSOs should:

Be familiar with the stages of the budget process, (e.g., formulation, enactment, implementation, and auditing), and corresponding advocacy interventions at each stage.

Develop expertise to produce reliable and accurate analyses, and design practical policy recommendations.

Translate technical budget documents into accessible information easily understood by CSOs, the media, and the public.

Build organizational capacity to respond in a timely manner and produce same day analysis.

Develop relationships with media. For example, conduct budget seminars for journalists.

Effective lobbying is achieved through the presentation of persuasive arguments to the policy maker. This means the transfer of information which is at once highly selective, condensed, and digestible. If a CSO is to be persuasive, it must get to know the policy maker and the system in which the policy maker operates. Regular review and monitoring becomes critical to the selection of information and arguments to be presented.

When starting out, a CSO's lobbying strategy may be only reactive, with the group simply seeking to defeat what it views as adverse policy. With time, however, these groups may learn to become more proactive and begin to participate in shaping the policy environment in which they operate.

See Appendix D for more specific tips on how to lobby effectively.

Characteristics of Effective Lobbying

Familiarity with the legislative process. CSOs must intimately know the political system in which they operate and how to use formal and informal mechanisms to apply pressure to decision making processes.

Credible information. CSOs must provide credible information to persuade legislators to act in a specific manner. Credible information can be a key element in gaining legitimacy in the eyes of legislators.

Relationships with policy makers. Relationship can be pursued in both formal and informal settings. CSOs should understand their opponents interests and avoid demonizing them.

Familiarity with internal political dynamics. CSOs should understand the positions of and relationships among various stakeholders and use these dynamics to their strategic advantage.

F. Lobbying Decision Makers⁸

Lobbying decision makers refers to advocacy actions (lobbying, mass mobilizations, citizen petitions, testimonies, conferences, etc.) directed at policy makers for the purpose of communicating a message about a policy or law.

In all countries, public policies play an important role in determining social justice, political and civil liberties, and the long-term interests of the environment and people at large. However, in many countries, public policy is formulated by dominant and powerful societal groups. Access to and persuasion of decision makers serve to penetrate monopolistic policy making and broaden the scope to include citizen's voices in decision-making processes that affect their lives.

⁸ Some information in this section is borrowed from the Implementing Policy Change publication series, Technical Notes # 7, *Developing Lobbying Capacity for Policy Reform*, March 1996.

Characteristics of Effective Grassroots Organizing

Indigenous leadership. Grassroots leaders should be those rooted in their communities. Grassroots leaders are not divorced from the conditions that affect their constituents.

Popular participation and resident skill. Grassroots organizing involves direct participation by citizens themselves. Grassroots organizing harnesses the skills of residents in the community and uses paraprofessionals rather than highly paid urban professionals. Paraprofessionals are better-educated, better trained, and highly motivated community members who mediate across divisions of social class culture that separates urban professionals from community members.

G. Organizing and Mobilizing the Grassroots

Grassroots organizing is moving people from spectators to active participants by persuading them to turn opinions into action that can influence outcomes. Grassroots leadership development is a critical component of supporting grassroots organizing.

Grassroots organizing is important because it

- *Bridges micro-level activism and macro-level policy initiatives.* Advocacy initiatives that are practiced only at the macro level run the risk that a set of urban elites, equipped with information and skills, will take over the voice of the marginalized.
- *Lends credibility, legitimacy, and crucial bargaining power* to advocacy. For example, in India, grassroots support and constituency size are the most important factors that determine the credibility of the lobbyist, not his or her professional background or expertise.

- *Leads to tangible benefits in the lives of citizens.* These benefits include increased levels of self-esteem, confidence, and efficacy.

H. Utilizing the Legal System

Utilizing the legal system is the act of engaging in legal proceedings, such as law suits and injunctions. This advocacy is most effective, of course, when applied in a fair and independent judicial system. But even where there is weak rule of law, engaging the legal system can produce a favorable outcome, especially when combined with other advocacy tools, such as lobbying and using the media. For example, an unjust court ruling could stir controversy or focus public attention and thus be the impetus for legislative or executive action to produce the desired outcome.

Advocacy organizations should carefully consider the ramifications of engaging the legal system because an undesired outcome could be extremely counterproductive by giving opponents a sound justification for rebuking other advocacy efforts, such as lobbying. In many cases, utilizing the legal system should occur late in a campaign or be a last resort. But in other cases it may be appropriate to engage the legal system from the start. Such a determination is made during the strategic planning process that should precede any advocacy effort.

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Litigation may be utilized for various means. For example, an advocacy organization may utilize the legal system to demonstrate that a certain government action or policy is unconstitutional, or to gain access to public information it needs for its advocacy campaign. Or, through an injunction, an advocacy organization seek to prevent a party from taking a specific course of action, such as building a nuclear power plant, to gain time to make more effective use of other advocacy tools, such as gathering information or mobilizing the grassroots. In other words, there are various reasons and means to utilize the legal system at various times in an advocacy campaign.

Characteristics of Effective Use of the Legal System

Careful consideration of external factors. Prior to initiating any legal action, the CSO should assess many factors, such as the likelihood of a fair trial, the consequences of unfavorable outcome, and the consequences of a favorable outcome.

Skilled legal experts and lawyers. The CSO should utilize legal professionals knowledgeable of the relevant issue.

Coordination with other advocacy tools. In many situations, especially in countries with less than independent judicial systems, legal action is effective only when part of an integrated advocacy campaign involving effective use of the media, building coalitions, and using information.

III. WHEN SHOULD ADVOCACY BE INCLUDED IN A DG STRATEGY?

In Section II of this handbook, we examined the components of advocacy and how to recognize their effective uses. While DG officers will not be directly implementing these activities, it is important that they have an understanding of these components in order to recognize effective advocacy and to evaluate it realistically. The background information in Section II is provided as a context for advocacy programming, and the remainder of the handbook will turn toward direct application. Here, these sections will look at when a DG officer should recommend that advocacy become part of a DG strategy and what form(s) that advocacy programming should take.

Why is Advocacy Important in Democracy and Governance?

Advocacy, at its core, is an action-oriented process. It plays an important role in determining social justice, political and civil liberties, and in giving voice to citizens and historically marginalized groups. At its best, advocacy expresses the power of an individual, constituency, or organization to shape public agendas and change public policies. In a broader civil society strategy, advocacy-oriented action goes beyond specific objectives (e.g., raising the minimum wage) to providing the means to mobilize society, ideas, and resources in an effort to bring about democratic change and/or its consolidation.

Since the early 1990s, USAID has supported civil society organizations (CSOs) engaged in advocacy as part of its portfolio of democracy and governance assistance. Such an approach to civil society development attempts to build centrist coalitions by engaging and strengthening those organizations with a political reform agenda.

When Should Advocacy be Included in a DG Strategy?

Advocacy is at the core of USAID’s civil society strategic approach and should be considered

Civil Society Strategic Framework

USAID’s civil society strategic framework is laid out in *Constituencies for Reform: Strategic Approaches to Donor-supported Civic Advocacy Programs*, which outlines a five-step approach that provides “a strategic logic for determining investment priorities in civil society.” Together the steps are a device to guide analytical thinking in a deductive manner.

Step 1: Problem Identification. Analyze major obstacles to democratic political development in a particular country setting.

Step 2: Reform Agenda. Identify initiatives necessary to address and remedy problems identified in Step 1.

Step 3: CSO Types. Survey Civic Advocacy Organizations and constituencies that have interests corresponding with the reform agendas identified in Step 2. This also includes a survey of CSOs and constituencies that might share common interests and, thus, provide a basis for coalition-building.

Step 4: CSO Functions. Assess and enhance institutional capacity of advocacy CSOs, including organizational resources and skills required to advance a reform agenda.

Step 5: Arenas and Mechanisms. Assess the availability, accessibility, and effectiveness of institutional mechanisms and arenas that allow advocacy CSOs to perform their reform role effectively. Arenas and mechanisms include, for example, elections, referenda, public hearings, media, courts, and legislatures.

from the beginning of any USAID civil society strategy. The civil society strategy outlined in *Constituencies for Reform* emphasizes the role of civic advocacy organizations in establishing and advancing democratic reform (see box above). This framework helps DG officers map out the issues, agendas, implementers, activities, and arenas for an advocacy program within their civil society strategies.

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The scope of advocacy issues and the advocacy groups to be supported in a DG strategy will depend on many factors, including the level of political freedom, economic development, and maturity of CSOs in a country. But advocacy is almost always an appropriate means for advancing democratic and economic reform, and thus an appropriate component of a DG strategy.

Even in countries with weak civil societies and/or governments that are unreceptive to non-governmental influence, advocacy programs are likely to be appropriate, even if the anticipated results are nominal. Small victories can be very influential in building public confidence in democratic processes and increasing civic participation and activism in the early stages of a democratic transition. Furthermore, advocacy programs in challenging environments may not immediately advance democratic reform, but may nonetheless prevent backsliding by, for example, raising awareness in the West of human rights abuses.

In countries with difficult political environments, the DG strategy might focus on support for advocacy considered non-threatening to the state, such as improving health care or addressing environmental problems. Such a strategy could pay off when a democratic breakthrough occurs by having strengthened CSO advocacy skills and having demonstrated to citizens the value of CSO advocacy.

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[Insert Chart B this page]

IV. DESIGNING AN ADVOCACY PROGRAM

With the previous sections, we explored the manifestations of advocacy—its forms and tools—and outlined the reasons why advocacy is an important element of democratic development. With this section, the handbook will turn to the specific needs of USAID DG officers by providing a framework for thinking about how to design an advocacy program.

When planning or drafting a program description for an advocacy program, a DG officer will want to consider many factors:

- The type of the advocacy (single-issue or writ large)
- The objectives of the advocacy
- The primary actors, (i.e., the advocates, as well as the constituencies, proponents, opponents, and beneficiaries of the advocacy)
- The advocacy activities to be supported
- The arenas/mechanisms in which the advocacy activities will take place
- The type of assistance to be provided under a DG program

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democratic reforms and civil society strengthening. This is an important distinction to make at the onset, because the program design is likely to differ significantly depending on the type of the advocacy to be supported.

Single-issue advocacy programs may be particularly useful for generating public support for particular reforms necessary for achieving a USAID objective. Such programs tend to have a more clearly defined time line with specific, easily measured results, such as adoption or repeal of a particular law, inclusion or exclusion of specific provisions in draft legislation, or a change in government policy. Single-issue advocacy might also include efforts to change public attitudes or behavior, such as reconciliation in a post-conflict society.

Advocacy writ large may be appropriate in a DG strategy that seeks to strengthen democratic institutions more generally by, for example, increasing citizen empowerment and participation, or promoting greater government transparency, responsiveness, and accountability. Single-issue advocacy efforts could still be supported within such a broader advocacy program, especially for issues that require longer-term, systemic changes, such as corruption, domestic violence, and human rights. A broader advocacy program provides ample opportunity for cross sectoral collaboration that could leverage resources from other USAID offices, such as health, business development, or environment. A broader advocacy program might have less clearly defined results or time lines than a single-issue advocacy program.

\A./ B. C. D. E. F.

Type of Advocacy	Advocacy Objectives	Advocacy Actors	Advocacy Activities	Advocacy Arenas/ Mechanisms	DG Advocacy Assist.

A. Determining the Type of Advocacy

Generally speaking, an advocacy assistance program can be designed to support either of two types of advocacy: single issue or writ large. **Single-issue advocacy** programs support advocacy campaigns that seek to influence a specific issue and achieve a concrete, usually short-term, result. **Advocacy writ large** programs support a broad range of advocacy efforts for the purpose of longer-term

A. \B./ C. D. E. F.

Type of Advocacy	Advocacy Objectives	Advocacy Actors	Advocacy Activities	Advocacy Arenas/ Mechanisms	DG Advocacy Assist.

B. Identifying the Objectives of the Advocacy

In addition to determining the type of advocacy your program will address, one of the first steps in program design should be identifying the objectives of your advocacy program. The

objectives may correspond to specific “Strategic Objectives” (SOs) or “Intermediate Results” (IRs) in a Mission Strategy or R4 Plan. For example, a Mission might have the following IR under a Civil Society SO: “Adoption of new NGO law improving the enabling environment for NGOs.” In this case, a DG strategy might decide to support a **single-issue advocacy effort** to influence policy-makers to achieve the **objective of adopting a new NGO law**. This might be accomplished by supporting a coalition of NGOs conducting an advocacy effort solely for the purpose of advocating for the adoption of the NGO law.

Other IRs might beckon an **advocacy effort writ large**. For example, another IR under the same Civil Society SO might be: “Increased citizen involvement in policy-making decisions.” In this case, a DG strategy might include a broader advocacy program supporting a wide range of actors undertaking various advocacy efforts as one way to help achieve the **objective of increased citizen involvement** in policy-making. Although it may be more difficult to attribute the results of this approach to the achievement of the IR, this type of advocacy effort is equally appropriate in a DG strategy.

In some cases, advocacy itself may be the objective if the DG strategy has identified increased advocacy as an intermediate result. An advocacy writ large program would, of course, be appropriate in this case too.

In sum, when determining how an advocacy program fits into your DG strategy, one question to ask is, “How might advocacy help achieve certain IRs and/or DG objectives?”

A.	B.	C./	D.	E.	F.
Type of Advocacy	Advocacy Objectives	Advocacy Actors	Advocacy Activities	Advocacy Arenas/ Mechanisms	DG Advocacy Assist.

C. Identifying the Actors: Advocates, Constituencies, Proponents, Opponents and Beneficiaries

There are many actors to consider when designing an advocacy program, all of whom may be targets of assistance, either directly or indirectly. The most obvious actors are **advocates**, i.e., those who undertake an advocacy effort, either on behalf of themselves or others. Advocates are typically USAID’s primary partners in an advocacy program, and they can take many forms. The most common advocates in a USAID program are **civil society organizations (CSOs)**, but other advocates that could be included in a USAID program include **businesses, professional and trade associations, and grass roots movements**. Furthermore, advocates are only one set of actors involved in advocacy. Other important advocacy actors that might be targets of assistance, direct or indirect, include **journalists, media, lawyers, judges, government officials, and local or national state bodies**. A brief description of how each of these actors play important roles in advocacy is described below.

C. 1. Advocacy CSOs

Advocacy CSOs are organizations that undertake organized public actions to influence political decision makers to modify the legal/regulatory environment, or implement new

<p>Single-Issue Advocacy Examples of Objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional reform • Adoption of new civil code • Reduction of # of licenses to operate a business • Peaceful resolution of a conflict • Legal rights for minorities • Clean-up of a toxic waste site • Better access to HIV/AIDS treatment
<p>Advocacy Writ Large Examples of Objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CSOs effectively influence public policy • Increased government accountability • Increased respect for human rights • More effective CSO advocacy • Increased citizen participation in political decision- making • Increased perception that citizens can influence government policies

or existing laws and policies. Examples include human rights groups such as Amnesty International, consumer rights groups such as Common Cause, environmental groups such as Greenpeace, or minority rights groups such as the NAACP. Advocacy CSOs sometime build coalitions, often for a specific short-term cause, such as the coalition Campaign Against the Nomination of Justice Bork to the Supreme Court.

While pure **advocacy CSOs**, such as human rights groups, may be easy to identify by their activities, many NGOs whose primary purpose is not advocacy may in fact be extremely effective advocates. For example, a **social service CSO** whose primary purpose is to provide shelter to homeless children might also be an effective advocate of children's rights through occasional or less visible secondary activities.

C. 2. Professional Associations and Grassroots Movements

The same is true for professional associations. For example, a farmers' association formed to disseminate information on farming techniques might also have a secondary purpose of advocating for farmers' rights. Similarly, a lawyers association formed to provide legal education to its members may also have a secondary purpose of advocating for judicial reform. In sum, professional associations may be appropriate targets of assistance in your advocacy program given their natural tendency to advocate for the collective interests of their members.

Grassroots movements too can be extremely effective advocates. Though donors may find them more difficult to target for assistance than registered advocacy CSOs, depending on the issues, grassroots movements may also factor prominently into an advocacy program.

C. 3. Businesses

Businesses are non-government organizations (NGOs), and as such, should not automatically be excluded from a DG strategy because of their

for-profit status. Businesses and business associations can be among the most effective advocates for reform, and can establish precedents for civil society organizations (CSOs) and private voluntary organizations (PVOs) to follow. For example, business associations that advocate for consistent application of the rule of law and decreased corruption can contribute to the overall democratic reform agenda. Furthermore, businesses often have more resources and connections than CSOs, and can therefore be more effective in their efforts. For this reason, they can be important allies for advocacy CSOs with similar agendas, such as reducing official corruption.

C. 4. Media/Journalists

As described in Section II, effective use of media is an important advocacy tool. Helping CSOs learn how to use media more effectively is often an important part of an advocacy program, but you may also want to design a program that works directly with media. For example, small grants could be awarded to media for the production of advocacy-related programs or public service announcements (PSAs). In a single-issue advocacy effort, USAID might support production of programs that explain or promote the specific issue, whereas in a broader advocacy effort USAID might support production of a series of informational programs explaining citizens' legal rights or highlighting the benefits of citizen advocacy in a democracy. See D.1. below for examples of including media and journalists in program design.

C. 5. Legal Professionals

An advocacy program should also consider the extent to which advocacy efforts benefit from the support of legal professionals. Lawyers can bring credibility and essential legal support to advocacy efforts by using the legal system to demand due process and protect citizens and CSOs when governments attempt to repress or subdue advocacy campaigns.

An advocacy program may benefit by including legal professionals in training seminars and

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workshops, or by providing direct assistance to legal professionals to assist with advocacy. For example, grants to bar associations or law schools could provide assistance to advocacy efforts in the form of legal consultations or *pro bono* legal services to citizens and CSOs. See D.7. below for more ideas on including legal professionals in an advocacy program.

C. 5. *Government Institutions and Officials*

As discussed in Section II, [see p. 6] advocacy can be adversarial or negotiated. Although negotiated advocacy may not always be feasible, it is often a more effective means of advocacy. Because negotiated advocacy involves engagement between advocates and decision makers, **a USAID-funded advocacy program should not rule out working with government institutions and officials.**

An advocacy program might be designed to support workshops that bring together citizens and CSOs with government officials to collaboratively address issues. USAID’s involvement as a facilitator may significantly influence how a government reacts to an advocacy effort that it might otherwise ignore or even suppress. See F.3 below for more on the facilitation role in an advocacy program.

C.6. *Constituencies, Proponents, Opponents, and Beneficiaries*

In addition to the actors described above, one should also consider the **constituencies** of any advocacy effort. As described in Section II, advocacy efforts are more effective when they mobilize and draw on support from their natural constituencies. Equally as important is identifying the natural **proponents** and **opponents** of an advocacy effort. These actors may or may not be direct recipients of USAID assistance, but they are often a target of the assistance and should always be factored into an advocacy strategy. Refer to the section on Strategy Planning in Section II for a discussion of incorporating all of these actors in an advocacy strategy.

Finally, it is important to recognize the distinction between the **beneficiaries** of advocacy and the advocates themselves. The two are not always the same. For example, homeless children may be the beneficiaries of efforts by a human rights CSO that advocates for increased government spending on shelters. It is important to make the distinction between **advocates** and **beneficiaries** because, in an advocacy assistance program, the latter are less likely to be the *direct* recipients of USAID assistance.

**[Box with examples of advocacy partners?]
[Box with Case Study showing use of various actors, e.g. OAC?]**

A.	B.	C.	\D./	E.	F.
Type of Advocacy	Advocacy Objectives	Advocacy Actors	<u>Advocacy Activities</u>	Advocacy Arenas/ Mechanisms	DG Advocacy Assist.

D. **Advocacy Activities**

In the same way that there are many advocacy actors to consider, there are many types of activities that can be supported by an advocacy assistance program. Recall the principle tools of advocacy described in Section II and summarized in the illustration below. Each of these tools can be manifested in a wide array of activities.



A USAID-funded advocacy program may not necessarily include all of these tools, but it is important to consider all of them in determining the best assistance program design. This section briefly illustrates the broad array of advocacy activities that can be implemented using the principle advocacy tools described in Section II.

D. 1. Utilizing the Media

Because successful advocacy often relies on generating public support, a good advocacy program will often generate news coverage, produce informational programs, or otherwise utilize the media. Although advocacy CSOs often undertake media activities on their own, it is usually more appropriate for the USAID advocacy program to have a separate media component providing direct support to media to produce advocacy-related programs or public service announcements (PSAs). Working directly with media, rather than through advocacy CSOs, can have several advantages, including higher quality programs, more objective content, and cost savings.

A media component might include **direct grants, purchase orders, or technical assistance to media companies** for a variety of products, such as **public service announcements, informational programs, documentaries, radio talk shows, and newspaper inserts**. It is also possible to work directly with the media without providing funding or paying for production. For example, your advocacy program implementer could sponsor competitions in which journalists (or newspapers, or radio stations, etc.) win cash prizes for producing the best objective news story about an ongoing advocacy campaign.

In addition to working directly with media, it may be necessary to **strengthen the capacity of CSOs to use the media**. Communicating effectively and using the media involves a specific set of skills, so your advocacy program might include skills-based training and/or workshops for CSO staff members whose skills in communicating and using the media require further development.

To **encourage collaboration between media and advocacy CSOs**, your advocacy program might offer grants to media entities that require them to develop media products jointly with an advocacy CSO. Similarly, your program could give grants to CSOs that require them to develop media products jointly with a media entity. Because media are often eager for funds to produce their own programs, your grant program could include selection criteria that require the media entity to contribute cost-sharing in the form of free use of a studio or free air time. This is a great way to avoid having to pay media to broadcast or print a product that they didn't produce. Another benefit of such collaboration is the networking that will take place, with media possibly turning to CSO leaders as experts on the news or talk shows, and for ideas on news stories.

Another way to encourage media and CSO collaboration is to sponsor workshops to facilitate dialog between journalists and advocacy CSOs, improve understanding of each other's role in a democracy, build trust and create networks that lead to better coverage of advocacy issues and campaigns.

Media Tips for CSOs

When producing PSAs, include contact info for the advocacy CSOs and other places people can turn to for more information.

Use grant funds to co-produce informational TV programs or radio talk shows. CSO leaders could be featured guests, or the shows could highlight CSO advocacy efforts.

Of course, if USAID or other donors are funding separate media assistance programs it would be beneficial to seek opportunities to take advantage of such programs. For example, ongoing journalism training might add advocacy reporting to the curriculum, and news programs being produced might include stories on CSO advocacy.

Utilizing the Media: Questions and Answers

How can CSOs be encouraged to use media as an advocacy tactic?

Through capacity building, training, and networking, CSO leaders can learn both the value of engaging the media and the skills necessary for using media outlets to further advance a specific advocacy issue. Mass media (television, news, and print media) can be used by advocacy CSOs but mass media requires a relatively open and independent media institution.

How can funders encourage advocacy in a way that mutually strengthens the media, as an institution, and strengthens advocacy, as a legitimate activity of the citizenry?

Advocacy can serve to strengthen the media (and vice versa) when advocates learn to use the media to advance civil society initiatives. Developing relationships of trust between CSO leaders and journalists is critical to push media institutions to improve or maintain the quality and relevance of news they produce.

One way to encourage effective media advocacy is to provide skills-based training for CSO leaders hesitant to use the media as a tool for initiating and/or advancing social change. Another way is to provide resources aimed at raising professional standards and working conditions for journalists.

What kind of funding interventions are appropriate for countries where the media is highly controlled and repression for those who communicate dissenting opinions is widespread?

In the case of a closed political system in which media outlets are highly controlled, CSO leaders must devise innovative techniques (i.e., using parody, cartoons) and take advantage of local and uncontrolled media outlets (i.e., community radio, theater, puppet shows).

How does the media strengthen advocacy?

An open and independent media facilitates and strengthens advocacy. The media allows CSOs to advance public policy initiatives and penetrate exclusive policy making by communicating directly with citizens.

D. 2. Building Coalitions

Coalitions can greatly enhance the effectiveness of advocacy by increasing legitimacy, strength, resources, and safety. Coalitions are also attractive to donors that prefer to fund a coalition rather than many individual CSOs. Supporting coalitions and coalition-building, therefore, might be an important part of an advocacy assistance program. Doing so, however, presents many **potential risks** for donors, such as: creating animosity and competition among CSOs; raising expectations of CSOs that anticipate, but do not receive, more funding as a result of joining a coalition; or raising expectations of citizens who expect, but do not see, significant change as a result of their civic participation in a widely publicized donor-supported coalition.

When coalitions have a clear and common agenda with a transparent and representative management structure, and meet the “Characteristics of Effective Coalitions” listed in Section II of this handbook (see page 13), then you will probably want to consider supporting it.

One risk involved with coalition-building is that a coalition will form only for the purpose of receiving donor funding. A good way to support coalition-building without providing direct funding, therefore, is to **sponsor workshops that bring together CSOs, media, businesses and others with a common advocacy agenda** to provide a forum in which they themselves can determine whether they can form an effective coalition on their own. USAID’s role, in this case, would simply be to encourage participation, provide the forum for meeting, and perhaps provide facilitators or speakers who

could explain the potential advantages of coalitions and how to build them.

Similarly, your advocacy program can encourage coalition building through interventions that **facilitate networking and information sharing, and provide training** for CSO staff in consensus building, conflict management, network leadership, and similar skills.

D. 3. Using Information

Information is an important advocacy tool because it can be used for many purposes, including to educate and mobilize citizens; stimulate public debate; present a case to citizens and decision-makers; influence and pressure decision-makers; harness allies; and engage opponents. Given the importance of having credible and relevant information, a **USAID advocacy assistance program may likely include assistance in gathering, analyzing and using information.**

Using information strategically requires familiarity with the entire range of information available, the human and technological capacity to use existing sources or generate new sources of information, and the design and implementation of well-crafted dissemination plans. Any information an organization collects or generates must be accurate and well-supported, lest it undermine its credibility or that of the advocacy effort. If it isn't, the credibility of the organization may be damaged. Funders can support advocacy CSOs in using information strategically by providing support for capacity building and research-related training.

For example, your program may offer **grants to polling firms, think tanks, universities, sociological centers, scientific research centers** and other entities that gather and/or analyze information. Your program may also provide **training** to these same entities, as well as to advocacy CSOs, in the proper methods of information gathering and analysis. And your program might **encourage collaboration**

How to Use Information in an Advocacy Campaign¹

Throughout strategy development, action planning, and taking action, information is needed to

- Understand a problem—the causes, the impact on people's lives, who benefits from the status quo, etc.
- Identify key audiences, their position on the issue, and entry points within the decision making system.
- Develop a strategy and an action plan based on what is possible.
- Develop effective messages for each key audience.
- Identify the best medium and messenger for each key audience.

When relevant information doesn't exist or is insufficient, advocacy CSOs can generate new information through

- *Surveys and participatory research.* These can be incredibly effective in generating quantitative data about a local or community problem.
- *Social math.* Social math is placing large statistics (thousands of people, millions of dollars, etc.) into a social context and using simple math to make it easier for an audience to relate specific numbers to a particular public problem.
- *Anecdotes and stories.* Real stories that bring a human face to the problem can be a powerful illustration of the larger issue.

between advocates (e.g., advocacy CSOs) and entities that gather and analyze information, through grants, workshops, or joint projects. For example, a polling firm, a sociological center, and an advocacy CSO might collaborate by determining what kind of information they want to gather. The polling firm would then collect the information through opinion polls or focus groups, the sociological center would analyze and cross-tabulate the data, and the CSO would use the information to more effectively advocate its cause.

Support for investigative journalism and media outlets that provide objective news coverage are

two USAID initiatives that have proven effective in promoting an “information culture” that is supportive of pluralism, democracy, and civil society. See D.1 for more on how to disseminate information.

D. 4. Analyzing Budgets

Budget analysis is the process of analyzing government budgets and using that information to engage in public policy advocacy. The budget is the most important economic policy instrument for governments, yet the lack of accessible, non-technical information on budget issues seriously hinders CSO efforts to participate in debates on the distribution of national resources. Before an advocacy CSO can engage in budget analysis, it must be familiar with the budget process, have access to government statistics, have the capacity to analyze the information it obtains, and understand how to effectively utilize the information and analyses.

Support for indigenous CSOs that disseminate information about legislative and budget processes can help demystify the issue and encourage CSOs to cross the threshold from “protest to politics”. Engaging in budget analysis allows CSOs to move from voicing dissenting opinions to engaging in the process of proposing solutions.

A USAID advocacy program, therefore, might entail assisting advocates and other entities with improving budget analysis skills. This may take the form of **training**, either to advocacy CSOs, or to their partners that regularly engage in budget analysis, such as think tanks, universities and research centers.

Your program might also **encourage collaboration** between advocacy CSOs and entities that analyze budgets, through **grants** that require working jointly on a specific advocacy effort. The program may also include **seminars or training** for journalists to help them understand how to accurately and effectively report on budget issues. All of these activities could complement or be integrated into USAID or other donor-funded **local government or**

decentralization activities, such as promoting budget transparency, public hearings, and citizen participation, your advocacy program may nicely complement these activities by integrating them with activities for advocacy CSOs, journalists and citizen groups.

D. 5. Lobbying⁹

Lobbying is sometimes equated with advocacy, but in fact is just one advocacy tool, albeit an important one. While often seen negatively, lobbying plays a vital role in the democratic process. Between elections, interests in civil society have relatively few means to influence policy outcomes. With pressure from interest groups, the political system becomes more transparent, and officials become more accountable.

The time frame for legislative advocacy varies from a few months to years. Legislative advocacy involves building relationships and developing skills, both of which take time. To be effective advocates, CSOs need support not only to carry out lobbying, but also to develop the capabilities to conduct essential lobbying skills.

An advocacy assistance program to support CSO lobbying would provide funding and training for improving skills, such as capabilities to:

- Identify priority themes and issues;
- Fully comprehend the advocacy issues;
- Understand how the policy decision-making process works;
- Identify key decision-makers and actors;
- Comprehend the political environment;
- Understand its own strengths and limitations;
- Identify and enlist actual and potential allies;
- Effectively communicate its message.

⁹ Some information in this section is borrowed from the Implementing Policy Change publication series, Technical Notes # 7, *Developing Lobbying Capacity for Policy Reform*, March 1996.

D. 6. Grassroots Organizing

Grassroots organizing can be particularly effective in countries where political will to initiate change is weak. Grassroots organizing, which relies on the power of citizens and mass mobilizations, has tremendous power in forcing decision-makers to take notice and make policy change.

Grassroots organizing can also be effective in countries characterized by the absence of a democratic culture. In this context, grassroots organizing serves to create, encourage, and/or strengthen a culture of participation.

At its best, a grassroots organizing strategy has a focus and outcome at three different levels: the individual leader, the organization, and the community. Donor-funded advocacy programs tend to focus almost exclusively on advocacy

CSOs that don't necessarily have large memberships, well-defined constituencies, or broad public appeal. Grassroots advocacy is different in that it depends on involving ordinary people at the local level rather than elites at the center of political activity.

Advocacy assistance for grassroots organizing, then, should address the needs of local leaders and support capacity-building of organizations with grassroots backing, while keeping the overall vision of the community in context. Training for grassroots leaders might address skills such as communicating, visioning, organizing, and coalition-building. Grants could support the activities of the grassroots movements as well as help develop the overall capacity of relevant CSOs.

D. 7. Legal Support and Legal Defense

Advocacy efforts in developing countries often languish due to weak rule of law and insufficient legal support to take advantage of legal rights. Even the best advocacy can easily be stymied when CSOs or individuals are unable to take advantage of their legal rights because of lack of legal knowledge, lack of competent counsel, or lack of public attention to unjust treatment. Nonetheless, regardless of the level of rule of law in a country, advocacy efforts can benefit tremendously by engaging the legal system.

An advocacy program, then, might **include legal activities undertaken by lawyers, pro bono legal clinics, or legislative drafting groups** that help overcome legal obstacles to successful advocacy. Or, the advocacy program might include **training for judges** about a specific law or international conventions relevant to the advocacy cause.

Comment [U8]: [Add?: general legal advocacy?, OAC, legal rights?]

Kellogg Foundation Lessons and Tips for Funding Grassroots Organizing

Attend to three levels of change- the individual, the organization, and the community.

Build on investments in grassroots leadership by funding intermediaries already established.

Provide basic organizational development assistance. This includes general operating support, financial management, board and staff development, etc.

Fund people as much as programs.

Expand funding cycles to reflect practice. It takes a minimum of two years for projects to start-up and develop, two years for implementation and refinement, and two more years to measure and demonstrate effectiveness, plan for sustainability, and begin replication.

This selection is excerpted from Lessons Learned About Grassroots Community Leadership: An Analysis of the Kellogg Foundation's Grassroots Community Leadership. Campbell and Associates, Saint Paul, MN: 1997.

A. B. C. D. \E./ F.

Type of Advocacy	Advocacy Objectives	Advocacy Actors	Advocacy Activities	Advocacy Arenas/ Mechanisms	DG Advocacy Assist.
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E. Advocacy Arenas/Mechanisms

In the same way that it is useful to consider the wide range of advocacy actors and activities before designing an advocacy program, one should also consider the full array of possible arenas and mechanisms for advocacy. The reason for doing so is to ensure that your program description doesn't unnecessarily limit the context in which the advocacy actors you support could be working. Furthermore, identifying advocacy mechanisms and arenas will help clarify links with other DG program areas and may help determine other DG priorities. For example, other DG priorities that will help open up avenues for more effective CSO engagement with the public and state.

If one carefully considers all possible advocacy actors and activities, the arenas and mechanisms are rather intuitive, so this section will only briefly list examples. The point is to think about the mechanisms and arenas most relevant to the context in your country.

Institutional **mechanisms** are the means by which advocates can engage the public and government on public issues. Examples include **referenda, petitions, public hearings, elections, and the right to recall.**

Institutional **arenas** are those places where public dialog on reform issues can be voiced. Examples include **universities, legislatures, local government, political parties, media, courts, and public-private advisory boards.** It is also beneficial to think about *international* as well as national arenas, because the former often provide the additional pressure necessary to help indigenous groups influence reforms through advocacy.

A B C D E \F/

Type of Advocacy	Advocacy Objectives	Advocacy Actors	Advocacy Activities	Advocacy Arenas/ Mechanisms	DG Advocacy Assist.
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F. DG Advocacy Program Assistance

After considering all of the factors described in A-E above, one can begin to plan the type of assistance to be provided under the USAID-funded advocacy program. Of course, program design must take into account many other factors, such as availability of resources, activities of other donors, prospects for being able to manage for results, and political constraints—internal or external—that could affect planned results. But this section will focus on program design based on the advocacy-specific factors discussed in A-E above.

To recap, one of the first steps in designing an advocacy program is to determine the “**type**” of advocacy, i.e., whether it will focus on a specific advocacy issue or generally promote increased advocacy. Similarly, the specific objectives of the advocacy program, or the “**why**,” should be identified. A third factor to consider is the “**who**”, that is, the advocates as well as other relevant actors, including constituents, proponents, opponents, and beneficiaries, whom your advocacy program will select as partners and targets for assistance. As discussed in section C, in most cases it makes sense to target more than just advocacy CSOs. Other targets for assistance in an advocacy program might include media, professional associations, businesses, religious groups, schools, universities, government entities, politicians, lawyers, judges, and a broad range of CSOs (e.g., health, labor, business, environment, etc.). The factors described in sections D and E might be considered the “**what**” and “**where**” of an advocacy program. That is, the advocacy activities that are likely to be supported in a USAID advocacy program, and the arenas and mechanisms where they take place.

Finally, this section will focus on the “**how**”, or the way in which the DG advocacy assistance program will be implemented. The “how” is likely to include grants, technical assistance,

training, facilitation and sponsorship, and public education/information. This list is not exhaustive, but is meant to provide a rough guide for thinking about different approaches to supporting advocacy efforts.

F. 1. Grants

A grants program could be used to support not only **advocacy CSOs**, but also **media projects, public opinion polling, or research**. Potential grant recipients include media companies, polling firms, think tanks, and universities, as well as CSOs. Grants to CSOs could be used for **general CSO strengthening**, such as building capacity in the eight advocacy tools (lobbying, budget analysis, utilizing media, etc.), or to fund **specific elements of advocacy campaigns**.

F. 2. Technical Assistance and Training

Another obvious mechanism is technical assistance (TA) and training. As with grants, you should consider all of the various actors in section D above when planning TA and training. In addition to CSOs, other recipients of TA and **training** in an advocacy assistance program might include **journalists, media companies, judges, lawyers, public-private initiatives** (e.g. citizen-government action committees), **labor unions, research organizations, polling firms, mediation groups, and CSO coalitions**.

Training seminars could be conducted for CSOs on the eight advocacy tools, or to provide technical information related to a specific advocacy effort.

In addition to training, assistance might include other forms of technical assistance, such as **commodities, consultants, legal assistance, and study tours**. Commodities might, for example, go to CSOs or media that need equipment for media projects, or to advocacy CSOs that need basic equipment. Advisors,

either paid consultants or expat volunteers¹⁰, might spend

F. 3. Facilitation and Sponsorship

Sometimes USAID can play an extremely important role by simply providing its “good offices” as a sponsor and facilitator. Donor involvement is sometimes the only effective catalyst for bringing together groups and individuals that are otherwise suspicious of each other or unwilling to cooperate. An advocacy assistance program may sponsor workshops to encourage cooperation, building coalitions, or facilitate dialog among opposing groups.

For example, when CSOs are attempting to influence government officials to include their input in draft legislation, USAID sponsorship of a workshop to discuss the draft might be the only means for getting government officials to listen to the CSOs. Furthermore, by having a USAID grantee or contractor actually facilitate the workshop, USAID can provide additional pressure on all sides to follow through on any agreements reached.

In addition to workshops, USAID might sponsor working groups composed of CSOs and relevant government officials (especially “champions” for the advocacy cause) to craft policy guidance or make recommendations to government. USAID could also sponsor the work of legislative drafting working groups that include citizen advocates and parliamentarians.

F. 4. Public Education/Information/Awareness

In order to be effective advocates, citizens must understand their rights, be aware of issues affecting them, know whom to target in decision-making positions, and be aware of constituencies and potential proponents of their cause. An advocacy assistance program can support these objectives through public education.

¹⁰ Programs such as Freedom House AVID, International Executive Service Corps (IESC), or the Peace Corps are possible sources of volunteers.

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Public awareness may be particularly important in an advocacy writ large program. A typical objective in such a program is increased advocacy by citizens and CSOs, so awareness about legal rights and mechanisms for participating in advocacy would likely support this objective.

Comment [U9]: [expand]

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DG ADVOCACY ASSISTANCE

<i>Type of Assistance</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Possible Recipients</i>
Grants	General support funds	CSOs, coalitions, public-private partnerships
	Grants for public awareness, media projects	CSOs, media production companies
	Research grants, generating information	CSOs, think tanks, polling firms
	Legal advocacy	Advocacy CSOs, pro bono clinics, law schools, lawyers associations
	Grants to support lobbying	CSOs, professional associations
Training	Advocacy skills training	CSOs, CSO coalitions, pub-private
	Training in media, public outreach	CSOs, media production companies
	Training in research, generating information	CSOs, think tanks, polling firms
	Legal advocacy training	Advocacy CSOs, pro bono clinics, law schools, lawyers associations
	Lobbying skills training	CSOs, professional associations, union
Technical Assistance	Commodities	CSOs
	Study tours	CSOs, public activists
Facilitation/ Sponsorship	Workshops	CSO coalitions, public-private initiatives
	Public hearings	CSOs, media, parliament, local government
Public Education	Media campaigns	CSO, CSO coalitions, media production company, journalists
	Brochures, pamphlets	CSOs, coalitions, publishing houses

V. PROGRAMMING ISSUES

Supporting civic advocacy under a DG strategy can raise difficult issues for the DG officer and the mission. Unlike DG programs that support government institutions, advocacy programs are sometimes considered more risky because, by their very nature, they challenge the status quo and ruffle feathers by demanding progress on the reform agenda. But, as previous sections of this handbook have demonstrated, vibrant civic advocacy is an important, if not essential, part of democratic development. Although advocacy programs raise specific challenges, the DG officer can almost always find the appropriate means for supporting civic advocacy in a given country-specific context.

Part A of this section addresses in a Q & A format some of the design considerations unique to advocacy programs. Part B, adapted from *Constituencies for Reform: Strategic Approaches to Donor-supported Civic Advocacy Programs*, offers some recommendations for donors concerning support for civil society and civic advocacy programs.

A. Design Considerations

How can CSOs and donors distinguish between “political” issues and “partisan” issues?

Because it engages policy-making systems, advocacy by its very nature is political. Donors and CSOs should recognize this fact, in the same way that virtually all democracy-building efforts are political in that they seek to promote reform of the political system.¹¹

The more difficult distinction to make is between political and partisan issues.¹² The fact

¹¹ The primary definition of “political” is: *Of, relating to, or dealing with the structure or affairs of government, politics, or the state.* (Source: American Heritage Dictionary). “Political” is also sometimes used to mean “partisan”, but in the context of this text, “political” only refers to the primary definition.

¹² Partisan is defined as: *1. Of, relating to, or characteristic of a partisan or partisans; 2. Devoted to or*

that advocacy may be political does not mean it is always partisan. Furthermore, even when an advocacy campaign shares a common or similar agenda with a partisan platform, it isn’t necessarily partisan. For example, an opposition party may advocate rooting out government corruption, but it is possible for a donor-supported advocacy CSO to advocate the same objective while remaining non-partisan.

Donors and CSOs do need to be careful of non-partisan agendas being seized by partisan groups. For example, an opposition political party may try to be affiliated with or take control of a CSO advocacy campaign to reduce corruption that has gained public and donor support. Sometimes, having an issue viewed as partisan can be advantageous to a CSO if it helps them gain credibility and legitimacy by having their issues adopted by a political party. On the other hand, CSOs promoting a partisan agenda may lose public and donor support due to the loss of autonomy, real or perceived, that results from association with political parties. Even worse, a CSO could be exploited by a political party that doesn’t truly share the same agenda. Using the same example of an anti-corruption advocacy campaign, an opposition party might endorse or co-opt a non-partisan campaign because it helps discredit the government, but do nothing to actually support the effort to reduce or stamp out corruption, thereby undermining the advocacy campaign. For these reasons, CSOs may or may not want to forge links with political parties.

In sum, it is important for donors and CSOs to note the distinction between partisan and political issues, but it is not necessary for them to automatically avoid advocacy issues that also happen to be partisan, as long as the advocacy efforts themselves are non-partisan. Making the distinction between political and partisan issues can help donors justify support for advocacy agendas regardless of whether they coincide with the agenda(s) of political parties. There is

biased in support of a party, group, or cause partisan politics.

no rule of thumb, of course, and prudence should dictate in each situation.

When is it appropriate to support adversarial advocacy versus negotiated advocacy?

As described in Section II, there are two basic types of advocacy approaches. **Adversarial advocacy** employs actions that express opposition and dissent to decision-makers, whereas **negotiated advocacy** emphasizes consensus-building, compromise and conflict management while working cooperatively with decision-makers. Although the two approaches are quite different, they can be used in tandem, and adversarial advocacy can be an excellent prelude to negotiated advocacy.

Depending on a host of variables specific not only to each country, but also to each advocacy issue, a DG strategy may include either approach, or a combination of both. In situations where there is little political will, an adversarial approach may often be necessary. Such an approach can be counterproductive, however, if authorities take repressive measures against the advocates, possibly stifling other initiatives in the process. A negotiated approach may be more productive when there is more political will for involving citizens in public policy, but it may also be more appropriate when political will is lacking and civil society is easily ignored or intimidated by authorities. When supporting negotiated advocacy, USAID’s primary role may be that of facilitator; giving credibility and voice to CSOs and citizens that would be ignored if not for USAID giving them a seat at a table with government officials.

Whether a CSO chooses to undertake negotiated or adversarial advocacy should almost certainly be at its own discretion, and not that of a donor. The main issue for the DG officer is to realize that, in some cases, supporting CSOs that undertake adversarial advocacy may put them in a dangerous situation-- possibly a situation brought about as a result of over-confidence due to USAID support.

What are the implications of supporting advocacy campaigns led by well-known, high-profile, or “charismatic” individuals?

The advantages and disadvantages of high profile individuals in advocacy will vary from campaign to campaign and issue to issue. A charismatic leader may bring needed attention and credibility to a campaign. But an advocacy campaign too closely associated with one individual brings risks, such as alienating potential coalition partners, providing a target for opponents to discredit the campaign, and discouraging internal democratic practices within the CSO or coalition. The following chart highlights some of the advantages and disadvantages of charismatic leadership that donors and CSOs should keep in mind.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Charismatic Leadership

Advantages	Disadvantages
Provides leadership	Personalizes a campaign
Gives credibility to a campaign	Leader becomes target of attack by campaign opponents
Gives publicity to a campaign	Can damage credibility of a campaign
Helps raise resources for a campaign	Can cause division amongst campaign allies
Helps to mobilize support for a campaign	Judgment calls personalized
Can be more decisive	Can lead to crisis of accountability

From: *SANGOCO Advocacy Training Manual*, SANGOCO South Africa, 1998/99.

How can CSOs overcome widespread public apathy and sentiments that politics is corrupt, elitist, and irrelevant to people’s lives?

In pre-transition and transition societies, advocacy must start with exploring people’s perceptions of politics and power. Many CSOs in Asia and Latin America use popular education techniques, including those developed by Paolo Freire, to make people realize the relevancy of politics to their lives and overcome feelings of powerlessness. This is a crucial pre-requisite as it addresses cultural barriers to citizen involvement in advocacy.

attaining structural reforms within the polity. Then they should be calibrated and sequenced tactically in accordance with the transition process under way within a particular country.

- **DG officers must be prepared to exercise considerable leverage when supporting CSOs engaged in fostering democratic transitions in the pre- and early transition phases.**

During the pre- and early transition phases, CSOs are often not strong enough to advance the reform process alone. In such situations the added weight of donor coordination in using conditionality to pressure for political liberalization may well be critical. It also may be critical to the survival of activist organizations, which in the pre- and early transition phases can be operating in a high-risk environment in which they are vulnerable to government attack.

Comment [U10]: [Add more on Freire_]

B. Recommendations for Donors¹³

This section provides a set of broader recommendations on how donors, including USAID, might enhance their contributions to democratic transitions through the medium of civil society advocacy. The material is drawn from *Constituencies for Reform: Strategic Approaches to Donor-supported Civic Advocacy Programs*.

- **DG officers need to chart and follow a disciplined approach to ensure that investments in civil society do not lose their focus on and relevance to the reform process.**

- **DG officers need to devote significant attention to building a favorable policy environment for the growth of civil society, particularly with respect to expanding in-country funding sources for this sector.**

There is a risk that investments in civil society will be dissipated over a wide range of activities that may yield minimal results. To avoid this pitfall, support for civil society should be viewed less as an end itself and more as a means for advancing a strategic reform agenda toward greater democratic governance. Investment strategies for civil society should aim at

Most CSOs depend in great part, if not entirely, on outside donor financing. Thus there is a need for strategies to promote more financial independence and sustainability. Creating an in-country enabling environment for individual and corporate contributions to public interest organizations by changing tax laws is one such strategy. Another, one that USAID has helped pioneer, is providing funds to establish host country endowments and foundations.

- **DG officers need to be aware of potential trade-offs in countries undergoing political transitions while also engaging in fundamental economic reforms in the move from statist to free-market economies.**

¹³ This section has been excerpted from *Constituencies for Reform: Strategic Approaches for Donor-Supported Civic Advocacy Programs* with minor revision. (USAID Program and Operations Assessment Report No. 12. February 1996. Washington, DC: U.S. Agency for International Development/Center for Development Information and Evaluation).

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Many countries are undergoing economic and political reform simultaneously, although at different speeds. In these situations donors need to calculate whether pressing vigorously for reforms in one area could undermine commitment to making progress in the other. When a ruling coalition demonstrates genuine commitment to painful economic reforms, it may be more appropriate to complement this effort by supporting CSOs that can help champion and consolidate these reforms, even if such an approach may delay addressing more systemic political reforms.

VII. PERFORMANCE INFORMATION

Performance information, which includes both performance monitoring and evaluative data, is an essential tool for effective management of USAID programs. While the terms “performance monitoring” and “evaluation” are often used together, they differ in important ways, particularly in the USAID context.

Performance monitoring systems track and alert management as to whether actual results are being achieved as planned. They are built around a hierarchy of objectives logically linking USAID activities and resources to intermediate results and strategic objectives through cause-and-effect relationships. For each objective, one or more indicators are selected to measure performance against explicit targets (planned results to be achieved by specific dates). Performance monitoring is an ongoing, routine effort requiring data gathering, analysis, and reporting on results at periodic intervals.

Evaluations are systematic analytical efforts that are planned and conducted in response to specific management questions about performance of USAID-funded development assistance programs or activities. Unlike performance monitoring, which is ongoing, evaluations are occasional—conducted when needed. Evaluations often focus on why results are or are not being achieved. They may also address issues such as relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, or sustainability. Often, evaluations provide management with lessons and recommendations for adjustments in program strategies or activities.

Because it is more relevant to the every day program management responsibilities of the DG officer, this section will focus on performance monitoring. Including a performance monitoring plan in the early stages of program design will ease program management and reporting responsibilities down the road.

Several USAID publications detail Agency guidelines and procedures for performance monitoring, its relationship to results reporting, and recommended procedures. Chief among

these are G/DG’s *Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators* and CDIE’s TIPS series. Please refer to these resources for more detailed information on DG performance monitoring and evaluation information.

A. Advocacy Performance Monitoring

Long-term performance measurement

History abounds with examples that systemic change (institutional, constitutional, policy, legislative, behavioral and attitudinal change) takes time—often generations. Those at the forefront of democratic change are required to build incrementally on small victories, learn from previous mistakes, and adapt to changing contexts.

Some attempts at performance monitoring place too much emphasis on output indicators such as number of newsletters printed, workshops conducted, meetings held, etc. This short-term outcome-oriented approach overlooks important gains related to more subtle, long-term progress, including:

- **Relationship-building** between NGOs and government, between NGOs and donor agencies, and among NGO leaders. Relationship building refers to cultivating allies as well as engaging opponents.
- **Skill and leadership development** of NGO staff. This includes professional skills in research, budget analysis, media relations, management and accounting. Leadership development fosters ‘enlightened leadership,’ or leadership that is participatory, democratic, people-centered, cooperative, caring, transparent, and accountable.
- **Organizational and institutional development** of NGOs. This refers to sound organizational structures for NGOs (boards of directors, permanent staff, developing internal mechanisms of accountability and transparency) and

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creating strong institutions that promote democracy and good governance.

- **Citizen empowerment.** This is a crucial element of social justice advocacy, and involves channeling powerlessness into empowerment by tapping into the “social capital” of constituents and their communities, and allowing them to develop their own solutions.

Levels of Change

In measuring performance, it is also important to realize that change takes place on different levels. Advocacy efforts should be gauged by each of these levels in order to assess their full impact:

- **Macro level** changes refer to changes in policy and legislation at the national level.
- **Meso level** changes refer to changes in policy and legislation at the sub-national level, or to institutional changes, such as creation of formal mechanisms to facilitate citizen involvement in public policy formation, and change in media coverage of advocacy CSOs and their issues.
- **Micro level** changes refer to changes at the level of the community, organization, and individual, such as strengthened capacity of advocacy CSOs, development of grassroots activism and increased citizen participation in advocacy movements.

Measuring Protective Advocacy

Advocacy may lead to changes that are protective as well as pro-active. **Pro-active advocacy** produces a change, such as amended legislation or new public policies, that are almost always quantifiable. **Protective advocacy**, on the other hand, refers to maintaining the status quo and “protecting” rights from being eroded. Protective advocacy is more difficult to measure because it doesn’t

involve change even though it may require a tremendous amount of organizing and advocacy.

This creates a real, but not insurmountable, challenge in terms of performance measurement. For the DG officer, it simply means designing indicators that factor in the possibility of protective advocacy outcomes. The sample CSO advocacy index in Table 2, for example, can be used to measure both protective and pro-active advocacy progress.

B. Performance Indicators

Successful performance monitoring and evaluation require clearly articulated results against which performance will be assessed. In their performance monitoring plans, USAID Missions must define in detail the performance measures they will track to monitor their strategic objectives and intermediate results, together with information on the source, method, and schedule of data collection.

Good indicators of results are timely and relevant and can be measured with quality data at reasonable cost. They also are understandable to the program stakeholders who will use the performance information in decision-making or program assessment. As such, they must fit a specific objective, program, and country setting. Useful and effective performance measures are Objective, to ensure that they are interpreted the same way by different people. The most important criterion is that there is effective demand for the information.

Appendix A offers three tables with information to assist the DG officer with performance measurement. **Table 1** lists sample indicators for measuring the progress of broad aspects of an advocacy program. The indicators are categorized by key aspects of advocacy: the **enabling environment** for advocacy, strengthened **CSO capacity**, improved **CSO advocacy**, and increased **citizen participation** in the policy process. The categories and indicators are illustrative, and offered as a starting point for designing performance

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measurement indicators appropriate to the context of your country and advocacy program.

Table 2 describes a sample CSO Advocacy Index for measuring the progress of specific advocacy CSOs. An index is a tool for quantitative analysis of largely subjective assessments, and can be a useful type of indicator. An index is typically a combination of information gathered from scales, or a rating device that presents a range of options, such as on a scale from 1 to 5. See Appendix C of the *G/DG Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators* for more information on developing and using scales and indices.

Table 3 presents a tool for measuring performance on a continuum. This table is useful for measuring the progress of CSO implementation of the seven advocacy tools outlined in Section II of this handbook.

Comment [U11]: Karen, perhaps try to get each of the 3 tables on 1 page, or if 2 pages each, then facing each other so they can be seen together when the book is open

Comment [U12]:

Appendix A Table 1

SAMPLE INDICATORS Sectoral Advocacy Performance Measurement

1. Strengthened Enabling Environment

1.A. Indicators that Measure Agitation for Legal and Regulatory Reform to Enable Advocacy

- Number of target CSOs advocating for legal and regulatory reform
- Number of advocacy initiatives carried out by CSO coalitions for legal reform

1.B. Indicators that Measure Openness of Public Institutions to CSO Involvement in the Policy Process

- New mechanisms established by government to allow CSO involvement in policy process
- Frequency of use of new mechanisms, for a set of target issues
- CSO perception of the willingness of government institutions to engage in dialogue with them
- Courts uphold rights of CSOs and citizens to be involved in policy process

1.C. Indicators that Measure Free Flow of Information that Enables Advocacy

Plural Array of Independent Sources of Information Encouraged

- Freedom of Information ...
- Percentage or number of target CSOs that say they can obtain needed information from key public agencies
- Number of non-governmental news sources
- Number of target CSOs publishing bulletins
- Number of (a) telephones, (b) fax machines, (c) e-mail subscribers per capita for given level of GNP
- Number of hours of minority language programming on radio/TV, (b) number of minority language print periodicals

2. Strengthened CSO Capacity/Sustainability

2.A. Indicators that Measure CSO Management Systems

- Number of target CSOs with strategic plans being implemented
- Number of target CSOs that have monitoring and evaluation systems and collect/use resulting data

2.B. Indicators that Measure Financial Resource Management

- Number of target CSOs with improved financial accounting practices
- Number of target CSOs with (a) increased number of successful income-producing activities, or (b) increased income from existing income-generating activities
- Number of target CSOs with increased number of individual contributions and institutional donations

3. Improved CSO Advocacy

3.A. Indicators that Measure Effective CSO Advocacy

- Number of target CSOs showing improvement on the advocacy index or reaching a certain level of expertise on the index
- Number of CSOs from target group undertaking advocacy activities for the first time
- Public policies changed consistent with CSO advocacy
- Number of target CSOs active in advocacy coalitions

4. Increased Citizen Participation in the Policy Process

4. A. Indicators that Measure Opportunities for Public Participation Increased

- Number of well publicized policy meetings open to citizens and citizen groups (parliamentary, executive, or local government)
- Number of meetings of joint policy commissions between the executive branch and representatives of the for-profit and/or not-for-profit private sectors on selected policies
- Percentage of local governments holding more than x town meetings in the last year with more than Y people attending

4. B. Indicators that Measure Mechanisms for Participation

- Total number or average number of people attending town meetings organized by local government
- Number of meetings of joint citizen-local council commissions/boards

4. C. Indicators that Measure Political Participation of Groups Representing Marginalized Constituencies

- Number of groups representing marginalized constituencies trying to affect government policy or conducting oversight
- Percentage of mainstream CSO leadership positions held by marginalized groups

4. D. Indicators that Measure Citizen Participation in the Policy Process and Oversight of Public Institutions

- Percentage of public knowledgeable about or aware of an issue
- Number of targeted issues which are receiving heightened public attention

While not comprehensive, the list illustrates the kind of measures that can be used to assess impact. The sampling is drawn from existing USAID projects, experience of the authors, and the *Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators*, which provides a wealth of sample indicators with annotations regarding their applicability, data collection methods, and other interpretive ideas. (See ordering information back inside cover.)

USAID program managers can use these sample indicators as a starting point for establishing a performance monitoring and evaluation system specific to the host country and to a given DG program.

Appendix A: Table 2

Sample CSO Advocacy Index

This sample CSO Advocacy Index is taken from Appendix C of the *Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators*. Before using this index or adapting it for your own use, you should refer to that handbook for important guidance on methodology for using indices, such as how to form the rating panel, standardize rating systems, compile scores, etc.

Comment [U13]: [Karen: add another footnote to the hndbk?]

This index is intended to measure the progress of advocacy CSOs pursuing one or more advocacy issues. Each of the seven index components should be rated on a scale, such as the following 5-point scale:

1	2	3	4	5
None; Very little capacity		Moderate; Reasonable Capacity		Extensive; Very strong capacity

Items bulleted under each component are provided to help illustrate/explain the component, and are not intended to be scored individually. Not all elements are likely to be relevant to every situation. The total score needs to be accompanied by a narrative explaining progress or strengths and weaknesses.

Components of the CSO Advocacy Index:

Score:

1) Issue is timely and significant

- Issue is of vital concern to the group's constituents
- Issue is critically important to the current or future well-being of the CSO and/or its clients, but its importance is not yet broadly understood
- New opportunities for effective action exist
- At least a few key decision makers are receptive to the issue

2) CSO collects information and input about the issue

- Relevant government agencies and their respective roles in the issue are identified at national and local levels; knowledge and positions investigated
- General public input is solicited (including from women and minorities) on the issue via public meetings, focus groups, etc.
- Representative input is collected on the issue via surveys (including from women and minorities, where appropriate)
- Existing information and data on the issue is collected, such as for summaries or positions papers
- Policy analyses, such as the legal, political, social justice, or health aspects of the issue, are conducted

3) CSO formulates a viable policy position on the issue

- Policy formulation done in participatory (and gender-sensitive) manner
- Policy being advocated exists in writing, with formats and levels of detail that are appropriate for various audiences and policy makers
- Policy position is clearly and convincingly articulated
- Rationale for policy is coherent, persuasive, and uses information collected in component 2
- Presentation of policy position uses attractive and effective formats, such as graphs

4) CSO obtains and/or allocates resources (especially time and money) for advocacy on the issue

- Contributions collected from members, interested citizens, and/or from other organizations (businesses, foundations, religious groups, etc.)
- Financial or other resources assigned to the issue from within the CSO
- Volunteer time to help advocate for the issue obtained and well managed
- International agencies with interests in the issue area identified, and their procedures for applying for financial support determined
- (Other resources?)

5) CSO builds coalitions and networks to obtain cooperative efforts for joint action on the issue

- Other groups and individuals with interests concerning the issue identified or persuaded to take an interest (may include govt. organizations which share concerns)
- Coalition formed (defined as any type of joint working group)
- An existing or new coalition or network activated, such as by having informal contacts, joint meetings, identifying common interests, sharing resources, etc.
- Joint or coordinated actions planned (see #6 and #7 below, for carrying out the actions)

6) CSO takes actions to influence policy or other aspects of the issue

- News releases generated or public meetings held
- Members/citizens encouraged to take appropriate actions, such as writing letters to legislators
- Active lobbying conducted for the policy position, such as by testifying in hearings, personal visits to legislators, etc.
- Model legislation drafted and circulated to legislators
- Policy relevant position papers and recommendations disseminated, based on the input collected and coalition's joint interests

Comment [U14]: may need to add something else here, so isn't too limited on legislation

7) CSO takes follow up actions, after a policy decision is made, to foster implementation and/or to maintain public interest

- Monitoring the implementation of a newly passed law, policy or court decision, such as by making sure that authorized government funds are disbursed or implementing regulations written and disseminated, checking implementation in field sites, asking members for feedback on how well it is working, etc.
- Some staff or volunteer time and resources are allocated to the issue or policy for monitoring
- [If desired policy was not passed] At least a minimal level of advocacy methods maintained to take advantage of next opportunity for pressing the issue, perhaps with a reformulated approach or different specifics
- [If desired policy was not passed] Public awareness and interest in issue monitored, to look for examples, incidents, opportunities to create or renew a sense of urgency on the issue

Appendix A Table 3

Measuring the Progress of CSO Implementation of Advocacy Tools¹⁴

The information in this table is based on the *Advocacy Issue Life Cycle* developed by the Advocacy Institute, and is a useful means for viewing the progress of advocacy CSOs on a continuum. The measurements below are not indicators as written, but are meant as a tool for tracking progress or as the basis for developing indicators.

Comment [U15]: Need to fix footnote at bottom re: AI

Comment [U16]: NOTE: the arrow behind the first chart will be repeated, lighter, throughout the charts to indicate flow this is just a placeholder] [Karen: Maybe delete 1st sentence of footnote, given that this has changed/improved significantly since we received it from AI?] Karen: Maybe put this on one page, perhaps moving each heading to the left margin?]

Using Media

Low	Moderate	High
Little (if any) media coverage of advocacy issues or campaigns	Some media coverage of advocacy issues or campaigns	Regular media coverage of advocacy issues and campaigns
CSOs view mainstream media as an obstacle rather than a resource	CSOs view mainstream media as a tool, but lack sophisticated media advocacy skills and communications strategy	Media advocacy and communications strategy integrated into all aspects of CSO activity
Few (if any) relationships between CSO leaders and journalists	Beginnings of relationships and networks between CSO leaders and journalists	Established relationships between journalists and advocates

Coalition Building

Low	Moderate	High
Few (if any) coalitions, especially those that are multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-issue	Some coalitions, but marked by competition and turf battles among CSOs	Successful coalition campaigns, including multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic CSOs
Few (if any) opportunities for cross-fertilization and networking	Some opportunities for cross-fertilization and networking, but unwillingness of organizations to share resources and information	Information and resource sharing and networking among CSO sector

Using Information

Low	Moderate	High
Few (if any) CSOs generate new information or use existing information effectively	Some CSOs beginning to develop capacity to use existing information and generate new information	Establishment of indigenous intermediary CSOs that conduct capacity building as it related to research, information, and creating knowledge
CSOs do not view information culture as source of strength	CSOs view information culture as source of strength	CSOs use information culture in organizing, mobilizing, networking, and communicating with policy makers
Few CSOs have technology to access information from the Internet	Some CSOs have technology to access information from the Internet	Majority of CSOs have technology and use it to access information

Budget Analysis

Low	Moderate	High
Few (if any) CSOs engaged in budget analysis	Some CSOs engaged in budget analysis	Establishment of indigenous intermediary CSOs that offer budget analysis training and workshops and produce books and guides on budget analysis

¹⁴ All are developed by Farah Nazarali-Stranieri. Based on the Advocacy Life Cycle developed by Advocacy Institute Co-director David Cohen and a modification of sustainability indexes from the USAID 1998 *NGO Sustainability Index for Central and Eastern Europe and the New Independent States*. Advocacy Institute, 2000.

Lobbying

Low	Moderate	High
<p>Policy/legislative process closed to public</p> <p>Government institutions and officials rarely acknowledge or engage public-policy and advocacy CSOs</p>	<p>CSOs and citizens occasionally are invited to public hearings</p> <p>Government institutions and officials occasionally engage CSOs on public-policy matters</p>	<p>National and local governments regularly hold public hearings that are open to the public</p> <p>CSOs have full-time liaisons with government institutions and have regular access to government officials</p>

Utilizing the Legal System

Low	Moderate	High
<p>CSOs/citizens rarely if ever use courts in advocacy campaigns</p>	<p>CSOs/citizens begin to use courts in advocacy campaigns, but without much success</p>	<p>CSOs/citizens occasionally use courts in advocacy campaigns with some success</p>

Grassroots Organizing

Low	Moderate	High
<p>Grassroots community leaders emerge and begin organizing local residents,</p> <p>Grassroots community leaders organize discussion and analysis of common community problems</p>	<p>Grassroots leaders organize around common community problems and solutions to those problems</p> <p>Grassroots community leaders build organizations that harness the skills of local residents and improve citizen's lives in tangible ways</p>	<p>Grassroots leaders are successful in advocacy for change</p> <p>Grassroots leaders develop analysis about long-term change, and work towards nurturing a second generation of grassroots leaders</p>

Strategy Planning & Organizational Development

Low	Moderate	High
<p>CSOs lack clearly defined missions, financial and accounting organizational structures, and message development skills to communicate their messages effectively</p> <p>Individual CSOs often operate as a "one-person" show</p> <p>Little (if any) use strategic planning to guide organized actions</p>	<p>Beginnings of professionalism but need for advocacy training and skill development in management, accounting, and leadership</p> <p>CSOs have a permanent staff, Board of Directors, and leadership of organization involves more than one person</p> <p>CSOs use strategic planning but not consistently</p>	<p>CSOs are characterized by high level of professionalism in management, volunteer recruitment and training, accounting, leadership, etc</p> <p>CSOs use shared leadership model</p> <p>CSOs consistently use strategic planning to guide and evaluate organized actions</p>

APPENDIX B: Examples of Advocacy Activities

Utilizing the Media

Creating networks between CSO leaders and journalists is an important component in facilitating both media advocacy and media strengthening advocacy. The following example illustrates how CSO leaders can engage journalists and encourage coverage of third sector issues.

Educating Journalists

Gabrielle Watson

The following is excerpted from a case study on Ecuador for the Advocacy Institute- Oxfam America Advocacy Learning Initiative.

In Ecuador, groups involved in a campaign against Texaco told the “unofficial” story of oil contamination by organizing tours for journalists, legislators, and members of the military. In contrast to “eco-tours” organized by the state oil company, these “toxi-tours” showed the very real pollution that Texaco and the state oil company had not cleaned up.

The tours were attractive to journalists for a number of reasons. First, they were able to speak directly to people affected by the population and the leaders of their popular organizations. Second, by accompanying the legislators and military personnel, the journalists were able to get quotes for their articles from these high-ranking decision makers and “experts.”

The “toxi-tour” strategy had another benefit: it allowed the local people’s organizations to build credibility in the media’s eyes. Over time, journalists started going straight to these leaders for quotes and information.

Cartoons, puppets, and similar techniques have proven effective in communicating shared and universal values among younger generations in countries torn by ethnic or civil strife. Cartoons characters and puppets that promote tolerance and understanding help educate a new generation of social actors and break the cycle of hatred and intolerance that is passed on from one generation to the next. They are effective because they are not viewed as “political” or subversive even though the content may encourage substantial changes in political consciousness. The following story illustrates how puppets can be used to change political consciousness.

Puppets for Peace

Matthew Kalman

The following is excerpted from an article that appeared in Canada’s national newspaper, The Globe and Mail, Tuesday, December 14, 1999.

Haneen is a Palestinian puppet who appears on the Arabic version of Sesame Street- *Shara’a Simsim*. Haneen’s friend Dafi is a puppet on the Israeli version of Sesame Street- *Rehov Sumsum*. *Shara’a Simsim/Rehov Sumsum* was born five years ago after the 1993 Oslo Peace Agreement was signed. The New York-based Children’s Television Workshop (CTW) was created to encourage co-existence between two peoples inching towards a peaceful resolution of a bitter conflict. Gary Knell, president of CTW, says, “[the series] is designed to teach mutual respect among Israelis, Palestinians, and Palestinian Israelis.

The show has won praise by citizens and politicians alike. Yuli Tamir, an Israeli cabinet minister, notes that “many children grow up in Israel without ever having a Palestinian friend. If through watching the program, they can see a Palestinian as a potential friend, that’s a great achievement.”

Using parody has also proven to be effective in media advocacy. The case studies illustrate the effectiveness of using such techniques. Using parody can create or broaden public space used to criticize/oppose government policies. Parody can also decrease the risk associated with adversarial advocacy.

Breaking Through a Culture of Silence

Moco McCaulay

The following is an excerpt from an interview with Kenneth Best, a journalist, who started an independent newspaper in Liberia and in The Gambia. The article appeared in ChangeExchange, a publication of the Advocacy Institute, Vol. 1, Issue 4, February 1999.

The most powerful constraint [to press freedom] was “the culture of silence”. Information only circulated through word of mouth, when people gathered together to drink attaya (a traditional tea).

The government-owned radio station and other small newspapers didn’t delve into day-to-day issues and the most sensitive information- political and social- was left completely taboo.

During the military dictatorship in Liberia in the 1980s, there was a lot that you could not dare to say without getting shutdown or imprisoned. Someone suggested the paper carry the interesting sayings people were always uttering. So our artist drew an owl with a graduate’s cap and we published the quotations in small box beside it.

We used sayings from ordinary folks on the streets. Or, we would think of a succinct saying to crystallize the most important themes of the paper.

It was a popular and powerful column. We used it to say things indirectly. The people began to understand this, and would gather and argue about what Dr. Owl was saying. It brought intrigue to people’s minds, and confusion and often consternation to the government.

People eventually began to rely on Dr. Owl for saying what could not be spoken about except in a philosophical, proverbial, or hush hush way. In a situation where people are not used to talking, Dr. Owl has a cultural impact despite the serious constraints.

Using Information

Contributed by Rana Nishat Jahan, 1995 Advocacy Institute Bangladesh Fellow.

In Bangladesh, the Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE) conducted a survey to count the number of school-age children in a selected area, and to identify reasons why students drop out. The survey not only revealed the main causes of low attendance, but was also a successful way to organize the community.

Analyzing Budgets

The following is a case story written by the Director of Patheya, an Indian organization for budget analysis started by Developing Initiatives for Social and Human Action (DISHA).

Budget Analysis: A Powerful Tool for Social Activists

M D. Mistry

Developing Initiatives for Social and Human Action (DISHA) recognized the value in budget analysis while lobbying the government to raise the wages for Tendu leaf-plucker tribal women. We realized that unless we had information on the money spent by the national and state governments, it would be difficult to fairly represent the issues of tribal development. Eventually, this realization forced us to learn how to analyze the state budget. Reaction, debate, and studies on the national and state budgets are traditionally the domain of academics and researchers. However, budget analysis can be a powerful tool for grassroots groups to use in negotiation or confrontation with the government.

Getting Started

Our first task was getting a copy of the budget. We got it from the elected representatives when it was tabled. First, we had to classify the data. Next, we had to understand the government's accounting system. It took some time to build our self-confidence and create a foolproof system. Finally, we published our analysis, *Injustices to the Tribals*. Because ours was the first attempt by any public group to disseminate such an analysis, we decided to emphasize how poor people are left out of the budget policies, and how these policies adversely affect the poor. We also used the budget figures extensively, showing that we had discovered 172 mathematical errors in the 22 budget documents. We decided to prepare brief notes – six pages long for government ministers and bureaucrats, the press, academic institutions, and voluntary agencies.

Reactions to Our Budget Analysis

Injustices to the Tribals created a great deal of interest. The newspaper reported our finding that the government made errors in totaling the figures. This created a very embarrassing situation for the finance minister. The opposition parties took full advantage of our notes to press their own cause. Before each day's budget discussion, we prepared more notes and handed them out to assembly members. Many of them became addicted to our notes. They were eager to receive them as early as possible to help them formulate their own arguments to create pressure on the government. Every member in the state assembly found our notes useful in a number of ways:

Our notes – prepared in the local language and with the elected members' educational backgrounds in mind – shaped the budget discussions in the assembly.

Government officials became more alert to questions raised in the assembly. For the first time, the issues of the poor were discussed, questions were answered, and the debate became precise.

Budget discussion became sharper and more factual, forcing the ministers to reply to the facts and making the government officials work.

Our organization's name became familiar in the "corridors of power." Our access to officials, ministers, elected representatives, and the press became easier.

Our notes became so popular that a number of Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) asked us to conduct budget analysis training programs for them.

Lessons Learned

Our analysis shifted the balance of power. In general, NGOs and voluntary agencies have rarely addressed the whole field of "governance." Until recently, their role had been limited to receiving either "finance" or "information" from the government. By doing a budget analysis, the group acts as a partner in formulating the budget, and pushes the state to collect information and provide it to the people. The budget is prepared by a very small group of people in the bureaucracy. In order to maintain their monopoly, they don't want others to know its intricacies. Knowing the process of making the budget documents breaks this monopoly. NGOs must know the process. The more one knows about the finance of the state, the more one becomes confident and powerful. Using factual information to discuss the issues of tribal development sharpened our arguments. The budget analysis also widened our vision, and gave us ways to pick up certain issues and focus on them. Budget analysis does have its limitations. We can't find the answers to all the actions of the state by analyzing its budget. Nonetheless, this process can certainly help us understand most of the issues that people are facing.

Lobbying Decision-makers

This case story illustrates the importance of civic education; i.e., disseminating legal information about rights to citizens. Civic education is an important component of any public interest law reform campaign.

Tolerance Foundation's Equal Rights Project

Ina Zoon

Excerpted from Vol. I of Symposium on Public Interest Law in Eastern Europe and Russia. Durban, South Africa June 29- July 8, 1997.

The aim of the Tolerance Foundation's Equal Rights Project was to amend the Czech citizenship law to alleviate the hardship of the clean criminal record requirement, make it easier to apply for permanent residence, reduce the administrative fees, and improve the regulations concerning children.

Role of Information

The human rights community was not yet in a position to ask for dialogue with government officials because they did not have enough documented cases to build up a serious argument. The first step in our advocacy strategy was to gather information.

Fact finding missions, conducted by a network of Roma and non-Roma human rights activists, were carried out in five different cities. In 10 months, the project documented approximately 1,000 cases.

Publication of report "The Effect of the Citizenship Law on the Czech Republic's Roma Community." Later, a second, more in-depth report was published.

Networking with international allies. The report was distributed at the Human Dimension seminar on Roma in Warsaw. Five members of the Project's staff used the opportunity to network with international actors, and it worked. At a conference in Hungary, the Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) High Commissioner on National Minorities urged the Czech government to consider the "negative impact of such legislation." Similar concerns were expressed by the US and European delegation and other NGOs.

The Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic did not have a history of accepting dialogue with human rights groups. However, after fact finding missions documented the extent and nature of the problem and international criticism was being directed at the Czech Executive, for the first time officials of the Ministry of the Interior agreed to meet NGO representatives and to discuss some of their findings and arguments.

Mistakes made and lessons learned

The project focused on decision makers from the executive branch and did not pay enough attention to President Havel. President Havel, who is admired by a large international community, is considered in his country as the highest moral authority. Havel is a widely recognized advocate of human rights and could have been persuaded, at the very least, not to publicly say the law is not discriminatory. (In one particular case, President Havel publicly stated that the Roma were subject to individual acts of racism, not state-sponsored racism.) The statement of President Havel was later used by the Executive to justify maintaining the law as is. The fact that the President had no decisional power is no justification for not trying to prevent a statement, which obviously damaged the campaign.

Conclusions

Many of the problems created by the citizenship law were alleviated. The standard of proof for permanent residency was liberalized and the clean criminal record requirement was modified. However, many problems still persist. Even today, four years and three amendments later, thousands of Roma are still undocumented. Despite significant legislative change, only a small number of Roma are able to take advantage of the law as few Roma know of these new developments. Information on permanent resident permits has not appeared on national television, local radios and newspaper, or Roma publications.

Campaign to Increase Agricultural Wages¹

Ulka Mahajan

In Maharashtra state, India, the government had not increased wages for five years. To protest government apathy, the agricultural laborers' unions mobilized people from all over the state for a huge rally. The delegation went to the minister's office with their demands. The minister, busy in the state legislative session, refused to meet with them.

After this experience, we made an effort to understand the state's legislative procedures and methods. We used two legislative tools:

Calling an “attention motion” about an issue of urgent public importance. We created this urgency by initiating several simultaneous events – picketing, a hunger strike, demonstrations – at the local and state level. The media covered the events and the issue was taken up in the legislature. We learned how to draft the motion ourselves to make sure the core of the issue would be addressed.

Using question hour to call attention to an issue. Before the question hour, we spoke with the leader of the opposition and different party leaders. We convinced them of the issue's importance and the issue was discussed.

Within the next two years, we managed to get the issue discussed thoroughly and consistently on the legislative floor. We also managed to make it a sizable issue for the opposition, which had neglected it for years.

As a result of our consistent efforts, wages for agricultural laborers were increased in 1994. However, the wage increase was inadequate. This gave us another opportunity to intervene. We investigated, and found out that we could challenge the inadequate wage increase by submitting petitions to the Minimum Wage Advisory Board. Seventeen unions of laborers submitted their objections in well-drafted, informed memoranda. For the first time in the state, the agricultural laborers recorded their say with the Advisory Board and, moreover, were well received. The wages were increased again in 1997, this time as a major cabinet decision.

Organizing and Mobilizing the Grassroots

Donor Case Story

Global Fund for Women's Innovative Approach to Grantmaking¹

The Global Fund for Women (hereafter referred to GFW) was created in 1987 to provide grants to grassroots women's organizations all over the world. GFW is based upon a vision of mutual trust and respect and a belief that women within their own cultures know best what the most important problems may be and the best ways to address them. Since 1989, GFW has developed effective mechanisms to give away grant money with as little administrative hassle as possible.

Lessons Learned About Grassroots Grantmaking

Unrestricted (general and flexible support) grants are crucial for organizations, particularly in their start-up phase.

Even after initial start-up, unrestricted (general and flexible) support is extremely important for organizational and program development. Support for organizational development is crucial in enabling fledgling organizations to progress from being the ambition of a few dedicated founders to becoming an organization with a larger staff and structures capable of supporting growing program activities. Support for program development allows organizations to take advantage of opportunities as they present themselves.

Minimizing bureaucratic requirements in grantmaking results in more time for action. Most small NGOs feel choked by the reporting demands of donors.

Support and facilitate networking and sharing among women's NGOs within countries and internationally.

APPENDIX C: Sources, Types, and Methods of Gathering Information

Different Sources, Types, and Methods of Gathering Information¹		
<i>Source of Information</i>	<i>Type of Information</i>	<i>Method of Gathering Info.</i>
Citizens	Individual or community perspectives on local problems	One-on-one interviews, focus groups, workshops, PRA exercises (participatory rural assessment)
CSOs	Civil society perspectives on problems, policies, governance	Reports, publications (minutes of meetings, newsletters, etc.)
Local government	Budgets, rural and urban planning, census information, audits on government programs	Government documents, interviews with officials, reports.
State (or provincial) and national government	Budgets, census information, sector data, macro-economic data, policies, program information	Government Gazettes, government papers, policy papers, documents, statistics publications, census reports, interviews with officials
Private sector (corporations)	Names of CEOs, Board of Directors, company's holdings, history of legal proceedings, investment priorities, production/sales/export data, employment policies	Annual reports, newspaper articles, business databases, internet searches, interviews with workers or company executives
Trade/Labor Unions	Labor/employment issues, legal proceedings about labor disputes	Reports, newspaper articles, publications, newsletters, conferences, interviews with labor activists
Universities and "think tanks"	Policy research, academic research on theoretical and applied issues	Journals, reports, publications, seminars, interviews with academics and researchers
International organizations and multilateral donors	Policies and programs, funding priorities, human development data, macro-economic data	Reports, publications, treaties, conventions, conferences
Journalists	Investigative research on social issues	Newspaper articles, interviews with journalists
Internet	Facts, data, organizational information, information on business, e-mails	Web searches, list serves, news groups, chat rooms, discussion boards

APPENDIX D: Lobbying Tips

Tips for Engaging in Lobbying

- Treat opponents respectfully and courteously, avoid demonizing opponents. Remember the adage- no permanent friends, no permanent enemies
- Plan relations and encounters with opponents carefully to avoid cooptation or divulging too much information
- Monitor opponents' actions over time
- Assess and rank opponents' power
- Assess and rank the potential danger opponents may pose, looking closely at whether they are willing to use violence
- Do not engage opponents if they are un-persuadable or likely to use violence
- Make the best of rivalries or potential differences among opponents, using the divide and rule conquer principle

a. Assessing the representation of legislative bodies¹

Representation is a critical element of democracy. The extent to which a legislative body (i.e., Congress, Parliament, National Assemblies, State Assemblies, municipal councils, water, health, and sanitation authorities, etc.) represents the needs and aspirations of the citizenry will determine the kinds of funding interventions appropriate for promoting increased representation. The following questions allow USAID DG officers to assess the representation of a legislative body.

Does the legislative body promote a two-way flow of information? Do legislators, their staff, and their publications explain how decisions are made to citizens? Are public records of legislative actions available? Does the legislative body solicit public opinion (through hearings, polls, etc.)? Do members have district or local offices or do they have incentives to establish such offices?

How open and accountable is the legislative body to citizens and the media? Can citizens and reporters visit for plenary and committee sessions when legislation is drafted? Do reporters and editors have access to and understand processes and functions?

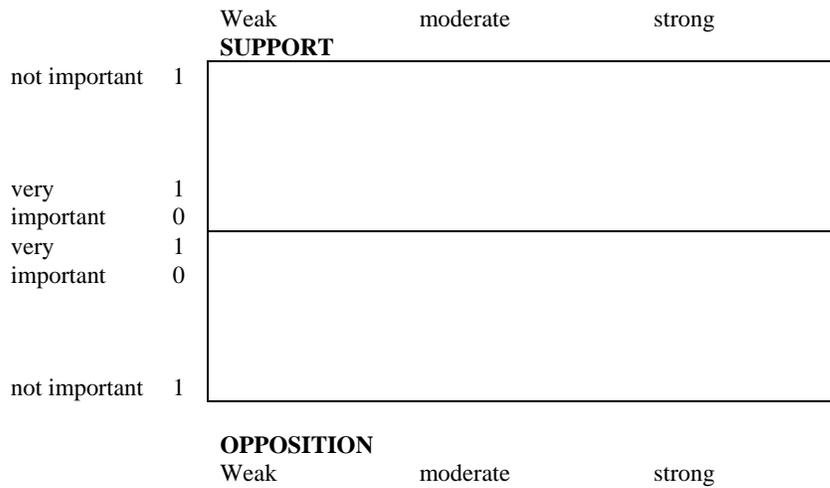
Do committees hold public hearings? What is the process of submitting testimony? Are meeting notices published? Are meeting places accessible?

Are political parties open to public input? Do political parties encourage and permit public input to determine party platforms and policy proposals?

Do organized interest groups effectively interact with the legislative body? Are CSOs able to fulfill their roles as advocates and watchdogs? Do organized groups have equal access to the legislative body?

b. Strategic mapping¹

Diagram: [NOTE: where's plotting on diagram??]



Strategic mapping involves identifying the stakeholders and developing strategies to reach them. There are three rough groupings of people or “stakeholders”:

- Those affected by the issue
- Those with the power and authority to make decisions about the issue
- Others (e.g., media, businesses, funders, international movements, international bodies)

CSOs with limited resources (i.e., time, people, and money) need to focus on the stakeholders who will help or hurt the issue the most. To prioritize stakeholders in each rough grouping, answer these three questions:

- Who has an interest or a “stake” in how the issue is resolved?
- How important is each stakeholder to the issue? What is their level of support or opposition?
- What can you find out about each stakeholder?

Who has an interest or a “stake” in how the issue is resolved? Be as specific as you can in naming each stakeholder.

- Who is affected by the issue?
- Who are your allies? Think about individuals and groups.

- Who can give you what you want? Which decision makers have the power and authority? Think about each branch and level of government, or other decision making structures (such as corporations or community leaders).
- Who influences these decision makers?
- Whose support do you need?

Justice advocacy efforts seek to shift the balance of power.

- Who will benefit from the change you want?
- Who may lose power, or feel threatened by the change you want?

To use limited resources wisely, also think about stakeholders within the NGO sector.

- Do other groups working on the issue complement your efforts? Can you work together to avoid overlap?
- Are other groups competing with you for resources and recognition?

For each stakeholder, what is their level of support or opposition? How important is each stakeholder to the issue?

Place each stakeholder into one of these categories:

- Strong support
 - Moderate support
 - Strong opposition
- Moderate opposition

Think About:

What is the stakeholder's stated position on the issue?

- Why does this stakeholder support or oppose the issue?
- Specific instances of support or opposition? e.g., What is their voting record?

Rank each stakeholder from 1 (not important) to 10 (very important).

Plot each stakeholder on a graph based on their importance and level of support or opposition.

Stakeholders from all three groupings will fall into one of five categories:

Strong Supporters. Your strongest and most important supporters.

Passive/Silent Supporters. Your silent supporters who are important to the issue.

Moderates. Those who are important to the issue but are not engaged. Moderates are sometimes opportunistic opponents or supporters who may be convinced by one or more aspects of your arguments.

Soft-liners. Your silent opponents who are important to the issue and will probably not take action until you are perceived as a direct threat.

Hard-liners. Those who are important to the issue and can hurt the issue the most. These hard-core opponents usually stand to lose something, either tangibly or morally.

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Additional Advocacy Resources

A joint project of Oxfam America and the Advocacy Institute, the Advocacy Learning Initiative (ALI) captures learning of front-line advocates around the world to create training and reflection materials for policy advocacy by grassroots activists and non-governmental organizations. Supported by the Ford Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Advocacy Learning Initiative is a four-part comprehensive advocacy resource guide to deepen understandings about advocacy, civil society, and democracy, and provide concrete tools for engaging in policy advocacy work. The four volumes described more fully below are Volume I: Reflections on Advocacy; Volume II: Advocacy Skills Building; Volume III: Comparative Advocacy Case Studies; and Volume IV: Advocacy Resource Directory.

Unlike other advocacy training materials, the Advocacy Learning Initiative provides comprehensive advocacy resources, from tools to reflect on diverse and innovative advocacy experiences, develop and refine strategic advocacy planning skills, and access advocacy capacity building resources available

around the world. Written in straightforward, non-academic language, the texts are structured to be adaptable to multiple social, cultural, and political contexts.

Description of Advocacy Learning Initiative Products

Volume I, Reflections on Advocacy, written by David Cohen of the Advocacy Institute draws on experiences from South Asia, Southern Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, and the U.S. Presented in three parts, it includes a working definition and characteristics of advocacy; lessons about the nature of change, public problem solving processes, and sustaining individuals, organizations, and social change movements; and analyses the factors affecting the modern context for advocacy – democratization, decentralization, economic liberalization, and globalization.

Volume II, Advocacy Skills Building, written by Rosa de la Vega of the Advocacy Institute, draws on the Advocacy Institute’s capacity building curriculum to present a framework for helping readers analyze their own political, social, and cultural contexts in order to develop advocacy strategies. Discussing core advocacy skills: collaboration, using information and research, message development, and message delivery, Volume II presents worksheets, examples, and brief essays to help guide users through their own advocacy strategy development process.

Volume III, Advocacy Case Studies, a collaborative research project by Gabrielle Watson of Oxfam America and six case researchers in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the U.S., presents in-depth comparative analysis of six advocacy experiences. The cases, from Guatemala, Ecuador, Mozambique, Senegal, Cambodia, and the US South, represent a range of issues: from gender violence to industrial pollution, political contexts: from authoritarian regimes to consolidated democracies, and targets: from the very local to the international. Describing the approaches to advocacy crafted for each specific case, and asking what worked, and why, these cases will demystify notions of advocacy and provide concrete examples and inspiration for groups newly engaging in advocacy efforts.

Volume IV, Advocacy Resource Directory, compiled by Oxfam America, is a collection of 475 organizational profiles and advocacy resources from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Western Europe, North America, and the Middle East. Organizations work in one or more of the following areas: advocacy capacity building, funding, NGO networking, and policy analysis and research. In addition, the Directory contains information on published advocacy training materials, directories and catalogues, training and degree programs, and Internet resources.

All four volumes will be published and commercially available around November 2000. In addition, the Advocacy Learning Initiative will translate the materials from English into French, Portuguese, and Spanish. For more information about the Advocacy Learning Initiative, contact Gabrielle Watson at Oxfam America, 26 West Street, Boston, MA 02111, telephone (617) 728-2481, fax (617) 728-2562, e-mail gwatson@oxfamamerica.org.

Important Points

- Advocacy may be adversarial or negotiated. **Adversarial advocacy** uses actions that express opposition, protest and dissent. **Negotiated advocacy** engages stakeholders with decision-makers, and emphasizes consensus-building, negotiation and conflict management.
- The most common advocates in a USAID program are **civil society organizations (CSOs)**, but other advocates that could be included in a USAID program include **businesses, professional and trade associations, and grass roots movements**. Furthermore, advocates are only one set of actors involved in advocacy. Other important advocacy actors that might be targets of assistance, direct or indirect, include **journalists, media, lawyers, judges, government officials, and local or national state bodies**.
- While pure **advocacy CSOs**, such as human rights groups, may be easy to identify by their activities, many NGOs whose primary purpose is not advocacy may in fact be extremely effective advocates. For example, a **social service CSO** whose primary purpose is to provide shelter to homeless children might also be an effective advocate of children's rights through occasional or less visible secondary activities. The same is true for professional associations. For example, a farmers' association formed to disseminate information on farming techniques might also have a secondary purpose to advocate for farmers' rights. Similarly, a lawyers association formed to provide legal education to its members may also have a secondary purpose of advocating for judicial reform.
- Because negotiated advocacy involves engagement between advocates and decision makers, a USAID-funded advocacy program should not rule out working with government institutions and officials.