



CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA





CIVICUS
CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT
FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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The views expressed in this document solely reflect the opinions of the partners and collaborators.

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GLOSSARY

ACRONYMS

SPA (movements, politics, society, revolution): Sudanese Professionals Association

PIL (law, social justice): Public Interest Litigation

DDA (development theory, development practice): Data-Driven Advocacy

VAT (economics, resource mobilisation, services): Value Added Tax

UNNFE (movements, politics, activism): Uganda National Farmers' Federation

NGO (development theory, development practice): Nongovernmental Organisation

AIPPA (law, Zimbabwe, civil liberties): Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

LHRC (human rights, Tanzania, advocacy): Legal and Human Rights Centre

THRDC (advocacy, Tanzania, networks): Tanzania Human Rights Defenders' Coalition

EACJ (law, regional courts, justice): East African Court of Justice

CSO (development theory, development practice): Civil Society Organisation

SARS (human rights violations, Nigeria, police brutality): Special Anti-Robbery Squad

CPJ (free press, advocacy): Committee for the Protection of Journalists

COSATU (movements, unions, South Africa): Confederation of South African Trade Unions

ARTUZ (movements, Zimbabwe, association): Amalgamated Rural Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe

MEAL (evaluation, development theory): Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning

IDS (international NGO, development work theory/research): Institute for Development Studies

ToC (development theory, development practice): Theory of Change

SWOT (development theory, development practice): Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats

GDP (economics, governance): Gross Domestic Product

MISA (free press, advocacy/training NGO): Media Institute of Southern Africa

START: Simple Toolkit for Advocacy Research Techniques

KEY TERMS

Activism: the act or process of supporting a cause or proposal. Activism – a practice that emphasizes direct vigorous action especially in support of or opposition to one side of a controversial issue.

Advocacy: The word “advocacy” is a term that defines any and all activities done to influence public affairs – be they policy, legislation, or decisions. This can be done through speech, writing, performances, protests and petitions.

Agency: The ability of an individual member of a population to make a choice or take an action consistent with their preferences or beliefs. It is contested whether people act out of socialisation or structure.

Cause: A cause is the motivation or grievance that becomes a rallying issue around which organising for change or progress happens.

Citizenship: A legal and sociopolitical term that defines the relationship between an individual and a state, insofar as allegiance by the former and the obligations of the latter are concerned.

4 GLOSSARY KEY TERMS

Civic Space: A composite term that relates to the arena of liberties, rights and freedoms as exercised or contested between the citizen, the State, and corporate actors.

Civil Society: Denotes the interval of entities and individuals whose day-to-day activities are outside the realm of government, commerce, and the family. Civil Society means and includes cultural institutions, nongovernmental organisations, religious bodies, social movements, charities, foundations, professional associations and fraternities, the media, and political parties.

Class Struggle: Class Struggle is the animosity that divides society on the basis of socioeconomic (material) differences.

Colonialism: This refers to the political subjugation and economic exploitation of a society (usually a country) by another foreign/alien power, characterised by the imposition of the latter's traditions and language.

(Community) Mobilisation: In the context of social movements, campaigns and advocacy drives, community mobilisation is the initial contact (awareness raising), outreach and primary engagement that happens to get a target audience to appreciate a cause.

(Community) Organising: In the context of social movements, campaigns and advocacy drives, community organising is the set of activities and processes that precede the mobilising stage. It entails the ordering of a group into a formation that can pursue the cause or confront the grievance(s) that initially brought them together.

Consciousness: In political terms, consciousness denotes a state of political and spiritual thought and awareness in which a given population is deemed to be aware of their political place and role.

Constituency: A body of supporters (voters, donors) or those who identify with a set of interests or positions on one or more issues of a public affairs nature.

Constitutionalism: A compound of ideas, attitudes and patterns of behaviour elaborating the principle that the authority of government derives from and is limited by a body of fundamental law.

Decolonisation: The undoing of colonialism, the latter being the process whereby imperial nations establish and dominate foreign territories, often overseas. Some scholars of decolonisation focus especially on independence movements in the colonies and the collapse of global colonial empires.

Financialisation: Means the rapid and widespread advances made by financial capitalism over the past forty years, especially in the banking, insurance and finance sectors.

Freedom of Assembly: The individual right or ability of people to come together and collectively express, promote, pursue and defend their collective or shared ideas.

Freedom of Association: The enabling right to allow effective participation of non-state actors in economic and social policy, lying at the heart of democracy and the rule of law.

Freedom of Expression: The power or right to express one's opinions without censorship, restraint or legal penalty.

Fundamentalism: Stern, puritan conformity to the tenets of a belief system; in some cases, fundamentalism presents as violent extremism.

Governance: The framework(s) within which a polity or institution manages its affairs, including the resolution of difference and arbitration of conflict. The term also connotes institutional or process-based approaches to leadership and administration.

Human Rights: Moral principles that set out certain standards of human behaviour, and are protected as legal rights in national and international law. They are commonly understood as equal and inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being.

Human Rights Defenders (HRDs): Individuals or groups who act to promote, protect or strive for the protection and realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms through peaceful means. This is the operational definition rendered by the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Intersectionality: The ways in which systems of inequality based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, class and other forms of discrimination “intersect” to create unique dynamics and effects.

Media Rights: A component of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This entails freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Neoliberalism: The belief and practice that asserts the deregulation of corporate actors, liberalisation of economies, and privatisation of public services.

Participation: This speaks to the engagement of citizens in public (including local government) or organisational processes. It is seen as an attribute of transparent, responsive and people-centred governance.

Popular Education: This speaks to a learning model that is premised in the philosophies of social transformation, political economy and class formation.

Resistance: A coordinated effort to push back, reject, delegitimise, sabotage or fail a programme, plan, effort or project, usually being undertaken by an established authority or establishment. Resistance draws on moral principles to justify and direct its actions.

Rule by Law: A principle of governance in which all persons, institutions, and entities – public or private – including the State itself are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated and are consistent with international human rights norms and standards.

Social Justice: Concepts and practices that relate to fair and equitable division of resources, opportunities and privileges in society.

Social Movements: Large, often informal groupings of people who come together against power holders around a common cause, in response to situations of perceived inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands.

State: When used in political nomenclature, it refers to a power structure that exercises political and economic authority over a defined geographical area.

INTRODUCTION



8 INTRODUCTION PURPOSE OF THE TOOLKIT

THIS CIVIC SPACE
TOOLKIT FOR
SUB-SAHARAN
AFRICA HAS BEEN
DEVELOPED TO
SERVE VARIOUS
ACTORS ENGAGED
IN THE DIFFERENT
DOMAINS OF
DEFENDING,
RECLAIMING AND
EXPANDING THE
CIVIC SPACE.

This Civic Space Toolkit for sub-Saharan Africa has been developed to serve various actors engaged in the different domains of defending, reclaiming and expanding the civic space.

It equips the user (be they a learner, facilitator, activist, media practitioner, lawyer, leader or community organiser) with knowledge and tools for engaging the civic space in countries (i.e., sub-Saharan Africa) that are more often than not defined as narrowing, constricted, repressed, or altogether closed. The Toolkit is also a repository of information that has emerged from the lived experiences and daily realities of different individual and collectivised actors, thereby providing an opportunity for interplay between theory and practice.

PURPOSE OF THE TOOLKIT

As hinted upon in the foregoing, the Toolkit avails the user/reader with systematically presented information and tools on how to venture into matters pertaining to civic space in sub-Saharan Africa.

The user will be able to:

- Appreciate the foundational concepts and notions relating to the phenomenon of civic space, as well as the place and role of different players at the national, regional and global levels;
- Spot and leverage opportunities to defend, reclaim and expand the frontiers of civic space in their contexts;
- Conduct a power mapping and analysis of interests amongst various actors, with an additional view to hold them accountable for their actions or omissions;
- Build scenarios for the future of selected aspects of the civic space in national, regional and global environments;
- Extract priority areas of action within a given timespan, based on community needs and the expressed aspirations of a given population;
- Develop a comprehensive action plan to influence government and/or relevant intergovernmental bodies;
- Strategise on how to provide timely, agile and effective protections to human rights activists; and,
- Monitor and evaluate activities undertaken in line with defending, reclaiming and expanding the civic space.

HOW TO USE THE TOOLKIT

The Toolkit comprises two parts, namely:

- **PART 1:** Civic Space Notion and Context. This limb speaks to the theoretical foundations of civic space, what it entails specifically for actors in the sub-Saharan region of Africa and how to engage in that arena. Entry points are also enumerated in this section of the Toolkit to equip the users with options in terms of tactics (short term engagement) and strategy (for long term undertakings).
- **PART 2:** Developing an Advocacy Strategy to support the Defence, Reclamation and Expansion of the Civic Space in 2022 and beyond. This Section is a practical guide that provides direction on how to develop a feasible advocacy strategy that is coherent with the opportunities identified in Part 1. Part 2 lays out a logically sequenced set of steps to take when developing an advocacy strategy. Suffice to caution the user by stating that advocacy is not a straightjacket process; it is cyclical and should continuously be reviewed and adapted to suit different situations.

The following table provides users with guidelines on which specific sections and tools to deploy in the course of developing their advocacy strategy. Users are encouraged to consider how the guidelines relate to their own unique set of circumstances at the national, regional or global levels of engagement. The online interface of this Toolkit provides an interactive experience for the navigation of different sections and tools.



WE HAVE A LOT TO
LEARN ABOUT CIVIC
SPACE ADVOCACY
FROM AFRICA'S
PRO-INDEPENDENCE
MOVEMENTS – THEIR
ROOTEDNESS WITHIN
THE POPULATION
AND CONNECTION
TO THE LIVED
REALITIES OF THE
DAY ARE SOMETHING
TO EMULATE AS
WE ENGAGE IN
ADVOCACY TODAY.

KEPTA OMBATI, SOCIAL
MOVEMENT EXPERT

The Toolkit also contains:



TOP TIPS:

Snapshots of ideas
and hints that could
help you build an
effective advocacy
strategy.



TOOLS:

Planning exercises,
workshop activities
and templates that
will help you to
work through the
toolkit content in
practice.



CASE STUDIES:

Helpful examples
of how others
have developed
and implemented
advocacy strategies
around the world.



FIGURES:

Processes or
ideas that are
displayed clearly
in illustrations or
flow charts for easy
reference.

Blank templates have been provided as annexes to help the user in the process of developing their own advocacy strategy. Secondly, an additional annex contains resources and materials that point the user to a list of helpful websites and links where you will find further information and inspiration.



PART ONE:

ANALYSING THE CONTEXT

1. CIVIC SPACE

WHAT IS IT?

Civic Space is a composite term that relates to the arena of liberties, rights and freedoms as exercised or contested between the citizen, the State and corporate actors.

Additionally, the notion and phenomenon of civic space has been variously interpreted to mean and include:

- The latitude that citizens and their formations (groups or associations) possess to hold government, State institutions and corporate actors accountable for their actions and omissions.
- An avenue where civil society in its diversity operates to play their roles and execute their mandates.
- A fictional space created by constitutionalism to allow for the free expression, participation (association) and assembly of citizens in a given polity.
- The arena in which the ever-present contestation for power between classes – particularly the ruling minorities and the excluded majority – takes place.



CIVIC SPACE IS A COMPOSITE TERM THAT RELATES TO THE ARENA OF LIBERTIES, RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS AS EXERCISED OR CONTESTED BETWEEN THE CITIZEN, THE STATE AND CORPORATE ACTORS.



13 PART ONE: ANALYSING THE CONTEXT

HOW CAN YOU ENGAGE?

A plethora of approaches and topical areas exist through which different actors can engage on the subject of civic space, to wit:





THE CASE FOR UNIONIZING IS NOT BEING MADE AS LOUDLY AS IT SHOULD BY THOSE WHO TRAIN ASSOCIATIONS, MOVEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS ON CIVIC SPACE ADVOCACY. THE UNION IS TREATED LIKE A LEPER TODAY, YET IT IS A POWERFUL TOOL FOR ADVOCACY.

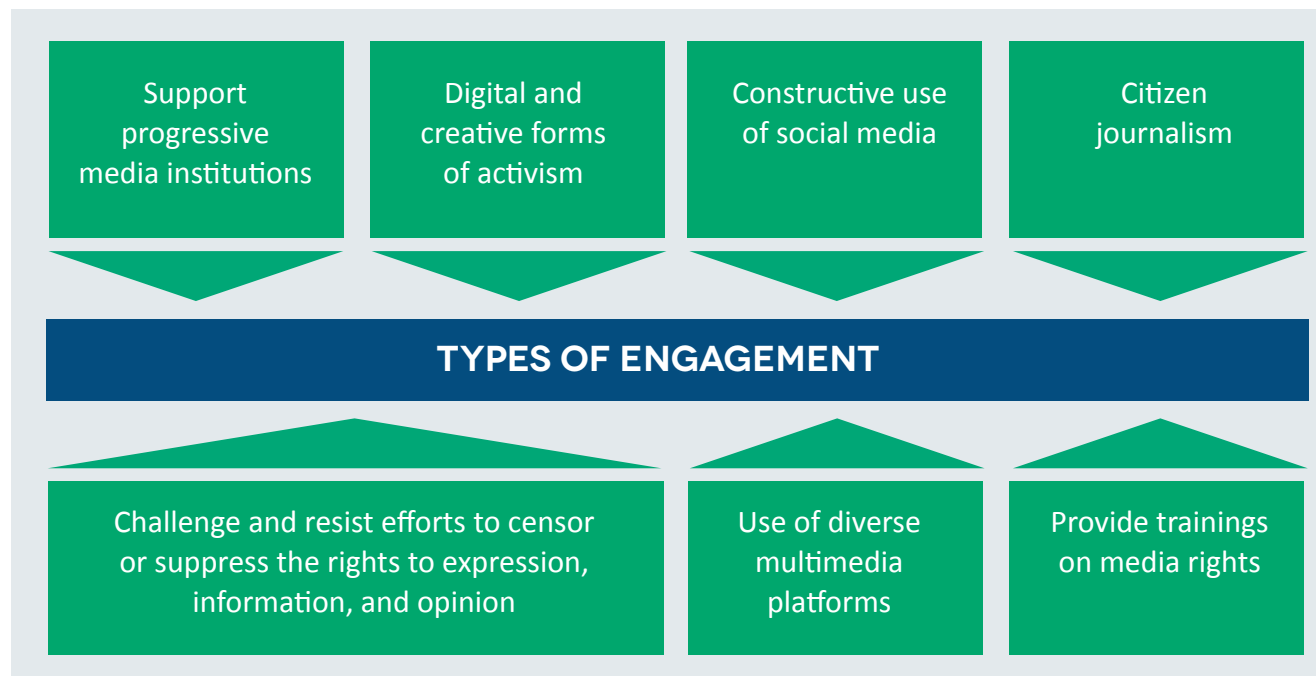
DR. ELIFURAHA LALTAIKA,
LAW DON AND ADVOCATE

2. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, MEDIA RIGHTS AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION

WHAT IS IT?

In this context, media rights are a component of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This entails freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

HOW CAN YOU ENGAGE?

[Case study 3](#)




INTERSECTIONALITY
OF ISSUES IS
SOMETHING WE MUST
STRIVE TO INFUSE
WHEN ENGAGING IN
ADVOCACY BECAUSE,
INCREASINGLY, WE
LIVE IN A WORLD
WHERE SO MANY
ISSUES ARE CROSS-
CUTTING. FOR
EXAMPLE, CIVIL AND
POLITICAL RIGHTS ARE
INTERTWINED WITH
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL
AND CULTURAL
RIGHTS.

NAFULA WAFULA,
SCHOLAR AND LAWYER

3. PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS

WHO ARE THEY? WHAT DO THEY DO?

Protection of human rights defenders concerns itself with the actions that are taken with respect to ensuring that all persons (and their group formations) are availed with the requisite legal, psychosocial, medical and financial resources needed to sustain their causes and efforts.

This is done not only to protect human rights defenders from the apparent threats to their physical security but to prevent a number of eventualities such as:

- Burnout, chronic fatigue and stress
- Unlawful arrest and detention
- Smear campaigns, intimidation and harassment
- Abuse of due process rights through, for example, malicious prosecution
- Suppression of livelihood(s) through denial of employment, freezing of bank accounts
- Organisational backlash
- Family-related upheaval
- Violation(s) of privacy
- Extrajudicial killings
- Reputational damage from, say, revenge pornography

Case study 5



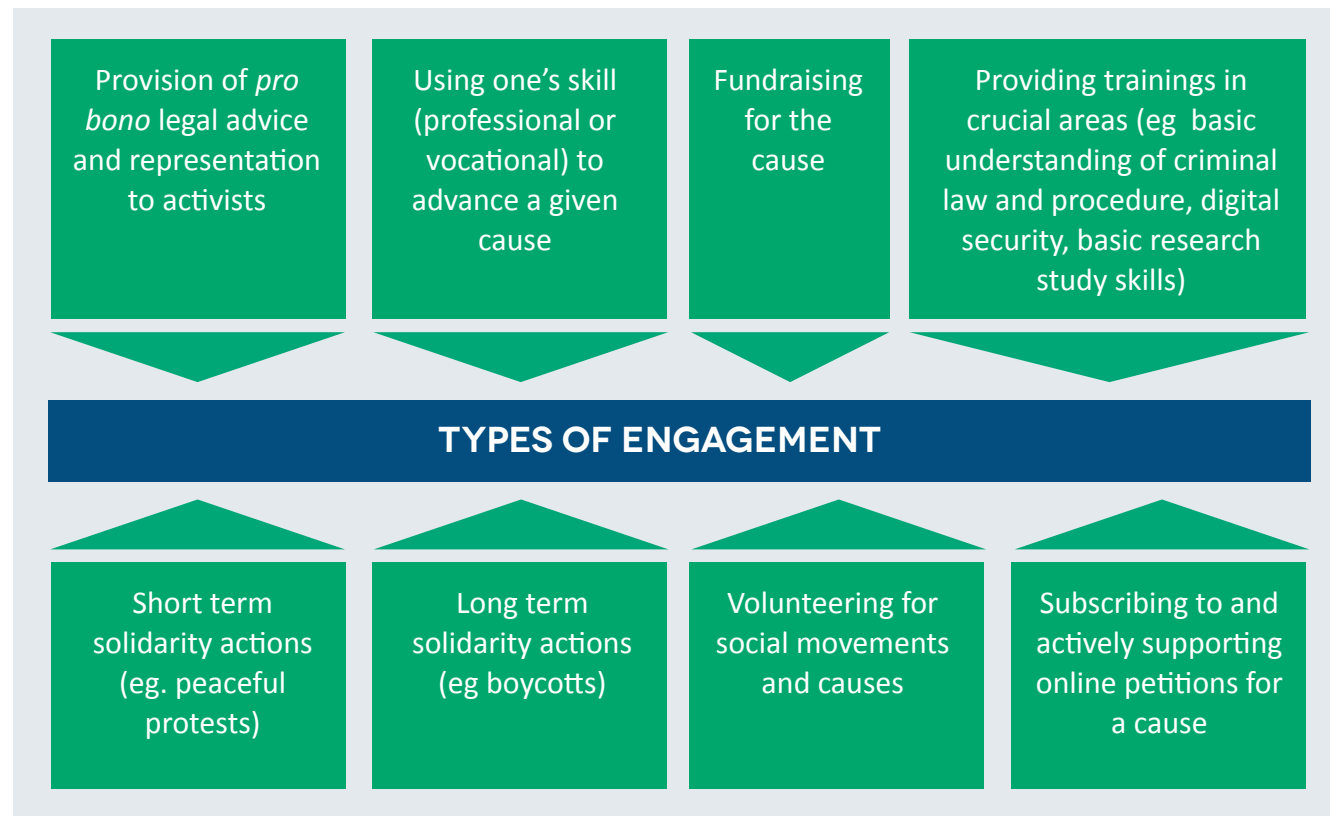


EMERGING TRENDS
 (IN THE AREAS OF
 DEMOGRAPHICS, THE
 INFORMATION AGE
 AND THE CHANGING
 FACES OF WORK
 AND EDUCATION)
 DESERVE SIGNIFICANT
 ATTENTION AS WE
 CRAFT BETTER
 APPROACHES TO CIVIC
 SPACE-RELATED
 ADVOCACY. AS
 SOCIETY EVOLVES, SO
 MUST ADVOCACY.

DR. AZAVELI LWAITAMA,
 ACTIVIST AND SCHOLAR

HOW CAN YOU ENGAGE?

Supportive actors can engage in the foregoing actions and efforts in the following ways:



4. PREVAILING LEGAL REGIMES IN SELECT SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



POLICY AND
LEGISLATION
HAVE THE MOST
POWERFUL EFFECTS
AS THEY ARE MORE
ENTRENCHED AND
LONG LASTING.
REGARDING THE
SUBJECT MATTER
OF CIVIC SPACE,
THE FOLLOWING
LIBERTIES OFTEN
ATTRACT THE
INTEREST OF PUBLIC
AUTHORITIES AND
CORPORATE ACTORS.

The terrain of civic space in sub-Saharan Africa, as elsewhere, is shaped by various influences, not least administrative decisions, policy and legislation, as well as the ethos of the prevailing government. Policy and legislation have the most powerful effects as they are more entrenched and long lasting. Regarding the subject matter of civic space, the following liberties often attract the interest of public authorities and corporate actors.

They include the right to peaceful protest (i.e., public order, national security); freedom of speech, conscience and expression (i.e., electronic, print and online engagement, mainstream media and citizen journalism); financial mobilisation (couched in anti-money laundering terms), and associational freedoms (in terms of the diverse nature of civil society).

This Toolkit is alive to the various laws that relate to the aforesaid liberties and rights across the sub-Saharan region and will list examples from seventeen (17) selected countries.

In Burundi, a media control law was enacted in 2017 that requires journalists and staff members of domestic and international organisations to seek permission from provincial and local authorities to carry out their work. Law enforcement has been weaponised. For example, Fabien Banciryanino was sentenced to a year in prison and a fine of 100,000 Burundian Francs (USD 51), having been accused of threatening the security of the state when he held a news conference without prior authorisation, and reportedly refused to hand over his land title when requested by a local administrator. Authorities continue to exercise undue interference in and oversight over the work of civil society and the media.

Cameroon's legislature passed anti-terrorism legislation in 2014 that featured the death penalty for citizens who, either as individuals or in a group, carry out, abet or sponsor terrorism. Media control laws are also used to suppress dissent and suppress independent editorial policy. The law requires journalists to submit stories for government approval before publication. The law is susceptible to being used to criminalise opposition to the thirty-six-year-old regime led by Paul Biya.

18 PART ONE: ANALYSING THE CONTEXT PREVAILING LEGAL REGIMES IN SELECT SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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ON 5 JULY 2019,
GOVERNMENT
ISSUED A DECREE
DISSOLVING
THE CENTRE
FOR DEVELOP-
MENT STUDIES
AND INITIATIVES
(CEID) WHICH
IS A PROMINENT
CIVIL SOCIETY
ORGANISATION IN
EQUATORIAL GUINEA.

The situation is just as perilous in Congo Brazzaville where NGOs that are oriented towards governance work are required to undergo a burdensome registration process with the Ministry of Interior. Arbitrary arrests of civil society leaders have continued, thereby undermining civic engagement. Legitimate criticism is unlawful, as is reporting on human rights abuses.

On 5 July 2019, government issued a decree dissolving the Centre for Development Studies and Initiatives (CEID) which is a prominent civil society organisation in Equatorial Guinea. Over the forty-year reign of Theodore Nguema, institutions have been disabled, worsening neo-patrimonial rule and the suppression of rights.

One hundred and twelve people were convicted during a mass trial that took place in the city of Bata for an alleged coup attempt in December 2017. The trial was full of procedural irregularities and rulings against the defence. Despite a court ruling calling for his immediate release since April this year, Bertin Koovi, a political opponent and activist from Benin, continues to be kept in detention by the police in the city of Bata.

In Eritrea, the 1996 Press Proclamation Law mandates that all newspapers and journalists be licensed. It also stipulates that publications must be submitted for government approval prior to release, and prohibits reprinting articles from banned publications.

The country continues to rank among the most repressive media environments in the world under the harsh authoritarian regime of President Isaias Afwerki. It has had no privately owned media since 2001, when the government banned the once-vibrant private press. Key editors and journalists were imprisoned, and the crackdown later extended to state-employed journalists. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), 17 journalists were imprisoned in Eritrea as of 1 December 2015, one of the largest numbers in the world and the most in sub-Saharan Africa.

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IN GABON,
THE HIGH
AUTHORITY FOR
COMMUNICATION
REPEATEDLY
SANCTIONS
JOURNALISM WITH
A VIEW TO STIFLING
ANY LEGITIMATE
CRITICISM OF
GOVERNMENT.

On 6 January 2009, Ethiopia's parliament enacted a new law on nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) that criminalises most human rights work in the country. The Ethiopian government claims that the law, known as the Charities and Societies Proclamation (NGO law), is mainly intended to ensure greater openness and financial probity on the part of nongovernmental organisations. But instead it places such severe restrictions on all human rights and governance-related work as to make most such work impossible, violating the fundamental rights to freedom of association and expression provided for in the Ethiopian constitution and international human rights law.

In Gabon, the High Authority for Communication repeatedly sanctions journalism with a view to stifling any legitimate criticism of government. This policy of systematic sanctions encourages self-censorship, creates economic problems for many media outlets and narrows civic space.

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have related laws that target free speech, online engagement, print and electronic media. The laws share similar characteristics: they are couched in broad and vague language; purport to minimise behaviour that could lead to self-harm; prohibit the publication, distribution and possession of pornography; and institute unconscionable penalties on those found guilty.

Chapter 8 of the Rwandan Penal Code criminalises defamation and defamatory denunciation with penalties of up to three years' imprisonment. Criminal sanctions on media for defamation are imposed by the 2009 Media Law (that replaced the previous draconian 2002 Press Law); the Media Law also contains criminal penalties for journalists who “incite discrimination” or “show contempt to the president”. This legislation has been regularly used against government critics and the media. For example, in 2009 the Government brought criminal defamation charges against Jean Bosco Gasasira, editor-in-chief of the Rwandan bimonthly Umuvugizi, an independent newspaper, for publishing an article that alleged a government prosecutor and physician were involved in a romantic relationship.



THE SUBVERSIVE,
NON-CONFORMIST
ELEMENT OF
(POLITICAL)
EDUCATION NEEDS
TO BE RESTORED;
THE EDUCATION
SYSTEM TODAY IS
CHURNING OUT
GRADUATES WHO
ARE DETACHED
FROM PUBLIC
AFFAIRS AND ONLY
CONCERNED
ABOUT MATERIAL
ACQUISITIONS AND
MAKING MONEY.

HAROLD SUNGUSIA, ADVOCATE

In 2020, Sudan issued the national security law amendment of 2020, Article 25 of which leaves latitude for staff of intelligence agencies to violate citizens' privacy by giving the Sudanese General Intelligence Service the right to request information, data, documents or things from anyone and to check it or take it without a court order. In October 2022, military forces that staged a coup appeared to use this provision to search people's phones in the streets to delete documentation of human rights violations perpetuated by security forces. The Press and Publications Law of 2009 equally has repressive provisions and was last August controversially invoked to suspend the Alitibaha and Alsayha newspapers.

Eswatini is the last absolute monarchy on the African continent, and authorities use repressive laws, including the 1938 Sedition and Subversive Activities Act (SSA Act) and the 2008 Suppression of Terrorism Act (STA), to silence critics. Journalists, human rights defenders and political activists have been jailed for many years simply for speaking out against this repression of dissent.

At least 80 people have been killed while over 200 people have been hospitalised to date. Over a thousand were reported arbitrarily arrested and detained. Some of them were subsequently released but many are still held on trumped-up charges, particularly the Suppression of Terrorism Act and Public Order Act.

On 6 December 2018, the National Assembly of Togo adopted a law on cybersecurity which significantly restricts freedom of expression. Among other things, it criminalises the publication of false information with up to three years in prison; breaches of public morality with up to two years in prison; and the production, diffusion or sharing of data which undermine order, public security or breach human dignity.

The law also contains vague terrorism and treason related provisions which carry hefty sentences of up to 20 years in prison and could easily be misused against whistle-blowers and others reporting on human rights abuses. The law also grants additional powers to police, particularly in terms of surveillance of communication or IT equipment, without adequate judicial control.



21 PART ONE: ANALYSING THE CONTEXT EXAMPLES OF KEY ACTORS IN COUNTRIES

”

SOCIAL
 MOVEMENTS LIKE
 THE ONES WE
 HAVE DISCUSSED
 NEED TO BE
 STUDIED MORE
 BY NGOS SO
 THAT THEY CAN
 APPRECIATE
 AND COPY THE
 NUANCES THAT
 MAKE THEM SUCH
 A POWERFUL
 FORCE IN
 ADVOCACY.

ELSIE EYAKUZE,
 TANZANIAN AUTHOR,
 COLUMNIST AND POET

EXAMPLES OF KEY ACTORS IN COUNTRIES

In these listed countries there is an array of actors in the fields of media rights, protection of activists, and practitioners like lawyers and journalists. These include local, regional and international organisations. The East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Project operates in the Great Lakes region and the Horn, whereas CIVICUS, Amnesty International, DefendDefenders and Human Rights Watch have a more continental scope of operations. Specific to the Horn are Civil Rights Defenders (in Ethiopia) and the outlawed G15 (in Eritrea). The Central African Human Rights Defenders Network is found in Central Africa (particularly in Congo Brazzaville) as is the Togolese Coalition of Human Rights Defenders, Centre for Development Studies and Initiatives in Equatorial Guinea, and Frontline Defenders in Cameroon. The National Coalition of Human Rights Defenders exists in Eastern and Southern Africa. Tanzania, South Sudan, Swaziland and Zambia have national chapters of human rights defender organisations. The Amalgamated Rural Teachers Union of Zimbabwe, Confederation of South African Trade Unions, and the Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Network stand out in their respective countries. In a number of the sampled countries there are professional associations, student and women's movements, political parties, community organisations and leagues.



Members of Amalgamated
 Rural Teachers Union of
 Zimbabwe (ARTUZ).

Photo: Facebook ARTUZ



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CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT
FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CONTENTS

22 CASE STUDY 1: SUDAN



Alaa Salah, a Sudanese protester whose video gone viral and make her an icon for the mass anti-government protests, looks at a mural depicting her in front of the Defence Ministry in Khartoum, Sudan, April 20, 2019

Source: Getty Images; REUTERS/Umit Bektas



CASE STUDY 1

Advocacy for peaceful transition and civilian rule by professional associations



OVER THIRTY NINE MONTHS, THESE ACTIVITIES WERE STAGED IN THE PUBLIC SQUARES, ROADS AND BUILDINGS OF MAJOR CITIES AND TOWNS ACROSS SUDAN.

THE CAMPAIGN:

Since the ouster of strongman, General Omar el Bashir, in 2019, Sudan has been convulsed by political unrest and is overhung by the bane of military rule. A coalition of professional associations, under the umbrella Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) have since led campaign drives and advocacy efforts for peaceful transition and the establishment of civilian rule, as well as an end to a multiplicity of issues, including the spate of extrajudicial killings by state security forces, and the toxic effects of cyanide and mercury from gold mining in the North of the country.



>> THE ACTIONS:

Hundreds of thousands of citizens were mobilised to engage in widespread nonviolent peaceful protests and acts of civil disobedience. Over thirty nine months, these activities were staged in the public squares, roads and buildings of major cities and towns across Sudan. They were joined by poets, musicians, visual artists, cartoonists and academics who contributed towards the continuity of the efforts through performances, awareness raising and creative activism.



THE RESULTS:

Transfer of executive power from the junta to the Sovereignty Council of Sudan.

Broad range of political settlements and the promulgation of a Draft Constitutional Charter.

Limiting of role of the military – and increment of role of institutions – in public affairs management.

Subjection of notorious human rights violators to due process through trials, thereby providing closure to victims, their families and communities.

Expansion of civil rights and liberties.



SUCCESS FACTORS:

- Civic awareness and political consciousness within the population.
- High and sustained levels of effective coordination (mobilisation and organisation) of various actions which were led by accountable leaders who remained connected with the population.
- Effective harnessing of mainstream print, electronic and social media platforms through consistent messaging and publication, which ensured a pro-rights narrative in the public domain.
- Inclusion of citizens from various socioeconomic classes, which ensured a focus on relatable issues such as basic commodity prices, working conditions, and access to social amenities and opportunities.



The Parliament of the Republic of Uganda

Source: Wikimedia



CASE STUDY 2

Removal of taxes on imported agricultural inputs



THE FEDERATION LOBBIED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, THE LINE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, ANIMAL INDUSTRY AND FISHERIES, AND INVOLVED THE BROADER CIVIL SOCIETY (INCLUDING NGOS, ACTIVIST GROUPS AND COOPERATIVES) IN THEIR ACTIONS.

THE CAMPAIGN:

On 12 June, while reading Uganda's 2014/2015 National Budget, the then Finance minister, Maria Kiwanuka, announced the removal of tax exemptions on agro-inputs, poultry and livestock feeds, terminated exemption on interest income on agricultural loans and introduced value-added tax (VAT) on packaging materials. Uganda National Farmers Federation challenged the pronouncement through a sustained campaign, contending that in a country where the livelihoods of eighty per cent of the population are based on agriculture, taxes on agricultural inputs would erode the country's competitive advantage in agricultural exports, raise the cost of production, lower investments, and ultimately reduce employment opportunities.



>> THE ACTIONS:

Uganda National Farmers Federation (UNFFE) deployed a range of actions including a petition that was signed by thousands of its members, engaged mainstream and alternative media through op-ed articles, talk show appearances and public dialogues to give their advocacy efforts a significant public outlook. The Federation lobbied Members of Parliament, the line Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, and involved the broader civil society (including NGOs, activist groups and cooperatives) in their actions.



THE RESULTS:

Removal of Value Added Tax from mechanised agricultural inputs by Parliament in 2020.

Increased investment and capacity for value addition in the domestic agriculture sector.

Protection of smallholder farmers from the effects of harmful competition with foreign agribusiness multinational chains.

A higher export bill due to increased production for export.

A more civically active farmers' federation that understood their place and role in influencing public policy.



SUCCESS FACTORS:

- Clear understanding of and messaging around the implications of the imposition of Value Added Tax on the agriculture sector.
- Unity of the numerous members of the national farmers' federation, UNFFE.
- Inclusion of other actors (such as media practitioners, NGOs, activists, consumer protection groups and cooperatives) in the advocacy campaign which strengthened the initially lone voice of farmers.
- A correct power mapping that guided the focus of the advocacy campaign on those who wield the policymaking and legislative power in the country.



Zimbabweans celebrate after President Robert Mugabe resigns in Harare, Zimbabwe November 21, 2017

Source: Getty Images; REUTERS/Mike Hutchings



CASE STUDY 3

Repeal of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act



MEDIA
ENGAGEMENTS
AND CAMPAIGNS
THROUGH VISUAL
ART, PUBLISHING
OF OPINIONS,
AND AWARENESS
CREATION
ACTIVITIES TO
SENSITISE THE
PUBLIC ABOUT
THEIR ROLE IN
PUSHING BACK
AGAINST THE LAW.

THE CAMPAIGN:

On 31 January 2000, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Bill/Act (AIPPA) was passed by the Zimbabwe Parliament in spite of severe criticism from the Parliamentary Legal Committee, media and civic organisations and opposition political parties. Consequently, media houses such as The Daily News were closed under provisions of the AIPPA. Institutions like the Media Institute of Southern Africa mounted a wide-ranging advocacy drive against the enacted law. In 2020, the impugned Act was replaced by the Freedom of Information Bill, a development that drew positive responses from civil society and the public for its role in bringing the country's information-related laws into conformity with the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution.



>> THE ACTIONS:

- Public dialogues, seminars and workshops to educate media practitioners about the dangers posed by the AIPPA.
- Public Interest Litigation against various provisions of the AIPPA.
- Media engagements and campaigns through visual art, publishing of opinions, and awareness creation activities to sensitise the public about their role in pushing back against the law.
- Lobbying of policymakers (in the executive and legislative branches) to highlight the regressive impact of the AIPPA.



THE RESULTS:

Repeal of the AIPPA and replacement with a progressive Freedom of Information Act in 2020.

Extension of the frontiers of civic space for the public, mainstream political actors, and practitioners like lawyers and journalists.

Increase in citizen-led calls for accountability through electronic/ social media platforms and the development of citizen journalism which has contributed to keeping occupants of public offices in check.

Dissemination of information that would otherwise not be accessible to citizens, such as the details of misused public funds, and human rights violations.



SUCCESS FACTORS:

- Prolonged nature of the advocacy initiatives which spanned more than a decade.
- Involvement of the public in the pushback against the draconian character of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA).
- Raising of the importance of freedom of information to an electoral issue, so that elected officials had to be seen to be in support of media rights.
- Support from like-minded organisations, progressive media houses and social movements within and without Zimbabwe.
- The digital revolution that was brought on by social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook, which are significantly empowering to the everyday citizen.



CIVICUS

CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT
FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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31 CASE STUDY 4: TANZANIA



Perusing Papers at a Newsstand, Near Mwenge, Tanzania

Source: Wikimedia



CASE STUDY 4

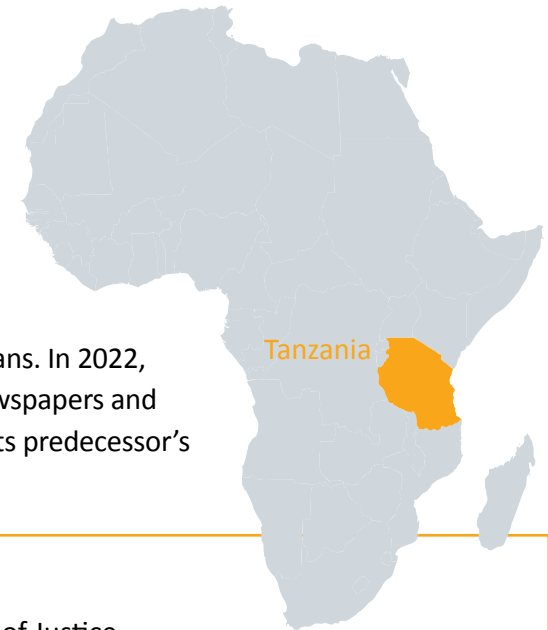
Advocacy for lifting of ban on newspapers



ENCOURAGEMENT
OF CITIZEN
JOURNALISM
THROUGH
ALTERNATIVE
ELECTRONIC
MEDIA SUCH AS
BLOGS, TWITTER
AND FACEBOOK.
THIS UPHELD THE
PRESENCE OF
CRITICAL VOICES
DESPITE THE BAN
ON THE SAID
NEWSPAPERS.

THE CAMPAIGN:

In 2016 and 2017, four newspapers, Daima, Mawio, Mwanahalisi and Mseto, were banned from publishing for various offences under the restrictive Media Services Act, which came into force in November 2016, and the now repealed Newspaper Act. This had a chilling effect on media rights in the country – necessitating the Legal and Human Rights Centre, the Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition and Media Council of Tanzania, amongst others, to mount a campaign against the bans. In 2022, the government announced the lifting of the ban on the four newspapers and instructed the authorities to allow media outlets banned under its predecessor's administration, to resume operations.



>> THE ACTIONS:

- Public interest suit against the ban in the East African Court of Justice.
- A series of talk shows on air and online about the importance of freedom of speech in nation building and democratisation.
- Encouragement of citizen journalism through alternative electronic media such as blogs, Twitter and Facebook. This upheld the presence of critical voices despite the ban on the said newspapers.



THE RESULTS:

The East African Court of Justice unanimously held that numerous provisions in Tanzania's Media Services Act violated the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community as they infringed the right to freedom of expression.

Increment in citizen journalism through the use of social media whose output was a lot more damaging to the establishment and yet less controllable – with the overall effect of cautioning government about the counterproductive effects of censorship.

Greater exercise of media, civil and political rights in Tanzania due to the re-established freedoms and liberties – as seen in the resumption of political party activity, after years of being forced to go underground.



SUCCESS FACTORS:

- The decision by the East African Court of Justice, whose judgment found in favour of the petitioners.
- Solidarity from other actors in the fraternity of CSOs, such as the Legal and Human Rights Centre and the Tanzania Coalition of Human Rights Defenders.
- Positive contribution of musicians like Vitali Maembe who used his voice and platform to spotlight the threat to media rights (and the broader freedom of expression) in Tanzania.



CIVICUS

CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT
FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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34 CASE STUDY 5: NIGERIA



#EndSARS protests in Nigeria; photos taken between 9 and 14 October 2020

Source: Wikimedia; Salako Ayoola



CASE STUDY 5

#ENDSARS campaign against police brutality



DRAFTING AND
SUBMISSION
OF PETITIONS
SUCH AS 'A
NIGERIAN YOUTH'
WITH A SET OF
DEMANDS THAT
WERE CLEARLY
OUTLINED
FOR PUBLIC
AUTHORITIES TO
ACT UPON.

THE CAMPAIGN:

The phrase #EndSARS denotes a social movement, and series of mass protests against police brutality in Nigeria.

Its primary objective was for the disbandment of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a unit of the Nigerian Police which was notorious for human rights abuses against Nigerians. In response to the public outcry on police brutality, the Inspector-General of the Nigeria Police banned the FSARS, Special Tactical Squad (STS), Intelligence Response Team (IRT), Anti-Cultism Squad and other tactical units from mounting of roadblocks, checkpoints, stop-and-search and other routine and patrols. Similar bans had been announced multiple times over the previous four years, raising concerns about whether the bans would in fact be implemented that time round.



>> THE ACTIONS:

- Nonviolent protest marches in major towns and cities.
- Online (especially Twitter) engagement that accumulated up to 28 million tweets.
- Drafting and submission of petitions such as 'A Nigerian Youth' with a set of demands that were clearly outlined for public authorities to act upon.



THE RESULTS:

Banning of the FSARS, Special Tactical Squad, Intelligence Response Team, Anti-Cultism Squad and other tactical units.

Exercise of freedoms of association, expression and assembly that had routinely been interfered with and proscribed by the said SARS unit.

Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the Nigerian state, requiring significant reforms beyond the security sector.



SUCCESS FACTORS:

- Twitter gave the campaign an international footprint that could not be ignored by authorities in Nigeria.
- Monetary contributions and material donations from across the rest of Africa, Europe and the Americas provided funds that enabled the movement to live on despite efforts by the state to suppress the movement.
- The sheer numbers of protesters underlined the importance of the issues being raised by the movement and could not be overlooked.



CIVICUS

CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT
FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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37 CASE STUDY 6: SOUTH AFRICA



South African students protest outside the parliament precinct

Source: Getty Images Nardus Engelbrecht/Gallo Images/Getty Image



CASE STUDY 6

#FeesMustFall



MEDIA
ENGAGEMENT
THROUGH RADIO,
TELEVISION AND
SOCIAL MEDIA
CHANNELS SO
AS TO CONTROL
THE NARRATIVE
AROUND THE
PROTESTS.

THE CAMPAIGN:

#FeesMustFall was a student-led protest movement that began in mid-October 2015 in South Africa. The goals of the movement were to stop increases in student fees as well as to increase government funding of universities. Protests started at the University of the Witwatersrand and spread to the University of Cape Town and Rhodes University before rapidly spreading to other universities across the country. The 2015 protest ended when it was announced by the South African government that there would be no tuition fee increases for 2016.



>> THE ACTIONS:

- Mass nonviolent protests at universities and public locations.
- Media engagement through radio, television and social media channels so as to control the narrative around the protests.
- Lobbying of legislators, other elected representatives and government officials not to increase tuition fees.

39 CASE STUDY 6: SOUTH AFRICA**THE RESULTS:**

There were no tuition increments levied for the academic year beginning in 2016.

The protests inspired a national discussion on access to quality public education, which led to a number of reforms in the sector.

Students whose prospects for continuing with their university education would have been jeopardised by the tuition increments were able to enroll, continue with, and complete their studies.

**SUCCESS FACTORS:**

- Solidarity of the student movement in South Africa.
- Already existing public outrage over the incessant stream of corruption scandals in the country.
- The existing decolonisation sentiment that had been stirred by the successful protest against a statue which commemorates Cecil Rhodes a few months earlier encouraged the student movement to mount this pushback against the mooted tuition fee increments.



Youth4Parliament community activation in Zambia

Source: Youth4Parliament, Zambia



CASE STUDY 7

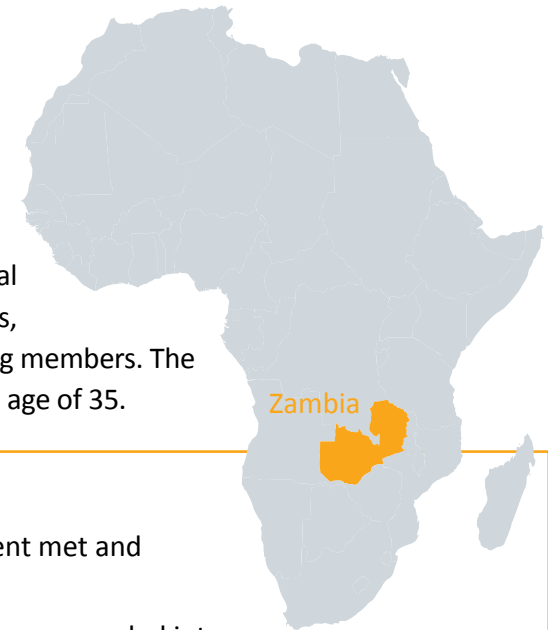
Youth4Parliament



DEVELOPMENT
OF A COMMON
RANGE OF SHARED
INTERESTS THAT
WERE UPGRADED
INTO ELECTORAL
ISSUES, THEREBY
MAKING THE
CAMPAIGN ONE
THAT COULD NOT
BE IGNORED BY
THE MAINSTREAM
POLITICAL
ACTORS.

THE CAMPAIGN:

Youth4Parliament is a grassroots social movement that works on enhancing meaningful participation of the youth and young women in politics and governance with a focus on youth parliamentary representation. It started when a group of young Zambians from diverse backgrounds attended training under the Programme for Young Politicians in Africa in early 2018. As a social movement, Youth4Parliament has no formal organisational status, and young people can get involved in the campaign without being members. The primary goal is to have 50% of members of parliament under the age of 35.



>> THE ACTIONS:

- Door-to-door advocacy initiatives during which the movement met and interacted with citizens on the issues that affected them.
- Development of a common range of shared interests that were upgraded into electoral issues, thereby making the campaign one that could not be ignored by the mainstream political actors.
- Identifying of representatives of the movement across the country's ten provinces to ensure a national outlook that went beyond urban areas like Lusaka.
- Involvement of the student movement and supportive NGOs like ActionAid International Zambia, which provided trainings, technical guidance and convening spaces for young people to mobilise and organise.



THE RESULTS:

Youth4Parliament grew the movement from 22 young members in 2018 to a network of more than 60,000 in 2021 spread across all 10 provinces in Zambia.

The 2021 Zambian elections resulted in a 21 percent increase in voter turnout and a much greater youth representation across the political spectrum. Of the elected being part of or supported by Youth4Parliament, six parliament members, five mayors and more than 200 district councillors were elected.

Increased representation of the interests of young people at the community and national levels of public administration.



SUCCESS FACTORS:

- The nonpartisan approach of the movement and approaching the ruling as well as oppositional parties garnered them a lot of support.
- The youthful demographic structure of Zambia, in which more than seventy per cent of the population is under thirty years of age.

A photograph of three people in a meeting. On the left, a young woman with blonde hair tied back, wearing a white polo shirt, is looking towards the center. In the center, a young man with short dark hair, wearing a plaid shirt, is sitting with his hands clasped, looking towards the right. On the right, another young man with short dark hair, wearing a white shirt and a dark vest, is leaning forward and looking towards the center. The background is a blurred indoor setting with red chairs and a speaker.

PART TWO:

BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY



ADVOCACY IS NOT
AN OVERNIGHT
EVENT. IT IS A LONG
TERM ENGAGEMENT
WHOSE RESULTS
MAY NOT
MATERIALISE WITHIN
THE LIFECYCLE OF
A PROJECT OR NGO
ACTIVITY. WE NEED
STAYING POWER
TO BE RESILIENT
AND KNOW THAT
ADVOCACY
EFFORTS MANY NOT
IMMEDIATELY YIELD
FRUIT AS FAST AS WE
WANT.

MACKPHASON MSHANA,
TANGANYIKA LAW SOCIETY

1. WHAT IS ADVOCACY?

Advocacy is a strategic and deliberate process aiming at bringing change in the policies, practices and attitudes of individuals, influential people, institutions and groups.

Through advocacy we put a problem on the political agenda, providing a solution to that problem, and building support for applying the solution in order to change the situation. It is about achieving specific outcomes – a measurable change in policies and practices.

Advocacy happens at all levels – local, national, regional and international. It is not just about getting to the table with a new set of interests; it's about changing the size and configuration of the table to accommodate a whole new set of actors. Effective advocacy challenges imbalances of power and changes thinking.

2. HOW TO DEVELOP AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY FOR CIVIC SPACE

Strategy is not a linear process; it is a cycle, the end of which coincides with a new start. There are several ways to present the different stages of an advocacy strategy. The approach of the framework presented below takes into consideration the following assumptions:

Prerequisites to starting any advocacy effort are:

- understanding and analysing **power**, and
- developing a theory on how **change** happens

45 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY



NEW ALLIANCES
CAN BE FORMED
AT LATER STAGES,
DECISIONS ON
TACTICS WILL
IDENTIFY NEW
AREAS WHERE
GAPS IN CAPACITIES
NEED TO BE
COVERED, AND NEW
EVIDENCE NEEDS
TO BE GATHERED
TO INFORM EACH
ADVOCACY
STRATEGY STEP

There are four foundations for effective advocacy, which we need to deal with even before starting the actual planning process:

Securing our
legitimacy:
confirming that our
cause is legitimate,
our constituencies
are strong, our
accountability lines
clear.

Building **coalitions:**
problems or issues
we want to address
are too large and
complex for any
one agency or
organisation to
tackle. By building
partnerships,
coalitions and
alliances we build
our strength
and advocacy
effectiveness.

Building internal
capacity: by
assessing our
preparedness (as
groups, organisations
or coalitions)
to develop and
implement an
advocacy strategy,
we will be able
to take actions to
cover our gaps and
improve our internal
capacity.

Gathering **evidence:**
collecting data and
conducting research
to generate
evidence allows us
to really understand
the issue and
successfully build
our case for change.

The above-mentioned foundations and preconditions do not run out at the beginning of the process. On the contrary, they are present in all the phases of the strategy cycle, as new legitimacy challenges may arise, new alliances can be formed at later stages, decisions on tactics will identify new areas where gaps in capacities need to be covered, and new evidence needs to be gathered to inform each advocacy strategy step.

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**RISK ASSESSMENT
IS AN AREA TO
BE CONSIDERED
DURING ALL STAGES
OF OUR ADVOCACY
PLANNING AND
IMPLEMENTATION
(STRATEGIC AND
OPERATIONAL
RISKS) AND NEEDS
TO BE REVISITED
REGULARLY AND
INFORM A RISK
MANAGEMENT PLAN.**

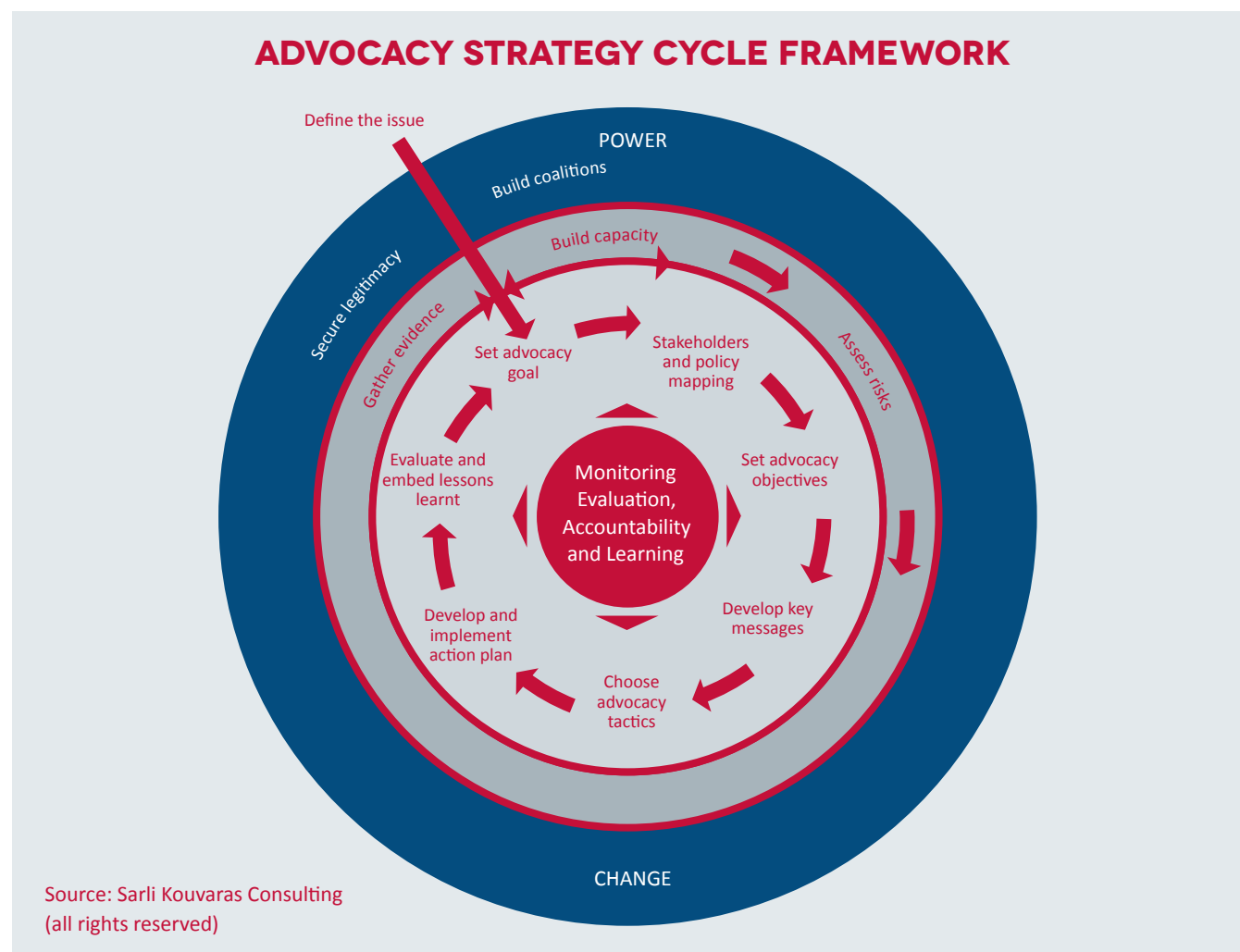
Risk assessment is an area to be considered during all stages of our advocacy planning and implementation (strategic and operational risks) and needs to be revisited regularly and inform a risk management plan.

The strategy cycle consists of 7 distinct steps which respond to the questions:

- what do we want (setting the advocacy goal)
- who can make it happen (stakeholders and policy mapping)
- how can they make it happen (setting the advocacy objectives)
- what do they need to hear (developing key messages)
- whom do they need to hear it from (choosing advocacy tactics)
- how do we begin to take action (developing and implementing an action plan)
- how do we know and justify if it's working; what are the lessons learnt (monitoring, evaluation, accountability and learning)

Although it has a distinct role as a final stage of the advocacy strategy cycle, Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability & Learning (MEAL) sits at the core of advocacy strategic planning. As it is often seen as an obligation towards donors or an end of a process, it is important to underline that MEAL must be present from day one of the planning process!

An illustration of the advocacy strategy cycle framework is presented below:





POWER IS
EVERYWHERE,
BUT THERE IS
NO ONE WAY OF
UNDERSTANDING IT.

3. UNPACKING POWER

Understanding and analyzing power is a prerequisite for effective advocacy. Power is everywhere, but there is no one way of understanding it. Often power is seen as held by actors, some of whom are powerful while others are relatively powerless. This most commonly recognised form of power, **‘power over’**, has many negative associations for people, such as repression, force, coercion, discrimination, corruption, and abuse. Power from this point of view is a win-lose kind of relationship. In the absence of alternative models and relationships, people repeat the ‘power over’ pattern in their personal relationships, communities and institutions. Therefore, as advocates for change, we need to focus on more collaborative ways of exercising and using power. Three alternatives – **‘power with’**, **‘power to’** and **‘power within’** – offer positive ways of expressing power that create the possibility of forming more equitable relationships.

EXPRESSION OF POWER	WHAT DOES IT MEAN IN PRACTICE?
‘power to’ : individual ability to act	Citizen education and leadership development is rooted in the belief that every individual has the power to make a difference.
‘power with’ : collective action, the ability to act together	Power with helps build bridges across different interests, multiplies talents and knowledge.
‘power within’ : individual or collective sense of self-worth, value, dignity	Enhancing the power within individuals builds their capacities to imagine, raise aspirations about change.

(Framework developed through the work of Just Associates)



THOUSANDS
OF PROTESTERS
SHOWED UP
ACROSS VARIOUS
LOCATIONS, AND
THIS PRESENTED
A POWERFUL
CHALLENGE TO
THE JUNTA'S
ARMED PRESENCE.
THE POWER OF
COLLECTIVE ACTION
IS TYPIFIED BY THIS
EXAMPLE FROM
SUDAN.

Understanding power involves both a personal and political analysis of institutions and values. Analysing the underlying power relationships and interests in advocacy for democracy is crucial and failure to deal with the complexities of power can lead to missed opportunities and poor strategic choices.

As we saw in Part One, the umbrella Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) which united professionals from various disciplines – including lawyers, doctors and teachers – was able to realise mammoth support for the campaign activities that were targeted at expressing citizens' desire for an end to military rule and a transition to civilian government. Thus, thousands of protesters showed up across various locations, and this presented a powerful challenge to the junta's armed presence. The power of collective action is typified by this example from Sudan. The recognition of the importance of combined actions was especially critical and shows that the population was attentive to the undercurrents of power in Sudanese society. Intending or already existing movements ought to invest in power analysis, which will enhance their capacity for influence and effective advocacy.

DIMENSIONS OF POWER

The complexity of the dimensions of power and their interaction is best presented by the [Powercube](#) approach, developed by John Gaventa of the Power, Participation and Social Change team at IDS. This useful tool for identifying levels, spaces and faces of power and analysing how they interact with each other allows you to conduct a comprehensive power analysis of any context or issue, helping you fully explore relationships and forces to find potential entry points for advocacy and ways of challenging power dynamics.

The three dimensions are the levels (local, national, global), the faces (visible, hidden, invisible) and the spaces (closed, invited, created/claimed).

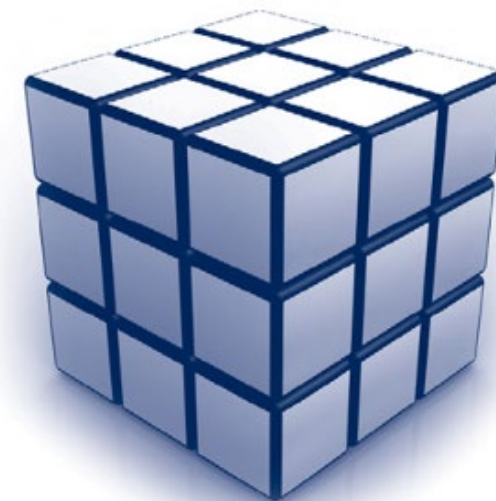


ADVOCACY SHOULD
GO FAR BEYOND
CHANGING ONE
POLICY INTO
CHANGING THE
POWER STRUCTURE
AND HOW
ORDINARY PEOPLE
PERCEIVE THEIR
OWN ABILITY TO
INFLUENCE THE
DECISION-MAKING
PROCESSES.

Visible power is linked with formal and observable decision making, hidden power with agenda setting behind the scenes, excluding people and topics from debates, and invisible power with social conditioning, ideology and values shaping public opinion and needs, often internalised (related to ‘power within’). When analysing power for advocacy it is important to have in mind that hidden power is not always a bad thing, and that changes at the level of visible power are not sustainable without work on invisible power.

The spaces of power refer to decision-making arenas and forums for action, but they can also include other ‘spaces’ that are seen as opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships which affect their lives and interests. In closed spaces decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any pretence of broadening the boundaries for inclusion. With the growth of new forms of ‘participatory governance’, invited spaces are created by various authorities at every level, from local to national policy and even to global forums. Claimed are all those spaces that range from ones created by social movements and community associations to those simply involving natural places where people gather to debate, discuss and resist, outside of the institutionalised policy arenas.

In advocacy, it is essential to appreciate the interrelationship between change and power. However, advocacy is often undertaken without a clear understanding, or proper analysis, of how change occurs. Advocacy should go far beyond changing one policy into changing the power structure and how ordinary people perceive their own ability to influence the decision-making processes. Therefore, policy change is just the first outcome level; systemic change is the second, and democratic change the third.



51 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY


HAVING PEOPLE'S
POWER AND
PARTICIPATION
AS THE ULTIMATE
ADVOCACY
GOAL LIBERATES
ADVOCACY FROM
THE NARROW VIEW
THAT ADVOCACY
IS PRIMARILY TO
CHANGE POLICIES.

Although the three levels of outcomes are closely connected, it is critically important to recognise that the ultimate goal that we should seek while doing advocacy is to help people gain confidence in their power and use this power to effectively participate in the decision-making processes. Having people's power and participation as the ultimate advocacy goal liberates advocacy from the narrow view that advocacy is primarily to change policies. In achieving all these three categories of outcomes, a strong civil society plays a critical role in providing a medium for people to analyse their collective situation, express their opinions, come up with appropriate advocacy strategies, and get themselves organised to address issues of their concern.

GLOBAL LEVEL	CLOSED	INVITED	CLAIMED
Visible	United Nations General Assembly	Global thematic consultations	Beyond 2015 campaign
Hidden	Powerful Member States	Corporate sector pushing for market-led solutions	Leading agencies or highly influential individuals imposing their positions
Invisible	Dominant ideology (i.e. neoliberalism)	Tokenistic approach to consultation from decision-makers	Illiteracy and limited access to internet-based participatory processes of poor and excluded



A TOC TYPICALLY ADDRESSES THE LINKAGES AMONG THE STRATEGIES, OUTCOMES AND GOALS THAT SUPPORT A BROADER MISSION OR VISION, ALONG WITH THE UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS THAT ARE RELATED TO THESE LINKAGES.

4. HOW CHANGE HAPPENS

Theory of change (ToC) can be defined as the conceptual model that explores change and how it happens. A ToC typically addresses the linkages among the strategies, outcomes and goals that support a broader mission or vision, along with the underlying assumptions that are related to these linkages. While strategy describes how we will get from “here” to “there”, ToC connects the how with the why. Therefore, it is not predictive but a hypothetical projection of the future, full of assumptions in a very specific moment and in a very specific context.

Hivos (2015) has distinguished three dimensions of ToC, which are:

1. A way of thinking (an overall approach to navigate the complexity of social change)
2. A process (an ongoing reflection-action learning cycle)
3. A product (a narrative and/or visual representation that offers a framework for sense-making of what needs to be done to bring the desired outcome).

ToC as a process practically coincides with the advocacy strategy cycle approached through an evaluative and learning-focused lens.

As a product, ToC is a ‘temporary snapshot’ of the foreseen pathway for change, a visual map representing a complex and uncertain desired future in a structured and logical way. No matter which way you will decide to represent ToC in the paper, you need to include the following four elements:

1. *The problem* (defining the problem and its underlying drivers and consequences- see chapter 9)
2. *The path* (working backwards from the long-term impact to what changes need to happen, by whom and how – see chapters 10, 11)
3. *The assumptions* (the problem, the path and the desired outcome are connected to each other with assumptions and pre-conditions in an “only if...so that” logic)
4. *Our role* (this is all about us, our strengths, our tactics, our efforts, our estimated contribution to the desired impact – see chapters 6,7,10,11,13)



TOC AS A WAY OF
THINKING IS ABOUT
PERSONAL BELIEFS,
WORLDVIEWS,
IDEOLOGIES
AND SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL
THEORIES THAT
INFORM OUR
INTERPRETING
THE WORLD AND
UNDERSTANDING
HOW CHANGE
HAPPENS AND WHY.

THEORY OF CHANGE ILLUSTRATION/GRAPH (EXAMPLE)



ToC as a way of thinking is about personal beliefs, worldviews, ideologies and social and political theories that inform our interpreting the world and understanding how change happens and why. When advocating for policy and social change, this macro-level understanding of change, along with a deeper understanding and analysis of power dynamics at play, are the critical starting points for uncovering deeply rooted assumptions.

Sarah Stachowiak (2015) selected 10 theories grounded in diverse disciplines and worldviews that are relevant to the domain of advocacy and policy change and included them in a brief paper titled “[PATHWAYS TO CHANGE: 10 Theories to Inform Advocacy and Policy Change Efforts](#)” published by the Organizational Research Services Impact of the Center for Evaluation Innovation. The author organises the theories in two categories, those with a global view on how policy change happens and those with a view on specific advocacy tactics. In addition to the underlying assumptions associated with each theory, the author suggests when each theory may be useful in advocacy initiatives.



ADVOCACY CIVIC
GROUPS AND
CIVIL SOCIETY
ORGANISATIONS
AND ALLIANCES
GAIN THEIR
LEGITIMACY
THROUGH
DIVERSE SOURCES
WHICH CAN BE
SUMMARISED UNDER
FIVE FUNDAMENTAL
PILLARS

5. SECURING LEGITIMACY

Legitimacy is one of the most crucial concepts in doing advocacy work. If CSOs are asking officials and power holders to be accountable to them, they must prove their legitimacy to those officials and power holders. Being seen as a credible and reliable player is key for successful advocacy.

Advocacy civic groups and civil society organisations and alliances gain their legitimacy through diverse sources which can be summarised under five fundamental pillars:



A townhall meeting at the UN headquarters

Source: flickr



AS CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS ARE ‘SELF-APPOINTED’ RATHER THAN ‘ELECTED’, THEY DRAW THEIR AUTHORITY FROM THEIR PERCEIVED ABILITY TO REPRESENT BROADER SOCIETAL NEEDS AND DEMANDS, THAT IS, HAVING AN IMPLICIT OR EXPLICIT MANDATE TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THEIR CONSTITUENCIES.

IDENTITY-BASED LEGITIMACY (WHO WE ARE)

As civil society organisations are ‘self-appointed’ rather than ‘elected’, they draw their authority from their perceived ability to represent broader societal needs and demands, that is, having an implicit or explicit mandate to represent the interests of their constituencies. Therefore, civic groups might first become legitimate by virtue of who they are as members of society. For instance, organisations that are established in and led by the communities they purport to represent or membership-based organisations with a wide base of supporters are less prone to be discredited as illegitimate than those that fight for the interests and on behalf of outsiders or those that do not receive significant public support.

In the case study that featured Ugandan farmers in Part One, the Uganda National Farmers Federation was able to garner the support of especially smallholder farmers by articulating the interests of the latter and engaging in acts of solidarity with them. This gave the UNFFE a tangible constituency, thereby conferring legitimacy and authenticity. Members of Parliament, who eventually voted in favour of the removal of taxes on agricultural inputs, felt the connection between UNFFE’s advocacy and their voters, most of whom eke a living from smallholder agriculture.

In contexts where the power, authority and political legitimacy of the government elites is contested, advocacy organisations struggle to legitimate their actions, as they do not remain politically neutral and are often seen as a threat by the governments. The level of vulnerability of a civil society organisation in a state with shrinking civic and political space depends also on the identity of the organisation. Therefore, organisations that advocate for issues that are considered to be ‘sensitive and political’ are more likely to experience hostility and restrictions, with those with a lower degree of organisational legitimacy being the most vulnerable. Organisations may increase their legitimacy vis-à-vis the governments, not only by the extent to which they meet or represent the interests and demands of a specific constituency (pragmatic legitimacy), but also by the level of alignment with social norms, values and standards about how civil society is expected to operate (normative legitimacy), and the level of acceptance and recognition they receive as part of the wider societal narratives and structures (cognitive legitimacy).





IT IS IMPORTANT TO
UNDERLINE THAT
OUR CAUSE DOES
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POPULAR, AT LEAST
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MANY WIDELY
ACCEPTED CAUSES
AND VALUES WERE
NOT ACCEPTED IN
OUR COMMUNITIES
IN THE BEGINNING;
VOTING RIGHT FOR
WOMEN IS ONE
EXAMPLE.

CAUSE-BASED LEGITIMACY (WHAT WE DO)

What civic groups do and the issues they address determine their legitimacy. Having a legitimate cause is a prerequisite in social justice advocacy.

Indeed, in the case of Ugandan farmers, the quest for the removal of taxes on agricultural inputs was a legitimate cause, out of which every farmer was bound to benefit. Moreover, the population of consumers was similarly bound to benefit from lower food prices if the said taxes were removed. Causes must be grounded in a tangible and relatable issue.

Any civil society group, supported by real people, having its own constituencies, campaigning and advocating for its cause is not by default legitimate. The most characteristic example is the Ku Klux Klan, the violent white supremacist group that committed many crimes, including murders, against blacks and other minorities in the United States.

It is important to underline that our cause does not have to be popular, at least at the beginning. Many widely accepted causes and values were not accepted in our communities in the beginning; voting right for women is one example. Therefore, non-existence or rejection of some values does not necessarily mean that such values are not good in themselves. They might simply mean that we need to work hard in challenging the invisible power, the deeply rooted existing values and building strong constituencies around them.





DOWNWARD
ACCOUNTABILITY,
OPENNESS,
TRANSPARENCY,
AND 'BRINGING
YOUR OWN HOUSE
INTO ORDER' ARE
PREREQUISITES FOR
ORGANISATIONS TO
GAIN LEGITIMACY
ALONG WITH
THEIR ALIGNMENT
WITH THE LEGAL
AND REGULATORY
FRAMEWORKS
IN THE CONTEXT
IN WHICH THEY
OPERATE.

MODUS-BASED LEGITIMACY (HOW WE DO IT)

The way civil society groups carry out their activities also contributes to their legitimacy.

Downward accountability, openness, transparency, and 'bringing your own house into order' are prerequisites for organisations to gain legitimacy along with their alignment with the legal and regulatory frameworks in the context in which they operate.

The farmers' federation in Uganda presented arguments for the removal of taxes on agricultural inputs in a non-partisan and evidence-based manner. Their position papers, working briefs and press statements provided clear and concise information about the implications of Value Added Tax on agricultural products. Therefore, UNFFE enjoyed unassailable legitimacy because its methods were credible and transparent.

Political independence and neutrality are essential elements that increase civil society organisations' legitimacy. However, in polarised political contexts and when the advocacy goal is directly related to the shrinking or restricted political and civic space, then civic groups need to choose very carefully both their narratives and tactics to avoid being accused of being partisan political actors covered up as non-partisan political actors.



NETWORKING
AND WORKING IN
BROADER POSSIBLE
ALLIANCES AND
COALITIONS, BY
ITSELF IS NOT
ENOUGH TO SECURE
PEOPLE-BASED
LEGITIMACY, BUT
ASSOCIATION
WITH GRASSROOTS
CIVIC GROUPS AND
MOVEMENTS IS KEY.

PEOPLE-BASED LEGITIMACY (WITH WHOM WE DO IT)

Civic organisations draw legitimacy from those with whom they work. International Non-Governmental Organisations have increasingly encountered the criticism that they are not representative organisations in any obvious sense, bringing their credibility as representatives of their constituents into question.

Uganda National Farmers Federation was a legitimate institution because it comprised farmers, participants in the agricultural value chain like produce vendors/sellers, and the general population. As such, UNFFE was not a detached or aloof entity purporting to represent the interests of farmers when it led the campaign for the removal of taxes on agricultural product inputs.

Networking and working in broader possible alliances and coalitions, by itself is not enough to secure people-based legitimacy, but association with grassroots civic groups and movements is key.

If speaking with is at the heart of people-based legitimacy, speaking for and on behalf of needs secured lines of accountability on how decisions are taken and how people are participating and being represented.





WHEN
PERFORMANCE
IS DIFFICULT
TO MEASURE
AND SUCCESS
IS DIFFICULT
TO ATTRIBUTE,
ACCOUNTABILITY
BECOMES VERY
COMPLEX.

IMPACT-BASED LEGITIMACY (WHAT IMPACT WE HAVE)

Advocacy organisations in order to gain their legitimacy towards all their stakeholders (people and communities, partners, supporters, donors, policy makers) need to be able to show and prove the achievements of their efforts.

When performance is difficult to measure and success is difficult to attribute, accountability becomes very complex. When advocacy is confined to a specific geographical or thematic issue CSOs may feel confident about whom they should be accountable to.

For example, following the successful effort and partial gains made by the UNFFE (for removal of taxes on agricultural inputs in Uganda), and the SPA (for a peaceful transition from military to civilian rule) respectively, the two entities boosted their legitimacy because of the impact they had on resolving or improving the issues they were invested in combating.

However, if the advocacy aims to change a policy at a more abstract level it can be unclear whom you should be accountable to and demonstrating the relevance of grassroots work to macro-level advocacy can be problematic.



COALITIONS
CAN BE FORMAL
OR INFORMAL
BASED ON THE
MEMBERSHIP
CRITERIA AND
STATUS, AND
LOCAL, NATIONAL,
REGIONAL OR
INTERNATIONAL
BASED ON THE
GEOGRAPHIC AREA.

6. WORKING IN COALITION

If you want to walk fast, walk alone
If you want to walk far, walk together

African proverb

Although it is possible to do advocacy work on your own, it is more effective to work in collaboration with others. Partnerships can start small, and they can either stay small or be enlarged during the advocacy process. Partnership should include only partners committed to our cause, but this does not mean that we should limit partners within our sector. We may also consider inviting “non-traditional partners” with whom we can define shared problems, identify solutions that are acceptable to the larger community, and accomplish mutually defined goals.

Coalitions can be formal or informal based on the membership criteria and status, and local, national, regional or international based on the geographic area.

Working in coalitions has both advantages and disadvantages. An important precondition for effective advocacy is the optimisation of the pros and minimisation of the cons.

61 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY

THE COALITION WAS
ALSO SUCCESSFUL
BECAUSE IT WAS
ABLE TO ATTRACT
THE PARTICIPATION
OF LIKE-MINDED
ORGANISATIONS
IN THE IMMEDIATE
SOUTHERN AFRICA
REGION AND
BEYOND.

PROS

1. Can involve groups with different skills and experience (complementarity)
2. Can reach a wider variety of donors, policy-makers, media
3. Coordinated activities mean less duplication
4. Broad participation increases credibility and legitimacy
5. Ensures coherence of policy positions and approach from network members
6. More groups mean a larger 'voice'
7. Participants operating in different geographical locations can create momentum and impact on public opinion
8. Cooperation allows for division of labour and sharing of resources
9. Required consultation and communication can enrich understanding of issues and create new opportunities for implementation
10. Any backlash from authorities will be diffused among participants

The coalition that was formed and led by the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) against the draconian Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) was successful because it was popular and enjoyed legitimacy amongst constituencies like media practitioners and the majority of citizens engaged in digital activism and advocacy. The coalition was also successful because it was able to attract the participation of like-minded organisations in the immediate Southern Africa region and beyond.



THE SUDANESE
PROFESSIONALS
ASSOCIATION
(SPA) HAD TO
REGULARLY ENGAGE
IN PAINSTAKING
CONSENSUS-
BUILDING ACROSS
THE VARIOUS
PROFESSIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS –
SOMETHING THAT
BROAD COALITIONS
OFTEN HAVE TO
CONTEND WITH.

CONS

1. Requires active management
2. Progress towards aims may be slower, as substantial time is spent trying to convince each other about issues instead of focusing on decision-making
3. Can limit efforts to 'lowest common denominator' consensus
4. Some participants may take more than they give
5. Often relies on one or two key leaders – but when they leave, networks can struggle to continue
6. Each organisation's individual profile may be lost
7. Some participants may grab public profile for themselves
8. Issues of accountability, credibility and responsibility are more complicated, particularly as networks become larger and more institutionalised

The Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) had to regularly engage in painstaking consensus-building across the various professional associations – something that broad coalitions often have to contend with. This leads to lowest-common-denominator-compromises and can drag processes out for longer than they should ideally last.

TIPS FOR SETTING UP AND MANAGING COALITIONS SUCCESSFULLY

Establish a clear participatory decision-making process that enables each coalition member to be involved.

1. Establish a clear operating structure. Vertical, hierarchical structures are rarely appropriate for developing coalitions – consider a more fluid horizontal structure, based on team-work and rotating responsibilities.
2. Establish a steering group to guide and monitor implementation of the work and make adjustments regularly.
3. Define management responsibility, how finances are raised, how resources are distributed, how members are expected to participate, and the consequences for members who fail to uphold their commitments to the coalition.
4. Set up a fair division of roles and responsibilities to manage the workload.
5. For specific tasks and activities, it might be beneficial to form subgroups. Subgroups should report back and be accountable to the larger coalition.
6. When conflicts or disagreements arise, it is important to establish dispute procedures in advance (possibly use a mediator).
7. Establish a clear communication system. Member organisations should be kept aware of developments and changes in the coalition on a regular basis.
8. Fill expertise gaps by recruiting new members or upskilling current ones.
9. Network to broaden the coalition's base of support (co-operate with other coalitions and alliances or broaden the coalition to gain a wider base of support).
10. Plan events incorporating credible spokespersons from different partner organisations.
11. Create a member database (name, organisation, type and focus of organisation, contact details, etc.).
12. Plan well ahead – coalition action can be cumbersome.
13. Celebrate successes. Motivation keeps coalitions going.
14. If the coalition is going well, consider the pros and cons of creating a 'secretariat' (an office, with a paid coordinator or other staff).





ADVOCACY
GROUPS AND
ORGANISATIONS
MAY SEEK
EXTERNAL SUPPORT
(CONSULTANTS) TO
HELP THEM ASSESS
THEIR CAPACITY,
HOWEVER SELF-
ASSESSMENT
IS KEY IN THE
IDENTIFICATION OF
ORGANISATIONAL
PREPAREDNESS
TO MOVE TO THE
NEXT STEP.

7. CAPACITY BUILDING

A key question which an organisation or a group of organisations needs to answer before getting involved to any advocacy effort is *how effective are we with respect to our capacity to carry out a successful advocacy programme?*

TCC Group, in their framework for determining advocacy capacity “[What Makes an Effective Advocacy Organisation: A Framework for Determining Advocacy Capacity](#)”, identify four core capacity areas that organisations or coalitions planning advocacy need to consider:

- Leadership (strategic visioning and rootedness, level of Board’s engagement, ability to motivate, persuade and share)
- Adaptability (ongoing assessment of needs, risks and the environment, flexibility in resource allocations and use, agility in strategic partnerships)
- Management (effective and efficient organisation of resources including people, systems, processes, time and funds), and
- Technical capacity (skills and capacities required including research, communication, fundraising, lobbying, campaigning, financial management, legal, administration etc., and associated tools and technology)

Advocacy groups and organisations may seek external support (consultants) to help them assess their capacity, however self-assessment is key in the identification of organisational preparedness to move to the next step.

Bolder Advocacy, a programme of the [Alliance of Justice](#), has developed [The Advocacy Capacity Tool \(ACT\)](#), a self-assessment tool that nonprofit organisations, coalitions and groups can use to assess their current capacity – or readiness – to engage in advocacy efforts. Access to the tool is free and can be completed online.



USERS OF A SWOT ANALYSIS NEED TO ASK AND ANSWER QUESTIONS THAT GENERATE MEANINGFUL INFORMATION FOR EACH CATEGORY (STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES, OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS) TO MAKE THE ANALYSIS USEFUL AND FIND THEIR COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE.

SWOT ANALYSIS

A very popular and easy to use tool that helps you to assess internal preparedness for advocacy and external direct influences is the SWOT analysis.

Users of a SWOT analysis need to ask and answer questions that generate meaningful information for each category (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) to make the analysis useful and find their competitive advantage. Strengths and weaknesses are internally oriented while opportunities and threats are externally oriented.

Internal areas to be assessed include all the four key capacity areas suggested above. Although a SWOT analysis starts with a brainstorming of ideas and perceptions of people participating in the exercise, it is important that after a round of unprompted brainstorming, a facilitator asks specific questions about more concrete elements of the covered areas. (such as credibility, accountability, legitimacy, resources, expertise, funding, working with others, management, governance, etc.)

External areas include the political, social, economic, legal or technological environment. For the purpose of this exercise, the opportunities and threats identified are linked to their ability to influence the design and implementation of our advocacy strategy. A more detailed analysis of the external environment is needed when we do the policy analysis at a later stage.

Once the SWOT analysis has been conducted, we conclude the exercise by asking ourselves:

- How can we maximise our strengths and counter our weaknesses?
- How can we exploit our opportunities and minimise our threats?

66 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY

	HELPFUL to achieving the objectives	HARMFUL to achieving the objectives
INTERNAL ORIGIN attributes of the organisation	STRENGTHS What are your strengths, according to your self-assessment; according to others? • Skills, capabilities, resources • Links with partners • Funding base • Brand awareness • Commitment • Political credibility etc	WEAKNESSES What are your weaknesses? According to your self-assessment; according to others? • lack of staff skills • uncertain funding • internal squabbling, low morale • limited community support • no common vision of advocacy etc
EXTERNAL ORIGIN attributes of the environment	OPPORTUNITIES What external trends or conditions may positively impact you? • elections • a reform process • new policy initiatives • incidents that have caught public attention etc.	THREATS What external trends or conditions may negatively impact you? • lack of coordination among NGOs, • religious or political forces which go against social change • limited political freedom • lack of transparency in the political process etc.

In the case of Sudan's pro-democracy movement, for example, a SWOT analysis would feature the following:

STRENGTHS

- *Popular citizens' support*
- *Strong media (electronic and print) footprint*

WEAKNESSES

- *Language barrier for non-Arabic speaking audiences in the region and Africa*
- *Existing alliances with repressive regimes in the region and beyond*

OPPORTUNITIES

- *Progressive Sudanese Diaspora that supports the pro-democracy efforts back home*
- *Inspiration from successful citizen uprisings during the Arab Spring from a decade ago*

THREATS

- *Internet and communications blackouts by the ruling junta*
- *Use of disproportionate force by the military*



POLICY ADVOCACY
TAKES PLACE
IN A POLITICAL
CONTEXT, WHICH
INCLUDES EXISTING
POLICIES AND
POLICY-MAKING
PROCESSES, FORMAL
AND INFORMAL
STRUCTURES,
POLICY MAKERS
AND RELATED
POWER DYNAMICS.

8. GATHERING EVIDENCE

Evidence-based advocacy is a process based on data and information from different sectors (research, policy, action groups, clinicians, practitioners, etc.) analysed and used in order to influence public debate about a policy issue and impact policy making. An evidence-based decision-making approach stands in contrast to an opinion-based one, which relies heavily on either the selective use of evidence (for example, on single studies irrespective of quality) or on the untested views of individuals or groups, often inspired by ideological standpoints, prejudices or speculative conjecture. Evidence-based decisions bring a focus on solutions rather than just policies.

Gaining deeper understanding of your advocacy issue and gathering evidence to support it is a necessary step before setting your advocacy goal. Policy advocacy takes place in a political context, which includes existing policies and policy-making processes, formal and informal structures, policy makers and related power dynamics. The research on the political context and the analysis of stakeholders involved is one of the most important and distinct stages of an advocacy strategy, which is covered by detail in a later chapter of this toolkit. Any advocacy issue does not appear from nowhere, therefore we need to place it within the historical context by providing the 'bigger picture' and the background information that helps to place the issue in context. At the same time, our issue is not isolated but exists within a particular social context, the complexity and cultural dynamics of which need to be researched. Often, researchers narrow their focus on legislative processes – however, looking at the wider socio-economic environment is critical. When advocating for civic space, evidence strengthens the credibility of our arguments and provides concrete information for allegations of rights violations, marginalisation, inequality, or discrimination. Most importantly, in restrictive contexts, generating respective data allows advocates to tackle misinformation and fake news from state and non-state actors.



AIPPA'S
CONTRAVENTIONS
OF THE
CONSTITUTION OF
ZIMBABWE AND
INTERNATIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS
INSTRUMENTS
TO WHICH THE
COUNTRY IS PARTY
ADDED TO THE
WEIGHT OF THE
CAMPAIGN.

An indicative list of 10 basic questions a researcher may ask to gather data, information and evidence is:

1. When and how did this issue begin?
2. What are some of the things that led to, or may have influenced, this issue?
3. How does the issue impact the whole or parts of the society?
4. Who in the community/society is involved, either positively or negatively, in the issue?
Are there tensions between groups?
5. Does religion, culture and/or societal ideologies play a role in this issue?
6. Who are the people in decision-making power involved, and what has been their engagement so far?
7. How are policy-making decisions made?
8. How can people engage with the decision-makers?
9. How are people's voices represented?
10. How are policies administered and implemented?

No matter what the issue is, using only credible sources and cross-checked information collected as well as bringing to the fore the voices of people through case studies and quotations must be the basis of the research process.

This much was evident in the campaign against the repressive AIPPA. MISA (Media Institute of Southern Africa) and its partners in the coalition made a compelling argument that articulated the socioeconomic and political ramifications of having such a harsh, indiscriminate law as part of the corpus of a country like Zimbabwe.

This evidence compelled stakeholders to appreciate the severity of the issue and participate more meaningfully in the campaign to repeal the said law. AIPPA's contraventions of the Constitution of Zimbabwe and international human rights instruments to which the country is party added to the weight of the campaign.

GOOD PRACTICE IN ANY RESEARCH PROCESS INVOLVES THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

1. Identify influences on the research area
2. State the research question
3. Review the relevant literature
4. Select the appropriate approach, design and method
5. Choose the study population
6. Collect the information
7. Analyse and interpret the information during the research
8. Draw conclusions and identify solutions
9. Cross-reference solutions with the policy environment
10. Make recommendations
11. Write a report based on findings and analysis
12. Design a dissemination strategy for the report.



Source: flickr

Source: VSO (2009) Participatory Advocacy: A TOOLKIT FOR VSO STAFF, VOLUNTEERS AND PARTNERS



THE EXERCISE IS GETTING DEEPER INTO THE ROOT CAUSES, THE BEHAVIOURS THAT LEAD TO THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES AND REVEAL CONDITIONS THAT REQUIRE LONG-TERM INTERVENTIONS IN ORDER TO CHANGE SOCIETAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR AT DIFFERENT LEVELS, INCLUDING THOSE AT THE FAMILY, COMMUNITY AND HIGHER DECISION-MAKING LEVELS.

9. SETTING THE ADVOCACY GOAL

The practical starting point of an advocacy strategy process is the identification of a need or a challenge to address. The problem identification can be more general (poverty, violation of a human right) or more specific (high mortality rate, access to primary education, democratic space). The advocacy goal is the overall purpose, the desired result of the advocacy initiative to address the issue or solve the problem. An advocacy goal relates to long-term change and it may take years of advocacy work to achieve it.

The main characteristics of any advocacy goal can be summarised as follows:

- States the overall aim of an advocacy strategy.
- Refers to the benefit that will be felt by those affected by an issue.
- Gives direction.
- Is long term.

A useful tool for analysing the problem, identifying root causes, setting the advocacy goal and proposing solutions is the problem tree.

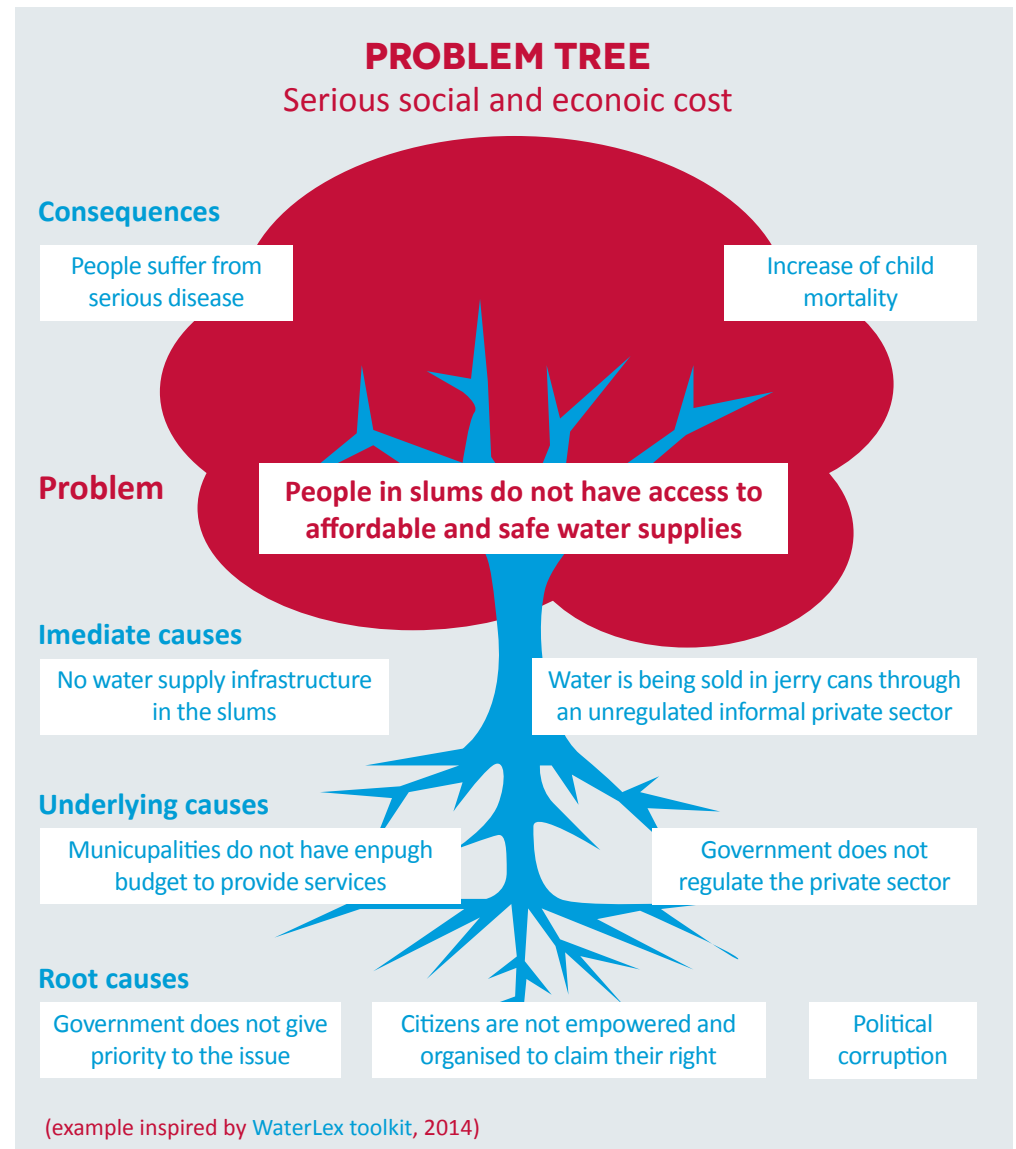
The key concept of the problem tree is that you work as a group and challenge yourself by always asking the question ‘but why?’ So, when you identify one immediate cause of the problem that you agree on, you ask ‘but why?’ trying to find the underlying causes. Underlying causes are often the consequence of policies, laws and unavailability of resources. They may reveal related complex issues and require interventions that take significant time to obtain results. The exercise is getting deeper into the root causes, the behaviours that lead to the immediate causes and reveal conditions that require long-term interventions in order to change societal attitudes and behaviour at different levels, including those at the family, community and higher decision-making levels.

Problem tree analysis is best carried out in a small focus group of about six to eight people using flip chart paper or an overhead transparency. It is important that factors can be added as the conversation progresses, and as new evidence is gathered.

The first step is to discuss and agree the problem or issue to be analysed. The problem or issue is written in the centre of the flip chart and becomes the ‘trunk’ of the tree. This becomes the ‘focal problem’. Keep in mind that at this stage the problem can be very general. The most important thing is that you all agree that this is the core issue to deal with, it is real and tangible, and you all feel very passionate about solving it.

The second step is to identify the causes of the focal problem – these become the roots of your tree – and then identify the consequences, which become the branches. You can use post-it notes or small cards that you can stick on the flipchart and rearrange if required. Work individually or in pairs to suggest root causes or consequences, but give substantial time to debate and dialogue, as this is the basis of all next steps and is important to get as deep as possible into the analysis.

An example¹ on how causal analysis work visualized in a problem tree is the following:



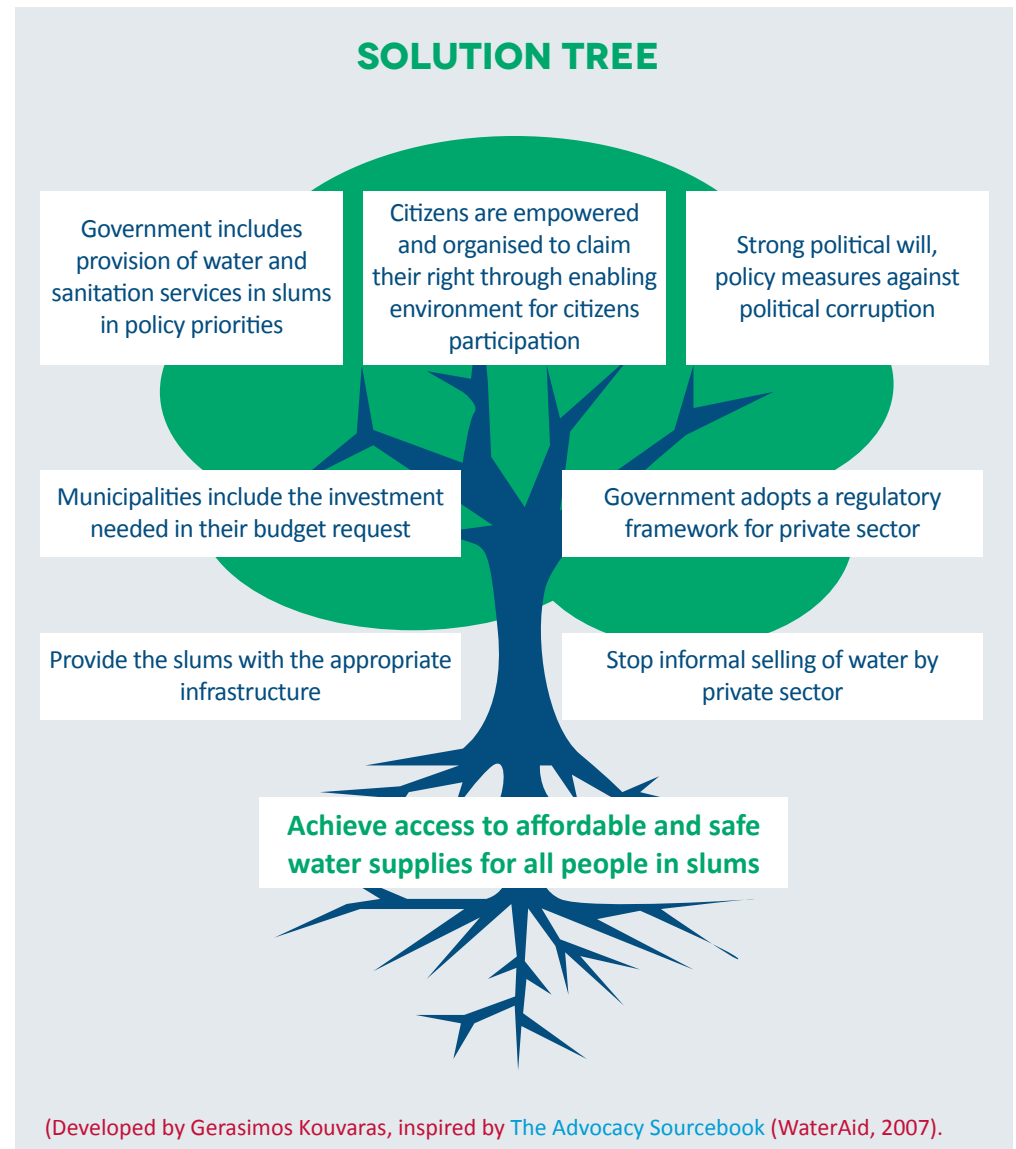
¹ The example used to explain steps 9 to 15 is developed by Gerasimos Kouvaras and inspired by *The Advocacy Sourcebook* (WaterAid, 2007).

In practice, the advocacy goal emerges by reversing the problem tree to a solutions tree, by replacing negative statements with positive ones. A solution tree identifies means-end relationships as opposed to cause-effects. This provides an overview of the range of projects or interventions that need to occur to solve the core problem.

The problem tree example presented before can be reversed in a solutions tree as follows:



Source: www.freepik.com



A PROBLEM TREE ANALYSIS FOR THE CASE OF POLICE BRUTALITY IN NIGERIA WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS

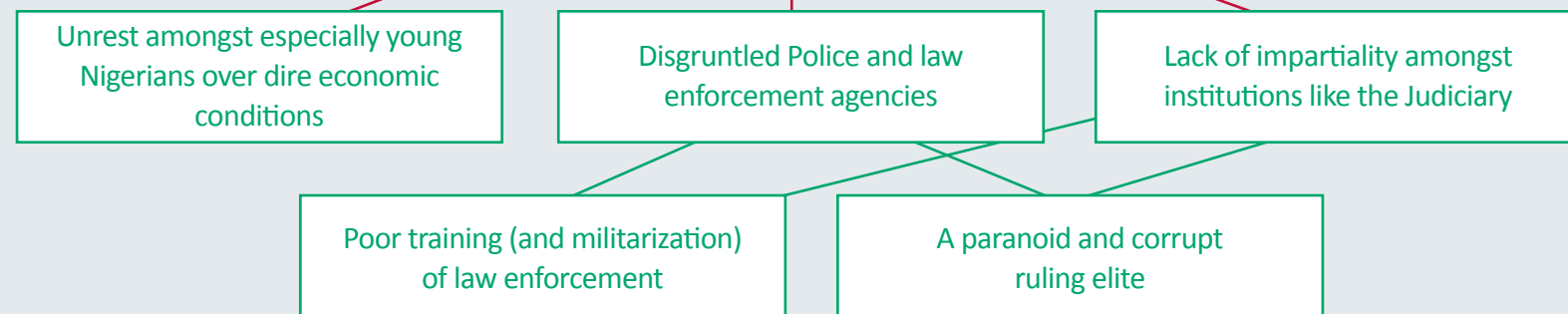
EFFECTS



CORE PROBLEM



ROOT CAUSES





A POLICY ANALYSIS
SHOULD HELP YOU
IDENTIFY OPTIONS
FOR POLICY CHANGE
AND DETERMINE THE
RELATIVE IMPACT
THEY MAY HAVE ON
THE PROBLEM.

10. STAKEHOLDERS AND POLICY MAPPING

Having identified the issue to address and clarified your policy advocacy goal, your next and most critical step is to proceed with a thorough analysis of the policy context around the issue, identify the key factors which may influence the relevant policy process and map your stakeholders. 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.

STEP 1: ANALYSE THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT

This step is partly already covered during the first round of data collection and information gathering to justify our cause and develop our advocacy goal. At this stage, we need to go deeper into the analysis of the policy context but also more broadly into the analysis of the external environment.

Key questions to address in deepening your analysis of the policy context include the following:

- What are the different policies that impact on the problem or situation you are trying to address?
- Which are the policies that have the most impact on the problem and could most help solve the problem if they were changed? (this will help you prioritise where to focus your advocacy work)
- What is the current status of the policy you will seek to change? Is it enshrined in law? Or is it simply the adopted policy or position of the current government?
- What are the mechanisms for bringing about a change in the policy? (these could be local, national, regional or international – or a combination)
- How have changes to this policy been brought about in the past in your country?
- Are there opportunities for changing the policy in the near future? (for example, a parliamentary bill on the extractives sector, or a general election)
- How and where can you access further information about a policy?



THE EASIEST TOOL TO USE FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE BROADER EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT IS THE SPELT ANALYSIS, THAT IS, THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT.

What makes national advocacy particularly contextual is the different legislative system in each country. Research should include existing laws but also enforcement of international conventions and agreements that may need to be incorporated into national legislation or be implemented. Good knowledge of the legislative environment is only one element of the policy environment. A critical element of it is the policy-making system which includes the formal and informal ways in which policies are made at different levels. In many cases, laws are agreed on paper but not enforced. Factors affecting implementation include: the nature of the bureaucratic processes, incentives, capacity, and the level of practicality and acceptability of the policy.

This analysis helps to understand the major barriers to overcome and the opportunities that exist or the future 'policy windows' for influence.

The easiest tool to use for the analysis of the broader external environment is the SPELT analysis, that is, the analysis of Social, Political, Economic, Legal and Technological environment.

Social environment

1. Are there ethnic, tribal, cultural, religious, linguistic or other divisions in the country?
2. What are the structures of traditional authority, and how important are they?
3. In which areas are there significant gender inequalities, and which groups of women or men are particularly disadvantaged?
4. Are certain ethnic, religious or other groups particularly disadvantaged?
5. Is there a history of violent conflict in the country? Is there a history of coups and other violent or unconstitutional changes of power?
6. How equitable is economic and social development in the country? Are there specific groups or regions that seem to be left out?
7. Who is civil society in the country? To what extent and how do they interact with formal and/or political structures?
8. Are there business associations with capacity to organise demands for public goods, or are interests more fragmented, with individuals seeking private deals through personal networks?

Political environment

1. How has the state's history shaped the access to political and economic power of different groups, relationships between them and perceptions of state legitimacy?
2. Are particular groups legally, or in practice, excluded from the political process?
3. What electoral system(s) is/are used at the national and sub-national levels (plurality – majority, proportional, mixed, direct or indirect) and who administers elections?
4. What do voters expect their government/elected representatives to deliver – individual patronage benefits, community-specific benefits or broader public goods?
5. How far do political parties organise around programmes rather than individuals?
6. How representative are the branches of government and do they enjoy legitimacy? What is the level of confidence of people in state institutions and where does support for the government come from?
7. Are there informal political understandings (for example, informal agreements to alternate power between different regional, ethnic or other networks)?
8. Is state-society interaction limited to personalised networks between elite groups, or is there more public engagement with broader, organised groups of citizens?
9. To what extent does the composition of the army, police and security services reflect the social composition of society?

Economic environment

1. What is the country's scoring in key economic performance indicators? (GDP, unemployment rate, inflation rate, external debt, personal and corporate tax income rate, foreign direct investment, etc.)
2. How much foreign direct investment does the country attract?
3. Is there an obvious dependence on neighbouring countries and the region, and what impact does that have?
4. What is the size of remittances coming into the economy?
5. What role do multinationals and other states play in the country?
6. What role do foreign markets and financial institutions play in the country?

Legal environment

1. What is the constitutional structure of the state? (type of government, electoral system, and the organisation of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary)
2. Are the constitution and the legal framework an outcome of a state-society negotiation and is it broadly seen to be legitimate?
3. How often has the constitution been changed, and how easily?
4. To which United Nations and regional treaties is the country party, and how is international law absorbed in national law? Are treaties ratified and implemented?
5. Which judicial, administrative or other authorities have jurisdiction over the promotion and protection of human rights, and what remedies are available to an individual who claims his/her rights have been violated?
6. Which specialised and independent oversight entities exist in the country and how do they function? (for example, electoral commission, public service commission, anti-corruption commission, human rights commission and ombudsman office)
7. To what extent is the political executive constrained by law?
8. Are there major defects in the formal systems? (for example, in the electoral system or in the definition of the security sector's role and its relationship to civilian authorities). Are gender inequalities perpetuated through law and, if so, in which pieces of legislation?

Technological environment

1. What is the government's level of interest and focus on technology?
2. How mature is the technology?
3. Has the public sector passed through a technological transformation?
4. What is the level of penetration of new technologies in the society? (internet, mobile use, etc.)
5. What is the access of farming, energy and other sectors to adequate technology?



**STAKEHOLDERS ARE
THOSE WHO HAVE
RIGHTS OR INTERESTS
IN A SYSTEM.**

STEP 2: LIST YOUR STAKEHOLDERS

Whatever tool you use, making a detailed list of all stakeholders is your first critical step to design your policy map. Stakeholders are those who have rights or interests in a system. If you are concerned with the future of a system, the stakeholders are those you should worry about. Stakeholders can be individuals, communities, social groups or organisations.

In most of the modern democracies, the key stakeholders (groups or bodies) influencing public policies are the following:

Political Parties

A political party aims to 'win' government through the electoral process. Party policies are developed to indicate what that party intends to do, while public policy is what governments actually choose to do, or not do. As the goal of both party policy and public policy is to earn as many electoral votes as possible in order to gain or maintain power and the right to govern, political parties are normally core targets of any policy advocacy strategy.

In most of the modern democracies, the key stakeholders (groups or bodies) influencing public policies are the following:

Parliament

Parliament forms the government, approves and amends legislation and the respective budgets to deliver policies and monitor the government, and it represents the voice of citizens (voters).

Interest Groups

Interest groups are any groups representing any sets of interests trying to influence the government and its policy decisions. Civil Society Organisations and networks belong to this category. The same category includes, for example, Trade Unions, Chambers of Commerce, etc.



THE PUBLIC SERVICE
IS THE MECHANISM
PUTTING DECISIONS
INTO PRACTICE.
THE LEVEL OF
AUTHORITY AND
INDEPENDENCE FROM
THE GOVERNMENT
OF 'PUBLIC
SERVANTS' VARIES
FROM COUNTRY TO
COUNTRY.

The Public Service

The public service is the mechanism putting decisions into practice. The level of authority and independence from the government of 'public servants' varies from country to country.

The Media

The media play a critical role in shaping public opinion. The media make their own decisions about what is newsworthy and what is not, and they are very powerful in influencing the government.

The Corporate Sector

In the current global economic system, the corporate sector is highly influential, if not an informal decision-maker, of policies that allow them to maximise their profits.

STEP 3: GROUP YOUR STAKEHOLDERS

In advocacy, stakeholders could break into the following general categories:

Targets: Decision-makers, those who have power to make change or to influence decisions

Constituents: Directly affected by the situation and could benefit from your advocacy

Allies: Those sharing the same aims and can help to achieve the advocacy objectives

Opponents: Opposed to what you want to achieve, blockers of change

Competitors: Compete with you for the same space or opportunity; may have the same goal with different approach or vice versa

The grouping allows you to identify your key audiences (potential targets of an advocacy campaign) so that you can move to the next step, and distinguish between "friends" (allies), "enemies" (opponents) and "antagonists" (competitors) so that you can develop your respective strategies on how to engage with them.



THE PRIMARY AUDIENCE INCLUDES DECISION MAKERS WITH THE AUTHORITY TO AFFECT THE OUTCOME FOR YOUR ADVOCACY GOAL DIRECTLY. THESE ARE THE DECISION MAKERS, THE ONES WHO MUST ACTIVELY APPROVE THE POLICY CHANGE.

STEP 4: SEPARATE YOUR TARGET AUDIENCES

Understanding who your key audiences are and how they relate to your policy is crucial when deciding who you need to engage with and how. One constructive way to separate audiences into groups is to identify primary and secondary audiences.

The primary audience includes decision makers with the authority to affect the outcome for your advocacy goal directly. These are the decision makers, the ones who must actively approve the policy change.

The secondary audiences are individuals and groups that can influence the decision makers (or primary audience). Their role is very important as they affect the opinions and actions of the decision makers. The secondary audience, depending on their role and relation to the primary audience can be either informal decision makers or pressure makers.

Some members of a primary audience can also be a secondary audience if they can influence other decision makers. In the example below, one primary audience is a secondary audience for another primary audience, and vice versa.

EXAMPLE AT NATIONAL LEVEL		
Advocacy goal: Achieve access to affordable and clean water supplies for all people in slums		
PRIMARY AUDIENCES	SECONDARY AUDIENCES	
Minister of Health (MoH)	Minister's Special Advisors Ministry of Health officials Research institutes	CSOs Private sector
Minister of Finance (MoF)	Minister of Health Development finance experts	International donors Local authorities Private sector
Members of Parliament	MoH MoF	National media Voters



AFTER FINISHING THE LIST OF ALL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY TARGET AUDIENCES AND ACTORS THAT MAY AFFECT POLICY OUTCOME, YOUR NEXT STEP IS TO PRIORITISE AND CONSIDER WHICH OF THE ACTORS ARE THE MOST INFLUENTIAL ON THE POLICY PROCESS.

STEP 5: PRIORITISE YOUR TARGET AUDIENCES

After finishing the list of all primary and secondary target audiences and actors that may affect policy outcome, your next step is to prioritise and consider which of the actors are the most influential on the policy process. In a few cases, this will not be enough, and it will be necessary to identify those actors with which the organisation or intervention has a direct relationship.

EVALUATE BY IMPORTANCE (Influential & Accessible)	Formal decision-makers	Informal decision-makers	Pressure makers
High importance	Minister of Health Minister of Finance	MoF experts	National media Private sector
Moderate importance	Parliamentarians	Research Institutes MoH advisors	Voters
Low importance		MoH officials	

STEP 6: KNOW MORE ABOUT YOUR TARGET AUDIENCES

In order to further evaluate your audiences, you need to understand the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs of your audience, which requires some audience research. In addition, it is also critical to learn about the internal norms, informal rules or codes of conduct that each audience might have.

83 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY


AFTER FINISHING THE LIST OF ALL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY TARGET AUDIENCES AND ACTORS THAT MAY AFFECT POLICY OUTCOME, YOUR NEXT STEP IS TO PRIORITISE AND CONSIDER WHICH OF THE ACTORS ARE THE MOST INFLUENTIAL ON THE POLICY PROCESS.

There are several tools you can use to do the audience research, each of them with pros and cons:

Observation (talk to people familiar to your target, gossip, read speeches, attend meetings) → cheap and quick

Surveys/Polls (use existing surveys or conduct by yourself) → ideal to learn about larger audiences, credible but very costly if self-conducted

Focus groups (for people with same characteristics) → deepen your understanding of specific issues, costly if conducted by a research agency

Interview (structured discussion with a representative of a group) → cheap, time consuming if you need to organise many of them

When you feel comfortable about the information you have gathered, fill the table below for each of your important audiences. (indicative sample below as example)

IMPORTANT AUDIENCES	Knowledge about issue/objective	Beliefs and attitudes about issue/objective	Issues the audience cares about (even unrelated to the issue)
Minister of Health	Health management background, good knowledge of the issue	Open to listen to CSOs' positions	Favouritism to support the area from which he/she comes from
Minister of Finance	Basic and biased knowledge	Opposing our views – suggests further budget cutting	Further research needed
Parliamentarians	Knowledge gaps, not informed properly to make decisions	Polarised, some of them indifferent to the issue, high degree of dependence to private sector's interests	To be re-elected
National Media	Uncertain	High government control over the media	Political scandals, Elections, Celebrities



AN EXCELLENT TOOL DESIGNED BY ENRIQUE MENDIZABAL (RAPID) THAT NOT ONLY HELPS TO IDENTIFY AND EVALUATE THE TARGET AUDIENCES BUT ALSO SUGGESTS A POSSIBLE COURSE OF ACTION TOWARDS THEM IS THE ALIGNMENT, INTEREST AND INFLUENCE MATRIX (AIIM), AN ADAPTATION OF WHICH IS PRESENTED BELOW.

STEP 7: EVALUATE YOUR TARGET AUDIENCES

An excellent tool designed by Enrique Mendizabal (RAPID) that not only helps to identify and evaluate the target audiences but also suggests a possible course of action towards them is the Alignment, Interest and Influence Matrix (AIIM), an adaptation of which is presented below.

Using the information you collected in the previous step, further evaluate your audiences by alignment and interest before being ready to map them onto the Matrix presented below. Either do the same exercise twice for each of your important audiences or, even better, work in two parallel groups where one group will evaluate the alignment of each actor with your position and the other their level of interest in the issue. Use the following questions to help you allocate the actors in the respective tables below:

Alignment:

Do the actors agree with our approach? Do the actors agree with our assumptions? Do they want to do the same things that we think need to be done? Are they thinking what we are thinking?

EVALUATE BY ALIGNMENT	Important formal decision-makers	Important informal decision-makers	Important pressure makers
Strong supporters		Research Institutions	Voters
Moderate supporters	Minister of Health	MoH advisors	
Undecided	Parliamentarians	MoH officials	National Media
Moderate opponents	Minister of Finance	MoF experts	
Strong opponents	Private sector		

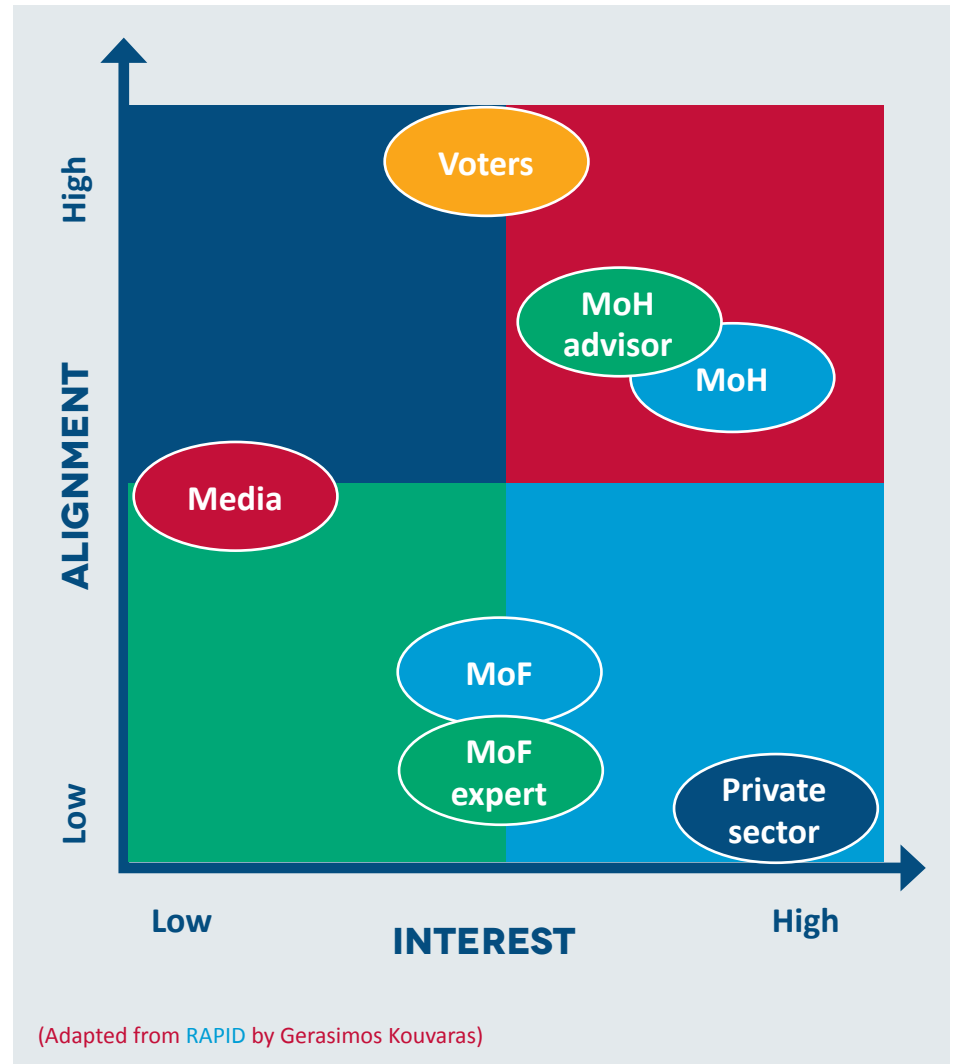
Interest:

Are they committing time and money to this issue? Do they want something to happen (whether it is for or against what we propose)? Are they going to events on the subject? Are they publicly speaking about this?

EVALUATE BY INTEREST	Important formal decision-makers	Important informal decision-makers	Important pressure makers
Keen	Minister of Health	MoH advisors Research institutions	Private sector
Moderate	Minister of Finance Parliamentarians	MoF experts	Voters
Indifferent		MoH officials	Voters

STEP 8: MAP YOUR TARGET AUDIENCES

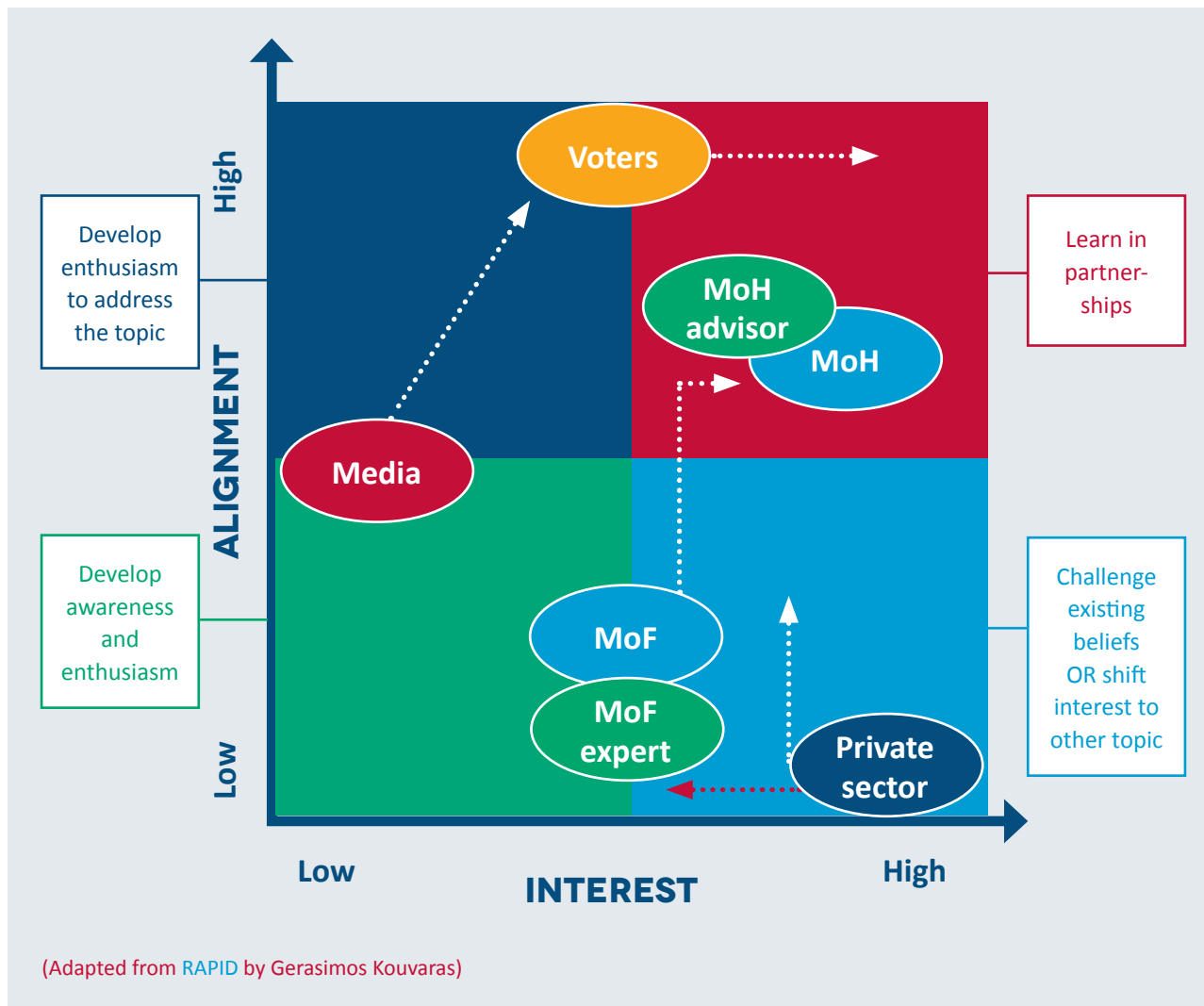
Now you are ready to allocate the actors onto the matrix, combining their level of alignment and interest. You may use names or symbols to plot the actors. You need to distinguish between high and moderate importance actors, and formal, informal decision-makers and pressure makers. If you don't like symbols then an idea is to write down the highly important actors with capital letters and moderately important ones with small letters, while using different colours for formal, informal decision makers and pressure makers. When doing the mapping, always consider their positions in relation to the others.



STEP 9: DESIGN A PATHWAY FOR CHANGE

Your next step is to develop a pathway of change for your target audiences, the trajectory that you hope each actor will follow as a result of your advocacy project. Each point along this context sensitive pathway must describe a specific change in behaviour. For secondary audiences, change is intended to have a positive influence to the decision makers. In practice the new dynamic matrix which will be created at the end of this process will inform your decision on specific advocacy objectives and the tactics to be used.

The suggested strategies for developing your pathways of change are presented in the graphic (right):





THE WORD
'OBJECTIVE' OFTEN
REFERS TO THE
DESIRED CHANGES
IN POLICY AND
PRACTICE THAT WILL
BE NECESSARY TO
HELP YOU MEET THE
ADVOCACY GOAL.

SET YOUR ADVOCACY OBJECTIVES

An **objective** is a specific thing to be achieved in the short and medium term on the way to achieving the overall goal. The word 'objective' often refers to the desired changes in policy and practice that will be necessary to help you meet the advocacy goal. It is the most important part of your strategy and is the next practical step after developing the advocacy goal itself. The problem tree analysis and the stakeholder analysis and policy mapping exercise feed this stage of the process and allow you to develop your advocacy objectives. It is worth spending time writing clear objectives, as then you will be able to write the rest of the advocacy strategy much more clearly – and you are likely to be more effective in achieving change.

THE SMARTER APPROACH

S FOR SPECIFIC **M** FOR MEASURABLE **A** FOR ACHIEVABLE
R FOR RELEVANT **T** FOR TIMED **E** FOR ETHICAL
R FOR REALISTIC

A well-defined objective should have the following characteristics:

Specific

What exactly do you want to happen? Why are you doing this and for whom and what? The more concrete you are the clearer is the objective (avoid verbs with vague meaning as sensitise, enable etc. and words like accountability or transformation etc.)

Example: In the case study regarding the suspension of the licences of a group of newspapers in Tanzania, the specific objective of the campaign was targeted at compelling the government to lift the ban on the four publications (Daima, Mawio, Mwanahalisi and Mseto).



SAY WHAT YOU ARE
GOING TO DO. A
GOOD OBJECTIVE
STATEMENT SHOULD
DESCRIBE A RESULT
WHICH REQUIRES
YOUR ACTION TO BE
ACHIEVED.

Measurable

Can we measure this objective's result? How will we know when we have achieved it? It is quite difficult to measure objectives that refer to a state of mind or a process like "enable": what you should do is to analyse more deeply with a question like "what does an enabled person do?" and try to get a measurable result from it.

Example: In Zimbabwe, and later the greater Southern African region, the objective of the campaign led by the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) was for the repeal of the draconian Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA).

Achievable

Say what you are going to do. A good objective statement should describe a result which requires your action to be achieved.

Example: The federation of farmers in Uganda advocated, lobbied and campaigned for the achievable objective of the removal of taxes on agricultural inputs by the relevant legislative and executive bodies, namely: the Parliament and Uganda Revenue Authority, respectively.

Realistic

Goals should be challenging, but not impossible to reach. Practically, this must be checked when the objective is finalised. This check may lead to reviewing the objective. An objective can be unrealistic not only by itself but also because we do not have (and we could never manage to get) the required resources to achieve it.

Example: The protest movement in Sudan sought transition from military to civilian rule. Even though this was a daunting goal, it was achievable and several steps towards that objective have been made over time.

90 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY**Time framed**

A good objective should include a time limit. By when do you want it to happen?

Example: In 2015, when students at various universities in South Africa commenced a campaign dubbed #FeesMustFall, their timeline was indefinite, but the immediate need was to ensure that the subsequent financial year's (i.e., 2016/17) national budget would be passed without increments to tuition fees. Indeed, the existing tuition caps were maintained for the coming year, and no increments have been passed since.

Ethical

It sounds self-evident but it is important to do this ethical check, as the end does not justify the means, and any advocacy objective should be aligned with our values and principles.

Example: The successful campaign for the repeal of the repressive AIPPA in Zimbabwe was grounded in the ethics and ideals of a democratic culture. A free press, and the observance of the freedoms of expression, conscience and thought are essential to the growth of a democracy. As such, this was an ethical campaign whose objective aligned with the values and principles of an open society.

Relevant

Even if an advocacy objective has all the above characteristics, it can still be irrelevant to the change we are aiming at. Every objective needs to serve and contribute to the same long term advocacy goal.

Example: Similar to the foregoing, the effort to lift the ban on newspapers in Tanzania was relevant in three broad ways. First, Tanzania's constitutional architecture upholds the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens; secondly, Tanzania is a signatory to various international instruments that uphold the freedom of the press; thirdly, Tanzania is an emerging economic powerhouse in the region and has experienced a digital revolution whose gains would be reversed by such authoritarian tendencies such as the muzzling of the press. Therefore, the campaign objective contributed towards the long-term advocacy goal of building an enduring democracy in Tanzania.

EXAMPLE OF SMART VS. “NON-SMART” OBJECTIVE	
SMART	NON-SMART
Increase funding for sanitation provision in the five poorest districts by 50%, within 2 years	Improve sanitation in poor areas

Every objective must be followed by a justification (problem/statement solution) and **success indicator** (or indicators). A success indicator is the evidence that shows progress of our efforts towards an objective.

PROBLEM	PEOPLE LIVING IN SLUMS DO NOT HAVE ACCESS TO AFFORDABLE AND SAFE WATER SUPPLIES
PROBLEM/SOLUTION STATEMENT	Water is life. Access to clean water and adequate sanitation is a human right and is an obligation of the State to fulfil it for all citizens. For every \$1 invested in sanitation, it is estimated that at least \$9 is returned to national economies in increased productivity and a reduced burden of healthcare.
GOAL	Achieve access to affordable and safe water supplies for all people living in slums

OBJECTIVE	INCREASE FUNDING FOR SANITATION PROVISION IN THE FIVE POOREST DISTRICTS BY 50%, WITHIN 2 YEARS
SUCCESS INDICATOR	Parliament signs off at least 25% increase in budget allocation for sanitation in poor areas in the next annual budget



THE PRIMARY
MESSAGE IS THE
MOST UNIVERSALLY
COMPELLING
STATEMENT TO ALL
AUDIENCES.

11. DEVELOPING KEY MESSAGES

Developing one clear and strong overarching message is what you need to do at this stage. A good message should encapsulate everything you need to say.

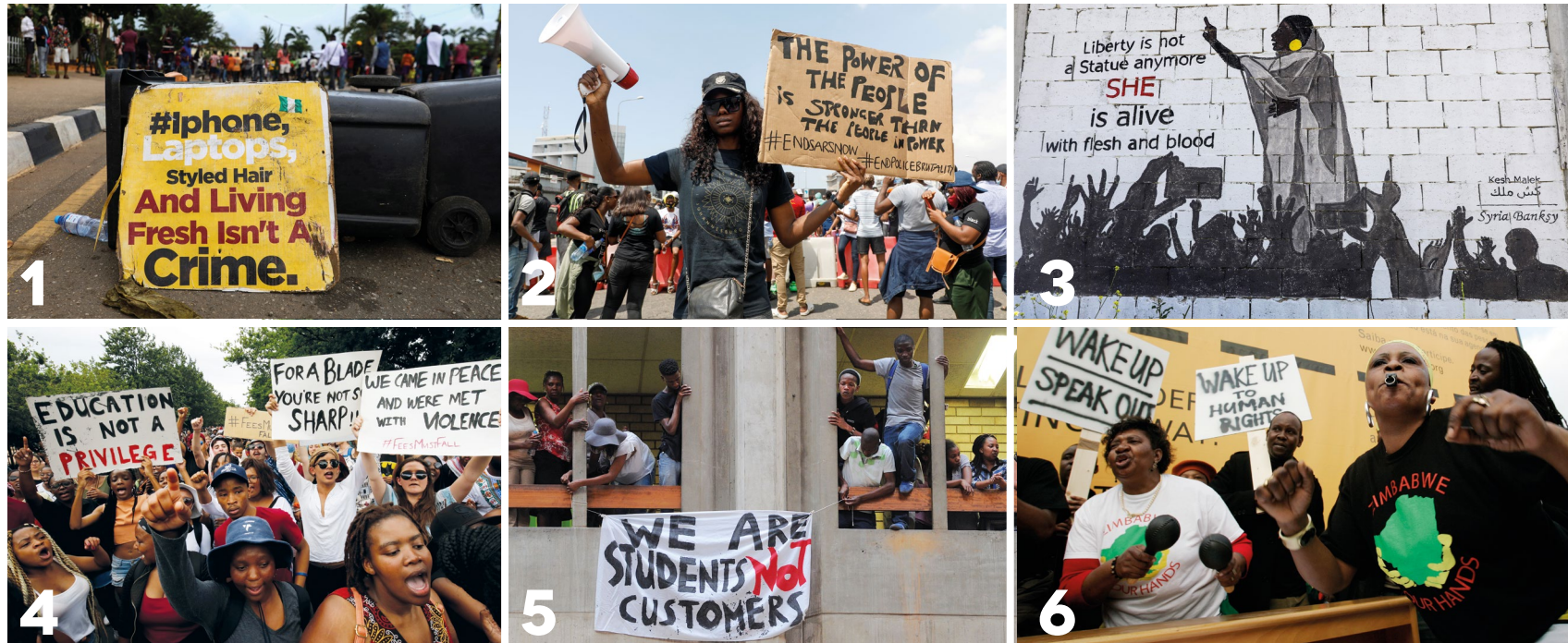
CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLEAR AND EFFECTIVE MESSAGE	
SMART	NON-SMART
Content • summarises the change you want to bring about • includes a deadline for when you want to achieve it • includes the reasons why the change is important • includes any action you want the audience to take in response	Nature • is short and catchy • is understandable by anyone (jargon free) • is memorable

The messages can be both primary and secondary. The primary message is the most universally compelling statement to all audiences. When a particular audience needs reinforcement, a primary message is often supported by secondary messages. Secondary messages often explain how the objectives of the primary message will be met. There may be several secondary messages tailored to the specific needs of an audience.

An example of a primary and secondary message, translated into a slogan format, is the following:

WATER IS LIFE
Access to clean water for all, now!

COLLAGE OF EXEMPLARY MESSAGES FROM CASE STUDIES



L-R, FROM TOP ROW: 1 Young Nigerians protesting the practice of profiling based on dress code, hairstyle, and perceived social status. (REUTERS/Temilade Adelaja) **2** A demonstrator holds a banner during a protest against alleged police brutality, in Lagos, Nigeria October 12, 2020. (REUTERS/Temilade Adelaja). **3** This picture taken on April 12, 2019 shows a view of a mural painting of Alaa Salah, a Sudanese woman propelled to internet fame after clips went viral of her leading powerful protest chants against President Omar al-Bashir, painted by a Syrian artists collective called "Kesh Malek" (Checkmate) on the wall of a farmhouse building in the rebel-held Syrian town of Kafranbel in the northwestern Idlib province. (Photo by OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AFP via Getty Image) **L-R, FROM BOTTOM ROW: 4** University students in South Africa displayed a plethora of messages, including a mischievous one that targeted then Minister for Higher Education, Blade Nzimande. Another protester is seen with a placard that underscores a crucial point: "education is not a privilege," while a third protester decries the use of force against peaceful demonstrators. (Photo by Mike Hutchings/Reuters) **5** Wits students during a protest over the increase of tuition fees. (Photo by Felix Dlangamandla/Foto24/Gallo Images/Getty Images) **6** Activists protest against the attendance of Zimbabwe's President Peter Mugabe at the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon. (Photo by REUTERS/Andrea Comas)



AS MESSENGERS DO
NOT HAVE THE DIRECT
POWER TO MAKE
DECISIONS, THEY ARE A
'SECONDARY' TARGET
AUDIENCE.

The target

Most of the time, you need to customise your core message to tailored messages directed to the different audiences that you have targeted in your advocacy objectives. When adapting your core message for a specific audience you will need to consider:

- what do they already know?
- what new information do you offer?
- what information can be persuasive for them?
- what action do you want them to take?
- what are their political and self-interests in relation to the issue?
- what group of people do they represent?
- what is their opinion or position (if any) in relation to the issue?

The messenger

The role of the messenger is critical, sometimes even more important than the message itself. The same message has a very different impact depending on who communicates it. What you need to do is to choose the most credible and/or influential messengers for each of your audiences. As messengers do not have the direct power to make decisions, they are a 'secondary' target audience. Experts, media, community-based organisations, celebrities, donors and others can be the messengers of choice depending on who we target. Rights-holders or people who your targets are accountable to – often being the constituents of your advocacy effort – can be one of the strongest messengers

The format

The format or medium is the communication channel you choose for delivering the message. Some general categories of formats include person-to-person (i.e. one-to-one lobbying meetings), print (i.e. pamphlet, letter etc.), electronic (tv, radio, internet) or artistic (street theatre, music, installations, etc.). You need to find the most compelling format to reach your target audience.



THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF THE SAME
MESSAGE SENT
BY THE SAME
MESSENGER AND IN
THE SAME FORMAT
MAY VARY DEPENDING
ON THE TIME AND
PLACE THE MESSAGE
IS DELIVERED.

The time

The effectiveness of the same message sent by the same messenger and in the same format may vary depending on the time and place the message is delivered. For example, an advocacy message sent by the public to a politician before the elections can be more effective than the same message sent at any other time.

Examples of tailor-made messages: (Source, [The Advocacy Source Book](#), WaterAid)

AUDIENCE (TARGET)	MESSAGE
Finance Minister	Nationally, diarrhoea accounts for 20% of under-five child mortality, and intestinal parasitic infections continue to undermine maternal and child nutritional status, physical and mental development. In 2000 the government pledged to reduce by 2015 the number of children who die before their fifth birthday by two-thirds as one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). A small investment in clean drinking water and low-cost sanitation facilities will yield a large return in relation to child and adult health and survival. We would like to request a meeting with you to discuss this issue further.
Parliamentarians	Research across a number of countries has shown there are wide managing impacts realised through access to water and sanitation. These include time saved from fetching water; calorie-energy saved; improved health, especially for children; positive and significant environmental impacts; increased agricultural production; avoided days lost from school; increased community capital as well as increased psychological benefits. In addition, ongoing support for communities increases their ability to sustain both water and sanitation supply systems and also hygiene behaviour changes. We know that when asked, poor people put access to water as one of their top three priorities, if not their top priority. We would like to request a meeting with you to discuss these issues further.



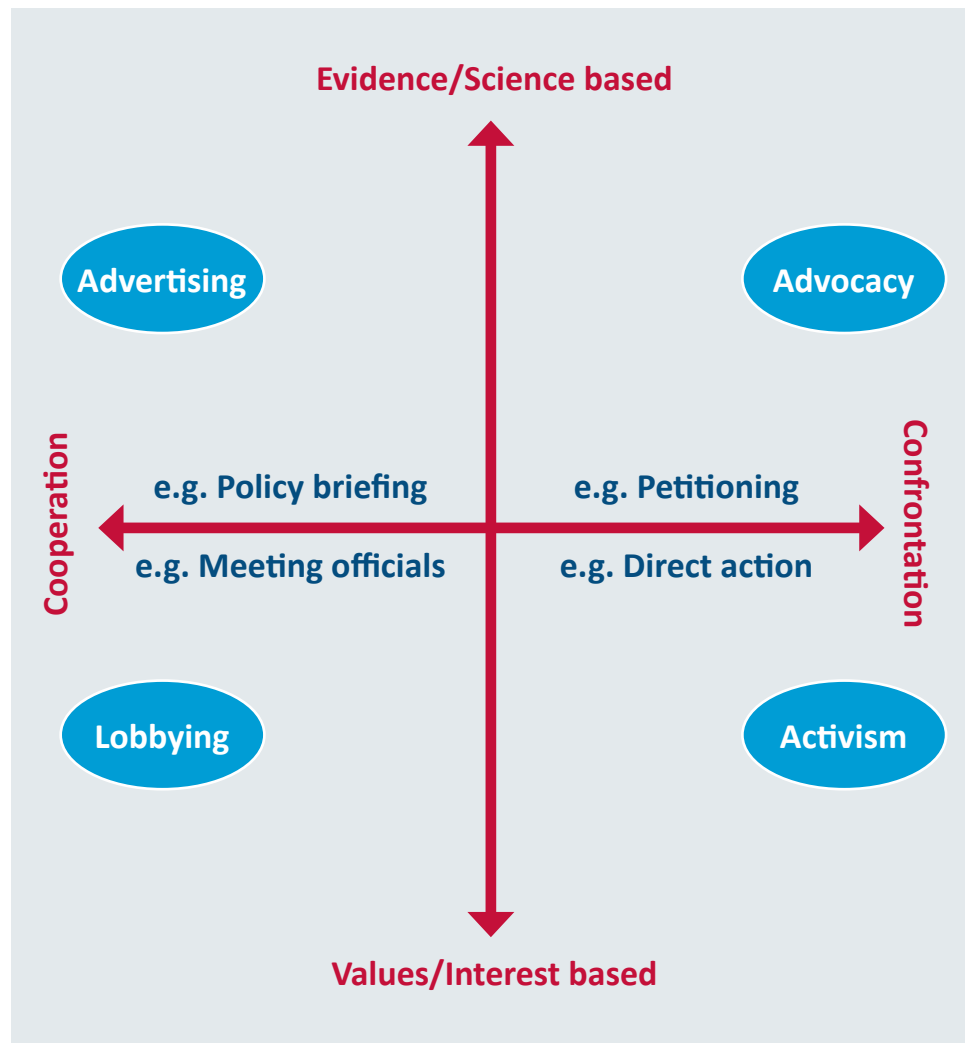
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AUDIENCE (TARGET)	MESSAGE
Health professionals	The World Health Organisation asserts that 65% of infant deaths from diarrhoeal diseases, like cholera, in developing countries could be prevented by providing safe water and sanitation. It has recently been estimated that diarrhoea is the second biggest killer of children in the world's poorest countries. Access to clean water has wide ranging health benefits for communities and environmental improvements like sanitation have bigger impacts and lower costs than curative medicines. We would like to request a meeting with you to discuss some joint work with you.
Broadcast media and the press	Wangai is six years old. His mother walks five kilometres each morning to the nearest clean water point to collect drinking water for the family. However, when Wangai and his friends are thirsty, they drink from the nearby riverbed. That's also where the cattle and goats drink. Wangai's family have no latrine and use the riverbed in the early morning before it is light. Wangai has two brothers and one sister; he had another two sisters but both died of dysentery before they were four years old. Wangai has visited his cousin who lives in the nearby town, where there is a good water supply and each house has a latrine. He has seen that his cousin's family do not fall ill and his aunt has lost no babies because of sickness. He wishes there were similar facilities in his village.
General public	Clean water saves lives: water-borne diseases and poor sanitation today claim thousands of lives in rural Tanzania. Each village should have at least one borehole and adequate latrines. Talk to your local councillor today to find out how you can help to bring life-saving facilities to your own village and see your children flourish.

12. CHOOSING ADVOCACY TACTICS

Choosing between the different tactics depends on the position and function of the advocating organisation (or coalition), the nature of the advocacy issue, the target(s), the change the organisation (or coalition) aims to make and the identification of who you consider most appropriate to convey your messages and how. So, you can be direct, like asking a policy maker in person to take action, or indirect, such as trying to influence public opinion, or both.

The Overseas Development Institute (Start and Hovland, 2004) produced a very simple and useful graph to map the basic advocacy tactics covering two dimensions of the advocacy process. The graph helps us understand how different forms of advocacy and policy influencing are linked to specific methods. One of the dimensions is divided along the cooperation – confrontation divide. The second dimension is allocated depending on whether the policy influencing activity is evidence (science) based or value (interest) based. According to these two dimensions, the tactics are divided into four categories: advising, lobbying, activism and advocacy. The term “advocacy” in the graph implies an integrated approach including lobbying, public mobilisation and media work.





ADVISING ENTAILS
WORKING WITH
DECISION-MAKERS
AND PRODUCING NEW
EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE-
BASED RESEARCH
TO ASSIST THEM IN
POLICYMAKING.

Advising entails working with decision-makers and producing new empirical evidence-based research to assist them in policymaking. Either as part of a think tank or as a ‘client’-commissioned research from inside, this can still be considered as advocacy activity, however it must be clearly distinguished from the other direct or indirect tactics presented below.

Uganda National Farmers Federation presented a tabulated analysis, backed by an evidence-based narrative that explained the adverse effects of a tax on agricultural inputs on the country's smallholder agriculture, the harmful competition it would subject local investors to, and the distortions it would cause in the commodity prices market. This presentation played a huge role in swaying opinion of Parliament and decision makers in favour of the farmers.

Lobbying is the process of trying to directly influence decision-makers. The term ‘lobbying’ comes from the word ‘lobby’ (Latin origin loggia) which refers to an entrance area or meeting place. Lobbying can be formal (meeting with a politician at her/his office) or informal (talk during a lunch or coffee or chance meetings). Although lobbying should ideally lead up to face to face meetings with decision makers, it can also be done by using reports or position papers, detailed follow-up letters and follow-up telephone calls. Opportunities for lobbying are given also in public meetings and conferences.

In the specific case of the Ugandan farmers, a list of Members of Parliament was generated and broken down into different categories – based on the known interests of each MP. Thereafter, phone calls and face-to-face meetings were organised to lobby each legislator based on their specific interests and areas of possible cooperation. For example, MPs who are invested in agriculture, or those who come from constituencies that rely heavily on smallholder agriculture were given a message that explained the deleterious effects of a tax on agricultural inputs.



PUBLIC MOBILISATION
(OR PUBLIC
CAMPAIGNING) IS
THE PROCESS OF
MOBILISING THE
PUBLIC, INFLUENCING
THEIR BEHAVIOUR
AND ENGAGING
THEM IN TAKING
SOME ACTION IN
ORDER TO ACHIEVE A
SOCIAL OR POLITICAL
CHANGE THAT YOU
PROPOSE WITH
YOUR ADVOCACY
CAMPAIGN.

Public mobilisation (or public campaigning) is the process of mobilising the public, influencing their behaviour and engaging them in taking some action in order to achieve a social or political change that you propose with your advocacy campaign. The word campaigning comes from the Latin word campus, the wider battlefield. There are several ways of getting public support – through letter writing, signing a petition to a decision-maker, participating in a protest or public demonstration. Nowadays, new media plays a critical role in raising awareness and mobilising people.

The #FeesMustFall campaign in South Africa typifies public mobilisation. The leadership of different student guilds, starting with the universities of Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Rhodes, mobilised and organised their electorate, the university community, the media, and sections of the affected public to participate in, support and endorse their cause. Backed by position papers and press statements that explained the challenge of tuition fee increments, the campaign succeeded.

Media engagement is a powerful force shaping public opinion and influencing the way that decision-makers act. It can play a role in social change. We could say that without involving media (traditional and new ones), any social change movement would mainly be limited to ‘preaching to the converted’ without bringing any significant growth of the movement. As already mentioned, engaging with media is very rarely used alone as an advocacy tactic. On the contrary, working with media is in most cases a necessary tactic which supports or promotes our lobbying or public mobilisation efforts. One of the misconceptions around media is that media work can be an ad hoc approach; that you can get media attention only when you need it or – even worse – when they call you. However, **working with media means building strategic relations, not just responses!**

The media (both electronic and print) played a supportive role in the success of the advocacy efforts that sought the disbandment of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad in Nigeria. #EndSARS became a continental and subsequently global campaign in large part due to the strong media engagement that amplified the activities of the movement. Major news outlets spotlighted the movement and drew parallels between #EndSARS and ongoing campaigns for racial justice and humane policing in Europe, Asia and the United States.

13. DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT AN ACTION PLAN

An activity plan is the operationalisation of the strategy. In order to achieve a strategic objective, we need to plan our milestone actions and break them down to specific activities. Each milestone action must have a target, timeline and owner.

Example of a milestone action: **GOAL:** Achieve access to affordable and safe water supplies for all people in slums. **OBJECTIVE:** Increase funding for sanitation provision in the five poorest districts by 50%, within 2 years

WHAT	TO WHOM	BY WHEN	BY WHOM
Publish a report providing evidence to influence the government to increase the budget for sanitation provision in poor areas	Government	15/10/202x	Advocacy officer

Every milestone action may have a few or more related activities. Normally the owner of the milestone action manages the resources (financial, human, knowledge, in kind) needed for each activity. The correct budgeting when planning an activity is critical, because you need to plan for those activities that are affordable, depending on the available budget, but also effective. Of course, this can also work vice versa; you plan and budget all your activities first and then you try to fund them from available financial resources or develop a fundraising plan to cover the gap. The same goes for capacity building in case you lack capacities (people and/or knowledge) for the implementation of some activities.

This is a hypothetical example of activities related to the above milestone:

WHAT	WHO	WHEN	HOW MUCH
Research study	External Researcher	April-July 2014	5000 \$
Design the publication	Graphic designer	1/9/2014	400 \$
Print 100 copies	Printing agency	1/10/2014	1000 \$
Send copies and lobbying letter to officials/parliamentarians	Advocacy officer	15/10/2014	200 \$
Upload report on website and issue press release	Communications officer	15/10/2014	

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Some general categories to consider in an advocacy budget are:

BUDGET CATEGORY	AMOUNT
Research costs: (incl. research fees, travel and meeting costs)	
Printing and reproduction costs: (incl. graphic design, translation, editing, printing of any kind of advocacy materials from pamphlets to research reports)	
Public activities costs: (incl. facilities rental, technical support, design costs, purchase or rental of equipment for any public activity from press conference to a public mobilisation event)	
Public relations costs: (costs related to meeting with journalists, politicians and other key targets)	
Marketing costs: (incl. TV or radio spot, digital marketing costs, magazine inserts or any other advertising space, web design)	
Staff costs: (lobbyist, campaigner, press officer, advocacy coordinator – salary allocation of the time of involved personnel, per diems when travelling, training costs, volunteer management costs)	
Administration costs: (incl. telecommunications, consumables, photocopies, post or courier)	
Operation costs: (incl. overheads – (part of) office rent, utilities, database or CRM)	
Information Technology costs: (incl. purchase of hardware and software, web and database maintenance and support)	
Finance costs: (incl. accounting, auditing)	
Monitoring and Evaluation costs: (incl. fees for external evaluator, production of printed or audiovisual materials for evaluation and reporting)	
TOTAL	



ADVOCACY IS ABOUT
CHALLENGING
POWER, THEREFORE
RISK TAKING IS A
CORE ELEMENT
OF AN ADVOCACY
EFFORT.

14. RISK ANALYSIS

Any work we do involves risk. Advocacy is about challenging power, therefore risk taking is a core element of an advocacy effort. Carrying out a comprehensive risk assessment is a crucial step before selecting advocacy strategies and engaging in any advocacy activities, which helps you to think through and plan how to minimise or mitigate the risks. Consideration of risks requires you to think about what the adverse consequences could be as a result of your advocacy initiative, or what factors could limit the success of your campaign.

Some general risks associated with advocacy initiatives include:

Reputational risk

If you go back to the advocacy strategy development, you can think of potential reputational risks in every step. For example, working in coalitions and partnerships can have an impact on your organisation as any change in the public image of one of the partners affects all the others. Other risks include incorrect information or biased research evidence used to support your cause, claiming to be speaking for a group that you have not consulted, or failing to deliver promises. Being associated with a well-known person/celebrity, particularly when this person becomes the face of your campaign, might damage your image if this person attracts negative publicity for some reason, even if the reason is unrelated to you.

Loss of independence

Sometimes working in coalitions requires giving up a certain level of your autonomy and making uncomfortable compromises at both strategic and operational levels.

Lobbying means meeting face to face with highly influential and powerful people and negotiating with them. Integrity is one of the core values of lobbyists, as the risk of co-option exists for those involved in lobbying activities.

103 PART TWO: BUILDING AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY**Safety risk**

This applies to both those doing advocacy and those being advocated for. Psychological or physical violence to advocates, their friends and family; violence against property, such as theft of key documents, stealing livestock, burning crops and polluting water supply are some potential risks.

Resource drain

Diversion of resources from other work can be a risk as advocacy is a long path with many unpredictable situations. It is more difficult to raise funds for advocacy than for development work and this is one of the biggest challenges you will face.

Unexpected political changes

Advocacy is about influencing people who make decisions. If, for example, in order to change one policy you have exclusively targeted a specific Minister in the government, a sudden reshuffle of the government can put your advocacy plan at risk.

On the continent, the risks pertaining to civic space advocacy need no emphasis. It is nonetheless important that this kit provides guidance to readers and users alike.

From the outset, this toolkit has made the case for advocacy on civic space, and has delved into the specifics of tactics and the finer points of strategy. The text exposes the reader to various possibilities and types of engagement that can be relied upon or employed to deliver civic space advocacy effectively. The enumerated approaches feature face-to-face, online and hybrid options.

Practitioners should appreciate the nuances and sensitivities around civic space. Suffice it to say that civic space is a contested domain. Civic space is a contentious area which deals with confronting, shifting, calling out, and speaking truth to power and empire – in their various forms. Therefore, a lot of interests are bound to be offended, disturbed or compromised by this particular brand of advocacy. Some of the prevailing risks include, but are not limited to smear campaigns, malicious prosecution, harassment, threats and intimidation, imposition of restrictions on financing for civic space related work, repressive administrative measures, enactment of legislative and policy restrictions that impede advocacy, individual stress, pressure, burnout and the outright use of force, often disproportionate, by the authorities/law enforcement.

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Readers and practitioners ought to be alive to the above-mentioned dangers, but also be able to minimise exposure to the same. To that end, the following are important safeguards to consider:

- i. Legal representation: a standby team of lawyers (and paralegals) is an important protective mechanism to ensure that all matters pertaining to law (compliance, malicious prosecution and pursuit of legal action) are professionally managed, so that the advocacy efforts continue unimpeded.*
- ii. Alternative funding streams: as conventional funding models recede and give way to new resource mobilisation approaches, it is important that advocates for civic space adapt to the shifts. Civic space is particularly targeted for suppression and its advocates should therefore explore new and emerging forms of funding, including local philanthropy, social enterprise and digital currencies.*
- iii. Psychosocial and medical support: the use of often deadly force by law enforcement and state security forces is a commonplace occurrence whose effects should be mitigated against by retaining a team of medical practitioners and counsellors to treat and render necessary assistance to victims of these excesses.*
- iv. Working in collaboration and through collectives: advocates for civic space should work together and avoid operating as lone rangers. Whether as institutions or individuals, advocates are safer when the risk is spread throughout a diverse group of actors and collaborators.*
- v. Movement (and coalition) building: related to the above point, civic space advocates need to organise their efforts around citizen formations or institutional alliances, otherwise known as coalitions. Social movements have proven to be a potent tool for civic space related causes*
- vi. Leadership development: investment must be made in building credible leaders within the domain of civic space. This should particularly target younger advocates so that advocacy does not end with one generation but outlives its founders or moves beyond one group of initiators.*

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- vii. Creative activism and nonviolent resistance: these two approaches are critical in navigating a constricted space. Creative activism and nonviolent resistance entail acts of civil disobedience, use of art, spoken word, theatre, and satire. These activities neutralise the brutal impulses of repressive states by taking the fight outside the conventional theatres of operation.*
- viii. Building alliances inside repressive establishments: Research and Development: advocates should spend time and effort in exploring new knowledge and crafting pathways for civic space advocacy. Society (and indeed the civic space) is dynamic. Advocates should invest in reading (research), writing (publishing) and disseminating knowledge. By creating a praxis (i.e. a connection between theory and practice), civic space advocacy will be sustained beyond its local/immediate community.*

Risk assessment

Risk assessment is an area to be considered during various stages of your advocacy planning and implementation. Ideally in practice, at least two levels of risk assessment should be considered, one at the initial stage during the development of the strategic plan after the context analysis has been completed, and one at a later stage before consolidating your activity plan.

Start with a brainstorming of all potential threats and major things that might go wrong in carrying out your advocacy initiative, which may be of various natures, internal or external, and different for diverse stakeholders.

Once you have identified the risks, you need to consider two dimensions of those risks, which are the potential **impact** (in terms of reputation, funding, operations of the organisation or failure in achieving key objectives) and **probability** (the level of likelihood that the risk could actually happen).



THE EASIEST WAY TO DO THIS EXERCISE IS TO RANK EACH RISK FOR EACH OF THE TWO DIMENSIONS, BY LOW, MEDIUM, HIGH, OR VERY HIGH.

The easiest way to do this exercise is to rank each risk for each of the two dimensions, by low, medium, high, or very high. Low impact means insignificant impact if the risk occurs, while very high means serious damage. Low probability means it is uncertain whether the risk will occur, while very high probability means that the risk will almost certainly occur.

When you finish the ranking, plot each risk onto the risk matrix below:

		IMPACT			
		Small	Moderate	High	Very High
AUDIENCE (TARGET)	Low	Low	Low	Low	Medium
	Moderate	Low	Medium	Medium	High
	High	Low	Medium	High	High
	Very high	Medium	High	High	High



THE MATRIX HELPS
YOU TO IDENTIFY
THREE LEVELS OF RISK
VALUES.

The matrix helps you to identify three levels of risk values. The red area is the high risk, the yellow is the medium and the blue is the low. In our example a risk matrix may appear as follows:

		IMPACT			
		Small	Moderate	High	Very High
AUDIENCE (TARGET)	Low				
	Moderate			Violence against community actors	Reshuffle of the Government
	High		Negative publicity about CSOs		
	Very high				



WHEN DEVELOPING
A RISK MANAGEMENT
PLAN, ALWAYS KEEP
IN MIND THAT THE
ANALYSIS OF RISK
SHOULD BE REVISITED
PERIODICALLY AS
YOUR ADVOCACY
DEVELOPS AND
UNEXPECTED
OUTCOMES ARE
CONSIDERED.

Risk management

For risks that show a high or a medium risk value in your risk matrix, it is imperative that you develop clear strategies to mitigate their impact or avoid them altogether if possible. If your risk matrix contains more than three risks with a high risk value you should reconsider your advocacy initiative as the overall risk of failure is very high.

When developing a risk management plan, always keep in mind that the analysis of risk should be revisited periodically as your advocacy develops and unexpected outcomes are considered.

A risk register may appear as follows: (I=impact, P=probability, L=low, M=medium, H=high)

MAJOR RISKS	RISK LEVEL	ACTIONS TO MITIGATE	OWNER
Reshuffle of the government	H	Build relationships with key officials in the ministry and technocrats that will not be affected by the reshuffle	Advocacy officer
Negative publicity about NGOs	M	– Media crisis plan – Proactive accountability and transparency actions	Press officer Finance manager

15. MONITORING, EVALUATION, ACCOUNTABILITY & LEARNING

Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability & Learning (MEAL) is an integral part of the advocacy strategy but is often overlooked. It must be a continuous process and not just the final stage. MEAL is a critical reflection and learning process that follows strategic planning and implementation from the very beginning till the very end. Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability & Learning are often used interchangeably, although there are key differences between them.

Accountability

Holding decision makers accountable is a core component of almost every advocacy strategy. But what about our accountability as advocacy organisations? In their briefing paper “[Addressing accountability in NGO advocacy](#)” (Hammer M., Rooney, C. & Warren S., 2010) One World Trust identifies a set of good practice principles for advocacy organisations including:

- Transparency of the evidence used in advocacy and of the funding sources of the advocacy campaign
- Participation of all key stakeholders in the development of the advocacy objectives and their review
- Development of criteria for evaluating the impact of advocacy and establishment of feedback and complaints mechanisms
- Code of Conduct (and other self-regulatory initiatives) on advocacy methods used, for instance, a Lobbyists’ Code of Conduct, which may set the standards of conduct for those using lobbying as an advocacy tactic.

A list of principles and standards for lobbyists may cover the following areas:

- Integrity and honesty
- Openness and transparency
- Professionalism
- Confidentiality
- Conflict of interest

Demonstrating results in advocacy which are translated into significant and lasting changes is a big challenge. Even more challenging is claiming full credit for the impact created.



REGULAR
MONITORING AND
EVALUATION HELP
YOU TO ASSESS
HOW WELL YOU ARE
DOING AGAINST
THE OBJECTIVES
YOU HAVE SET AND
THE IMPACT YOU
AIM TO MAKE.

Monitoring, evaluation, and learning

Regular monitoring and evaluation help you to assess how well you are doing against the objectives you have set and the impact you aim to make. It is a continuous learning process that allows you to reflect on your progress, challenges, successes and mistakes and adjust your strategy and plans accordingly.

The key differences between monitoring and evaluation are summarised in the following table adapted from Water Aid, [The Advocacy Sourcebook](#), 2007)

	MONITORING	EVALUATION
TIMING	Continuous throughout the project	Periodic review at significant point in project progress – end of project, midpoint of project, change of phase
SCOPE	Day to day activities, outputs, indicators of progress	Assess overall delivery of outputs and progress towards objectives and impact
MAIN PARTICIPANTS	Project staff and partners, stakeholder	External evaluators/facilitators, project staff, donors, stakeholder
PROCESS	Regular meetings, interviews – monthly, quarterly reviews etc.	Extraordinary meetings, additional data collection exercises etc.
WRITTEN OUTPUTS	Regular reports and updates to project management, partners, stakeholders and donors	Written report with recommendations for changes to project – presented in workshops to different stakeholders

(source: CIVICUS, “[Advocacy Toolkit: Influencing The Post-2015 Development Agenda](#)”, 2014)

The most challenging part of monitoring and evaluation, and impact assessment of our advocacy efforts is to know which interventions caused a policy change, and to what extent. The more evidence we collect the clearer it will be whether change was achieved due to our efforts. Unless *attribution* is provable, it is better to use the word contribution when we refer to policy change.

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Some useful tips to make monitoring and evaluation useful and effective are:

- When measuring your contribution, divide between immediate, intermediate and long-term outcomes
- Start measuring from the very beginning by identifying your baselines before setting your SMART objectives
- Be as specific as possible in your short, medium and long-term indicators and balance between quantitative and qualitative measures
- Do not limit your M&E effort to self-reflections; decide in advance on the data sources and collection methods that you will use to monitor and evaluate your actions, and involve all the relevant stakeholders
- Clearly outline the key lessons, including the challenges, how these were addressed, and embed this knowledge in the periodic review of your advocacy strategy and plans
- Good responses need good questions!

Examples of questions to ask for monitoring and evaluation purposes:

- What is our progress against agreed KPIs?
- What worked well or better than expected? Why? How can we build on this learning?
- What did not work or worked less well? Why? What are the external and internal barriers?
- What could we have done differently?
- What will we do differently in the future?
- How have we managed the risks? What new risks do we identify and how are we going to mitigate them?
- What has worked well and what not in our partnerships/networks? What will we change from now on?
- How effective were our messages?
- What further evidence is missing and how will we gather it?



CIVICUS

CIVIC SPACE TOOLKIT
FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE



THE PURPOSE OF
THIS CHAPTER
IS TO PROVIDE
SOME ADDITIONAL
GUIDANCE
AND TIPS FOR
THOSE WHO
WILL FACILITATE
AN ADVOCACY
STRATEGY
PROCESS IN A
CIVIL SOCIETY
ORGANISATION OR
A COALITION OF
ORGANISATIONS
AND CIVIL
SOCIETY ACTORS.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide some additional guidance and tips for those who will facilitate an advocacy strategy process in a civil society organisation or a coalition of organisations and civil society actors.

This chapter is structured as follows:

- General tips and guidelines for successful facilitation
- Specific guidelines for facilitating each of the steps for designing an advocacy strategy

1. GENERAL TIPS AND GUIDELINES FOR SUCCESSFUL FACILITATION

Introduction to facilitating this toolkit

It is crucial for facilitators to set sail from the understanding that although the constriction of civic space is a phenomenon that occurs across the Continent, it varies in context. The experiences of a community organiser in Tunisia will have nuances that might not be traceable in that of an activist in Zimbabwe, or a media practitioner in Nigeria. Ultimately, the lived realities of participants are the basis upon which learning and exploring the world are anchored. As such, a facilitator should be alive to the variations present in a given session, training, reflection or meeting.

Delivery methods or approaches should be relatable to a given environment and capable of providing the opportunity and space for participants to share experiences, connect with peers and constructively engage with the toolkit.

For a toolkit of this unique nature, action-driven learning is a recommendable approach that can be brought to life through a variety of tools, including storytelling, audio-visual clips, mind maps, role play activity, group activity and simulations. This way, participants are able to comprehend otherwise abstract concepts and apply them in their day-to-day work.

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To help a facilitator or group of facilitators deliver this toolkit, this section begins with general tips and guidelines to bear in mind. The section that follows afterwards provides topic-specific guidance for application when facilitating different subjects.

Power analysis and awareness

It is natural and expected for any group of participants or learners to comprise different professions, statuses, hierarchies, persuasions and ethnicities. In fact, the absence of diversity can complicate the process of facilitation because it creates an echo chamber. A facilitator should possess the foresight to appreciate how the different layers of visible, hidden and invisible power will impact the learning and sharing dynamics in a room. For example, in situations where elected people like Members of Parliament are present, a facilitator should be careful not to be obsequious or to overplay the “honourable” status of an MP, to the detriment of participants who do not occupy such positions.

At the same time, the facilitator should be able to make such an elected person feel part of the process, and not an outsider who should be feared and unduly blamed for everything that is wrong. Importantly, a facilitator should also be alive to their own power. A facilitator's (visible, hidden, and invisible) power can make or break a session. Facilitators should therefore caution themselves about the pedigree, aura and presence they possess by virtue of the role they play in managing group interactions.

Before takeoff and in-flight: check-in

It is important for a facilitator to have an idea of or attempt to establish the mood, energy levels and readiness for the session beforehand. This applies to the half-time mark of the duration of a period, towards the end, and at the restart of a continuing period. Attention spans differ and disruptions (including the weather) could have emerged which may not be apparent to a facilitator. To know or keep track of how participants are feeling, a facilitator may go around the room by way of questions, hand gestures, or rely on mere observation.

Having understood the group's dynamics relative to the agenda of the meeting, a facilitator should be able to pause the process and call for a break. This keeps attention loss and fatigue at bay. Depending on the situation, intervals can span between forty, sixty or ninety minutes. During these breaks, participants may walk around, get a drink or have a meal.

115 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE**Restate the objective of the meeting**

Whereas an event schedule or agenda might have been shared ahead of the meeting, it is important for a facilitator to reorient participants. This can be done by way of browsing the schedule, discussing the objectives, and eliciting the expectations of participants. This applies to both planned and spontaneous meetings. It augments group interaction and ensures that everyone understands the general direction of the process.

A facilitator may take this opportunity to agree upon a basic set of ground rules with participants so that the interaction is guided by the agreed protocols, such as raising a hand to share an idea.

Delegate roles

Distributing or delegating basic tasks amongst participants is a simple but powerful method of building participant ownership and ensuring optimum team involvement. These tasks include timekeeping, writing on the flip chart, leading on energisers, and co-chairing breakout periods, to name a few. It helps to rotate these duties from meeting to meeting so that everyone is engaged.

Encourage brainstorming

Once learning and sharing are under way, brainstorming is an interactive and enjoyable method of soliciting contributions, sustaining interest and availing opportunities for participation to everyone. Brainstorming is especially important because it enables participants to have a broad perspective of the issues at hand. It ensures ownership of the learning and sharing process. Brainstorming is best conducted after ensuring that participants have a basic understanding of the topic at hand. This ensures that the gathering is contributing from the same framing of an issue – and not speaking at cross purposes.

Once a common or fair appreciation of the topic is attained, the facilitator should open the floor for contributions. At this stage, participants should be given as much latitude as possible to share and exchange their ideas with their colleagues.

To keep track of the stream of contributions, the facilitator should have every contribution captured on a visible flipchart or some other viewable format. However provocative, benign, or apparently misplaced, ideas that have been voiced should not immediately be put up for discussion, examination or debate until the brainstorming period is done.

A facilitator should be careful not to reveal their personal thoughts, misgivings, bias or opinion about what participants are sharing as this can cause one or more participants to withdraw their involvement or attention. A facilitator may, nonetheless, build upon ideas that have been shared.



THE OBJECTIVE
OF EVALUATION
IS TO ESTABLISH
WHAT WENT WELL
AND SHOULD
BE MAINTAINED,
WHAT SHOULD BE
IMPROVED UPON OR
CHANGED, OMITTED,
OR INTRODUCED
INTO FUTURE
ENGAGEMENTS.

Be open to learning, introspect, and accept new knowledge

Unlike elementary and mid-school environments, facilitators are not teachers. The former are often dealing with adults who have the benefit of exposure, experience, and advanced scholarship of a certain subject. It is therefore important for a facilitator to maintain an open mind and avoid straight-jacketing or herding participants into one viewpoint.

One way of encouraging this is opening up the floor for contributions while sessions are ongoing. It is important to make gestures that encourage participants to share more. An additional benefit is that the esteem and confidence of participants is enhanced by an affable and open facilitator. Involving the participants reduces the pressure on a facilitator to know every nook and cranny of a subject they are handling, but does not necessarily diminish the facilitator's responsibility of being the chief steward of the process.

Prepare for Landing and Check-out: review and evaluate the session

Towards the end of a learning/sharing session, a facilitator should make closing notes that lay emphasis on the meeting's proceedings, outcomes or action plans. These closing notes should be in full view for all participants. It helps to read these notes out loud for the benefit of participants.

Having done that, the facilitator should conduct an evaluation. The objective of evaluation is to establish what went well and should be maintained, what should be improved upon or changed, omitted, or introduced into future engagements. Evaluation methods can either be interactive, secret (say, through an individual evaluation sheet), or via an electronic poll. Participants should be assured that their feedback will be managed confidentially and used only for purposes of product/service improvement.

2. SPECIFIC GUIDELINES FOR FACILITATING DIFFERENT STEPS OF THE ADVOCACY STRATEGY CYCLE

In the following tables you will find guidelines to help you facilitate a group session on specific steps of the advocacy cycle. In each table, along with the facilitation guidelines and tips, there is a link to the respective page(s) of this toolkit and links to additional resources if required, an estimated duration of the session, its objectives, as well as recommended preparatory work by participants (when applicable) and the key materials needed.

Session Title	What is Advocacy?
Toolkit Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	75 min
Objectives	• Appreciate the concept of advocacy and how to develop an advocacy strategy for civic space. • Conduct comprehensive analyses of power so as to know how to direct their advocacy work.
Preparation from Participants	• Acquaint themselves with the basic elements of advocacy and how to apply it in their day-to-day work. • Prepare to share a lived experience involving an advocacy drive or campaign they took part in.
Facilitation Guidelines	• Expose learners to examples of advocacy drives that succeeded or failed, and why. • Stimulate roleplay situation during which elements of advocacy will be experimented with. • Provide case examples for discussion and engagement.
Key Resources	Relevant audio-visual materials to complement plenary.
Key materials and Handouts	N/A
Tips for Facilitator	• Select activities within the advocacy cycle strategy framework • Allow participants to share as many opinions as possible regarding the cycle

Notes: _____

Session Title	Power analysis
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	2 – 3 hours
Objectives	• Become power-conscious in addressing the root causes of injustice, inequality, and exclusion. • Use powercube as a framework to analyse the levels, spaces and forms of power, and their interrelationship, and strategise for action.
Preparation from Participants	Prepare themselves to share moments in their lives when they felt powerless, powerful and/or empowered and give their own definition(s) of power before opening their minds to the powercube experience
Facilitation Guidelines	Powercube.net is a resource for understanding power relations in efforts to bring about social change. It contains all the practical and conceptual materials you may need to think about how to respond to power relations within organisations and in wider social and political spaces. This is just an example of a short session using this framework. 1. Ask participants to share moments that they felt powerful, powerless and/or empowered and reflect critically on root causes. Then ask them to identify power in their own words. (30') 2. Based on selected case study (either from this toolkit, the powercube.net, or your own case study) present the different expressions, levels, forms and spaces of power (40') 3. Consolidate learning playing with the power cartoons (20') 4. On an issue of common advocacy interest for the group (local, national or global), brainstorm, discuss and design a power analysis matrix as in page xx of this toolkit (30')
Key Resources	www.powercube.net
Key materials and Handouts	Power cartoons printed in A4 papers (download here) Presentation of the dimensions of power in the powercube (download here)

Tips for Facilitator

- Select the activities available in powercube.net that fit better with your preferences and the synthesis of your audience.
- If you use the power cartoons keep in mind that they have several interpretations. Allow participants to express different views and reflect critically.
- In an emergency situation where, say, an internet connection or power supply fails to enable access to electronic/online resources, a facilitator should be able to adapt using physical role play activities that bring out the power dimensions of a given environment. A simulation of a courtroom, an election, an advocacy effort against land eviction, for example, can help enumerate the same points the facilitator was interested in making.

Notes: _____

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Session Title	Securing legitimacy
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	30 – 45 min (longer if the group works on own advocacy strategy project)
Objectives	• Understand different sources of legitimacy • Document the sources of legitimacy for your own case for advocacy
Preparation from Participants	N/A
Facilitation Guidelines	• Introduce the notion of legitimacy and present the five different sources of legitimacy in advocacy • Share a printed copy of Case Study 2 with all participants and allow them some minutes to read • Split participants into groups of 3–4 people and ask them to identify diverse sources of legitimacy in the case study. • In plenary mobilise a discussion and reflections identifying the different sources of legitimacy in the given case study • If the group works on own advocacy project facilitate a brainstorming followed by a discussion on the main sources of legitimacy in their own case and how they could increase it
Key Resources	CASE STUDY 2 from Part I of the toolkit
Key materials and Handouts	• Visual presentation of the 5 different sources of legitimacy • Printed pages of the case study
Tips for Facilitator	• Give adequate time to participants to express their arguments • Use open questions to stimulate debates and different understandings of legitimacy

Notes: _____

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Session Title	How Change Happens
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	45 min
Objectives	• Equip learners with the ability to strategise and plot the change process using a clearly articulated Theory of Change. • Understand the factors that influence change, and how to use the underlying drivers for the desired change.
Preparation from Participants	Ahead of the session, read on their own about foundational concepts like 'inputs', 'assumptions', 'preconditions' and 'outcomes', for example.
Facilitation Guidelines	• Cite general examples from society such as election campaigns, advocacy initiatives, and more specific ones that succeeded. • Invite participants to share their own experiences of how change happens.
Key Resources	Pathways to Change: Ten Themes to Inform Advocacy and Change Efforts.
Key materials and Handouts	Sample Theory of Change statements, as developed by different organisations and movements. Infographics illustrating trackable movements of change, such as apartheid, the fall of the Berlin Wall, end of the slave trade, or successful independence movements on the African Continent.
Tips for Facilitator	• Be alive to the different pathways that different contexts require. • Encourage participation in the designing/drafting of pathways. • For each of these activities, smaller groups are better options because they increase the level of attention for individual participants.

Notes: _____

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Session Title	Working in coalitions
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	45 – 60 min
Objectives	Understand the advantages and disadvantages of working in coalition and how to make the best of them.
Preparation from Participants	N/A
Facilitation Guidelines	• After a short introduction about the role and place of building networks, coalitions and alliances in an advocacy strategy, split the group into sub-groups of 3-4 people, asking them to brainstorm on the advantages and disadvantages of working in coalitions and decide on one or two most important for each category. Then, ask them to discuss own experience and decide on one positive and one negative story to share in the plenary. • When in plenary, collect the pros and cons and list them in two columns on a flip chart and continue the brainstorming up to the point that the group is comfortable with both lists. • Ask sub-group rapporteurs to share their real stories/examples and share with them relevant case studies from the toolkit. • Spend the last part of the session on how to overcome the challenges when working in coalitions and how to mitigate the risks.
Key Resources	N/A
Key materials and Handouts	Flip-chart and markers
Tips for Facilitator	• Ensure that participants understand that networking is not a specific step in the process but a continuous effort. • In advocacy, building alliances and working in coalitions are strategies of choice, so ensure that the discussion will not focus on listing the disadvantages rather than how to overcome them and mitigate the associated risks.

Notes: _____

123 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Session Title	Gathering Evidence
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	40 min
Objectives	• Provide participants/learners with the ability to sift through large and/or varied amounts of primary and secondary data to extract relevant evidence-based content for a given advocacy drive. • Nurture a culture of data-driven advocacy amongst the community of participants and learners, so that advocacy and campaigning are better grounded.
Preparation from Participants	• Read up on the concept of evidence, as distinguished from conjecture, hearsay, opinions and prejudice. • Interest themselves in understanding the nature of evidence-based submissions and why it is important for successful advocacy in the qualitative, quantitative and legal senses.
Facilitation Guidelines	• Participatory approaches which ground participants and/or learners in a clear understanding of the notion of evidence and its value for advocacy in the domain of civic space. • Indulge participants in sharing their stories (or experiences) of evidence-gathering.
Key Resources	VSO's START: Simple Toolkit for Advocacy Research Techniques (2012) George Berkeley, <i>If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front</i> .
Key materials and Handouts	Extract the definitions section of any country's policy/legislation for learning purposes so as to improve the understanding of evidence from a scholar's and legal perspective.
Tips for Facilitator	• Invest in methods of instruction that clarify the concept of evidence, as a matter of research and law. • In explaining evidence from a legal standpoint, use simplified diction and explanations as most of the audience might not comprise lawyers or those with legal training.

Notes: _____

124 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Session Title	Setting an advocacy goal
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	45 min
Objectives	• Identify and state an advocacy problem/issue. • Find solutions by mapping out the anatomy of cause and effect around the advocacy issue.
Preparation from Participants	If the group works on a defined advocacy issue, it is advisable to get prepared in collecting data/evidence that will enrich the problem tree analysis.
Facilitation Guidelines	Problem tree analysis includes the following steps: 1. Discuss and agree on the advocacy issue and write it in the centre of the flip chart. Do not worry if it seems like a broad topic because the problem tree will help break it down. 2. Use post-it notes to identify the causes of the focal problem – these become the roots – and then the consequences, which become the branches. The post- it notes allow for rearrangements in a cause-effect logic. 3. When the group feels comfortable that the process is completed, reverse the problem tree to a solution tree. The focal problem will become your advocacy goal.
Key Resources	N/A
Key materials and Handouts	Flip-chart, markers with different colours, and post-its.
Tips for Facilitator	• Take time to allow people to explain their ideas and reasoning, and use a separate flip chart to record the related ideas that come up, organised under different titles such as questions, solutions or concerns. • Allocate the appropriate time for discussions and debates that emerge while sub-roots and branches are formed in the tree as a result of the arrangement and rearrangement of factors.

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125 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Session Title	Stakeholders and Policy Mapping
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	90 min
Objectives	• Comprehend and apply stakeholder analysis in day-to-day work situations. • Understand and be able to apply policy mapping in public policy analysis. • Be able to translate policy analysis into policy change.
Preparation from Participants	• Acquaint themselves with policy documents from a public authority of their choice in their country or region. • Complete an advance assignment on stakeholder analysis.
Facilitation Guidelines	Follow the steps using the example presented in part II of this toolkit, and elicit stories and experiences of participants where stakeholder/policy-mapping played a role in their advocacy/activism/campaigning. Facilitate participants in groups to work on repeating each step for their selected advocacy goal.
Key Resources	N/A
Key materials and Handouts	Stationery (flip charts, markers, sticky notes, cards and pens)
Tips for Facilitator	Breakout sessions for which participants are assigned an activity in which they conduct stakeholder mapping is a helpful tool for learning about this tool and method.

Notes: _____

126 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Session Title	Set advocacy objectives and develop an action plan
Toolkit Page Reference	Link 1 here – link 2 here
Estimated Duration	60 min
Objectives	• Clarify the difference between goals, objectives, actions and activities. • Develop the capacity to determine SMART objectives and develop an action plan.
Preparation from Participants	N/A
Facilitation Guidelines	Introduce SMART(ER) objectives using appropriate questions for each element: What do I want to accomplish? Why is it important? Who is involved? (specific), How will I measure success? How much? How many...? (measurable) How can I accomplish the objective? How will I know when it is accomplished? (achievable) How realistic is the goal, based on other constraints? (realistic) When? What can I do X months from now? What can I do X weeks from now? (timely) Is the objective aligned with our moral principles and values? (ethical) Does it seem worthwhile? Is this the right time? Does this match to our advocacy effort? (relevant). Use on objective as an example to break it down into milestone actions and activities.
Key Resources	Toolkit's case studies
Key materials and Handouts	Flipchart and markers
Tips for Facilitator	Use both good and bad examples of SMART objectives to facilitate learning

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127 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Session Title	Develop key messages
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	60 – 90 min depending on the number of participants
Objectives	Understand the characteristics of clear and effective messages
Preparation from Participants	Select a key message from a past or present advocacy campaign and bring it to the group to enrich the discussion.
Facilitation Guidelines	Introduce the characteristics of clear and effective messages and ask participants to present the examples that they have selected; evaluate them against clarity and effectiveness in a facilitated discussion. Share handouts of the tailor-made messages, keeping the target audiences blind and ask participants to assume what the target audience is for each message.
Key Resources	Examples of tailor-made messages (Source, The Advocacy Source Book, WaterAid)
Key materials and Handouts	Flip chart, markers, A4 papers, printed hand-outs of the tailor-made messages.
Tips for Facilitator	If time allows, separate participants into groups, give them a short text with the advocacy goal related data/ evidence and ask them to write a tailored message, each group for a different target audience (eg media, general public, government, etc.)

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128 PART THREE: FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Session Title	Risk analysis
Toolkit Page Reference	Link here
Estimated Duration	45 min
Objectives	Understand risk assessment both as a strategic and operational matter
Preparation from Participants	N/A
Facilitation Guidelines	Facilitate a brainstorming session on potential risks in a given advocacy strategy. Create two lists, one for strategic and one for operational risks. Group the risks according to their source. For each source hold a new round of brainstorming. When a long list of risks is identified, assess them according to their probability to happen and their potential impact (low, medium or high, very high), and place them according to their total level risk on the risk assessment matrix. Keep only medium and high risks and develop a risk matrix for each of them proposing mitigating actions.
Key Resources	N/A
Key materials and Handouts	Flip chart, markers, post-its
Tips for Facilitator	Use a separate post-it for each proposed risk. Use different colours to visualise better the different levels of risk in the matrix. Encourage debate before the group is satisfied with their ranking.

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