Advocacy Tools and Guidelines



Promoting Policy Change



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A Resource Manual for CARE Program Managers





Acknowledgments



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Several advocacy training guides have influenced us greatly. We have drawn extensively upon the excellent work of the Washington Office on Latin America and the Academy for Educational Development/Support for Analysis and Research in Africa. (Their guides are listed in our reference list.)

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Why should I read this manual?



- You are a project manager for an agriculture and natural resources project that provides training to farmers on handling dangerous pesticides. Many farmers in your region are suffering from pesticide poisoning. They have expressed their concerns to project staff and their desire to do something about this problem. A health survey confirms that pesticide poisoning is widespread in fact, a national health problem. You would like to find a way for CARE to help farmers to address this problem, not just at the local, but at the national level.
- You are a project manager for a reproductive health project and one of your goals is to raise the contraceptive prevalence rate in the project area. A recent health assessment confirms that the prevalence rate is quite low, but also that women want fewer children. The Ministry of Health does not allow nurses to insert IUDs; only doctors can provide this service. You want the Ministry to reconsider this policy, but don't know where to begin.
- You are an assistant country director overseeing a major emergency operation distributing food to one million people living in drought-affected areas. As the situation improves, the national government announces it will stop providing all food aid within the next four weeks. You urgently need to make the case that this decision is premature.

CARE's programs have traditionally worked at the household and community levels but rarely addressed *policy causes of poverty* and the actions of policy makers. *Advocacy* is a strategy to influence policy makers when they make laws and regulations, distribute resources, and make other decisions that affect peoples' lives. The principal aims of advocacy are to create policies, reform policies, and ensure policies are implemented. *Policy makers* are typically government officials or those with formal political power, but they also can be leaders in the private sector whose decisions and behavior affect communities.

Several advocacy strategies can be used to influence the decisions of policy makers, such as discussing problems directly with them, delivering messages through the media, or strengthening the ability of local organizations to advocate. Advocacy is one more option in a wide range of program strategies for reducing poverty, and appropriate when you want to influence policies that are at the source of poverty and discrimination.

Our vision and mission acknowledge that innovative solutions will be needed for ending poverty, and that influencing policy decisions should be part of our efforts to achieve lasting change. By using advocacy, we are recognizing that root causes of poverty and discrimination stem both from decisions at the household level *and* from decisions made within community leadership structures, national governments, international organizations, and powerful institutions. This approach can help us to make a greater impact on the lives of disadvantaged sectors of the population.

Some CARE programs have already used advocacy strategies to influence policies. These experiences have been very helpful for increasing our understanding about how advocacy can be integrated into CARE's programs, and were extensively used in developing this manual.

These *Tools and Guidelines* provide a step by step guide for planning advocacy initiatives, as well as advice for successful implementation. They are intended for country office program managers who wish to include advocacy in their programs. These guidelines will help you to:

- ✓ Learn about advocacy concepts and advocacy vocabulary.
- ✔ Analyze policies that lie at the root of poverty and discrimination.
- ✓ See how advocacy can help you increase your impact.
- ✓ Devise a strategy to achieve your advocacy aims.
- ✓ Acquire essential skills to help you become an effective advocate.

What is in this manual?



This manual is a training guide designed to familiarize program managers with key advocacy concepts and techniques. It presents many situations in which CARE would be the primary advocate. However, one of the principal roles CARE can play in advocacy is capacity building. The manual may also be useful to partners or others with whom CARE works in advocacy.

The manual suggests a framework for identifying policy goals, creating a plan of action, and effectively building your case for change. We have presented these concepts to you in a certain sequence. However, you may want to think of these ideas as *building blocks* that can be used as you find you need them. Advocacy rarely unfolds the same way twice and there is an element of unpredictability to advocacy that makes it both a challenging and an exciting approach to solving problems.

Advocacy is essentially all about three things:

- ♦ Creating policies where they are needed when none exist.
- ♦ Reforming harmful or ineffective policies.
- Ensuring good policies are implemented and enforced.

Together, we refer to these concepts as **policy change**.

Sometimes, it is not appropriate for CARE to take a direct role in advocacy, but rather to play a supporting role, or to help bring parties together who have shared interests in creating policy change. This manual should also help you to think about what advocacy roles are best for your operating environment, and how to become a credible advocate for change.

Advocacy frequently involves building *constituencies* – groups of people and organizations who support a particular policy viewpoint. Since advocacy usually occurs in the public domain, you must be prepared to consider the views of many people, and understand how decisions are made in your particular context. The more you know about the advocacy issue you select, the community where you work, and how political institutions function, the more effective an advocate you can be.

This manual is divided in ten chapters. **CHAPTERS 1** through **3** focus on key concepts, the benefits of advocacy, and preliminary steps.

- **CHAPTER 1** reviews CARE's definition of advocacy and answers some frequently asked questions about what advocacy is and is not.
- **CHAPTER 2** discusses the benefits of including advocacy in CARE's programs. It explains the importance of considering a wide range of causes for addressing poverty and discrimination, and therefore the need for a wider range of strategies, one of which is advocacy.
- **CHAPTER 3** discusses steps that are advisable to take even before you select an advocacy issue and begin planning an initiative. This phase includes establishing credibility, building advocacy capacity, and forming strategic relationships.

CHAPTERS 4 through **7** describe four essential steps for *planning* advocacy initiatives.

- **CHAPTER 4** provides tools for policy analysis, which is usually the first step in planning an advocacy initiative.
- **CHAPTER 5** describes the second step for advocacy planning: outlining a strategy. This chapter provides guidance for selecting a policy issue, identifying target audiences, setting a policy goal and identifying allies and opponents.
- **CHAPTER 6** describes how to finalize your advocacy strategy. It provides guidance for choosing effective advocacy roles for CARE, identifying key advocacy messages, and defining specific activities for an advocacy initiative.
- **CHAPTER 7** focuses on very practical issues for framing an advocacy plan, such as preparing a budget and setting a timeline. It also shows how advocacy goals and strategies can be summarized in a logframe consistent with CARE's project hierarchy (i.e. impact, effects, outputs, activities and input) and provides suggestions for monitoring and evaluating advocacy initiatives.

CHAPTERS 8 through **10** describe key steps and skills for *implementing* advocacy initiatives. These chapters expand on concepts that are introduced in the planning chapters.

- **CHAPTER 8** provides guidance on the central elements of advocacy implementation: developing, delivering and reinforcing messages.
- discusses CARE's role in building the capacity of local organizations to carry out advocacy and building constituencies. This is an important discussion, since CARE's preferred role is to strengthen local capacity. It also suggests strategies for participating effectively in coalitions.
- **CHAPTER 10** describes tactics that are essential for conducting successful advocacy campaigns: communicating effectively, using the media, negotiating, and managing risk.

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Section I



INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS ADVOCACY?
WHY ADVOCATE?
BUILDING A FOUNDATION.

This section describes what advocacy is, and why it is a programming approach worth considering, especially when policies are at the root of the problems you hope to solve. It also suggests steps you can take to prepare yourself to be an effective advocate, even before you decide on the policies you want to change.

Chapter 1 WHAT IS ADVOCACY?





This chapter reviews CARE's definition of advocacy. You will become familiar with key concepts and learn how CARE is defining advocacy as a programming strategy.





WHAT IS ADVOCACY?

First and foremost, advocacy is a strategy that is used around the world by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists, and even policy makers themselves, to influence policies. Advocacy is about creation or reform of policies, but also about effective implementation and enforcement of policies. A policy is a plan, course of action, or set of regulations adopted by government, business or an institution, designed to influence and determine decisions or procedures. Advocacy is a means to an end, another way to address the problems that we aim to solve through other programming strategies.

At a workshop with staff from more than 20 countries, the following working definition was developed:¹

ADVOCACY is the deliberate process of influencing those who make policy decisions. CARE's use of advocacy will always:

- Improve the livelihood of significant numbers of people.
- Target policy makers and implementers at levels above the household.
- Be rooted in CARE's field experience and core values.

ADVOCACY is a strategy that CARE uses to complement our efforts to:

- Strengthen capacity for self-help.
- Deliver relief in emergencies.
- Address discrimination in all of its forms.

ADVOCACY is the

deliberate process

of influencing those who make policy decisions.

¹The definition was proposed by a group of 40 CARE staff that participated in the Global Workshop on Country Office Advocacy in Sussex, October 18-22, 1999.

There are several key ideas in this definition:

First, advocacy is about *influencing* those who make policy decisions. Many people start with a preconception that advocacy is about "being confrontational" and "shouting at the government." One of the most important messages of this chapter, however, is that advocacy does not have to be confrontational. There is a wide range of advocacy approaches to choose from, e.g. a public vs. a private approach, engagement vs. confrontation, and working alone or in coalition with others. We will review each of these approaches in subsequent chapters.

Second, advocacy is a *deliberate* process, involving intentional actions. Therefore, before implementing advocacy strategies it must be clear who you are trying to influence and what policy you wish to change.

Third, *policy makers* can encompass many types of decision makers. CARE's approach to advocacy is to focus on policy makers above the household level, and to improve the livelihood of significant numbers of people. At the same time, advocacy is not restricted to those policy makers who work for the government. There are policy makers who work for the private sector, and who wield enormous influence over poor communities. It is important to keep in mind that *policy makers are always human beings*, not institutions. Advocacy is used to influence the choices and actions of those who make laws and regulations, and those who distribute resources and make other decisions that affect the well-being of many people.



Examples of CARE programs that used advocacy strategies:

In **NICARAGUA,** CARE advocated with national ministries to ban the importation and use of pesticides which have proven harmful to the health of farmers.

In the **PHILIPPINES,** CARE joined a national coalition of NGOs and worked at the national and local levels to promote basic rights and access to services for urban street vendors.

In **ECUADOR,** CARE persuaded the Ministry of the Environment to reform forestry laws and also promoted land ownership by indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian ethnic groups, enabling them to manage their own natural resources and commercialize forest products.

In **SUDAN,** CARE is working closely with several other international NGOs to highlight the tremendous humanitarian costs of the civil war and to convince international policy makers to address its root causes.

In **CAMBODIA,** CARE and other international NGOs succeeded in persuading the Ministry of Health to change reproductive health policies that banned the use of permanent contraceptives, a policy that contributed to high fertility rates.

Advocacy involves delivering messages that are intended to influence the actions of policy makers. CARE audiences typically include multilateral institutions (e.g. the United Nations or the World Bank), governments and bilateral donors (e.g. the French government or USAID), and governments at the local, regional, or national level. Advocacy can be direct, like asking a policy maker in person to take action, or indirect, such as trying to influence public opinion through the media. There is a wide range of advocacy activities that CARE can use to influence policy makers, ranging from providing information, to working in coalitions, to mobilizing constituencies, to using the media.

While advocacy is a relatively new strategy for CARE, it is a well-established method in other NGOs. Many of CARE's local and international partners rely on advocacy in their work and may have good advocacy ideas and skills to share with you. Indeed, advocacy is one area where CARE may often have much to learn from local NGOs.

WHAT ADVOCACY IS NOT

The kind of advocacy that we are discussing in this manual relates to influencing the decisions of policy makers. When we talk about advocacy, we generally do not mean:

Extension work. Encouraging households to change their agricultural or health practices is an important programming strategy used in many CARE programs. However, extension work is designed to influence individual decisions made at the household level, not the behavior or decisions of policy makers that affect many households at once.

Information, Education, and Communication. Advocacy is not about launching a public campaign to change specific practices – such as social marketing encouraging people to use condoms. Rather, an advocacy campaign is intended to change public opinion about a policy issue. For example, an HIV/AIDS advocacy campaign might promote more funding for HIV/AIDS programs or more humane government policies toward people living with AIDS.

Informing the government about CARE. While becoming an effective advocate requires you to establish your credibility with policy makers, advocacy is not just about informing the government about CARE's programs. In advocacy, information sharing is used as a deliberate strategy to influence specific decisions of policy makers. Still, building good relationships with policy makers is an important way to lay the foundation for advocacy.

Raising public awareness about CARE and its programs. Often, CARE disseminates information through the media to raise our profile or visibility. The same techniques can be used for advocacy, but the purposes are different. In advocacy, we use the media to deliver policy messages, to encourage people to take a certain view on an issue and, hopefully, to communicate their views with policy makers. (While promoting CARE's image is not the goal of advocacy, advocacy messages can have the beneficial effect of raising public awareness about CARE and its work.)

Fund-raising. The primary purpose of advocacy is not to increase CARE's budget. Some advocacy may involve asking policy makers to allocate more resources for relief and development priorities, and sometimes this may benefit CARE. More often, however, it involves trying to influence a governmental agenda, corporate behavior, a specific public policy, or the implementation of a policy.

Chapter 2

WHY ADVOCATE?





This chapter discusses reasons for including advocacy in CARE's programs. It explains the benefits of trying to address policy causes of problems that impact the lives of many people.





WHY ADVOCATE?



Our vision and mission acknowledge that innovative solutions will be needed for ending poverty, and that influencing policy decisions should be part of our efforts to achieve lasting change. Advocacy can be a powerful tool. It complements our work via direct service delivery, capacity building, and technical assistance to support tangible improvements in the lives of poor households and communities, to redress discrimination, and to prevent needless deaths and suffering.

Traditionally, CARE programs seek to influence the knowledge, attitudes and, ultimately, behaviors of individuals and households at the community level. CARE and its partners have, for example, successfully increased the use of contraceptives and environmentally friendly agricultural techniques, thereby helping to improve the quali-

ty of people's lives. Our "traditional" programs have focused on *households' responsibility* for livelihood insecurity. Yet, we can dramatically expand the impact of our programs if we also take into account that *policy makers greatly influence the livelihoods of the poor through their decisions and actions.*

A more holistic approach recognizes that various actors in the private and public arenas contribute to livelihood insecurity or violations of human rights, and that significant impact can only be achieved through changes in the policies and actions of powerful institutions, as well as individuals and households. Advocacy is therefore a logical extension of our work.

Until recently, CARE identified policy causes in its analyses but assumed that changing policies was beyond the scope of our programs. By including advocacy in our programming we are setting aside some of our old assumptions.

Rather than taking policies as givens, advocacy attempts to change policies.

The key point is that, as key stakeholders who bear responsibility for the needs and rights of the communities we serve, it is appropriate to target the actions of policy makers. This new dimension of CARE's approach is aimed at broadening the scope of our analysis and devising interventions with more substantial impact.

By including advocacy strategies in our programs, we recognize that:

- ♦ Causes of poverty and discrimination stem both from decisions at the household level *and* from decisions made within community leadership structures, national legislatures, international organizations, and powerful institutions.
- Only a wide-range of program strategies targeted at multiple causes or "entry points," including policy causes, will lead to the desired impact reducing poverty.

CARE's programming principles emphasize that our work should address significant problems and result in fundamental change: our impact should be broad and improve the lives of a large number of people. Since advocacy aims to change policies, it has the potential to reach a large number of households and to widen the scope of our impact.

Advocacy does not intend to replace other program strategies, it rather expands the menu of effective strategies available to CARE country offices. Sometimes it will be an appropriate strategy, other times it will not. This will depend on whether policies and their enforcement were identified as an important cause of a problem. A wider range of strategies will help us to increase the depth and breadth of our impact on poverty.

Advocacy strategies will enable CARE to:

- ♦ Influence policy makers as a means of addressing policy root causes of poverty and discrimination.
- ♦ Contribute more effectively to reducing poverty and preventing deaths and suffering by using a wider range of interventions.
- Reach a large segment of the population and broaden the scope of our impact.

Advocacy, household livelihood security and rights-based approaches

Advocacy can be useful within both the household livelihood security (HLS) framework and a rights-based approach. Holistic analyses, such as recommended and promoted through HLS, can help identify key causes of livelihood insecurity, including the policy dimensions of poverty. When such analysis points at policies as key contributing factors to poverty, CARE staff should consider

advocacy for influencing policy makers and achieving policy change. The ability of households to access and use resources is the cornerstone of the HLS approach. Advocacy is a strategy that can give households improved access and control of local resources.

Using a rights-based approach, we can pay closer attention to political, social, and economic discrimination, and power relationships between households and authority structures. A key feature that distinguishes rights-based from needs-based programming is that rights imply responsibilities and duties. All human beings have inherent rights and responsibilities to others. A rights-based approach therefore tries to determine who is responsible for human suffering and the denial of human rights.

When policy makers are not fulfilling their human responsibilities to others, advocacy can be used to hold them accountable. For example, advocacy is a strategy that can be used to expand and protect the rights of minorities and marginalized groups. When policies foster discrimination or citizens do not fulfill their obligations to each other, advocacy can be used to suggest concrete solutions to policy makers.



Advocacy can be a means of convincing policy makers to fulfill their human responsibilities to others

Chapter 3 BEFORE YOU BEGIN: BUILDING FOUNDATIONS



This chapter identifies 1) some key considerations you can make before deciding whether to engage in advocacy and 2) steps you can take to lay the foundations for advocacy before planning an initiative. This chapter is particularly important for senior managers and coordinators who manage programs involving more than one technical area.



If you have read this far in the manual, you may already have in mind a programmatic area where you would like to begin using advocacy – what we refer to as a *policy theme*. Or maybe you are starting to consider advocacy as a programming approach, without having anything specific in mind yet. Either way, several steps can ensure that the policy theme and advocacy strategies you choose have minimum risk and maximum potential for success.

You should not think of these steps as a "recipe," nor do you need to do all of them before you get started. Think of them rather as a list of options, each of which will put you further ahead once you are ready to begin advocating.

- 1. Gathering policy and political information
- 2. Assessing risk
- 3. Building strategic relationships
- 4. Establishing your credibility as an advocate
- 5. Linking advocacy to country office priorities
- 6. Maintaining focus

These steps should increase your chances for success in several ways. First, they will give you more ideas about where to go for advice, how to find partners, and how important decisions are made. Second, they will help you understand and minimize risks. Third, they will increase the likelihood that your ideas fit well with community priorities. In general, the information you gather and the relationships you build may increase the number of strategic choices you have and can pay significant dividends during the implementation phase.

A POLICY THEME is the programmatic area or sector that is the focus of your advocacy strategy.

For example,
Forestry
Reproductive health
HIV/AIDS
Urban poverty
Disaster response
Ethnic conflict

Gathering policy and political information

Before you begin any advocacy initiative, it is crucial to understand how key institutions work and to identify decision makers for the sectors you are interested in. You also need to find out who can help you influence those decision makers. The more you can determine how policies influence outcomes and distinguish between rhetoric and meaningful actions, the better.

Conducting research and interviews are useful in learning about underlying policies. You can also gather information informally, through friends, colleagues, and publicly available resources. This paves the way for conducting a *policy analysis* and choosing a *policy issue*, which are discussed in **CHAPTERS 4 AND 5**, respectively.



In 2001, CARE International launched an advocacy initiative related to the Habitat Agenda, an agreement made at the Istanbul 'City Summit' between 177 countries for improving human settlements, in particular those in towns and cities. Under the leadership and guidance of CARE UK, six different country offices hired researchers to gather information, frame issues, and monitor how policy makers at the national and international level are honoring specific commitments made in Istanbul. Research methods included desktop research, structured interviews, and the gathering of oral testimonies.

Assessing risk

The more you understand the *political environment* you are working in, the more easily you can assess risk, and the less likely you are to make a mistake that will cause harm to CARE, its partners, those who CARE serves, or anyone else. **CHAPTER 10** of this manual describes several different ways to minimize risks associated with your advocacy initiative.

The **Do No Harm** framework used by many NGOs, including CARE, can be useful for advocacy. A benefit-harms approach encourages staff to think about the external environment and the overall impact of projects, and to take practical steps to minimize unintended harms. For example, this approach emphasizes the importance of

analyzing issues that have been sources of division within communities ("dividers"), and those issues that have helped to build community ("connectors"). This is particularly important when advocacy is your strategy of choice.

You do not need to become an expert in politics, but you are more likely to succeed, and less likely to expose yourself and others to risk, if you can answer the following questions:

- ♦ What are the key political debates, and who represents each side?
- ♦ Which issues (or people) have sparked political violence or community conflict in the past?
- Which issues (or people) have succeeded in reaching across ethnic, social, or political boundaries?
- ♦ How is power exercised within the political system?
- ♦ Which groups in politics or government are respected and which are disrespected or feared?
- ♦ How do the policies you are concerned with relate to controversial topics?
- ♦ What are accepted forms of political dialogue and proper protocol for approaching policy makers?

Also, before initiating advocacy, it is vital that you understand the policy concerns of the affected communities and whether there are appropriate advocacy roles you can play. As with other types of programming, the more your policy objectives emerge from participatory program design, the better. Above all, you should be sure that your involvement in advocacy would be welcomed, rather than resented, and will not put others at additional risk.

Building strategic relationships

In many country offices, CARE staff spend significant time and energy building relationships with government officials and other policy makers through the course of their regular work. Such relationships often cover a range of topics, i.e. contract management, operational questions related to service delivery, and how to work together more effectively in programming activities. It is easy to add another dimension related to policy dialogue and advocacy. Answering the questions below will help lay the foundation for such advocacy relationships:

- ♦ Who are the key policy makers within key sectors? Are any major staff transitions planned that will affect who is in charge?
- Are any major policy reviews planned or underway? If so, will NGO input be sought? Could CARE play a role?
- ♦ Who do policy makers turn to for policy advice? What sources of information do they trust most?
- ◆ Do policy makers lack information for making good policy decisions? Can CARE or its partners help?

Separate from policy makers, it is also important to form strategic relationships with allies who share your policy interests. NGO networks and coalitions provide excellent opportunities to discuss advocacy initiatives already underway and to find partners in advocacy. Ideas for building and working in coalitions are explored further in **CHAPTERS 5 AND 9.**

Establishing your credibility as an advocate

When you are recognized as an expert, or a respected spokesperson on behalf of others, your arguments will tend to carry more weight in advocacy and you will find it easier to prevail in policy debates.

A resounding lesson learned from case studies is that CARE advocacy efforts are strongest when grounded in our field work. Advocacy requires that you have credibility both with *policy makers* and with the *community* affected by your proposed policies. Your knowledge from the field is a critical starting point for advocacy, and paves the way for your credibility in advocacy. Roles that CARE can play in advocacy are discussed further in **CHAPTER 6.**

Three examples demonstrate the point. In *Nicaragua*, CARE's involvement in collecting and analyzing data on pesticide poisonings laid a crucial foundation for subsequent advocacy work. CARE's long history and commitment to *Sudan* positioned the organization to analyze the root causes of a famine in the central region of the country, and to begin influencing international actors by sharing its first-hand knowledge. Building on its experience in HIV/AIDS, CARE *Thailand* worked closely with other Thai organizations, successfully advocating to improve access to care for people with HIV/AIDS, and to reduce discrimination and the social stigma associated with the disease.

CREDIBILITY CHECKLIST

- Can you, or your colleagues, legitimately speak on behalf of those affected by the issues?
- ✓ Are you, or your colleagues, known and respected by the policy makers involved in the issue?
- ✓ Do you, or your colleagues, have information or expertise that is relevant to the issues?
- ✓ Will the policy makers involved be interested in your opinion or that of your colleagues?
- Are there people within the country office who can effectively lead an advocacy initiative on the issues you are considering?
- Are you, or your colleagues, perceived as objective and trustworthy, or politically biased?

CREDIBILITY means that other people trust and value what you have to say.

Credibility alone should not determine whether you engage in advocacy. However, if you have serious doubts about your credibility as an advocate, you should either consider working on different issues or find ways to build up your credibility before you begin to interact with the public or key policy makers.

CARE Nepal's years of experience working in remote and inaccessible parts of the country led the government to ask CARE to help develop a "national remote areas strategy." CARE Nepal says, "We do not see our role as leading the process, but rather facilitating and supporting the process being led by the government and providing the information they need."

Linking advocacy to country office priorities

Within CARE, advocacy will almost always be an outgrowth of other programming priorities. Without that link, advocacy can interfere with other work, and staff will lack the credibility they need to influence decision makers. When a country office decides to focus its programming on specific sectors or regions, these priorities should inform and guide its work in the policy arena. If a top priority is girls' education, for example, it makes sense to advocate on behalf of education policy themes, where CARE will have a useful perspective to offer. **CHAPTER 7** discusses how to prepare plans for advocacy initiatives within the context of familiar structures such as logframes.

Undertaking an advocacy initiative is almost always a team effort. It is quite important to have strong internal consensus before devising policy and developing strategies for advocacy. Country office management needs to support advocacy efforts, especially when relationships with high-level decision makers are involved that could impact other programming priorities. In addition, it is important to discuss and debate advocacy positions internally before facing skeptical policy makers or others outside CARE. Finally, a consensus approach will help ensure that advocacy supports, and does not detract from, other programming priorities.

Maintaining focus

In advocacy, consistency and focus usually pay off. You may begin by identifying various policy themes you want to tackle, but ultimately, it is important to narrow these down. At the country director's level, it is best to choose one or two areas to work on at a time, so that messages to senior policy makers are clear and not overlapping or contradictory.

At the program level, there may be many policy issues that tie into project objectives. Still, you are more likely to succeed in advocacy if you focus on a limited number of policy issues at a time, than if you develop a long list of policy priorities. Tempting as it may be, there is a real danger of spreading yourself too thin, and not developing the depth of expertise to advocate effectively in any one area. You also risk returning to policy makers too often, appearing to be asking for too much. In **CHAPTER 5**, several criteria are provided to help you choose the best option among specific issues you may be considering.

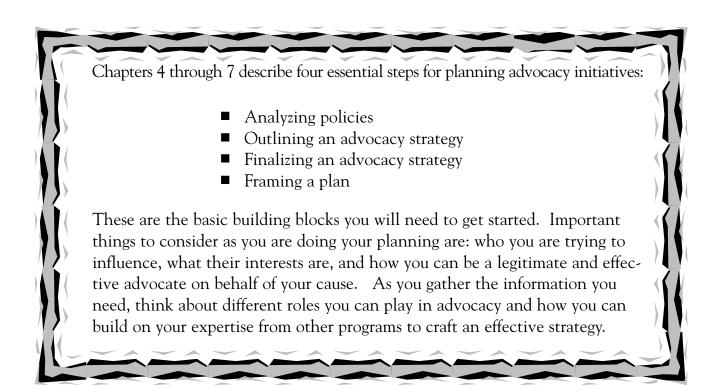
B	CHAPTER 3 WORKSHEET SUILDING A FOUNDATION FOR ADVOC	ACY
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes
GATHI	ERING POLICY AND POLITICAL INFOR	RMATION
Analyze policies and political institutions.	 What do you know about policies in your sectors of interest? Who are the key policy makers and where do they work? 	
Understand the political environment.	 What are the connectors and dividers? How are leaders chosen? Who are respected or powerful groups in politics? 	
Understand community concerns.	 What are key community policy concerns? Is there a place for CARE or its partners in advocacy? 	
	ASSESSING RISK	
Make informed judgments.	 Are you considering any themes that pose risks of violence? Will you be perceived as biased or partisan? Are you in touch with political trends? Have you identified unacceptable risks in advance? Have you used knowledge from other programming to inform your advocacy? 	
	BUILDING STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP	PS
Establish connections with policy makers. Network with other organizations.	 Who's in charge? Where do policy makers go for advice? Who is doing effective advocacy? Who are possible advocacy partners? How can you build on relationships 	
ECTADI	formed through other programs? LISHING YOUR CREDIBILITY AS AN A	DVOCATE
Build up expertise to establish credibility with policy makers.	Do you, or your partners, have valuable information to share? Are you acknowledged as a trusted source of information?	DVOCATE
Build up relations with communities to establish credibility with the public.	 Can you, or your partners, legitimately speak on behalf of a community? Are you the most effective spokesperson for the people involved? 	
LINKIN	G ADVOCACY TO COUNTRY OFFICE F	PRIORITIES
Make connections between policy issues and other work of the organization.	 How could your policy work relate to other projects and existing staff expertise? Is there internal support for advocacy? Are there staff who can advocate effectively? 	
	MAINTAINING FOCUS	
Develop a short list of policy priorities.	What does the list of criteria (in Chapter 5) suggest are the most promising priorities?	

Section II

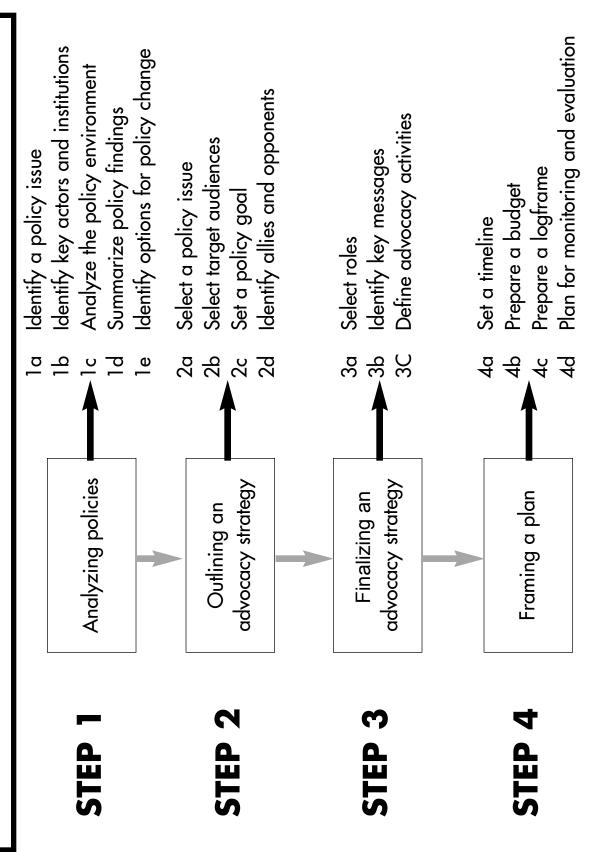


PLANNING AN ADVOCACY INITIATIVE

ANALYZING POLICIES AND DEVELOPING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY.



PLANNING AN ADVOCACY INITATIVE



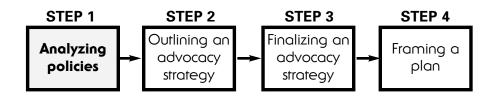
Chapter 4 ANALYZING POLICIES



This chapter provides tools for policy analysis - the first step for planning an advocacy initiative. It suggests how to identify policy issues, key actors, and institutions that may influence policies; how to analyze the general policy environment; and how to craft options for policy change. You will also see how to include policy information in problem trees, a familiar tool for many program managers.







Addressing problems requires in-depth knowledge about their underlying causes. The better your knowledge about problems and their causes, the easier it is to design solutions with high potential impact. Good solutions can only be found when problems are well understood.

Once you have chosen an advocacy theme or programmatic issue you want to examine further, you can use *policy analysis* to help identify the underlying *policy causes* of poverty and discrimination. This will help you choose a focus for your advocacy initiative.

This section describes one way to conduct a *policy analysis*, which can help ensure you have all the information you need to devise an effective advocacy strategy. *Policy analysis* examines plans and regulations set by governments, business or other institutions, and how these policies (or a lack of policies) affect specific groups. It analyzes the dynamics within *civil society*. Policy analysis will provide the inputs you need for a problem analysis when you are designing an advocacy project. At the end of this chapter, we discuss how to include policy information in problem trees.

WHAT CONSTITUTES **POLICY**?

A plan, course of action, or set of regulations adopted by government, businesses or other institutions designed to influence and determine decisions or procedures.

Though it is best when advocacy initiatives are well planned, sometimes opportunities for advocacy arise quickly and there is little time for preparation. A policy maker may say, for example, that she is coming to visit your project soon. Or you may be invited to participate in a media interview, or come to an important meeting to brief several policy makers. These opportunities for advocacy may not lend themselves to extensive policy research and analysis, or some of the other ideas described in the manual, nevertheless they can be an important part of a program manager's daily work.

In some cases, the policy information you need is already available, so a formal analysis is not needed. Other times, you will need to do some research. In most cases, it is best to use both kinds of information sources when developing an advocacy strategy. A policy analysis has three main elements: 1) the policy causes, 2) key actors that influence policies and their interests, and 3) the policy environment.

You will not always have the time or resources to take all policy analysis steps before you begin advocating. The most important point is that the more thoroughly you analyze policy actors, issues, and the environment in advance, the more likely you will to succeed in advocacy. Even if you decide not to engage in advocacy, policy analysis will help you to reflect on the context in which you are working and understand how the policy environment may influence the outcome of your projects. Policy analysis should be an integral part of your analysis and work, even if you are not planning an advocacy initiative.

KEY ELEMENTS OF A POLICY ANALYSIS

Policy analysis provides a basis for choosing appropriate advocacy strategies. Policy analysis includes:

- ◆ Identifying policy causes of poverty and discrimination, or *policy issues*.
- ♦ Identifying key actors and institutions that make decisions about policies, as well as those who can influence policy makers.
- ♦ Analyzing the distribution of political power among key actors.
- Understanding formal and informal policy making processes.
- ♦ Understanding the social and political context.

Policy analyses are often presented in the form of a report, but you can also gather information for your policy analysis and organize it in other ways, such as matrices, as shown in this section.

CIVIL SOCIETY is the range of institutions and organizations that connect people to government and the private sector. A strong civil society means ensuring a dynamic and beneficial relationship between government, business and the non-profit sectors that contributes to the wellbeing of individual citizens.

4.1 Identify policy issues

Policy causes are typically referred to as **policy issues** by advocacy organizations and policy makers. **Policy issues may include the absence of a policy, an adverse or inadequate policy, or the improper enforcement of a policy. For example, the designer of a girls' education program who seeks to identify policy issues might examine the following questions:**

QUESTION	ANSWER	POLICY ISSUE DERIVES FROM	MAIN FOCUS OF ADVOCACY STRATEGY
Do policies promote the education of girls?	NO	Absence of adequate education policies	Establishing policies
Do policies hinder the education of girls?	YES	Adverse policies to girls' education	Changing policies
Are policies that promote the education of girls properly implemented?	NO	No enforcement of policies that promote the education of girls	Enforcing policies

Sometimes the policy issues can be identified easily based on field experience and observation. Other times, it may require in-depth research about laws, regulations and government plans concerning, for example, girls' education. In some cases a review of documents may not be sufficient, and it will be necessary to interview representatives from governments, businesses or other institutions to find out about programs, plans and regulations that make up the policy in question.

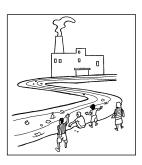
It is important to always relate your policy issue to the people affected by the problem. A policy analysis should point out the *problem* (what?), *specific policy causes of the problem* (why?), and the *people affected by the problem* (who and where?).

Identifying policy issues also includes a deeper analysis of how a policy emerged or has failed to emerge. It is important to find out when and under which circumstances the policy was approved or blocked; who proposed, supported or opposed it, as well as the history of any previous attempts to change the policy.

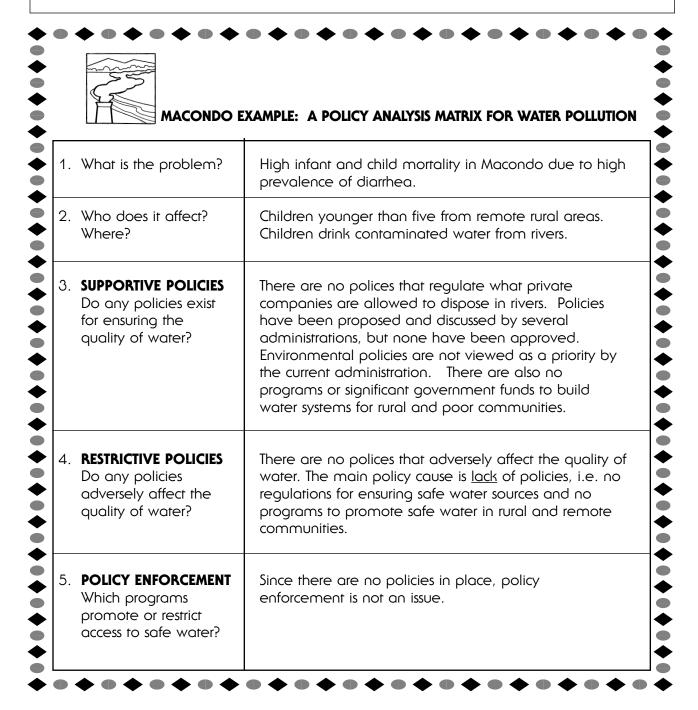
Here is an example from CARE Cambodia's 1995 reproductive health policy analysis:

In advocacy, when you discuss problems or policies that you hope to change, the convention is to refer to them as POLICY ISSUES.

1. What is the problem?	High fertility rates in Cambodia due to low use of modern contraception.
2. Who does it affect? Where?	Women of reproductive age, particularly from rural areas. Nation-wide, only 13% of women use contraceptive methods. Women 30 years and older desire to limit the size of their families and desire to use permanent methods (sterilization).
 3. SUPPORTIVE POLICIES What policies support the use of contraception? 	The National Policy issued by the Ministry of Health stipulates that birth spacing services should be provided to promote maternal and child health and that couples should have unrestricted access to these services.
When was this policy enacted? What factors led to the development of these policies?	The National Policy was approved in 1995, after fifteen years of pro-natalist policies. During the 1980s, the government promoted population growth and the use of contraception was banned. By the early 1990s, there was ample evidence to demonstrate that women wanted to limit the size of their families. Assistance from international organizations led to the approval of the new policy.
 4. RESTRICTIVE POLICIES What policies restrict the use of contraception? 	Ministry of Health policies oppose the use of permanent contraceptive methods (i.e. female and male sterilization).
How long have these policies been in place? What factors led to their development?	The 1995 Ministry of Health Policy recommends birth spacing as a means to improve the health of women and children, without slowing population growth. This policy is a result of the loss of population during the Khmer Rouge regime.
5. POLICY ENFORCEMENTWhich programs promote supportive policies?	The Ministry of Health's National Birth Spacing Program provides affordable access to reversible methods (i.e. pill, injection, condom and IUD) in public health facilities, including rural health centers.
Which programs promote restrictive policies?	Regulations are enforced. The Ministry of Health prohibits public and private health facilities to provide sterilization services.



The Macondo example will be used throughout this manual. It will show you, step by step, how to plan an advocacy initiative. The example shows how you can develop your strategy based on the information you gather at the policy analysis step. When devising a strategy, try to account for the fact that opportunities for advocacy often arise quickly and unexpectedly.



4.2 Identify key actors and institutions

Once you have identified a policy issue, it is important to describe the actors that make critical decisions about these policies. Actors can be either individuals or groups. A policy analysis should identify the actual individuals who make direct policy decisions, and those who can influence direct decision makers. It is important to determine whether actors support or oppose specific policies, as well as their degree of influence, their resources, and their interests in an issue. *Identifying policy makers and analyzing their interests is an important prerequisite to developing an advocacy strategy.* The more information you have about the actors that may influence and affect policy change, the easier it is to devise an advocacy strategy.

The table on page 22 shows a "policy map," which can be a useful tool for classifying actors according to their roles, degree of influence, support, and interest in specific policy issues. Though policy makers will make final decisions on policy, other actors can greatly influence their choices.

Identifying policy makers and analyzing their interests is an important prerequisite to developing an advocacy strategy.

)	MAC

MACONDO EXAMPLE: POLICY MAPPING

Actor	Environmental policy decisions formally controlled	Activities that affect policies	Degree of influence on policies	Degree of support for regulating private companies	Motivating interests	Resources
Minister of the environment, Mr. Ran	a. Proposes environmental policies b. Allocates and controls Ministry resources	a. Translates policy into programs.b. Negoriares with foreign donors.c. Delivers public speeches.d. Discusses issues with the president.	High	Moderate	 Strong ties to the legal community. Has mentioned the environment in speeches. 	High starus authority, Iow economic resources, medium information.
Minister's advisor, Dr. Fodar	None	Provides advice to Minister.	High	Unknown	 Mainly an agriculture expert. Has been a children's advocate. 	Minister trusts advisor's judgment, high status within administration.
Leaders from LDP political party	Few: minority in parliament	Give or withhold political support to government.	Low	Support	Opposed industry interests on other environ- mental issues.	Medium authority.
Most powerful business leaders, Ms. Galo and Mr. Amart	None	Threaten to withhold support for government. Promote policies that favor business interests.	High	Strongly	Both have actively opposed environment laws in politics.	High economic resources.
Environmental organizations: GREEN and SVD	None	a. Issue press releases to the media.b. Raise awareness among the public about the consequences of environmental pollution.	Medium	Strongly	 Both have strong support in Macondo. Some political connections to legislature. 	Low economic resources, high information, and legitimacy with the public.
Macondo's community representatives	None	May be mobilized when informed about how private companies affect quality of water and health of children.	Low to medium	Support	Environmental organizations have a coalition based in Macondo.	Low information and economic resources.
World Bank	None	Gives loans and grants for environmental projects.	High	Support	 Industrial pollution is part of this year's global agenda. 	High economic resources, medium authority.

4.3 Analyze the policy environment

Analysis of the policy environment is critical for subsequent planning of an advocacy initiative. Typically, an analysis of the policy environment will focus on the questions included in the box below. Answers to these questions will suggest whether the policy environment – in this example, related to education policy – is ripe for change. A policy analysis helps you assess whether policy change is likely to be successful or not.

- ♦ Can people participate in policy decisions about education issues? Do channels exist for people to participate in these decisions?
- ♦ Where are key decisions on education policy made and who controls such decisions?
- Are education issues widely discussed? Is this a topic of interest for the general public? Has news regarding education policies recently been featured in the media?
- ♦ Is education a priority for the current government? Does the government plan to make any changes to existing regulations? What education policies were approved or rejected in recent years?

Prior to deciding on an advocacy strategy, it is useful to analyze the distribution of power between policy makers and those who are affected by their decisions. The level of political openness in your country or region towards, for example, public dialogue on educational policies will affect your choices for advocacy strategies. It is important to know the rules, restrictions, and conditions under which you have to operate. Typically, societies that are more democratic provide more political space to NGOs for influencing policy. More open political systems normally pose less risk to national or local groups participating in political life. These groups have more options to choose from when trying to develop advocacy strategies and influence policy makers. And in some cases, the policy environment may be open to dialogue with NGOs on some issues (say, education policies), but not others (say, family planning policies).

Information about formal and informal policy making processes is critical for deciding on an advocacy strategy. Without a sound knowledge of how policy decisions are made and who controls such decisions, both formally and informally, it is not possible to advocate for a policy change.

The analysis of the policy environment should also include information gauging the extent to which a policy issue is publicly discussed. Such information will later help you to decide on appropriate roles (see **CHAPTER 6**). Advocating for a popular and widely discussed issue will require a different strategy than advocating for an issue which only few people know about, or which does not arouse general interest.

Finally, the overall political and social climate may also influence your choice for an advocacy strategy, and it is therefore important to account for factors such as upcoming elections, government's support from different sectors in society, and recent policy changes in your analysis.

Where can I get information for a policy analysis?

Potential sources of policy information are government ministries, corporations, donors, UN agencies, the World Bank, universities and NGOs. Newspapers and other periodicals are often good sources of information, although it is important to know about the reliability of the publications you use, and whether they have any kind of political bias that might affect their accuracy. You can also obtain useful information by studying texts of speeches made by public officials.

Sometimes the information you may want is easily available. When your issue is complex, or unfamiliar, you can consider getting help from someone more familiar with the policy issue. Examples of activities to obtain information for a policy analysis include:

- ♦ Reading the local newspaper for a week to learn what different interest groups are saying about land tenure reform.
- ◆ Contacting the office of public information of the Ministry of Agriculture to get the names of commissioners who oversee pesticide policy.
- ♦ Searching the World Wide Web for names of organizations that promote girls' education in your region and identifying their agendas.
- Obtaining a copy of the national law governing reproductive health rights for women.
- ♦ Contacting a university professor to ask questions about how environmental laws are written and enforced.

POLICY ANALYSIS: A CASE STUDY FOR DISCUSSION

CARE PHILIPPINES: IDENTIFYING POLICY ROOT CAUSES OF STREET VENDORS' VULNERABILITY.

An assessment conducted by CARE Philippines in 1998 revealed that street vendors comprised the largest part of the informal sector, contributing extensively to the national economy by providing accessible goods and services to consumers, and incomes for a large portion of the population. The sector had grown rapidly, and about one out of every five households secured their livelihood from the informal sector. However, adverse government policies contributed to an insecure environment for street vendors and affected their capacity to procure household income: (a) street vending was technically illegal, (b) vendors were not licensed, taxed, or regulated, and (c) local government ordinances were not favorable to street vendors. In addition, the established business sector felt threatened by street vendors and feared that any government support for vendors would result in the loss of income.

Major problems for street vendors were lack of security of tenure in their workplaces, constant harassment from the police and local authorities, and lack of access to credit, legal services, and social security. A series of laws had been passed in the national legislature to ensure security in the workplace for registered vendors. To be meaningful, however, rules and regulations would have to be written, approved and implemented by authorities.

The analysis also revealed the presence of strong, interconnected civil society organizations. They arose during the Marcos regime, when clandestine involvement was the only way to express resistance. When the regime was toppled in 1986, civil society organizations became visible means of working toward a more pluralistic democracy. Some street vendors had formed such organizations.

In 1998, USAID issued a request for application for a proposal to broaden participation of disadvantaged groups in formulating and implementing of public policies. The idea was to bring new groups of people into a policy dialogue with the government and promote the involvement of civil society in the democratic process. CARE applied and joined forces with Filipino NGOs representing street vendors.

Adapted and summarized from "A tool in local hands: advocacy for street vendor rights" by Joseph Stuckey, Policy and Advocacy Unit, CARE USA, 1999.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

- What problem has been identified? Who does it affect? Where?
- ♦ What policies support street vendors? Do government programs promote these policies?
- What policies restrict the rights and livelihoods of street vendors?
- Which actors may influence policy decisions? What interests do they have?
- Can organizations and communities participate in decisions that affect their lives?
- What are the strengths of this analysis? What is missing?

4.4 Summarize policy findings

Problem tree analysis is a useful technique for synthesizing and visualizing the results of analyses, including policy analyses. You can use a problem tree to represent and help you to analyze links between key actors and their institutions.

To summarize the findings in a problem tree analysis including policy causes, you can follow these steps:

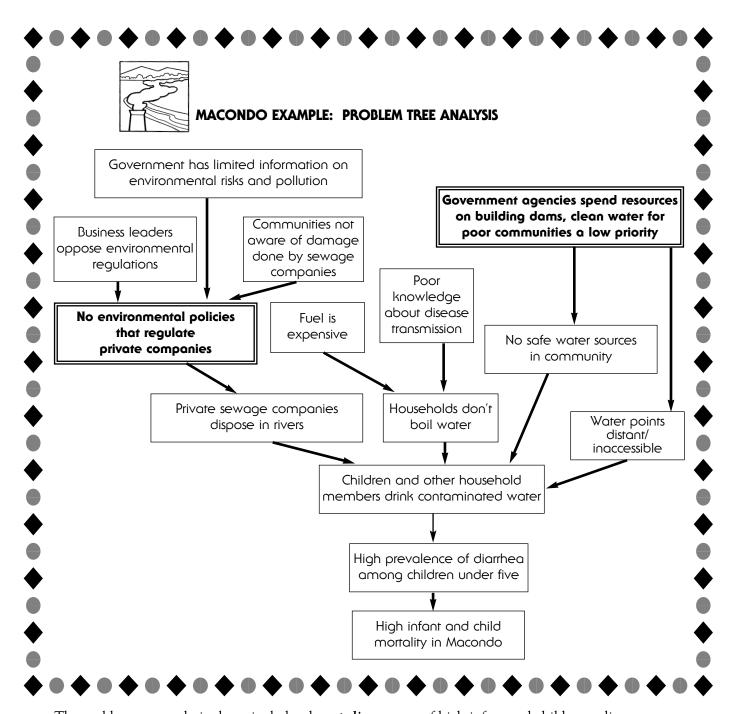
1. Problem identification: Depending on the purpose of the analysis (i.e., a long-range strategic plan, program, or project design) the problem can be more general (poverty or livelihood insecurity or a violation of human rights) or specific (low income, poor educational attainment, high mortality rates, etc.). Problem statements should specify who is affected by the problem.

2. Direct causes: The analysis identifies the most direct causes of the problem. As shown in the example on the next page, a direct cause of infant mortality is high prevalence of diarrhea.

3. Behavioral causes: For each direct cause, problem trees identify the behaviors that lead to these causes. Often there are several layers of behavioral causes. For example, a practice that contributes to high diarrhea prevalence among children younger than five is the ingestion of contaminated water. In the problem analysis shown below, several actors affect the quality of water through their practices: households do not boil water, sewage companies

discharge in rivers, government water and sanitation ministry spends resources on building dams, etc. The actions of policy makers should be reflected in problem trees if they are part of the problem.

4. Causes that lead to behaviors: Why do households, policy makers and private business owners behave in a certain way? Knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, preferences, interests, and other causes explain the identified behaviors. For CARE, it is of key importance to understand the factors that affect behaviors since our programs address the causes that lead to these practices.



The problem tree analysis above includes these *policy causes* of high infant and child mortality:

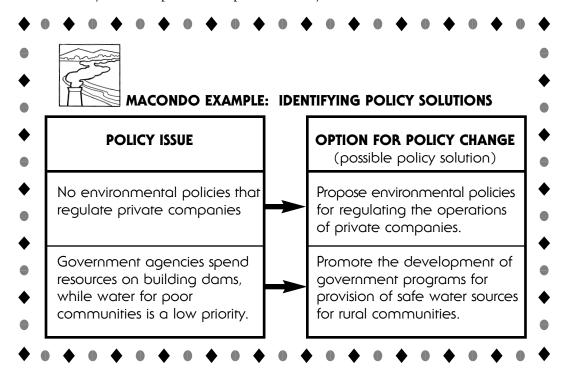
- 1) No environmental policies regulate the operations of the private sector.
- 2) Policy makers allocate resources for the construction of dams instead of water systems for poor communities.

It is important to understand why policies are lacking in order to devise advocacy strategies. If the main problem is opposition to environmental regulations by business leaders, this would lead to one kind of strategy; low community awareness of the damage done by the companies would lead to another. These causes, or policy issues, are influenced by specific policy makers. Note that this information can be extracted from the type of policy map presented in section 4.2.

4.5 Identify options for policy change

A policy analysis should help you identify options for policy change and determine the relative impact they may have on the problem. At the policy analysis stage, you don't have to choose between issues, but rather identify which changes would yield the desired result.

In order to identify options clearly, it is useful to list all policy issues and describe what changes would have to take place to have an impact on the problem you have identified. If the analysis includes strong causal links between policy issues and the problem, then a change in any of the identified issues should yield an impact on the problem that you want to solve.



After this, you should start to consider the best options for policy change. Your goal is to rank these ideas in order of preference. Your analysis should consider such factors as:

- Which of the policy solutions is likely to have the largest and most lasting impact on the problem?
- ♦ What will happen if nothing is done regarding these policy issues?
- ♦ Which policy solutions are readily achievable and which are likely to be expensive and/or time consuming?
- Which policy solutions are likely to garner significant support or, alternatively, face significant opposition?

- ♦ Are some of the policy solutions riskier than others? Can such risks be mitigated?
- Who should take the lead on bringing the policy solution to the attention of policy makers?
- ♦ Which policy solutions is CARE and its current or potential partners in the best position to achieve?

At this stage, you will also have to decide if you will address a policy issue through advocacy or not. As a result of your policy analysis, you may decide that the time is not ripe for policy change. Or you may decide the cost of not pursuing an advocacy strategy is greater than the cost of pursuing one. Here are a few cost-benefit considerations you can make before deciding to proceed with an advocacy initiative, regardless of the issue:

- ♦ Is it possible that advocacy will cause you, your partners, or project participants to face major risks, such as violence, loss of credibility in the community, or being asked to leave the country?
- Is the timing right to become involved in a political debate? Could your involvement make the problem worse?
- Are there clear solutions to the problem that involve different programmatic approaches that are likely less expensive or more practical than advocacy?
- ♦ Does the problem require immediate action that an advocacy strategy would take too long to address?

This is a complex decision. In the next chapter, we will discuss criteria for selecting among different policy issues. These criteria also can be helpful to consider when you are assessing the costs and benefits of advocacy versus other programmatic approaches.

CHAPTER 4 WORKSHEET ANALYZING POLICIES		
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes
Identify policy issues.	 What is the problem you are concerned about? Who does it affect? What are the main policy issues in relation to the identified problem: absence of a policy, an adverse or inadequate policy, or the improper enforcement of a policy? 	
dentify key actors and institutions.	 Who makes direct decisions about the policy issues you identified? Who can influence the decisions of policy makers? Are policy makers and those who can influence them interested in the issues? What resources do they have? What position and opinions do they have in relation to the policy issues you are considering? 	
Analyze the policy environment.	 Can people participate in policy decisions about the identified issues? What sort of channels exist for them to participate? Where are key decisions on these policies made and who controls such decisions? Are the identified policy issues widely discussed? Is this a topic of interest for the general public? Has news regarding these policy issues recently been featured in the media? Is the policy a priority for the current government? Does the government plan to make any changes to existing regulations? What related policies were approved or rejected in the last few years? What changes may occur in the political arena? Are elections coming up? How could they affect the issues you have identified? 	
Summarize policy findings.	 What are the direct causes of the problem you identified? What policy maker actions led to the problem? Why have policy makers taken these positions? 	
Identify options for policy change.	 What policy changes would yield the desired results, that is, would have a positive impact on the problem? What are your best options for policy change? What will happen if nothing is done regarding these policy issues? Which policy solutions are likely to attract significant support or, alternatively, face significant opposition? Who should take the lead on bringing the policy solution to the attention of policy makers? 	

Chapter 5

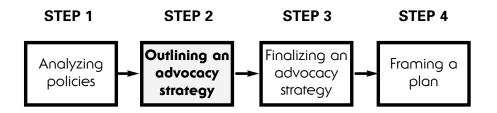
OUTLINING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY



This chapter provides guidance for outlining advocacy strategies, the second step for planning advocacy initiatives. Outlining a strategy involves selecting a policy issue, selecting target audiences, setting a policy goal, and identifying allies and opponents.







When an analysis suggests that policies are contributing to poverty and discrimination, you may have a good opportunity to use advocacy. Your instinct may be to try to advocate for multiple policy changes to achieve maximum impact. However, maintaining focus is always important when designing an advocacy initiative. To focus, look for the best leverage points – those specific policy changes which are feasible and which will have the most lasting impact on the problem.

The following steps will help you to focus as you develop the basic outline of your advocacy strategy.

- 1. Select the policy issue that can effectively be addressed through advocacy and which will have the greatest impact on the problem.
- 2. Identify target audiences those with the ability to actually influence the policy issue you select.
- 3. Set a specific policy goal for your initiative.
- 4. Identify potential allies and opponents.

5.1 Select a policy issue

In the infant mortality example from Chapter 4, the problem analysis identified two policy issues: a) lack of environmental polices that regulate the operations of private companies and b) low allocation of government funds for water systems for rural and poor communities. CARE's traditional programs do not address these issues. Typically, we selected other leverage points. For example, when attempting to reduce diarrhea prevalence, a common CARE intervention is to conduct hygiene education, a strategy that aims to increase the consumption of clean and safe water through a behavioral change at the household level (i.e. persuade people to boil water). Another typical CARE strategy is the building of wells or other water systems. However, in this case, you might decide that you could have greater impact on the prevalence of diarrhea by focusing both on the decisions of policy makers and household behaviors.

At this point, you may have identified more than one policy issue, as in the infant mortality example, but you must make choices before continuing with your advocacy strategy. Several criteria can help you select a policy issue. Often, these criteria will need to be adapted locally to include specific concerns unique to your setting.

You may also wish to devise your own criteria, in consultation with your colleagues, before you begin. Such a discussion can help ensure you and your team are advocating with a common purpose.

KEY CRITERIA FOR SELECTING AMONG DIFFERENT POLICY ISSUES:

- ✔ Relative contribution of the policy to the problem
- ✔ Potential impact on a large number of people
- ✓ Likelihood of success
- Potential for working in coalitions
- ✔ Potential risk
- ✔ Potential for CARE to advocate effectively

Relative contribution to the problem

Some policy issues contribute to problems more than others. Your policy and problem analyses should help you determine the extent of influence or weight a particular policy issue has on a problem. This is one of the most important criteria for selecting an issue.

Potential impact on a large number of people

Addressing policy issues that affect a large number of people will expand the scope of your impact. Compared to other types of causes, policy issues usually have an effect on a large number of people. But even when choosing between policy issues, this criterion may also be valuable. Try to determine which policy change is likely to benefit the most people.

Likelihood of success

It is important to consider whether an advocacy effort targeted at policy change is "winnable." A policy environment that is "ripe for change" is more likely to result in successful advocacy initiatives. For example, a government official's interest in a policy issue may open a door for advocacy. In the same way, the chances of achieving policy change may be low if there are high levels of political opposition to a proposal. The degree of opposition and timing are always key considerations.

Potential for working in coalitions

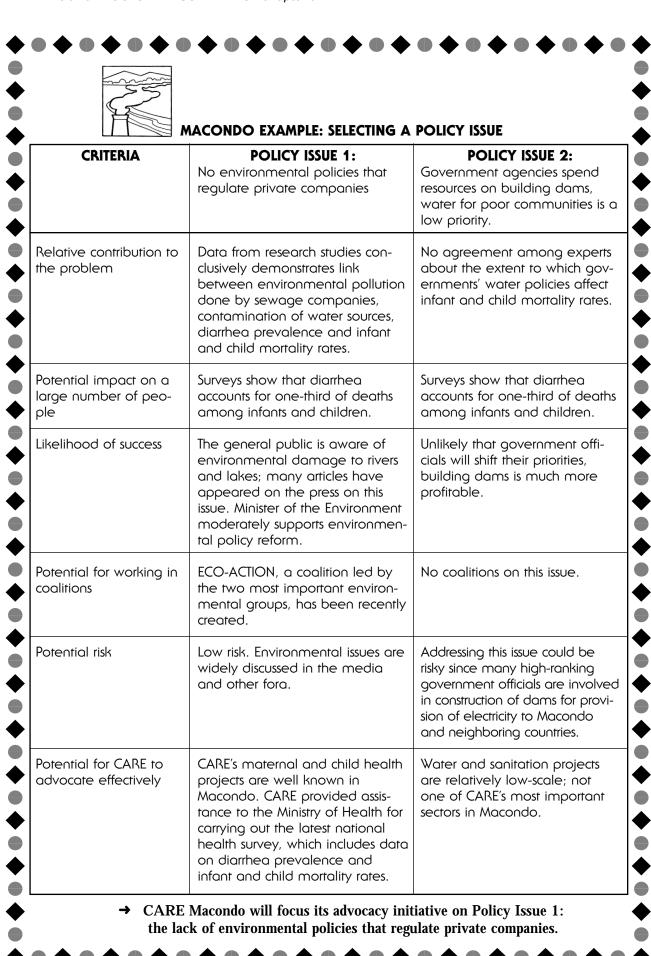
CARE's ability to change policy may be significantly enhanced when it can join with other partners or allies in advocacy. Cooperation in advocacy is just one of many ways that CARE can meet its commitment to strengthen and be an active part of civil society. Therefore, opportunities for working with local and international partners and allies should be taken into account when selecting an issue. In addition, CARE may learn from its partners in advocacy since many other organizations are better positioned to understand the political environment, risks, and opportunities.

Potential risk

In selecting policy issues for advocacy, country offices should make preliminary judgments as to whether potential risks are acceptable. Risks to consider include potential retaliation against staff, communities and partners; and changing relations with the government, which may affect other programs. It is important to analyze the benefit/harm of addressing policy issues, and possibilities for mitigating and managing risks. See **CHAPTER 10** for more ideas about risk management.

Potential for CARE to advocate effectively

It is important to consider CARE's capacity to advocate for a particular issue and assess whether CARE is the best advocate for this issue or not. You should ask questions such as: What are the major strengths and weaknesses of your project team/country office for engaging in a particular policy issue? Would others be more likely to effectively achieve change? What experience does CARE have related to this issue?



5.2 Select target audiences

It is absolutely crucial to identify the key decision-makers that can improve existing policies, create new ones, and ensure that policies are implemented. The *target audience* is the person, or group of people, who can help bring about the policy change you hope to achieve.

There are actually two kinds of target audiences: primary and secondary audiences. *Primary audiences* are those individuals with the direct authority to make policy changes (i.e. the Minister of Agriculture, parliament members, etc.). *Informing or persuading the primary audience about a policy issue is the centerpiece of any advocacy strategy.*

Secondary audiences are those people who can influence the decisions of your primary audience. Secondary audiences are important because they can provide a way to reach the primary audience that may not be available to you directly. Secondary audiences may include interest groups, business leaders, local organizations, or, in some cases, specific groups among the general public. Secondary audiences may even include policy makers; for example, one member of parliament might be willing to advocate a policy position to another.



PRIMARY AUDIENCES

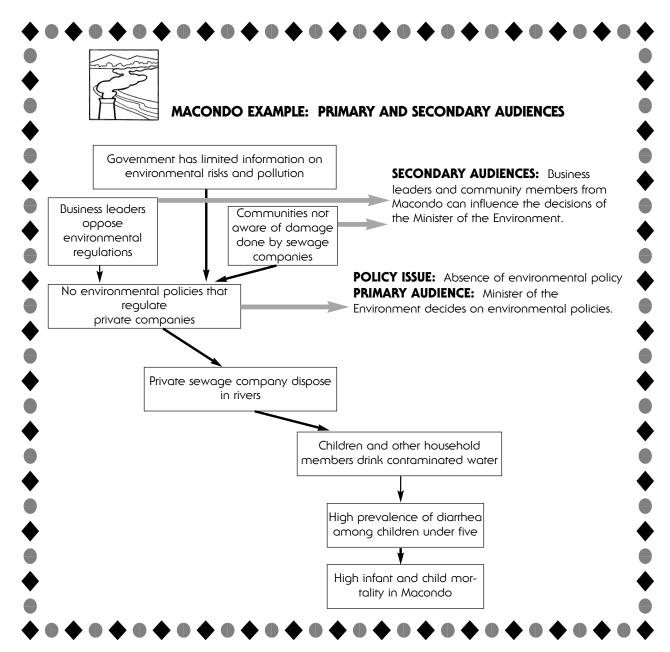
A primary target audience is the person, or group of people, within a decision making institution, with authority to make or change policy. **Audiences are always people, not institutions.** Examples of primary audiences include:

- ♦ The manager of a local factory
- ♦ The President or Prime Minister
- ♦ The Mayor of a small city
- The head of an institute
- A hospital administrator

The policy maps described in **CHAPTER 4** can be used to identify potential primary and secondary audiences. Selecting a *primary audience* requires that you understand something about the institution or organization where that person works. You need to know who exercises power and which people are linked to them. Usually, there are many potential *secondary audiences*. Generally, you should try to focus on those secondary audiences with the greatest ability to influence your primary audience.

Knowing your audience is critical for planning an advocacy initiative. You can't advocate if you have not identified target audiences.

Learning about your target audiences is one of the most important parts of developing an effective advocacy strategy. The more you know about your target audiences, the more likely you will achieve your goals. This process begins with your policy analysis, and should continue throughout your initiative. In the example from the previous chapter, three factors contributed to a lack of environmental policies: business leaders' opposition to environmental policies, the government's poor information on pollution risks, and the low awareness of communities about environmental hazards. The primary target audience in this case is the Minister of the Environment. An alternative might be to advocate for business leaders to establish and enforce environmental codes of conduct. Potential secondary audiences are business leaders and community representatives of Macondo, each of whom might be able to influence the government's environmental policies.



5.3 Set a policy goal

Like any other program or project, advocacy initiatives require clear and specific goals. When goals are poorly articulated or vague, they can be interpreted differently and people may never agree whether or not they were met. In simplest terms, goals are the specification of what an advocacy initiative should accomplish. Goals for an advocacy initiative need to be **SMART**: specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound. They should clearly state **what** will change, **who** will make that change, by **how much**, and by **when**. When goals are vague and ambiguous, it is difficult to clearly understand what your advocacy initiative is trying to achieve and hard to maintain focus. This also makes it hard to evaluate your efforts.

The final or *impact goal* of an advocacy initiative is no different than a goal for any other CARE program or project. Ultimately, changes in policy should translate into positive changes in people's lives, reducing poverty and discrimination. Policy change is not the final goal of your initiative; it is a step that should lead to improvements in people's quality of life. Impact or final goals should always refer to the problem you want to address, and clearly state what changes in people's well-being are expected as a result of your efforts.

CARE defines effect-level changes as "changes in behaviors or systems." Since advocacy seeks to change the actions of policy makers, *policy goals nicely fit at the effect level*. Policy goals state the changes that policy makers need to carry out which will, ultimately, benefit people's lives. As a result of your advocacy efforts, policy makers are expected to either develop, set in place, approve, change, or ensure enactment of a policy. You are asking them to take very specific actions.

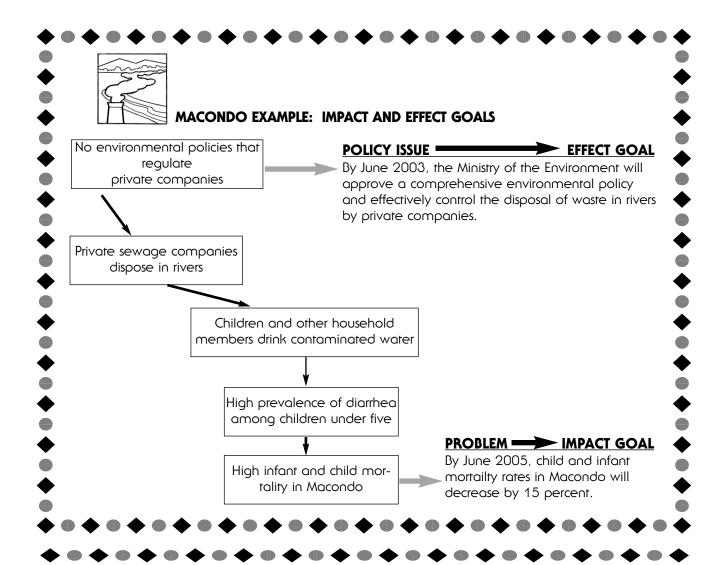
Since policy goals should include the policy makers who are expected to create, change or enact a policy, it is important to avoid goals that do not include the **who.** This is a good policy goal: "By December 2004, the Ministry of Health will approve the use of permanent family planning methods, and provide sterilization services in public hospitals and clinics." This goal does not include who is expected to take action, and should therefore be avoided: "Approve a family planning policy by December 2004".

Problem IMPACT GOAL

Actions or "behaviors" of policy makers

EFFECT GOALS

Advocacy goals should state what you want to change, who will make that change, by how much, and by when.





OUTLINE OF AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY FOR MACONDO

Policy issue	Lack of environmental policies controlling industrial pollution of rivers
Primary audience	Minister of the Environment
Secondary audiences	Business leaders Macondo community representatives
Impact goal	By June 2005, child and infant mortality rates in Macondo will decrease by 15 percent.
Effect-level policy goal	By June 2003, Ministry of the Environment will approve and enforce an environmental policy that effectively controls the disposal of industrial waste in rivers.

5.4 Identify allies and opponents

Policy mapping conducted at the policy analysis stage can point to prospective partners that may want to pursue the same issues you do, as well as opponents that may hinder your efforts. It is important to identify and take into account potential allies and opponents when developing your advocacy strategy.

Identifying allies. Having allies is critical for an advocacy initiative. You can usually increase your impact by collaborating with other individuals or organizations that are interested in the same policy issue. Experience from many advocacy initiatives has shown that the joint efforts, skills, and resources of several organizations and individuals are more likely to minimize risk, draw attention to key policy issues, and result in successful policy change.

An alliance or coalition with other organizations or individuals that pursue the same policy change is normally built upon specific policy issues and goals. Once a policy change has been achieved, a coalition may cease to exist, or may continue to address other joint policy concerns. The coalition may or may not be a partnership; this depends on the extent to which principles of partnership are part of the relationship.² You should be aware, however, that a coalition can be a short-term relationship based on a specific policy issue, and once your goals have been accomplished, that relationship may end.

A COALITION
is a group of
organizations
working together in a
coordinated fashion
toward a common
goal. In advocacy,
a coalition's goal is
policy-related.

IDENTIFYING ALLIES

- Which other organizations, groups and individuals are concerned or already acting upon the same policy issue (including those who may not normally be "CARE's allies)?
- ♦ Do coalitions exist or do they need to be established?
- ♦ How can you contribute to the efforts of other organizations?
- What role do these organizations want CARE to play and what contribution do they expect from you?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of forming alliances or coalitions with each of them?
- Do other organizations see CARE as a value-adding partner/ally to their efforts?

²Principles of partnership proposed by CARE staff at a workshop in Sussex, October 2000: a) acknowledge interdependence and the potential for complementarity, b) build trust and transparency, c) shared vision, goals, values and interests, d) a culture of mutual support and respect for differences, e) a 'stronger' partner should not use asymmetrical/unequal power relations to the detriment of a 'weaker' partner, f) mutual accountability, and g) partnering as a continuous learning experience.

In almost all of CARE's recent advocacy strategies, programs or projects relied on networks, alliances, or coalitions to pursue policy change. Coalition strategies can be vital for strengthening CARE's capacity for political analysis, for increasing the likelihood of success of an advocacy initiative, and for building the capacity of local groups to advance their policy interests. **CHAPTER 9** provides ideas about working through coalitions, and advice on how to manage and strengthen relationships with your allies.

ADVANTAGES OF ADVOCATING THROUGH ALLIANCES/COALITIONS

- ♦ Increases resources, experience, credibility and visibility.
- Increases the likelihood of successful policy change.
- Develops advocacy capacity of less experienced coalition members.
- Provides assurance to coalition members who have concerns for advocating on their own.
- ◆ Provides an element of protection or "safety in numbers."

Identifying opponents. Part of refining an advocacy strategy is finding out who may oppose your policy goal. This is just as important as identifying your allies. You can be more effective if you understand your opponents' reasoning and why they might feel threatened by your proposed policy change. For example, an initiative that seeks changes in policies related to contraception may encounter the opposition of religious leaders.

An advocacy strategy may include messages and activities targeted at your opponents. In that case, opponents can become a secondary audience for your advocacy initiative. It is important to assess whether there is anything you can do to persuade your opponents to change their opinions, or at least neutralize their influence on the policy change you want to pursue.

IDENTIFYING OPPONENTS

- Are there any organizations, groups or individuals that oppose the proposed policy change?
- What threat do these organizations, groups and individuals pose to the success of your advocacy initiative?
- ♦ What can you do to reduce the influence of opponents?

The policy map shown on page 22 can be very useful for identifying allies and opponents. This map contains information on the degree of support of different actors for the policies that you want to change. For the Macondo example, leaders from the LDP party, environmental organizations and the World Bank are potential allies, since they support environmental policy changes. Business leaders who are strongly opposed to these changes could become opponents and a threat to your advocacy initiative.

IDENTIFYING ALLIES AND OPPONENTS: A CASE STUDY FROM ECUADOR

In Ecuador, CARE manages an integrated conservation and development project called Sustainable Use of Biological Resources (SUBIR). In the early 1990s, here was the situation CARE staff faced:

National forestry firms were monopolizing the forestry market. These firms did not use technical standards for grading logs when working with local producers, so no objective standards existed for pricing logs based on their quality or real value. As a result, poor communities received unfair prices and had little control over their natural resources.

USAID was supporting forestry policy reform in various Latin American countries and expressed a strong interest in promoting reforms in Ecuador, including making substantial funds available to NGOs. USAID was willing to pave the way for policy reform discussions with Ecuadorian government officials, which would have been difficult for CARE or other NGOs to initiate themselves. The Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of the Environment were willing to discuss forestry issues, but had very little information about many of the specific problems the SUBIR project was trying to help resolve.

SUBIR has been funded by USAID since 1991 and CARE is responsible for several project components, including policy and legal reform of natural resource management practices, especially land titling in forested areas. The overall project also includes institutional reform, improved land use practices, and biodiversity monitoring. SUBIR staff now work closely and successfully with both government Ministries and local Organizations such as indigenous and Afro-ecuadorian federations. But, CARE had to work hard to form the strong relationships it has now.

CARE trained "paralegals" about a range of issues affecting their home communities, including: 1) petroleum and mining; 2) community organization; 3) land legalization; 4) community tourism; 5) protected areas and forestry resources; and 6) biodiversity and intellectual property rights. The idea was for the paralegals to help communities establish organizations and secure title to their land, and to understand their rights with respect to these issues. However, the Ecuadorian lawyer's guild opposed the CARE program and did not want to approve the curriculum, fearing the paralegals might end up competing with them.

Afro-Ecuadorian organizations were trying to create an ethnic reserve to protect themselves, since they were legally barred from land ownership. Yet, these organizations were small and had relatively little technical capacity. Other Ecuadorian NGOs with local constituencies were also involved in trying to address land reform issues. However, these organizations were highly individualistic and competitive with each other. Few had come together as partners and advocated in a cooperative way.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

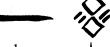
- ♦ In this situation, who were CARE's potential opponents?
- Which of the groups above would be good allies for policy reform? Why?
- What options did CARE staff have for strengthening its allies or converting opponents into allies?

	CHAPTER 5 WORKSHEET OUTLINING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY	
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes
Select a policy issue.	 ♦ Which policy issue is critical for addressing the problem you identified? Which policy change is your best option for a significant impact? ♦ How many people will benefit if a policy change is achieved? ♦ Is the issue "winnable"? ♦ Do opportunities exist for working with others on this policy issue? ♦ Are potential risks acceptable or not? ♦ Can CARE effectively advocate on this issue? 	
Select target audiences.	 ♦ Who are potential target audiences, that is, who can help to bring about the policy change you hope to achieve? ♦ Who has authority to make these changes? Who are potential primary audiences? ♦ Who has the greatest ability to influence the decisions of your primary audience? ♦ Which primary and secondary audiences will you select for your advocacy initiative? 	
Set a policy goal.	 ♦ What should your advocacy initiative accomplish? Who will make that change? By when will this change be achieved? ♦ Can you clearly articulate the final or impact goal for your advocacy initiative? ♦ Can you clearly articulate policy goals at the effect level? 	
Identify allies.	 Which other organizations, groups and individuals are concerned or already working on the same policy issue? Do coalitions exist or do they need to be established? How can you contribute to the efforts of other organizations? What role do these organizations want CARE to play and what contribution do they expect from you? What are the advantages and disadvantages of forming alliances or coalitions with each of them? Do other organizations see CARE as a value-adding partner/ally? 	
Identify opponents.	 Are there any organizations, groups or individuals that oppose the proposed policy change? What threat do these organizations, groups and individuals pose to the success of your advocacy initiative? What can you do to reduce the influence of opponents? 	

Chapter 6

FINALIZING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY

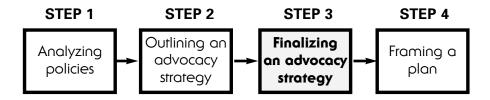




This chapter provides guidance for finalizing advocacy strategies, the third step for planning an advocacy initiative. Finalizing a strategy involves selecting roles, identifying key messages, and defining advocacy activities.







Once you have selected a policy goal and identified target audiences, allies and opponents, you need to make several fundamental decisions:

- 1. **Select an advocacy role.** There are many different ways to advocate. You can take a very visible, public approach, or you can work behind the scenes. You can consider documenting problems for policy makers, working through coalitions, or many other approaches.
- 2. **Identify key messages.** An advocacy message is what you want your target audiences to hear. It specifies what policy change you would like them to support.
- 3. **Define advocacy activities.** Advocacy activities are the steps you will take to convey your messages to your target audiences.

6.1 Select roles

Your strategy should include clear advocacy roles for your organization or project. For example, you can choose to lead an advocacy initiative and directly inform policy makers on environmental policies, or you can choose to support a coalition of local NGOs that advocate for these policy changes. The answer may not always be obvious, but it is important to think carefully about the best role for CARE to play in your country on the issues you choose. CARE's potential role as a capacity builder in advocacy is addressed further in **CHAPTER 9**.

The role that you select in advocacy will depend on a mix of factors, including resources, relationships, your experience with the issue, the risk you are prepared to assume, and, most importantly, an assessment of how best to exert influence. Also, keep in mind that different staff can play different advocacy roles in the same initiative, and that the same person can play different roles, depending on the target audience.

Often, it can be appropriate to choose roles that emphasize collaboration as opposed to confrontation. The roles listed below are not exhaustive, and the options you have will be based on your own setting.

EXPERT INFORMANT

Provides technical advice and information to policy makers (i.e. the primary audience) when the analysis points at their knowledge gap as part of the problem. For example, in Nicaragua CARE provided data and technical assistance to the Ministry of Health about the effects of pesticide use on the health of farmers. This role is based on relationships that evolve naturally when CARE works closely with the government in program implementation or institutional strengthening. A technical assistance and informing advocacy role can be relatively low-risk and low-cost, especially when building on an existing relationship.

HONEST BROKER

Participates in a policy making process as an objective expert and fair broker of competing interests. Attempts to influence processes are transparent, based on facts and analysis. For example, in Ecuador the SUBIR project played this role when it helped convene NGOs to advocate policies to the national legislature. In many other situations, CARE has credibility with both citizen groups and the government, enabling it to serve as an effective mediator.

CAPACITY BUILDER

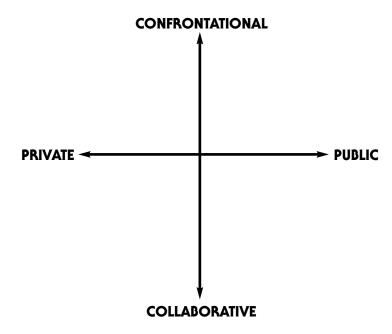
Provides support to third parties participating in a policy process who will influence policy makers. For example, in the Philippines CARE played this role in its relationship with local organizations. In advocacy, capacity building may involve raising awareness of rights and responsibilities, organizing a coalition, providing resources, advocacy skills training, or helping to plan an advocacy initiative that will be led by others. Local organizations are often better positioned to advocate for an issue and increasing their capacity to influence policy is consistent with a rights-based approach and can help to strengthen civil society.

LOBBYIST & PLAYER

Enters the policy process as a full participant and makes direct approaches to influence policy, either alone or in coalitions. This strategy involves formulating and presenting positions in public situations or meetings with policy makers. For example, in Sudan, CARE has played primarily a lobbying role, in which we spoke out publicly and advocated our policy positions to the U.S. government and the U.N.

Your advocacy role for a specific issue will depend on target audiences and the relationships you have with these audiences, as well as on the political norms of the communities in which you work. Citizens may have access to policy makers within a relatively open political system or they may be barred from politics. As described in **CHAPTER 4**, a good policy analysis will include information on the distribution of political power and the relationships between key actors in the policy making or implementation process. This information will help you determine, for example, whether advocacy should involve public interest groups or grassroots organizations. As you think through these issues, consider whether people are aware of their rights and whether there is a need to build more political awareness before encouraging groups to articulate and assert their rights.

Within each of the above roles, you can adopt a wide variety of approaches, e.g. confronting or trying to collaborate with policy makers, or something in between. You also need to decide whether to use "public" approaches (e.g. using the media) or "private" ones, such as face-to-face meetings. These decisions can be framed using an x-y axis, as in the diagram below. The higher up the y-axis you go, or the further to the right on the x-axis, the more risk you are likely to assume.



It is also important to keep in mind that the role you choose will affect the mix of skills needed for your advocacy initiative. When playing an expert informant role, it makes sense to rely heavily on technical staff, with support from communications experts in packaging information for policy makers. When engaging in a give-and-take with diplomats and government officials, negotiating skills become more important. Most country offices acquire these skills through a mix of staff training, technical support, outside recruitment, strategic partnerships, and participation in coalitions.

MACONDO E TARGET AUDIENCES	XAMPLE: POSSIBLE ROLES FOR CARE STAFF
Minister of the Environment	Since the analysis pointed at government's limited information on environmental risks and pollution, provide data to Ministry on environmental damage done by private businesses (role: expert informant).
Most powerful business leaders, Ms. Galo and Mr. Amart	Provide information to business leaders about other experiences from other countries, where environmentally friendly actions by businesses led to an increase in sales and public recognition (role: expert informant).
Environmental organizations: GREEN and SVD	Provide support to a coalition led by GREEN and SVD, two well-known local organizations (role: capacity builder).
Macondo's community representatives	Empower Macondo community representatives to take part in decision-making processes that affect their livelihoods (role: capacity builder).

THE EXPERT INFORMANT ROLE: A CASE STUDY FROM NICARAGUA

During the 1970s and 1980s, heavy use of pesticides in cotton-growing areas was causing massive pesticide poisoning among Nicaraguan farm families and workers. CARE Nicaragua's Safe and Rational Pesticide Use (USRP) program began in 1984 as an effort to help farmers protect themselves from these risks. The project had no formal advocacy objectives, but as the project evolved, policy reform became an important goal of program managers. Over time, CARE staff helped to raise awareness within the government of the pesticide poisoning crisis by working closely with the Ministry of Health. While policy reforms took many years to accomplish, CARE's work helped pave the way for new laws in 1998 that restricted the importation of harmful chemical pesticides in Nicaragua.

In the mid-1980s, few people in the government were aware of the magnitude of the pesticide poisoning problem and legal protections for farmers were almost non-existent. For example:

- 1. The Ministry of Health had no data about the level of pesticide exposure among farm workers, nor a reporting system to gather such information.
- 2. Pesticide poisoning was not a major public health concern within the Ministry of Health, even though it was a greater problem than other government priorities, like malaria.
- 3. The Ministry of Agriculture, whose mandate was to increase agricultural production, regulated pesticide use. Competition existed between the two Ministries about who should be responsible for pesticide use laws.
- 4. Farmers had little knowledge about alternatives to dangerous pesticide use, nor did the government distribute such information.
- 5. Doctors and medical staff had little training in how to diagnose and treat pesticide poisoning, since it was not part of the university curriculum.
- 6. Nicaragua's pesticide regulations dated back to 1966 and contained numerous gaps and contradictions.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Name three options CARE staff had for advocating effectively as expert informants. Who would be the target audiences?
- What other advocacy roles might CARE staff have played in this project?
- ♦ If CARE had funding to commission a comprehensive analysis of the problem, what would have been the most important questions to examine? (Who should CARE have shared the analysis with?)

6.2 Identify key messages

A MESSAGE tells your target audience what he or she is being asked to do, why it is worth doing, and its positive impact. The next step in elaborating your advocacy strategy is identifying key advocacy messages. A message tells your target audiences what he or she is being asked to do, why it is worth doing, and the positive impact of such action. Usually, you will only have a limited amount of time to get your message across, so it is best to be sure about what you want to say beforehand. Improvising messages may not only waste time, but also may fail to convince your target audience.

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF AN ADVOCACY MESSAGE:

- What you want to achieve.
- ♦ Why you want to achieve it (and why others should want to achieve it as well).
- ♦ How you propose to achieve it.
- ♦ What specific action you want the audience to take.

At the planning and strategy development stage, it is important to identify what you want to convey to your audience. See the table below for an example of key messages for several different audiences. Later, once you have secured resources for your advocacy initiative, you will have time to tailor messages to the intended audience, choose a format, and craft language that is appealing to your audience. A message is most effective when it is based on an understanding of what members of the target audience already know, and what additional information they will need in order to change their opinions.

OVERALL MESSAGE	MACONDO EXAMPLE: OUTLINING KEY MESSAGES FOR YOUR TARGET AUDIENCES Let's end pollution in the Macondo river. Children's lives are at stake. Join our campaign in favor of clean water today.
TARGET AUDIENCES	KEY MESSAGE
Minister of the Environment	Policy change will save the lives of many children and increase your political support. Children in Macondo are dying because they drink water from contaminated rivers. Private sewage companies have polluted these rivers with their disposal of waste. We are asking you to approve an environmental policy for regulating these companies. Enactment of this policy will decrease infant and child mortality in Macondo and increase your political support in the community.
Most powerful business leaders, Ms. Galo and Mr. Amart	Environmentally friendly practices will increase your profit and save the lives of many children. Experiences from many countries show that environmentally friendly businesses have increased their profits. We are asking you to consider these practices, which can bring you public recognition and long-term profitability. These actions will also save the lives of many children in Macondo.
Macondo's community representatives	You and your children have the right to clean water. Private sewage companies are polluting your rivers. No policies are in place to ensure that private companies protect the environment. You have the right to demand more effective environmental regulation from the Ministry of the Environment. Taking action can improve the quality of water in your community and reduce the tragic deaths of children in Macondo.

CHAPTER 8 provides more guidance about how to develop, deliver, and reinforce advocacy messages.

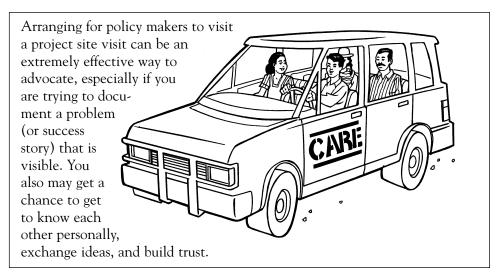
6.3 Define advocacy activities

Once you have selected key messages for each of your target audiences, the next step is to choose activities for conveying these messages. Though you may have to change your activities once you start implementing an advocacy initiative, defining them at the planning stage helps you put in place the resources you need.

TACTICS are
types of activities
that support your
strategy. Advocacy
tactics are often
chosen based on
their level of risk,
their cost, and their
chances of success in
the existing political
environment.

In advocacy, people often refer to certain categories of activities as *tactics*. **CHAPTER 10** explores specific advocacy tactics you can consider, such as negotiating in meetings, using the media, working through coalitions, or arranging site visits to make your point to policy makers or others.

More so than "traditional" CARE program activities, advocacy strategies usually have to be adapted over time, making it difficult to set a specific activity plan. In advocacy, you will often have to invest in a variety of activities and cultivate a large number of contacts in order to cover a range of potential opportunities for influencing your target audiences. So while it is important to have a sense of the range of activities that you will undertake, you should also keep a flexible activity schedule. Innovating and seizing opportunities that may emerge are critical for successful advocacy, even if you have to make changes to your original plan.





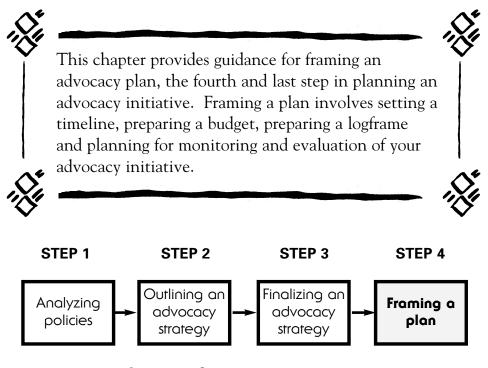
MACONDO EXAMPLE: PLANNING ACTIVITIES FOR DEVELOPING AND DELIVERING KEY MESSAGES TO TARGET AUDIENCES

TARGET AUDIENCES	KEY MESSAGE	ACTIVITIES
Minister of the environment	Policy change will save the lives of many children and increase your political support.	 Gather data on contamination levels of rivers in Macondo. Gather data on infant and child morbidity and mortality in Macondo in particular due to diarrhea/intake of contaminated water. Commission a report from a university to help document the link between pollution and child mortality. Brief Minister/advisors on environmental damage done by private sewage companies. Advise Minister/advisors on developing policies for protecting rivers and other water sources.
Business leaders	Environmentally friendly practices will increase your profit and save the lives of many children.	 In alliance with GREEN and SVD: Gather information about businesses that have increased their profits through environmentally friendly practices. Arrange for an expert on environmentally friendly technologies to address business leaders at their annual convention. Organize visits for Ms. Galo and Mr. Amart to leading companies that have a good environmental record. Coordinate visits for Ms. Galo and Mr. Amart to communities in Macondo affected by polluted rivers. Hold informal staff meetings with Ms. Galo and Mr. Amart.
Macondo's community representatives	You and your children have the right to clean water.	 In alliance with GREEN and SVD: Meet with community representatives and discuss damage done by sewage companies, as well as their right to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives. Provide support to community representatives for drafting their complaints, requests and proposed solutions. Facilitate meetings between community representatives and government officials from the Ministry of the Environment. Provide a media tour of the areas worst affected by industrial pollution.

	CHAPTER 6 WORKSHEET FINANLIZING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY	,
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes
Select an advocacy role.	 ♦ What is your best choice for exerting influence on your target audiences? ♦ Can you use your relationships with policy makers for providing technical advice on policy issues (expert informant)? ♦ Do you want to take a visible approach and address your target audience personally (lobbyist)? ♦ Can you support other organizations in their efforts to carry out advocacy (capacity builder)? ♦ Can you broker competing interests of various groups and through mediation achieve policy change (honest broker)? ♦ Will you use a public approach via the media, or a private approach such as face-to-face meetings? 	
Identify key messages.	 ♦ What do you want your target audience to hear? ♦ What policy change would you like your target audience to support? ♦ What specific actions do you want your audience to take? How can you convey that to your audience? 	
Define advocacy activities.	 ♦ What steps do you have to take to convey your messages to your target audiences? ♦ What activities need to be carried out in order to achieve your policy goal? ♦ How can you most successfully convey messages to your target audience: working through the media or coalitions, arranging site visits or meetings, writing a letter, other tactics? 	

Chapter 7

FRAMING A PLAN



7.1 Set a timeline

Advocacy initiatives can be quite dynamic. It is important to set a timeline at the beginning, but also to keep in mind that political events beyond your control may force you to change it. For example, your target audiences may unexpectedly change, an opponent may turn into an ally, or a strategy which seemed adequate to begin with may not yield the expected results. Advocacy initiatives require continuous and careful monitoring, since your strategy will need to adjust along with the political climate. Advocacy activities will often need to be revised and re-directed. In short, it is important to remain flexible.

One reason that flexibility is so vital is that valuable windows of opportunity often come up suddenly. A policy change which you thought would take five years to achieve could be accomplished in a few months, if the public suddenly takes an interest in your policy issue. If a new government is elected, or a new director takes charge of a company, your issue could rise to the top of key policy makers' agendas. In contrast, a policy that you thought could be easily changed may encounter unexpected opposition and require a longer time frame than you thought.

When setting a timeline, keep in mind the following:

- Policy environments can change quickly: keep flexible time schedules.
- Unexpected but important opportunities for advocacy arise which do not allow for careful scheduling of activities.

POLITICAL CHANGES CALL FOR NEW STRATEGIES

Advocacy opportunities may not last long. For example, in the Philippines, the CREST coalition was well positioned to influence national policy and held a position on a high-level national advisory council. This changed when a new president was elected who was less favorable to informal sector organizations influencing public policy.

CREST's work started out in the national policy arena, but focused on establishing alliances between street vendor organizations, building local, regional and national advocacy councils, and strengthening the capacity of street vendor representatives to make policy proposals.

Since then, the coalition has shifted away from its initial strategy to influence national legislation and regulations. Instead, it has refocused its efforts on achieving legislative change at the local level by influencing city elections.

Because the policy environment is unpredictable, it is probably best to schedule conservatively, and include extra time for unanticipated events. If, in the end, you accomplish your goals earlier than expected, your initiative will seem even more successful.

7.2 Prepare a budget

Preparing a budget is the next step. Estimating the cost of an advocacy project can be difficult, especially for a multi-year initiative. More than with other types of programs, midcourse corrections will occur and can sometimes lead to higher costs. For example, your initial strategy may not include a media cam-

paign, but later, once you have started implementing your plan, such a campaign may seem vital.



You should base your budget on your advocacy strategy and activities (such as lobbying, media work, working with coalitions, and/or mobilizing constituencies).

There are of course inexpensive and expensive ways to pursue each strategy. Hiring a public relations or consulting firm, for example, can be an important way to communicate your key advocacy messages, but it is costly. Holding meetings, writing media commentary, or arranging site visits are relatively lower-cost activities.

Always include a line item for unexpected expenses. Planning for such contingencies will help you keep a flexible activity schedule and allow for changes, if required.

BUDGET CATEGORIES

A budget for an advocacy initiative should include some, if not all, of the following categories:

- Salaries and benefits for staff
- Supplies
- Activities and events (conferences, briefings, lunches, meetings, press conferences, etc.)
- Printing and distribution (brochures, reports, fact sheets, press releases, promotional items, briefing materials, etc.)
- Communications (telephone calls, fax, modem, postage)
- Office space
- Consulting services (policy research, public relations services, private lobbying, legal services)
- Training
- Trave
- Dues and fees
- Contingencies (unexpected expenses)
- Overhead

Funding

Where will you get financial support for your advocacy initiative? It is important to research what donor resources are available for advocacy, as opposed to other kinds of interventions. Some donors will not fund projects with an advocacy component, and you should ask about such policies before you submit a proposal. However, trends show an increase in donor funding for advocacy and civil society strengthening efforts. The questions below may help you to identify funds for your initiative:

- Which donors have funded advocacy initiatives as part of relief and development programs in your country/region? Besides multi and bilateral aid, are there any individuals, private businesses, foundations, or any other groups interested in advocacy?
- What are the priorities for donors that have funded advocacy? Are they interested in particular issues (i.e. education policy reform)? Are they interested in specific groups of the population (i.e. policies that affect women-headed households or policies that affect ethnic minorities)? Do they have a geographical focus?
- ♦ What type of advocacy initiatives have they recently funded? What amounts were provided to those initiatives?

³For additional information about donor resources for advocacy, contact the CARE USA Policy and Advocacy Unit.

How can you find out more about a donor? Who at your office knows them and can help you out? Do you have any other contacts that may facilitate access to a donor? How can you get in touch with a donor and present your proposal?

7.3 Prepare a logframe

CARE staff frequently use logframes. Therefore these guidelines will not describe in detail how to develop a logframe, but rather stress that using this tool is also important for advocacy initiatives.

A logframe is a very useful tool for summarizing, in a logical way, the links between your goals, outputs, activities and inputs. Logframes allow you to visualize the relationship between the goals of an advocacy initiative, and the proposed activities for achieving those goals. At this planning stage, you will have a great deal of information for developing a logframe.

CHAPTER 7

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MACONDO EXAMPLE: LOGFRAME

HIERARCHY		INDICATORS	MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
IMPACT GOAL By June 2005, child and infant mortality rates in Macondo will decrease by 15 percent.	acondo will	Infant mortality rateChild mortality rate	Five-year demographic and health surveys undertaken by National Statistics Institute.	No sudden epidemics among children.
EFFECT GOAL 1 By June 2002, the Ministry of the Environment will approve a comprehensive environmental policy.	approve a	 Comprehensive environmental policy is in place. 	Policies issued by the Ministry of the Environment.	No major political changes, political stability.
 Minister of the Environment favors comprehensive environmental policy proposed by the GREEN coalition. Minister's advisors recommend adoption of policy. Business leaders increase their knowledge abour benefits of environmental protection for increasing their profits, and support proposed policy changes. Macondo community representatives know their rights and demand clean water from the Ministry of the Environment, and participared in drafting proposed environmental policy. 	e oalition. y. t benefits of filts, and rights and wironment, enral policy.	 Number of government-level key policy makers that favor proposed environmental policy. Number of business leaders that know about benefits of keeping a dean environment. Number of business leaders that support environmental measures. Number of community representatives actively involved in drafting environmental policy. 	Coalition's monitoring system: ◆ Updated policy maps based on meetings with policy makers, information from the media, and other sources. ◆ Interviews and regular contacts with business leaders. ◆ Records from meetings on drafting policy.	
 Garher data on links between pollution and diarrhea (and subsequent infant and child morbidity and mortality) and develop technical reports for the Ministry of the Environment based on survey findings. Advise Minister/advisor on developing policies for protecting rivers and other water sources. Gather information about businesses that have increased their profits through environment-friendly practices. Organize conferences and cross-visits for business leaders on successful environmental business strategies. Meet with community representatives and discuss damage done by sewage companies, as well as their right to participate in decision-malking processes that affect their lives. Provide support to community representatives for drafting their complaints, requests and proposed solutions. Facilitate meetings between community representatives and government officials from the Ministry of the Environment. 	urhea (and ality) and Environment Environment or protecting ncreased their s leaders on ss damage but to rear their lives. or drafting their entatives and vironment.	 Number of survey and technical reports completed. Number of messages sent to Minister and/or advisor on importance of protecting rivers and other water sources, and consequences of pollution. Number of business leaders that attended conferences and number that participated in cross-visits to businesses to learn about environmental business strategies. Number of meetings/contacts between government and community representatives on drafting environmental policy. 	Coalition's monitoring system: ◆ Tracking of delivered/ reinforced messages. ◆ Conference, aross-visit, and meeting attendance records.	



HIERARCHY	INDICATORS	MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
EFFECT GOAL 2 By June 2004, the Ministry of the Environment will effectively control the disposal of waste in rivers by private companies.	 Number of private companies that dispose of waste according to regulations. Number of private companies sanationed and fined for not disposing of waste appropriately. 	Ministry of the Environment records.	Water sources not contaminated by other factors, such as major flooding.
Lourd FOR EFFECT GOAL 2 Key local and regional government authorities, major businesses, universities, NGOs and other stakeholders know newly approved version of proposed environmental policy. General public in Macondo is aware of new environmental policy. System in place for monitoring quality of water in most polluted areas and other selected rowns.	 Number of key government authorities, business leaders, universities and NGOs informed about final environmental policy. Number of people reached through radio and TV programs on approved environmental policy. Number of routine check-ups undertaken by Ministry of the Environment for assessing water quality. 	 Presentation attendance records. Ratings and audience profile of programs that featured discussion on new policy; information obtained from NEL associates media surveys. Ministry of the Environment records. 	
◆ Disseminate approved version of environmental policy to local and regional authorities, major businesses, universities, NGOs, and other stakeholders through presentations. ◆ Disseminate approved version of environmental policy to the general public through invitation to radio programs, TV, and other media. ◆ In partnership with community representatives and the Ministry of the Environment, monitor the implementation of policies in selected towns through regular assessment of water quality.	 Number of presentations held on new environmental policy. Number of radio and TV programs that featured discussions/information on new environmental policy. Number of community representatives, Ministry of Environment officials, and coalition representatives participating in water quality checks. 	 Coalition's activity records. Media tracking by NEL associares. 	

7.4 Plan for monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation are key activities for keeping an advocacy initiative on track, and for assessing the changes it has achieved based on its stated goals. Effective monitoring and evaluation requires careful planning. These plans are an integral part of designing an advocacy initiative, since you will have to establish prior to implementation what information is necessary for tracking progress, and how you will obtain this information. The logframe on the previous pages has provided examples of indicators that can be used for monitoring and evaluating advocacy initiatives.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, advocacy activities often need to be adjusted, revised and re-directed. Such changes, however, should only be made on the basis of good *monitoring* data. For example, what new information have you learned through public events, meetings, or reading the newspapers? Have political conditions changed since you first planned the initiative? Have your target audiences changed their opinions?

As with other CARE projects, *monitoring should focus on tracking outputs*, *activities, and inputs*. For advocacy, *outputs* are usually changes in knowledge, awareness and/or opinion of target audiences. Your policy maps can serve as a useful monitoring tool for outputs. They should be updated to include changes in your target audiences' position, interest, opinion and knowledge about the policy issue. For example, the Minister of the Environment, who only moderately supported policy changes for controlling pollution by private companies, may change his position to strongly support such changes. In that event, you would probably want to change the focus of your activities. Rather than implementing activities focused on changing the Minister's opinion, which is no longer necessary, you can now work on obtaining his approval and signing of an environmental policy. When such information is not known, it is difficult to advance your plan.

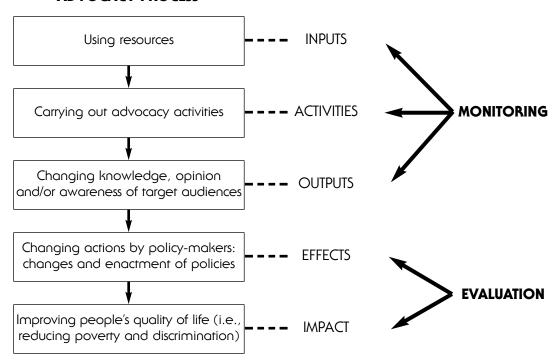
Advocacy initiatives should also carefully monitor *activities* and *inputs*. The more people in your target audience, the more important this becomes. It is important to keep a record of your activities, and what you learn as a result of each activity that can make you more effective as an advocate. For example, you may want to track new information about your target audience that will affect your message, or activities that are successful, versus those that are less successful.

Monitoring your advocacy initiative may also contribute to the policy change itself. When a wide range of stakeholders, even policy makers, are involved in monitoring an advocacy initiative, change might happen more quickly. Monitoring data offers an opportunity to discuss the status of policy changes with participants from the government, community, business, and other sectors, and that process may increase the support to the policy change you are trying to achieve.

As with other projects, *evaluation* of advocacy focuses on *impact* and *effects*. Evaluations assess the extent your policy goals have been achieved, as well as the ultimate impact of these changes on the well-being of households and individuals. As with any other CARE project, advocacy initiatives need to demonstrate their a positive impact on people's lives. For that, you will require baseline

information about people's quality of life before a policy change was achieved, and evaluation data on the extent to which their lives have improved after a policy change.

ADVOCACY PROCESS



When a policy is enacted after a high-visibility advocacy campaign, the group responsible will usually take credit for the results. However, it is usually difficult to know exactly what led policy makers to make a certain decision. Thus, attributing the results of advocacy work can be difficult indeed. When advocacy campaigns are carried out by a coalition, it becomes nearly impossible (and often counterproductive) to attribute credit.

These are a few important considerations for evaluating an advocacy initiative:

♦ The unique characteristics of advocacy make it necessary to think in new ways about how evaluations should be carried out. While policy makers may approve new and favorable policies, or revise and change old ones, these *changes may take a long time to yield results that can be measured at the household level*, that is, to yield impact changes. This may have consequences for the timing of evaluations. Impact may need to be measured in a post-evaluation, after a certain period of time has passed rather than in a final evaluation of an advocacy initiative.

- ♦ Unlike our traditional programs, policy reform often happens in a place far removed from where the impact is sought. It is therefore difficult to *attribute* improvements in people's well-being to your advocacy initiative. As with other projects, it is better to acknowledge that many factors and actors contribute to improvements in people's lives, and not just one. *Measuring impact rather than attribution should be the focus of any CARE project, including an advocacy initiative.*
- ♦ Measuring policy implementation faces some particular challenges.

 While it is easier to assess if a new policy has been created, or an old one changed, making sure that a policy is being implemented can be difficult to measure. Often, policy implementation depends on many actors that have to carry out policies at the national, regional, and local levels. For example, it is easy to learn that a new regulation against discrimination of people living with HIV/AIDS may have been approved, but determining the extent to which it is actually enforced is much more difficult.

EXAMPLES OF KEY QUESTIONS FOR EVALUATING AN ADVOCACY INITIATIVE

Evaluating impact	Possible key questions: Have policy changes resulted in improvements in people's quality of life? Why/why not? Can you provide data to support your findings? Have policy changes contributed to protecting, promoting, or expanding people's rights?
Evaluating effects	 Possible key questions: Has the policy change you tried to achieve occurred, or are the prospects better than they were before? Have new policies been approved, or outdated/adverse polices been changed? Are policies enacted at the national, regional and/or local levels? Why/why not? What factors enabled/hindered the success of your policy change, that is, the creation, reform or enactment of policies? Were bills or proposals formally introduced in the legislature or other government body or were informal decisions made? Who made final decisions that enabled/hindered your policy change?
Evaluating your strategy	 Possible key questions: Did you select appropriate primary and secondary audiences? Did you have to change the targets of your advocacy along the way? Why/why not? Did your advocacy messages change your target audiences' opinions or knowledge on the policy issue? Which messages were most successful, and which failed to convey your point? Did you choose appropriate roles for your advocacy initiative? Could other roles have been more effective? Did you advocate in a coalition? What were the benefits/drawbacks for advocating in a coalition? Has your advocacy initiative increased the ability of community groups and/or local organizations to represent their own interests? Did the advocacy initiative raise public awareness and interest in the policy issue? What were the major obstacles faced by your advocacy initiative? What did you do to overcome those obstacles? What can you learn from your strategy implementation for future advocacy initiatives?

	CHAPTER 7 WORKSHEET FRAMING A PLAN			
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes		
Set a timeline.	 → How long will it take to achieve your policy goals? → Is the policy environment likely to change quickly? How flexible is your timeline? 			
Prepare a budget.	 ♦ What are the costs of your planned activities? ♦ Have you included unexpected expenses? Have you considered all budget categories? ♦ From which sources can you obtain funding for your advocacy initiative? What donors have funded advocacy initiatives as part of relief and development programs in your country/region? ♦ What are the priorities for donors that have funded advocacy? Are they interested in particular issues? Are they interested in specific groups of the population? Do they have a geographical focus? ♦ What type of advocacy initiatives have they recently funded? What amounts were provided to those initiatives? ♦ How can you find out more about a donor? Who at your office knows? Do you have any other contacts that may facilitate access to a donor? 			
Prepare a logframe.	 Do you have all elements you need for summarizing your advocacy initiative in a logframe? Can you clearly articulate impact and effect goals, outputs and activities? What indicators can you use for measuring the progress of your initiative towards achieving goals and results? Where can you obtain information on your progress? 			
Plan for monitoring and evaluation.	 MONITORING: ♦ Have your target audiences changed their knowledge, attitudes, awareness or opinions regarding your policy issue? Where can you get this information? ♦ Can you easily update policy maps? ♦ Can you track your activities, such as the number of messages sent to your target audience? ♦ Have political conditions changed since you planned your initiative? ♦ Does monitoring data indicate that your activities have achieved the desired outputs? If not, does monitoring information help you decide how to adjust, revise or re-direct activities? 			
	EVALUATION: ◆ To what extent has your advocacy initiative achieved impact and effect goals? Can impact be measured at the end of your advocacy initiative or not? ◆ Can you determine what made policy makers change their opinions and actions? ◆ What lessons can be learned for your next advocacy initiatives?			

Section III



IMPLEMENTING AN ADVOCACY INITIATIVE

DEVELOPING MESSAGES, WORKING WITH OTHERS & EMPLOYING ADVOCACY TACTICS.

Once you have an advocacy strategy in place, you can start to make more detailed decisions about how to achieve your policy goals. Some of the most important decisions you will make when implementing an advocacy strategy are:

- What messages you will send to your target audience
- How you will work with others in advocacy
- How you will employ advocacy tactics, such as negotiation or using the media, to achieve your aims.

The remaining three chapters provide ideas and advice on each of these topics.

Chapter 8

DEVELOPING AND DELIVERING MESSAGES





This chapter focuses on how to develop, deliver, and reinforce advocacy messages. Delivering messages persuasively to your primary target audience lies at the heart of any advocacy initiative. The key to good message delivery is knowing as much as possible about your target audience.

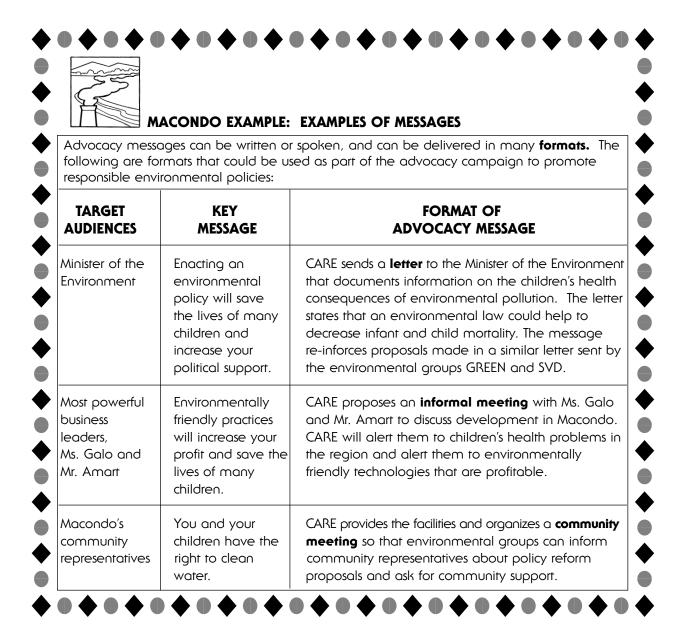




Messages are a critical element of any advocacy strategy. Even with convincing facts and political trends on your side, most advocacy efforts will likely fail without clear, simple messages that appeal to target audiences.

In **CHAPTER 5**, we discussed how crafting a message for an advocacy initiative fits into the advocacy planning process. But, developing messages is also a *continuous* part of an advocacy initiative. Messages inevitably need to be revised as you learn more about your policy issue and what appeals to your target audiences. In addition, advocacy may require multiple messages when there is more than one target audience. This chapter suggests methods to create and use messages effectively.

- ♦ Develop clear and compelling messages. A message explains what you are proposing, why it is worth doing, and the positive impacts of your policy proposal. A few rules can help you choose the content of your message wisely.
- ♦ Deliver messages effectively. When you deliver a message, you want your target audience to agree with it and then take action on your proposal. For this to happen, you must ensure they will understand your message and believe your message. You also need to think about how to ensure they receive your message.
- ♦ Reinforce messages. Usually, delivering a message once is not enough. Always have a strategy to reinforce your message, either yourself, or through others. When you re-send your message, you can also use the opportunity to respond to any concerns expressed by your target audience.



8.1 Develop clear and compelling messages

What goes into a message?

Advocacy messages should capture the essence of what you are trying to say to a target audience. In just a few sentences, a message should communicate why your issue is important and what you want others to do on behalf of your cause. It should also give the target audience a clear choice of actions and suggest the consequences of those actions. Your message should be clear, whether verbal or in writing, and it should be appropriate to the social and cultural context where you work. Your message should suggest what will happen if your target audience takes no action – or chooses a different policy option. The goal is for your message to explain why your idea is best.

As you develop the *content* of your advocacy messages, there are two rules to keep in mind.

- Know your audience. Good messages sometimes require a little research.
 Try to learn how you can best influence each of your target audiences.
 Each message should take into account the interests, ideas, and knowledge of the people receiving the message.
- 2. **Keep it simple.** Messages should be short, just a few sentences or less. If you deliver too many messages, your audience might forget them. Limit it to one, and focus on your best supporting arguments, rather than a long list of reasons to support your proposal.

What you need to know about your target audience

What does it mean to "know your audience"? Of course, this isn't always possible, but you can take time to learn about the interests, attitudes, and positions of your target audience, even without meeting them. For example, here are some things that you can try to learn before your develop your message:

About your target audience...

What are their *political* interests? What are their self-interests in relation to the issue?

How much information do they *already* have about your issue?

Do they already have an opinion?

What *objections* might they have to your position? What could they lose as a result of your proposal?

What are their **personal** interests?

Do their *backgrounds* (personal, educational or professional) suggest a bias or position?

Specifically...

What group of people do they represent?

Are you telling them something they already know? What NEW information are you offering?

What is it, how strongly held? Have they already voted or taken a public position on your issue?

Do you need to clear up any misperceptions, or counter opposing arguments?

What are their hobbies or "passions" outside of work? What do they do in their spare time?

Can you link your issue to something you know they do support?

Networking for information

When gathering the information you need about your target audience, two effective approaches to try are *internal and external networking*.

The most immediately available source of information you have is your own colleagues. Internal networking is the process of using resources within your own organization to get the information you need.

In addition to your sources within CARE, there is a whole world of information out there. External networking is the process of asking people you know outside your organization for information about your target audience.

Internal networking. Often, your colleagues can help you make contact with others who know something about your target audience. For example, if you are working on a reproductive health issue, someone you know may have a contact within the Ministry of Health who can tell you what you need to know. The more clear you are about what information you are seeking about your target audience (and why), the easier it will be for people to help you.

Internal networking has another important benefit. The more you talk to people inside your own organization first, the less likely you are to develop a message for your target audience that contradicts past statements made by CARE.

External networking. Even when your goal is to get information from outside CARE, it may be best to start with those closest to you. Do you or your colleagues have personal contacts within other partner organizations who have information about your target audience? Are there people you could approach at NGO coordination meetings who might have some information? If your own contacts have limited information, do they have ideas about who you could call to learn more?

If your target audience is someone in the community, keep an eye out for announcements of public meetings that may be held in your area. Attending these kinds of meetings also may help you to identify other groups who are involved in your issue.

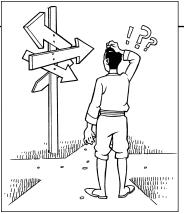
Being clear

A CLEAR MESSAGE uses accessible language and suggests an action step for the target audience. A message is only effective if the targets of your advocacy can understand what you are asking them to do – exactly. Once you have developed the content of your messages, there are at least two things to ask yourself.

First, have you chosen language your audience can understand? For example, have you used jargon, technical terminology, or "NGO-speak"? Sometimes, it can be helpful to try out your message on someone who isn't in your line of work (like a family member, or a friend).

Second, will your audience know what action to take if they agree with you? For example, is your goal for them to make a decision, call someone, vote a certain way, change a corporate practice, or convince others to support your proposal?

UNCLEAR MESSAGE



Benefits of proposal vague...

Contains jargon...

No clear request for action from the audience...

Too long!

attainment for girls is a critical issue and we are working on it at CARE as part of our HLS framework. There are not only and developmental benefits to be gained from this. We see many long-term impacts to enhancing girls' educational opportunities, particularly those younger than the age of 12. If you're interested, we can provide more information to you about our programming, which we implement in 4 rural areas and 3 peri-urban areas throughout the country. We hope you and your colleagues will keep girls' education in mind as a top priority as you debate national strategies for educational policy

Maximizing educational cognitive benefits, but economic this year.

CLEAR MESSAGE



Makes specific request...

Makes one strong supporting argument...

> **Documents** benefits...

encourage more girls to attend school. International research shows that educating girls leads to economic growth, thereby benefiting all children. Please read this report, which will show you the positive results girls' education has already achieved in

Please consider

supporting a nation-

al policy that will

Concise.

seven locations nationwide.

8.2 Deliver messages strategically

Credibility means that other people trust and value what you have to say. We have already discussed credibility as a prerequisite for advocacy. It is also something you need to consider when you are deciding how to deliver a message and who delivers it. Some things you can do to establish your credibility when delivering a message are:

- 1. **Know the facts.** Conducting analysis, learning from organizations that do have credibility, or initiating programming that helps you gain expertise are three ways to build up credibility.
- 2. Document the problem. Frequently, CARE or its partner organizations can offer valuable information about problems concerning poverty and discrimination. In some cases, it may be appropriate to document and share this information in ways that are useful to policy makers (the expert informant role). When sharing evidence of a problem, the information must be accurate and reliable, to maintain your credibility.
- 3. Choose the best messenger. Just like your target audience is a person, so is the messenger. When delivering an advocacy message, you need to determine who will be the most credible source in the eyes of the target audience. Sometimes policy skills are important, but other times first-hand knowledge of the problem, technical expertise, or seniority within an organization matter more. Also, it can be effective to have two messengers who complement each another: one knowledgeable about the subject matter and the other knowledgeable about the target audience.

Some of the factors you used to evaluate your advocacy capacity can also help you choose a messenger once you are ready to advocate.

Deciding when to advocate

Organization advocating is known by and has the *respect* of target audiences.

Organization has *information* and *expertise* that is relevant to the issue.

Target audiences are potentially *interested* in the organization's opinion.

Organization can *legitimately speak* on *behalf of* the constituency or group affected by issue.

Organization is not perceived to have an unfair political bias.

Choosing a messenger

Messenger is known and trusted by – or will appeal to – target audiences.

Messenger can demonstrate knowledge and insight into the issue.

Messenger is a source whose opinion target audience will value.

A clear link exists between the messenger and the group affected by the issue.

Messenger will refrain from political comments unrelated to the issue.

8.3 Reinforce messages

After you send your message, it may be tempting to sit back and hope for the best. But usually, this won't get you very far! After you communicate with your target audience, there are several actions you can take to reinforce your message over time.

- 1. **Respond to concerns immediately.** Even if your message is appealing, the policy maker may have problems fulfilling your request, such as finding funding, or devising a specific proposal that is supported by enough people. Try to identify your target audience's concerns as soon as possible. Either address these concerns right away (for example, if you are in a meeting) or focus your next communication on ways to resolve those concerns.
- 2. **Re-send the message.** In the private sector, companies use advertising to send messages to the public over and over, hoping that people will eventually buy their products. While it is important not to overwhelm target audiences with too much information, persistence can pay off. You can either send the message again yourself, or, better yet, rely on other influential people to do it for you. It is best to monitor the impact of your original message before your re-send your message, if possible, to allow for any changes or improvements that might be necessary.
- 3. **Follow up.** When you re-send a message, you want to avoid repeating yourself exactly. There are a number of effective techniques you can use to help reinforce your message and follow up your first communication.
 - ♦ If you meet personally with your target audience, give them a one-page summary of your proposal. After your meeting, send the summary again, along with a letter of thanks.
 - ♦ If you are asked about specific facts and figures, be sure to provide them. Take the opportunity to restate your key points.
 - ♦ Arrange for an ally to contact the target audience with a similar message to yours.
 - ♦ If your audience has specific concerns, arrange for them to meet with an expert who can address those concerns.

There are many things to remember when developing and delivering a message. Often, it is helpful to write down your strategic information and decisions in one place before you begin. A message delivery strategy for CARE in Macondo might include some of the following information.



MACONDO EXAMPLE: DEVELOPING AND DELIVERING MESSAGES

STRATEGIC INFORMATION AND DECISIONS	TARGET AUDIENCE: MINISTER OF THE ENVIRONMENT	SECONDARY AUDIENCE: BUSINESS LEADERS MR. AMART AND MS. GALO
Audience background	The Minister of the Environment was form erly a district judge. He has high degree of influence on policy, but controls limited economic resources. He has met with environmental groups before and understands that water pollution is a problem. The Minister is from another part of the country and has never been to Macondo.	Both leaders have been active in politics and have opposed any efforts to pass environmenta regulations about water quality. But Mr. Amart's daughter is an environmental activist. Ms. Galagrew up in Macondo and one of her sons still lives there. Her son has a five-year old child. Both business leaders have refused to meet directly with environmental groups in the past.
Credibility and legitimacy issues	CARE is not an environmental organization. The Minister may not be familiar with CARE. CARE should not make broad assertions about environmental policy, where it has little expertise, but focus on the children's health consequences it observes as a result of pollution. Documenting a link between the pollution and the health problems will be critical.	CARE is not an environmental organization, but knows about economic development in Macondo, which relates to business concerns. The leaders may be more willing to meet with CARE than GREEN or SVD. CARE staff must emphasize their commitment and community ties to Macondo, but also demonstrate that they are objective observers.
CARE's advocacy role	CARE will work with local NGOs in approaching the Minister of the Environment. Partnership with the coalition led by GREEN and SVD will help connect CARE to the cause.	CARE can be an expert informant that brings a problem to business leaders' attention, without "waving a banner" for the environmental cause.
Key messages	Enacting an environmental policy will save the lives of many children and increase your political support.	Environmentally friendly practices will increase your profit and save the lives of many children.
Message formats	CARE will write a letter about the health consequences of pollution to children in the region. Later, CARE will join GREEN and SVD in meeting with one of the Minister's advisors.	CARE staff will propose a dinner meeting to discuss development in the Macondo region at a restaurant where business leaders like to go.
Protocol	In its letter, CARE should address the Minister as "The Honorable Minister of the Environment." In person, he should be referred to as "Minister," not "Mister."	Bring business cards to exchange with the leaders. CARE should send no more than two people to the dinner.
Timing factors	The letter will be sent right away. The meeting will be proposed when the national legislature is out of session, when most officials are not as busy.	There is a business convention in a month. Schedule the dinner soon – ask leaders if an environmental technology expert can address the group.
Messengers	Project managers will draft the letter to the Minister, which will be signed by the country director , as the highest ranking CARE staff member in country.	Project managers from the Macondo region should go, so that they can share first-hand knowledge. Someone with a background in business would be best.
Follow-up activities	SVD and GREEN will send a letter to the Minister reinforcing CARE's main points. CARE staff will call to thank the Minister's advisor after the meeting and ask if she needs more information.	A personal, hand-written, letter of thanks should go to both people. If the meeting is successful, CARE will arrange for an expert or environmentally friendly technologies to speak at their convention.

CHAPTER 8 WORKSHEET GETTING YOUR MESSAGE ACROSS				
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes		
Pick the best format.	 What format is most likely to reach your target audience? What format will best enable you to tell your story? 			
Craft a message that tells your story.	 Have you addressed the what, why, and impact of your policy proposal? Have you thought about how your audience is likely to receive your message? How can you simplify your message? 			
Know your target audience.	 Have you considered the following about your target audience? Their political interests What they already know Whether they already have an opinion What objections they might have Their personal interests Any bias suggested by their background 			
Network for information.	 Have you asked people within CARE for information, contacts, and ideas? Have you asked your external contacts for information, contacts, and ideas? 			
Check your message for clarity.	 Will your target audience know exactly what to do next if they agree with you? Have you used accessible language free of jargon? Are the benefits of your proposal clear? 			
Establish or reaffirm your credibility.	 Have you developed some expertise in the issue? Do you have documentation? Have you picked the best messenger? 			
Reinforce messages.	 Have you tried to respond to any concerns expressed by your audience? Have you delivered your message more than once? Have you adapted your message based on the latest information? Have you thanked your audience for their attention or assistance? 			

Chapter 9 WORKING WITH OTHERS



Sometimes, CARE can promote policy change directly, but usually it is better to build the capacity of local groups to conduct advocacy on their own behalf. CARE can also join a coalition of organizations as a partner without necessarily taking the lead. This chapter discusses building local advocacy capacity, organizing constituencies, and working through coalitions.



In most cases, advocacy is a group enterprise. If you are planning an advocacy initiative, it is likely you will work with others, both within CARE and without, to develop support for your idea and to mobilize people who are willing to devote time and resources to achieving change. If you are in

luck, you will find other organizations to work with. In some cases, however, you may need to organize an advocacy group yourself. Various approaches you can consider as you are preparing to work with others are:

- ♦ building local capacity for advocacy
- organizing constituencies
- ♦ working through coalitions



9.1 Build local capacity for advocacy

In recent years, CARE has renewed its commitment to strengthening local capacity. The focus of our work has evolved from providing direct services to working more through partners. We are emphasizing partnerships with local organizations and deemphasizing direct delivery of goods and services. Strengthening civil society, or strengthening the capacity of local organizations to influence development processes, is one of CARE's most important priorities.

Influencing the decision making process

Capacity building is just as important for advocacy as for other types of programming. In order for people to participate in the political process and represent their own interests, they must be able to form interest groups and select representatives who can help them communicate with policy makers. In some countries, this is an accepted part of the political culture. But in others, it can be a tremendous challenge for people merely to communicate with those who make important decisions, much less to influence their priorities. In many places, people feel that their opinion doesn't matter and so they are not motivated to participate in advocacy at all.

A potential benefit of advocacy is that it can address not only specific policy changes, but also changes in *who* makes policy decisions or *how* decisions are made. For example, advocacy initiatives can be designed to expand people's participation in decision making processes, make government decision making more transparent, and hold policy makers accountable for their decisions.

Capacity building activities

Advocacy capacity building can target NGOs and other organizations as well as community groups and even government officials. Capacity building can help community members become better at analyzing their own political interests and generating their own proposals for policy change. Policy makers can operate with better information and better reflect community concerns as a result of institutional strengthening.

Several ways to build the capacity of others to engage in advocacy are highlighted below:

- ♦ Direct advocacy training (media skills, analytic skills, policy research).
- ♦ Planning an advocacy initiative together.
- ♦ Funding public events sponsored by local groups.
- ♦ Sponsoring activities that help other groups agree on a policy position or policy goal.
- ◆ Providing education and training about human rights.
- ♦ Strengthening institutions and providing training to policy makers regarding specific policy issues.
- ♦ Secondment of staff and mentoring (local NGO staff to CARE or vice versa).

Capacity building is a two way street

When CARE engages in advocacy capacity building, the learning will almost always be a mutual process. While CARE may have more resources than local groups, it often has much to learn from its local partners about the political context and norms – and who the key policy makers are. Local organizations typically have a great deal to offer CARE in the advocacy arena.

Whether or not CARE takes the lead in an advocacy initiative is a complex decision that deserves careful consideration at the outset. Each country has different conventions about advocacy, and CARE's level of influence in policy matters varies widely throughout the world. Some international NGOs never engage directly in advocacy in the countries they work, but always support local initiatives for which they provide funds and training. In CARE we have not limited ourselves to one particular role, but it is important that you discuss in your country office how CARE should approach advocacy before you begin.

In many cases, it is appropriate for local groups to take the lead on an advocacy initiative while CARE plays a less visible, supporting role. An advantage of this approach is that it strengthens local advocacy capacity. Indeed, long-term policy reform can be difficult to sustain if citizens themselves are not central players in the advocacy process.

In other cases, though, CARE may be better positioned to deliver messages to national governments, donors, or international policy makers. Also, especially where advocacy for policy change involves risks for local NGOs and communities, it may be preferable for CARE to play a more visible role in advocacy than its partners.

CARE and advocacy partners both stand to gain when advocacy can be jointly implemented. This helps to ensure that CARE's advocacy is grounded and well informed, and allows CARE to support local advocacy capacity building – the most sustainable approach in the long run. It also enables CARE and its staff to learn from other organizations and, ultimately, to become more effective in using advocacy.

9.2 Organize constituencies

In advocacy, it is often hard to achieve results when working alone. Although a small number of committed people can sometimes make a real difference, policy makers are usually more interested in what you have to say if your cause affects a large number of people. The more people and organizations that support your advocacy initiative, the more likely your voice will be heard. The people who support your policy positions are your *constituents*.

Constituency is an important concept in advocacy, although constituency relationships are certainly not limited to advocacy. In advocacy, a **constituency** is a group of people whom you represent and from whom you draw your political

A CONSTITUENCY is a group of people whom you represent and from whom you draw your political support. When you have CONSTITUENTS, you are responsible and accountable for representing the interests of those people.

support. When you have constituents, you are responsible and accountable for representing the interests of those people.

When you are speaking for others, you must be sure your actions are in their best interests. While it is often impossible to talk to every person who might be affected by your policy proposal, there are many ways to ensure that your policy positions reflect the interests of those you aim to help. We have discussed many of these in this manual: for example, involving local groups in planning, doing research, and seeking partners in advocacy. In short, just follow the same participatory programming principles you would for other projects.

As you are looking to build up a constituency, a few places to seek input and find potential supporters are:

- People who would stand to benefit substantially from your proposal
- ♦ Groups already involved in policy debates on your issue
- ♦ Human rights organizations
- ♦ Community based organizations
- ♦ Public interest organizations
- ♦ Unions or other membership organizations
- ♦ Policy makers themselves who support your cause
- Organizations who have supported CARE on other matters
- ♦ Public figures or famous people who are on your side
- ♦ Donors

You may need to develop a campaign to attract constituents or supporters to your advocacy initiative. An advocacy campaign is designed to convince people to support a particular policy. Campaigns involve organizing people and publicizing information to reach constituents through a wide range of media such as the press, formal and informal networks, or print media, such as posters.

A campaign can be directed at policy makers, or it can be directed at the public. A campaign directed at the public might urge people to vote in favor of a certain law, or to demonstrate their support for a cause in other ways. On a smaller scale, you could have a campaign to recruit local NGOs to join a coalition.

There is extensive literature available on how to organize a campaign. Local and regional advocacy training organizations also can offer extensive expertise on how to organize campaigns.

9.3 Work through coalitions

Groups that share policy concerns often agree to cooperate by forming a coalition. A coalition is a group of individuals or organizations that work toward a common purpose. In advocacy, coalition members are dedicated to shared policy goals.

Coalitions can vary by size, structure, goals, and in many other ways. They can be big or small, formal or informal, moderate or radical, homogeneous or heterogeneous, and focused on media, mobilizing constituencies, or influencing policy makers directly. In some cases, a coalition will form an independent organization with its own staff and resources, other times, members will all work together on a completely informal basis.

Is a coalition right for you?

What are the benefits? Working in a coalition can be critically important when one of your key goals is to achieve and demonstrate broad support for your position, and when your advocacy strategy has room to develop over time. Coalitions are particularly useful when they bring various groups and constituencies together for the first time, or in new ways. If the members of a coalition can agree on a coordinated policy message, they will usually have far more impact than if each delivered similar, but uncoordinated, messages on their own.

In some cases, when advocating on behalf of human rights or politically controversial issues, a coalition structure can also provide protection to some members. For example, one member can take the lead while others who perceive risks from advocacy can keep a lower profile.

Coalitions often serve another important function, which is helping different groups agree on their positions before approaching their target audiences. When policy makers hear too many competing messages about a particular issue, they may decide a) that there is no community consensus, and therefore b) taking action is premature. Thus, coalitions can become an important forum for settling difficult issues in private, enabling groups to present a united position to policy makers.

What are the drawbacks? Coalitions are not always the best strategy for advocacy. Sometimes, advocacy is more effective when done privately, without a large group in attendance. Other times, you may not be in a position to make the compromises that are required to advocate as part of a group. Coalitions are only effective when their members can truly agree on their goals. Some coalitions will fail because there is a lack of consensus on strategy, purpose, or how to share credit (and blame) for the coalition's actions. Sometimes when coalition members cannot reach agreement on key issues, they end up having a bitter disagreement in front of their target audience. This outcome is worse than never showing up at all.

Because coalitions have a consensus building function, they also take time. If you are advocating for an issue that requires immediate action, you may not have the time to join, build, or agree on a common agenda within a coalition. In this event, you must find other ways of ensuring your actions are in accordance with community interests and concerns. Reaching agreement on an overall strategy, as well as specific decisions (such as who will sign a letter, who will speak on behalf of the coalition, or who will get the credit) can be time-consuming and sometimes frustrating. These issues are best handled early on, in open discussions among all members.

Finally, coalitions generally require solid leadership. An extra benefit of coalitions is that they can provide an "incubator" for its members to develop and test their leadership skills. But, without leadership, coalitions can fall apart, since coalition members often have other professional commitments that take priority over their coalition responsibilities.

A COALITION OF STREET TRADERS: AN EXAMPLE FROM THE PHILIPPINES

In the Phillipines, CARE stepped into a new advocacy role. In this innovative project, CARE worked with Filipino NGOs to help advocate for the rights of street vendors through the Coalition for Recognition and Empowerment of Street Traders (CREST). This coalition was designed to 1) organize, strengthen, and help build partnerships among street vendor associations; 2) facilitate access to social security and credit services; and 3) develop support systems for children vendors.

The project has sponsored events that build trust through dialogue; organized demographic research to build strong arguments; advised vendor associations on how to work with the media and negotiating techniques; and strengthened advocacy collaboration among people's organizations and NGOs.

The project began by promoting street vendor representation on a national commission, the Interagency Council. As discussed in Chapter 4, the coalition ran into difficulties when the newly elected President of the Philippines turned out not to be a supporter of informal sector organizations. More recently, CREST has refocused its efforts on strategies to achieve legislative change at the local level, for example by influencing city elections and strengthening the capacity of street vendor representatives to make policy proposals.

While USAID funding for CARE's involvement in the coalition ended in 2000, the coalition is continuing its activities and apparently gathering steam. Recently, the coalition introduced a "Magna Carta for Street Traders" to the 11th Congress of the Philippines and a draft city ordinance for the city of Cebu authorizing the use of city streets for street vending.

coalitions typically form in pursuit of a single goal. Some disband once the goal is reached. Others find common interests and stay together to tackle new challenges

as a team.

Joining or building a coalition

There are two principal ways to get involved in a coalition: join one, or help build one yourself.

Joining a coalition. Before devising an advocacy strategy, it is always advisable to see what others are already doing. First, check to see if there is already an organization or coalition promoting your policy proposal. You can explore this possibility as part of the networking process described in **CHAPTER 8.** If you identify a coalition you might want to join, there are several things you need to determine before making your decision:

- Do the other member organizations have a good reputation? Will an association with any of them hurt you in the eyes of your target audience?
- ♦ Who is in charge of the coalition? Is this a person (or group) you can easily work with? Do they have good leadership skills?
- ♦ What is the purpose, advocacy strategy, and approach of the coalition? Is there strong consensus on these matters among members?
- ♦ Do the members of the coalition have good relationships?
- ♦ Does the coalition have the resources it needs to carry out its agenda? What kind of resource commitment is required of you?
- ♦ What role is being offered to you as a coalition member? Who in your organization will attend the coalition meetings?

Building a coalition. Building a coalition is a considerable task. You should first determine if you and your colleagues have the time, energy, and commitment required to undertake this kind of project. Also, it is important that you and all potential members agree on the purpose of having the coalition in the first place. Another critical factor is that each of the groups involved is willing to sacrifice its own interests, at least to some extent, for the interests of the group at large. Without these last two elements, a coalition is unlikely to last long.

Before trying to start a coalition, it is important to determine if CARE is the right organization to lead such a group. As discussed earlier, in some cases it would be improper for CARE to play such a role. If a leadership role is inappropriate, consider providing support to a small group of local organizations who might be interested in starting a coalition.

There are several ways to get a coalition started. You can begin with a small, core group of organizations, or cast your net wider. Existing NGO coordination groups or forums can be excellent places to explore this question, especially in humanitarian response situations.

As the organizer, you can propose the coalition's advocacy objectives at the start, or try to develop them as a group. The strategy you pick will depend on factors such as how many potential members you can identify, how controversial an issue you are choosing, how focused you need to be, and the level of interest, energy and expertise of other coalition members. Keep in mind, building up a group that works well and agrees on a basic agenda can take some time. Regardless of how you begin, the chances are that some people will leave and others will join along the way before your group takes shape.

When forming a coalition, make sure to give careful thought not only to who is invited to join, but also to who might be left out. Be sure that you don't accidentally make an enemy by excluding someone from your group.

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MACONDO EXAMPLE ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: TO JOIN OR NOT TO JOIN?

CARE has been invited by SVD and GREEN, two local environmental groups, to attend a meeting of the coalition they lead, ECO-ACTION. Informally, leaders of both groups have indicated that they might like CARE to formally join their group. CARE staff are interested in getting more involved in advocating against water pollution. The meeting is an opportunity to learn more about the coalition and how they work.

The CARE assistant country director and a project manager from Macondo attend the ECO-ACTION meeting. They come back from the meeting with the following report.

■ The coalition has 8 members, including GREEN and SVD. Most of the organizations are involved with sustainable forestry. Half of them are funded mainly from abroad. One group, Envirosolutions, focuses on water pollution problems and environmentally related health issues. Another group, Mother Earth, is a community based group with local membership (mainly made up of mothers).

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- The meeting is extremely well attended. In fact, each group usually sends 4-5 representatives each. Since everyone is given a turn to talk, the meetings tend to last a long time. The meetings are very social occasions. There is usually no formal agenda or written record of meetings.
- ECO-ACTION meets informally once a month and convenes at the Macondo community center. The coalition has no paid staff. They have no formal charter or by-laws, or written advocacy strategies, but its members seem to get along well and trust each other. There is great enthusiasm among members for the coalition.
- When CARE staff talked informally to several members about the purpose of the coalition, they received conflicting answers. Some think it is designed to create change in national policy, others see it as a means of raising funds for environmental projects in the community. One person said he thinks the coalition eventually can help create new jobs in the region.
- The coalition has been in existence for 18 months. The first 6 months were mainly getting organized so they have only been working actively for a year. Their two big successes so far have been 1) convincing their elected official in the national legislature to introduce a proposal to limit how much timber could be cut from the region annually and 2) a local effort, led by Mother Earth, to raise money for a new village well (although the well has not yet been installed).
- The director of SVD has a brother who is an elected official to the national legislature. He has helped the coalition write several letters to the Ministry of Agriculture about some pesticide poisonings that have occurred near Macondo. So far, they have received no reply.
- The coalition would like to hire a staff person so that it can better organize its work. The members would like CARE to join, to give them better advice about the pollution-related health problems in the region, and possibly to help them find funding for an Executive Director of ECO-ACTION.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Should CARE join ECO-ACTION? Why, or why not?
- Should CARE offer to help the coalition raise funds for its work? Why, or why not?
- How do you think the coalition could best spend new funds?

CHAPTER 9

WORKING IN COALITIONS: MAJOR TASKS

When working with a coalition, there are a number of actions that can help you maintain coherence and succeed over the long run. These tasks imply that certain staff skills are important for representing CARE in a coalition. There is no formula for success, but here are a few ideas that can help you effectively lay the groundwork you will need to function effectively in a coalition.

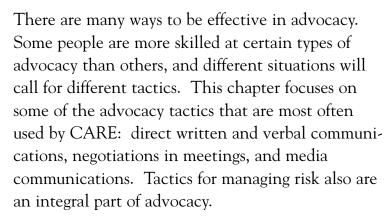
- Begin by building trust. Before groups will curb their own interests in favor of those of the coalition, they must have confidence in the other members. Just like in any organization, strong relationships are needed to sustain complex discussions and sometimes difficult group decisions.
- ♦ Decide how to share credit. A coalition can be slowed down when its members become too focused on who will receive publicity, credit, or blame for its work. Early on, agree on procedures that will allow all members to participate and share in any public benefits that result from the coalition's activities.
- Agree on goals immediately. Sometimes the most challenging part of a coalition is agreeing on the goals. Don't be surprised if this takes some time early on. But, the more consensus that can be achieved, the more effective a coalition's advocacy will be.
- Stay focused. With multiple organizations involved, it can become tempting to move in many different directions. Coalition members should constantly remind themselves why they are together and what forms their common advocacy agenda.
- Establish structure. Some coalitions can run completely democratically, but usually some structure is needed. Create roles and leadership responsibilities. Provide opportunities for members to change roles over time.
- Be consistent. Since coalitions run on relationships, try to ensure the same person, or people, participate on behalf of CARE every time. Make sure those people are authorized to speak for CARE.

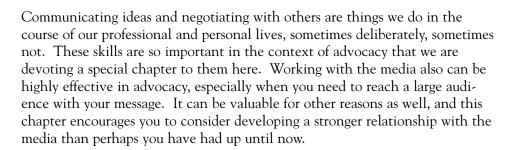
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Chapter 10

EMPLOYING ADVOCACY TACTICS







Finally, as this manual has emphasized, there are many things you can do to limit your exposure to risk when advocating. Most important is to be as informed as possible about your target audience, your opponents, and other actors in the political process. You should also have a back-up plan to protect yourself and others if something goes wrong.

10.1 Communicate effectively

Successful advocacy often rests on the ability to communicate effectively, either verbally or in writing. This section provides some general tips about how to use two common advocacy formats: letters and group presentations.

Writing a letter

A letter is a good way to deliver your message, especially if you do not have a personal relationship with your target audience. An advantage of a letter is that it creates a record of your position. But, keep in mind, it is quite possible that others will see what you have written, such as your opponents, members of the public, or the media. These are factors you need to balance.

When sending a letter, try to find out how to ensure your audience is most likely to read it (i.e., should you use mail, fax, or e-mail)? If others support your position, consider asking them to sign the letter along with you. Before writing a letter, be clear whether you are writing in order to receive a response, or mainly to register your opinion.

An advocacy letter should contain the following elements:

- 1. **Proper salutation.** Always address your audience appropriately, and according to their proper title.
- 2. **Leading paragraph.** State your purpose for writing the letter and deliver your message immediately. Don't be afraid to put your request for action up-front.
- 3. **Information about yourself.** Explain who you are and who you are representing (CARE, a member of a coalition, yourself as a private citizen, etc.). If your audience does not know you well, make it clear how you are connected to the issue you are raising.
- 4. **Supporting arguments.** Make a few supporting arguments for your request (typically no more than three). Refer to established facts and positions taken by respected groups. Use statistics strategically, but sparingly. Provide evidence that others support your views.
- 5. **Request for action.** Be very specific about what you are asking the reader to do. If requesting a meeting, offer to follow up soon to arrange a time.
- 6. **Acknowledgment of your audience.** Recognize your reader as someone whose opinion matters. Thank him or her for taking time to read your letter and show your appreciation for any past support. Offer to provide additional information or assistance in the future.
- 7. **Attachments (optional).** In some cases, if you have particularly compelling information that supports your request, you can include it as an attachment. However, try to keep attachments short, recognizing that most policy-makers are too busy to read lengthy reports.

A sample advocacy letter is provided in Appendix 1.

After you've sent it, you may want to send a copy of your letter to other people, such as your advocacy partners, or other audiences whose opinions you hope to influence.

Presenting to a group

When making a presentation to a group, your challenge is to win the approval of your audience. Therefore, you must not only be clear in your presentation of your message, but also hold the interest and attention of a group. Here are some steps you can follow to deliver an effective advocacy presentation:

(1) Introduce yourself to the audience (or, better yet, have someone else introduce you). If your audience does not know you or your work, be sure to make the connection between yourself and the topic clear.



- (2) **Tell the audience what you plan to present.** Identify your key points right at the beginning. If you have access to visual equipment, show the audience a short outline of your talk before your begin.
- (3) **Tell your audience how long you plan to speak.** Then keep your promise.
- (4) *Deliver your advocacy message right away.* Don't wait until the end to make your main point. Use your best supporting arguments try to limit them to three.
- (5) *Tell your audience what they can do to help.* Then give them the tools to act. (For example, if you want them to write letters to a public official, provide an address, title, and a sample letter to work from.)
- (5) **Summarize your main points.** Tell your audience the most important piece of information you would like them to remember.
- (6) **Thank your audience for attending.** If the format allows, offer to answer questions or lead a group discussion afterward.

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OTHER WAYS TO IMPROVE YOUR PRESENTATION.

- Use images to tell the story. The more visual your presentation, the more interesting it will be to your audience.
- Don't read from a script, if you can avoid it. Working from an outline is usually more interesting for the audience.
- Use humor. Tell a joke that relates to yourself or your topic.
- Interact with the audience. If the format allows, ask your audience questions, or invite them to make comments during transition points in your talk. After presenting a lengthy topic, ask if people have questions before you move ahead.

10.2 Negotiate

Negotiation is a communication process between two or more parties to reach an agreement or to resolve a conflict. In advocacy, negotiation skills are important because you want to persuade target audiences to accept your message and take action to change policy. Usually, negotiation produces some compromises, so it is best to begin negotiating once you have identified a range of acceptable results (not just one desired outcome). Often, we overlook how many things can be negotiated. Just as you might bargain daily in the market-place, negotiations often occur over and over again.

Setting your agenda

Effective negotiators always plan ahead. It is usually helpful to prepare an *agenda*. An agenda lists the main things you need to discuss during the meeting. In a formal meeting, an agenda is circulated to all participants. In a personal or informal meeting, no formal agenda is generally needed. However, be flexible and remember that your audience may have goals for the meeting too.

You may wish to prepare a *meeting strategy*. This is a plan for how you will accomplish your agenda. For example: What are the main messages that need to be delivered, and which topics need to be avoided? What will you do if your audience disagrees with you? It is always good to have a back-up plan.

Knowing where you stand

Three questions are particularly important to consider when preparing to negotiate:

- ♦ What do you want? Agree with your partners on your goals. Are some more important than others? It is often helpful to write these down and then rank them. This is especially important if you are working as a team.
- Why has the other side agreed to negotiate with you? Think about the negotiation from the other side. How motivated is the other side to reach agreement? Do you have an important or long-term relationship with the other party?
- ♦ What will you do if the other side says no? Be prepared to not get what you want. If the other side will not agree to your position, do you have a back-up plan or other option to discuss instead?

See Appendix 2 for some of the most effective strategies you can use when planning ahead, negotiating, and "closing the deal."

Mediating

There are different roles you can play in a negotiation. First, you may be negotiating directly on behalf of yourself, or other individuals, families, and communities seeking a resolution to a problem. Second, you may be mediating a discussion between two parties that start from different positions or have a disagreement. The goal of a mediator is often to help others reach an outcome that's better than what they could achieve on their own. When serving as a mediator, you must remain unbiased and impartial, remembering that the ultimate goal is to define shared interests. Here are some mediation principles you can use to help others find common ground:

- Break down the issues. Work toward the most manageable components.
- ♦ Change positions into needs and interests.
- ♦ Attack the problem, not the people.
- ♦ Find new options for mutual gain.
- Use objective criteria and avoid conflict-oriented language.
- ♦ Ask each of the parties to consider the others' perspective.

Power dynamics

Before you negotiate, it is important to take a step back and consider the power relationships between all parties to the negotiations, and any others who can influence the final outcome. It is important to understand where your negotiating partner sits within his or her own organization.

A critical question to ask is: who has the final say over decisions? If you are unsure whether the other side has the ability to reach an agreement, try to find that out at the beginning of your discussions. Also, what is the power relationship between you and the other party involved? Are you taking a risk by negotiating? How will you present your position, as a request or a demand?

Also, be careful not to put yourself at a disadvantage. Revealing too much information about your own position, agreeing to delay decisions, or coming to the meeting without authority to reach an agreement yourself can give the other side the upper hand.

When to wait

There are some times when it is wiser NOT to negotiate. Watch out for situations where:

- 1. You stand to lose much more than you might gain. Expect to make some concessions, but don't take unnecessary risks. Always keep yourself and your negotiating team out of harm.
- 2. There are others who can negotiate the issue more effectively than you can. Ask yourself, are you the best representative of the cause? Might someone else be more persuasive to the other party?
- 3. Your negotiating partner lacks the authority to reach agreement. It can be a real waste of time to negotiate with someone who cannot provide what you want. Be sure your counterpart has the authority to reach and implement an agreement.
- 4. **The other party is negotiating in bad faith.** Often it is best to end a negotiation if you believe the other side is not interested in actually reaching an agreement. **Appendix 3** provides additional options for countering unfair negotiation tactics.

Special tips for teams

If you are part of a coalition group that is negotiating with another party, it is absolutely vital to discuss your plan in private beforehand. This will help ensure that your group delivers a coordinated message and appears unified in purpose. When you are part of a group, try also to agree on these things in advance:

♦ Main messages. Sometimes coalition members will want to emphasize different aspects of an issue, based on their own interests. Reach consensus on the critical points before you walk in the door.

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- Who will speak. For each agenda item, identify the speaker, or leader of the discussion. Also, if necessary, identify who should respond to questions on subjects that are likely to come up.
- Who participates. Often, coalitions seek to allow broad participation and bring a large number of people to a meeting.
 But, in general, it's best to designate a few trusted members to speak for the group.
- ♦ Who follows up. Especially when you are part of a group, it is easy to forget to follow up. Before the meeting even starts, agree on who will send a thank-you letter and respond to questions or information requests.

A NEGOTIATION CHECKLIST

- Define your negotiation objectives. Identify your highest priority issues and alternatives if negotiations are unsuccessful.
- ✓ Follow protocol. When setting up a negotiation, or any
 policy meeting, it is important to follow the accepted
 protocol. Work with the appropriate person and follow proper
 channels to arrange the meeting.
- Learn about your audience. This will help you present your case based on their interests and positions.
- ✓ Decide who should be on your team. Assess the number of people that will most help your negotiation strategy, how many people the other party is likely to bring, and the level of privacy needed.
- Rehearse negotiation options and presentations in advance. Recognize that negotiations seldom follow a script, but practicing ahead of time can help.
- Bring documentation to support your negotiation position. Also, evaluate any written proposals or materials you have received from the other party ahead of time.
- ✓ Think about the location. Negotiating at your location enables you to decide logistical arrangements. The other party's location is better for helping them feel at ease. A neutral site can sometimes be more favorable to reaching agreement.

PROTOCOL is a code, system, or tradition – written or understood – that prescribes correct etiquette. In advocacy, it refers to the proper way to approach policy makers.

10.3 Use the media

If influencing public opinion is your advocacy strategy, it becomes important to use the media to deliver your message. Policy makers and groups involved in political processes also pay close attention to the press, so using the media sometimes can help you to reach multiple audiences. The principal benefits of using the media are:

- ♦ The ability to deliver your message to a large number of people, potentially attracting public interest and supporters to your cause.
- ♦ It may increase your profile and credibility with policymakers, and therefore improve your access to them.

Like any approach, use of the media also carries certain risks. For example:

- ♦ The possibility that the coverage of your organization or cause will be unfavorable or inaccurate.
- ♦ The possibility that media coverage will motivate any opponents to your cause.

The best way to help ensure that media coverage will advance your advocacy goals is to plan ahead. Once you decide to use the media, there is a wide range of techniques to choose from. Which method you choose depends on the nature of your message, the audience you hope to reach, media that are accessible to you, and your own level of skill and experience in dealing with the media.

Planning your approach

In every country, the media is different. Some media are controlled by government, some outlets have wide distribution, others very minimal. In some countries, it is appropriate to work with newspapers, in others, you may want to work with TV or radio stations. Before deciding to use the media, it is important to consider how important the media is, and which media outlets are influential with policy makers.

Once you have decided to use the media, you should first ask: what is the main message and who needs to receive it? Next, you should ask: why should the media be interested in what you have to say? For example, are you using the media to publicize a position or opinion, or is there also an aspect of your story that is news? Do you have dramatic new information that would be of substantial public interest? Or, are you making a principled argument in order to contribute to public debate? The answers to these questions will help determine which types of media you should target and which news organizations to contact.

Once you know what kind of media you want to target, you can start to focus on strategic considerations such as how to reach your target audience, whether the timing is right to contact the media, how to find media contacts, and how to avoid bad press coverage. Key questions to help you develop your media strategy are provided in **Appendix 4.**

A CARE media relations handbook was produced by the CARE USA public relations staff in November 1996 and can be an extremely helpful resource as you go along (see references in the back of this manual).

Making media connections

Selecting a Media Organization. When choosing a media source, the first thing is to know something about the organization you are contacting: is it fair, reliable, well-known? In particular, does the news organization usually cover stories similar to yours? Another key question is whether your target audience is likely to see, read or hear the coverage provided by that news organization. Ideally, the answer should be yes. However, if your main goal is to bring legitimacy to your cause in the eyes of policy makers, you may benefit simply by having your story publicized by a reputable news organization. If your story appears in print, for example, you can always send policy makers a copy of the article.

Sometimes, no matter how careful you are, you may receive negative news coverage. See *Appendix 5* for tips on how to deal with negative press coverage.

Contacting Reporters. A common way to obtain media coverage is to interest a reporter in your story. In some cases, you may already know a reporter (i.e., someone who has covered CARE or its partners in the past). It is always best to begin with someone you know, if possible. Otherwise, if you have the time, follow the news organization's reporting over a period of time to see which journalists cover issues such as yours (and whether the news coverage is favorable). When you do make contact, let them know you appreciate their work.

Like other relationships, it can take time to get to know journalists, editors, and others in the media. Consider meeting reporters in informal settings where you have time and space for a conversation. Remember that what reporters value most is good information.

Pitching a Story. Sometimes it is necessary to "pitch" your ideas to the media. This means convincing someone, for example, a reporter, or an editor, or a TV producer, that your story is worth covering, or that your opinion is worth publishing. Be prepared to make a strong case for why your story is important – and do it quickly! Here are a few useful rules:

- Explain why your subject offers something new and timely.
- Check the organization's guidelines in advance. (If you are submitting something in writing, make sure it is within the page or word limit.)
- ♦ Keep your scope narrow (don't try to cover multiple topics).
- Present a positive perspective on your issue, rather than a negative perspective about an opponent.
- ♦ If the story is national, include a local connection (local news organizations will almost always prefer local news).
- ♦ If reporting is involved, be flexible about how and when the media coverage will occur.

Forms of communication

The following are some of the traditional forms of communication with media, but you should of course feel free to adapt them to your local environment.

News Advisories. News advisories are communications designed to alert the media to an upcoming event. Keep in mind that news events are work for journalists. Be sure that your event offers something of potential value to reporters before you invite them.

The main purpose of a news advisory is to tell the journalist: **who, what, where, when, and why.** Advisories are issued before an event, usually several days ahead of time, to accommodate reporters' schedules. Ideally, a follow up call should be made to priority outlets the day beforehand, reminding them of the event. See **Appendix 6** for a sample news advisory. A news advisory should have these elements:

- ♦ A short description of the event
- ♦ The location (and directions, if appropriate)
- ♦ A contact person (including phone number, etc.)
- The date
- ♦ If the event is visual (and it should be), describe what it will look like or include a photo.

News Releases. A news release or press release is a written statement that alerts the press to a public announcement you are making, or an event. Whereas a news advisory goes out ahead of time, a news release is usually issued at the time of an event, or immediately afterward.

A news release should contain all the information a reporter might need to write an article, as well as contact information in case he or she has follow up questions. Frequently, a press release includes quotations that could be used as part of a story. Keep in mind that the press is likely to use your release immediately upon receiving it.

The easiest way to write a news release is to work from a model. A sample news release is contained in *Appendix 7*. Usually, a press release is structured as follows:

♦ Top of the page: Contact information

• First paragraph: Most important information about the

event, or most newsworthy aspect of your

announcement.

♦ Second paragraph: Descriptive information about the event

(when and where)

• Remaining paragraphs: Background information that suggests why

the event or statement is important;

developments that have led up to it.

Some rules of thumb for press releases include:

- ♦ Stick to the facts. Avoid overstating the case. (Remember, your news release might be reprinted word for word.)
- ♦ Try to answer the basics: Who, what, when, where, why, and how?
- ♦ Make the case why that your story is newsworthy. (Remember: the first target audience for your release is the reporter, editor, or producer, not the public.)
- Keep it short (1 page is perfect, unless you offer photos or graphics).
- ♦ Use graphics or photos whenever possible.

Interviews. Once you have attracted the media's attention, be prepared to receive it. As soon as you issue a news release or contact a media organization, someone should be ready to conduct an interview. A good way to prepare is to be ready for both questions you would like to be asked, as well as those you would like *not* to be asked.

An interview is not a test. If you are contacted by the media and you are not prepared to hold an interview, simply explain that no one is available to answer questions at that time, find out what the reporter is looking for, and arrange a time to call back. Many media outlets have deadlines every day. Ask the reporter when you need to get back to them, then honor their request.

A good way to get ready for a press interview is for you and your colleagues to prepare *talking points*. These are very short statements that summarize the main points that you hope to make during the interview. These points should contain the main message you hope to get across. In many cases, it can be helpful to share these points with the reporter. If it is a controversial topic, you should consult with a press officer if at all possible.

In addition, it is common to prepare written "questions and answers" that anticipate possible questions and then map out the best responses. While the person being interviewed should not try to memorize all of this information, it can be extremely helpful to review in advance, so that he or she has given some forethought to how to respond. This method also helps the interviewee benefit from the entire team and helps to develop internal consensus on complex issues before a public statement is made.

News Conferences. News conferences are events in which many members of the media are invited to come hear an important announcement. This is an appropriate format when you want to reach a range of different media, and when you have something truly newsworthy to report. However, reporters tend to see these events as contrived or "packaged" and will often prefer formats in which they can ask more questions individually. A news conference should not be called simply for the purpose of making your organization or message "seem important." If you are in doubt, ask a reporter or two for advice before planning a news conference.



Commentary. Written commentary is a tool frequently used in advocacy. The goal of commentary is to call attention to an issue, make an argument, or to promote a cause. One type of commentary CARE sometimes uses is a **position statement** (or, in longer form, a **position paper**). Position statements are similar to news releases, but they may be focused on a specific audience, rather than the general public. They are used to take a clear stand on an issue of public importance. (The advocacy letter contained in **Appendix 1** is similar to a position statement.) Often, organizations will issue a position statement jointly, to increase its impact. When this is the strategy, it is helpful to encourage people with high status in the community to add their name to the statement. Position statements can be released through the press, or they can be communicated directly to policy makers.

Tips for writing commentary are attached in *Appendix 8.* A position statement produced by CARE about Sudan is attached in *Appendix 9.*

10.4 Manage risks

Many CARE staff work in places where the political system is relatively closed, where there is conflict or, where advocacy is discouraged. In these settings, the important thing to keep in mind is that advocacy does not need to be confrontational, and that there are many ways of influencing policy makers, whether by providing information or simply bringing people together to talk. The kind of advocacy that is culturally acceptable and effective will vary from country to country. Your own informed judgments should guide you first and foremost in deciding what kind of advocacy will work in the political context where you live.

With all of that said, there are several ways you can minimize the risks that can be associated with advocacy. Most important are:

- Making informed judgments
- ♦ Carefully planning your initiative
- ♦ Being prepared for trouble

Note that most of these are steps you should take before you begin to advocate. Also, there are several tools and reference materials, such as Mary Anderson's work on **Do No Harm** and CARE's internally developed Benefit-Harms manual that can be extremely helpful in thinking through risk management strategies.

Making informed judgments

When you are selecting an advocacy issue, you should be able to make informed judgments about what kind of advocacy risks are acceptable. Your advocacy strategy should be based on an analysis of your specific issue, but there are some considerations that you should take into account even before you select an issue or develop a strategy. For example:

- ♦ Don't choose issues that raise significant risks of political violence
- ♦ Don't take sides in high-profile domestic political debates
- ♦ Don't engage in advocacy just for the sake of supporting a particular political party (don't be "partisan")
- ♦ Don't get involved when you have no legitimate role in the debate
- ♦ Don't choose allies who are dishonest or unprincipled
- ♦ Don't use unfair tactics to undermine your opponents

Carefully planning your initiative

Good planning and analysis are the foundations of risk management in advocacy. The more you understand your issue, the political context, and your target audience, the less room you have for error.

During the *policy analysis* stage, you will be learning about the actors and policy making processes. This is also an opportunity to learn about any risks involved in advocacy. During your policy analysis, you can explore such questions as:

- ♦ Are the officials you are targeting corrupt?
- ♦ Are others involved in this policy debate dangerous or dishonest?
- ♦ Will you have any allies to help you if you run into trouble?
- ♦ Has political violence surrounded public debate on your issue?
- ♦ Have others suffered for raising similar concerns?

The more people you consult, the more likely you are to discover such information before you start. Both external and internal sources can be valuable. One important way to manage risk is to achieve internal consensus among staff before taking any advocacy action that could pose major risks. As noted throughout this manual, advocacy is rarely conducted by an individual on behalf of an entire organization. Within CARE, it must be part of a country office team effort.

Later, when you are working on your advocacy strategy, you will be choosing among different advocacy approaches. Pursuing private dialogue and engagement or an expert informant role generally will be lower risk, for example, than conducting a media campaign or trying to confront high-level officials on a controversial issue. If you are brokering competing interests, be sure you are qualified and comfortable working as a mediator. As you consider an approach and role, consider not only your chances of succeeding, but also the risks of any unintended consequences.

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You can also think about risk management when you are *seeking allies* and partners in advocacy. Choose only partners whose judgment you trust, and who are publicly respected. If you are working in a coalition, make sure that your partners will be accepted as representatives of the community. When capacity-building as an advocacy strategy, keep in mind that you are never under any obligation to support someone else's advocacy goals if they are opposed to CARE policies, core values, or violate human rights. The *Do No Harm* framework is also helpful here: advocacy should reinforce connectors and avoid reinforcing dividers in communities. You should begin by analyzing the situation before you intervene.

Just as knowing your audience is important for delivering messages effectively, it is *also* a good way to manage risk. The more you know about the background, attitudes, and interests of your target audience, the less likely you are to offend, put someone at risk, or pursue an advocacy strategy that will backfire.

"Advocacy is political. It attempts to change the status quo. However, there are different kinds of political. Taking positions for the purpose of changing the humanitarian status quo is a required and appropriate role for CARE. Taking sides in order to influence the political balance of power, per se, is not."

- SUBIR, project staff member

Finally, a good way to manage risks is to maintain *strong communication* within your own advocacy team (usually CARE staff and partners). Sometimes advocacy messages designed for one audience can be received very differently by others. Especially if you are working in a conflict environment, it is critical to closely manage your message delivery and be consistent and transparent in your dealings with everyone involved to avoid appearances of bias.

RISK MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY FROM SUDAN

Sudan has been devastated by civil war for 33 of the last 44 years. Two million people have died and four million are displaced. The existing peace forum has failed to produce a peace settlement. The conflict is complex and stale-mated. As the war drags on, people are continuously displaced from their homes, food flows are disrupted, and famines continue to occur.

CARE and other international NGOs have provided a combination of emergency relief and long-term development assistance in Sudan for years. In 1998, yet another "hunger gap" turned into a famine. CARE senior managers decided that after years of working in central and southern Sudan, they had earned the right to speak out and decided to pursue an advocacy initiative. They wanted international policy makers to understand that they were ignoring a major humanitarian crisis and that their lack of consensus on how to address the long-term political issues was exacerbating the problem.

One goal of the initiative was to raise the visibility of the humanitarian crisis among senior policy makers at the UN and within the US government as a possible means of making concrete steps toward peace. The initiative has also involved extensive advocacy with the government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

CARE staff involved with the initiative have learned a great deal about advocacy. While the war continues, a number of objectives have been met, including raising the profile of the Sudanese war within the US government. As CARE staff enter the second phase of this initiative, they now know more about the benefits and risks of policy work – including how to advocate in an armed conflict setting. Here are some lessons they have offered:

- 1. Staff security comes first. Limit the exposure of national staff. Their participation and involvement is key, but must be carefully planned.
- 2. Deliver messages in a transparent, even-handed fashion to authorities on both sides of the conflict. The dialogue should not have hidden agendas.
- 3. Give special attention and review to communications materials, e.g. posters. CARE must avoid any impression it is inciting people to violence.
- 4. Assign only one spokesperson to the mass media (in-country). That person should be the country director or assistant country director a person personally involved in advocacy and with authority in the office.
- 5. Never give the impression that you will use aid as a weapon.
- 6. Use neutral language and avoid words that are perceived to be allied with only one side.
- 7. Focus less on actions of parties and more on the consequences of what is happening as a result.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- How could you build some of these considerations into an advocacy strategy?
- Which ones seem most important?
- Which ones might be important in non-conflict situations as well?

HAPTER 1

Being prepared for trouble

Even well-planned advocacy rarely goes as intended, since it depends on so many factors beyond your control. There are several strategies you can use to be prepared for any problems you may encounter.

- ♦ Stay in touch with political trends. Often, things will change after you conduct your policy analysis. New developments can change the level of risk associated with advocacy. Use up-to-date information as much as possible.
- Anticipate things that can go wrong. Identify any groups that might be exposed to unusually high risks as a result of your advocacy. Devise methods to mitigate those risks and include them in your strategy.
- ♦ Be prepared for press (even if you aren't using the media as an advocacy strategy). If your advocacy has a public dimension, and might attract press attention, be prepared for any coverage you might receive. Ensure one member of the team is prepared to talk to journalists and answer questions.
- ♦ Treat your opponents with respect. If you are advocating on behalf of a controversial issue, study or anticipate the arguments of your opponents and be prepared to respond to them. Even if you strongly disagree, always engage in principled debate, never name-calling.
- ♦ Decide in advance what risks are unacceptable. Advocacy is rarely risk-free. It is easier to handle a crisis if you decide beforehand what type of problems you can handle, versus those that you can't. This is especially important when working with partners, so that you can make quick decisions if needed.
- ♦ Always be prepared to stop. If your advocacy leads to consequences that are dangerous or pose unacceptable risks to CARE (its staff, reputation, or program participants), your advocacy partners, or others, stop. Reconsider your strategy and decide whether to choose a different approach or to put your work on hold.

	EMPLOYING ADVOCACY TACTICS	
iteps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes
	COMMUNICATING EFFECTIVELY	
Vrite a letter.	Have you been clear about your purpose in writing and what you would like the reader to do next?	
Make a presentation to group.	 Have you tailored your remarks to the audience? Have you given your audience the tools to act on your ideas? Have you planned ways to interact with your audience? 	
	NEGOTIATING	
repare thoroughly.	Have you set an agenda and a meeting strategy? Have you thought through where you stand with respect to the other side? Have you analyzed the power dynamics involved?	
Nake back up plans.	 Have you identified something you would agree to, short of your goal? Have you thought about the potential benefits of delaying the negotiation? 	
applicable, prepare a eam strategy.	 ◆ Have you and your partners agreed in advance on: ◆ Your message? ◆ Who will speak? ◆ Who will follow up? 	
	USING THE MEDIA	
Pecide if a media pproach is best.	What are the main advantages (reaching many people, gaining credibility) versus the disadvantages (bad publicity, motivating opponents)? Is the timing right? Do you have the right mix of staff skills?	
lan an approach.	 Who is your target audience? What media do they pay attention to? Have you consulted the CARE media handbook? 	
Make media onnections.	 Do you have good relations with any media organization? Which ones? Which media outlets are fair and reliable? Do you know any reporters? 	
repare for media nteractions.	 Are you prepared to make a strong case for why your story is important and new? Have you prepared talking points if you are planning an interview? Have you gathered good photos that will make your news release or advisory more interesting? If you are working with others, have you considered writing piece of commentary? 	

	CHAPTER 10 WORKSHEET EMPLOYING ADVOCACY TACTICS	
Steps you can take	Questions to explore	Your notes
	MANAGING RISK	
Learn about <i>Do No</i> <i>Harm</i> Approaches.	Have you read Do No Harm, or other literature by Mary Anderson? Have you read the CARE Benefit-Harms Handbook?	
Make informed judge- ments.	 Have you avoided risks of political violence? Will you appear partisan or biased? Have you chosen tactics that are respectful of your opponents? 	
Carefully plan your initiative.	During the <i>policy analysis</i> stage, have you consulted many people and considered: • Whether others involved are dangerous? • Whether there has been retaliation against others raising your concerns? • Whether you have allies who can help manage risks? During the <i>strategy development</i> stage, did you think about: • Public versus private approaches? • Low versus high risk advocacy roles? • Choosing allies you trust? When planning your advocacy communications did you: • Learn as much as possible about your target audience? • Tailor your message for different audiences? • Ensure that you are consistent and transparent, especially when dealing with parties in conflict?	
Be prepared for trouble.	 Are you in touch with relevant political events? Have you anticipated things that can go wrong? Have you decided in advance on unacceptable risks? Do you have a backup plan? Are you prepared to stop if unacceptable dangers arise? 	
Pay attention to lessons learned within CARE.	Have you Considered special risks to national staff? Been as even-handed as possible? Avoided the impression of inciting violence? Designated a media spokesperson? Avoided any impression that aid will be used as a tactic to manipulate conflict? Used neutral language? Focused on the consequences of problems when negotiating, rather than blame?	

Afterward

TAKING ADVOCACY INTO YOUR OWN HANDS

Now that you have finished reading this manual, how will you use this information in your work? Of course, that depends entirely on you!

If you are a project manager concerned about the dangers of pesticides...

Perhaps you will start to document some of the health problems you encounter in your work. You might then prepare this information in a format that will be useful to policy-makers. Using your advocacy skills, you could present your report to a ministry official who would then raise concerns about pesticide poisoning at high levels of government. Someday, the government might ban the importation of dangerous pesticides. And farmers will no longer suffer from pesticide poisoning.

Or, if you are a project manager for a reproductive health project...

You might work with a village women's group to help them discuss what services they would like to have in their region. You could help arrange for members of the group to participate in a national conference on rural health care, where they can personally express their interest in receiving better reproductive health services. In addition, you could help the village women's group find allies to help them lobby the Ministry of Health to expand the role of nurses in delivering reproductive health care services.

Or, if you are an assistant country director in an emergency operation facing a cut-off of aid...

You might visit the regions where the famine is continuing. Working with credible partner groups, you might produce a report that documents the continuing needs for assistance in those regions, and demonstrates the threats to human life and health of ending emergency food relief, citing SPHERE minimum standards for food aid. You and your partners might send this report to the national government, with an invitation to government officials to tour the famine-struck areas before making a final decision.

Your next step may be to plan an advocacy initiative, as part of a new or ongoing project, or you may decide that advocacy does not fit into your plans just yet. However, either way, we hope you will find some of these tools useful for doing your job. Skills such as negotiating, managing the press, developing a strategy, and analyzing the policy environment can help make you more effective in your work, whether you are delivering services directly, or managing an advocacy coalition.

Keep in mind that *the best way to learn advocacy is by doing!* Whatever you learn in one initiative will likely be helpful in planning the next, even if the issues are different. We hope you will discover that advocacy can help improve your programming and be professionally rewarding, all at the same time.

Glossary

DEFINITIONS AND ACRONYMS

Advocacy The deliberate process of influencing

those who make policy decisions.

Agenda An outline listing the main topics

> to discuss during a meeting with policy makers, a planning team, or

coalition.

Ally A partner working in helpful asso-

ciation with you to achieve a policy

goal.

Audience A person or people to whom infor-

mation is conveyed or messages are

directed.

Capacity Builder

An advocacy role in which you support third parties participating in a policy process to influence

policy makers.

Civil Society

The range of institutions and organizations that connect people to gov-

ernment and the private sector. For CARE a strong civil society means ensuring a dynamic and beneficial relationship between government, business and the non-profit sectors

that can contribute to the well-

being of individual citizens.

Coalition A group of organizations working

together in a coordinated fashion toward a common goal. In advocacy,

a coalition's goal is policy-related.

Constituency/Constituencies

A group of people and organizations who support a particular policy viewpoint. Constituents are people whom you represent, to whom you are accountable, and from whom

you draw your support.

Credibility Having the trust of others so that

they will believe and value what

you have to say.

Criteria Questions or standards used to

measure progress toward a goal or

compare different objectives.

Expert Informant

An advocacy role in which you provide technical advice and infor-

mation to policy makers.

External Networking

The process of asking people you know outside your organization for

information about your target

audience.

Gender Equity

Freedom from bias or favoritism based on the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits associated with one sex. Advocacy is a

strategy that can be used to pro-

mote gender equity.

Honest Broker

An advocacy role in which you participate in a policy making process as an objective expert and

mediator of competing interests.

HLS Household livelihood security

Human Rights

The basic freedoms that are regarded as belonging fundamentally to all humans. Advocacy is a strategy that can be used to promote human

rights.

Internal Networking

The process of using resources in your own organization (including people) to gain information you need.

Lobbyist An advocacy role in which you

enter the policy process as a full participant to directly influence

policy.

Logframe A summary plan that details goals,

outputs, activities, and inputs in a

logical table.

LRSP Long-Range Strategic Plan

Media Organized systems to deliver infor-

mation to people such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, or newsletters. (Sometimes also called

"press.")

Message A statement that is designed to

persuade others of a position or point of view. A message explains what you are proposing, why it is worth doing, and the positive

impacts of your proposal.

Negotiation

A communication process between two or more parties to reach an agreement or to resolve a conflict.

Network Individuals or organizations willing

to assist one another or collaborate

on a common policy goal.

News Advisory

A communications statement designed to alert the media to an

upcoming event.

News Conference

An event or meeting with the media to make an announcement or discuss a position, decision, or action.

News Release

Also called a Press Release. A written statement that alerts the media of an accomplished event, project, or other information that you would like to share with the public.

NGO Nongovernmental organization

Opponent An individual or group that is

against the policy change that you

and your allies advocate.

Outputs In advocacy, changes in knowl-

edge, awareness, or opinions of target audiences that you monitor during an advocacy initiative.

Policy A plan, course of action, or set of

regulations adopted by government, businesses, or other institutions designed to influence and determine decisions or procedures.

Policy Analysis

Usually the first step in planning an advocacy initiative. Policy analysis examines plans and regulations set by governments, business or other institutions, and how policies (or lack of policies or implementation) affect specific groups of the population.

Policy Goal

The purpose of your advocacy effort and the specification of what an advocacy initiative should accomplish.

Policy Issue

A specific policy cause of a problem and subject of interest for advocates and policy makers.

Policy Maker

A person who has the authority and ability to create or change community, organizational, or governmental policies, programs, or laws above the household level.

Policy Map

A tool that can be used to identify and organize policy information.

Policy Research

The process of learning about a policy issue. Policy research can be formal, like writing a report, or informal, like asking people you know to explain the origins of an issue.

Policy Theme

The broad programmatic area or sector you will focus on in your advocacy, such as forestry, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, urban poverty, disaster response, or ethnic conflict.

Press

Also referred to as "media." Representatives of the media, for example, newspaper reporters, radio broadcasters, or magazine writers.

Problem Tree Analysis

A technique for synthesizing and visualizing the results of a problem analyses. When policies are identified as causes of problems you want to solve, advocacy is a strategy to consider.

Primary Audience

The decision maker(s) with the authority to directly bring about the change necessary to reach your policy goal.

Protocol

A code, system, or tradition – written or understood – that prescribes correct etiquette. In advocacy, it refers to the proper way to approach policy makers or others engaged in advocacy.

Rights-Based Approach

An approach that deliberately and explicitly focuses on people achieving the minimum conditions for living with dignity. It does so by exposing the roots of vulnerability and marginalization and expanding the range of responses. It empowers people to claim and exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities and recognizes poor, displaced, and war-affected people as having inherent rights essential to livelihood security – rights that are validated by international law.

Secondary Audience

Individuals and groups that can influence decisions of your primary audience.

SMART

Specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound. Project objectives should be SMART for all projects, including advocacy.

Talking Points Short statements that summarize the main points you and your colleagues plan to make during a

press interview.

Tactics

Tactics are types of activities that support your strategy. Advocacy tactics are often chosen based on their level of risk, their cost, and their chances of success in the existing political environment.

Target Audience

The person (or group of people) who can help bring about the policy change that you hope to achieve.

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SAMPLE ADVOCACY LETTER

AN APPEAL BY INTERNATIONAL NGOS (INGOS) WORKING IN NEPAL TO HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE OF BONDED KAMAIYAS

We, the undersigned, wish to express our sincere concern regarding the continuing plight of the Bonded Kamaiya in Nepal. These citizens of Nepal continue to work in an environment of servitude and bonded labor, 70 years after the absolution of slavery and ten years after the restoration of democracy in Nepal. Such practices are outlawed by the international conventions that HMG has ratified such as the Slavery Convention (1962) and the UN Declaration on Human Rights (1948, agreed in 1963). The constitution of Nepal, 1990, prohibits slavery, serfdom and forced labor in any form. We have also observed that the existing National Civil Code details the penalty of the breech of such a prohibition.

We write now to specifically express our support for the 19 bonded laborers from Kailali District who filed a petition on 1st May 2000 with the Chief District Officer of that province. In their letter they sought freedom from their landlord, compensation for unpaid labor based on minimum wage, protection from the landlords and demanded land to cultivate as landless people. This is the first time in Nepal's history that bonded Kamaiya have filed such a petition. For individuals whose lives are wholly controlled by their landlords, this is an act of acute courage and inspiration. This deserves the support of all individuals and agencies working on behalf of the people of Nepal.

We strongly urge His Majesty's Government to take action on this petition and address not only these specific 19 cases but the substantial human rights issues underpinning it. Clearly, the legal protections enshrined in the Nepali Constitution against slavery, serfdom, or forced labor in any form have not been accessible to people working under conditions of bonded labor.

It is estimated that there are still over 25,000 Nepali citizens in Nepal enslaved by their owners in bonded labor. Not only do these practices trap them into a life of unrelieved poverty, but the continued existence of these illegal and inhumane practices would undermine Nepal's standing in the international community.

Women have suffered miserably in this exploitative system of bondage. We are equally concerned with the children of bonded laborers, 75% of who inherit subservient status even before their birth. An opportune moment has come to break this cycle. As a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, every effort should be made to ensure the well being of the children of bonded Kamaiya.

Therefore, with all due respect to the wisdom, values, and authority of His Majesty's Government, we urge you to act positively and immediately to eliminate the existence of bonded laborers as authorized by the Constitution of Nepal. Specifically, we request HMG to immediately issue a written release from all the debts and obligation to their alleged landlords, facilitate compensation of the laborers for the unpaid wages, provide land for cultivation, as well as establish a commission to draw a rehabilitation plan after the implementation of the aforementioned actions. We assure you of our fullest cooperation in the integration process of the bonded laborers into Nepalese society, within scope and provisions of our organizations.

Respectfully,

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, CARE NEPAL COUNTRY DIRECTOR, ACTION AID ABROAD

APPENDIX 2EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES

PLANNING		NEGOTIATING	CLOSING THE DEAL	
•	Do your homework. Understand the protocols and facts before you negotiate.	 Show respect for the other side's point of view. Always seek common ground and shared interests. 	Restate the agreement you have reached. Put it in writing.	
•	Identify win-win solutions. Agreements where only one side "wins" often fail.	 Negotiate in good faith. Find ways to show the other side you are sincere about reaching an agreement. 	 Establish clear terms for implementing the agreement on both sides. 	
•	Establish maximum (the best deal you can hope to get) and minimum (the least you can accept) negotiation positions.	 Clearly communicate your position. Make sure you fully understand the position and issues of the other side. 	 Decide on immediate next steps. Agree on how you will troubleshoot problems. 	
•	Decide if aspects of your position are non-negotiable. Identify any concessions you can make as a gesture of good will.	 Never argue or disagree within your negotiation team in front of the other side. 	Ensure that your team is in agreement before you conclude.	
•	Focus on a few key arguments that you will share before stating your position.	 Steer the negotiations toward the issues you want to talk about. Call a recess if discussions go off track, and use humor if things become tense. 	No matter what the outcome, always walk away with something, even if it's another meeting.	

From 10.2 **Negotiate**

APPENDIX 3			
COUNTERING UNFAIR NEGOTIATION TACTICS			
TACTIC:	YOU MIGHT OBSERVE:	COUNTERING APPROACHES:	
Good Guy, Bad Guy	A negotiating pair where one person is sympathetic to your cause and the other is uncompromising. One person may also employ this tactic by referring to the absent "bad guy": "I would help you, but I don't think my boss will go for it."	 Show through silence or by withdrawing that your are willing to discuss when they are serious. Refocus on an issue that you all support. If a key stakeholder in the negotiation is absent, propose that another meeting be set to include all involved. 	
Delay or Forbearance	The other side puts off a decision or evades agreement. This tactic may be used to unnerve you or gain more information about your level of urgency.	 Ask about the source of the delay and work together to solve the problem. Navigate the length of the delay by stating, "We will get back to you" with a specific timeline for response. Use "what if," hypothetical questions to stimulate new options. 	
What You See Isn't What You Get The other party makes a concession that on the surface appears to be substantive, but is actually of little value. This may be a surprise concession or an inflated opening position with exaggerated starting offers.		 Ask yourself if they are giving something of value, what they are asking in return, and what their commitment is to carry it out. Do not feel pressured to also make a concession, which may be more valuable. In planning, you can look for agreements that might be easy for you to offer in response. 	

From 10.2 Negotiate

KEY QUESTIONS FOR DEVELOPING A MEDIA STRATEGY

STRATEGIC			
CONSIDERATIONS	KEY QUESTIONS		
How to ensure you reach your target audience	 Does the media organization you have chosen reach your target audience? Have you chosen a story or issue that will appeal to both your target audience and decision-makers in the media source you have targeted? 		
How to find the right media contacts	 Do you know someone who has covered your organization, or the issue, before? Can you identify a journalist with knowledge and a positive attitude toward the issue? Have you followed local outlets to see who is covering your issue and others like it? 		
Whether the timing is right for media coverage	 Does the story relate to other current or newsworthy issues? Does the story or issue offer something new? 		
Who within the organization/ coalition should speak to the media	 Anyone with experience in media relations? Spokesperson is qualified and authorized to speak for the organization/coalition? Person will be readily available to media when needed? 		
How to avoid negative or inaccurate coverage	 Do you have your facts straight? (Don't be afraid to call back when you can't answer questions.) Before talking to the media, ask yourself, what is the worst thing that can happen, and how likely is it? How has this media outlet covered similar subjects in the past? Are they fair and accurate? Have they covered CARE before? Do we have a long-term relationship with the journalist? Will he or she let us see the story before it's published? Are we prepared to counter what our opponents 		
	might say about us? Will others back us up?		

DEALING WITH NEGATIVE PRESS COVERAGE

Negative press is something that can happen whether or not you are engaging in advocacy. It is important to distinguish between media coverage that you disagree with, and coverage that portrays you, CARE, or its partners, unfairly. It is also critical to determine whether the story is true before you respond. Here are a few rules of thumb that can help you if you experience negative coverage.

- 1. Begin by finding out: Is the story or allegation true? Are you sure?
- 2. If the news agency has made an error, ask them to correct it. Sometimes, news agencies will run a correction or retract a statement if it is a mistake.
- 3. If the negative coverage is true, don't lie or try to cover up. (This only makes for a better press story.) If necessary, issue a statement presenting your perspective and leave it at that.
- 4. Don't make a bad situation worse. Sometimes, it is better to let things "blow over" than to call more attention to the problem by complaining and possibly attracting more negative coverage.
- 5. If the negative coverage seems to be the result of an individual reporter, avoid any future contact with that person.

From 10.3 Use the Media

APPENDIX 6

SAMPLE NEWS ADVISORY

CARE International FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EVENT: CARE International, GREEN, and SVM to release report linking children's health crisis to

water pollution in Macondo and calling on local factories to stop industrial dumping. Village tour for media will be provided through areas worst hit by pollution. Industrial waste has washed up on shores where young children play. Experts say deaths are linked to pollution.

DATE: July 10, 2001

TIME: 12:00 noon

insert your photo here.

LOCATION: Macondo village community center – 21st and main street, Macondo.

DIRECTIONS: From center of town, take rte. 1 north for 10 km, turn left on central avenue and drive into

village center. Take second left onto main street. Center is 2 blocks on your right.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: Sam Konga

Community Relations Officer

SVD 555-3030

If you have good visuals, Suzanna Mkimbe

Assistant Director, GREEN

555-1010

Joi Nandere

CARE Press Officer

555-2020

From 10.3 Use the Media

SAMPLE NEWS RELEASE

CARE International FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 10, 2001

CONTACT: Joi Nandere, CARE Press Officer 555-2020

Macondo - Village Community Center. Today, CARE International and local environmental groups GREEN and SVD issued a report alerting the public to a growing children's health crisis in Macondo. Dozens of children have died from an outbreak of diarrhea that has been devastating the region for 18 months. All three organizations called on the Minister of the Environment to issue regulations limiting industrial waste dumping in the Kanga River, which flows through Macondo.

The report was released at the Macondo village community center, where the organizations gathered to address community leaders and the media. The three nonprofit groups led a tour of the village, through riverside areas where industrial waste had washed ashore near a playground.

CARE International's Country Director, John Lewis, said, "Like others who live and work in Macondo, we are extremely concerned about the unusually high rates of child mortality in this region. The study we are releasing today shows a strong link between rising pollution levels and a sharp increase in the incidence of diarrhea, the leading cause of death among Macondo's children under five."

Mary Ahara, Chief-of-Staff for SVD, said, "This report, prepared over the last 14 months, is the work of top health and pollution experts in the country. There can be little doubt now that our children are dying from pollution. If industry will not change its practices, the government must intervene immediately in the people's interest." The report, which was commissioned with the assistance of the Central University environmental health department, documents pollution levels in the river by Macondo and shows a strong correlation with diarrhea outbreaks among Macondo's children.

Michael Owongo, Executive Director of GREEN, which co-sponsored the study, said that the community has been closely consulted and stands firmly behind the report's recommendations. "The Macondo community whole-heartedly supports these findings. There can be no more needless deaths. Now that they understand the problem, they want to know, what will the government do to help them find answers?"

Owongo continued, "The Ministry of the Environment has the authority to propose regulations in this area. We have learned that there are technologies that can cut water pollution levels substantially, saving children's lives without cutting needlessly into the profits of our local industries. There are winwin solutions here and we owe it to the people of Macondo to find solutions urgently. With children's lives at stake, there is no time to waste."

- END -

COMMENTARY: What is it? How do I write it?

The most frequently used formats for commentary are letters to the editor or essays addressed to a newspaper, magazine, or journal. Letters to the editor tend to be short, and address a specific fact or opinion previously published in that media source. This is a good format if you want to call attention to something that was mistakenly reported, or a specific issue that you can address in just a few paragraphs. Essays are longer, usually about 800 words.

COMMENTARY	NEWS PIECE
Promotes a public policy position that affects the community	Reports on an event that affects the community
Emphasis on making arguments	Emphasis on presenting facts
Calls attention to a cause	Calls attention to something that happened or will happen
Usually written	May have a visual component
Delivers a message (primarily)	Tells a story (primarily)

When writing a commentary essay, a few rules of thumb are:

- 1. Write a strong leading paragraph that grabs the reader's attention. For example, cite an interesting statistic, use a famous quote, or use a metaphor that you use throughout in your piece.
- 2. The first paragraph should make your main point clear.
- 3. Use a small number of strong supporting arguments to make your case.
- 4. Acknowledge alternative interpretations or opposing arguments (and rebut them).
- 5. Your final paragraph should return to the theme of your first paragraph.

From 10.3 Use the Media

SAMPLE POSITION STATEMENT

A Joint Statement on Sudan by MSF International, Care International, Save the Children Fund and Oxfam GB

22 October 1998

In the Sudan today, millions of people are at risk from hunger and starvation, millions more have been forced to leave their homes, and families have been torn apart by violence and death. Epidemics and hunger have once again thrown Sudanese society into turmoil. The ongoing humanitarian crisis has now reached an unimaginable and extraordinary level of tragedy. The international humanitarian response over the years has failed to effectively address the crisis. It is imperative that the international community act now to improve the humanitarian response, acting to guarantee:

- ♦ Unrestricted access to all populations in need;
- ♦ Increased commitment of resources; and
- ♦ Increased respect for humanitarian principles and increased accountability for the flow of aid.

The current civil war is only the latest phase of ongoing conflicts over the past forty years. The war has caused millions of civilian deaths, massive displacement, the de-population of the south of Sudan, the collapse of the rural economy, the collapse of local governance, increasing local instability and ethnic hostilities and the collapse of political accountability of the government and rebel movements of the Sudan to their own citizens. The majority of Sudanese are impoverished and deprived of any future opportunity by the continuing crisis. The parties to the war are all responsible for massive human rights abuses and the dispossession and looting of the Sudanese people. Sudanese society is now so weakened, that if the conflict continues, further humanitarian disasters are inevitable. Famine, death and despair are becoming constant specters, haunting the Sudan. Peace is the only hope for progress and to prevent further humanitarian catastrophe. The international community must unite to:

- Recognize their responsibilities for the support of the development of peace in the Sudan:
- ♦ Collaborate to build sufficient international consensus to generate a forceful and positive lobby for peace as there is no possible military solution;
- ♦ Support a local solution to the conflict (fully incorporating all members of Sudanese society and the regional powers/states);
- ♦ Commit to supporting the implementation of a peace agreement; and
- ♦ Commit to longer-term assistance to ensure equitable re-construction of the basis of Sudanese society, in order to increase the motivation of local leaders to seek peace.

From 10.3 Use the Media

Notes/Comments





