

ADVOCACY FOR POVERTY ERADICATION AND EMPOWERMENT: WAYS FORWARD FOR ADVOCACY IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Linda Mayoux
Consultant for WISE Development Limited
E-mail for correspondence: l.mayoux@ntlworld.com

INTRODUCTION

Grassroots-based advocacy movements are not new and continue to be politically contentious. However, since the mid-1990s there has been an increasing interest in advocacy on the part of both NGOs and Northern donor agencies. Firstly, influencing macro-level policy and regulatory frameworks is now seen as essential to increasing opportunities and removing constraints at the micro-level for both enterprise programmes and entrepreneurs themselves. Secondly, multilateral and bilateral donor agencies have increasingly emphasised civil society development and democratisation as a means of effecting this macro-level change. Underpinning both these trends are related debates about rights-based approaches to development and pro-poor growth. Advocacy organizations have also used advances in communications and information technology to increase global as well as national visibility and influence.

Impact assessment has had a two-fold role in these trends:

- Firstly action research and impact assessments of the effects of macro-level policies, legislation and regulatory environments have been used to support advocacy campaigns.
- Secondly donors, NGOs and advocates themselves have been concerned to assess the impacts of their advocacy strategies either to justify funding them and/or to improve future strategies and campaigns.

There are now a number of manuals by NGOs and donors presenting models, tools and frameworks for both advocacy itself and advocacy impact assessment.¹

There is also now general official agreement that advocacy necessarily involves a grassroots process of empowerment. This is an explicit part of advocacy definitions in agencies as diverse as World Bank, USAID and grassroots NGOs. Donor practice has however so far been somewhat less supportive. In many donor agencies (multilaterals, bilaterals and INGOs) efforts have been confined to influencing policy change in ways pre-determined by the agencies themselves through targeted professional advocacy with

¹ For USAID see Fox and Helweg 1997; USAID 1998, 2001; For World Bank see CESI 2003; 2001. For World Neighbours see Veneklasen and Miller 2002; For New Economics Foundation see Chapman and Fisher 1999.

very little accountability to the officially stated beneficiaries. Funding for grassroots-based advocacy and lobbying processes has decreased in favour of programmes like microfinance where numbers of beneficiaries can be easily identified and quantified. Frameworks for advocacy impact assessment have focused on assessing the quantitative success of advocacy strategies themselves, rather than the relevance and poverty impacts of any policy changes for the officially-stated beneficiaries.

This paper builds on the advocacy impact assessment frameworks of USAID, World Bank, DFID and selected International NGOs, some of which are presented in the Appendices. It also builds on other papers by the author for this EDIAIS website², work with Kabarole Research and Resource Centre in Western Uganda and preparations for some forthcoming work with Anandi in India on grassroots-based gender advocacy (Dand, Andharia and Mayoux 2003 forthcoming).

- Section 1 of the paper looks at the changing definitions and types of advocacy and the corresponding roles and challenges for impact assessment. It highlights the often conflicting development priorities and interests involved in some current enterprise advocacy strategies. It then discusses the roles which research and impact assessment have played, or could play, in making these processes more accountable and effective for the intended beneficiaries and/or other vulnerable stakeholders.
- Section 2 looks at the different frameworks and indicators which have been proposed for advocacy impact assessment. It discusses the practical problems of tracking advocacy processes and the implications for integration of methodologies.
- Section 3 looks at the challenges posed by competing interests and inherent power relations in the advocacy process and the implications for stakeholder analysis and representation in the advocacy and assessment processes.
- Section 4 concludes by outlining the stages and methodologies which might be used for a grassroots-driven advocacy and assessment process. It looks at the analysis and dissemination of research and impact assessment findings and how these can themselves have more impact and contribution to the advocacy process and pro-poor policy change.

The paper argues that if the aim of advocacy really is pro-poor development rather than just 'successful advocacy' there is a need for a more representative and sustainable and grassroots-based process. This is not to say there is no place for expert focused lobbying of policy-makers or strategically assessing the direct impacts of these activities on macro-level policy content and process. However if proposed policy changes are to really benefit the poor, rather than being driven by the interests of particular groups who are already vocal and better-off and/or the interests of the advocacy organizations and their funders, then advocacy strategies and professional advocacy organizations need to link closely with grassroots movements and NGOs which directly involve the poor themselves. This would increase the relevance of the policy changes being promoted, and also the

² In particular the Tools papers on [Using Diagrams](#), [Participatory Value Chains Analysis](#), [Selecting Indicators](#), [Sampling](#), [Information Analysis and Dissemination](#).

likelihood of any changes being implemented and having the positive impacts intended. This grassroots involvement in the design of the advocacy strategy would also enable more reliable and cost-effective assessment of the ultimate impacts of the policy changes on poverty reduction.

SECTION 1: ADVOCACY AND PRO-POOR ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT: ROLES FOR RESEARCH AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT IN ADVOCACY

1.1 ADVOCACY AND ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT: CHANGING DEFINITIONS AND DIFFERING APPROACHES

Advocacy campaigns by those with less power attempting to influence those with power over them have existed as long as the power inequalities themselves. Grassroots movements of 'common or subordinate people' to lobby for change in life conditions which they find intolerable have been documented in many countries for centuries. Trade Unions and Labour movements commonly engage in lobbying and advocacy of different types. Other examples of grassroots advocacy relating to livelihoods include the early Peasants' Revolt and Luddite movements in England, nationalist and anti- taxation movements in colonised countries, land reform and protectionist movements in postcolonial countries. Support for such movements on the part of better off 'advocates' with specific expertise, knowledge or contacts in the existing power structures has also generally been part of such movements. Examples where advocacy has been led by those with privilege advocating on behalf of others include the large anti-slavery movement and early movements to advance women's rights³.

What is new in the current context is firstly the growth in specialist advocacy organisations, particularly international NGOs which have rapidly increased in number and range of campaigns undertaken and levels of international organization and visibility⁴. Part of the support has come from independent Foundations like Ford Foundation. USAID has supported civil society organizations (CSOs) engaged in advocacy since the early 1990s as part of its portfolio of democracy and governance assistance in the wake of the ending of the Cold War. The World Bank has set up a Community Empowerment and Social Inclusion Learning Program (CESI) based at the World Bank Institute. Advocacy has also become an important element in the programmes supported by AUSAID, CIDA and DFID (Gwynne 2002; Davies 2001). The increasing openness of many government and international systems to democratic processes and the increasing recognition of citizens' rights have made advocacy an increasingly effective means of bringing about pro-poor change.

Secondly multilateral and bilateral aid agencies have themselves also increasingly engaged in advocacy with Southern governments to change policies, and also advocacy with other donors. This no longer takes the form of rather blatant coercion to defend Northern interests, but is now justified in terms of more effective pro-poor development

³ For an interesting history and assessment of advocacy movements for human rights, environment and women's rights see for example Keck and Sikkink 1998 and references therein.

⁴ For example between 1953 and 1993 numbers of transnational Human Rights organizations increased from 33 to 168, World Order from 8 to 48, Women's rights 10 to 61, Environment 2 to 90 and Development generally 3 to 34 (Keck and Sikkink 1998 p 11 based on figures from Yearbooks of International Organizations, Union of International Associations). Numbers have further increased since 1993.

and poverty eradication. For example the 1997 DFID White Paper states a DFID commitment to:

'use our influence in the multilateral system to increase international commitment to poverty eradication and work in such a way that our multilateral and bilateral efforts complement each other. '

In addition to the stated objective of poverty eradication, there is a general consensus in official definitions of advocacy that advocacy needs to be a political process which changes power structures and increases inclusion in democratic decision-making (see Box 1). For both World Bank and USAID, as well as NGOs, greater democracy and grassroots empowerment are explicitly seen as both goals of the advocacy process and integral dimensions of advocacy strategies.

BOX 1: DEFINITIONS OF ADVOCACY

WORLD BANK CESI

[Advocacy is] supporting the establishment of an appropriate balance of power between citizens and institutions of government.... Advocacy is about influencing or changing relationships of power...

The Manual goes on to distinguish between advocacy as:

- **Representation:** speaking on behalf of the voiceless
- **Mobilization:** encouraging others to speak with you
- **Empowerment:** supporting the voiceless to speak for themselves

Of these the last is seen as the most important.

(Training module by CESI programme 2001).

USAID

Advocacy is the process by which individuals and organizations attempt to influence public policy decisions.. . Advocacy, at its core, is an action-oriented process. It plays an important role in determining social justice, political, and civil liberties, and in giving voice to citizens and historically marginalized groups...At its best, advocacy expresses the power of an individual, constituency, or organization to shape public agendas and change public policies. In a broader civil society strategy, advocacy-oriented action goes beyond specific objectives (e.g., raising the minimum wage) to providing the means to mobilize society, ideas, and resources in an effort to bring about democratic change and/or its consolidation... Since the major long-term aim of advocacy is to increase informed participation in political decision-making, citizens have to gain the confidence, knowledge, skills, and organization necessary to be involved and define their advocacy effort itself. (Office of Democracy and Governance 2001)

NGO CITIZEN-CENTRED ADVOCACY

Citizen centred advocacy is an organised political process that involves the coordinated efforts of people to change policies, practices, ideas and values that perpetuate inequality, prejudice, and exclusion. It strengthens citizens' capacity as decision makers and builds more accountable and equitable institutions of power. (VeneKlasen and Miller, World Neighbours 2002)

Much of the work on advocacy within donor agencies has come from special departments dealing with socio-political issues like civil society development and good governance. There are nevertheless many examples also of enterprise-related advocacy by NGOs and/or the private sector itself some of which have been funded by bilateral and multilateral aid agencies (See Box 2).

BOX 2: ADVOCACY FOR ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT: SOME DIVERSE EXAMPLES

MACRO-POLICY AND LEGISLATION

- **SEWA** (Self-Employed Women's Association): Indian women's organization which has been part of an influential movement to get the interests of poor informal sector workers including in national and international legislation and policy.
- **WIEGO** campaign: Women in Informal Economy Globalising and Organizing an international coalition including SEWA, UNIFEM, ILO, HomeNet and StreetNet focusing particularly on the needs of homeworkers and streetworkers.
- **Southern women's movements** for property reform to increase women's ownership and control over land, houses and other productive resources necessary to their livelihood and enterprise security.
- **Anti-globalisation movement** aiming to promote the interests of Southern producers in international trade.
- **Small Business Associations** to lobby for regulatory changes to encourage small business expansion, often involving exemption of small businesses from compliance with labour protection and environmental controls.
- **Northern businesses lobbying WTO and Northern governments** to protect Northern business interests against anti-globalisation lobbies and social and environmental legislation.

ETHICAL AND FAIR TRADE

- **Fair Trade Movement:** network of national and international organizations promoting Fair Trade and working conditions.
- **Ethical Trade Initiative:** multi-stakeholder campaign to establish Codes of Conduct for better working practices in major industries and marketing chains, involving enterprises in the South, multinationals and public awareness-raising in the North.
- **Campaign against child labour:** taken up particularly by a number of multilateral organizations like ILO, UNDP and UNICEF and many NGOs. Also part of Codes of Conduct and fair trade.

MICRO-FINANCE

- **Microcredit Summit campaign:** NGO campaign to raise the profile of poverty targeted assistance to Micro enterprise within USAID and other donor agencies and also to raise public awareness.
- **Consultative Group for Assistance to the Poorest:** donor led campaign to change government-level regulatory frameworks and establish 'Best Practice' in microfinance.
- **Bolivian anti-debt campaign** (paralleling the International movement to waive Third World debt) to get debt forgiveness of micro-finance clients on the grounds that they

were mis-sold expensive and inappropriate micro-finance products in the interests of micro-finance programme expansion and not their own.

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

- **SEEP Guide to Good Practice:** explicitly recognises policy work and advocacy as one of the seven BDS categories. This covers training in policy advocacy, analysis and communication of policy constraints and opportunities, direct advocacy [by BDS providers] on behalf of small enterprises, sponsorship of conferences and policy studies⁵.

Advocacy interventions for enterprise development are very diverse, with very differing aims, strategies and stakeholders (See Box 3). Some consist of focused lobbying activities with policymakers and decision-makers. They focus narrowly on a specific issue aimed at solving an explicit problem in the short term (e.g. increasing USAID spending on micro-finance or changing national government legislation on women's land rights). They may also include other specific actions and campaign events like media publicity and demonstrations around a specific legal case. In some cases the focus has been on developing and demonstrating alternative model pilot projects or policies. Others work for more long-term general transformation and/or strengthening of democratic institutions and/or promotion of human rights. Some campaigns aim to have a broad impact on public opinion through awareness raising and/or capacity building on education. Typically any one campaign will involve a range of different strategies.

Enterprise advocacy has also involved very different types of organization as can be seen from Box 2 above. These have often had very different political analysis of the same policy issues and consequently different, and sometimes conflicting goals. The aims, perspectives and underlying political analyses of organizations like SEWA and WIEGO are very different from those of Small Business Associations and Northern lobbyists. There are very clear differences and even conflicts of interest in debates on micro-finance between organizations promoting a financial sustainability approach, those concerned with poverty targeting and developmental finance and organizations of clients themselves as in the Bolivian case. There are also conflicts between some of the proposals for ethical and fair trade which seek to favour workers and small producers and some of the proposals for macro-policy and legislation which often favour larger enterprises and businesses. In many cases some peoples' 'successful advocacy' may seriously disadvantage or reduce the power of other stakeholders or may represent their 'failed campaign'.

BOX 3: DIFFERENT TYPES OF ADVOCACY STRATEGY

WHAT TYPE OF ADVOCACY?

- Goal and particular issue
- Degree of focus
- Timescale
- Degree of difficulty and risk

⁵ Small Enterprise and Education Promotion Network (SEEP) Guide to BDS. See also Miehlabrad and McVay 2003, ILO.

- Types of skill, information and contacts required

HOW IS IT DONE?

- **Awareness-raising through the media** including street theatre, letters to the editor, press conferences, radio, web pages, Internet, TV, paid advertisements
- **Capacity building and education** of some or all stakeholders eg through providing information and skills to intended beneficiaries, potential advocates and/or policy-makers
- **Organizing:** mobilizing beneficiaries, building networks and coalitions between different stakeholders
- **Campaigning** through mass demonstrations, boycotts, petitions, opinion polls and public participatory forums, focus group discussions and workshops
- **Lobbying and negotiation** with decision-makers
- **Using the legal system** and litigation to change a law or draw attention to the problem
- **Demonstrating alternatives** through developing pilot or model programmes

WHO IS INVOLVED?

- Beneficiaries
- Advocates
- Targets

1.2 ADVOCACY AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT: ROLES AND CHALLENGES

Impact assessment has had a two-fold role in these trends. Firstly, action research and impact assessments of the effects of macro-level policies, legislation and regulatory environments have been used to support advocacy campaigns. Many of SEWA's advocacy campaigns for example are preceded by research with their membership. WIEGO conducts extensive in-depth research on the situations of home workers, streetworkers and other informal sector workers to support its policy advocacy. Fair Trade organizations often engage in research. The anti-globalisation campaign makes extensive use of academic research, and counts many academics amongst its supporters.

Impact assessments of existing policies, and also baseline information, play key roles in advocacy campaigns to understand issues, contexts and risks (See Box 4). In some advocacy campaigns debates revolve around specific interpretations of specialist technical knowledge, as for example in the case of environmental campaigns or legal campaigns. In many cases the accountability of the campaign and/or advocacy organization is questioned on the basis of limited consultation with the general public. The use and relative reliability of both technical information and evidence from consultative processes are often highly contested and contentious. In relation to micro-finance the balance of positive and negative impacts of policies for financial sustainability are hotly debated within both CGAP and Micro-credit Summit campaign. Northern business lobbyists dispute the claims about impacts of globalisation made by grassroots-based movements and some academic research.

It is clear therefore that use of information in advocacy campaigns, including policy baseline studies and impact assessment, is inevitably a highly politically charged process characterised by intense debates about:

- who creates and provides the information,
- who has access to information, and
- who controls the analysis
- who controls dissemination and to whom.

Secondly donors, NGOs and advocates themselves have been concerned to assess the impacts of their advocacy strategies either to justify funding them and/or to improve future strategies and campaigns. Development of adequate methodologies for assessing the impact of advocacy campaigns is important to enable comparison of their contribution to poverty reduction compared to interventions like microfinance which have a relatively quantifiable (albeit still problematic) impact on large numbers of poor people. A number of donors and NGOs have commissioned studies of advocacy impact assessment methodologies.⁶ These found that although many advocacy organizations or advocacy initiatives are concerned about issues of legitimacy and impact, most did not have systems for monitoring and evaluation. Where there is any monitoring at all of advocacy campaigns, this currently focuses mainly on demonstrating achievements of specified quantitative outputs e.g. numbers of newspaper articles, numbers of people attending meetings and so on. However the linkage between achievement of the outputs and contribution to poverty reduction is assumed, rather than demonstrated.

BOX 4: DIFFERENT ROLES FOR RESEARCH AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT

RESEARCH FOR ADVOCACY DESIGN

- Understand the issue, context and risks: assessing the impact of existing policies and programmes to highlight the importance of the issue, provide baseline information and identify opportunities and risks for the advocacy activity eg particularly good or bad timing timings for campaigns
- Understand the stakeholders: stakeholder identification, power relations and decision-making processes and common or conflicting needs and interests and possible sources of backlash and opposition particularly for the most vulnerable stakeholders.
- Design the advocacy strategy accordingly, identifying realisable goals and objectives for the different strategies, stages and stakeholders.

IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF ADVOCACY PROCESS

- What have been the positive and negative outcomes for the intended beneficiaries? Which particular advocacy strategies have been most successful?
- How have outcomes differed between different stakeholders? In particular what have been the impacts on those most vulnerable?
- How can policies be improved in future? How can advocacy strategies be improved in future to contribute to this? How can the necessary organization and empowerment of beneficiaries be improved to increase accountability of the policy and advocacy process?

⁶ For DFID see Davies 2001; Laney 2003 and for other UK studies see Hudson 2000a. For AUSAID see Gwynne 2002. For ActionAid see ActionAid 2002.

CHALLENGES FOR RESEARCH AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

- How can the effects of very different types of advocacy strategy be compared? How can the advocacy process be tracked at different stages and levels to assess whether changes are due to particular strategies?
- Whose needs and interests are to be included? How are differential impacts and conflicting interests to be addressed?
- How can the assessment process contribute to an empowerment process for the very poor to increase the relevance of enterprise policies to their needs and interests?

Thus although the importance of impact assessment in advocacy is broadly recognised, it is clear that there are no easy solutions. Given the highly contentious nature of advocacy itself, methodologies for assessing the impact of advocacy interventions face a number of specific challenges as well as challenges inherent in any type of impact assessment.

- Firstly the diversity of advocacy strategies, the different ways in which they are combined in different advocacy processes and the often indirect types of impacts makes any standardised guidelines for measurable indicators or assessing attribution extremely problematic.
- Secondly the numbers, diversity and geographical dispersal of stakeholders, the confidentiality/secretcy of decision-making processes and other factors make any standard methods of sampling unreliable and often inappropriate.
- Thirdly, and related to these two points, assessments need to include rather than assume assessment of impacts not only at the level of policies and decision-making processes, but on the lives of the ultimate intended beneficiaries. This requires not only a broader framework, but also a longer time-frame and much more complex modelling of change processes.

What follows discusses in which the research and planning process for advocacy can be better integrated with advocacy impact assessment. This does however require the intended ultimate beneficiaries to be involved in a more participatory and long-term process than currently supported by many donor agencies.

SECTION 2: WHAT IS TO BE ASSESSED? AIMS, STRATEGIES AND FRAMEWORKS

2.1 WHAT IS ADVOCACY TRYING TO DO? GOALS, STRATEGIES AND INDICATORS

The conventional model of advocacy until recently, and which still underlies some of the prescriptions for impact assessment, was that of very focused lobbying of particular decision-making bodies in order to get changes in official policies or legislation. This is often still an important part of most advocacy campaigns. However it is increasingly recognised that legislation in itself changes little unless the people affected by it are aware of the changes and able to use legal processes to bring about changes in behaviour and practice. Equally importantly, in democracies particularly, governments have increasingly limited powers to bring about changes without some sort of popular consent. The goal of most advocacy campaigns is therefore not just to change legislation and policies, but also attitudes, behaviours and make sustainable changes in decision-making processes (See definitions in Box 1 above). In the case of development-related advocacy the situation is further complicated by the need not only to persuade better-off people in the South that pro-poor changes are needed, but to persuade people in the North of the need for changes which will benefit those in the South. Many enterprise advocacy campaigns consist of different levels of interrelated activity at different levels, as in the case of DFID's Ethical Trade Initiative shown below.

DIFFERENT LEVELS IN DFID'S ETHICAL TRADE INITIATIVE

The ETI focuses on encouraging private businesses to devise and implement Codes of Conduct in their production and marketing chains. However experience has shown that introducing Codes of Conduct are not in themselves sufficient:

- *Workers in the industries concerned need to be aware of the Codes in order to ensure their implementation. They also need to be involved in designing the Codes to ensure that the vulnerability of particularly disadvantaged workers is not increased in the process of protecting the rights of other more privileged workers.*
- *The attitudes of consumers need to change so that ethical Codes of Conduct are valued and any necessary increases in price can be absorbed by the market, rather than disadvantaging those companies which conform.*
- *Business managers and workers need to be involved in development of innovative models of good management practice which can cost effectively fulfil worker needs.*

Most frameworks for advocacy impact assessment therefore recognise different levels and components from formal changes in policy, to changes in decision-making processes and behaviour as indicated in Box 5. As discussed below, although some elements can

be quantified, many of the most significant changes are inherently qualitative and can only be assessed using qualitative methods.

BOX 5: ADVOCACY FRAMEWORKS: COMPONENTS, LEVELS AND STAGES

WORLD BANK:CESI FRAMEWORK

Policy component. Aims at educating leaders, policy makers and others who make or carry out policy to reform laws or policies, shifting budgets, electing or ensuring the appointment of a new decision maker.

Process component: Seeks to change the way decisions are made by increasing access to citizens and accountability as well as increasing respect for existing procedural rules and laws.

Civil society component: Aims at creating more participatory, accountable, and transparent decision-making structures to increase people's involvement in their own governance through better understanding of and active participation in decision-making.

USAID

Macro level changes: changes in policy and legislation at the national level.

Meso level changes: refer to changes in policy and legislation at the sub-national level, or to institutional changes, such as creation of formal mechanisms to facilitate citizen involvement in public policy formation, and change in media coverage of advocacy CSOs and their issues.

Micro level changes: refer to changes at the level of the community, organization, and individual, such as strengthened capacity of advocacy CSOs, development of grassroots activism and increased citizen participation in advocacy movements.

NEW ECONOMICS FOUNDATION 1998

- Getting the issue on the agenda
- Achieving policy change (de jure)
- Achieving change in practice (de facto)

OXFAM (ROCHE 1999 P 198)

- Heightened awareness about an issue
- Contribution to debate
- Changed opinions
- Changed policy
- Policy change is implemented
- Positive change in people's lives

Advocacy campaigns are characterised not only by the diversity of ways in which particular strategies are combined, but also the complexity of the change processes which they seek to bring about. Assessment needs to take account of:

- **Context:** The social, political and economic environment will affect the types of opportunities and constraints which advocacy campaigns will face at the different levels. At the policy level decisions are made in different way depending on the characteristics of the state, and the varying degrees of freedom and access to the decision-making process that people are allowed. At the process and civil society level, culture and religion, race and ethnicity, and level of economic development also effect how tolerant governments and people are to change.
- **Risk:** In some places, a direct action aimed at a focal decision maker on an issue may be politically dangerous and undermine the potential for long-term effort at change. In some places, public criticism or pushing cultural change may provoke a backlash. Whether or not provoking such violence or backlash should be classed as 'failure' or a necessary stage in progress is something which can only be assessed in the context of the views of those involved.
- **Timeframe:** Some campaigns draw on widespread support because they are topical or seek to defend existing rights from being eroded and are therefore in a sense 'easy'. However some of the most significant changes eg race relations, women's rights, democracy itself have been long and difficult processes, brought about only through advocacy and intense struggle and sometimes violence. Individual campaigns, some of which failed and provoked backlash, were necessary stepping stones for significant changes which have occurred twenty, thirty or more years later. Short-term assessments over the very short timeframe of most donor funded advocacy projects might have classed them as a failure.
- **Combined and cumulative processes:** Particular advocacy projects or campaigns by specific organizations cannot be seen in isolation. They are generally part of a broader process and movement involving many factors. This exacerbates inherent problems of attribution of any changes measured to particular events.

These differences need to be taken into account in assessing the degree of change which occurs, evaluating 'success or failure' and the implications for improvements in future advocacy strategies or for funding decisions.

2.2 ADVOCACY AS A PROCESS: MAPPING AND TRACKING OUTPUTS AND OUTCOMES

Mapping and modelling issues, problems and the potential role of different advocacy strategies is a key and well-established part of advocacy planning. Methods commonly use tools described elsewhere on this EDIAIS website: [participatory value chains analysis](#), problem trees⁷. These either precede or follow detailed stakeholder analysis

⁷ The most comprehensive compendium of participatory advocacy planning tools can be found in the excellent book by Veneklasen and Miller 2002.

described in the following Section. The advocacy planning models can then be used as bases on which to base indicators for monitoring achievement of goals for the different strategies and levels.

In some donor agencies this planning process is used to derive quantifiable performance/output indicators. USAID for example has outlined possible established quantifiable output indicators for different types of advocacy activity and also a ranking of performance in relation to each (See Appendix 2). Although this framework suffers from similar problems to most performance assessment checklists as indicator of impact, it is clear that many of the outputs for advocacy strategies can be quantified and monitored in ways which are as reliable (or unreliable!) as other types of development project.

Other agencies take a more qualitative approach. Questions based on objectives identified for each of the components of the World Bank advocacy framework: policy, process and civil society are given in Box 6. A longer Advocacy Assessment Framework questionnaire which takes into account context and time frame issues for World Bank advocacy programmes is given in Appendix 2. These questions can be addressed through use of a combination of qualitative and participatory methods including:

- detailed qualitative analysis of policy documents before and after the advocacy intervention
- qualitative interviews or participatory focus group discussions with key stakeholders

BOX 6 ADVOCACY PROCESS ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM WORLD BANK CESI FRAMEWORK

POLICY OBJECTIVES:

- Have laws and policies become more just and effective?
- Have budget allocations will improve access to resources and opportunities?
- Are those elected or appointed more responsive?

PROCESS OBJECTIVES:

- Is policy formulation, decision-making or enforcement more open and accountable?
- Does consistently consult and listen to citizens' groups?
- Are laws enforced more fairly?
- Has people's access to justice, the law, government resources increased?

CIVIL SOCIETY OBJECTIVES:

- Do citizens understand the political process better?
- Have people been empowered to understand and exercise their rights?
- Are citizens organized effectively to hold government accountable for its promises and for better responsiveness?
- Do people have the kind of education, information, and skills to enable them to sustain involvement in decisions which affect them and maintain the attention of decision makers and power holders?

Source: derived from advocacy planning questions, CESI 2001

However none of these frameworks address questions of whether or not the policy changes brought about by 'successful' advocacy processes have actually benefited those they are designed to benefit. This is assumed rather than shown to be the case. Evidence suggests that even in the case of well-meaning legislation such assumptions need to be questioned. Moreover, unless the ultimate impact on poverty eradication and other development goals can be established, then it is difficult for advocacy organizations to justify applications for funding in comparison with other more immediately 'practical' interventions like micro-finance or immunisation and literacy programmes. This does not mean that such legislative changes are not necessary or cannot bring about change, but that advocacy campaigns must be based on very thorough research of the problems to be addressed. Assessing achievement of these ultimate goals must also be a key focus in impact assessment of the advocacy process.

EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF WELL-MEANING BUT BADLY DESIGNED LEGISLATION

Child labour: *Child Labour legislation and conventions are designed to protect children from exploitation at work. In Uganda however anecdotal evidence indicates that the focus, even for some NGOs, is more on stopping children working than protecting them from exploitation. For example implementation of regulations on child labour on tea estates leads to cases where the children themselves and/or their parents are detained or imprisoned while their employers receive no penalty. Serious exploitation of child labour, particularly that the girls, on family farms, inside the home or homes of employers remains ignored.*

Sexual abuse of girls: *In Uganda 'defilement' of girls is defined in terms of sexual intercourse, consensual or non-consensual, below the age of consent. Penalties are severe, including the death penalty. This is intended to counter a serious situation where young girls are frequently taken advantage of by older male authority figures like teachers and community leaders who want sex with very young girls to avoid AIDS/HIV infection. This leads not only to psychological trauma, but also increasing rates of HIV/AIDS among adolescent girls and their babies. However this is also in a context where very poor girls are tempted into prostitution to get the money for school fees and personal luxuries. It is also in a context where the legal age of consent is higher than the traditional starting age for consensual sex between girls and boys of similar age. In many parts of Uganda there are serious and violent ethnic tensions. The combination of the very severe penalty, powerlessness of the girls and potential for inter-ethnic violence means that this widespread problem is rarely reported for fear of reprisals. The main beneficiaries are local officials who frequently take bribes in order to keep silent on a matter they are legally obliged to act upon.*

In neither case have the intended beneficiaries of the legislation been involved in its design.

SECTION 3: WHO ADVOCATES FOR WHOM AND WHO BENEFITS? STAKEHOLDERS, POWER AND PARTICIPATION

3.1 STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS: BENEFICIARIES, ADVOCATES AND TARGETS

Enterprise advocacy has involved very different types of organization representing very different interests as discussed above. Advocacy strategies, unlike many other types of intervention, generally start with a strategic analysis of different stakeholders who might be involved in the advocacy process. In many advocacy campaigns many different types of stakeholders are involved at different levels and different strategies. Indeed the strength of any campaign is often dependent not only on the numbers, but also the diversity of stakeholders who can be involved in coalitions and networks.

Stakeholder analysis using various types of diagram and matrix tools is also a key element of advocacy planning. Tools commonly used include [Venn diagrams](#) and [Participatory Value Chains Mapping](#)⁸ For advocacy planning purposes stakeholders are conventionally divided into three broad categories (See Figure 1):

- Advocates: those involved in advocacy planning and management
- Targets: those whom the advocacy actions aim to influence and change
- Beneficiaries: those who are ultimately intended to benefit from the policy changes advocated.

Within these different categories distinctions are then made.

USAID for example defines targets as ‘the person with the power to respond to your demands and to solve the problem’ and distinguishes between two types of targets:

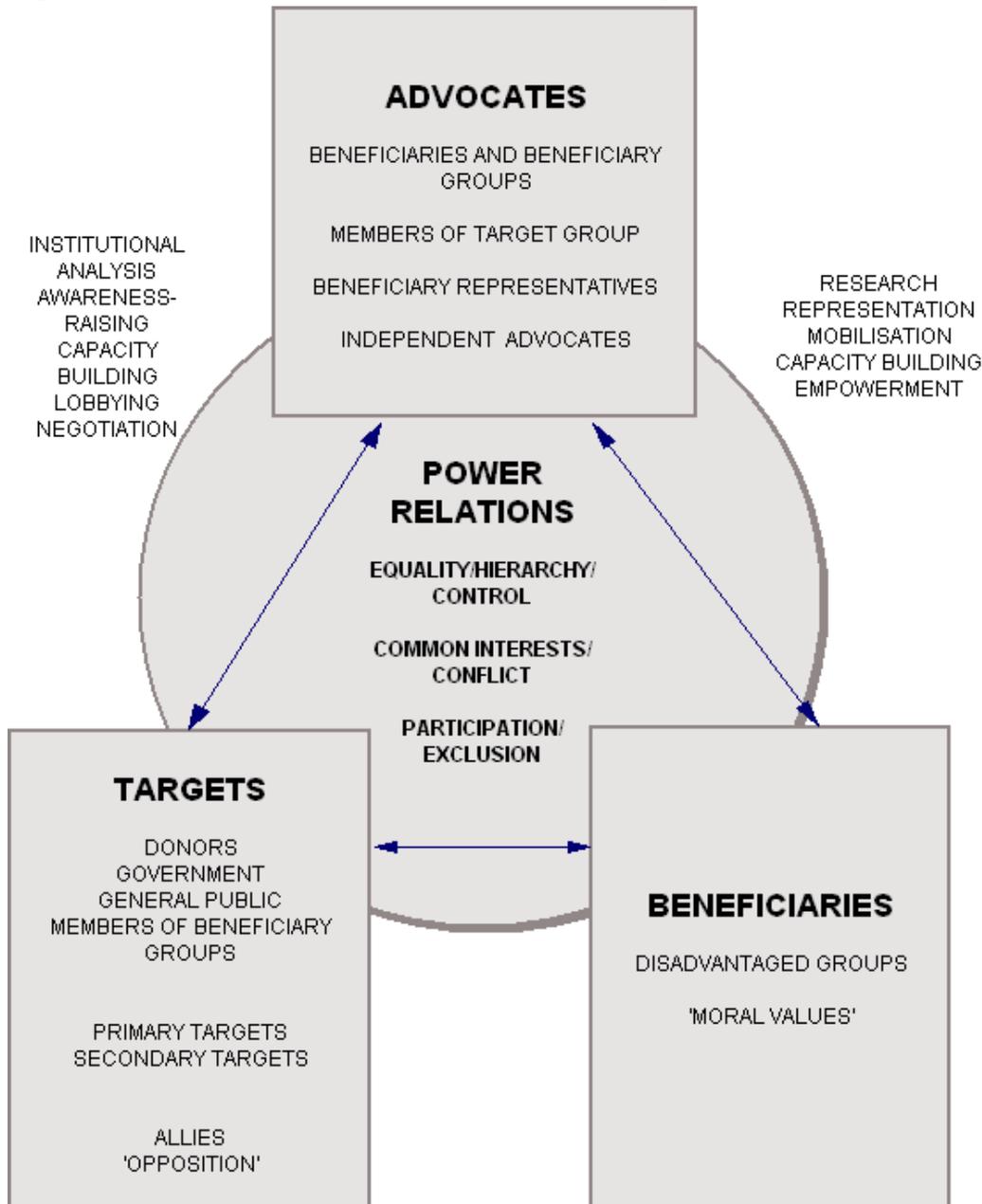
- primary targets: people who have the power to make the changes advocates want to happen. ‘They are at the heart of the problem you are seeking to address. These are people or institutions whose policy, behavior and attitudes you need to challenge in order to achieve your objectives.’
- secondary targets are those who can influence the primary target to take the actions you desire. They become important when influencing the primary target is difficult.

Stakeholders are also often divided into:

⁸ See detailed descriptions of different diagram tools and exercises for analysis of stakeholders and power structures in Veneklasen and Miller 2002.

- Opponents. individuals or associations who may oppose the advocacy campaign because they may be impacted negatively by the changes advocated, because of disagreement about underlying values or merely because they may lose face.
- Allies: beneficiaries or individual and institutions who will directly benefit or who can be persuaded to support your advocacy effort because of sympathetic concerns and similar values.

Figure 1: Stakeholder framework for advocacy



Stakeholder analysis generally goes beyond just identification of different groups to analysis of their views, strength of opinion and potential openness to change. The stakeholder analysis then categorises the various target players, target institutions and key individuals within these and their opinions and viewpoints. Allies are brought into various types of network and coalition for change. Strategies for winning over or marginalising and decreasing power of opponents are devised. USAID for example distinguishes between:

- **Adversarial advocacy** uses actions that express opposition, protest and dissent.
- **Negotiated advocacy** engages stakeholders with decision-makers, and emphasizes consensus-building, negotiation and conflict management.

Advocacy campaigns may simultaneously employ elements of both adversarial and negotiated advocacy, or may use the approaches sequentially. Adversarial advocacy often serves as prelude to negotiated advocacy as the campaign gains momentum and shifts its focus from problems and causes to solutions. In the World Bank CESI 'Power Mapping' questions about opponent and allies are even more detailed.

BOX 7: EXAMPLES OF STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS FOR ADVOCACY PLANNING

USAID STAKEHOLDER FRAMEWORK FOR ADVOCACY PLANNING

<i>I. Major Players</i>	<i>II. Institutions</i>	<i>III. Key Individuals</i>	<i>IV. Opinion/Viewpoint on Issue</i>
<i>National Government</i>			
<i>Provincial Government</i>			
<i>Local Government</i>			
<i>Business</i>			
<i>Media</i>			
<i>Political Parties</i>			
<i>NGOs</i>			
<i>Community Groups/Associations</i>			

Source:

WORLD BANK CESI: POWER MAPPING

Objective: to “map out” stakeholders and players on an issue advocates are seeking to change.

The POWER MAP assists in:

- Identifying the key actors and their level of influence/power both positive or negative and a stake in your problem in the process in the policy-making arena, market (economic interests) and within civil society.

- Classifying the various actors in each institution or organization as allies, opponents or undecided.
- Prioritizing the allies, opponents, or undecided according to their level of interest and influence.
- Chart what the various actors know, believe, and feel about an issue.

What you need to know about your opponents:

- Why do they oppose you? How actively will they oppose you?
- How much power do they have (money, influence, numbers)?
- What are their organizational structures and policies?
- What are their interests, agenda, strategies and tactics? What will they do to challenge you?
- Who is influenced by them?
- Is there an area where you might agree? If so, would it be possible to seek some common ground on some issues and agree to disagree on others?

The important things to know about these allies are:

- How well do they support your advocacy efforts?
- What do they really think about the issue and what should be done?
- What are they willing to do to express support?
- What are their misgivings about your efforts?
- How involved and informed do they need to be to remain your ally?
- What do they stand to gain from the advocacy efforts?

Source:

3.2 FROM STAKEHOLDER IDENTIFICATION TO ACCOUNTABLE ADVOCACY

These types of stakeholder analysis for strategic advocacy planning are very useful bases on which to build for impact assessment at the level of 'target groups'. Again however the ultimate beneficiaries of the policy changes which the advocacy process is aiming to bring about are largely missing. Very detailed distinctions are made between different types of advocate and different policy-makers and decision-makers who may be involved. But very little guidance is given on stakeholder analysis of the intended ultimate beneficiaries.

This is nevertheless crucial not only to ensuring beneficial impacts as indicated above, but also to ensuring accountability of the advocacy process itself and the 'empowerment' which is stated as an integral and explicit goal of this process. It is crucial that the sort of detailed stakeholder analysis which is done at the level of 'targets' is also done at the level of intended beneficiaries. Stakeholder analysis for impact assessment has been discussed elsewhere on the EDIAIS website and this is not repeated here. In many enterprise advocacy situations Participatory Value Chains analysis may be an extremely useful tool in highlighting different stakeholders along the value chain. An example of the different stakeholders identified in analysis of child labour in Western Uganda and in a recent impact assessment of Codes of Conduct are given in the Box below. All of these stakeholders will have differing motivations and differing types and levels of vulnerability which need to be taken into account if they are to benefit from policy change.

SOME EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN STAKEHOLDERS IN PRO-POOR ADVOCACY

CHILD LABOUR

Child workers themselves: *differentiated by gender, legal and actual age, type of activity and working conditions. They are likely to have differing motivations for working, different needs and pressures and different view on legislation.*

Child workers' parents: *mothers, fathers. They may have different motivations for sending or allowing their children to work from exploitation to feed a drink habit to saving the cash for their education or that of a sibling who will then be expected to contribute their higher future to the family.*

ETHICAL TRADE INITIATIVE

On large farms or estates

- *Permanent workers*
- *Part-time workers*
- *Temporary workers*
- *Subcontracted outworkers*

Permanent and other workers on the subcontracted farms

- *Subcontracted small farmers*
- *Working members of subcontracted farmers' families: spouses and children*
- *Part-time workers*
- *Temporary workers*

All of these stakeholder categories need to be differentiated by gender and age and will have different levels of vulnerability. In many cases gains for permanent workers (often men) may mean increased insecurity for part-time, temporary or subcontracted workers (often women) unless they are explicitly protected. The best ways in which protection can be ensured and implemented must be decided in consultation with these workers themselves.

If these stakeholders can be involved in the advocacy process itself then the knowledge and skills which they develop can also contribute to the assessment of impacts of the changes on their lives.

SECTION 4: FROM IMPACT ASSESSMENT TO ADVOCACY FOR POVERTY ERADICATION AND EMPOWERMENT: METHODOLOGICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES

Advocacy itself therefore is increasingly recognised as involving a grassroots process in to order to increase both its effectiveness in bringing about change, and its accountability to those it is intended to benefit. This is not to say there is no place for expert focused lobbying of policy-makers or strategically assessing the direct impacts of these activities on macro-level policy content and process. However if proposed policy changes are to really benefit the poor, rather than being driven by the interests of particular groups who are already vocal and better-off and/or the interests of the advocacy organizations and their funders, then advocacy strategies and professional advocacy organizations need to link closely with grassroots movements and NGOs which directly involve the poor themselves.

This also has implications for impact assessment. As indicated in Figure 2 below, intended beneficiaries themselves need to be the centre of impact assessment. As discussed above, participatory research to assess the impacts of policies and legislation has often been a key part of grassroots-based advocacy campaigns. They have however rarely been included in the impact assessment of the advocacy itself. The degree to which the advocacy has affected their lives is however as important, if not more so, than impacts on policy processes at the higher level. Legislative and macro-level policy change may in some cases be of marginal importance to changing behaviour and interpretations even of existing policies and legislation at lower levels.

This focus on grassroots participation and impact has a number of methodological implications:

- Firstly it means that indicators for impacts will need to be decided in a participatory manner as part of the advocacy design process itself.
- Secondly stakeholder analysis needs to be much more detailed in its analysis of different stakeholder groups and interests at this level by gender, class, ethnic group and other dimensions of differentiation relevant to the particular issues concerned.
- Thirdly greater emphasis on participatory and diagram methods for grassroots learning to ensure the equal involvement of women and men with low levels of literacy and/or facilitate communications across language barriers.
- Fourthly greater attention to accessible methods of dissemination, tailoring dissemination methods to particular audiences and greater use of they types of visual dissemination used in the advocacy process itself.

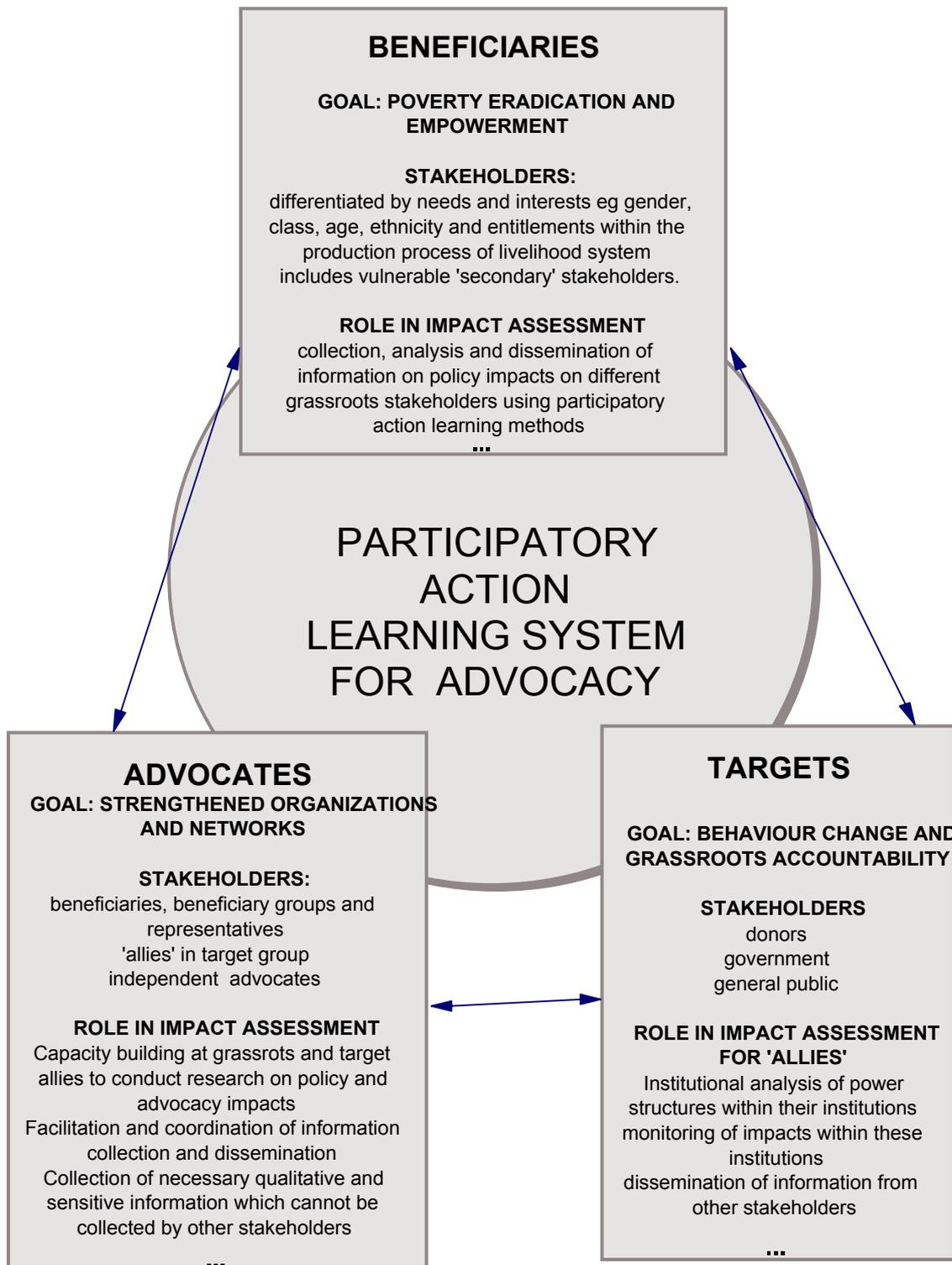


Figure 2: Framework for a grassroots-based advocacy impact assessment process.

Participatory methods themselves and their use for identifying indicators, sampling methods, diagram tools and issues in dissemination of information have been discussed in detail elsewhere on this website ([participatory methods](#), [indicators](#), [sampling](#) and [diagrams](#)). Of particular interest are a number of grassroots learning processes which are currently scaling-up in order to have information to feed into advocacy campaigns and to monitor the effects of these campaigns themselves:

- The Internal Learning System being developed by Helzi Noponen with PRADAN and other micro-finance organizations in India.
- The Participatory Action Learning System (PALS) being developed in Uganda by Kabarole Research and Resource Centre and which is currently looking at ways of integration into planning processes of the Ugandan government.
- The empowerment networking of Anandi in India focusing on its annual fairs which are currently being developed as an effective and cost-efficient means of bringing together participatory learning on different issues for analysis and discussion at these events.

These have been described briefly in a paper on [Grassroots Learning methods](#) on this website. More detailed discussion of these different methodologies, and the impact of the assessment methodologies themselves are given in a number of papers presented at the [EDIAIS conference](#) November 2003. Participatory advocacy processes and use of PLA Methods have also been the subject of a number of tool packs from Institute of Development Studies and volumes of PLA Notes⁹.

This multistakeholder assessment framework would also involve 'allies' in the **target groups** being involved in deciding indicators and methods of evaluation of impact on the decision-making processes in which they are involved. The role of **advocacy organizations** would then be to facilitate this multistakeholder participatory process, build the capacity of the various stakeholders to participate, and collect any additional information which cannot be collected by the other stakeholders. This would also include collaboration with local research institutions (Ansley and Gaventa 1997).

This multistakeholder and participatory approach would increase not only the reliability of the assessment process, it would also increase the accountability and effectiveness of the advocacy process itself. It will however require both greater commitment to integrating the findings of participatory research into a participatory decision-making process¹⁰ and addressing inherent tensions in participatory processes and between different organizational goals¹¹. It would however require donor agencies and even NGOs to be far more self-critical about the power relations which currently privilege certain stakeholders and certain types of information in advocacy campaigns. It will require much more developed skills in facilitation of participatory processes and participatory methodologies.

⁹ IDS 1996a,b; PLA Notes 1996, 2002a,b, 2003.

¹⁰ The disappointing record of integration of participatory methods and findings of participatory research into poverty reduction strategies is discussed in detail in relation to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Participatory poverty Assessment processes see eg Holland and Blackburn 1998.

¹¹ These are discussed in recent literature on participatory development see for example Cornwall 2000; Cornwall and Gaventa 2001. For a discussion of participatory development and organizational tensions in relation to gender policy see Mayoux 1998.

If well facilitated, this in itself may lead to more effective pro-poor development¹² and more accountable decision-making processes.

¹² The positive effects of training government staff in participatory research skills has been noted in a number of countries (Thompson 1995).

APPENDIX 1: ADVOCACY FOR THE INFORMAL SECTOR: WIEGO: WOMEN IN INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT: GLOBALISING AND ORGANIZING ¹³

WIEGO (Women in Informal Economy: Mobilising and Organising) was formed in 1997 as a worldwide network of institutions and individuals concerned with improving the status of women informal economy. It was established by individuals from Self Employed Women's Association, India, researchers from Harvard University and UNIFEM. It aims to promote better statistics, research, programmes and policies in support of women in the informal economy. Much of the impetus and inspiration has come from SEWA, a trade union of low-income working women founded in India in 1972. SEWA now has several thousand women members, including street vendors, home-based workers, agricultural labourers, construction workers, head loaders and rag pickers. WIEGO also works closely with two other networks working with women in the informal sector formed in the mid 1990s: Home Net and Street Net working with the workers and street traders respectively.

WIEGO has affiliates in 25 countries as well as project partners and activities and over a dozen countries and is working with the ILO and United Nation's Statistics Divisions to improve statistics on the informal economy. It works to raise awareness of the informal sector in public policy fora at the local, national and International levels.

It works in five priority areas:

- **Urban policies:** to correct the public policy bias against street vendors and establish their right to bend. The programme also works to improve services for street vendors and help them to organise themselves and present their concerns to city planners. It has initiated projects with StreetNet on street vendors in India, Kenya and South Africa. WIEGO has also worked with the Population Council to produce the SEEDS series pamphlet on women street vendors.
- **Global markets:** analyses the impact of globalisation and trade liberalisation on women workers and producers, particularly home-based workers, to highlight where threats can be minimised and new economic opportunities seized. In order to see how to correct imbalances in power and economic returns, it maps global commodity chains to see who is doing and getting what at each stage of the chain. The programme is working with HomeNet in the areas of garments, food processing/agribusiness and minor forest products. The programme assists women in taking advantage of new opportunities arising from globalisation such as using new information technologies to circumvent middlemen and link directly with international markets. The programme is working with SEWA to establish a Women's Trade Centre that will help rural women market their products more widely.

¹³ Edited from 'Women in the Informal Economy' WIEGO website: www.wiego.org

- Social protection measures: recognising that most informal sector workers have no access to social protection systems, WIEGO promotes innovative approaches, like micro- insurance to provide social protection to women workers in the informal sector. It is organised national and international workshops on social protection for women informal sector workers and published 'Learning from experience: a gendered approach to social protection for workers in the informal economy' (Geneva, 2000) with the STEP programme of the ILO.
- Organisation and representation of women in the informal economy: WIEGO works with existing networks such as HomeNet and StreetNet to strengthen organising capacity and promote mutual support and representation of women in the informal economy. WIEGO works with international trade union organisations and tries to put informal sector workers on the agenda of governments and international organisations. A long-term aim of those programmes to build an international Federation of informal sector organisations.
- Statistics on the size and contribution of the informal economy: WIEGO has been working closely with the Statistics Division of the United Nations and the ILO and with the international Expert Group on Informal Sector Statistics to promote improved statistics on the informal sector. It has sponsored the preparation of five technical papers on improved methods and measures for the meetings of the international Expert Group and a reporter available statistics on 'Informal Sector, Poverty and Gender' for the World Bank. It also works of national statistical offices and local research institutes to estimate the size and economic contribution of the informal sector in several countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

HOMENET

Home-based workers work in their homes or at a workplace near their home which doesn't belong to the employer. They may do piecework for an employer, who can be a subcontractor, agent or middleman, or they can be self-employed on their own or in family enterprises. In several African countries over half of all enterprises are home-based. Homeworkers are a major part of the workforce in the garment, leather, carpet and electronics industries.

Home Net was founded in 1994 by a number of organisations working with home-based workers:

- SEWA in India, one of the first unions to organise women home-based workers. It has worked closely with the Indian Ministry of Labour to see how home-based workers can receive the same benefits as other workers.
- The Union of Embroiderers in Madeira Portugal, also formed in the 1970s and which had secured social protection for homeworkers.
- The Self Employed Women's Union, South Africa which had gained government support for home-based workers.
- The National Group on Homeworking formed in the 1990s in the UK and brought together many local projects and groups of homeworkers in a national campaign for legal protection

- Unions in Australia and Canada which had begun to organise homeworkers.

It now has active member organisations in over 25 countries and publishes a newsletter which reaches organisations in over 130 countries.

HomeNet was heavily involved in lobbying for the passage of the International Labour Organisation Convention on Homework (1996), which aims to bring about equality of treatment between homeworkers and other wage earners. Since the adoption of the Convention by the ILO it has been working for its ratification by member governments and organisations. It brings together existing organisations of homeworkers and encourages the development of new organisations.

STREETNET

Street vendors represent a significant share of the urban informal sector. They make a considerable contribution to urban life through providing goods and services and by generating employment. A great deal of money flows through informal trade. Street vendors offer convenient goods and services in quantities and at prices which the poor can afford. In many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America women represent majority of these vendors.

However researchers and policymakers have a limited understanding of the size and contribution of street vending to the economy as a whole or of the problems which street vendors face. Public policies, urban plans and local government bodies are often biased against street vendors:

- They have no legal status or recognition
- Harassment by local authorities and evictions from selling places are frequent
- Confiscation of goods is frequent
- Workplaces are unsanitary and hazardous, lacking basic services

StreetNet began in 1995 as a network of individual vendors, activists, researchers and supporters working to increase the visibility, voice and bargaining power of street vendors throughout the world. Its focal point of action is the Bellagio International Declaration of Street Vendors, a plan to create national policies to promote and protect the rights of Street Vendors and vendor associations. The long-term objective is to secure an ILO convention on the rights of street vendors.

BELLAGIO INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION OF STREET VENDORS

- *Urges Governments to develop national policies for hawkers and street vendors*
- *Requests licenses, legal recognition and hawking zones*
- *Recognises street vendors as an integral part of the urban distribution system*
- *Requests relief measures in situations of disaster and natural calamities*
- *Asks for protection and expansion of vendors' existing livelihoods*
-

In South Africa the Street Net Association was set up in December 1999 to strengthen Street Net with following objectives:

- expand and strengthen street vendor networks
- build an information base on street vendors everywhere
- disseminate information on strategies to promote and protect the rights of street vendors.

In response to this campaign, Durban city government is developing an innovative policy framework to guide the management and support of workers in the informal economy. Through a consultative planning exercise, the city is looking at ways to integrate the informal economy into economic development including creating job opportunities for the working poor and supporting very small enterprises.

Street Net now works with organisations in nearly a dozen countries and together with WIEGO has established integrated research and policy projects in three countries.

APPENDIX 2: USAID ADVOCACY FRAMEWORK

Source: Supporting Civic Advocacy: Strategic approaches for donor-supported civic advocacy programs Draft version: December 2001 USAID Office of Democracy and Governance to give guidelines to DGO officers on incorporating advocacy into programming.

SAMPLE INDICATORS FOR SECTORAL ADVOCACY PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT

1: Strengthened Enabling Environment

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

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

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

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

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

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

2: Strengthened CSO Capacity/Sustainability

2. A. Indicators that Measure CSO Management Systems

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

2. B. Indicators that Measure Financial Resource Management

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

3: Improved CSO Advocacy

3. A. Indicators that Measure Effective CSO Advocacy

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

4: Increased Citizen Participation in the Policy Process

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

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

4. B. Indicators that Measure Mechanisms for Participation

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

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

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

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

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

COMPONENTS OF THE CSO ADVOCACY INDEX

- 1) Issue is timely and significant
 - Issue is of vital concern to the group's constituents
 - Issue is critically important to the current or future well-being of the CSO and/or its clients, but its importance is not yet broadly understood
 - New opportunities for effective action exist
 - At least a few key decision makers are receptive to the issue
- 2) CSO collects information and input about the issue
 - Relevant government agencies and their respective roles in the issue are identified at national and local levels; knowledge and positions investigated
 - General public input is solicited (including from women and minorities) on the issue via public meetings, focus groups, etc.
 - Representative input is collected on the issue via surveys (including from women and minorities, where appropriate)
 - Existing information and data on the issue is collected, such as for summaries or positions papers
 - Policy analyses, such as the legal, political, social justice, or health aspects of the issue, are conducted
- 3) CSO formulates a viable policy position on the issue
 - Policy formulation done in participatory (and gender-sensitive) manner
 - Policy being advocated exists in writing, with formats and levels of detail that are appropriate for various audiences and policy makers
 - Policy position is clearly and convincingly articulated
 - Rationale for policy is coherent, persuasive, and uses information collected in component 2
 - Presentation of policy position uses attractive and effective formats, such as graphs
- 4) CSO obtains and/or allocates resources (especially time and money) for advocacy on the issue
 - Contributions collected from members, interested citizens, and/or from other organizations (businesses, foundations, religious groups, etc.)
 - Financial or other resources assigned to the issue from within the CSO
 - Volunteer time to help advocate for the issue obtained and well managed
 - International agencies with interests in the issue area identified, and their procedures for applying for financial support determined
 - (Other resources?)
- 5) CSO builds coalitions and networks to obtain cooperative efforts for joint action on the issue
 - Other groups and individuals with interests concerning the issue identified or persuaded to take an interest (may include govt. organizations which share concerns)
 - Coalition formed (defined as any type of joint working group)

- An existing or new coalition or network activated, such as by having informal contacts, joint meetings, identifying common interests, sharing resources, etc.
 - Joint or coordinated actions planned (see #6 and #7 below, for carrying out the actions)
- 6) CSO takes actions to influence policy or other aspects of the issue
- News releases generated or public meetings held
 - Members/citizens encouraged to take appropriate actions, such as writing letters to legislators
 - Active lobbying conducted for the policy position, such as by testifying in hearings, personal visits to legislators, etc.
 - Model legislation drafted and circulated to legislators and others.
 - Policy relevant position papers and recommendations disseminated, based on the input collected and coalition's joint interests
- 7) CSO takes follow up actions, after a policy decision is made, to foster implementation and/or to maintain public interest
- Monitoring the implementation of a newly passed law, policy or court decision, such as by making sure that authorized government funds are disbursed or implementing regulations written and disseminated, checking implementation in field sites, asking members for feedback on how well it is working, etc.
 - Some staff or volunteer time and resources are allocated to the issue or policy for monitoring
 - [If desired policy was not passed] At least a minimal level of advocacy methods maintained to take advantage of next opportunity for pressing the issue, perhaps with a reformulated approach or different specifics
 - [If desired policy was not passed] Public awareness and interest in issue monitored, to look for examples, incidents, opportunities to create or renew a sense of urgency on the issue
-

MEASURING THE PROGRESS OF CSO IMPLEMENTATION OF ADVOCACY TOOLS

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

Using Media

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

Coalition Building

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

Using Information

Low	Moderate	High
Few (if any) CSOs generate new information or use existing information effectively	Some CSOs beginning to develop capacity to use existing information and generate new information	Establishment of indigenous intermediary CSOs that conduct capacity building as it related to research, information, and creating knowledge
CSOs do not view	CSOs view information culture as source of	CSOs use information

information culture as source of strength Few CSOs have technology to access information from the Internet	strength Some CSOs have technology to access information from the Internet	culture in organizing, mobilizing, networking, and communicating with policy makers Majority of CSOs have technology and use it to access information
---	---	--

Budget Analysis

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

Lobbying

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

Utilizing the Legal System

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

Grassroots Organizing

Low	Moderate	High
Grassroots community leaders emerge and begin organizing local residents, Grassroots community	Grassroots leaders organize around common community problems and solutions to those problems.	Grassroots leaders are successful in advocacy for change Grassroots leaders develop

leaders organize discussion and analysis of common community problems.	Grassroots community leaders build organizations that harness the skills of local residents and improve citizen's lives in tangible ways.	analysis about long-term change, and work towards nurturing a second generation of grassroots leaders.
--	---	--

Strategy Planning & Organizational Development

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

APPENDIX 3: WORLD BANK ADVOCACY FRAMEWORK

Source: Community Empowerment and Social Inclusion (CESI) module on participatory planning for Advocacy, Communication and Coalition Building October 2001. This module aimed to be 'a practical guide for individuals, communities, and organizations interested in becoming agents of change and strengthening their influence towards local, municipal, and national governments and institutions'. It is based on a concrete case study, Kenyan Advocates Succeed in Promoting Adolescent Health.

ADVOCACY ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Advocacy Issue/Objective

- Is your advocacy issue moving smoothly through the process or have you encountered some obstacles? What are the obstacles and how can they be overcome?
- What else can you do to move your objective forward? Would building new alliances or increasing your media outreach help move your objective through the decision-making process?
- Is your objective does not seem achievable, should you alter it? What would be achievable? Could you achieve part of your objective by negotiating or compromising?
- How much does the policy/program reflect your objective? Did you win your objective entirely, partly, or not at all?
- Can/should you try to achieve the rest of your objective during the next decision-making cycle? Or should you move on to an entirely new advocacy objective? What are the pros and cons for each decision?
- Did the policy/program change make a difference to the problem you were addressing? If you achieved your objective in whole or in part, has it had the impact you intended?

2. Message Delivery/Communications

- Did your message(s) reach the key audiences? If not, how can you better reach these audiences?
- Did your audiences respond positively to your message(s)? If not, how can you better reach these audiences?

- Which formats for delivery worked well? Which were not effective and why? How can these formats be changed or improved?
- Did you receive any media/press coverage? Was it helpful to your effort? How could your media relations be improved?
- Are target audiences changing knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors as intended?
- A communication is defined as one or more messages packaged as a single item on electronic, print, or other media (e.g. radio spot, poster, brochure). Other sample indicators for a communication strategy include:
 - Number of communications produced, by type, during a reference period. Information required: a list of items produced in a given period of time, such as one year, is required, and a comparison to what was planned for the project.
 - Number of communications disseminated, by type, during reference period. Information required: a list is required of communication products disseminated, and of activities conducted during a given period of time, such as one year, and a comparison to what was planned for the project.
 - Percentage of target audience who correctly comprehend a given message. Information required: answers from respondents to surveys made before and after diffusion of the message to determine a change in the level of comprehension.
 - Percentage of target audience expressing knowledge, attitudes, beliefs consistent with a given message. Information required: answers from respondents to survey questions dealing with knowledge, attitudes, beliefs. Surveys should be made before and after diffusion of the message to provide a comparison.
 - Percentage of target audience who acquire skills recommended by a given message. Information required. Demonstration of criteria for the correct demonstration of a given skill; verbal description of the skill; or actual demonstration, before and after exposure to the communication.
 - Percentage of target audience who engage in recommended practices. Information required: number of persons who declare their use and intended continued use of the practice recommended by the communication program. Figures will be presented either as a percentage of those who heard or saw the messages in question, or as a percentage of those interviewed.

3. Use of Research and Data

- How did using data and research enhance your effort?

- Were data presented clearly and persuasively? How could your presentation be improved?
- Did your advocacy effort raise new research questions? Are more data needed to support your advocacy objective? If so, are the data available elsewhere or do you need to conduct the research?

4. Decision-Making Process

- How is the decision-making process more open because of your efforts?
- Will it be easier to reach and persuade the decision makers next time? Why or why not?
- How many more people/organization are involved in the decision-making process than before you began? How has this helped or hindered your efforts?
- How could you improve the way you move the decision-making process forward?

5. Participation and Constituency Building

- What is the purpose of the participation strategy?
- Who makes the final decisions for the initiative for which participation is being sought
- What is the final outcome of participation and benefited.
- How can citizens understand the political process better?
- Do people understand and exercise their rights more?
- Were citizens able to organize more effectively to hold government accountable for its promises and for better responsiveness?
- Were the kinds of education, information, and skills and organization-building efforts sufficient to enable people to sustain involvement in decisions which affect them and maintain the attention of decision makers and power holders?

6. Coalition Building

- How was your coalition successful in gaining attention to the issue and building support for the advocacy objective?
- Was information distributed to coalition members in a timely fashion? How could information dissemination be improved?
- Are there any unresolved conflicts in the coalition? How can they be addressed and resolved?

- Is there a high level of cooperation and information exchange among coalition members? How could internal coalition relations be enhanced?
- Did the coalition gain or lose any members? How can you enlists new members and/or prevent members from leaving?
- Does the coalition provide opportunities for leadership development among members?
- How was your network helpful to your advocacy? How can you expand your network?

7. Overall Management/Organizational Issues

- Is your advocacy effort financially viable? How could you raise additional resources?
- Is the accounting system adequate? Can you provide to funders an accurate accounting of how money was spent?
- How could your financial resources have been used more efficiently?
- Were all events produced successfully and meetings run smoothly? Which were not and why not? How can logistics be improved?
- Are you or your organization overwhelmed or discouraged? How could you get more assistance? Should you narrow your goal or extend your time frame to make your effort more manageable?

REFERENCES

- Ansley, Fran, and John Gaventa 1997 Researching for Democracy and Democratising Research. *In Change*. Pp. 46-53, Vol. Jan-Feb.
- Chapman, J., and Fisher, T. (1999) *The Thoughtful Activist. A Toolkit for enhancing NGO Campaigning and Advocacy*. Draft. (download from NEF)
- Chapman, J. and Wameyo, A. (2001) *Monitoring and Evaluating Advocacy: A Scoping Study*. ActionAid. London.
- Chapman, Jennifer 2003 Innovative Methodologies for Assessing the Impact of Avocacy. Action, ActionAid.
- Community Empowerment and Social Inclusion (CESI) 2003 Advocacy, Communication and Coalition Building. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Cornwall, Andrea 2000 Beneficiary, Consumer, Citizen: Changing Perspectives on Participation for Poverty Reduction. Stockholm: SIDA.
- Cornwall, Andrea, and John Gaventa 2001 From users and choosers to makers and shapers: repositioning participation in social policy. Brighton, Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.
- Davies, Rick 2001 Evaluating the Effectiveness of DFID's Influence with Multilaterals: Part A, A Review of NGO Approaches to Evaluation of Advocacy Work. London: DFID.
- Fox, L.M. and Helweg, P. (1997) *Advocacy strategies for Civil Society: A Conceptual Framework and Practioner's Guide*. World Learning and Associates in Rural Development, for The Center for Democracy and Governance. USAID.
- Holland, Jeremy, and James Blackburn, eds. 1998 Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change. London: IT publications.
- Hudson, A 2000a Making the Connection: Legitimacy Claims, Legitimacy Chains and Northern NGOs' International Advocacy. *In New Roles and Relevance: Development NGOs and the Challenge of Change*. D. Lewis and T. Wallace, eds. Connecticut: Kumarian Press. www.alanHUDSON.plus.com/publicat.html
- Hudson, A. (2000b) *A Bigger bang for your Buck? UK NGOs and the evaluation of advocacy*. Submitted to the Journal of International Development. <http://www.alanHUDSON.plus.com/bang.htm>
- Institute of Development Studies 1996 Institutionalisation of Participatory Approaches, IDS Sussex.
- Institute of Development Studies 1996 PRA Policy Pack, IDS Sussex.

Jordan and Tuijl, (1998) *Political Responsibility In NGO Advocacy. Exploring Emerging Shapes In Global Democracy*. <http://www.oneworld.org/euforic/novib/novib1.htm>

Keck, Margaret E, and Kathryn Sikkink 1998 *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International politics*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.

Kelly, Linda 2002 *Research and Advocacy for Policy Change: Measuring Progress*. Brisbane: The Foundation for Development Cooperation.

Laney, Megan Lloyd 2003 *Advocacy Impact Assessment Guidelines*. Wallingford, Oxon, UK: Communications and Information Management Resource Centre, CAB International.

March, Candida 1994 *Networking to improve our practice: Oxfam's South/South Linking Project*.

Mayoux. L.C. 1998 Gender accountability and NGOs: avoiding the black hole. *In Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist engagement with development institutions*. C. Miller and S. Razavi, eds. Pp. 172-193. London: ITDG/UNRISD.

Miller, V. (1994) *NGO and Grassroots Policy Influence: What is success?* Institute for Development Research. *IDR Reports* Vol. 11. No. 5. Download from IDR

Miller, V., and Covey, J. (1997) *Advocacy Sourcebook: Frameworks for Planning, Action and Reflection*. Institute for Development Research. Boston.

PLA Notes October 1996 No 27 Participation, Policy and Institutionalisation, IIED, London www.iied.org

PLA Notes Feb 2002 No 43: Advocacy and citizen participation, IIED, London www.iied.org

PLA Notes June 2002 No 44: Local government and participation, IIED, London www.iied.org

PLA Notes Feb 2003 No 46 Participatory Processes for Policy Change, IIED, London www.iied.org

Roche, C. (1999) *Impact Assessment for Development Agencies: Learning to Value Change*. Oxfam. Oxford

Sutton, R. (1999) *The Policy Process: An Overview*. ODI. London.

Thompson, John 1995 *Participatory Approaches in Government Bureaucracies: Facilitating the Process of Institutional Change*. *World Development* 23(9):1521-1554.

USAID, Office of Democracy and Governance. 2001 *Supporting Civic Advocacy: Strategic approaches for donor-supported civic advocacy programs*. *In Technical Publications Series*. Washington DC: USAID, Office of Democracy and Governance.

USAID, Center for Democracy and Governance (1998) *Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators*. Technology Publication Series. USAID.

VeneKlasen, Lisa, and Valerie Miller 2002 *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*. Oklahoma: World

World Bank Department of SME Development, 2001 *Advocacy Strategy*. Washington DC: World Bank.

.