This section will cover:
Implementing advocacy methods.

- Ideas on how to carry out the different activities in your action plan
Now you have finished your strategy and planning it is time to consider the methods that you will use. This is the implementation phase shown in the advocacy planning cycle in section three.

1. CHOOSING YOUR METHODS

The nature of your objectives and targets will be the most important factor in determining which methods you use. Below we begin by discussing the activities any organisation needs to consider and then move on to those activities targeting policy change. Finally, we will consider activities relating to objectives on empowering individuals to act.

In deciding what methods to use you must think about what you, as an organisation, are good at as well as what will fit with your strategy and what motivates your targets. It might sound fun to do some creative theatre – but if you are mostly lawyers your comparative advantage is more likely to be in lobbying.

With some activities, such as lobbying, there are some fairly universal rules while others are more dependent either on the nature of your organisation or on the country or region where you live. We will therefore go into more detail on lobbying and media than on the other activities.

Which activity you choose will also depend where you are on the influencing spectrum (see section five, 2.2).

Finally, the type of methods you use should be determined by your understanding of power (see section two). The activities at the end of this section are directed more at empowering those affected by an issue than directly influencing decision makers. Advocacy can be particularly powerful when different methods are combined.

Your menu of methods or activities includes:

**Activities to prepare for the campaign:**
- Internal training, fundraising and other processes to create internal support. *The more your staff, Board and other stakeholders understand and are passionate about the campaign the more effective you will be.*
- Alliance building. *There are different forms of alliances depending on your needs and who is available to work with.*
- Research and policy analysis and the collection of case studies. *Research and analysis will underpin your campaign while stories and case studies will bring it to life.*
Activities aimed at decision makers to achieve policy change:

- Lobbying. *This will be the most direct way in which you try to influence your targets – by meeting with them face to face.*
- Media. *In many countries the media is a key influencer. Part of its role is as a proxy for popular opinion.*
- Outputs – publications, materials or events. *Before beginning any publication you must decide on the audience and what output will work best with this audience.*
- Activism – actions by your supporters, partners or the public. *This can include anything from supporter letter writing to mass demonstrations. It is most useful in creating political will or when an issue is not on the agenda.*

Activities which empower individuals to act:

- Consciousness-raising or awareness-raising. *This could be awareness-raising of supporters, or of those people affected by an issue, empowering them to take action themselves.*
- Community activism and workplace activism. *These kinds of methods involve building up a movement of affected people to undertake their own advocacy. It is about empowerment as well as the broader policy objective. Part two, three and four of this section will explore these methods in more detail.*

2. PREPARING FOR THE CAMPAIGN

2.1 CREATING INTERNAL SUPPORT FOR THE CAMPAIGN

For many organisations, the first campaign activity is to motivate and educate your own staff and Board. Advocacy will put demands on people – they need to understand why. For example, programme staff often find the demands for case studies difficult if they do not see the point, whereas if the idea for a campaign has come from their partners they will be much more motivated.

You probably have your own training techniques. You could think about a campaign road show day where you present your campaign to the rest of the staff and Board, and possibly some key supporters. Run through the aims and objectives then motivate them in the same way you plan to motivate your external audiences. The Stop the Bus case study (at the end of this section) has some examples.

**WOMEN’S RIGHTS** If you are campaigning on a women’s rights issue but are not a women’s rights organisation you may also need to do some work to increase both commitment and understanding of gender issues...
within your organisation. Clear support from the top of the organisation will help, as will an incentive system. You may also want to undertake a gender audit to ensure that your own organisation’s internal policies and practices are promoting gender equality.

As with any part of your work, you will need to ensure you have sufficient funds. In the UK, some INGOs found that their fundraising with supporters actually benefited from public campaigns. Supporters liked to think that the organisation was tackling long term problems as well as funding service provision. Official donors and trusts are, however, often less likely to fund advocacy, partly because it is harder for them to measure exactly what the funds have achieved.

**TOOL A funding proposal**

Write a short proposal designed to capture attention and demonstrate that the campaign is worth funding. Send it with a covering letter thanking the funder for their time and outlining what is in the proposal. In the proposal:

- Summarise briefly the problem you aim to solve, ideally demonstrating that you have consulted with stakeholders
- Show why your organisation would be well placed to do this
- Highlight your aims, objectives and possible alliances
- List your activities planned and the accompanying budget
- Explain the outcomes you hope to achieve
- Provide your monitoring and evaluation plan
- Provide the funder with a personal motivation for getting involved.

**2.2 ALLIANCE BUILDING**

In any campaign you will want to identify different allies and work with them in different ways. An alliance is something more than this; it is an organised way to work together with others for a common purpose.

The simplest form of alliance is a network where like-minded organisations come together to share information and, possibly, strategy and tactics. The next step up from this is for these organisations to then take some common actions together as part of their separate advocacy work. A full alliance is where a number of organisations come together for a joint advocacy campaign.

**Some advantages of an alliance:**

- Increased influence and power
- Greater resources and evidence
- Pooling complementary skills
Sharing of allies and information

Some dangers of an alliance:
- Time spent on negotiation
- Compromises over aims
- Tensions over power imbalances
- Loss of identity and profile for each individual organisation

How to make things easier:
- Ensure that there is a common goal on which all are agreed
- Don’t let one or two organisations dominate
- Have a clear decision making process
- Make sure everyone understands and is happy with any decisions taken
- If possible, allow for flexibility as to how alliance members are involved, depending on their needs and capacity
- Share the workload
- Be clear whether you want to work with similar organisations or to combine a cross-representation of interests, experience or skills – each has its merits
- Have a procedure for dealing with conflict

WOMEN’S RIGHTS Many women’s organisations see working in alliance as part of a feminist approach to advocacy – with an obligation on those with power and resources to support those with less. But that does not mean there aren’t conflicts! There are power imbalances even among women’s groups.

TOOL Useful Resource

Example At the beginning of 2006, the Albanian Centre for Population & Development (ACPD) and the Independent Forum of Albanian Women (IFAW), formed a coalition made up of local and national women’s rights and youth organisations, political forums, lawyers, journalists and MPs to promote women’s participation in politics. This joint-working increased the number of voices calling for electoral reform and promoted greater public acceptance of women leaders through the media. This alliance was also international and in-country lobbying was complemented with the lobbying of members of the European parliament. This put additional pressure on the
government to adopt these reforms as a necessary step towards fulfilling the country’s ambitions for EU accession.

International alliances, where governments are pressured both domestically and by international institutions, can be particularly powerful.

**Example** the Women in Politics Support Unit (WiPSU) is one of several Womankind partners to promote the international 50/50 campaign launched by the Women’s Environment & Development Organisation (WEDO) in 2000 to increase women’s participation and representation in national governments. More than 300 organisations around the world have now signed up to the campaign and 18 national and regional campaigns have been launched under the umbrella of the global 50/50 network. The network provides members with an opportunity to share resources and information for promoting gender equality and women’s representation, link with other organisations and individuals working on the same issues, and assess which strategies are successful.

### 2.3. GATHERING THE EVIDENCE FOR CHANGE

Collecting facts and figures from material already produced by others is the first step when gathering evidence. It is often useful to consult well established sources such as censuses, administrative records and large scale surveys as well as international measures or reports including UNDP’s Gender-related Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure, or CEDAW reports or Universal Periodic Review reports. (See section eight on international processes).

**Research**

If you have the capacity, you may decide to collect your own primary research. This kind of evidence can be very helpful in your advocacy work and will add weight and legitimacy, especially if the research is carried out in partnership with local grassroots organisations. It does not have to be a major piece of work as long as you are honest about the numbers of people involved. If you are a service provider then providing information about the people you work with will really help build your case.

Research which is useful in advocacy:

- ✓ Considers the target’s interests in the design of the study
- ✓ Is conducted in a credible way, ideally by someone your target respects
✓ Is relevant to your objectives
✓ Is timely in addressing current policy dilemmas
✓ Is recent and assesses current programmes or conditions
✓ Produces findings which can be easily understood and presented in different ways for different audiences and contexts
✓ Produces findings which not only provide evidence of a problem, but also point to the causes of the problem and the solutions needed
✓ Contributes to building the capacity of people directly affected by the issue to analyse and articulate the problems they face and carry out their own advocacy

TIP  Use your target’s data where available – as it is difficult for them to contest their own information! Think about creating ownership by involving your target in the design of your research or even jointly commissioning it.

The kind of research you do will make a political statement. Valuing the views and opinions of the people affected by your issue is important. Your research can be a mix of quantitative and qualitative data.

Techniques you could use include:
- Field visits
- Interviews with people affected
- Focus groups or consultations with people directly affected
- Opinion polls
- Surveys or questionnaires

Participatory research methods involve the people affected by your work, for example through focus group discussions. These can be especially useful for collecting data to inform advocacy on women’s rights. Although more resource intensive, they help ensure that advocacy reflects the realities of the people most affected by the problem and is directed at the root causes. For example, participatory research looks not just at the quantitative data on how few women there are in politics, but goes deeper to examine what obstacles women face in taking up positions of power. Importantly, this kind of research can also help to build the capacity of those affected to analyse and articulate their own problems, and empower themselves to drive forward change.

Example  The Gender Advocacy Programme (GAP) conducted research which they hoped would influence the municipal government in Drakenstein, Western Cape, South Africa, to develop a gender policy. The research examined and assessed how the impact of municipal services differed for men and women.
The process took seven months and involved focus group sessions with all stakeholders, including councillors, officials, and staff within the municipal government, local community organisations and, crucially, local women. The participants agreed the key priority areas to be addressed, and established roles and responsibilities for implementing the final plan. Women municipality staff were also given the opportunity to raise their concerns and suggest ways of transforming the institutional culture by, for example, increasing the number of women in management, and paying greater consideration to the specific needs of female staff.

Creating a level playing-field at the beginning of meetings so the women did not feel intimidated by officials was key to their success. The methodology used in focus groups deliberately encouraged participants to work collectively around key themes. There were also opportunities to exchange skills and share learning between participants and the facilitators and amongst participants themselves. This all contributed to an environment of mutual respect and understanding.

Although Drakenstein municipality did not formally adopt the policy at the end of the process, participants were empowered by the process. Moreover, as a result of the exercise, GAP was contracted by the Department of Provincial and Local Government to draw up a national gender-policy framework.

**TOOL Useful Resource** For more on participatory research you may wish to refer to the VSO Participatory Advocacy Toolkit (see section nine on Resources).

**CAUTION** It is important to be aware of power relations when conducting participatory research and take steps to ensure that discussions or exercises are not dominated by those with more power – often men. One useful approach is to conduct discussions separately for women and men, before bringing them together to share issues.

**WOMEN’S RIGHTS** Research on gender issues can be particularly sensitive, particularly if it is dealing with gender-based violence. Women may be reluctant to discuss violence because of fear of reprisals from family members or their community. Steps should be taken to mitigate the risks for women and address any fears they hold for their safety. For example, in Pakistan, participatory researchers took special steps to ensure women felt comfortable answering questions about violence, such as getting mother-in-laws to leave the room during particular questions by politely asking for a glass of water. Another method used was to give women respondents double-sided key chains with helpline
numbers on them. The women then responded to questions by showing one side or other of the key ring which meant they could not be overheard.²⁴

**Case Studies**

Case studies are stories about an individual or group that illustrate how particular approaches have a positive impact. They work well with the media and popular audiences.

A really good case study will:
- Demonstrate the problem
- Be an example of a broader issue which you can back with hard evidence
- At least hint at where the solution might lie
- Ideally include a strong quote
- Demonstrate people affected are seeking change – not passive
- Be relatively recent
- Be respectful of the subject – giving their name if possible
- Consider their safety and any other ramifications
- Have received permission from the subject and be written in a way that they would be happy with
- Include strong visuals

**TIP** Try to show the case study to the subject – or at least someone who works with them. It will ensure that you have not just extracted information but are instead treating them with respect. It’s amazing how few organisations do this. Alternatively, you may be able to support the individual or organisation to develop their own case studies.

**WOMEN’S RIGHTS** Think particularly about the way you are portraying gender roles in your case study. Are you helping to challenge them? Many case studies show women as passive victims not empowered actors and frequently only as mothers rather than in the full range of roles that they undertake.

### 3. INFLUENCING TARGETS

Once your organisation is ready, you can start your influencing activities.

#### 3.1 LOBBYING

Lobbying is the attempt to directly influence your target or influencer.

This can take place through:
Formal face to face meetings  
Briefings or letters  
Input into existing consultation processes  
Informal contact (at a reception, in the elevator, on the golf course!)

Lobbying is particularly useful when an issue is already on the political agenda and you want to influence a specific decision or policy approach.

Where you need to create political will to put an issue on the agenda, use media coverage or activism to capture your targets’ interest then lobby to explain your specific demands.

TIP Think about power relationships. Why should your target listen to you? You will rarely have more influence than they do. It’s a negotiation and you need bargaining chips.

Attending a lobby meeting is a bit like going for a job interview. You will have put a lot of work into getting the meeting so make sure you get the most out of it by preparing thoroughly.

While in the meeting remember why you are there and what you are trying to achieve. Be in it for the long haul. If you don’t get the answer you want at least you should have built up a better relationship for the future and come away with more information and ideas as to how to influence the target next time.

CAUTION Nobody responds well to criticism. Be polite and positive – but remember that you have every right to be there and to make your case.

As with all advocacy, you will know what works best in your country/culture so use your own judgement when reading through this check list.

Lobby meetings - guidelines

Preparation – the ask:
• Be clear why you are having the meeting and what you want to get out of it
• Consider what you want the target to do
• Make sure that your target has the authority and ability to do what you are asking them
• Know about the process and timeframe within which they are working, don’t ask them for something which has already been decided
• If possible speak to a junior staff member before the meeting to get as much background as possible
• Find out exactly who will be in the meeting
Use what you have learnt about your targets to decide how to frame your argument – what will resonate with them? (See section five, 4.3 & 4.4 on core messages and framing)

Remember to focus on why they will be interested – not why you think it is important

Keep focussed – don’t dilute your main message with extra points

Take relevant examples of your organisation’s work

Know their position, anticipate their arguments and have evidence to counter these

Be realistic – if your demand is too great then add some stepping stones which they can feasibly agree to

Never back them into a corner – always leave an opening for action

Why now? – give a reason for immediate action such as that there is an opportunity or that the problem has got worse

Preparation – logistics:

Think about who should go – sometimes it is better to have the expert than the Director of your organisation

Check if you will need to take identification

Find out the proper way to address your target

Always have a pre-meet for everyone you will be lobbying with - arguing amongst yourselves is a disaster. If necessary agree to disagree outside the meeting but focus on your common points inside

Decide on someone to ‘Chair’ the meeting from your side

Don’t take too many people – the bigger the meeting the less you will be able to develop a real dialogue

Think about what you wear. You don’t have to be in a suit – you may be making a political statement – but don’t sit in the meeting wishing you had dressed differently

Take copies of your relevant material

Never be late! Check where exactly the meeting is and if you will have to clear security first.

In the meeting:

Introduce yourselves clearly, exchange business cards if you have one

If you have agreed a Chair, explain this at the start

Agree an agenda and time for the meeting at the start if you haven’t already established this

Clarify whether you are allowed to quote what is said in the meeting

Test at the start whether your understanding of the situation is the same as their’s so you can stay relevant

Make sure you get your “big ask” across at the outset so you don’t run out of time (the more important the target the more likely they
will get called away early)
- Have briefing notes in front of you with your main points but don’t read from them; it will greatly reduce your impact
- Don’t let the meeting go off track, your Chair should politely interrupt if necessary
- If the meeting is coming to a close and you haven’t made your main point yet then change tack to ensure you cover it
- Summarise decisions at the end of the meeting to check that you share an understanding of what has been agreed
- Distribute any materials you have at the end – any earlier and they will read instead of listening to you
- Thank them for their time – they have more power than you and you want to be invited back

Meeting style (this varies from country to country – but here are some ideas):
- If you can, find an ice breaker or use humour – you want to make some connection
- Remember they are just people – look them in the eye
- Have a conversation rather than making a speech
- Adapt to their reactions if they looked bored or angry change approach, if they agree then move on
- Be polite - even when you strongly disagree
- Don’t make personal attacks or you will create an enemy
- If it is clear they have said ‘no’ then move on – you are wasting your time and may polarise the debate further
- Acknowledge their understanding of the issue, while also suggesting that you have something to offer
- Give them credit where it’s due – it will make them more likely to respond to you in the future
- Be positive and enthusiastic about their ability to make a difference
- But be confident and assertive – there is no point in being there if you aren’t heard

Follow-up:
- Straight after the meeting try to de-brief with your colleagues
- Follow up with a letter to the target clarifying next steps
- If possible, get feedback from a junior official on how it went and what to do differently next time
- Make sure you share anything you find out with your colleagues and allies – don’t hoard the gains of your access
In 2009, as the UK went into recession, a number of organisations identified that pregnant women and women on maternity leave were particularly at risk of being made redundant as companies made cuts. The law should have been protecting these women, but was not being enforced.

An alliance was formed, deliberately bringing together groups with different expertise including lawyers, an organisation providing an advice line, and a campaigning women’s organisation. Initially the group considered the name ‘Bumped out’ but it was felt something more serious was needed so it became the Alliance Against Pregnancy Discrimination in the Workplace.

The aims of the alliance were:

- Pregnant women and new mothers know their rights in relation to redundancy.
- Employers know their obligations towards pregnant women and new mothers around redundancy, and they have a real understanding of the negative consequences if they break the law.
- The Government monitors incidence of pregnancy discrimination and actively promotes the law.

Pregnant women and employers were the primary targets. The strategy was to use both the media and the Department of Business as influencers of both employers and pregnant women. Employers should know that they would be caught if they broke the law, while individual women were empowered to stand up for their rights.

The external context was dominated by the recession, which was being used to justify breaking the law. The campaign slogan was therefore: “Equality is not just for the good times. It is time to stop discriminating against pregnant women and new mums.”

A set of policy asks were developed, and outlined in a letter to the Secretary of State for Business, which included a request for a meeting. Standard letters were also prepared for supporters to send both to their MPs and the Minister. The policy ask was:

We call on the Government to send a strong message that it is illegal to discriminate against a woman at work because she is pregnant or on maternity leave, and that recession and redundancies are not an excuse to break the law. Specifically we call on The Secretary of State for Business:

1. To publicly state that making a woman redundant because she is pregnant or a new mother is unlawful.
2. To actively publicise legal obligations on pregnancy discrimination to employers (and refer them to resources such as the Equality and Human Rights Commission pregnancy tool kit).
3. To actively publicise rights to pregnant employees (for example by updating the leaflet which the government provides to all pregnant women to include their rights if facing redundancy).
4. To provide information to public bodies on their legal responsibilities in this area.
5. To monitor the incidence of discrimination against pregnant women, women on maternity leave,
and women back at work for less than three months, to ensure that the law is being complied with.

Press work was designed to expose both employers and employees to the legal situation, and to demonstrate the extent of the problem to decision makers. This was made more difficult because no comprehensive statistics were yet available as the increase in incidence had only just been observed. Instead, shocking individual case studies were collected, although this too proved difficult. Most women were too frightened of reprisals to tell their story publically and it was vital for the campaigners to respect this. Members providing advice lines started to collect information so that data would be available.

A package of information was put together for use with supporters, pregnant women and the media. The alliance members worked well with each other contributing their skills whether it was legal expertise, access to case studies, or experience in writing campaign materials and working with the press. Journalists appreciated having all the aspects of the story ready prepared for them, and responded well to the fact that both lawyers and victims of discrimination were available for interview. In launching the campaign, one national paper offered to run the story if the Alliance agreed not to give it to any other paper. This is always a difficult decision but it was decided that the coverage would be worth it.

The Alliance also had to learn how to react fast to changing events. The Government was publishing a draft Bill which would, on the whole, promote gender equality. However, one of the lawyers in the Alliance noticed that the new wording on pregnancy discrimination would water down the protection for women. Existing contacts were used with the Solicitor General to arrange a private meeting, and several women MPs who already supported the Alliance asked questions in Parliament. Most importantly a specific proposal was made for alternative wording, which was subsequently used in the next draft of the Bill.
Some of the best lobbyists appear very polite and reasonable while asking for radical reforms. The worst lobbyists make speeches about their own beliefs or challenge and criticise the decision maker creating a hostile environment.

**WOMEN’S RIGHTS** Most women lobbyists have come up against sexism. Think ahead of time how you might deal with it. There is no right answer. You may decide to ignore it for the sake of the relationship you are trying to develop, or you may decide that it’s part of the problem so needs to be addressed. Either way the worst thing is to come out of the meeting wishing you’d done something different – so go in prepared. Make sure your meeting is with the right decision maker and that you haven’t just been assigned to someone because she is a woman rather than because it is her area of expertise. Also remember that just because a decision maker is a woman does not mean she is on your side!

**TIP** Use psychology. They are just people albeit powerful ones. Use what you have learnt in getting your partner, friends or children to do what you want them too!

**Writing letters - guidelines:**
- Be brief, no more than one or two sides
- Check you address them with the correct title
- Try to catch their attention quickly – they will have lots of letters to read
- Include a short introductory paragraph about your organisation
- Find something positive to say about them or something on which you agree
- Then state clearly why you are writing (use the tips above on preparing the core ask for a meeting)
- Make sure your main message is clear
- Be positive about what they could achieve
- Ask for a reply to a specific question or a call to action, or for a meeting
- Always check spelling and punctuation and remove jargon
- Think about them reading it – have you been polite but firm?
- Attach other relevant materials stating at the bottom of the letter what you have enclosed
- Send copies to other actors and make sure you keep one for yourself.

**TIP** If you write a letter to a senior decision maker his or her advisors will probably read and deal with it – so bear that in mind.

Think about whether you will have more impact with one letter and lots of signatures – or lots of letters. Preparing a joint letter can be very time
consuming. Sometimes each organisation writing their own with the same core message may be just as effective (see 3.4 in this section).

You can also get your supporters to write letters - the same rules apply. It is fine if supporters want to use a pro forma, but even better if they take your list of key points and put it in their own words. A letter is worth many standard post-cards!

**TIP** Write a letter to your target to see how they respond. Now using the reply prepare a standard letter for your supporters to send.

**Other techniques**

- **Field trip**
  One of the most effective forms of lobbying is to take your decision maker to see a project. Not only will this show them first-hand what you are talking about it will also give them a sense of motivation and personal commitment – and you’ll have a lot of time to talk to them too. If you can’t get your target to come, how about taking an influencer? (See section four, 5 on secondary targets and influencers)?

- **Invite a decision maker to speak at an event**
  Another option is to invite the target to speak at your event on your issue. This can be especially useful if you are trying to raise the priority of an issue. They will have to read up on your issue, and consider your arguments. Hopefully they will even respond to your asks. They won’t want to look bad so they will spend far more time learning their brief than for a small face to face meeting. If you can demonstrate that speaking on your issue gains them popularity or media coverage so much the better. At this stage you might not want to challenge them too much. Save that for once the issue is firmly on the political agenda.

- **Informal lobbying**
  Far too much influencing takes place in informal settings (like a golf course) this excludes all but the most powerful and frequently excludes women more than men. This is where your influencers may come into play.

**Example** The Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Centre (Gender Centre) in Ghana works with partners to tackle violence against women. Part of their strategy was to get a change in the law. The Gender Centre therefore hosted the National Coalition on Domestic Violence, to lobby for the passage of the Domestic Violence Bill.
The coalition played a central role in the progress of the Bill. In 2002 members worked with the Attorney General’s department to prepare the first draft of the Bill to ensure that their specific policy recommendations were included. The research previously done to document evidence about the extent, causes, definition and mechanisms that perpetuate violence against women and girls in Ghana proved very valuable to support their arguments.

They then built support among parliamentarians ready for the vote on the Bill. Member organisations made representations to all relevant select committees in parliament. Individual MPs were also targeted through their constituencies. Following a meeting with one coalition member the then Upper West Regional Minister, Edward Salia, was persuaded to say he was endorsing the Bill in parliament. The Ministry of Women and Children (MOWAC) which had organised the meeting proved to be useful allies.

Direct action such as marches and demonstrations reinforced this lobby work by putting more pressure on the MPs.

### 3.2 WORKING WITH THE MEDIA

Getting good coverage of your issue in the media can be a great way of influencing your target.

**Example** Red ADA, one of Womankind’s partners in Bolivia, is led by and works with indigenous women to promote women’s rights within their communities and to challenge negative perceptions of indigenous women outside their communities by ensuring that local women’s stories and experiences are reported in the media. Red ADA uses radio to disseminate information to women about their rights. It also trains and supports journalists all over the country on gender equality and women’s rights in order to create allies in the struggle to get indigenous women’s voices and needs heard in the public arena. Politicians, public officials and other opinion leaders debate these issues on the radio shows and in the newsletters that the journalists produce for their networks.

The first step is to be clear who your target is, what your message is, and what medium you will try to use (national news, local paper etc.).

Journalists are your influencers – you have to sell a story to them so think about how to capture their attention.

You will need a good hook or peg. Occasionally your story will be so strong it will sell itself but usually you need a hook to help you. This
could be a major conference or an event coming up. Or you could create your own peg such as with a stunt.

You then need to sell the story. The traditional way of doing this is with a press release. This could be accompanied by a short briefing or you could even have a press conference.

Be available. Have well-briefed and willing spokespeople available at all times. Journalists have tight deadlines and won’t wait while you try to get hold of your colleague.

For all your media work:
✓ Ensure media is part of your overall advocacy strategy
✓ Prioritise those media outlets which your targets will see or hear
✓ Use your core messages, framed for the particular audience
✓ Use case studies to bring the issue to life
✓ Plan how you will react to opportunities
✓ Create opportunities for coverage
✓ Take time to cultivate friendly journalists
✓ Know what journalists want - press releases, press briefings or photo opportunities

CAUTION Public relations – promoting the brand of your organisation is not really advocacy. It may however be a desired impact of your advocacy work.

WOMEN’S RIGHTS Building support and understanding of gender equality among journalists can also be a good strategy, so that all the issues that they cover promote rather than undermine women’s rights. This may also lead to your particular issue being covered sympathetically.

Example The Albanian Centre for Population & Development (ACPD) and the Independent Forum of Albanian Women (IFAW), have invested considerable time and resources in building alliances with local and national reporters and editors and in training them to challenge existing gender stereotypes. This has had remarkable results: women leaders and their views are presented respectfully on TV and radio, and women candidates say that the quality of coverage given to women’s issues is starting to improve. These changes increase the public’s awareness of the issues and challenge the commonly held belief in Albania that there is no place for women in politics.

TIP Most organisations want to get their name mentioned in any news piece on their advocacy work. You may need to do this to increase your organisational profile but it is not necessarily the best form of advocacy.
Having an ‘independent’ editor and presenter say what you would have said can be much more effective. The argument seems objective rather than the predictable line from an interest group.

**TIP** Don’t assume you have to go for the national media. In the UK, Parliamentarians are particularly interested in what the local papers in their constituencies say – and it’s much easier to get a story here than in the national press. Ministers also get cuttings from the relevant specialist trade press, which are again much easier to get a story into.

**Press releases**

Press releases provide a large number of journalists with the basic information about your story. Some media, such as local papers with small distribution, may use the information in the press release to form the story. Other journalists will want more and will just see the press release as an advertisement for the story you are trying to sell.

✔ Stand out
Journalists will get hundreds of press releases across their desks. Yours needs to stand out. Your press release has to have a hook – to capture attention. This could be an event coming up or something which has just happened.

✔ Be in time
Make sure you send the release out in time to meet deadlines.

✔ Sell with a phone call
Follow the release up with a phone call to encourage the journalist to read it and so they can ask you any more questions (sometimes they like to feel they have got a quote or additional information that others haven’t got). Be ready with a good quote. Don’t be embarrassed; you are going to have to really sell your story with enthusiasm.

✔ Consider an embargo
Some media won’t cover a story if it has already been ‘broken’. Using an ‘embargo’ means nobody can run the story before an agreed time. If setting an embargo, think about whether you are tailoring it for the morning papers or the evening television or radio news.

✔ Use a photo opportunity
If there will be a photo opportunity as part of your story, for example, if you are handing in a petition or organising a stunt, make sure all the details are on the press release. You should also have your own photographer there so you can pass the photo on to any outlet that wants to use it.
Press release structure:
- Start the release with a simple, descriptive and catchy headline to grab attention
- The opening paragraph should summarise the story with: who, what, when and where
- The following paragraphs explain ‘why’ – tell the story
- Think of a pyramid with the most important information first and details lower down
- A quote or examples can add passion and can be used by the journalist in their article (it may stand alone so make sure it captures your core message)
- At the bottom put the relevant contact name and telephone number
- Notes to editors’ should be at the end of the release and include a couple of sentences on your organisation, and any background details such as figures or dates of a key meeting.

Format:
- Put the date at the top and whether it is under embargo or can be used immediately
- Ideally use only one well-spaced page
- Send the release on your organisation’s headed paper
- If you have more than one page write ‘More/… at the bottom right of the first page
- At the end of the main part of the release write ‘Ends’ on the left hand-side.

PRESS RELEASE FROM X
Embargoed until 00.01am on INSERT DATE
Catchy headline should go here
Opening paragraph summarising the who, what, when and where
Paragraphs which tell the story
Commenting on the report, X, said:
"Insert your quote."
Conclusion
ENDS
For embargoed copies of X, more information or to request interviews, contact X on telephone or email address.
Notes to editors
(1) Description of Organisation
(2) Other relevant details / sources – as needed.
Other ways of selling a story

● Develop a relationship
Developing a relationship with a sympathetic journalist can be an excellent way of ensuring that your story is covered in the way you want it to be. They may continue to cover your story as it develops too.

● Agree to an exclusive
Usually your aim is to get as much coverage as possible. However if you have a particularly influential outlet interested it may be worth giving them an exclusive – which means only they are allowed to cover the story. This is riskier as the correspondent may be very enthusiastic only to find that their editor pulls the story at the last minute.

● Field visit
As with decision makers, a field visit can be a great way to bring a story to life and to persuade a journalist of its value. It may lead to an in-depth piece or make your influencer more likely to run one of your stories in the future. Make sure you have prepared well. The visit should relate directly to your campaign and everyone they meet should be well-briefed.

Media interviews

Media interviews are a bit like lobbying meetings – you will have invested substantial resources to get them so you must take time to prepare.

● Check all the details you can ahead of time such as how long the interview will be, who will be the interviewer, whether there will be other interviewees and whether the interview is live
● Prepare by doing a mock interview with a colleague
● Have ready your three core points: example, evidence and action
● If possible ask what the first question will be
● Remember you don’t always have to answer the question literally – make sure you keep coming back to the point you want to make

TOOL Useful Resource

● The Civicus toolkit provides good ideas for media work in chapter 5 http://www.civicus.org/mdg/5-1.htm
● Mission Possible: A Gender and Media Advocacy Toolkit which addresses media work on women’s rights specifically http://fesmedia.org/fileadmin/files-fesmedia.org/Mission_Possible.pdf
● The South African NGO, Gender Links, has a lot of experience of engaging with the media on gender, see www.genderlinks.org.za/
3.3 OUTPUTS

Whichever methods you are using you will probably need to produce some outputs such as publications or materials.

It can be particularly useful to put some time into internal briefing papers at the start of the advocacy campaign – this can save a lot of time later and ensure that you are ready to seize any media or lobbying opportunities as they arise. Useful internal papers can include:

- Internal position paper
- Q&A on the issues including how to counter opposing arguments
- Basic facts and case study summaries
- Sound bites (snappy phrases which sum up your point)

Before beginning any publication you must decide on the audience, what output will work best with this audience and how you will distribute it so that it will actually get read.

TIP When producing material for supporters start by looking at good material from other organisations. Remember supporters are your targets too – so think about what will motivate them, what messenger will be best and so on. Think about the tools used in commercial advertising too.

TIP A common mistake is to produce a major report without really thinking about its usefulness. Sometimes a report can be key – providing a ground-breaking synthesis of new evidence and a devastating argument which cannot be refuted. However, this is rare. Reports can be a useful way of demonstrating the breadth of evidence that you have and establishing your authority and credibility on an issue; but they are also time consuming and resource intensive. Consider how long a report really needs to be and what resources you should devote to it. Additional value from a report is the learning that will take place in producing it – so think about who is doing the work and whether employing a consultant will mean that the learning does not stay within the organisation. The worst reason for producing a report is because the author thinks it will look good on their CV.

Preparing your materials

Refer back to the points about core messages in section five, 4.3.

- Be clear who the audience is - don’t try to do too many things with one publication
- Check your facts and the accuracy of quotes - reference any sources
- Be brief - only include what is relevant
3.4 ACTIVISM AND PUBLIC CAMPAIGNING

Activism can include anything from supporter letter writing to mass demonstrations. It is most useful in creating political will to push an issue on to the decision makers’ agenda. Activism can be particularly important when you are trying to open up political processes. It is a potential form of empowerment for those involved, providing that you are honest with them about their role and realistic about what you hope to achieve.

The form of activism you take will partly depend on the objectives you have:
- To demonstrate to decision makers the strength of citizen concern
- To encourage influencers (usually the media) to act in a way that will influence your target
- To influence the attitudes, and thereby the actions, of citizens
- To empower those involved in the activism

If you are going to undertake any kind of activism you need to have a critical mass to make an impact. For most actions, like letter writing or a march, you probably need a large number of people to take part.

If your action is very bold (such as those taken by Greenpeace in climbing buildings or providing human shields), or if it is witty and eye-catching and aimed at the media, then you may be able to achieve your purpose with a much smaller number of people but more cash. Such actions are sometimes referred to as ‘stunts’ rather than activism.

TIP Your plan has to work in your cultural and legal setting and be appropriate to capture the attention of your targets – so it’s hard to provide a check list. See what others have done in your country and consider whether it worked. Unless you are a very large and experienced organisation, imitation will probably be better than innovation.

Possible actions include:
- ✔ Letter writing (see 3.1 on lobbying in this section)
- ✔ Petitions (it can help if well-known people add their names)
- ✔ Symbolic actions such as the AIDS red ribbon or wrist bands
✓ Theatre or music
✓ Mass marches
✓ Direct action (such as sit-ins or occupations) which are used as a way of getting your voice heard outside the normal political procedures

**With any action:**
✓ Build support ahead of time
✓ Be realistic about whether you can get the number of people you need to act
✓ Plan and budget carefully
✓ Make sure your participants have all the information they need
✓ Make the message very clear – too often the gimmick rather than the campaign ask is covered
✓ Get publicity for it – if no-one knows you are doing it you won’t have any effect
✓ Use methods that are proven – but add your own imaginative ideas and be willing to be flexible
✓ Stay legal – check with the relevant authorities beforehand (deciding to break the law is a big step so don’t do it unwittingly)

**TIP** If you are doing a stunt for the media think about what the photo will look like. Can you get your message across visually? Be creative, but make sure what you are doing conveys your message. It is easy to think something works just because it is fun.

There are some great examples from around the world of campaigners using innovative techniques to raise awareness or capture people’s attention.

**Example** Following attacks against women in Bangalore, a campaign called Fearless Karnataka or Nirbhaya Karnataka was established calling on the police to take these violent crimes against women seriously. Events were held for International Women’s Day 2009 where women used pink chaddis (underwear) to demonstrate their defiance. The novelty of the action meant word spread quickly on the internet and supporters around the world, held pink chaddi events and posted photos on the organisation’s website. However the campaign also drew the attention of opponents who used the website to post obscenity and the site was closed down.26
Direct Action was successfully used by women in India to stop the felling of trees in a number of regions and to call for reform to policy on natural resources. The Chipko movement (meaning ‘embrace’) started as a spontaneous protest against logging abuses in Uttar Pradesh in the Himalayas. Thousands of supporters, including many village women, put themselves between the trees and the loggers’ axes.²⁷

**TIP** Be careful not to undermine your reputation with stunts. Some decision makers may dismiss advocacy organisations as merely seeking publicity for themselves if they take on a less serious side. Remember that short term media coverage is only a means to an end and ultimately it’s the decision maker you want to influence.

**CAUTION** Real activism can be very empowering for those involved and as such may be an aim in itself, but only if it’s done well and with respect for those involved. Make sure you have been honest with your participants about why they are there and what you will be calling for if you get a lobby meeting. Once you get that high level meeting don’t forget who opened the door for you.

4. **EMPOWERING GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS TO ACT**

4.1 **EMPOWERING WOMEN TO ADVOCATE FOR THE CHANGES THEY WANT TO SEE**

Building the awareness of people affected by an abuse of their rights, and giving them the confidence to act, can be an important part of advocacy. (This should not be confused with awareness raising projects designed to inform supporters or others about the problems facing a particular marginalised or impoverished group). This can be particularly important for grassroots women who are likely to have less access to power.

Here the aim is to empower women themselves, so that they can advocate for the change they want to see. In section two, we saw how important it is to strengthen women’s invisible power, and their power in the household, so that they are able to use the opportunities that may be gained in more formal areas. Quotas on political representation, or equal pay for women, will only work if women are able to challenge existing gender roles and move into new areas.
In Nepal FEDO (Feminist Dalit Organisation), Womankind’s partner, seeks to improve the situation of Dalit women and girls, particularly those who experience or have experienced gender-based violence. They do this through the creation of Dalit women’s groups and providing training sessions and counselling services.

In one project, they conducted training for 30 Dalit women survivors of domestic violence on: their rights under CEDAW; their legal rights relating to marriage and birth registration; laws protecting them against caste-based discrimination; and how to claim those rights. Afterwards, many of the women felt confident enough to approach their Village Development Committee (local council) for help and to lodge complaints with the police about the violence they had experienced. The women also received counselling and formed a support group to educate others in the community. Another outcome of FEDO’s work is that women are now starting to sleep in their homes during their menstruation period (whereas previously women had to stay in small and unsafe outhouses). Dalit women’s groups are also confident enough to take VAW cases to the authority.

The Green Belt Movement in Kenya is one of the most well-known examples of environmental activism which includes an element of consciousness-raising. Wangari Maathai, one of the leaders of the movement, explains:

“In the process of education that takes place when someone joins the Green Belt Movement, women have become aware that planting trees or fighting to save forests from being chopped down is part of a larger mission to create a society that respects democracy, decency, adherence to the rule of law, human rights, and the rights of women. Women also take on leadership roles…. All of these experiences contribute to their developing more confidence in themselves and more power over the direction of their lives.”28
4.2 COMMUNITY ACTIVISM

Community activism is a powerful tool which demonstrates to decision makers how strongly people feel about an issue. It also gives legitimacy to advocacy work. Community activism involves CSOs supporting local communities to:

- Assess what their needs are
- Identify solutions
- Prioritise where to focus
- Identify the barriers to participation
- Understand decision making processes
- Speak out

Communities are not homogeneous. Efforts will need to be made to ensure all voices are heard equally. For example, holding meetings at lunch time rather than in the evening may ensure more women are represented. The best way of ensuring participation is by asking your target groups what they need and what barriers there might be to their involvement. Community leaders will be an important part of the process and getting their support for an inclusive approach will help.

This kind of activism will be most effective when it is supported by research and evidence of the problem; not just anecdotes. It needs to be well targeted based on research into decision making processes. It is important to involve people in the choice of methods as well as objectives.

Community activism will probably require you to invest in capacity building within the community to:

- Capture existing knowledge and increase shared understanding of the issues
- Increase knowledge of decision making and political processes (depending on the level of advocacy)
- Improve skills and confidence in advocating
- Build structures for negotiation, consultation and decision making within the community
- Enable community members to identify and utilise appropriate resources

In the following quotes, women activists from around the world explain the importance and value of community activism.
“I represent more than 100,000 organised women in 500 community-based organisations in 16 regions of Peru. We do handicraft work, we run collective kitchens, raise livestock, and do small-scale agriculture… We are working to strengthen leadership and political participation that allows grassroots women to exercise full citizenship. We are active on capacity building and strengthening inclusion through the local to local dialogues. We have strengthened women’s involvement in planning and decision-making and are working towards gaining representation in national government.”

Relinda Sosa, National Confederation of Women For Life and Integral Development, GROOTS Peru

“I am here to say that the rural woman bears the burden of poverty, climate change, and are denied human rights. And yet her voice is least heard. There are so many organisations that don’t work with grassroots women. We carry this voice. Please go down to the grassroots to work with us.”

Caroline Omoniye, Niger Delta Women’s Movement for Peace and Development

“I’m a woman leader, activist and advocate. In Port Moresby grassroots women started to associate. We have 20,000 women organised in the city. The situation is one of high violence levels. Women can’t go out after 5 pm, and they had to close the marketplace because of extreme violence… We ask that governments listen to our recommendations in planning for safer cities. So we call for consultation, support for peer learning, and to make sure training and information that is part of this program goes from communities to local authorities”.

Kathy Tom, Widows and Orphans Deserted Association, Papua New Guinea

“Before, the local government thought we were in conflict with them and wanted to take over their process. When we did our Local to Local Dialogue [a tool developed by grassroots women], we called the local government into workshops where the community members envisioned what they wanted for their community and shared their ideas with the local authorities. The government began to trust us and learn from us. Now, we regularly air out our problems at a roundtable with them, and they listen to us about our issues. We influence local decisions and they invite us to participate in planning and budget allocation.”

Joyce Nangobi, Slum Women Initiatives for Development, Jinja, Uganda
“I’m a grassroots woman representing a federation of 217 organisations comprised of a total of 100,000 women. We work on land and housing, building resilience, health, getting women into governance processes, and organising savings and credit cooperatives. Grassroots women in my network mobilise and manage savings which helps in terms of resilience, to secure livelihoods, to take care of health needs, education and housing.”

*Josephine Castillo, Community Organizer, DAMPA Federation, Philippines*

### 4.3 Workplace Activism

The trade union movement is built on the idea of solidarity among workers at a common workplace increasing their power in relation to their employers. This is also known as collective bargaining. Where trades unions exist this can be a very powerful way of alliance building. However, even when no trade unions exist the workplace can still be an effective place for organising.

**Example**

Women on Farms Project in the Western Cape region of South Africa, provides support to women working in the agricultural sector so that they can organise and speak for themselves. Training on personal development and leadership skills is provided, and training in specialist areas, such as labour rights and the safe use of pesticides. Farm committees mobilise to lobby and raise awareness amongst farmers and their community on a range of issues, including housing, labour contracts, working conditions, access to basic healthcare and sick leave as well as sexual violence perpetrated by farmers and farm managers.

As a result, women on an apple farm in Grabouw were successful in standing up for their rights. The women had been given occupational health and safety training with Women on Farms in 2005. Shortly afterwards, they were instructed by the farm manager to go into a section of the orchard that had just been sprayed with pesticides. Previously, they would have simply complied. However, due to the WFP workshop the women refused to enter the orchard and at a meeting with farm management, they challenged the manager on his failure to adhere to the relevant provisions of the Occupational Health and Safety Act. The manager eventually conceded.

Safai Karmachari Andolan (SKA) is working to eradicate the degrading practice of manual scavenging in India. Manual scavengers (known as safai karmacharis) clean out human excreta from wealthy households’
latrines, despite the fact that the practice was outlawed in 1993. 82 per cent of manual scavengers are women coming from certain dalit sub-caste groups. SKA organised a month-long bus convoy to coincide with the Commonwealth Games. This convoy travelled through dalit villages in 172 districts in 20 states to encourage those still engaged in the practice of manual scavenging to find alternate work. Women who had previously worked as manual scavengers spoke at the event and burnt the baskets they once used in a bid to empower others to stop doing this degrading work. The bus convoy culminated in a mass rally in Delhi to demand that the 1993 law is enforced.29

**TOOL Useful Resource**

For more on workplace activism see the following websites of major organisations representing workers:

- Labour Start: http://www.labourstart.org/

---

22 Dey et al, *Stop the Bus evaluation: Stop the bus! I want to get on;* 2008.
26 http://thepinkchaddicampaign.blogspot.com/
27 http://www.iisd.org/50comm/commdb/list/c07.htm
Case Study – Stop the Bus Campaign

The Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust (RCCTT) is a highly experienced organisation working in a broad range of ways to combat violence against women in South Africa. In 2006, they launched a small campaign called ‘Stop the Bus’. This campaign was primarily aimed at increasing rural women’s ‘invisible’ power (see Section two on power) through education and consciousness-raising.

Phase 1 – defining the campaign
RCCTT identified the problem that many rape survivors do not report what has happened to them. They considered why, and found that it was partly because women thought they would not be believed and partly because women feared the stigma attached to being a survivor of rape. The Stop the Bus campaign therefore aimed to change attitudes to and understanding of rape and provide knowledge to victims about the services available. There was also an internal aim – to share their learning with partner organisations in Africa. Rural communities in the Western Cape were identified as particularly needing support, and women in specific communities became the target of the campaign.

The objectives identified included:
- raising awareness and offering information to the target communities;
- supporting volunteers and community members to build their skills so they could continue the work;
- producing a handbook based on the experiences of the campaign.

An alliance was built with the Gender Advocacy Project, Women on Farms and Western Cape Network on Violence Against Women. The latter group, in particular, was able to provide local knowledge of the province which RCCTT did not possess.

Phase 2 – strategy and planning
The strategy for the campaign was based on a concept which RCCTT learnt had worked for others. They decided to take a bus of volunteer trainers, community activists and counsellors on a tour of the targeted communities. Workshops and meetings would be used to provide training and counselling. The bus would allow the team to reach rural women often excluded from such programmes.

Having sent out proposals and raised some funds, there was only six weeks to plan the campaign. RCCTT formed an organising committee. With hindsight, RCCTT felt they should have involved volunteers more from the start, particularly in discussions about budgets and plans, so that volunteers felt more ownership.

Planning logistics were crucial; the bus routes had to be worked out, accommodation booked, and materials ordered. It was not always easy for RCCTT, based in Cape Town, to plan for a community they had no direct knowledge of - so working in alliance was crucial.

One lesson they learnt was to understand local politics and be strategic about the tone to use with people, and how to frame what was said. Using provincial officials as influencers to persuade local officials to take part was also considered useful. The organisers also learnt the importance of clarifying roles and responsibilities from the start and each team member was given a folder outlining their role when they got on
the bus. Daily schedules clearly showed timetables and responsibilities.

**Monitoring systems** were established, within which indicators could develop as the tour continued. For example, a workshop was considered successful if it had a high level of interest, active participation from all role players, enthusiastic questioning, positive feedback, a sense that participant expectations had been met, and an expressed desire for further workshops. The rural communities had low literacy rates so **verbal feedback** was necessary, in addition to the evaluation forms, and people were asked questions at the start and end of the meeting. A final evaluation workshop was held, and all the resources produced contributed to the evaluation including the blog (produced daily) which was seen as the liveliest form of monitoring.

**Phase 3 – implementation**

Two teams used the bus, one in the first week and one in the second. Successful workshops and training were held, pamphlets distributed and many women were reached. Documentation of the experience was also collected and shared with others, so the campaign **objectives were met**. Along the way useful **lessons were learnt** about how to implement this kind of campaign.

The first lesson was that things do not always go as planned. By **working as a team**, the group became resilient and found solutions. When, at their first stop, there were only three participants waiting the team went around and recruited another 15 for what turned into a successful workshop. Secondly, maintaining team energy, direction and morale was important, particularly when travelling away from home.

The co-ordinator was seen as a key person to observe the different dynamics of the organisation and keep everyone on track. Given that travel was involved, it was important for her to be updated regularly and de-brief colleagues who were not with her. The team had **daily briefings** to ensure everyone knew what they were doing, and then **evening de-briefings** which were vital to solve problems and vent frustrations. In the middle of the tour, the team spent a day on a nature reserve with a personal growth facilitator which was seen as inspiring and empowering.