



Leading to Choices

# Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns

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**WOMEN'S**  
**LEARNING**  
**PARTNERSHIP**

for Rights,  
Development,  
and Peace

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## Introduction

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In 2001, the Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP) and its partners—the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc in Morocco, BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights in Nigeria, and Women's Affairs Technical Committee in Palestine—published *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*.<sup>1</sup> The handbook promotes progressive and principled leadership skills for women and men, and explores the theoretical framework of participatory leadership in promoting democratic and egalitarian societies.

During the testing and evaluation process for *A Leadership Training Handbook for Women* WLP and its partners realized the need for additional training materials in three areas: facilitation, communication, and advocacy. Even experienced facilitators and trainers felt they would benefit from more skill-building exercises that apply the theoretical framework of participatory leadership to the strengthening of facilitation, communication, and advocacy skills.

In response, WLP produced a series of three *Leading to Choices* guides and videos: *Learning to Facilitate Interactively*, *Communicating for Change*, and *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns*.

- *Learning to Facilitate Interactively* helps train facilitators to conduct effective workshops using inclusive and participatory strategies. Facilitators gain the skills to promote participative listening, share responsibility for leading activities, stimulate discussion, encourage enthusiasm for divergent opinions, and work cooperatively.
- *Communicating for Change* provides material to help improve personal and organizational communication skills. The guide contains skill-building activities on how to create concise, compelling messages that resonate with specific audiences, how to create strategic communications plans to disseminate messages through locally appropriate communication channels, and how to convey messages through interviews with the media.
- *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* builds on the exercises on principled leadership and participatory communication found in the *Learning to Facilitate Interactively* guide<sup>2</sup> and the *Communicating for Change* guide<sup>3</sup> respectively. Successful advocacy campaigns enable disempowered and disenfranchised citizens to become effective change agents for influencing policy that impacts their lives. The guide contains skill-building activities on ways to define advocacy, analyze the components of an advocacy plan, and implement a successful advocacy campaign.

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1. *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*. 2001. Bethesda, Maryland: Women's Learning Partnership.

2. Specifically the exercises on "Power and Leadership" (*Learning to Facilitate Interactively*, pages 9 – 16).

3. Specifically the first three exercises on "Communication Skills" (*Communicating for Change*, pages 11 – 19).

The three guides and videos can each be used alone, together, or in conjunction with *A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*, either in an independent leadership training program or as components of other human rights, gender training, and skill-building projects. The exercises in these guides are presented as learning models intended to be revised and customized for the specific needs of various training groups.

## Using this Guide and Video

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This guide begins with a brief summary of the conceptual basis for successful advocacy. Learning exercises that follow build on these concepts, enabling activists to explore and develop cooperative, culturally-relevant advocacy strategies and campaign organizing. The guide concludes with an evaluation exercise to help participants assess what they have learned and to critique the learning process.

The *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video features successful advocacy campaigns in Jordan, Malaysia, Morocco, and Palestine. Activists share their strategies for protecting women from violence, defending human rights, and promoting citizenship rights. Zainah Anwar of Malaysia describes the campaign to develop and implement a Domestic Violence Act. Amina Lemrini of Morocco talks about the campaign to amend legislation to protect women from sexual harassment in the workplace. Suheir Azzouni of Palestine describes women's efforts to reverse regulations requiring them to obtain permission from male guardians before applying for a passport. Asma Khader talks about the campaign to eliminate honor crimes in Jordan. These scenarios are also featured in *A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*.

We recommend the following learning process:

- Before meeting with other participants, read through the guide, watch the *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video, and begin thinking about using participatory techniques for effective advocacy.
- Participate in the exercises provided in this guide.

- Watch the video again in conjunction with the third exercise—“Components of an Advocacy Plan”—on page 13.
- After completing the final exercise—“Developing an Effective Advocacy Plan”—participate with your group in the evaluation.

The basic premise of this guide is that inclusive, horizontal, and participatory leadership and communication styles help create more sustainable and effective partnerships of individuals who mobilize around a shared vision for advocacy. This approach can be useful whether advocating for improved workplace policies, community facilities, or constitutional reforms to guarantee human rights. Working cooperatively strengthens our individual goals and can help realize our collective vision for change.

## Advocacy in Learning Societies: Conceptual Summary <sup>4</sup>

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**E**ffective advocacy in learning societies requires participatory decision-making and skilled communication among individuals and organizations working together to generate positive change based on a shared vision.

The foundation of a successful advocacy campaign is a flexible partnership in which individuals collaborate in decision-making and decision-implementation. A campaign's impact and effectiveness depend on principled leaders who share power with team members, engage in dialogue, and foster trust.

An effective advocacy campaign is citizen-initiated and citizen-centered. It seeks to create change by drawing attention to a problem and directing policy-makers to a solution. Using participatory, transparent, and accountable decision-making processes, successful advocacy brings about a change in the policy decisions that affect people's lives.

Each individual who engages in effective advocacy:

- shares a long-term vision of change and is inspired by common goals
- commits to using ethical means to achieve these goals
- acknowledges and values others as genuine, whole human beings

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4. This section is a summary of the ideas presented by Mahnaz Afkhami in “The Building Blocks of Leadership: Leadership as Communicative Learning,” in *Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*.

- resolves to works as a team, share experiences and information, learn from each other, and build on each other's strengths
- recognizes that every team member is creative and productive, and has something valuable to contribute
- respects others' opinions and contributions
- embraces diversity and works to overcome assumptions, prejudices, and antipathies
- desires to serve others
- trusts team members, is sensitive to the needs of others, and is guided by shared values, ethics, and principles
- favors dialogue
- perseveres when working cooperatively

Each participant who engages in such advocacy has a stake in the outcome of the advocacy effort, and the teamwork creates synergy: coordination, unity, and a sense of cooperation that make the whole larger than the sum of its parts.

In a learning society, no end—however lofty—justifies using unethical behavior to achieve it. Achievement is measured not just by whether goals are reached, but also by whether these goals are reached in a manner that reflects the authenticity, sincerity, and well being of participating members. The process reveals whether the group or society is democratic or authoritarian, egalitarian or elitist.

## Exercises on Effective Advocacy

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### EXERCISE 1: Defining Advocacy

#### Objectives:

- To explore the purpose and meaning of advocacy
- To develop a shared definition for advocacy

**Time:** 30 minutes

**Materials:** Paper or chalkboard, markers or chalk

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*A volunteer facilitator from the group leads the group discussion. The facilitator is responsible for assisting the group to follow the exercise instructions, keeping time, and calling on participants who wish to speak. A second volunteer records participants' findings on a large piece of paper or chalkboard that is visible to all.*

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1. A volunteer writes the word **ADVOCACY** at the center of a piece of paper or chalkboard.
2. Participants take a few minutes to reflect on advocacy campaigns they know about.
3. Taking turns, participants identify words, phrases, or concepts that they associate with **ADVOCACY** while the volunteer records them.
4. When the group has generated a substantial list, participants consider some or all of the following questions:
  - *What are the different types of advocacy? What are some social, political, economic, cultural, or legal changes advocacy seeks to achieve?*
  - *What are some power imbalances that advocacy efforts seek to address?*

- *Is citizen empowerment always a goal or outcome of advocacy? Why or why not?*
  - *Is consciousness-raising always a goal or outcome of advocacy? Why or why not?*
  - *Is policy change always a goal or outcome of advocacy? Why or why not?*
  - *What are some other broad objectives of advocacy?*
  - *Who are the audiences generally reached through advocacy?*
  - *Who benefits from advocacy?*
  - *Who is empowered through advocacy?*
  - *What ethics and values do you associate with the term advocacy?*
  - *What words do you use in the vernacular to explain advocacy? Are there difficulties in translating this word into other languages? (For instance, “advocate” in many languages means “lawyer.”)*
- 5.** Based on this discussion, participants develop a working definition of advocacy that the group can agree upon. A volunteer writes the definition on a piece of paper or chalkboard.

## EXERCISE 2: Doing Advocacy

### Objectives:

- To discuss who participates in advocacy
- To analyze how to engage in effective advocacy

**Time:** 30 minutes

**Materials:** Paper or chalkboard, markers or chalk

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*A volunteer facilitator from the group leads the group discussion. The facilitator is responsible for assisting the group to follow the exercise instructions, keeping time, and calling on participants who wish to speak. A second volunteer records participants' findings on a large piece of paper or chalkboard that is visible to all.*

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- 1.** Recall the group's definition of advocacy developed in the previous exercise.
- 2.** Participants discuss who participates in advocacy and how to engage effectively in advocacy efforts. A volunteer records participants' responses.
- 3.** Among the questions the group considers are:
  - *Who initiates advocacy?*
  - *Who carries out advocacy?*
  - *Does advocacy address the priority concerns of the initiators, doers, and/or beneficiaries? Is there a difference? Why or why not?*
  - *What kinds of activities does advocacy involve?*
  - *What are some challenges to doing advocacy?*
  - *In what ways can having a shared vision enhance the efficacy of advocacy efforts?*
  - *In what ways can having a rights-based approach to advocacy enhance its effectiveness?*
  - *What are the advantages to including diverse perspectives in advocacy?*



- *What are some obstacles to the participation of diverse groups in advocacy efforts (such as people of a different gender, age, ethnicity, class, religion, profession, or ability)? How can these obstacles be overcome?*
- *How can the following help improve the efficacy of advocacy efforts?*
  - *participatory decision-making processes*
  - *principled leaders*
  - *skilled communicators*
  - *coalitions or partnerships*

### EXERCISE 3: Components of an Advocacy Plan

#### Objectives:

- To identify and analyze the components of an advocacy plan
- To learn about examples of advocacy strategies and campaigns

**Time:** 120 minutes

**Materials:** *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video, video player, television, large piece of paper or chalkboard, markers or chalk

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*A volunteer facilitator from the group leads the group discussion. The facilitator is responsible for assisting the group to follow the exercise instructions, keeping time, and calling on participants who wish to speak. A second volunteer records participants' findings on a large piece of paper or chalkboard that is visible to all.*

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1. A volunteer writes the words COMPONENTS OF AN ADVOCACY PLAN at the top of a piece of paper or chalkboard.
2. Taking turns, participants identify the components of an advocacy plan while a volunteer records this information on the paper or chalkboard.
3. Keeping this discussion in mind, view the *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video in which four women activists present advocacy strategies used in campaigns to defend women's rights in their countries.<sup>5</sup>
  - Zainah Anwar describes the campaign to create a legislative act that makes domestic violence a federal crime in Malaysia.

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5. Although the examples of advocacy campaigns shown in the *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video involve creating new law, reforming existing law, or urging the implementation of law, advocacy efforts address many other kinds of problems and issues as well such as patriarchal attitudes, cultural practices, or institutional policies.

- Amina Lemrini talks about efforts to amend the Moroccan penal code and labor code to protect women from sexual harassment in the workplace.
  - Suheir Azzouni describes Palestinian women's efforts to reverse regulations requiring them to obtain written permission from their male guardians before applying for a passport.
  - Asma Khader discusses the campaign to seek harsher penalties for perpetrators of honor crimes in Jordan.<sup>6</sup>
4. A volunteer then reads aloud the following information drawn from the video—a description of the main components of an advocacy plan:

### Components of an Advocacy Plan

- A.** Identify the mission
- B.** Build a coalition
- C.** Develop a shared vision
- D.** Formulate and implement strategies
  - *legal strategy*
  - *research strategy*
  - *political strategy*
  - *negotiation strategy*
  - *media strategy*
- E.** Rethink strategies
- F.** Measure success of short-term outcomes
- G.** Evaluate progress toward realizing the long-term vision

From *Leading to Choices: Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video. 2003. Bethesda, Maryland: Women's Learning Partnership.

5. After viewing the video, the group discusses the following questions:
- *Of the components you identified earlier in this exercise, which additional ones might you use in any one of the four campaigns shown in the video?*
  - *Does a campaign need all the components of an advocacy plan listed above? Why or why not?*
6. Participants divide into small teams. Using the four campaigns as examples, each team:
- examines in depth one or more components of an advocacy plan described in the video
  - discusses how to implement those components
  - prepares a synopsis of their discussions
7. A spokesperson from each team presents a synopsis of their discussion to the entire group. This synopsis highlights the questions that generated differences of opinion or greater discussion.
8. In their teams, participants discuss some or all of the questions listed:
- A. Identify the mission:** In the video, Asma Khader describes an encounter with a woman who was distressed that her husband received only a six-month prison term for murdering their unwed daughter, whom he had raped and impregnated. Says Khader, "Her husband was able to get this short sentence because according to the customs and traditional

6. Case-study scenarios and exercises on these four campaigns are found in *A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*. For exercises on the Malaysia campaign, see Session 11 from the handbook, entitled "How do we share responsibilities and results?" (pages 95-99). For the Palestine campaign, see Alternative Scenario 5, "Lobbying for the right of women's citizenship in Palestine" (pages 123-124). For the Morocco campaign, see Alternative Scenario 6, "Organizing to protect the legal rights of women employees" (page 125). For the Jordan campaign, see Session 1, "Who is a leader?" (pages 29-32).

values, for a girl to be pregnant out of [wedlock] dishonors the family. Because of that, the man has a right to clean the honor by committing this crime.” Zainah Anwar says of their campaign’s mission: “There wasn’t a law that made domestic violence a crime. So in order for women to get the men to stop beating them, there was a major obstacle.... We decided what we wanted to do was to campaign for a domestic violence act—to make domestic violence a crime in Malaysia.” About the Morocco campaign, Amina Lemrini explains that one day, textile factory worker women came to their association and said 210 of them were on strike, “not for reasons of salary or other issues, but because they were victims of sexual harassment.... Sexual harassment in our country is taboo. Women do not speak of it.” Describing the mission of the Palestinian campaign, Suheir Azzouni says, “We were told as women that we have to obtain the written permission of our guardians in order to obtain passports. It was really shocking.”

- *Who identifies the issue to be addressed in an advocacy campaign as a problem?*
- *Who is directly affected by the problem?*
- *Who cares most about solving the problem, including those not affected?*
- *Whose interests will be promoted through the campaign?*
- *Is it important for an advocacy campaign mission to present a policy solution? Why or why not?*
- *In what ways can identifying a mission help to map better the short-term goals, strategy objectives, and appropriate actions to achieve each objective of an advocacy campaign?*

## **B. Build a coalition:**

### **i. On the importance of coalitions.**

According to Khader, an advocacy campaign involves working with others “in an atmosphere of teamwork rather than as individual heroes.” Concurring, Anwar says that if you want to bring change to a society, “you have to convince the authorities, you have to convince the public that there is a widespread public demand for this. The only way you can do that is if you build a coalition, if you work together with other people to support your cause.” Moreover, says Anwar, “being inclusive, being consultative, being unselfish about power is very, very important because if you want to bring change, you cannot monopolize the issue.... [T]he diversity of voices, the diversity of groups and the spread of the groups that supports the issue is very important.” Azzouni adds to this, saying “We have to be persistent, support each other, work together, and have a long term strategy in order to be able to win... and the more leaders we have within our community that means the easier it will be to achieve more goals and objectives.” Furthermore, says Azzouni, “Shared leadership is possible because one has to see that one cannot be strong in every aspect. There are different strengths in every person and in every group, and it would be wise to make space, to give space to these people to show their strengths and capabilities and skills.”

- ii. **On the workings of coalitions.** Mahnaz Afkhami says the essential factor in developing a learning community “is individuals who deeply respect each other and have a total understanding of the importance of the others opinion, of input, of collaboration.... Working together gives us the benefit, the wisdom, of each of our experiences, our histories, our cultures, our methodology, our challenges and our solutions.”
- iii. **On coalition membership.** In Jordan, the most active persons in the diverse coalition to fight honor crimes came from the media and the legal profession because these groups were able to document the stories and were in touch with victims, perpetrators, and their families. Says Khader, “The lawyers came from the courtrooms where they were watching and monitoring the trials and felt the injustice.” Coalition members in the Moroccan campaign, according to Lemrini, included the Moroccan Union of Labor, of which the women were a part. Indeed, the union was their first ally. “In cooperation with this union,” she says, “we [the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc] launched the campaign.” Anwar explains that her advocacy group—the Joint Action Group on violence against women—deliberately brought together different groups to show authorities that the demand for the domestic violence act did not come from one small, isolated group. The goal was to show, she says, “that there is a huge coalition of different groups—women’s groups, lawyers, trade union people, academics—to show the diversity of

voices from different sectors of society that are demanding for such a legislation.” Speaking about the Palestinian campaign, Azzouni says the members of their coalition are women from different political and interest groups who have been active all along, and professional women who felt this was the right time “to work for a society that has a human culture and no discrimination according to race, color, religion, or ethnic background. These women felt for years they were working for the liberation of the homeland,” she explains, “and now is the time to work for social equality within their own society.”

- *What are some benefits of working in a coalition?*
- *What are some drawbacks of a coalition?*
- *How can including both the initiators and beneficiaries in a coalition help increase its effectiveness?*
- *In what ways can including many voices and groups strengthen a coalition? In what ways can they weaken a coalition?*
- *What are obstacles to including a multiplicity of voices? How can they be overcome?*
- *In what ways can a coalition capitalize on the strengths and skills of its members?*
- *What role, if any, should “experts” have in a coalition?*
- *How can coalitions be set up and function so every coalition member feels involved and invested?*
- *What decision-making processes can help strengthen a coalition? Should coalition members engage in joint decision-making or merely implement decisions made by others? Should some coalition members initiate their*

*own actions and mobilize resources to implement their actions? Explain why.*

- *How can coalition members share responsibilities, while ensuring that they meet their individual objectives?*
- *How can each coalition member's contribution be valued and respected? In what other ways can coalition members enhance interactions with each other to further their advocacy efforts?*
- *What communication techniques can help minimize conflict and maximize cooperation within a coalition?*
- *How can stereotypes or presuppositions about each other impede the workings of a coalition? How can you overcome them?*
- *Are inclusive and participatory leadership styles more likely to help sustain a coalition? Why or why not?*
- *How can you use information and communication technologies to help strengthen a coalition?*
- *Are there drawbacks to using participatory or coalition-building methods? If so, what are they? Is it still worth investing the time and resources to promote participation, inclusion, and coalition-building? Why or why not?*

**C. Develop a shared vision:** “The primary element of a social advocacy strategy is a vision,” says Amina Lemrini. “It is necessary to have a really good vision of what you want to do and to have clear objectives.” Khader says in the video that the shared vision in the Jordan campaign “was that human rights are for all and discrimination should not be accepted either by human rights principles or by the constitution of Jordan.” Anwar says that in the Malaysia campaign, “We were all committed to a common vision, no woman

deserves to be beaten.... [T]hough we came from different backgrounds and each of our organizations had different priorities, not necessarily domestic violence, we were all working because of that shared vision.”

- *Should a vision help set the maximum and minimum acceptable goals or outcomes of an advocacy campaign? Why or why not?*
- *Should a vision help shape concrete and measurable objectives of an advocacy campaign? Explain.*
- *Should a vision change over the duration of a campaign? What are the benefits and drawbacks of a flexible and adaptable vision?*
- *What are some obstacles to developing a shared vision among diverse groups or even like-minded groups or individuals? How would you overcome the obstacles?*
- *In what ways can a shared vision help to mobilize diverse groups or individuals?*

#### **D. Formulate and implement strategies:**

i. **Using constitutional and international legal frameworks.** Anwar says the legal strategy in the Malaysian campaign was to “make domestic violence a crime but the religious department said, ‘This is a family matter, not a criminal matter’...so if you want to make domestic violence a crime under family law it will come under the jurisdiction of each different state. But there is no assurance that if you turn it into a family matter, every state will make domestic violence a crime under the family law. So it was a very important strategy that we said, ‘This is a crime. We want it under federal jurisdiction. We only want one law, one domestic violence act to apply to all Muslims and non-Muslims.’”

- ii. **Using research studies.** In Morocco, campaigners conducted two studies to support their cause. “We first launched a research study to learn more about the psychology of this phenomena,” says Lemrini. “The second study was on judicial research to examine Moroccan legislation concerning sexual harassment and violence against women in general.... [We] organized a meeting to present the results of the research studies. We invited the Minister of Labor, the Minister of Justice, and the Minister of Women’s Affairs. We also invited unions, human rights organizations, penal law experts, and social law specialists. This was an avenue to gain validity for our work and to ensure that when we presented our proposition [for legislative reforms] it would be viewed as a credible proposition.”
- iii. **Using marches, demonstrations, and petitions.** During the first legislative elections in Palestine, campaigners held a demonstration to express their opposition to the passport regulation. Azzouni says this was the first march ever held against the Palestinian Authority. “Eight of the candidates running in Ramallah joined us and they all voiced their complete support to women’s issues.” Azzouni also describes in the video how petitions in their campaign used “more or less official language... protesting what is happening in a very nice and polite way. The petition was distributed to all the women’s organizations who were helping with collecting signatures, and then we sent all these signatures to President Arafat by fax.”

- iv. **Negotiating with policy-makers and government agencies.** In the Malaysia campaign, Anwar’s coalition decided to negotiate with policy-makers. “We decided to take the initiative,” she explains, “because we wanted a domestic violence act. We wanted it to be negotiated on our terms, on our demands. So the Association of Women Lawyers drafted a domestic violence bill and that became the basis of our negotiation with the government. The government then formed an interagency committee that included us, the women’s groups, and the religious department, the welfare department, the police and the attorney general’s chambers—all the different agencies of government that would be involved in the implementation of such an act. So our model, our draft law, became the basis of the negotiation.” In Morocco, explains Lemrini, “We drafted a memorandum with the proposed amendments to the labor code and the penal code. The memorandum was signed by nine associations—six women’s associations, two unions, and one human rights association—giving more weight to our memorandum. We sent it to the Minister of Justice and to the Minister of Labor. The third step was to follow through with this work at the parliamentary level. We organized a dinner meeting with members of parliament and presented our memorandum for amending the two codes. We also had the media participate in our meeting.” In Palestine, Azzouni says, “[The deputy minister] was invited to come to our office. He came with a sheikh.... In that room there were forty very strong women who had a long history of experience and

struggle for liberation of the homeland ...and then the women started telling about their experiences.” Of the Jordan campaign, Khader says that their message to decision-making bodies was that Jordan has commitments to women's rights and human rights according to both the constitution and international conventions. The campaign stressed that the government should amend legislation to incorporate women's rights and human rights principles, in keeping with their responsibility for achieving those commitments.

- v. **Raising public awareness through the media.** Anwar discusses the Malaysian efforts to raise awareness about domestic violence through public campaigns in shopping complexes; walks, fun fairs, and concerts at which photographs, stories, and other material on domestic violence are presented; annual women's day events focusing on domestic violence; and feature stories in the media. Anwar describes how these events attracted women who were battered and willing to speak to the public and the press. “So the press then had case studies in which they could [show] this is a real problem,” she says. “Women don't enjoy being beaten.” In Palestine, efforts to raise awareness through the media included writing newspapers articles and granting radio interviews. Campaign members also participated in live television shows where they would phone-in questions to guest policy-makers and seek accountability in a public forum. Says Azzouni, “The Deputy Minister was supposed to be live on TV that day and we knew that by coincidence because we called the TV

station.... We asked him if we really applauded in vain and if the future Palestinian state would take women's concerns and rights into consideration.”

- *Brainstorm on other advocacy strategies besides the legal, research, political, negotiation, and media strategies listed.*
- *How can including a combination of strategies help improve the efficacy of an advocacy campaign?*
- *Should the use of communication technologies—such as radio, television, email, and websites—be a strategy in every campaign? Why or why not?*
- *In what ways can current events such as elections, policy meetings, or recent news stories offer opportunities for a campaign? Are there specific strategies that can help maximize the opportunities? If yes, what are they?*
- *Are there specific strategies that can help reduce the impact of potential threats or risks to a campaign? If yes, what are they?*
- *Should the process of implementing strategies reflect a coalition's values? Why or why not?*

**E. Rethink strategies:** During the Malaysian campaign, an obstacle emerged after the start of negotiations between the coalition group and the government. A representative of the government's religious department claimed that a domestic violence act could not apply to Muslims because in Islam a man has a right to beat his wife. “So then we had to restrategize how we deal with this obstacle,” says Anwar, “and that was where my group, Sisters in Islam, came in. One of the things that we did was to come up with a little booklet, a question and answer booklet, and the title is *Does A Muslim Man Have The Right To Beat His Wife....* We used



verses in the Quran, we used the traditions of the prophet, to show that Islam actually promotes a relationship of compassion, of justice, of equality between a man and a woman.” In the Jordan campaign, Khader says that no one within the country’s traditional power structures wanted to see any changes. They were happy with the current situation. Her group confronted this “by showing very clearly that this practice [honor crimes] is against the religion. It has nothing to do with Islam, which is the religion of the majority. We try to show how unjust it is and that Islam and the community cannot accept these unjust systems. Also we try to show them that it is according to the constitution and to the legal framework we have that this is not accepted.”

- *What events or conditions can lead to the need to rethink strategies?*
- *What are the benefits of rethinking strategies?*
- *Does having to rethink strategies imply poor campaign planning? If not, why not?*

**F. Measure success:** The success of the Jordanian campaign against honor crimes was measurable on several levels according to Khader. The first result was that the debate became public and the issue was no longer taboo. “The second result,” she says, “was that women started to seek help. They know that there are groups who are supporting them. The third result was that the government encouraged some legal amendments, which is not 100% helpful but anyway it is a sign that they are under pressure.... The fourth result was that public opinion has moved more and more to support the campaign.” For the Malaysian campaign to implement a

federal domestic violence act, Anwar remarks that it took nine years of campaigning and negotiating with the government before legislation was finally passed by parliament in 1994. “Even after it was passed by parliament,” she says, “it was not implemented because of further objections, so it was another two years of campaigning and lobbying before the act was implemented in 1996. So it took altogether really eleven long years of negotiating, campaigning, raising public awareness before we finally got the act implemented. Within the first few years of the implementation of the act there was a huge jump in the numbers of reports to the police on cases of domestic violence.” Lemrini describes the Morocco campaign against sexual harassment in the workplace in similar terms. “[Our] proposed amendments to the labor code have been accepted by the government,” she says. “However, they have yet to be debated and adopted in parliament. The [penal code] must next go to the government and then to the parliament. What is interesting is that there is now an understanding of the basic concepts underlying amendments to the two codes.” Still, says Azzouni, it is important to express gratitude to the supporters of any campaign, regardless of whether the campaign has reached a clear victory. “In public relations and lobbying it’s always good to remember to thank people, because you will need them again. It’s not wise to just make enemies. It is always good even to make friends, and to make people feel that it’s always a win-win situation and never a win-lose situation.”

- *What are the benefits of setting quantitative and qualitative indicators, criteria, or benchmarks to measure short-term outcomes or successes?*



- *What are the drawbacks of setting quantitative and qualitative indicators, criteria, or benchmarks to measure short-term outcomes or successes?*
- *In what ways can measuring the impact of an advocacy plan help improve future campaign planning?*
- *Why is it important to celebrate personal and organizational achievements during a campaign?*
- *How can remaining gracious and diplomatic help ameliorate problems that may arise during a campaign or help prepare ground for more effective campaigning in the future?*

**G. Evaluate progress:** On the future of the Jordan campaign, Khader remarks in the video that her group hopes, first of all, to amend the laws “in a very appropriate way, especially Article 98, which needs to be amended at least to raise the minimum sentence [for honor crimes]. Secondly we hope that we will have services for survivors and for possible victims like shelters, like legal, social, and psychological support, vocational training, and opportunities for a new life for those women. And thirdly that the community and society will change their mind about judging girls and women’s lives in this very patriarchal way of control.” Anwar says the Malaysia campaign is pushing for various amendments to the act, “and again we have realized it’s not just enough to have it. If you have a law, but you don’t change attitudes, the law has very little impact.” Commenting on the progress of the Morocco campaign, Lemrini says that after seven years “the work is not yet finished. The parliament has yet to validate the two amendments. However, we believe that since there is a greater understanding of issues of sexual harassment,

this is already a victory for us.” Azzouni’s tone is more cautious. “We have to be very, very patient and see things as a process,” she says. “In the first years we thought that we should get everything reversed [quickly] and we should really have equal rights as soon as the Palestinian authority takes over. But along the years we learned that these things do not happen overnight.” She says the beauty of the campaign was that every person involved felt the sense of belonging and ownership. “Every woman and man, and there were men helping us, felt that this was his own or her own achievement and objective, that this was her own mission to stand against this discriminatory law. When we won everybody felt that they had contributed to this victory, and until now they say that we did it together.”

- *Is the process of implementing an advocacy campaign linear? Does achieving the immediate policy objectives of a campaign signal its conclusion?*
- *What are the advantages to a spiral process of campaign planning which includes rethinking and reevaluating goals and strategies in keeping with the long-term vision of the advocacy campaign?*
- *Should evaluating the progress of a campaign towards achieving its long-term vision include an analysis of the process or means used to achieve the objectives? Why or why not?*
- *Why is it important for everyone involved in a campaign to feel a sense of ownership over the process and outcome of a campaign? Is this a good way to evaluate the progress of an advocacy campaign?*

9. Evaluate the *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* video as a group. Among the questions participants consider are:
- *Did the video help you gain a better understanding of the different steps involved in planning and implementing an effective advocacy campaign?*
  - *Did the video help you develop a better understanding of the different advocacy strategies you can use?*
  - *What is the most valuable section of the video? What is the least valuable section of the video?*
  - *What additional visual materials would be useful to you?*

#### EXERCISE 4: Developing an Effective Advocacy Plan

##### Objective:

- To develop an effective advocacy campaign plan and strategies

**Time:** 90 minutes

**Materials:** None

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*A volunteer facilitator from the group leads the group discussion. The facilitator is responsible for assisting the group to follow the exercise instructions, keeping time, and calling on participants who wish to speak.*

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1. Participants divide into teams of three or four and work together to devise an advocacy plan that reflects their common vision<sup>7</sup> and shared values regarding addressing a specific social cause at the community, national, or international level.
2. Teams consider some or all of the following questions in developing a campaign plan:
  - A. Identify the mission**
    - *What are the long-term social changes you wish to see?*
    - *Who is affected by these changes and how?*
    - *What changes, if any, are you seeking to make to decision-making or power structures?*
    - *What are the short-term outcomes or solutions you wish to achieve?*
    - *Name 3-5 objectives that will help you achieve your short-term outcomes or solutions.*
    - *What is the expected impact of your plan?*

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7. For a group activity on developing a shared vision, see Session 7: "How Will We Find Shared Meaning?" in *A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*.

## **B. Build a coalition**

- *What are the different tasks to be carried out that will help you meet your objectives? Who will perform each task?*
- *Who are your support networks and allies at the local, national, regional, or global level? Who can provide concrete support toward helping you achieve your advocacy goal?*
- *Who are your potential opponents? How can you persuade them to support you or how can you overcome the obstacles they may present?*
- *Who are the “experts” who can help enhance the effectiveness of your advocacy?*
- *How can you make each member of your coalition feel involved, take ownership, and have a stake in the outcome?*
- *What will be the role of coalition members? Will they be merely consulted or will they actively participate? Will they be recipients of information or will they participate jointly in decision-making?*
- *What decision-making methods and communication styles will you promote to minimize conflict and maximize cooperation within the coalition?*
- *Are the decision-making processes transparent and accountable?*

## **C. Develop a shared vision**

- *Can you articulate your vision in three minutes or less to any audience?*
- *What are the specific objectives to help achieve this vision?*
- *Are your objectives measurable?*
- *Are your objectives realistic considering the resources you have available?*

- *What are your non-negotiable objectives—the least you are willing to accept?*
- *Do the objectives help you clarify specific action strategies?*
- *Do you have a timeline for accomplishing your goals?*
- *Will coalition members participate in further shaping this vision? If so, how?*

## **D. Formulate and implement strategies**

- *Who do you need to approach—at the government, corporate, civil society, community, family, and/or individual levels—to implement the proposed solution?*
- *What strategies can you use to reach these groups and individuals?*
- *Does the combination of strategies you plan to use reflect the best use of your coalition's strengths?*
- *Will the strategies help you achieve your objective within your timeline?*
- *Do your strategies require additional human, financial, material or other resources? If so, how will you mobilize these resources?*
- *How can you use communication technologies—such as radio, television, email, or websites—to expand the reach of your advocacy?*
- *What are some current events such as elections, policy meetings, or recent news stories that offer opportunities for your campaign? Which strategies can help you take full advantage of the opportunities?*
- *Will your campaign lead to any backlash? If so, which strategies can you use to minimize such backlash?*

- *What are some other potential threats or risks to your campaign? What can you include in your strategy to reduce the impact of threats?*

### **E. Rethink strategies**

- *Does your timeline consider or anticipate unplanned obstacles? Is your plan flexible and adaptable?*
- *What are the resources that can help you re-strategize if needed?*

### **F. Measure success**

- *How will you know you have been successful? What are 3-5 quantitative and 3-5 qualitative indicators, criteria, or benchmarks you will use to measure the short-term and long-term impact of your campaign?*
- *How will you celebrate your achievements?*

### **G. Evaluate progress**

- *At what stages of the campaign will you evaluate progress to ensure you are meeting your objectives and priorities?*
- *What criteria will you use to evaluate the progress toward achieving the objectives of your campaign?*
- *What criteria will you use to evaluate the process by which you achieve your objectives?*

**3.** The entire group comes together to discuss the process of developing an advocacy plan. Among the questions participants consider are:

- *What was the most difficult part of developing a shared advocacy plan?*
- *Were there any surprises?*
- *What was the group's process of decision-making?*

- *Did you observe examples of team members learning from each other, and adapting or building on others' ideas?*

- *Are you satisfied with your final plan? How will you use it?*

**4.** Spokespersons from each team take turns presenting their advocacy plan to the whole group. Participants analyze and critique the effectiveness of each advocacy plan. The group discusses some or all of the following questions:

- *Does the campaign plan reflect principled leadership styles?*
- *Does the campaign plan reflect participatory communication styles?*
- *Does the campaign plan reflect the principles of a learning society?*
  - *Does the plan include diverse groups in the preparation and implementation stages?*
  - *Does the plan use ethical means to achieve its final objectives?*
- *What recommendations would you make to enhance the advocacy plan?*

## Evaluating this Guide and Video

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Evaluation is a critical part of every learning experience during which participants have the opportunity to reflect on what they have learned and the effectiveness of the learning process itself. Moreover, facilitators can use the information provided in evaluations to revise and enhance future sessions.

### EXERCISE 5: Evaluation

#### Objectives:

- To evaluate what participants have learned from this guide and video
- To evaluate the learning processes used in this guide and video

**Time:** 30 minutes

**Materials:** Paper or chalkboard, markers or chalk

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*A volunteer facilitator from the group leads the group discussion. The facilitator is responsible for assisting the group to follow the exercise instructions, keeping time, and calling on participants who wish to speak. A second volunteer records participants' findings on a large piece of paper or chalkboard that is visible to all.*

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1. Going around the whole group, participants identify which aspects of the *Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns* guide and video they liked most, and explain why. A volunteer records participants' comments on paper or chalkboard.
2. Using the same process, participants identify which aspects of this guide and video they liked least, and explain why. A volunteer also records these comments.
3. Next, the participants consider the following questions:
  - *Did this workshop and lessons presented in the Developing Effective Advocacy Campaigns guide and video meet your expectations?*
  - *Which aspects of advocacy seem easiest? Which aspects seem most difficult?*

- *Do you feel better prepared to plan for and participate in an advocacy campaign in the future?*
- *Are there aspects of advocacy on which you would like more information? If so, what are they?*
- *Do you feel you need further practice on any aspect of advocacy?*
- *Do you anticipate using your new advocacy skills in your daily life? If so, how or where?*
- *Are you looking forward to participating in an advocacy campaign in the future?*

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