Media Advocacy Toolkit

Media Empowerment for a Democratic Sri Lanka Program (MEND)
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Welcome to IREX/MEND’s Advocacy Toolkit!

You are about to embark on a journey of discovery. Within this toolkit you will find explanations, tips, examples from Sri Lanka and the world — everything you need to upgrade and enhance your own advocacy campaigns.

The content has been adapted from a variety of sources, to illustrate best practices but tailored to the Sri Lankan context. We hope that you will find valuable insight as you go through this resource; we also hope and expect that you will be able to add to this manual by providing your own lessons learned as you work your way through.

We would like to thank PACT and Freedom House for their respective publications, which we used when putting this toolkit together. If you would like to consult the originals, please see: “Politically Smart Advocacy: A guide to Effective Civil Society Advocacy for Sustainable Development” (PACT, 2018) and “Advocacy in restricted spaces: A toolkit for civil society organizations,” (Freedom House, 2020).

Why use this toolkit?

This toolkit will give you an introductory framework to develop advocacy action. You do not need any prior knowledge to surf through this guide; you’ll find everything you need here, including suggestions for additional reading.

What to expect from this toolkit?

This toolkit is divided into three sections:

1) Developing an Advocacy Plan  
2) Formulating Policy  
3) Successful Resource Management  
4) Active Campaigning

We recommend that you follow the course in logical order, but it is not strictly necessary. If you are in a hurry, skip to what you need and come back later. It’s always a good idea to expand your knowledge!
Advocacy Planning

MODULE 1

1. What is advocacy, anyway?

Many people and organizations have tried to define advocacy:

“Advocacy is the active support of an idea or cause expressed through strategies and methods that influence the opinions and decisions of people and organizations. 1”

“In the social and economic development context, the aims of advocacy are to create or change policies, laws, regulations, distribution of resources or other decisions that affect people’s lives and to ensure that such decisions lead to implementation. 2”

Drafting a clear definition of advocacy is not easy. Maybe one way to understand advocacy is by contrasting it with its close companion, activism.

Drafting a clear definition of advocacy is not easy. Maybe one way to understand advocacy is by contrasting it with its close companion, activism.

Advocacy

• The act of arguing in favor of a cause, idea, or policy. Generally, its end goal is to communicate directly and constructively with decision makers.
• Advocacy is often seen as working “within the system”
• Advocacy works around components like relationships, sound policy, and respect
• Advocacy could be described as pre-emptive influence – it can be either pro-active or re-active.
• Effective advocacy generally has a non-adversarial or “soft touch” approach of reaching out; for example, advocating for budget allocations, taxation changes, policy development

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1 Steve Buckley, Advocacy strategies and approaches: Overview (Association of Progressive Communications)
2 Sofia Sprechman and Emily Pelton Advocacy Tools and Guidelines: Promoting Policy Change (Atlanta: CARE, 2001)
Activism

- Activism is described as taking direct action to achieve a political or social goal.
- It is often the result of a lack of relationships, or unsuccessful advocacy – and is generally based around a single issue.
- It sometimes uses questionable tactics – or even illegal tactics (civil disobedience, non-violent direct action).
- It tends to be reactive to an issue.
- Activism lacks direct communication and relationships with key decision makers, so it relies heavily on the media.
- Its goal is to raise public awareness of a problem in order to exert political pressure.
- ‘Activism’ can be a negative concept based on how activism is perceived and how activists are depicted in the media.

MODULE 2

2. Developing an Advocacy Plan

2.1 A few words by way of introduction

Advocacy planning must go beyond wishful thinking. It is an intentional and strategic process that can lead your organization towards successful, measurable results. This section will introduce you to the advocacy planning wheel and a step-by-step process of developing your own successful advocacy plan.

2.2 Advocacy Planning Wheel

The Advocacy Planning Wheel is a useful tool in identifying the steps that a media advocacy organization can take to develop a successful plan of action.

Why an Advocacy Wheel?
Advocacy action by its nature is cyclical. Once you start implementing your plan, you use feedback and analysis to refine the plan and keep going.
MODULE 3

Identifying the issue

If you are going to advocate, you must first decide what it is you want to achieve. This means identifying an issue that is important to you, your members, and/or the sector in general.

In the Sri Lanka media ecosystem, such issues include:

- Right to information,
- Working conditions for journalists,
- The legal environment regulating the media, including licensing and assignment of frequencies,
- Civil and criminal penalties applied to journalists,
- Editorial freedom,
- Protection of media sources

The most important thing is to choose an issue that is important to your own community. You can consult external sources for support with research or tactics, but the core of your advocacy program, the issue itself, must be "owned" by the local community.

In order to understand and to identify relevant issues, we can ask ourselves the questions below:

1. If successful, would the change we are advocating for significantly improve life in our community? Could there be unintended consequences of success?
2. Is there evidence or research demonstrating the problem and its possible solutions?
3. Is the issue we have identified the true underlying cause of local dissatisfaction? How does the public see this issue?
4. Is there enough of a consensus on the issue to demand change?
5. Is the issue relevant to the mission of your organization (and its funders)?
6. If unsuccessful, would advocating for change significantly diminish the quality of life of the community? What are the potential unintended consequences of failure?

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3 Sofia Sprechman and Emily Pelton, Advocacy Tools and Guidelines: Promoting Policy Change (Atlanta: CARE, 2001)
Case Study 1

CHALLENGING RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION IN DRC

Since 2017, the situation for CSOs in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been deteriorating, with police and security services assaulting CSOs and activists suffering from intimidation, arbitrary arrest, and even targeted assassination. The government was increasingly cracking down on criticism, and in 2017, proposed legislation that would impose further restrictions on civil society.

GOAL: To create an enabling environment for civil society to function without facing intimidation, violence, or government interference.

STRATEGY: A local CSO launched an initiative to defeat legislation that would have restricted civil society and build community support for civil society.

TACTICS: Due to the difficulty in influencing national-level politics, the CSO decided to target parliamentarians at the local level to gain their support to suspend the draft law. The CSO decided to focus on the two most volatile provinces, North and South Kivu, where the threats against CSOs were greatest. From May to September 2017, the CSO assisted in the creation of two provincial platforms for 48 CSOs to coordinate their advocacy against the legislation. They conducted six focus groups to compile information from activists who had been targeted by the state. The results from the focus groups were used in media campaigns and in meetings with local and provincial decision-makers.

IMPACT: Within a relatively short period of time, the CSO was surprised to see a change in the behavior of police officers who began to peacefully supervise CSO meetings, instead of shutting them down. Public support for civil society also increased as a result of the media campaign, and many citizens closed their shops and offices in solidarity with non-violent marches that the CSO organized. By focusing at the local level and keeping targeted goals, the CSO was able to achieve real results. The threat of restrictive NGO legislation remains, but the CSO managed to ward off this initial attempt.

Case Study Analysis

Let’s take a look at the above example. Can you identify weaknesses in this campaign? What would have been the effect of failure on the community? Can you recognize a few steps they could take to minimize risk?

Can you think of anything comparable in Sri Lanka? Has there been proposed legislation that would negatively affect the media? Did your organization do anything about it? Was it successful? Were there any negative consequences?
MODULE 4

Analyzing the issue/possible solutions

When deciding to act on an issue, we must assess the likelihood of being successful, the history and context of the issue and how things have evolved over time. We need to ask ourselves:

• What has been tried in the past?
• What worked? Why?
• What didn’t work? Why?

We need to be realistic about chances of success; wishful thinking does not help!

While carrying out analysis, the following questions may arise:

• Do we have all the required information?
• What additional information do we need?
• What sources can be used to collect new information?
• What research can we do to bridge the knowledge gaps?

We may need to consider the following when we attempt to analyze the issue:

• Are there existing public policies that are responsible for this issue?
• Who is responsible for implementing policies regarding the issue?
• Is there a constituency that benefits from or actively advocates for the current situation?
• How would the parties with power to change understand the policy – and understand those advocacy organizations lobbying for it?

Understanding the political context surrounding this issue and the proposed solutions is another important part of the analysis. The political environment is shaped by who has the most power. In advocacy, generally we discuss three types of political power: formal, informal and invisible power.

We need to understand all three sources of power to gain a 360-degree understanding of the environment of the issue and possible solutions. Sometimes there could be consequences even after making the necessary policy amendments in the long run. Raising your voice for a valid issue could have negative consequences for the media community and the advocates themselves. Even successfully changing public policy can occasionally have unintended or unforeseen consequences relating to safety and security. Getting a full understanding of the context is necessary to plan all the steps ahead.
Case Study 2

Criminal defamation laws have always been highly contentious in Sri Lanka. Enacted during British colonial rule and kept on the statute books after Sri Lanka gained its independence in 1948, the laws have been used to intimidate the media. Defamation laws were supposed to protect individual reputations, but since the 1970s successive governments have used the law to harass newspaper editors and impose constraints on the media.

Recommendations made in 1995 by the R.K.W. Goonesekere committee, which was set up to advise on media reform, suggested the repeal of Sections 118, 120 and 479 of the Penal Code, relating to criminal defamation. However, the repeal did not take place until 2002.

In the interim years Sri Lankan media activists worked tirelessly, campaigning for nearly a decade to have the repressive legislation abolished.

At a meeting with Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe in January 2002, the government, along with representatives from three media organizations — the Free Media Movement (FMM), the Editors’ Guild, and the Publishers’ Association — reached an agreement on a wide-ranging reform package to strengthen freedom of expression in the country. The package included abolishing laws that curtail freedom of expression, introducing a Right to Information Act, replacing the Press Council with an independent Press Complaints Commission, and setting up an independent media training institute.

The 2002 repeal of criminal defamation laws in Sri Lanka is a good example of how media advocacy organizations analyzed the power and political context surrounding the issue and worked towards proposing a solution. Through analysis of the political environment and power dynamics at the time, local media associations were able to pick the most opportune moment to lobby for change, resulting in a beneficial outcome for the media sector and for press freedom in Sri Lanka.

FMM welcomes repeal of criminal defamation law – IFEX
Microsoft Word – lanka94.doc (refworld.org)
However, in recent years, political pressure has been mounting towards reinroducing criminal defamation. In their 11-point proposal on national security, which was forwarded to the Sectoral Oversight Committee (SOC) on National Security, the SLFP included the reintroduction of criminal defamation.

This brings us back to the last point on power.

Case Study Analysis

Let’s go back to what we discussed earlier. Imagine you were a media activist in 2001. Can you answer the questions below in relation to the case study? The first one is done for you.

- Do we have all the required information? We have the initial bills drafted, case laws to support the claim, international examples.
- What additional information do we need?
- What sources can be used to collect new information?
- What research can we do to bridge the knowledge gaps?

Now let’s return to today. Based on the newspaper article above, analyze the situation using these criteria:

- Are there existing public policies that are responsible for this issue?
- Who is responsible for implementing policies in this regard?
- Is there a constituency that benefits from or actively advocates for the current situation?
- How would the parties with power to change understand the policy – and understand those advocacy organizations lobbying for it?
- Is there a constituency that benefits from or actively advocates for the current situation?
- How would the parties with power to change understand the policy – and understand those advocacy organizations lobbying for it?

Tip: When prejudice is the problem

in situations where prejudice is the key factor; avoid beginning your advocacy planning with an adversarial mindset. In general, advocates who initiate campaigns with adversarial suppositions about people in power eliminate half of their potential tools from the outset. Advocacy campaigns that begin with meaningful attempts at constructive engagement may fall back on direct action and other confrontational tactics. However; it is much more difficult to reverse that order and transition from confrontation to constructive engagement.
You must identify key decision-makers and all relevant stakeholders, and consider their interest and openness to the issue. Look for timely opportunities for action – for instance, are there relevant deadlines, legislative or otherwise?

You are only as effective as your stakeholder relations. Unlike activism, advocacy is a relationship-based approach. Having good stakeholder relations, and managing the stakeholders to favor your objective, will largely determine the success of your project.

The importance of each stakeholder may vary with the issue we are addressing. Learning to categorize your stakeholders can help you in policy formation. Mapping stakeholders is a great tool in lobbying for your policy positions.

When we try to understand their place in an issue-related environment, we can categorize stakeholders under POWER/INFLUENCE and INTEREST related to the issue.

### Identify your stakeholders

#### Step 1: Categorize the stakeholders

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tr>
<td>Direct:</td>
<td>Customers, members, employees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial:</td>
<td>Donors, investors, shareholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Stakeholders:</td>
<td>Political representatives, Members of Parliament, public policymakers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>private policymaking communities, regulatory bodies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative Stakeholders:</td>
<td>Trade Unions, membership and representative organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(trade associations, federations) interest groups (non-governmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>organizations and campaign groups; these can be local, national or international)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective Stakeholders:</td>
<td>Emotional stakeholders (friends, family, supporters), alumni, peers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media:</td>
<td>Local, regional, international, broadcast, press, new media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Public</td>
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You must identify key decision-makers and all relevant stakeholders, and consider their interest and openness to the issue. Look for timely opportunities for action – for instance, are there relevant deadlines, legislative or otherwise?
Stakeholders that come under high influence and high interest are the key players that the advocates need to prioritize.

**Case Study Analysis**

Until 2002, when it was repealed by the Ranil Wickremesinghe government, defamation was a criminal offence in Sri Lanka, and provided for a two-year jail term under the Penal Code. Sri Lanka is the first and only country in the South Asia region to have done away with the law of criminal defamation.

Criminal defamation provisions were repealed from the country’s statute books on June 18, 2002 following a vigorous, decade-long campaign carried out by media associations and lobbying groups in Sri Lanka. The campaign was supported by several international organizations, including the International Press Institute (IPI), International PEN, the World Association of Newspapers, The Commonwealth Press Union (CPU), the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Article XIX and the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, who denounced the “chilling effect” that defamation laws have on free expression.

Various categories of stakeholders were part of this process.
- Direct: Journalists
- Financial: Media Outlets
- Public: General Public
- Representative: International media right organizations
- Effective: Family, peers
- Media: All media
If we put the stakeholders in this process into our stakeholder analysis tool, we get the stakeholder map below:

**High influence and low interest**
- Political leaders in opposition
- General Parliamentarians

**High influence and high interest**
- International Media Support Organizations
- International Media Right activists
- Political leaders who attempt to adhere to international standards
- Human Rights Advocates

**Low influence low interest**
- General Public

**Low influence high interest**
- Journalists

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**MODULE 6**

**Objectives and Goals**

Setting realistic objectives and goals is important in advocacy: What change in public policy will resolve the issue in a sustainable manner? What intermediate objectives (or small steps) help advance the overall goals?

There is no set way to formulate advocacy goals. The following tool may be useful in testing your goals.
Sri Lanka’s Right to Information Act, No. 12 of 2016, was enacted on February 3, 2017. The discussion around RTI had been ongoing since 1994, when media associations and civil society organizations who supported ‘Podu Peramuna’ in the Parliamentary elections raised the need for such an act.

The first document on RTI dates back to 1994, when Travel, Information and Aviation Minister Dharmasiri Senanayake introduced a Cabinet paper titled ‘Media Policy of the Government.’ Following this, civil society and government actors mounted an intensive, decades-long campaign to have the RTI adopted.

**Timeline of the RTI Advocacy**

- **1994**: Travel, Information and Aviation Minister Dharmasiri Senanayake introduced a Cabinet paper called ‘Media Policy of the Government’
- **1995**: A Committee headed by senior lawyer Mr. R.K.W. Goonesekere was appointed to advise the Government on the reform of laws affecting media freedom and freedom of expression. The Committee recommended drafting a Freedom of Information Act.
- **1996**: The Sri Lanka Law Commission, headed by Justice A.R.B. Amerasinghe, prepared a draft Freedom of Information Bill
- **2000**: The 2000 Draft Constitutional Bill also included a ‘Right to Information’ clause but the Bill never passed the seal of Parliament.
- **2004**: The Prime Ministerial Committee drafted the 2004 Freedom of Information Bill, which was approved by the Cabinet and tabled in Parliament
- **2010**: The draft Bill was revised in 2010, as a result of an initiative taken by Justice Minister Milinda Moragoda.
  - In 2011, Mr. Karu Jayasuriya, then an Opposition MP, presented the 2004 draft Freedom of Information Bill as a private member’s Bill, but it was not taken up for debate in Parliament. Later, the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) in its final report in 2011, recommended that the Government introduce RTI legislation.
- **2013**: Including the same as an action point in the 2013 LLRC’s National Action Plan.
- **2015**: Citizens getting the Constitutional right of access to information with the 19th Amendment to the Constitution.
- **2016**: On June 23, the Parliament of Sri Lanka, in a celebrated move, enacted the Right to information Act to give meaning to the citizen’s Fundamental Right to Information.
This is a great example of achieving a goal in SMART way:

**SPECIFIC:** To establish a statutorily independent body that works as a central oversight and enforcement agency with the power to hold inquiries into complaints on non-compliance and to recommend disciplinary actions against offending officials.

**MEASURABLE:** The objectives of the RTI commission were developed with a clear vision of what the measurable end goal was: building an independent statutory commission consisting of a Chair and four members appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the Constitutional Council. The Constitutional Council is required, for this purpose, to recommend one person each nominated by a) the Bar Association of Sri Lanka, b) media organizations, and c) other civil society organizations.

**ATTAINABLE:** Resource management, resource allocation, political power analysis and transboundary knowledge-sharing were involved as good practices. Advocates only looked into what was practically attainable in the Sri Lankan media eco system.

**RELEVANT:** Relevance played a key role in objective setting in this example. The right to information was very important to the journalist community to ensure that they had un fettered access to quality information, and could not be blocked by unscrupulous officials. This, in turn, helped to guarantee that the public had the information it needed to make informed decisions. The commission and the whole mechanism around it were evaluated to ensure the objectives being realistically achieved.

**TIMELY:** The objective setting for RTI was a felt need at the time. Under each successive government, RTI advocates worked towards reaching the goals little by little and set objectives in a concrete, timely manner, evaluating progress achieved in the timeframe established. The timeline of RTI given below explains this process briefly.

**MODULE 7**

Clarifying the policy position and asks

By now, we have identified an issue, analyzed and fine-tuned it, and set our goals and objectives around it. We now need to refine our policy position, identify our advocacy targets and asks, building on top of the insight we have already gained in the previous steps.

**Targets** are those individuals who are in a position to implement change. We may already have identified these individuals in our stakeholder mapping exercise. Targets are often governmental institutions, or international agencies, but with cultural issues they may also include religious leaders. We can ask ourselves:

- What is the target’s level of influence over the objective?
- What is the campaign’s level of access to the target?
- What is the target’s receptivity to the issue?
- Who is the target accountable or responsive to?

When the policy position makes a request from the policy enablers, that’s an ask. These requests must be clear, concrete, and well-defined by evidence and research. We can use the **SMART** method and stakeholder details to finetune our asks. The best asks are those that align with the target’s own objectives or priorities.
Case Study Analysis

Study the above example. Who are the important stakeholders, and what are the asks? Make a stakeholder analysis representing the relevant stakeholders to find your target. List the targets and the asks. We have done one for you.

**Target:** Ranil Wickremasinghe

**Ask:** Include the repeal of the criminal defamation act into the election manifesto.

Answer the following questions:

- Does the ask align with the overall advocacy objective?
- Does it align with the current policies and jurisdiction of the country (if not, how can we propose more tangible and practical asks that facilitate the change required?)
- What is the political timing of the ask? (for example, close to an election the advocacy organizations may have better chances with the ask).
- Are there any hidden consequences of the ask?
MODULE 8

Selecting the tactics

By now you should have clarified what it is you want to achieve (objectives and asks) and whom you want to target. Tactics are about how you approach your selected targets with the appropriate messages to ensure your outreach is most effective.

There is a wide array of tactics that can be used in advocacy.

Some examples of advocacy tactics are:

- Communications with relevant high-end officials (meetings, letters, emails)
- Building networks and coalitions
- Mobilizing civil society organizations
- Persuading third parties to offer support
- Considering whom your target might be influenced by or receptive to.

Case Study 4

The Federation of Media Employees Trade Union (FMETU) as part of their advocacy campaign in 2019 began promoting a sustainable and practical solution for labor issues that provincial journalists have been raising over the last decade.

FMETU invited provincial journalists to apply for a labor rights training that included sessions on setting up a labor union; collective bargaining, and other labor initiatives. The training attracted 25 journalists (one from each district), 18 of whom subsequently formed labor unions. Following this, FMETU handed over the labor union certificates to the Commissioner General of Labor and the Registrar of Trade Unions.

The training guidebook drafted for the project, the “Professional Journalists’ Organizational Handbook” was presented to the Minister of Labor and a discussion was held with him on the subject, during which FMETU raised the following points as their asks:

- Inclusion of the title ‘Regional Journalist’ as a grade in the Journalists Wages Board
- Convening a friendly discussion with the owners of media institutions and requesting EPF and ETF rights for local journalists, something for which Sri Lankan journalists had been lobbying for many years. FMETU further demanded that, if the media owners do not agree to implement these measures, the government should, legalize the claim, and issue a gazette notification.

The requests made by FMETU were accepted by the Minister, and further discussions were held to prepare to accommodate the requests.
Case Study Analysis

Can you list the number of tactics FMETU used in this campaign? What factors in the political context contributed to success? What would you do differently? Can you identify additional tactics that you would use if you were carrying out this campaign?
Case Study Analysis

We can identify many tactics used by the advocacy organizations by analyzing the previous example on the repeal of the defamation law.

The information in the following excerpt allows us to identify even more tactics:

**FMM welcomes repeal of criminal defamation law – IFEX**

(FMM/IFEX) – The following is an FMM press release. The Free Media Movement warmly congratulates the government of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and the Sri Lankan parliament, who unanimously passed an act of parliament on June 18, 2002, that repealed criminal defamation laws from the statute books. This is the first major legislation in over [...]

These include:

- **Communications with relevant high-end officials (meetings, letter, emails)** e.g.: Meeting Media Minister to discuss about law reforms.

- **Building network and coalitions** - Rather than a single entity, we can build a network, increasing the effect of our advocacy efforts

- **Mobilizing civil society organizations** - We can mobilize organizations with the same goals and mission.

- **Persuading third parties to offer support.**

### MODULE 9

**Developing the messages**

Effective advocacy campaigns speak in a clear way to multiple audiences: **public messages** define the campaign’s purpose and aims to the larger community or public, while **targeted messages** deliver asks to specific stakeholders. Make sure you have identified your **objectives** and **asks**, whom you want to say it to **(targets)**, and how you plan to engage the targets (tactics) before you craft messages.

There are two types of messaging: **primary and secondary.**

**Primary messages**

The primary message is the main message. It is broad, appealing to all audiences, simple and direct. It is the theme that holds the whole advocacy campaign together. Primary messages answer the basic questions:

- Who are the advocates?
- What are they advocating to change?
- What is their proposed alternative?
The secondary message explains and justifies the proposed change. Secondary messages should be targeted to the needs, perceptions, and preferences of the target audiences.

We can find primary and secondary messaging examples in the context of censorship and impunity. Media advocacy organizations have been very energetic in promoting legislation against unfair censorship and impunity. The Free Media Movement, with the support of the Sri Lanka Working Journalist Association, has been proactively working on building a safe space for journalists.

In the below article published on the website of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the case of Prageeth Eknaligoda is elaborated in detail in relation to impunity.

This is a primary message, aimed at the public, intended to build awareness of the issue.

Challenging impunity for crimes against media in Sri Lanka - IFJ

On November 2020

Challenging impunity for crimes against media in Sri Lanka

Against the backdrop of killing, arrest and harassment of journalists, media freedom organisations continue to campaign against the scourge of impunity in Sri Lanka, writes Ruki Fernando.

Santya Eknaligoda, a human rights activist and wife of missing journalist Prageeth Eknaligoda along with other journalists protesting in front of the Fort Railway Station, marking 100 days of the disappearance of the journalist Prageeth Eknaligoda in 2010.

Could: Sarath Kalapathar

Dozens of journalists have been killed, abducted or have disappeared in the past two decades in Sri Lanka, with 2005-2010 being the most dangerous. According to Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka (JDS) 44 journalists and media workers were killed or disappeared during this period. Disturbingly,
Secondary messages are targeted messages aimed at a specific audience, drafted with a very specific purpose.

The article below address the same issue, impunity, yet in a different light and with different intention. Amnesty International talks about impunity in a broader sense. This article is more suitable for an audience that has basic knowledge about impunity and what is happening in Sri Lanka.

Amnesty International drafted this message urging the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council (HRC), to establish an international accountability mechanism to continue to monitor and report on the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, and to collect, preserve and assess evidence of gross human rights violations.

Amnesty International urges the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council (HRC), when it meets for its 48th session (22 February – 2 March 2021), to establish an international accountability mechanism to continue to monitor and report on the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, and to collect, preserve and assess evidence of gross human rights violations.

We hope to see states work towards such an appropriate response, in line with the clear recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights (OHCHR) when the HRC meets for its 48th session.

CONTINUED DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION ON THE GROUND

Over the past few years – and the past year in particular – we have witnessed an alarming deterioration in civic space in Sri Lanka, with increased targeting and intimidation of human rights defenders, journalists, and lawyers. Among others, Amnesty International has documented the harassment of New York Times journalist Dinesh Bandara, the arbitrary detention of lawyer Dinesh Gunaratna (charged with uttering seditious calumnies), and lawyer Heshan Hiliyakebycroft and his family, and the ongoing criminal investigation against writer Shashika Rajakumari. The rise of threats and attacks on journalists is on the rise.

The Special Rapporteur’s most recent report on human rights in Sri Lanka states that in addition to threats in the line of duty, the responsibility of human rights defenders and journalists as well as their families, has been increased.

The Special Rapporteur also stated that the failure to address the investigating officers for the murder of journalist Sudesh Amarasinghe and human rights defender Harshini Fernando is a clear message to human rights defenders and journalists that they can be killed with impunity.

The ongoing investigation into the murder of ruthless journalist, Sudesh Amarasinghe, and human rights defender, Harshini Fernando, further illustrates the difficulties facing human rights defenders and journalists in Sri Lanka.

The HRC must urgently address these challenges and work towards ensuring a secure environment for human rights defenders and journalists to carry out their crucial work.

In developing secondary messages, ask the following questions:

- Who is the target? (Cite an exact individual or discrete group.)
- What are the target's interests and how can they be tied to the advocacy issue?
- What is the target's prior knowledge of the issue?
- What is the target's level of opposition or support for the issue?
- What is the target's influence over the issue?
- What is the requested action (ask) of the target?
Tip: A word of warning
No advocacy messages is truly private. Any information communicated in a private setting could be made public at a later date. Therefore, even targeted messages should align with the boarder public messages and be based on the best possible evidence. Advocates always should be cognizant of how “private” conversations and communications might impact the campaign if made available to people other than intended audience. Refrain from engaging in hyperbole, exaggerations of data or blatant falsehoods.

MODULE 10
Developing an advocacy strategy

An advocacy strategy is a plan that coordinates a campaign's objectives, targets, and messages into a synchronized effort. A well-organized advocacy strategy will divide objectives into short-term, mid-term, and long-term categories and will outline the tactics to be employed. Strong strategies are designed in a logical order, so that early objectives reduce barriers and offer steppingstones to achieve later objectives. The advocacy strategy's purpose is to create a fundamental framework for making decisions about a campaign's goals, objectives, targets, asks, and messaging. The framework will account for the local political context and help minimize risks. A clearly articulated strategy will help a campaign navigate unforeseen challenges that can arise in dynamic political contexts.

Case Study Analysis
Let’s return to the case study involving the DRC. Can you name the asks, tactics and the risks associated to the tactics given in the case study?

CHALLENGING RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION IN DRC
Since 2017, the situation for CSOs in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been deteriorating with police and security services assaulting CSOs and activists suffering from intimidation, arbitrary arrest, and even targeted assassination. The government was increasingly cracking down on criticism, and in 2017, proposed legislation that would impose further restrictions on civil society.

GOAL: To create an enabling environment for civil society to function without facing intimidation, violence, or government interference.
STRATEGY: A local CSO launched an initiative to defeat legislation that would have restricted civil society and build community support for civil society.
TACTICS: Due to the difficulty in influencing national-level politics, the CSO decided to target parliamentarians at the local level to gain their support to suspend the draft law. The CSO decided to focus on the two most volatile provinces, North and South Kivu, where the threats against CSOs were greatest. From May to September 2017, the CSO assisted in the creation of two provincial platforms for 48 CSOs to coordinate their advocacy against the legislation. They conducted six focus groups to compile information from activists who had been targeted by the state. The results from the focus groups were used in media campaigns and in meetings with local and provincial decision-makers.
IMPACT: Within a relatively short period of time, the CSO was surprised to see a change in the behavior of police officers who began to peacefully supervise CSO meetings, instead of shutting them down. Public support for civil society also increased as a result of the media campaign, and many citizens closed their shops and offices in solidarity with non-violent marches that the CSO organized. By focusing at the local level and keeping targeted goals, the CSO was able to achieve real results. The threat of restrictive NGO legislation remains, but the CSO managed to ward off this initial attempt.
Campaign timelines:

There is no set rule about what constitutes long-term or short-term; the categories are subjective and depend heavily on the openness of the political system, the complexity of the objective, and available resources. A hypothetical timeline might be:

- Long-term objectives to be accomplished in 3–5 years
  e.g.: lobbying to the key players of the stakeholder analysis

- Mid-term objectives to be accomplished in 1–2 years
  e.g.: advocacy messaging, being part of the coalitions and networks

- Short-term objectives to be accomplished in 6 months to 1 year
  e.g.: desk research, conducting consultations among the key stakeholders

Case Study Analysis

Refer the timeline below, for the RTI policy formation. What can you recognize as short-term midterm and long-term objectives if you are living in 1995?

1994: Travel Information and Aviation Minister Dharmasiri Senanayake introduced a Cabinet paper called ‘Media Policy of the Government’ in 1994

1995: A Committee headed by senior lawyer Mr. R.K.W. Goonesekere was appointed to advise the Government on the reform of laws affecting media freedom and freedom of expression. The Committee recommended drafting a Freedom of Information Act.


2000: The 2000 Draft Constitutional Bill also included a ‘Right to Information’ clause but the Bill never passed the seal of Parliament.

2004: The Prime Ministerial Committee drafted the 2004 Freedom of Information Bill, which was approved by the then Cabinet and tabled in Parliament

2010: The draft Bill was revised in 2010, as a result of an initiative taken by the then Justice Minister Milinda Moragoda.

2011: In 2011, Mr. Karu Jayasuriya, then an Opposition MP, presented the 2004 draft Freedom of Information Bill as a private member’s Bill. This Bill was not taken up for debate in Parliament. Later, the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) in its final report in 2011, recommended that the Government introduce RTI legislation.

2013: Including the same as an action point in the 2013 LLRC’s National Action Plan.

2015: Citizens getting the Constitutional right of access to information with the 19th Amendment to the Constitution.

2016: On 23 June the Parliament of Sri Lanka, in a celebrated move, enacted the Right to Information Act to give meaning to the citizen’s Fundamental Right to Information.
Advocacy planning is cyclical, meaning it builds on success by incorporating selected strategy and tactics into further campaigns. We must constantly assess and refine our tactics and strategies as we design our campaigns.

**Follow up, feedback, refine**

As a campaign gets off the ground, it is important that you record as much relevant information on the activities as is practical. Because campaigns are intended to be cumulative in nature, information on past activities will help inform and direct future actions. This will involve assessing the impact of your work and being open-minded and flexible in responding to obstacles or changing activities when previous approaches have not worked. The key is understanding what type of information is relevant and how much should be collected. Gathering and organizing data can be a time- and resource-consuming effort, so we strongly discourage data collection just for the sake of data collection. Section 3 of this toolkit offers guidance on how to identify relevant information, how to appropriately review the data, and when to revise your advocacy activities.

This simple guide can be used to record the advocacy activities:

- **Who:** Whom did you meet with? Who hosted and attended the protest? Who participated in the social media drive?
- **What:** What occurred? What was discussed in the meeting? What was protested?
- **When:** When did the meeting or activity take place?
- **Where:** Where did the meeting or activity take place?
- **Why:** What was the purpose of the meeting, protest, or activity?
- **How:** How did the activity occur? Was the meeting facilitated by a third-party? Was the protest spontaneous or pre-planned?
Section Two

FORMULATING POLICY

Introduction

Advocacy organizations need to formulate policy positions on important issues. Organizations formulate viable policy positions with input from stakeholders and the public. By actively assessing their environment, organizations understand the issues that matter to their members or constituents and can identify timely opportunities for action.

In this section we explore the following specific factors that organizations should consider in formulating their internal policy positions:

• Gathering information – this can help organizations make better judgments about their policy positions.
• Having systems in place to manage and use that information in an effective way.
• How to run a consultation process in an inclusive and timely manner.

Module 1

Collecting Information

Information gathering is a key part of being informed about current affairs. Every advocacy organization should have a pragmatic and practical approach to information collection.

Qualitative data collection tools

Narrative (non-numerical) data provides insight into behavior, experiences or beliefs, answers how and why.

Tools: Interviews, Focus Groups

Quantitative data collection tools

Numerical, can be quantified and statistically analyzed, draws connection between factors, answers what, how many or who

Tools: Assessments, tests, surveys

Exercise

Write down five methods your organization currently uses for information collection. Now note down the practical challenges you face with each method and discuss with your colleagues how you could overcome these challenges.
The following are useful sources of information:

1. Government official reports and statements
2. Gazette
3. International news
4. Police reports
5. Newspapers and electronic media
6. Reports by international organizations and NGOs

These sources are useful in providing content, data and statistical trends to inform your policy decisions. However, they should also be supplemented by *first-hand information*: talking directly to people who are impacted by policy. This may include members of your organization, concerned citizens or the general public. Gathering first-hand information is important for a number of reasons:

1. To check facts (some official sources are more reliable than others)
2. To understand how policies are impacting people and what would make a difference to the issues they are experiencing
3. To provide context and useful case studies – these can be persuasive when used to actively lobby for your policy position.

Look again at your list of current resource points. How many first-hand sources are included?

There are alternative methods of data collection, as well:

New Tactics in Human Rights gives great examples of some such alternative methods

- Maps:
- Cell Phones & SMS:
- Internet and Cell Phone Games

**Module 2**

**Organizing and sharing information**

Once you collect information, you must have a system for organizing, sharing, and using that information internally. This enables you to utilize the information in a meaningful manner. Open information sharing is an innovative approach to sharing information among the members of your organization. Open information sharing means to establish an organizational and technical infrastructure that encourages free exchange but also enforces controls to help prevent irresponsible use.
What kind of information is useful to store?

- Data and reports gathered from official sources – these can be used as supporting evidence when you set out your policies
- Reports from field offices
- Case studies and contacts with members, citizens or the general public – including photos and video material.
- A database of stakeholders whom you consider useful for communication and consultation.

Some principles to consider when storing material:

1. Is the content already in the public domain? Official reports, news reports and data from NGOs which have been shared publicly can be stored in a shared folder(s). One nominated person should be in charge of organizing the material, keeping it updated and controlling access permissions to the folders. The key issue here is ensuring that all relevant people within the organization have access to the information so they can draw upon it for their work, while ensuring that the data is constantly updated. Note: if the data and reports support your policy positions, it may also be useful to share links to the original content on your website.

2. Where are we storing the information? There are many different systems for storing shared information. These include Google, Dropbox, Box, Diligent and Teams. Make sure these systems are secure, that each folder has an owner who is responsible for maintaining content and managing access permissions, and that care is taken when granting editing permissions. Consider backing up content, and if cloud storage is used, ensure security protocols are in place.

3. Does the information include protected data? Collecting first-hand information is vital for understanding issues and can be extremely useful for illustrating publicity material and bringing campaigns to life. However, it is crucial that you take care in storing this information and only share it with the originator’s consent, respecting the wishes of those who do not consent to having their information shared.

When gathering reports from individuals and organizations, be open about what information might be shared, why and with whom, and seek their agreement. It is good practice to create a checklist, with a note of the name of the person in your organization who had the conversation with the individual, and the date of that conversation. Make sure you safely store contact details of the relevant individual so you can check back with them at a later date.

When using case studies, it is good practice to go back to the individual or organization concerned to double-check that they are still happy for their story to be shared, and to update any relevant details.

When storing personal data such as email addresses, telephone numbers, age and address, be very careful about having security protocols in place, especially if the individual has requested anonymity.

Activity

Create an ideal information gathering, storing, and sharing plan for your organization, with named members of the organization for specific roles.
Policy development requires a clear process which involves internal and external consultation. The leadership style and culture of an organization are vital factors to consider in exploring policy formation.

### 2.3.1 Internal consultation – best practices:

1. It should be clear who is responsible for developing policy within your organization and what the process is for members/staff/volunteers to suggest ideas. Some questions to ask:
   - Are there regular meetings?
   - Are all members consulted?
   - What is the process for discussing the suggestions of others?
   - Do individuals get feedback as to why their suggestions are not accepted, and praise when their suggestions are acted upon?

2. Be clear about the stage you have reached in developing policy when you consult people. Is this a brainstorming idea where you're looking for creative and constructive input? Or is it a developed policy position where you’re seeking very specific feedback?

3. Be clear with yourself about what you are seeking to achieve when approaching others. Are you genuinely open-minded about their response, are you likely to have to negotiate about the policy position or are you seeking to gain support for a proposed policy? Each scenario requires a different approach and communication style.

### 2.3.2 External consultation

These are the main objectives of consultation in policy development:

- To grow our knowledge
- To determine issues of importance
- To inform our decisions on policy
- To help us provide information to stakeholders
**Principles for effective policy consultation.**

Below are some of the guiding principles Volunteering Australia has recognized for their policy development process. Having a clear guideline like this can help the organization to narrow down the consultation process.

**Consultations should be:**

**Proactive** – consultation will seek to identify new issues as well as increase knowledge of established ones.

**Timely** – consultation will take place in a timeframe where the organization can make the best use of the results in influencing outcomes. Information about the consultation process will be imparted in a timely and professional manner.

**Ongoing** – the knowledge and experiences of our stakeholders change and so consultation on policy will be an ongoing process.

**Achievable** – our processes will be streamlined so that they do not ask too much of our stakeholders.

**Acknowledged** – participation in consultation will be recognized appropriately.

**Communicated** – feedback regarding the outcomes of policy activity will be provided to the stakeholders who were consulted.

**2.3.3 How to organize a consultation process.**

You can design your own consultation process as necessary.

**Forms of consultation which involve a longer timescale (up to a month):**

- Invite written submissions from stakeholders on issues of major importance.
- Conduct a brief survey (please monitor the frequency of surveys to keep these information requests manageable for stakeholders).
- Form reference groups among stakeholders to explore issues and develop policy responses.

**Forms of consultation which can be used for quicker decisions:**

- Use online surveys to pose questions/select issues of importance.
- Identify relevant stakeholders and consult with them by phone.
- Where the issue is sector-based, canvas a range of perspectives within the sector in a targeted way – such as small organizations, large (including national) organizations and organizations with an advocacy function.

There are more traditional consultation strategies that can be incorporated into the consultation process, like **focus group discussions (FGDs)** and **key informant interviews (KIIs).**

**How to plan a focus group discussion**

A focus group discussion involves bringing people from similar backgrounds or experiences together to discuss a specific topic of interest. It is a form of **qualitative** research where questions are asked about perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, opinions or ideas. In focus group discussions, participants are free to talk with other group members. It generally involves a small group (usually 8 to 12 people). It is led by a moderator (interviewer) in a loosely structured discussion of various topics of interest.

Learn more [here.](#)

**Key Informant Interviews**

Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) are **qualitative**, in-depth interviews of people selected for their first-hand knowledge about a topic of interest.

Learn more [here.](#)
ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission On Human Rights (AICHR)

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) established an Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in 2009 to serve as the overarching regional human rights institution in Asia. It seemed like a good initiative, but civil society organizations have been concerned about the independence of this body because the ASEAN member states select the 10 representatives of the AICHR. The ASEAN governments have been resistant to a consultative, transparent selection mechanism. As a result, AICHR representatives believe they are only accountable to the government who chose them, not to the people. To date, AICHR representatives have avoided addressing the most pressing human rights issues in the region, such as the Rohingya crisis and extra-judicial killings in the Philippines, by using the excuse that they cannot interfere in the sovereignty of another member state. This undercuts the effectiveness of the human rights commission since it is avoiding the most important human rights issues.

GOAL: Ensure human rights concerns in Asia are adequately addressed by its regional mechanism.

STRATEGY: Press ASEAN states to expand the independence of AICHR and to enable it to take on a more meaningful role in protecting human rights.

TACTICS: FORUM-ASIA, a membership-based human rights organization based in Bangkok, helped build a CSO coalition to develop a selection mechanism for AICHR representatives that includes concrete indicators to measure the independence of AICHR candidates. The CSO coalition then initiated a dialogue with the ASEAN Foreign Ministry, the ASEAN Secretariat, and AICHR. They followed up with country-specific outreach with relevant Ministries of Foreign Affairs, in addition to media outlets in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand to press these countries to support the call for an independent selection process. FORUM-ASIA and its partners began an advocacy campaign that built upon FORUM-ASIA’s annual performance evaluation of AICHR; this included a repeated recommendation for an open and independent selection process of AICHR representatives, which only Indonesia had implemented.

IMPACT: Taking advantage of the winds of reform in Malaysia, as well as media pressure in Thailand and Indonesia, FORUM-ASIA and its member organizations successfully pushed the ASEAN governments to commit to a more transparent and civil society oriented selection process for the AICHR representatives. Their efforts achieved some tangible results. As of now, 30% of the AICHR representatives are selected through this more transparent process and are independently representing the concerns of CSOs. In 2019, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers commissioned the review of AICHR Terms of Reference (ToR) to strengthen its protection mechanism to address the Rohingya crisis. It took AICHR ten years to finally have a process to review its ToR. In addition, the AICHR representatives from Indonesia and Malaysia are consulting UN mechanisms to organize a regional dialogue on Freedom of Expression in 2019, a discussion that would have been impossible prior to this campaign.
Case Study Analysis

Use the Case Study above to answer the following questions. Remember first to map out the possible stakeholders for this situation, then analyze them according to the criteria below:

1. What are their motives?
2. What interest do they have in your work? What can you do about that?
3. What is their perception of your organization?
4. What is their perception of the issue in question?
5. Who or what influences your stakeholder’s perception?
6. Whom do they influence?
7. What information do they want from you? What information are you willing to give, by which method?
8. If a stakeholder is positive, what is their appetite for direct involvement, what role do you want them to play?
9. If stakeholders are not positive; what if anything can bring them round?
10. If you cannot bring them round, how can you manage them and mitigate their opposition?
11. How important are stakeholders to your argument?
Managing Resources

MODULE 1

Types of Resources

Advocacy organizations vary in size. Some may have full-time staff whereas others are run entirely by volunteers. Whatever the size of the organization, it's important to plan and prioritize resources, and to set realistic goals. With good planning and a creative approach, even the smallest advocacy organizations can be effective by seeking sources of funding and leveraging support.

In the advocacy context, resources can be broken down into several different types:

**Labor:** Almost every organization requires human labor to get through a workday. Labor includes all the people who work for you, and the jobs that they do, whether voluntary or paid.

**Management:** Without a guiding hand, many organizations would end up achieving very little. Therefore, managerial skills and execution are an essential resource.

**Expertise:** To really help an organization succeed, labor and management need to be managed with expertise. Knowledge of your domain and the practices that help you succeed is crucial.

**Equipment:** Organizations require specialized tools to do their work, whether it’s special hardware, a unique piece of software, or a machine designed to do a certain task.

**Finances:** An organization’s finances enable it to use many of its other resources. Sources of revenue may include the membership fund, allocations, or grants.

**Time:** Since no business can achieve its ends instantaneously, every business needs to treat time as a resource.

When thinking about the resources that your own business uses, try to consider the things that it needs to keep going, both on a day-to-day scale and in the long term.

Activity

What are some of the resources your organization has? Please make a list, using the guide above.
Resource Management Strategies and Techniques: Having an Annual Plan

Resource management comes with some challenges, but there are also techniques and strategies that can help you overcome these difficulties and lead you towards efficient resource allocation.

One of these techniques is to create an annual plan: a diary of those events and activities which can be anticipated in advance. These might include:

- Newsletters (weekly, monthly) to members, supporters and stakeholders
- Annual reports
- Board meetings
- Annual membership meetings
- Volunteer recruitment drives
- Conference attendance
- Legislative timetables
- Publicity campaigns
- Donor reporting
- Funding rounds

Having listed all of the activities and events likely to occur across a year, consider which of them would benefit from more resources and which are adequately resourced. Are there pinch-points when activities coincide? If so, consider whether activities could be spaced out, or whether duties could be reassigned. An effective annual plan will feature deadlines and nominated ‘owners’ for each piece of activity.
Example of an Operational Plan

### Annual Operational Plan

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<th>Activity</th>
<th>Responsible person</th>
<th>Tool / Form</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
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<td>Application with signature</td>
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### MODULE 3

#### 3.3.1 Resource Planning

In Section One we advised you to create a timeline of objectives. We said that a hypothetical timeline might be:

- Long-term objectives to be accomplished in 3–5 years
- Mid-term objectives to be accomplished in 1–2 years
- Short-term objectives to be accomplished in 6 months to 1 year
Many strategies fail at the implementation stage because resources have not been realistically assigned. In implementing your strategy, take each objective and consider what action needs to be taken to accomplish the goal. Ask:

- What needs to be done?
- What resources will be required?
  - People
  - Technology
  - How much time
  - Money
  - Office space
  - Training
  - Support (leadership or otherwise)
- Who will take ownership of each action?
- When will the action be completed?

**Tip:**
- Make sure every action has an ‘owner’. If ‘everyone’ is said to be responsible, you can be sure that no-one is.
- When creating an action plan and assigning resources, make sure you involve those who will be responsible for carrying out the work. Implementation is more likely to succeed when people are involved in the decision-making process.
- Keep tasks simple and achievable. Being too ambitious and failing early is demotivating and likely to undermine your strategy: start with small steps and celebrate success.

### 3.3.2 Risk Management

Unexpected events that crop up during implementation can create challenges for resource management. To a certain extent, these can be mitigated by considering possible risks at the planning stage. Some factors are outside your control (such as government legislation, or perhaps a global pandemic!) but others may be more predictable, such as staff absence or increased costs. It is advisable to at least discuss what contingencies you might put in place, particularly for important objectives that are critical to the success of your strategy.

**A Tool to use**

A risk assessment is a systematic evaluation of potential risks for an activity, project, or business. Risks are identified and prioritized for action based on the probability of them occurring (likelihood) and the seriousness of the outcome if they do (impact). Risk assessment activities are sometimes referred to as risk analysis or risk mapping. Risk assessments provide an opportunity to identify and understand hazards, vulnerabilities, and threats that could negatively impact the campaign. Using this information, an organization can then prioritize expenditure and effort on risk mitigation and control strategies.
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mechanisms to organize a regional dialogue on Freedom of Expression in 2019, a discussion
that would have been impossible prior to this campaign.
3.3.3 Estimating and Forecasting

In Section One we advised that evaluation is very much part of implementation. A good case in point is estimating and forecasting. Efficient resource allocation often needs managers to understand exactly how much of a given resource will be required – for instance the numbers of days’ work delivered by staff. However, this kind of knowledge is only available after the project has been completed.

It is therefore good practice to estimate the amount of resource that is likely to be required, and to track the actual resource that was used. This can be done using a simple spreadsheet, with resources tracked on a weekly or monthly basis. Working in this way provides a number of benefits:

- It will help you understand what resources are actually being used.
- It will enable a discussion about whether the task could be carried in a different way.
- It will help you forecast more accurately next time.
- It will help inform discussions with funders, should they raise queries about how projects were resourced.

Example of a Resource Allocation Template

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3.4.1 Raising funds

Advocacy organizations have traditionally relied upon membership contributions, either at an individual or company level. Some organizations also benefit from donor funding. Donors may include international, regional, and local NGOs, private foundations and governmental organizations, including foreign embassies. Some NGOs will derive their funding from governmental organizations so you may be dealing with an intermediary organization.

In recent years other forms of financial support have emerged. These may include:

- Commercial sponsorship of events and newsletters
- Online advertising
- Crowd-funding campaigns using online platforms such as GoFundMe and Kickstarter
- Donations – either managed directly or through platforms such as Patreon. This can be useful in connecting with supporters in the diaspora
- Branded merchandise such as clothing, bags and stationery.

Some organizations employ business development managers on a part-time or freelance basis, who derive part of their salary from achieving revenue targets. Some of these positions may be donor-funded, as donors increasingly wish to help organizations become self-sustainable.

3.4.2 Applying for Grants

Media advocacy organizations can benefit immensely from grant funding. The availability of donor funds varies from region to region and country to country. Some funders focus on particular regions (e.g., the post-Soviet space) or have a specific theme (such as countering disinformation or building civil society).

Most applications will require you to complete a ‘concept note.’ This will ask you why you need assistance, what activities will be funded and what the intended outcomes will be.

Some funders will request information from you, such as whether you have an anti-bullying policy, or anti-money laundering procedures. It is a good idea to understand what information is commonly requested, and to start building these policies. Sometimes funders will help you develop the necessary policies.

3.4.3 Grant management

Sometimes proper financial resource management can be the difference between success and failure of a media advocacy organization.
### Frequently asked questions

#### Types of grants available

- **Fixed Amount Award (FAA):** A pre-determined budget is broken down into milestone payments and corresponding deliverables. The payments are made only on completion of deliverables and requested documentary evidence is provided.

- **Simplified Grant (SiG):** This is where the expenses are budgeted according to the activities and the grantee is expected to submit the bills and supporting documents to receive payment against the subgrant.

- **Simplified Grants** are more suitable when it is core funding, while **Fixed Amount Award** are better suited for program grants where deliverables are easily identified.

#### How do you find out about grants?

Donor organizations advertise in the newspapers and relevant websites calling applications from partner organizations for program activities that they intended to fund.

#### What do donors look for in an application?

Donors will look at the reputation of the grantee, past performance of the grantee, formation of the grantee, office bearers of the organization, problem statement of the application, feasibility of the activities, past success rate, and budget.

#### What is the usual process?

- Applications will be reviewed by a panel based on the criteria disclosed in the Request for Applications.

- Applications will be shortlisted based on the panel evaluations.

- Detailed discussions will be held with the potential applicant to turn the application into a project proposal and corresponding budget.

- Due diligence information is obtained from the applicant.

- A pre-award audit is conducted based on the information provided in the due diligence documentation.

- Based on the proposal and budget submitted by the applicant, discussions on the program activities and negotiations on the budget are held.

- Agreement finalized.

#### What is the usual process?

- Does not address problem statement: The application should have a practical solution addressing the problem statement directly.

- Unrealistic activities and targets: The activities and targets should be realistic and achievable during the period specified in the call.

- Unrealistic budget: The budget should be realistic and reasonable.
**Tip:**

Remember that donor funding is subject to scrutiny: for instance, foreign aid spending is, understandably, closely monitored by governments, the media and citizens of the country concerned (after all, their taxes provide the funding). This means that donors expect a very high standard of financial rigor and transparency from grant recipients.

This will include:

- Regular reporting (usually monthly)
- Achieving targets (which have often been set out as deliverables in your contract)
- Ensuring that spending is allocated to those line items originally agreed in your contract.

For instance, if you have pledged that a member of staff is allocated to a donor-funded project, and that member of staff is diverted to work elsewhere, you will be in breach of contract.

Funders will expect you to have financial management procedures in place, for instance:

- Having named positions in your organization such as treasurer
- Having a business bank account
- Tracking income and expenditure on an organizational AND project basis
- Submitting accounts for regular independent audits.

**MODULE 5**

**Volunteer Recruitment**

Many advocacy organizations rely upon volunteers for much of their operation. It is important that, for organizations to remain relevant to the society they serve, they continue to seek out new volunteers and to use their time effectively. Make sure you are seeking a diverse range of supporters, including women, young people, and minority groups.

**Why do people volunteer?** They may be very committed to a cause and are happy to offer their time in support of it. Or they may wish to develop a new skill, or to build up their experience to advance in their career.

A good first step is to consider the role volunteers will be carrying out: are you looking for someone with marketing expertise, social media knowledge, a graphic designer, business development expert or filmmaker? Write a very short Volunteer Role Description. This might be simply a paragraph.

Now tailor your recruitment strategy to the volunteer you would like to recruit.

Ways of recruiting volunteers:

- At educational establishments
- Your website and social media platforms (be creative!)
- Features and interviews in local newspapers or radio stations
- Having a stall at community events and festivals
- Leaflets and posters in local cafes and shops, arts centers and doctors’ surgeries
- Going to talk to community groups
Setting expectations

It is good practice to have an induction session where you agree the likely hours and duties involved for each volunteer and introduce them to other members of the organization, so they feel part of a team. What else might you expect of a volunteer?

- That they adhere to your policies including for instance confidentiality, safety, inclusion, and anti-bullying
- That they represent your organization appropriately, being respectful to staff and stakeholders.

Some organizations have a simple, mutually agreed-upon set of rules and responsibilities, gathered into a signed volunteer agreement.

- What might a volunteer expect from you?
- Opportunities for training and support
- Feedback and guidance
- Thanks!

Tip:

Remember that volunteers are there because they want to be involved, not because you are paying them. The ‘psychological contract’ is most important when dealing with those who are giving up their time for free. Use their time wisely and make sure you thank them.

MODULE 6

Reporting and Evaluation

As discussed in the Advocacy Planning Cycle, gathering data is helpful in reviewing the efficiency of your campaign and revising your approach when necessary. Many campaigns establish guidelines on the type of information to be collected and ask each advocate/member of staff to report his/her own data. The kinds of information you might collect are as follows:

- A record of activities carried out (sign-in sheets, minutes of meetings, etc.)
- Measurement of the impact of the activity: what changed as a result? (pre/post tests, baseline surveys, etc.)
- Case studies such as success stories (qualitative, anecdotal evidence)
- Reflections on what has not worked and why (analysis)
- Tracking how implementation is happening – for example, if a new policy has been successfully legislated, how is it being implemented, and how well is it working ‘on the ground’? (follow-up of implemented initiatives, feedback)
- Useful contacts and partnerships established which may be helpful in future. (networking)
Key individuals responsible for record-keeping should collect and store data from the field in a secure manner and ensure that it is in a useable format. It can be used both internally and externally, subject to executive and operational protocols:

- To report to donors
- To update members, stakeholders and the general public in newsletters or annual reports
- For publicity and campaigning purposes
- For internal evaluation and learning: what could we do differently next time?

Activity

Who is currently responsible for record keeping in your organization? Can you come up with a more efficient record keeping structure?
Active Campaigning

MODULE 1

Advocacy Communication

Communication is key in advocacy. High-performing advocacy organizations actively and directly engage with decision-makers such as government officials and legislators, through meetings or letter-writing, and they encourage others to do the same. They campaign using a variety of media, including digital and social media platforms to advance a social or public policy objective or to influence attitudes on an important public matter.

Traditional media and new media both play important roles in media advocacy communications.

Traditional Media

- Print (newspapers, magazines, journals, newsletters),
- Television,
- Radio
- Film (movies, documentaries)
- Online media organizations (including both online start-ups and established print and broadcast organizations which now also have websites, social media accounts and digital products such as podcasts).

Campaigns build relationships with traditional media outlets by offering information that will appeal to that outlet’s audience.

However, governments may place severe restrictions or penalties on news outlets that publish information that runs contrary to their positions. Because of this, advocates must do careful research on the outlet to determine whether it will be a useful vehicle for the campaign and how to frame information submitted to it.

When preparing content for promotional release to media organizations:

- Be focused and clear in your messaging. Journalists want to absorb information quickly.
- Journalists are seeking a news line. Draw their attention to trends, genuinely new information or powerful human-interest stories.
- Make your content attractive by including direct quotes, images, graphs or maps.
- Do not spam journalists with over-frequent contacts.
- Think laterally about potential ‘homes’ for your content: a well-placed interview, podcast guest or feature may be just as impactful as a news item.
New Media

Internet-based mediums such as websites, social media (Facebook, Twitter), live and recorded streaming video (YouTube), and mobile phone technologies (WhatsApp) have completely altered the communications landscape in the last decade and enable you to speak directly to audiences without an intermediary such as a journalist. Access to technology and data, as well as having staff or volunteers with the required skillset is extremely important to deliver impactful digital content. Your intended audience must also have sufficient access to and skill with technology. If these baseline requirements can be met, the benefits of using new media can be significant.

Why You Should Use Social Media for Advocacy

- Provides a massive platform for networking
- Provides a cost-effective way to connect with others to promote a common cause
- Offers efficient resources to inform and collect support from parents, teachers, and the community
- Connects you with almost every lawmaker who uses social media—another pathway to advocate
- Connects you with almost every reporter who uses social media—another pathway to spread the word

August 13, 2020

The Editors Guild of India has unequivocally condemned recent attacks on journalists while they were on duty.

Three journalists working with The Caravan were allegedly assaulted while they were in northeast Delhi’s North Ghonda neighbourhood on August 11 to report on a complaint in the recent communal violence case in the Capital. They also say they were subjected to communal slurs, threatened with murder and sexually harassed.

On the same day in Bengaluru, as many as four journalists belonging to India Today, The News Minute and Savara News 24X7 were reportedly attacked by the city police. These journalists at that time were on duty, reporting on the vandalism and police shooting in the wake of a mob violence in the city.

Both attacks are reprehensible. The freedom of the media to discharge its responsibilities without fear or harassment is an important and indispensable attribute of a functioning democracy. The ease of assault on journalists working with The Caravan shows a dangerous trend where communally inspired people can assault and harass journalists with impunity in the presence of an indifferent police. The Bengaluru incident also highlights the failure of the law enforcement agencies in maintaining an environment where the media can function freely and without fear.

The Editors Guild of India demands that the police authorities in Delhi and Bengaluru take cognizance of both the cases and quickly take necessary steps to initiate action against the guilty.

Shekhar Gupta
President

AK Bhattacharya
General Secretary

Sheela Bhatt
Treasurer
In the United States, movements like Black Lives Matter have been able to gain national prominence due to successful social media campaigns. BLM is active across all platforms, bringing millions of people into their orbit.

The #MeToo Movement has also used social media to rise to international prominence.

Can you think of reasons why these two movements have been so successful? Using the knowledge you have gained so far, can you analyze their stakeholders, strategy, tactics, to determine why they have become so prominent? Are any of these lessons learned applicable to your organization?

The Primary Options for Social Media Advocacy

- A platform to share your thoughts with followers in 140 characters or less
- You can tweet at (@) people/groups; use hashtags (#) to create or join a movement referencing certain subject matter and follow other people/groups to get different viewpoints, learn something new, and follow breaking news and what others are doing; and retweet the posts of others to share the idea or news with your followers
- The more often you tweet and explore on Twitter, the more your follower base and subject matter will grow—getting your word out to a greater volume of people

- A platform to share your thoughts with friends and followers. Also has a “group platform” that many organizations use to communicate with other group members or grow support for a certain movement.
- You can post status updates, web links, announcements, photos, documents, etc.
- Has a similar hashtag system to Twitter, allowing you to create or join a movement involving certain subject matter.
- Has more active users than any other platform

- Good resources for sharing videos, photos, and organizational updates
**Social Media To-Do List**

**Follow policymakers** at all levels on various social media. Understanding what your policymakers are saying on social media will help you craft the speaking points and messages you’ll need to communicate with them on your issues. Pay attention and track what they’re working on; what kinds of things they like to talk/tweet about, and what their positions are.

**Create groups on Facebook.** You can do this to build advocacy coalitions, increase grassroots support; and connect with other stakeholders.

**Use social media to establish relationships with members of the media, especially on Twitter.** Reporters have massive followings, and they’re always looking for a good story that increases their following even more. Use these relationships to tell your story and share good news and/or concerns with your community.

**Examples**

Twitter played a critical role in organizing protests in the Middle East during the 2011 Arab Spring, a collective resistance against abusive governments. Activists in countries like Egypt and Syria used the microblogging site to disseminate information about their activities and gather more people. It also used social media to raise awareness about government abuse.
Hashtag Generation

Hashtag Generation is a youth-led movement advocating for full and effective participation of young people in policy making, implementation and evaluation at local, national, regional & international levels.

Social Media Presence:
Web  http://www.hashtaggeneration.org/
Facebook  (1) Hashtag Generation | Facebook
Instagram  Hashtag Generation (@hashtaglka) • Instagram photos and videos

Keep it short and Direct

In many cases, readers will likely read only the first line and the first few words. Take your research further and learn what language your ideal audience uses to communicate their needs or challenges. Use this language when writing your posts to ensure your content resonates with your audience. This will help to show them that you truly understand them and their challenges.

Employ Data and stories

Hashtag Generation presents meaningful data in using graphs and charts.
https://fb.watch/6MZ5KDwdZG/

Using a strong, respectful, and consistent voice

The organization needs to use a strong voice throughout all social media posts and across all social media channels.
Timeliness and engagement

Tip: Remember these social media rules of conduct:

- You can have an opinion; however, be articulate and professional in any tweet, retweet, or post.
- Generally, you should not use personal social media accounts for education or business create accounts for professional use.
  - If things go negative, it’s okay to stop engaging.
  - The moment you publish anything on social media, it’s out there forever.

THINK TWICE BEFORE POSTING ANYTHING OVERLY NEGATIVE OR CONTROVERSIAL!
Networking

Networking with different stakeholder groups, including government officials, fellow NGOs, civil society organizations and donors can advance policies and develop the public profile of your organization.

Networking can also be utilized as a tactic that fine-tunes different components such as sharing organizational resources, contacts, and research. Networking and coalition-building also give weight to the voice of advocacy organizations.

Sometimes when organizations try to form networks or coalitions with partners, they might face different challenges: for instance, coalition partners may not agree on all objectives, and some organizations may not be supportive.

Case Study Analysis

Let’s go back to Sri Lanka’s campaign against criminal defamation:

Defamation was a criminal offence in Sri Lanka and provided for a two-year jail term under the Penal Code until 2002, when it was repealed by the Ranil Wickremesinghe government. Sri Lanka is the first and only country in the South Asian region to have done away with the law of criminal defamation.

It should be noted that criminal defamation provisions were repealed from the country’s statute books on June 18, 2002, following a vigorous decade-long campaign carried out by media associations and lobbying groups in Sri Lanka. The campaign was supported by several international organizations, including the International Press Institute (IPI), International PEN, the World Association of Newspapers, The Commonwealth Press Union (CPU), the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Article XIX and the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, who denounced the “chilling effect” that defamation laws have on free expression.

A few local media advocacy organizations gathered to lobby on repealing the defamation law. This coalition proactively utilized their international networks to put pressure on the government. Can you make a list of international media advocacy networks that local media advocacy organizations can be part of?

Joining an existing coalition

These are some of the advantages of having coalitions:

1. Well-coordinated coalitions have a multiplier effect on all advocacy activities. The efforts of one campaign can be reinforced and built upon by another member.

2. When different groups speak with a common voice in support of one objective, their political capital is often greater than the sum of their individual parts.

3. Coalitions can reach a wider audience and represent a greater portion of the population.

4. Member organizations may have differing expertise or unique skill sets that can be shared and taught across the alliance.

5. In difficult circumstances, peer organizations can provide moral support and solidarity to the campaign and help motivate staff and volunteers.

6. By coordinating as a coalition, advocacy campaigns can reduce duplication of efforts, competition, and cross-messaging.
Media Freedom Coalition: an overview on global partnership

Overview
The Media Freedom Coalition was formed in July 2019 at the Global Conference for Media Freedom and is a partnership of countries working together to advocate for media freedom and safety of journalists and hold to account those who harm journalists for doing their job. The Coalition’s raison d’être is to defend media freedom where it is under threat.

Members of the Coalition have signed the Global Pledge on Media Freedom, a written commitment to improving media freedom domestically and working together internationally. The Coalition will promote media freedom by lobbying on individual cases, working to hold abusers to account, supporting members of the Coalition and other countries to improve protections for the media and making collective statements in multilateral forums. The first full meeting of Senior Officials of all Coalition members met in Geneva on January 29-30, 2020 to agree on terms of reference (including mechanisms for joining the Coalition), lobbying mechanisms and priorities. Members of the Coalition have agreed a concluding statement.

In light of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, the UK and other members of the Executive Group of the Media Freedom Coalition issued a statement on April 6, 2020. It reaffirms the fundamental importance of media freedom and calling on all states to protect access to free media.

Members
So far, 47 countries are members of the Media Freedom Coalition, and all have signed the Media Freedom Pledge.

Media Freedom Coalition: an overview – GOV.UK (www.gov.uk)

Are there risks associated with coalitions?
Coalitions are not always well-organized bodies. Identities of individual organizations can be lost, as can organizational policy positions; campaigns can easily find themselves publicly aligned with a coalition that is generally supportive but does not frame their issue with the context or degree of nuance that the campaign desires.

Example of Risks associated with Coalitions
Climate change:
US formally withdraws from the Paris agreement
The Paris deal was drafted in 2015 to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change. It aims to keep the global temperature rise this century well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5°C. The US became the first nation in the world to formally withdraw from the Paris climate agreement with President Trump announcing the move in June 2017. The impact of this ‘coalition’ breaking down was that it meant other nations might be less likely to pursue aggressive climate actions as the US was the biggest historical contributor to climate change. It also created a power vacuum in climate change action.
Lobbying is the act of directly influencing decision-makers, politicians, or other public officials. When public policy decision-makers are government officials, lobbying becomes part of government relations. Lobbying entails building a rapport with decision-makers through direct communication at the local, regional, or national levels. Lobbying can be a powerful advocacy tool, but it is a resource-intensive tactic. Building relationships is a key part of lobbying efforts, but it is complicated and requires time and energy to be successful.

These are some of the factors you must consider when engaging in lobbying:

**Trust:** All relationships—personal, professional, or political—rely on trust to function. If one party suspects that the other party is attempting to manipulate them or is obscuring ulterior motives, they will be highly unlikely to cooperate. Advocates should be honest at all times when dealing with lobbying targets; never lie or fabricate or conceal information. Lobbying targets must trust that the information the advocate is providing is true and supported by the highest possible evidence. Build trust while lobbying just as you might build trust in any professional setting: be responsive, courteous, and knowledgeable about your issue.

**Credibility:** Campaigns must be viewed as legitimate and offer persuasive arguments if they are to develop positive relationships with decision-makers. Legitimacy is derived from local ownership and leadership of the campaign from within the affected community. If outside advocates are perceived as pushing the agenda or controlling the advocacy, decision-makers may be reticent to align with a group that may not genuinely represent the affected community.

The request of the lobbying target must also be realistic. If a campaign's ask is illogical or impossible for the target to achieve in the current political context, then the target may dismiss the campaign as uninformed. To build credibility, the campaign should be clear and concise in its asks and demonstrate an understanding of how the ask is part of a larger solution to resolve the underlying problem.

**To boost credibility, remember to use messaging that is local and persuasive to the lobbying target and consider how the message will be delivered.**

**Political capital:** As campaigns gain respect and success, they will begin to accumulate political capital, which can help generate new relationships and strengthen established ones. Politicians and public officials tend to associate themselves with entities that project political strength and distance themselves from those that are weak. Focus on cultivating a reputation as credible and trustworthy over accumulating political leverage.
Case Study Five: Successful Lobbying

The recognition of the right of access to information as a fundamental right of the people, after years of advocacy and lobbying by interested parties, symbolizes a commitment on the part of the Sri Lankan state and its people to put the country on a path towards transparent, inclusive and participatory governance.

The Sri Lankan RTI legal framework is ranked 3rd in the Global Right to Information Rating by the Centre for Law and Democracy in Canada. The success of the Sri Lankan RTI legal regime depends on the efficient and effective supply of information by the State and those other entities covered by the Act, and its use by the people to demand transparency and accountability in governance.

Despite the constitutional recognition of the right and the subsequent enabling legislation, much remains to be done in order to fully operationalize this legislative framework. A significant challenge in this regard is the multitude of existing legislation in conflict with the provisions of the RTI Act and some of which could potentially limit the scope of the right.

This report contains an analysis of the legislative provisions which ostensibly conflict with the provisions of Article 14A of the Constitution and the RTI Act (hereafter collectively referred to as the RTI regime). The report also briefly explores the Sri Lankan judiciary’s approach to the Right to Information and the potential difficulties and questions the judiciary will have to respond to when dealing with cases relating to the RTI regime.

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There are a few general rules to abide by when conducting lobbying.

1. **Research your targets.** Investigate the target's motivations, political priorities, and personal interests. The more information available to you, the easier it will be for you to find areas of mutual agreement to serve as the foundation or starting point for a positive relationship.

2. **Be patient and persistent.** Think of creative ways to engage the target that are not directly related to your ask. Most people, public officials included, do not enjoy being asked for a favor from strangers. Therefore, don’t lead with your ask; take the time to educate the target and invite him/her to get to know the campaign. For example, you could invite a public official for a site visit to the affected community or to speak at a local event organized by the campaign.

3. **Be aware of local norms and customs.** It is imperative that advocates be culturally aware and act in accordance with local customs so as not to inadvertently give offense or undermine their credibility.

4. **Nurture relationships beyond the asks.** Periodically share relevant information with the target that may be of interest to him/her or invite him/her to activities that showcase the campaign in a positive light.

5. **Personalize your message.** Leveraging your additional research, personalize the advocacy message to the lobbying target. Use the data that the target will find most compelling and present the information in a manner that will appeal to this specific target.

6. **Clarify your ask.** Explain to the target what you would like him/her to do and why. Consider creating and sharing one-pagers or note card-sized handouts; these are single-page or smaller documents containing all the relevant knowledge compiled in an appealing, easy to read format.

7. **Be knowledgeable about the issue and your proposed solution.** When discussing policy, be prepared to answer the target's questions and be challenged on your assumptions. Think through the target's possible opposition to your position and prepare evidence and arguments to refute or minimize those challenges.

8. **Be polite.** Never be rude or dismissive of your lobbying targets, even if they are ardently opposed to your position. Lobbying, as with all advocacy, is a cumulative process! Just because a target says “no” one day does not mean he/she cannot be persuaded to say “yes” at another time.

9. **Listen!** A common mistake of advocates is to approach their lobbying targets with a list of demands and supporting evidence and never actually listening to the targets themselves. Remember, lobbying targets have direct influence over the policy issue. Their opinion matters! Furthermore, advocates should be listening most closely to those targets that are strongly opposed to the advocate. Do not dismiss the opposition's concerns; its point of view must be understood and taken into account if it is to be overcome.

10. **Never lie or fabricate.** Most advocacy is conducted by people with limited or no power. Political capital is difficult to accumulate and easy to squander. Instead, advocates should develop relationships with decision-makers based on their reputations as trustworthy and credible resources. Lying and fabricating information are the quickest ways to destroy the only reliable currency most advocates have.
FINAL WORDS:

We hope you have enjoyed working your way through this Advocacy Toolkit! Most of all, we hope that you have picked up some tips on how to make your own advocacy campaigns stronger and more effective.

We look forward to working with you as you carry out your advocacy missions.

Be SMART!
Case Study

ANNEX

Freedom House introduces the following tactics in relation to stakeholder management and lobbying:

A. Using an Alternative Entry Point for Influence
Reaching Local Officials In The Kurdish Region In Northeast Syria

Since 2011, Syrian civil society organizations have faced attacks from both the Syrian government and other armed groups that feel threatened by advocacy on human rights issues. Even in the relatively more permissive context of the Kurdish region in northeast Syria in 2017, civil society organizations face restrictions and interference. In November 2017, local Kurdish authorities used a new NGO law to withdraw licenses of more than 50 civil society organizations without explanation.

GOAL: To generate greater acceptance for human rights work among local government and the local community and to allow CSOs to work without obstruction.

STRATEGY: In 2018, a Kurdish-Syrian human rights organization working on this issue developed a strategy in which they would influence government officials overseeing the application of the law to end the authorities’ arbitrary harassment of civil society organizations.

TACTICS: The organization recognized they would not make progress with senior members of the ministry, so they identified alternative points of entry at the local level. They developed relationships with local government officials tasked with oversight of the NGO sector and local council members. Through a series of workshops with both CSOs and these officials, the partner was able to inform ministry officials about how they had overstepped their authority, with reference to local regulations. By working towards a non-confrontational conversation, based on international human rights norms (laws and standard practice), the partner was able to open a path for change.

IMPACT: Following this strategic engagement and relationship-building, the relevant local authority reversed its decision in cases of five CSOs. The licenses of the five organizations were reinstated, and they were able to continue their operations.

• Source: syria.chathamhouse.org
B. Identifying a Less Sensitive Issue
“Occupy Restroom” For Women’s Rights In China

The feminist movement in China has had an uphill battle; women’s rights groups working on confrontational issues are often criticized as being Western-oriented and have struggled to find credibility. The rise of social media has provided an enormous platform to advance demands for equality and to challenge authoritarian patriarchy, but feminist groups have also struggled to find a way to connect with larger numbers of women outside of elite circles and to translate the demands for equal treatment into something tangible and practical. At the same time, in a context where challenging the state to raise a human rights issue is extremely dangerous, it is critically important to find opportunities for activism that would not place campaigners at risk. In recent years, a number of Chinese feminist activists — most of them outspoken, social media-savvy women in their 20s — have used creative campaigns to protest strains of male chauvinism that run through contemporary Chinese society.

GOAL: Raise awareness about the impact of patriarchy and motivate action to support women’s rights.

STRATEGY: To connect with Chinese citizens and build popular support at a grassroots level for women’s empowerment.

TACTIC: In 2012, a group of young feminists decided to identify a non-controversial issue and use humor to build solidarity among ordinary people who could relate to the demand for equal rights for women. Twenty women led by well-known feminist activist Li Tingting decided to take over male restrooms as a way to highlight the need for more women’s restrooms in public spaces. The first “occupation” occurred in Guangzhou on February 19, 2012, and another was staged in Beijing a week later. This campaign reflected Li’s use of playful “performance art” demonstrations to raise awareness of feminist causes.

IMPACT: The movement went viral on Weibo, the Twitter-like platform in China, and garnered massive media attention from domestic and international media outlets. In the end, local media reported after the protest that provincial officials in Guangzhou had responded by agreeing to increase the number of women’s toilets by 50 percent. While such creative advocacy may achieve results, it is also not without risk – Li was harassed and detained later in 2015, but ultimately continued her activism.

C. Using International or Regional Tools to Increase Pressure on National Institutions

After years of instability and violence in Mali, the Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation was signed in 2015 between government authorities, a rebel alliance from the north, and a pro-government armed coalition. Despite the peace agreement, the UN found that more than 600 cases of human rights violations and abuses were committed in the 18 months that followed the signing. Within the context of Mali’s ongoing conflict, human rights defenders were experiencing targeted attacks as well, and general instability endangered the work of human rights defenders who were struggling to operate within a climate of generalized fear, ongoing intimidation and violence, and impunity.

GOAL: To enhance the protection of human rights defenders by introducing a judicial framework recognizing their legitimacy and ensuring HRDs could work in a safe environment without fear of attacks or reprisals.

STRATEGY: Campaign for the adoption of a human rights defender bill in the Malian parliament to ensure the protection and promotion of human rights defenders.

TACTICS: Malian civil society used international and regional mechanisms to pressure their national legislature to pass a human rights protection law. Civil society in sub-Saharan Africa worked with international human rights mechanisms to develop a set of standards for protection of human rights defenders that could be adopted by the African Commission and set a new regional precedent. The standards ensure the right of human rights defenders to engage with international bodies and receive funding, recognizes their homes and offices as inviolable, and makes special provisions for women human rights defenders and human rights defenders with disabilities. Once these standards were adopted by the African Commission – and building on the precedent set by Cote d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso – it opened up the path for Malian CSOs to press for a similar framework in their country. To ensure the bill’s success, a coalition of local CSOs and international NGOs collaborated to raise public awareness on the pending law and to encourage constituents to push their MPs for passage. This included a radio campaign with a local station that had partnerships with 56 local radios and disseminated stories of HRDs in six languages. The coalition also facilitated meetings with MPs to highlight the challenges HRDs face – particularly those working on lands rights issues.

IMPACT: In December 2017, the parliament in Mali approved a bill to ensure the protection and promotion of human rights defenders. Such legislation would have been unthinkable just several years prior, but the law was modeled on a regional standard that civil society had advocated for within the context of the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights. Due to the advocacy of local and international CSOs, the Malian parliament strengthened the bill submitted by the government by including specific protection for women human rights defenders because of the specificity of the threats they are exposed to, including sexual violence, stigma and discrimination, as well as protection for HRDs with disabilities.
D. Finding Unlikely Allies
Apparel Companies As Allies In Cambodia

In Cambodia, civil society organizations and human rights activists face a hostile and repressive regime that has systematically suppressed any dissent to Prime Minister Hun Sen’s three-decade long rule. In the lead up to parliamentary elections in 2018, the government stepped up its campaign to silence civil society, the opposition, and independent media. In this context, the space to assert the basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly was extremely limited. The government constructed an effective web of restrictive laws, regulations, and court rulings in order to restrict the space for independent civil society to function. Some of the most harmful included the Law on Associations and NGOs (LANGO) and the Law on Trade Unions, which limited the ability of CSOs and trade unions to associate, assemble, and operate.

GOAL: To reverse the restrictive context for civil society, independent media, and labor unions to function without obstruction under Cambodian law.

STRATEGY: To leverage international pressure on the Cambodian government and raise the “cost” to the government to maintain restrictive policies towards independent civil society, labor unions, and media.

TACTICS: Local and international civil society successfully engaged multinational companies – an unlikely ally – in motivating targeted interventions to defend civic space. For years, labor rights organizations and other CSOs had worked to establish relationships with international apparel brands, such as H&M and Adidas, in order to improve basic labor standards and protections under Cambodian law. In 2017, these efforts led to a letter from the American Apparel and Footwear Association (AAFA) to Prime Minister Hun Sen stating their concern about the erosion of democratic institutions in Cambodia. Local CSOs continued to engage the international brands to raise their concerns directly with the Cambodian government.

IMPACT: In early 2018 when the government issued politically motivated criminal charges against prominent labor rights activists, the apparel companies voiced a clear concern, and as a result, the Ministry of Labor asked the court to drop all charges against three prominent activists in order “to ensure freedom of association.” In October 2018, the AAFA and the Fair Labor Association met with the government to express concerns about labor and worker rights in Cambodia and specifically urged the government to amend the restrictive 2016 Law on Trade Unions. Cambodian CSOs and labor unions still face a long road to reestablish fundamental freedoms, but their effort to leverage the voice of business to influence the government is a promising strategy.

• Source: https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/10/24/secret-underbelly-cambodian-garment-industry
E. Dealing with Slander and Stigma
Kella Tasz In Hungary

Since 2010, Hungary has witnessed a rapid erosion of the checks and balances that limit the abuse of power. With Victor Orban’s victory in Hungary in 2010, his brand of authoritarian populism went directly after civil society. His government passed a 2017 law that strictly regulates foreign-funded organizations, labelling NGOs as “security threats” and “foreign agents”. One of the government’s central arguments is that NGOs, particularly human rights organizations, lack legitimacy as they do not represent the interests of the average person. In response to the massive stigmatization campaign, the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (HCLU) started an initiative called “HCLU is needed” or “Kell a TASZ” in Hungarian.

GOAL: To transform the smear campaign against civil society into a positive, hope-filled narrative about what civil society seeks to achieve.

STRATEGY: Launch a multi-faceted media and outreach effort to show Hungarians that CSOs make positive contributions to the country and advocate for the rights of all Hungarians.

TACTICS: The HCLU directly addressed slander, stereotypes, and stigmatization through its social media campaign and outreach strategy. Rather than being reactive to the conspiracy theories or attack campaigns, their response was positive. It started as a social media hashtag campaign, but then evolved into an outreach strategy that established unlikely connections with different segments of Hungarian society that were not sympathetic to civil society groups. HCLU leaders wrote, “We wanted to counter possible de-humanizing attacks by humanizing our staff members and clients. We introduced our team through personalized online stories that demonstrated [to the public] that they are ‘one of us’ and that human rights protect everyone.” HCLU used authentic stories of the lives of their staff and constituents to draw commonalities with other Hungarians to directly challenge false accusations. They emphasized that the human rights advocacy benefits not just civil society organizations in the capital, but all Hungarian citizens across the country. Second, they initiated a campaign to win over the “persuadable middle” that stands between the increasingly polarized factions of contemporary polities. This specifically referred to citizens who are not Orban supporters, but who also do not engage often with Hungarian civil society. They soon found that the persuadable middle soon started participating in the hashtag campaign by sharing their own stories and reflections, a success which was previously unimaginable in an environment where the Orban government had demonized civil society organizations and politically divided the society.

IMPACT: Ultimately, the messages showed what they stand for, not against, and illustrated their vision and hope rather than drumming up fear. By using plain language and humor, they creating posts with memes, inspirational quotes, and videos explaining what Hungarian civil society does. They used many communication channels and reached beyond the “usual suspects” by asking graphic designers, musicians, and other artists to publish statements about their work. They generated a huge outpouring of support from the public, seen in the number of donations and written testimonials from ordinary citizens in support of HCLU.
F. Working with the Diaspora

Uyghur Diaspora Movement

In 2018, the New York Times and other media outlets revealed that the Chinese government established concentration camps in regions of Xinjiang to punish and “reeducate” Uighurs and other Muslim minorities in China. These reports indicated that over 1 million people were put in these camps, including children. The Uighur community inside China was — and still is — being heavily surveilled and many who attempted to raise their voices were arrested. Their ability to expose the breadth of the crackdown against Uighur culture and life was limited by the lack of access to the outside world and the direct assault on their community.

GOAL: To raise awareness on the massive human rights violations the Chinese government is committing against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang and to pressure the international community in addressing the situation.

STRATEGY: Leverage connection between diaspora groups and on-the-ground individuals to document and expose the abuses then amplify through multilateral human rights organizations

TACTICS: The Uyghur diaspora is broad and well-organized; they number between 1.0-1.6m, according to the World Uyghur Congress (WUC). Media reports were informed by the research and writing of diaspora Uyghur civil society groups who were receiving first-hand accounts of the inhumane treatment. In particular, the efforts of the US-based Uyghur Human Rights Project (formed in 2004) and the Uyghur American Association (formed in 1998) played a substantial role in efforts to promote human rights conditions for Uyghurs and other indigenous groups in Xinjiang. These two groups, in addition to WUC and Radio Free Asia (of whom Uyghur Service journalists are among the imprisoned), had a major impact successfully lobbying 17 members of the US Congress to urge the government to impose Global Magnitsky Act sanctions against Chinese officials5 and in pushing successfully for an EU Parliament Urgency Resolution in October 2018 related to China’s use of internment camps.

IMPACT: The exposure of these massive human rights violations created an international outcry. The power of the diaspora in pushing back against these human rights violations has been made clear by China’s efforts to silence this diaspora. In fact, they have pushed countries friendly to China – Egypt, Vietnam, Thailand, and others – to repatriate, interrogate, and detain Uyghurs. Those who remain free on the outside continue to press the international community, the US, the EU, and the United Nations to pressure China to respect basic human rights for this vulnerable population. When faced with international pressure based on the horrifying testimonials and the satellite imagery released with many of these reports, the Communist Party was forced to retract their denial of the camps and to acknowledge them, though they insisted the camps intended to provide “technical training and de-radicalization programming”.

• Source: pri.org
G. Innovative Use of Digital Technologies

#METOO Movement In China

In 2018, the #MeToo campaign reached China despite heavy censorship, galvanizing a number of Chinese women to speak out online about their experiences with sexual harassment. The media wasn’t investigating or reporting on the issue and the police weren’t sympathetic, so the only place to air complaints was online. The momentum around these disclosures was organic and spontaneous – it was not organized by any organization in advance, but it does demonstrate the power of social media to change perceptions and compel action if scrutiny and pressure is sustained and reaches a critical mass.

GOAL: To raise awareness about the prevalence of sexual harassment in China by exposing instances of sexual harassment and ultimately holding violators accountable.

TACTICS: Once the #MeToo movement made its way to China, individual women voluntarily posted their experience on social media to help create awareness on sexual harassment and, perhaps, to gain a sense of solidarity among those who have experienced such violations. One of the most well known claims was made by Luo Qianqian, a former student at Beihang University in Beijing, who accused a professor of sexual misconduct in an online post. Censors responded quickly, but her post went viral; then, five other Beihang students came forward with similar allegations against the same professor. Although the authorities tried to suppress the allegations, the professor was ultimately dismissed from his job as a result. The momentum didn’t stop there as posts popped up from other universities as well.

IMPACT: Students, alumni, and teachers from several universities including Beijing University, Fudan University, and Wuhan University made public appeals to school authorities to introduce a set of monitoring and disciplinary measures to prevent campus sexual harassment. More than 50 professors from universities across the country signed a declaration on January 19, 2018 urging the Ministry of Education to offer policy guidance for preventing sexual harassment on campus. Granted, the government has not introduced a concrete policy yet, but the fact that these calls gathered steam and that censors could not entirely control the flow demonstrates the power of online advocacy even in an environment like China.