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Cambodia Civil Society Support (CSS)

Partners

Advocacy Training

29-30 November 2023

@API/Pact Advocacy Series Handbooks

API/Pact Advocacy Training Materials

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Updated in 2023

For USAID funded Civil Society Support Project, FHI360

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1. Introduction

CSS is a four-year activity (June 2021 – March 2025) supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by FHI 360, a non-profit human development organization dedicated to improving lives in lasting ways by advancing integrated, locally driven solutions with its implementation partner, the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), which works to improve the legal environment for civil society, philanthropy, and public participation around the world.

The goal of Cambodia Civil Society Support (CSS) is to enhance coordination and collective action among CSOs, improve the enabling environment for civil society, and support innovative methods to advance civic engagement and coordination in public policy dialogue. CSS will achieve this goal by accomplishing the three outcomes: 1) Increased coordinated efforts by civil society and media organizations to cooperate for policy reforms; 2) Improved enabling environment for civic engagement in policymaking; and 3) Incubator tool and innovative approaches for building capacity and partnerships of CSOs and media organizations developed, adapted, and adopted. CSS has been working through partners with CSOs in Cambodia by providing grants and capacity building to lead clusters and its members to better coordinate and enable the environment for their work in Cambodia.

Advocacy and Policy Institute (API) is a Cambodian NGO with mission to serve the long term democratic and social development needs of Cambodia through empowering right-holders to interact with their government to protect their rights and provide for their needs. Since its original formation in 2003, API is known for its comprehensively effective capacity development program covering various areas include lobby and advocacy.

CSS commissioned the API to identify gaps and provide capacity building to partners on advocacy and policy dialogue to CSS's partners.

The overall objective of capacity development service is to fill out capacity gaps of CSS's partners in lobby and advocacy. In specific, the service will deepen their knowledge and skills in developing context-based advocacy plan, strategies, approaches, and tools.

By the end of four-month consultancy period, expected results are as follows:

- CSS's partners will have improved advocacy knowledge and skills in advocacy planning and development of advocacy strategies, approaches, and tools.
- CSS's partners will have developed their own advocacy agenda in alignment with CSS's

This training curriculum are designed based training assessment July-August 2023 with CSS's partners. 7 topics are needed by most partners' staff as below.

1. **Advocacy Campaign Management:** Advocacy leadership –motivation the advocates and roles of advocates
2. **Advocacy plan development skills:** How to create concrete advocacy plan to advocate with government at national and sub-national level.
3. **Advocacy tactics in the restricted space in Cambodia,** balancing soft and hard approaches in Cambodia's current political context.

4. **Advocacy methods:** advocacy online, including using social media for advocacy, safe advocacy online, using online collaboration tools for coordination of advocacy initiatives, creating digital content for advocacy, digital storytelling; leveraging global and regional allies for more effective advocacy.
5. **Building Strong Coalition:** How to build a strong coalition, motivate and mobilize more effort and collaboration from the groups, building coalition plan and integrating org plan into coalition plan.
6. **Evidence-based advocacy:** in terms of how to generate high-quality and relevant data to support advocacy campaigns (advocacy based on case studies and research).
7. **Advocacy Monitoring and Evaluation and Reporting:** How to ensure that groups can monitor the progress of the advocacy plan (indicators of success of advocacy) and report the successes.

2. Advocacy Campaign Management

2.1. What is Advocacy?

Advocacy is a strategic series of actions designed to influence those who hold governmental, political, economic or private power to implement public policies and practices that benefit those with less political power and fewer economic resources (the affected group).

An **advocacy campaign** is a long-term set of activities that includes research, planning, acting, monitoring, and evaluating our advocacy efforts.

Alleviating poverty, fighting oppression, challenging injustice, or supporting sustainable development are all common themes of advocacy campaigns.

No matter what kind of public policy change we seek, all successful advocacy campaigns share the same characteristics.

They are:

STRATEGIC

We must research and plan our campaign carefully.

SERIES OF ACTIONS

Advocacy is not simply one phone call, one petition, or one march but a set of coordinated activities.

DESIGNED TO PERSUADE

We must use ideas or provide arguments that convince people that the desired change is important and they will support it.

TARGETED

We must aim our persuasion efforts at specific people who have the power to make our advocacy campaign successful.

BUILD ALLIANCES

We must work with many stakeholders to increase the impact of our campaign.

RESULTS IN CHANGE

Our advocacy campaign must result in positive change in the lives of the people affected by the problem.

For our advocacy to be effective we must persuade the targets of our advocacy campaign that **what we want is what they want.**

In this book we will explore the different **strategies** for research and planning, choosing an effective **series of actions**, identifying our **targets**, and **evaluating** the results of the campaign.

2.2. Advocacy and Society

Understanding advocacy requires that we understand democracy. Ideally, all societies have three spheres of influence: **the state, the private sector, and civil society**. In a working democracy, the three spheres share power and work together.

We will focus on advocacy that is conducted by civil society in order to change a government policy or practice and advance the public interest. Some call this approach “people-centered advocacy” or “social justice advocacy.”

3 SPHERES OF SOCIETY

STATE

The state is made up of public entities working to advance public interests.

Examples:

Government officials, bureaucrats, the military, schools, the police, and courts.

PRIVATE SECTOR

The private sector consists of private people and organizations working to advance private interests.

Examples:

Corporations, small businesses, the media, factories

CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society is made up of private citizens and organizations working together to advance public interests.

Examples:

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, community-based groups, religious groups, or political parties.

2.3. Principles of Advocacy

“Social justice” advocacy campaigns yield real improvements in people’s lives. They strengthen civil society’s role in decision making and expand people’s awareness of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Effective advocacy can also strengthen relationships between the three different spheres of society and improve the accountability of government institutions.

There are certain challenges to a successful advocacy campaign. If poorly planned, advocacy can disempower the affected group by speaking on their behalf without consulting them. Due to frustrations with government or other power structures there may also be a temptation to compromise too much. Diverting needed resources from our other activities to the advocacy campaign will demand careful planning. In some difficult cases, advocates may face threats to their personal safety, property, or job security.

These challenges to advocacy can be overcome using the **five good practices of an advocate**

5 GOOD PRACTICES OF AN ADVOCATE

encourage **PARTICIPATION**

Involve as many people as possible in the decision-making during our advocacy campaign. Each participant will bring different skills, contacts, resources and ideas. When we encourage participation we give the affected group a sense of ownership over the process and ultimately increase the likelihood of success.

ensure **LEGITIMACY**

To be legitimate, all advocacy campaigns must earn the trust of the people and communities they represent. This is done by respecting the variety of opinions and experiences of the individuals in the affected group.

be **ACCOUNTABLE**

We are accountable when we openly and honestly discuss the campaign's progress (and problems) with the affected group. This process will also reduce temptations we face to abuse power and will help avoid corruption in our advocacy campaign.

act **PEACEFULLY**

Do not use violence to achieve your advocacy goals. Violence is never a sustainable, long-term solution. Peaceful advocacy will earn the trust and respect of both your supporters and your opponents.

REPRESENT the affected group

Listen to the affected group, develop a strategy with them, inform them of any risks or challenges and take action together. Whenever possible, build their capacity to advocate on their own behalf.

2.4. Roles of an Advocate

When advocating for an affected group there are many different roles we can play to help us achieve our goal. It is important that we are sensitive to the needs and desires of the affected group so that we can select a role that best fits the situation:

NEGOTIATE Bargain for something

ACCOMPANY Speak with the people

EMPOWER Enable the people to speak for themselves

REPRESENT Speak for the people

MEDIATE Facilitate communication between people

MODEL Demonstrate behavior to people or policy makers

NETWORK Build coalitions

2.5. Advocacy Cycle

Advocacy campaigns share a cycle of activity: **Identifying** the problem, **researching** the issues surrounding the problem, **planning** a set of activities, **acting** on our plan, and **evaluating** the results of our efforts. Advocacy campaigns all over the world use this model - or something very similar - to help design more effective advocacy campaigns.

In this section we will explore these steps in detail. They will provide the foundation of our advocacy campaign.

5 STEPS OF ADVOCACY

IDENTIFY

Identify the problem that needs to be addressed.

RESEARCH

Gather the necessary information and ensure that the causes and effects of the problem are understood.

PLAN

When advocacy has been identified as the appropriate way to address the problem, a strategy needs to be formulated. An advocacy campaign action plan includes the goal, objectives, indicators, methods, activities, and timeline.

ACT

Following the five good practices of an advocate, take action in agreement and coordination with everyone involved in the campaign.

EVALUATE

Monitor actions and evaluate the results throughout the cycle. Decide what further action is appropriate or how advocacy could be done differently in the future to be more effective.

3. Advocacy Plan Development

3.1. Introduction

How to create concrete advocacy plan to advocate with government at national and sub-national level.

Planning an advocacy initiative is critical to success.

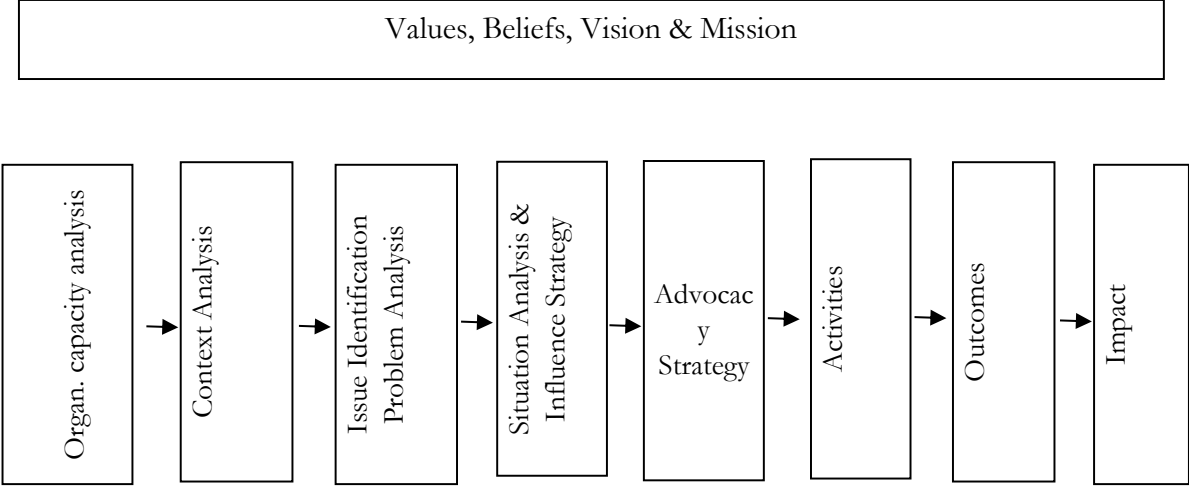
This module takes you through the stages that are involved in planning an advocacy program or project, covering what we call the Assessment and Design phases of the program/project cycle. It gives an overview of the tools and concepts to help you through that process. More detail is given on specific planning tools in the handouts.

The planning model set out here is generic and can be applied at all levels – from developing a policy influencing program aimed at national and international targets, through to helping communities plan grass-roots advocacy project as part of a broader program. It uses the same logic of a typical program cycle to assist with integration into broader planning processes.

How formal or explicit you make the process, whether you use the labels or jargon and which tools you use, will depend on the complexity of the advocacy being planned and who is participating in the planning with you. We have tried to use terminology that is usually used in development planning, but you are not familiar with it, feel free to adopt the most appropriate equivalent for your context.

But remember: the process and tools suggested in this module are guidelines and suggestions – do not feel compelled to use all of them. You may find other tools offered in other training manuals, so feel free to explore other resources.

It is also important to be aware that your entire advocacy strategy cannot be planned down to the last detail at the beginning due to the nature of the task (long, organic) and the other factors involved. You need to react to events as they unfold and how targets react. Therefore, when writing your strategy, view it as something that will need regular revisiting and refining (in response to monitoring) and take advantages as they emerge (these are often not the ones originally planned!). However, *it is important*, particularly for monitoring and evaluation purposes, *that you follow the general principles of advocacy planning set out here, using this as a foundational guide.*



3.2. Values & Vision

The whole process is guided by your organizational vision, values, and beliefs and Country Strategy which act as your foundational starting point. However, be aware of the need to be responsive – sometimes issues come up that are not identified in your strategy as a priority, but which there is a good opportunity/urgency to advocate on.

3.3. Organizational Capacity Assessment

If you are considering starting an advocacy program or considering the principle of engaging in advocacy as a ministry, you will need to assess your capacity to do so by looking at your strengths and weaknesses (including staff capacity), how you are perceived as an organization (do you have credibility on the issue?), and who might be your partners or allies in helping you achieve your goal.

3.4. Context Analysis

The next stage of assessment is to research the context where you working or planning to work. This starts with or builds upon the macro-level assessment that is done for a country strategy i.e. the major issues affecting our country and region (economic, political, social), the public policy environment, and the poverty related policies of the government, key Ministries or other institutions. It also assesses balance of power (who has power to influence change?), what ‘space’ is there for you as an NGO to challenge those in power? Also, what might be the risks &

opportunities of engaging in advocacy? You do not need to be an expert in politics, but you are more likely to succeed if you can answer these questions.

Using various analysis tools (including problem tree and solutions tree), these questions can be answered – or begun to be answered – and you can get a feel for the kind of advocacy that is appropriate for your context and likely to have success. See Planning Tools section in handouts.

Importantly, the level of analysis does not always stay at international or national levels but can be done at the community level as well as national/international if the advocacy program is aiming to influence attitudes at the grass-roots level.

3.5. Identify Problems

Problems created by government policies or social practices cannot usually be solved by one individual. Affected communities need advocates to help them address their problems and offer solutions. The first step in preparing for our advocacy campaign is to identify these problems and educate ourselves about their causes and effects.

Problems often resemble the structure of a tree. If we imagine that the most important problem is the trunk of the tree, we can then see all the related effects growing out like branches. Our problem tree will most certainly have deep, root causes which feed the trunk and branches.

We can create a problem tree by asking ourselves “But why?” when examining every aspect of a problem.

For example, limited coordination and collective action among CSOs in restricted spaces and enabling environment for civil society and community for civic engagement and coordination in public policy dialogue? Therefore, when creating the problem tree, we must ask ourselves, “But why limited coordination and collective action among CSOs in the restricted spaces?” Are CSOs being restricted because they cannot be coordinated to take collective actions together or because the government does not open space for policy dialogue openly? Are CSOs being self-censorship because they are afraid of physical security and government legal action against their organizations? Or are they being restricted because the government is not seeing CSOs’ important contributions?

The problem tree on this page illustrates how we might identify the causes and effects of restricted spaces and enabling environment for civil society. After we have identified the effects (branches) and causes (roots) of our problem we may discover there are other problems to address. We will need to prioritize and decide which ones are the most important and can be realistically solved by our advocacy.

The most important problems are the ones that, if solved, will lead directly to better lives and fundamental rights for the people in the affected group.

The next stage is to research and analyze the issue you are considering advocating on including possible solutions. A process of problem analysis will refine your understanding of what are the

'real issues' and which can be tackled through program or advocacy work (using Problem/ Solution trees and background research). These may be 'macro issues' affecting people across the country (e.g. restricted spaces and enabling environment for civil society (CSOs and individual citizens), or they may be 'micro issues' affecting just one community or a few CSOs.

You may have already done some form of problem analysis as part of CSS program assessment in Cambodia, but it is likely that your enquiry didn't go beyond national level. If this is the case, you need to refine/review that analysis, and dig deeper, looking further afield to regional/international causes. You will most likely find that various issues lie behind the problem and will then need to decide on which one to focus on - using criteria guidelines to help you.

When doing this with a grass-roots community, be prepared for their analysis to be limited to their own locality. You may need to help them understand the broader, global issues behind their problems before you can take the analysis to that deeper level.

Ideally, baseline information should be collected on the current situation so that the evaluation has something to compare with. Your research findings can be used to inform your baseline survey on restricted spaces and enabling environment for civil society.

3.6. Research

Research is an important step in preparing for our advocacy campaign. Careful, objective research will educate us and our supporters about the causes and effects of the problem. Many campaigns make the mistake of implementing advocacy activities without first researching the problem. We must be fully informed about the problem if we expect to persuade people and institutions to change policies for the better.

Your Core Group should now conduct some basic research and gather information on the way this problem affects your community and or the civil society organizations. Understanding the problem will help you persuade more community & CSOs members to join your cause and give you evidence that you can present to decision makers or the media. Remember, accurate information is better than gossip. People in powerful positions cannot easily ignore solid evidence.

Researching Your Community Problem

While you research your community's problem, check to see if the Cambodian government has already agreed on a solution for open space and enabling environment for CSOs and communities to the dialogues.

Ask your commune councilor, local ministry official, or Prime Minister's cabinet if you need more information. Maybe there is already a local government or national policy or law that will help you. The easiest solution to implement is one that already exists.

In addition, you should know that the Cambodian Government has already agreed to respect many fundamental rights of the people, such as civil rights, political rights, economic rights, social rights and cultural rights. More information on international human rights documents is available on websites.

Sometimes, you may discover that you have more information or knowledge than the responsible government official does. Many people are elected or appointed to their position because of loyalty to their political party rather than expertise in the issue. This is a normal situation around the world. However, it is no excuse for not taking action. Remember that you (communities) are a rights-holder. Part of your responsibility is to understand and demand your rights. If a duty-bearer fails to respect your rights, you have two powerful weapons - your voice and your vote.

Remember, information is a type of power and research provides information. Thankfully, there is already a wealth of information available to us on the Internet, in libraries, government departments, and NGOs. There is no substitute, however, for hearing directly from the affected group. We can learn much about the problem by conducting questionnaires, surveys, interviews, and focus groups. Simply observing how the affected group manages and lives with the problem will greatly inform our research and ultimately, our solution.

RESEARCH METHODS

- Questionnaires and Surveys
- Informal Interviews
- Documentation Review
- Observation
- Focus Groups

NOTE: The information gathered in our research should be integrated into the activities of our advocacy campaign.

Attracting media attention by holding conferences or writing publications and press releases can help communicate our research to a wider audience.

3.7. Advocacy Plan

Once we have identified a problem, conducted research, and determined that advocacy will be the most effective response to produce positive change, we must plan the campaign. We start the planning process by choosing our **goals, objectives, indicators, targets, and activities**.

GOALS

Goals articulate the desired change in policies or practices that we want to achieve over a set period of time. **This is to answer why are we doing this advocacy?**

The goal of Cambodia Civil Society Support (CSS) is to enhance coordination and collective action among CSOs, improve the enabling environment for civil society, and support innovative methods to advance civic engagement and coordination in public policy dialogue.

We can call this our **GOAL or AIM**. It is long-term, broad and similar to a vision. These are what we look for when measuring **impact**.

OBJECTIVES

Objectives define what will be accomplished, with whom, how, and in what period of time. They should yield a significant and measurable behavioral change in people. Advocacy strategies usually have more than one objective that guides different activities.

This is to answer what are we trying to make happen?

To achieve your overall goal, you will need to identify those specific things that need changing to make this a reality - changes in **policies** and **practice, knowledge, attitudes** and **behaviors** that we believe will lead to the desired changes in the lives of the people we support.

These are your **Outcome Objectives**. Your objectives will be based on your analysis of the problem (what is the problem and how it can be solved), and most importantly, what we as an organization are best placed to do to achieve this.

CSS will achieve this goal by accomplishing the three outcomes: 1) Increased coordinated efforts by civil society and media organizations to cooperate for policy reforms; 2) Improved enabling environment for civic engagement in policymaking; and 3) Incubator tool and innovative approaches for building capacity and partnerships of CSOs and media organizations developed, adapted, and adopted. CSS has been working through partners with CSOs in Cambodia by providing grants and capacity building to lead clusters and its members to better coordinate and enable the environment for their work in Cambodia.

In summary, goals are the ultimate impact that we are trying to have as a project or program, whereas outcomes are those changes in policy, practice, education and mobilization that we are working toward with our advocacy work.

Four main approaches of advocacy: Policy Change; Policy Implementation; Rights Education; and Mobilization. We noted that the first two categories are those activities we use to directly seek change in the systems and structures that perpetuate poverty (the 'policy influence' approach). The latter are those we use to bring about change through the public or those affected by the problem by building their capacity to advocate or hold service providers accountable (the 'citizen empowerment' approach).

Our objectives should therefore fall under one or more of these categories, depending on what type of outcome is being pursued by the project.

Policy Influence outcome objectives:

Policy Change – those in authority pass new laws or agreements that support human rights or end injustice.

Policy Implementation – those responsible for implementing the new policy or law know about it, understand it, and adhere to it e.g. police arrest offenders

Citizen Empowerment outcome objectives:

Education – individuals and groups act upon the knowledge they have gained about their own or others' rights and responsibilities by seeking the fulfilment of those entitlements. This can take many forms, ranging from individual to corporate, from legal work to quiet influencing. Action might take the form of seeking due legal process (a married woman defends her legal rights in court), or organizing a coalition to influence government or corporate policy on an issue affecting their community. Where the education is intended to change personal behaviors toward others whose lives are being affected by their actions.

Mobilization – groups or individuals organize themselves to advocate, engage with those with authority and mobilize others in participating in community social accountability initiatives

Good objectives should be **SMART**:

SPECIFIC

Is it clear what policy must change?

MEASURABLE

Is it clear to what extent the policy must change?

ACHIEVABLE

Will you be able to raise money or other resources to support our work on the objective?

Does our organization have the internal resources to achieve this objective?

REALISTIC

Considering the current social and political conditions, can we achieve our objective?

TIME-BOUND Does the objective have a clear and realistic timeframe or deadline?

ACTIVITIES

Activities are specific tasks we must do to achieve an objective.

NOTE: Watch out for activities disguised as objectives. If our task describes something our organization will do - like a training - that is an activity, not an objective.

INDICATOR

Indicators are signs that let us know that we are making progress toward our objectives. All good indicators should be **direct, discrete, practical** and **reliable**.

DIRECT

A direct indicator measures only one thing at a time. Suppose, for example, that we trying to study civic space and CSOs enabling environment levels for a specific advocacy and human CSOs in Cambodia. We could collect a direct indicator like CSOs activities are closed, obstructed, narrowed, and open over a specific period of time or numbers of CSOs recommended on the selected policy, produced, submitted, reviewed, accepted for revision and adoption or amended the policy over the period of time and at the different legislative development, implement and monitoring and evaluation processes.

Occasionally, however, a direct indicator is not available. For example, in the policy influence areas it might be difficult to find statistics on policy implementation effectiveness levels. Instead, we could look at the percentage of people perception or survey on people experiencing direct and indirect censorship or policy change is analysis based on international framework and fundamental human right principles. These substitute indicators are called *proxy* indicators.

DISTINCT

Sometimes we may need to separate information about our activities into categories. These categories, divided by gender, age, location or some other characteristic, are called distinct indicators. Distinct indicators show us exactly who is benefiting and participating in our advocacy activities.

PRACTICAL

An indicator is practical if data can be obtained easily and at a reasonable cost.

Both cheap and readily available, the number of newspaper stories published about our advocacy campaign is a good example of a practical indicator.

RELIABLE

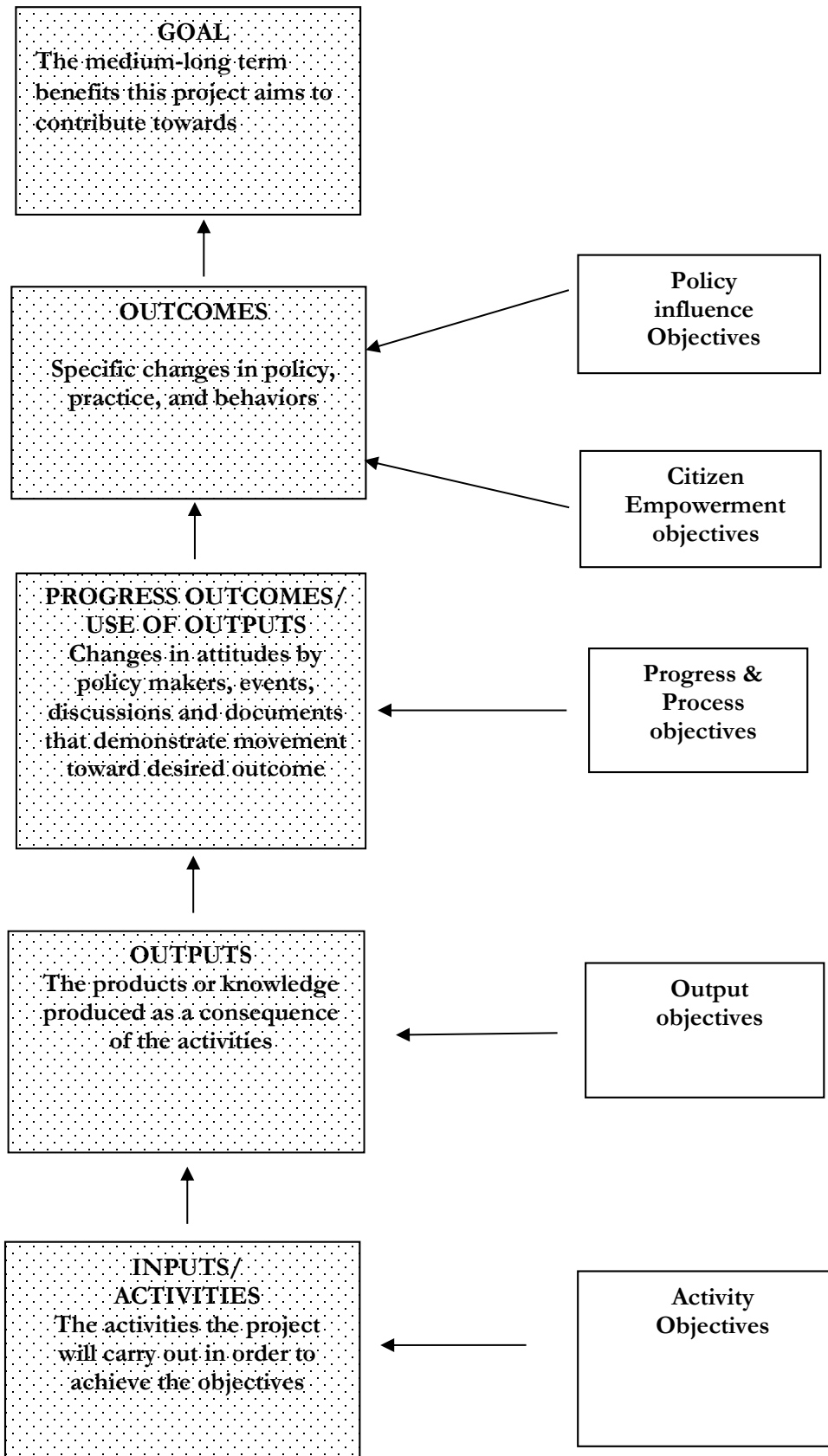
A reliable indicator provides dependable information for confident decision-making.

Many indicators are based on numbers, like numbers of CSOs recommended on the selected policy, produced, submitted, reviewed, accepted for revision and adoption or amended the policy over the period of time and at the different legislative development, implement and monitoring and evaluation processes, which means they are easy to understand and evaluate. There are many other indicators, however, that are based on peoples' personal experiences or opinions and therefore less clear and sometimes less reliable. For example, if we ask our affected group how they *feel* about a problem we may hear many different opinions and ideas. If there is no consensus within the group it can be very difficult to find a indicator that represents the progress towards our objectives.

It is not always possible to find indicators, both based on numbers and on experiences, that fit all four characteristics.

We should search for as many of these four characteristics as possible.

HIERARCHY OF OBJECTIVES FLOW CHART



STAKEHOLDERS

ALLIES

Allies are people and organizations that support our advocacy campaign. Typically they are individuals and institutions sympathetic to our cause such as opinion leaders, present and former politicians, media personalities, NGOs, community groups, professors, and of course, the members of the affected group. They will contribute time, technical expertise, financial and material resources and influence to our advocacy campaign.

NEUTRALS

Neutral stakeholders are people and organizations who have not yet formed a strong opinion on an issue. Neutrals are important to our advocacy campaign because they can often quickly become allies or opponents.

OPPONENTS

Opponents are people and organizations who oppose our advocacy campaign. Advocacy often challenges existing imbalances of power in a society and such a challenge often provokes a negative reaction from those currently in power or people with different values. Our opponents can range from people who disagree but do not take action to aggressive or violent enemies.

Stakeholders will have different degrees of influence or control over the problem in the affected group. Understanding their **power** over the problem is a critical part of the planning process.

All societies (and institutions) have three dimensions of power: **open, closed, invisible**. Over the course of an advocacy campaign, advocates will engage with all three dimensions.

3 DIMENSIONS OF POWER		
INVISIBLE Power structures use secrecy, information control, and fear to prevent conflict.	How do we advocate?	"ADVOCACY FOR THE PEOPLE" Increase political awareness, confidence, and understanding of the affected group by strengthening community organizations.
VISIBLE Power structures allow only	How do we advocate?	"ADVOCACY WITH THE PEOPLE"

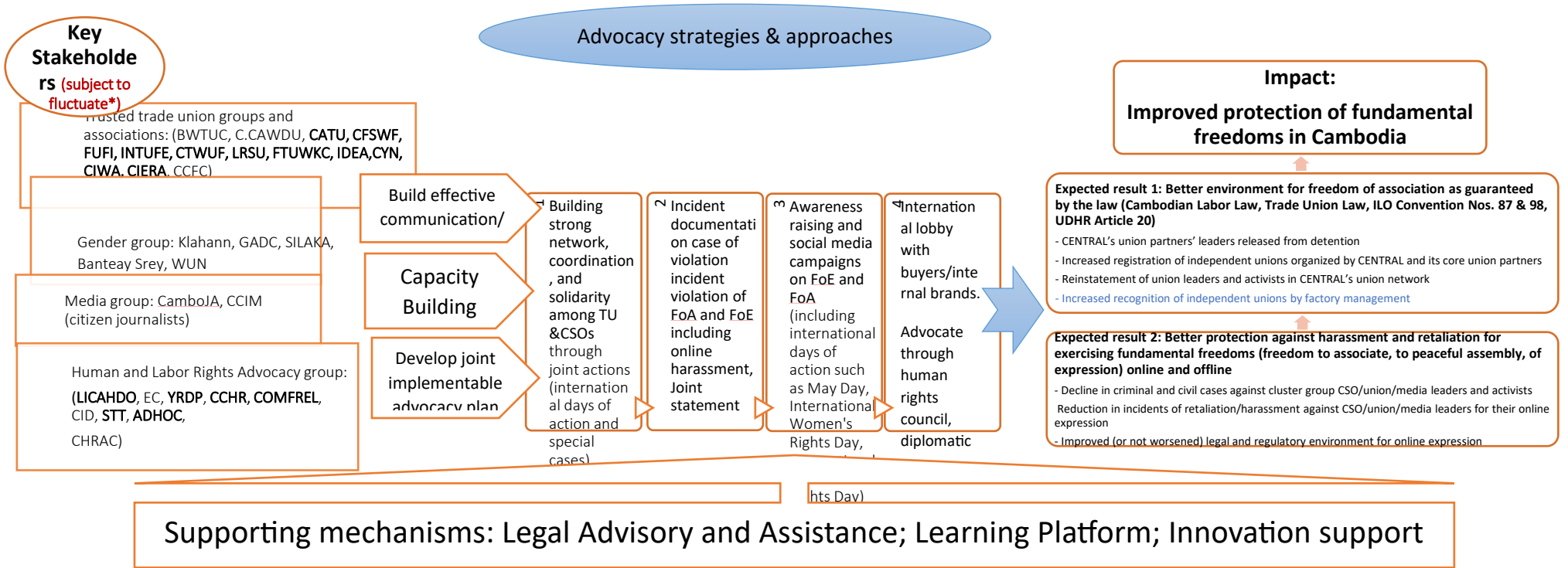
<p>certain issues and groups to be recognized.</p>		<p>Professional organizers build leadership of community organizations and coalitions to help communities raise awareness and mobilize.</p>
<p>OPEN Relatively accessible political system in which all issues can be recognized.</p>	<p>How do we advocate?</p>	<p>"ADVOCACY BY THE PEOPLE" Community organizations mobilize the public, engage with decision makers, and use the media to successfully promote policy change.</p>

STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS AND INFLUENCING

Once you have decided the issue that you will doing advocacy on, you will need to spend time identifying who the influential stakeholders are who have power to influence change. If necessary, you also need to examine the policy-making process (formal and informal). Using this information, you can then start to develop influencing strategies (how do we influence our ultimate decision maker?) and identify suitable influencing opportunities/events.

You will also need to analyze the power dynamics in order to understand what kind of advocacy approach to use (advocacy for, with or by).

Source: CENTRAL Advocacy Plan



*A total of 32 groups are involved in this cluster. 14 of these groups represent national union federations, associations in textiles, construction, hotel and tourism, food services, and informal economy in this cluster. Organizations in bold are the most active members. For monitoring purposes, cluster members will refer to the group of 17 active members (as of June 2023) bolded above.

TARGET

CASE STUDY: Protection Fundamental Rights in Cambodia

You might remember, from our problem tree exercise, the problem of violation the fundamental freedom in Cambodia. In order to understand how to identify targets, let’s explore this problem a little more carefully related to social, economic and politics and geopolitics of the powerful countries.

Private businesses, the governments, will not be discussing the problem of violation the fundamental freedom until there is effective monitoring and people, CSOs, labor unions and media are given a chance to speak out about their situation.

If we wanted to advocate for the problem of violation the fundamental freedom, who might be our allies and opponents?

LEVEL OF INFLUENCE	LOW MEDIUM HIGH	ALLIES AND OPPONENTS		
		International Advocacy Organizations	Politicians	International Corporations Government
		International Humanitarian/ Relief Agencies	International Community General Population	Large Local Companies
		Affected groups/activists	Local Level Government	Large & Mediem company owners
		ALLIES	NEUTRALS	OPPONENTS
		LEVEL OF AGREEMENT WITH THE PROBLEM		

NOTE: When identifying allies and opponents, we should consider the degree of influence each stakeholder has over the problem. The people affected by the focus of our advocacy campaign are certainly stakeholders, but they often have little ability to directly change policy. Any stakeholder listed with high influence over the problem, regardless of their level of agreement with our position, is a **target**.

Plan: Targets

Targets can be broken down into two groups: **Primary** and **secondary**.

PRIMARY target

A person with the most power to directly address our problem. However, we may not have access to this person or there may be too great a political risk for them to openly support us.

SECONDARY target

A person who cannot solve the problem directly but has the ability to influence the primary target. If we can influence this person, they can influence the primary target.

Remember that there are multiple sides to every problem and some of our targets may also be our opponents. We will need to educate ourselves about their opinions and ideas so we will be better prepared to find common ground or counter their arguments. Our factual research, ability to understand their interests, and persuasion skills will provide them with the motivation to change their position. Creating a chart is an easy way to identify primary and secondary targets.

TARGET TABLE

OBJECTIVE:

- Within four years, is to enhance coordination and collective action among CSOs, improve the enabling environment for civil society, and support innovative methods to advance civic engagement and coordination in public policy dialogue.

TARGET NAME	CONTACT PERSON	WHAT DO THEY KNOW ABOUT THE PROBLEM?	WHAT IS THEIR ATTITUDE ABOUT THE PROBLEM?	WHO HAS INFLUENCE OVER THEM?	WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO THEM?
PRIMARY TARGET				SECONDARY TARGET	
International Corporations	Director of Public Relations	Main concern is Profits	Whatever is most cost effective is best	Politicians	Whatever is important to their supporters
				Government	Whatever elected officials decide
				General public (consumers)	Fairness
				The Media	Selling News
Government	All Members of Parliament; Ministers of related Ministries	They are aware of the problem but it is not a priority	See development as a means of economic gain	International Donors	Sustainable & pro-poor development
				General public	Fairness
				The Media	Selling News
International Human Rights, Advocacy Organizations	Members of The Working Group/Coalitions	Are familiar with this problem from other	Want justice & fundamental Freedom	International Donors	Sustainable development
				NGOs	Justice
				The Media	Selling News

		parts of the world	Legislation Effective Enforcement		
Affected Community	Heads of Households	Live with the problem every day	Want justice & fundamental Freedom Legislation Effective Enforcement Need help to fix problem	Government	Whatever elected officials decide
				The Media	Selling News
				Family Members	Positive change

STRATEGY

Once you are happy with your choice of advocacy issues, your understanding of the problems and solutions, the power dynamics and the external advocacy environment, you can draw up your advocacy strategy. This is your key, master document, that explains what the problem is, what you believe the solution to be, and how you will go about it. It is in this document that you set out your **goals** and **objectives, your key message, your audience** (who you need to influence), **action plans, budgets** and how you plan to **monitor** and **evaluate** the work. The log frame supports and accompanies this document. When setting **indicators** it is often impossible to be specific about the exact nature and time of the change that will occur, and so we use ‘framework’ indicators. These are broad, loose indicators that will be revisited as the project progresses and it becomes easier to identify the change.

Note that you will most likely need to work with the Communications team to develop the key messages and media activities. Note also that the strategy needs to be frequently reviewed and amended, according to the changing context.

Your strategy leads to action. Advocacy action can take many forms (networking, lobbying, dialogue, conferences and workshops, primary research and report writing, campaigning, cultural competitions, media work, song and drama etc.

Key advocacy strategy is through building and maintaining relationship with the government, advocacy through legal and judicial process; building and maintaining the CSO coalition, building and maintaining relationships with the media; supporting and mobilizing the community grassroots advocacy.

From your research, analysis and consultation, you will be able to develop and write down an advocacy strategy.

A strategy **paper** has a number of **purposes**:

- To solidify plans, relating activities to planned outcomes (objectives) and aims
- To gain approval and release of resources
- To communicate plans to other stakeholders and win their participation.
- To be a reference point for evaluation
- To be your road map for the work ahead, helping you to keep focused and not get distracted.

The *format* of the strategy and order in which you set out the key points can vary according to local preference – the Partnership has no standard format. However, for the sake of best practice the following guidelines are strongly recommended:

- ▶ **Executive Summary** (not always necessary, depends on length of strategy)
- ▶ **Problem Statement** – explanation of the issue/problem, the cause, and why addressing it will benefit the affected group. You should also explain why your organization is well positioned to respond.
- ▶ **Context** – a summary of your analysis of the context should be provided that explains the public policy environment, including the affected groups related policies of potential target audiences (these might include the government, key ministries, or other institutions).
- ▶ **Goal** – ultimate benefit the project/program hopes to contribute toward.
- ▶ **Outcomes** – specific outcomes: policy influencing & education changes that will contribute to the program goal.
- ▶ **Audiences** – people/groups you are trying to influence, decision-makers and pressure makers
- ▶ **Allies/Partners** – those who will take part in the advocacy with you (community, NGOs labor unions, media, development partners...etc.)
- ▶ **Activities** – the things you will do to achieve the objectives of the strategy.
- ▶ **Resources** - staff & summary of budget required.
- ▶ **Risks & Assumptions** – what are the risks of our strategy failing, and what are the assumptions that lie behind the logic. Also, are there possible risks to staff/partners and how might we protect them?
- ▶ **Indicators of success** – both attribution and contribution indicators need to be worked out.
- ▶ **M&E plan** – how will you monitor the effectiveness of the program and how often, and when will the evaluation be done?
- ▶ **Budget** – detailed breakdown of what funds are needed for each activity/staff.
- ▶ **Appendix: Supporting and background information** – this is the place for national strategies, vision & mission statements and any more detailed analysis and information that isn't appropriate to put in the main body of the strategy.

Below

is a sample target table from **the CSS Advocacy Strategy**



Source: CSS Project Presentation

4. Advocacy under Restricted Conditions

By: Dr. Lao Mong Hay

The article assumes that rights and freedoms are indispensable for advocacy. After years of grave human rights abuses and years of war, our country has undertaken to respect these rights and freedoms through the signing of the 1991 Paris Peace Accords and the International instruments on Human Rights and the promulgation of the 1993 Constitution.

This presentation will successively highlight the following:

1. Some forms of restrictions
2. Legal rights for advocacy
3. Strategies for advocacy
4. Advocacy Method
5. Speaking and Writing

4.1. Some Forms of Restrictions

Many people already know about restrictions, but here some forms of restrictions are highlighted in order to achieve a common understanding of them, or to avoid when conducting any advocacy, or in case an advocacy campaign can be conducted to ease any of them. There are direct restrictions and indirect restrictions.

DIRECT RESTRICTION

The rights and freedoms of the Cambodian people have been gradually restricted. In conducting advocacy campaign and in the exercise of freedoms, some have been subjected to violence, to excessive use of force by the authorities when the latter pushed them off. Some have suffered beating. Several have even suffered death. Some have fled abroad. Some have been subjected to threats and / or discrimination. Some have been banned from traveling to Phnom Penh to conduct advocate campaign. Some have arrested and convicted. NGOs have prevented from organizing activities and authorities have gone to headquarters to check their activities. Several have been shuttered.

Can be considered as a very restrictive Article 494 of the Penal Code, especially the offense, which states that " direct incitement to commit a crime or commit an act that causes serious social unrest ... must be punished with imprisonment. From 6 (six) months to 2 (two) years and a fine ... " .

(The author of this article has experienced and suffered many of these restrictions, except for the violence and imprisonment)

Restrictions are seen as not allowing the use of the law on peaceful demonstrations, especially not to use the Freedom Park in Phnom Penh to gather and express opinions in accordance with the law.

According to the demonstration law, each province must also have a democratic park. (It is not yet known which province has this park.)

INDIRECT RESTRICT

In addition to direct restrictions, there are also indirect restrictions. Indirect restrictions can take the form of fear that the authorities will not cooperate with their work, forcing the victim to engage in self-censorship. Fearing accusations that would make it difficult for them to work or live, some even exercise self-censorship.

Another indirect restriction is the failure of courts of justice to fulfill their duty to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens as stated in the Constitution (Article 128 new). According to their spirit and letters the 1991 Paris Peace Accords, which are the source of the 1993 Constitution (Preamble, and Annex 5 of the First Agreement; Part II of the Second Agreement) prioritize respect for human rights and provide for the creation of an independent judiciary whose task it is to enforce the human rights enshrined in the Constitution. The court which examines a case should first see if it is a case of exercise of freedom when the accused claims that he or she has exercised his or her rights as provided for in the Constitution and within the limits determined by this Supreme Law. These limits are not to infringe on the rights of others, not to affect the good traditions of society, not to violate law and order and national security.

It can be added that it is often said that the courts are not independent, which is contrary to what is stated in the Constitution. This is a violation of an absolute right to fair trial of the people and another indirect restriction on advocacy.

The next indirect restriction is when the King has not yet received cooperation and assistance in fulfilling his role as guarantor of the respect of the rights and freedoms of the people as stated in the Constitution (Article 8).

It can be said that the fact that the Human Rights and Complaints Commission of the National Assembly and the Commission of the same name of the Senate, are not so active in using their power to promote and protect human rights. This is also an indirect restriction. The Cambodian Human Rights Commission (of the Government) has been more active in receiving complaints and conducting investigations, but it has yet to show it is in promoting and protecting human rights.

It can also be said that the State signatories to the Paris Peace Accords are not active in promoting respect for human rights in Cambodia and in raising serious human rights abuses with the United Nations with a view to ending these abuses. This is yet another indirect restriction. Of the signatories, only the United States is the most active in honoring its human rights obligations. Apart from the signatories, it seems, some developed democracies and the European Union seem to be somewhat active in promoting human rights in Cambodia.

4.2. Legal Rights for Advocacy

Our advocacy campaign must be based on and conducted within the framework of rights and freedoms that our country has undertaken to respect.

CONSTITUTION

The 1993 Constitution, we have a chapter on the rights and obligations of the Cambodian people. Here we present only two articles that can be considered as the basis and framework of our advocacy. Those articles are

“Khmer citizens of either sex shall have the right to participate actively in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation.

Any suggestions from the people shall be given full consideration by the grant of the State.” (Article 35)

“The Khmer people have the right to freedom of expression, the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly. No one shall exercise these rights to infringe on the rights of others, to affect the good traditions of the society and to violate law and order and national security (Article 41)

PARIS PEACE AGREEMENT

Our constitution emerges from the 1991 Paris Peace Accords. Despite claims that it has expired, according with the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, the Paris Peace Agreement

“concerning the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality, and national unity of Cambodia (Agreement no.2) remains fully in force or binding as long as the

Cambodian government does not inform the Co-Chairs of the Paris Conference on Cambodia in 1989 and 1991, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the State signatory that it has renounced it and is no longer bound by the treaty obligations.

In fact, this second agreement guarantees the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality, and national unity of Cambodia, as well as respect for human rights in Cambodia.

These guarantees should prevent any invasion of Cambodia and human rights violations that led to the war in Cambodia (1978-1991).

In both agreements, Cambodia undertakes to respect human rights, respect and protect the rights of citizens, and to sign international human rights instruments. The other State signatories also undertake to promote respect for human rights in Cambodia, and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights may and actually has appointed a Special Rapporteur and opened an office in Phnom Penh to monitor the human rights situation and promote respect for human rights in Cambodia.

Those who can help us in the field of human rights are the State signatories to the Paris Peace Agreements. They form a mechanism for resolving violations of the agreements including serious violations of human rights when any State signatory can request the United Nations to prevent and end those serious human rights abuses in Cambodia.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW

International human rights law includes international covenants and conventions on human rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights has compiled a book on Cambodian human rights laws, and Cambodia’ Constitutional

Council has recognizes these human rights laws as a national laws, and these laws rank immediately below the Constitution and above laws passed by the National Assembly).

The UN Human Rights Council has a mechanism called the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) , which reviews the implementation of individual reports from States Parties. This UPR mechanism can help respect for human rights if the government accepts and implements the recommendations of this mechanism.

4.3. Strategy for Advocacy

Under restricted conditions, our advocacy campaign should not personally attack on public figures even though they should not be immune from criticisms. We should deal with ideas, policies and events, making sure all are beneficial and not harmful to the society.

For example, we can advocate entitlement for pension for old people, the elimination of corruption, the elimination of drug use. However, as already mentioned above we can undertake an advocacy campaign to help one person or group of people, for instance, to end torture against people deprived of liberty, to seek justice for a victim of miscarriage of justice.)

When conducting an advocacy campaign, we should not project our **image** as no small minds. A First American Lady said "Great Minds Discuss Ideas." Average Minds Discuss Events. Small Minds Discuss People." Eleanor Roosevelt .

We speak about what we know, tell the truth, and give constructive ideas, and we should not be afraid to expose or denounce lies.

ADDRESSING ISSUES

We can undertake advocacy campaigns to address specific issues in certain areas, such as the confiscation by the government of land that has been occupied by villagers for many years, on the ground that the people are illegally occupying state land.

We need to know the specific problem, to identify the person or group of people having the problem, from reliable sources, from the media, self-study. We need to know the relevant laws, know about the concerned an relevant authorities from the grassroots to the relevant ministries, know about the NGOs that are involved or will be involved. We need to know whether any third party behind has benefited or will benefit from the confiscation of land. We also need to know if this problem has just happened and has been happening for a long time. If it has just happened, is there any outside organization has come forth to help advocate a solution to this problem. If not, we can help advocate and ask other organizations to eventually cooperate in this endeavor. We need to know which specific authorities have been involved and make decisions.

If the problem has been going on for a long time and we are to take up the issue for advocatcy for the first time, we need to know the problem and the stage at which the issue is addressed, to recognize the obstacles, to get to know the specific authorities involved and making decisions. We need to know which organizations which have been advocating the settlement of this issue.

IDEAS OF WHAT TO DO AND HOW TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

We can have ideas to solve ourselves, ideas from people with problems, ideas from discussions between people with problems, stakeholders and experts.

The Noble Truths of the Buddha can help solve problems: 1. the problem exists 2. The causes of the problem exist. 3. The solution to the problem exist. 4. A problem actually has one or more solutions.

The idea that emerges from the above procedure must be specific: what to do and how to address the issue at hand, to organize our advocacy campaign, and especially to help the decision-making authorities to resolve the problem. The ideas will become the subject of our advocacy to ask the authorities to intervene and resolve the problem.

If the problem is big and requires the authorities themselves to do some work to have a good idea of the issue, and with a view to promoting easy understanding and implementation, we should prepare a strategic plan of key tasks to be performed before, after and when exactly, how and by whom, and the total cost of solving that problem.

In the case of land, if the authorities decide to give the state land to the occupant(s), the strategic plan may have to include notification to the relevant authorities of the provincial and district departments, including the Cadastral Department, the Department of Land Affairs, do that they issues title deeds in due course to those occupants.

It should be added that if advocating is aimed at getting legislative amendments such as the article on incitement to commit crimes, we should draft an amendment to this article so that the government and the parliament can have some idea about the amendment we set out to advocate. We also need to write an explanatory note giving reasons for the amendment and the benefits of that amendment.

ADVOCATING IDEA FOR BUILDING, MANAGING, LEADING AND DEVELOPING SOCIETY AND THE NATION

Ideas can be big and can be small. Big ideas can take the form of visions of society as a whole, covering politics and governance, economics, the environment and natural resources, social affairs, culture and international relations.

Small ideas can cover a specific part or point in a large idea above.

An advocacy campaign with an idea as subject can be a reaction to the policies and decisions of governments and authorities and can be aimed at improving, maximizing benefits, or minimizing adverse consequences.

Advocacy can be a request for national institutions to be organized and run in accordance with the Constitution, for respect for the Constitution or one or more specific points in the Constitution.

Individuals or organizations can have their own ideas, can take or ask for ideas from experts, can work with stakeholders to find ideas.

4.4. Advocacy Methods

SUBJECTS AND GOALS

For advocacy, we need to choose specific, clear, realistic and achievable objectives . We can greatly minimize the risk of sanctions if the subject does not contradict any point of the government policies or strategies, or it is meant to make up for their shortcomings or to improve the points that are detrimental to the societ's and the nation's interests.

Now the government's Pentagon strategy opens up opportunities for us to have more subjects for advocacy, especially those concerning its reform programs focusing on public administration education, health and justice.

We can take some points in almost every part of the constitution that the government has not yet fully implemented, such as its provisions on the National Congress, the environment and natural resources, the roles of the king. In the forestry sector, deforestation is the main concern but there is need to protect forests as well as to plant trees.

Recently many problems have arisen in our society, ranging from food to health to drugs, and transnational crimes. These can also be subjects for our advocacy.

The goals of advocacy are many and different. We organize an advocacy campaign to get public support for any person or group; to carry out an activity or do a project, and ask the public and the government to support and implement it, to get the public to support an idea or an issue and ask the government to react and respond to it an/or to resolve it; and to constructively criticize and offer feedback.

ADVOCACY STRATEGY

Advocacy must be made known to the relevant authorities which are decision makers, and to the public to get support. Advocacy can only be successful if it has the support and participation of the public. At this point, we need to understand the importance of the media to help spread the word about our advocacy and the content of this advocacy.

We can hold public demonstrations to express our ideas, regardless whether the participation is small or big. Even if there are restrictions now, we must not give up our rights and condone any non-enforcement of the law. We should try to " ask " the relevant authorities to organize by meeting the requirements stipulated in the law. We can appeal to the Ministry of Interior, to the administrative court and to the Constitutional Council. (The more the law is challenge the stronger it is)

If we think positively, the negative answer to our application is not a bad at all. In fact, the negative response is news about our advocacy and the subject of this advocacy if the media is interested and publicize. If there is a more detailed press interview, the better would be for us.

There is also an other form of demonstration: posting similar messages containing the same subject on social media to express support or criticism against any specific action that has positive or negative effects on society. A person or organization that have got the story can write a post with pictures, if any. This can and do have some effects. For example, encroachment on forest land in Phnom Tamao, encroachment on coastal land.

We can write a request in the form of petition or a complaint, and / or make a video and post it all on the social media of one or more organizations. We can discuss this advocacy more online. We can ask individuals or organizations to participate in this advocacy. If our advocacy is important and useful to society and the nation, journalists can extract content to turn them into news for their media.

If it is only a position on a specific issue; if it is only a response to a certain point of view; if it is just a criticism of or support for an idea, policy or decision, an individual or a group of individuals, or an organization or a groups of organizations may make a public statement on the substance of the advocacy or make a statement on the entire advocacy.

But if the advocacy is targeted at authority to request them to address an issue or to do something, an individual or a group of individuals, or an organization or a group of organizations should write a request to authorities to seek a meeting with them in person in order to eventually make a presentation on their advocacy.

When writing, we need to be clear about the spelling, the name, the title, the master's degree, the doctorate's degree, the position of the person we are writing to, and the name of the ministry or department. We should wait until our letter has been read before making a press release in support of our proposition, request or complaint.

4.5. Advocacy in Speaking and Writing

Advocacy requires the use of our mind, words, and gestures, all of which our reason should control. Mind is hard to see. Words can be heard, and gestures can be seen. We use our gestures peacefully doing no harm to anybody and to society. Words can be spoken or written, like gestures, and must do no harm to anybody and to society.

As mentioned, we should, if possible, avoid dealing with personality and we should not make personal attacks on individuals even if they are public figures. We deal mainly with events, ideas, policies instead.

FACT

We need to tell the truth, true events, true facts, with evidence to prove them if necessary. Though it may not be sufficient, it is necessary to bear in mind a Cambodian saying, that is, do not tell beyond

what you know. We must not be afraid to expose lies. (One of my mottos is " tell the truth, give constructive thoughts, expose lies ") .

We make any judgment and recommendations based on and within the framework of these facts. We need to consider the truth and truthful words as medicine, not a bitter fruit as a Cambodian has it. Some pills are bitter and difficult to swallow. Some liquids are also bitter. To make them easier to swallow, pills are sugar mixed and sugar is mixed in fluid.

Anyhow, our words or writings need to be mixed with some sugar so that the truth is not too bitter. We speak or write only the truth, true facts events and true events. We make any judgment and recommendation, and purpose any solution, based on and within the framework of these facts. The truth is safety.

Our goal is to get people to read, understand, and listen to the content of our speech or writing. We should try to use words that reflect reality, not our emotions.

As a way to reduce conflict, we can draw conclusions about a sensitive point or evaluate an sensitive point indirectly through a third party, such as a reasonable person would find it unacceptable, etc.

INFLUENCE OF EMOTIONS AND EMOTIONS

When speaking or writing, we should minimize the effects of emotions and let our ireason fully work. We must not use obscene words, because it leads to anger, resentment, disobedience. People would listen to what we say and read what we write. Using obscene language causes us to lose the value of our speech or writing. Targeted people or targeted authorities would find what we say or write unacceptable. There is no use of emotive, sarcastic, or satirical or humorous phrases. We should use phrases that reflect the truth, true facts, and true events. We will cut down on any hurt we may cause to others if we use positive phrases such **elimination of corruption instead of ant-corruption.**

We need to mention what is good and what is bad in our speech or writing. We just claim that according to our recommendations what is bad would become good, what is good would become better.

REFERENCES TO RELEVANT DOCUMENTS

It should add that in speaking or writing, we must refer to the rights and freedoms that we have for our advocacy; to provisions in the Constitution, laws, and decisions concerning the duties and obligations of the targeted authorities. In writing to the State signatories to the Paris Peace Agreement and to the United Nations, we must also refer to the provisions of those agreements specifying their obligations.

We should bring up decisions or solutions to past issues that are similar to the subject of our advocacy to support our oral or written arguments. Citing examples from abroad also add weight to our arguments.

We can speak about or write the subject and / or arguments of the subject, and / or of our analyses in easy-to-understand language. We need to have arguments, data, evidence, documents, etc. All of which must be credible.

Speech or writing, may be long or short, depending on the case. However, due to the limited time of others, we should make brief speeches or write summaries so that they can quickly understand the gist of the subject of our advocacy. We should **write** a detailed statement and attach the relevant documents for consideration after the brief presentation.

Our national officials, and more so foreigners, would highly appreciate our professionalism when we submit to them a brief presentation accompanied by a longer, fully detailed presentation with all supporting documents well orderly classified, and the whole file put in an envelope to be submitted to them just after the briefing.

5. Advocacy Activities & Tactics

Once we have selected our targets, we will need to select our activities. The activities we choose will depend largely on our resources and our relationship with the targets. The most expensive option might not be the most effective at reaching our targets. The best methods are participatory, cost-effective, and reach as many people as possible particularly the poorest or most disenfranchised.

5.1. Advocacy Activities and Tactics Around the World

- Policy research
- Lobbying
- Demonstrations
- Watchdog activities
- Flyers
- Website
- Networking
- Meetings
- Newsletter
- Petitions
- Negotiations
- Press Conference
- Strike
- Poetry Contest
- Marches
- Pamphlets
- Surveys
- Theater
- Court cases
- Poster Campaign
- Talk Show
- Round Table
- Workshop
- Training
- TV or Radio Drama
- Door to Door
- Letter writing
- Interviews
- Public forum
- Press Release
- Mediation
- Exposure Tour
- Press Briefing

Formal Statements

- Public Speeches
- Letters of opposition or support
- Declarations by organizations and institutions
- Signed public statements
- Declarations of indictment and intention
- Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience

- Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
- Banners, posters, and displayed communications
- Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
- Newspapers and journals
- Records, radio, and television
- Skywriting and earth writing

Group Representations

- Deputations
- Mock awards
- Group lobbying
- Picketing
- Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts

- Displays of flags and symbolic colors
- Wearing of symbols
- Prayer and worship
- Delivering symbolic objects
- Protest disrobing
- Destruction of own property
- Symbolic lights
- Displays of portraits
- Paint as protest
- New signs and names
- Symbolic sounds
- Symbolic reclamations
- Rude gestures

Drama and Music

- Humorous skits and pranks
- Performances of plays and music
- Singing

Processions

- Marches
- Parades
- Religious processions
- Pilgrimages
- Motorcades

Honoring the Dead

- Political mourning
- Mock funerals
- Demonstrative funerals
- Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies

- Assemblies of protest or support
- Protest meetings
- Camouflaged meetings of protest
- Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation

- Walk-outs
- Silence
- Renouncing honors
- Turning one's back

SOCIAL NON-COOPERATION

Ostracism of Persons

Social boycott

Selective social boycott

Boycott of government-supported organizations

Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents

Removal of own signs and placemarks

Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

Reluctant and slow compliance

Non-obedience in absence of direct supervision

Popular non-obedience

@API/Pact Advocacy Series Handbooks

Disguised disobedience

Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse

Sitdown

Noncooperation with conscription and deportation

Hiding, escape, and false identities

Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

International Governmental Action

Changes in diplomatic and other representations

Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events

Withholding of diplomatic recognition

Severance of diplomatic relations

Withdrawal from international organizations

Refusal of membership in international bodies

Expulsion from international organizations

NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION

Psychological Intervention

Self-exposure to the elements

The Fast

Reverse trial

Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

Sit-in

Stand-in

Ride-in

Wade-in

Pray-in

Nonviolent obstruction

Social Intervention

Establishing new social patterns

Speak-in

Theater

Alternative social institutions

Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention

Reverse strike

Stay-in strike

Defiance of blockades

Preclusive purchasing

Dumping

Alternative markets

Alternative transportation systems

Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention

Overloading of administrative systems

Disclosing identities of secret agents

Seeking imprisonment

Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws

Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Adapted from Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Vol. 2: *The Methods of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973).

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs,

and Institutions

Suspension of social and sports activities

Boycott of social affairs

Student strike

Social disobedience

Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

Stay-at-home

Total personal noncooperation

Protest emigration (hijrat)

ECONOMIC NON-COOPERATION: Economic

Actions by Consumers

Consumers' boycott

Non-consumption of boycotted goods

Policy of austerity

Rent withholding

Refusal to rent

National consumers boycott

International consumers boycott

Action by Workers and Producers

Workmen's boycott

Producers' boycott

ECONOMIC NON-COOPERATION: The Strike

Agricultural Strikes

Peasant strike

Farm Workers strike

Strikes by Special Groups

Refusal of impressed labor

Prisoners strike

Craft strike

Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes

Establishment strike

Industry strike

Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes

Detailed strike

Bumper strike

Slowdown strike

Working-to-rule strike

Reporting "sick" (sick-in)

Strike by resignation

Limited strike

Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

Generalized strike

General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

City Wide Strike

Economic shutdown

POLITICAL NON-COOPERATION

Rejection of Authority

Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance

Refusal of public support

Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

Boycott of legislative bodies

Boycott of elections

Boycott of government employment and positions

Boycott of government departments, agencies, and other bodies

Withdrawal from government educational institutions

NOTE: The best activities for our campaign will have the greatest impact at the lowest cost.

5.2. Plan: Advocacy Action Plan

After a thorough analysis of our goals, objectives, indicators, targets, and activities we are ready to create an advocacy campaign action plan. This plan will help consolidate all of our thoughts and efforts into a concise framework for our advocacy campaign and help guide everyone working on the campaign.

Advocacy Action Plan

OBJECTIVES	INDICATORS	MEANS OF MEASUREMENT	TARGET	ALLIES	ACTIVITIES	TIMEFRAME
Complaints of the poor or vulnerable are submitted to the appropriate authority, recognized, and action is taken.	At least 50% of cases handled by the Resettlement Action Network result in some documented improvement in resettled people's situation.	Length of response time from government Number of cases solved	International Humanitarian / Relief Organizations	NGO network members World Bank Asian Development Bank Affected communities	Survey affected group and issue report through press conference gather potential legal cases from affected group	Year 1,2,3

ACT

After writing our advocacy campaign action plan we are ready to begin implementing our campaign activities. Before we begin our series of chosen activities, however, we need to prioritize them. Some activities can be done anytime, some may require that other activities are done first, and some others will need to occur at specific dates or times. Campaign activities will have a greater impact if we plan beforehand.

FOLLOW THROUGH

Commit to your advocacy plan. Don't start and stop.

STAY FOCUSED

Keep everyone focused on our activities. Don't get distracted.

BE TIMELY

Think about how can we tie our activities into important holidays, regional meetings, government conferences or world theme days.

SOME WORLD THEME DAYS

MAR 8 International Women's Day

MAY 1 International Labor Day

DEC 10 International Human Right Day

6. Advocacy through Media

6.1. Communicating our Advocacy Campaign to Government

The success of our advocacy campaign depends on our ability to persuade people in power to adopt our advocacy goal. To persuade people in power, we must understand how to communicate effectively and how power works.

How do we communicate effectively? We often communicate through speaking or writing. Though both are very good methods of communication, they are not always the most effective. Sometimes a single picture can convey a message as powerfully as 1,000 words. Or more relevant to our advocacy campaign, a rally of 1,000 people can be more effective than 1,000 words. The communication tools can be done through traditional and digital advocacy methods and through printed media and digital media.

6.2. Advocacy Message Development

Everyday, we receive many messages from many sources - radio, television, newspapers, advertisements, classes, workshops, meetings, even our friends and family - but we can only process a limited amount of information at a time. The targets of our advocacy campaign ("stakeholders" with high influence over the goal of our advocacy campaign) are no different.

To communicate our advocacy messages effectively we need to carefully select the **content**, **language**, and **brand** of our messages.

Content: *What is our campaign about? What arguments will we use to convince our targets?*

The content of our advocacy messages must be:

SIMPLE

Our advocacy campaign should have one main message and no more than three supporting messages. If we have any more, we will lose the attention of our targets.

SHORT

Messages are ideas that can be explained in a sentence or two. If we need to use a paragraph or more, we should shorten our message.

RELEVANT

Our message should always support our organization's main advocacy goal.

CLEAR

The most effective methods of communication are those that cannot be misinterpreted.

Language: *What keywords will we use to reach our targets? What words must we avoid?*

The language in our advocacy messages must be:

STATEMENTS OF IDEAS

A message should be a complete thought capable of being understood quickly and easily. We can also use imagery, colorful language, and vivid details to increase the impact of our message.

CONSISTENT

Messages will need to be repeated over and over again before they are heard and understood. We should use similar language in all of our messages if we want our targets to associate the words with our campaign.

FOCUSED

Our messages should be focused on specific targets and tailored to respect their preferences. This does not mean changing the content of our message but rather changing the way we present it. Never use harmful or offensive language.

Brand: *What keywords will we use to reach our targets? What words must we avoid? What kind of visual statement can we make to communicate our ideas?*

Not all messages must be communicated with language. “Branding” our advocacy campaign by using graphic images (like symbols and logos) can communicate our advocacy messages quickly and clearly. Like the language of our advocacy messages, brands must be used over and over again for them to be recognized.

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6.3. Advocacy Message Delivery

Once we have chosen the content, language, and brand for our main and supporting messages we need to decide how to deliver our messages.

All messages must have a **messenger**. A messenger speaks on behalf of our advocacy campaign. Often the best messenger for our advocacy message is someone who is personally affected by the problem. In certain situations, however, some messengers are more effective than others. A representative from our NGO is an effective messenger when we want to closely control our message and need to show credibility. A famous spokesperson such as a popular singer or television actor is an effective messenger when we want to increase our messages' appeal to a broader audience.

BENEFICIARIES

Members of the affected group (called "beneficiaries") are excellent messengers because they can provide personal stories and firsthand accounts of the problem.

NGO EMPLOYEE

NGO Employees are appropriate messengers when we want to convey credibility and control our advocacy messages carefully.

MASCOTS

Mascots are excellent messengers when we want to communicate to children or if our message deals with a culturally sensitive problem.

CELEBRITY

Celebrities are excellent messengers when we want to broaden the appeal of our message or appeal to different sectors of society.

It is our responsibility to educate our messengers about the proper **format, time, and place** to deliver our advocacy message.

FORMAT: *How will we disseminate our message?*

When choosing the format for our advocacy message, we must look at the preferences of the targets of our advocacy campaign. It is important to use language and images that our targets will recognize and understand. For example, when communicating to illiterate adults, radio broadcasts or illustration books might be the most effective message formats.

When communicating to the members of government we need to prepare professional looking briefing papers (**see page 17 module 2.**)

TIME AND PLACE: *When and where should we disseminate our message?*

We should disseminate our messages at a time and place that best matches the lives our targets. If we want to communicate to factory workers, for example, we should meet employees outside the factory gates at closing time or shift changes. To communicate to members of government, we should plan face to face meetings in their office or constituency where we can have their full attention (**see page 17 module 2.**) These meetings should be scheduled during a calm period, not during a major political crisis.

6.4. How to do digital advocacy

Digital advocacy organizations are distinct from many traditional NGOs. Most NGOs engage in advocacy campaigns based on long-term commitment to a cause, and where expert staff drive campaigns. Meanwhile, digital advocacy organizations use digital analytics to identify the most salient issues of the day and rapidly mobilize large memberships to put pressure on politicians. Digital advocacy organizations seek to harness “networked power” and can rapidly start campaigns on new issues while dropping old campaigns which gain less support. Digital advocacy organizations operate in a globalized world and frequently tackle transnational problems, however, they do so by focusing on national targets. This new generation of activists has formed a strong transnational network, yet still, sees the state as the locus of power.

Why digital advocacy?

- Accessible to anyone with access to the internet/mobile
- Can potentially reach many people
- Quick and cheap

Here are the 6 steps to a successful digital advocacy campaign which we'll explore in more detail:

- Goals - what are you trying to achieve? Your goal is the main change you want to see take place because of your advocacy efforts.
- Audiences - who are you trying to influence? Your audience are people or institutions you seek to influence to achieve your goal. Try to define your audience(s) as clearly as possible.
- Messages - what do you want them to know & do? Your messages will convince your audience to think something or take action, in order to create change.
- Tactics - how will you get there? Your tactics are the content and channels through which you will communicate your messages to your audience: Make sure that you create compelling content that conveys your messages: videos, graphics/visuals, blogs, interviews, human interest stories, first-person narratives, email communication (newsletters, appeals, etc.). Use digital channels that reach your target audience: Website, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter...etc.
- Timeline - when will you do what? The timeline is a plan that you develop, deciding when you will use what digital channel and post what type of content.
- Monitoring & Evaluation - how successful are you? Monitoring means observing and measuring the impact of your advocacy efforts.

Source: [How to do digital advocacy | Voices of Youth](#)

6.5. Understanding and Attracting the Media

By: Moeun Chean Nariddh

Issues evolve and move through the media in a regular pattern. Small events or news or of your activities in a press conference, speech or news release are noticed by the media and passed to the public.

Issues such as health care, energy efficiency, global warming, birth control and education can come to the public notice in many ways.

- New ideas and policies are often reported first. They can be presented in speeches and academic papers delivered to limited audiences.
- Professional journals, newsletters, magazine and books can attract specialized reporters. Health reporters and business reporters will read these publications.
- As an issue is covered by reporters, columnists and editorial writers start to discuss the issues on editorial pages.

UNDERSTANDING DEADLINES

Many people are afraid to call or write to a reporter they do not know personally. They assume that reporters will not be interested in stories from unknown people or organizations. In fact, reporters rely on different sources for news and are happy to be provided with real news stories.

- The best way is to start by saying “Hello, my name is... from Organization X. I have a story for you. If they say they are busy, ask them when you can call back.
- Generally, the best time to call a reporter is before noon. A reporter may start working on a story already in the afternoon.

BE A GOOD SOURCE

There can be no success with the media without access. One sure way to access is to buy advertisements. But, most NGOs do not have money for paid advertisements. They rely on “free media” to get their issues into public eye.

Access to the media is limited to those stories that the editors deem significant, interesting and new.

So, what is news?

An old report of the dangers of drinking too much is no longer newsworthy.

Be prepared to tell three things to a journalist:

- 1) What the story is about?
- 2) Why the story is significant?
- 3) How can the journalist verify the story?

News values or news criteria include the followings:

- *Timely information.* Information of current interest to the public.
- *Local interest.* Stories that matter to the audience.
- *Human interest.* Stories should have the emotional element that move the audience.
- *Conflict.* The public always wants to find out controversial issues.
- *Celebrity.* The audience is interested in famous people or things.
- *Uniqueness.* Stories that are unusual or out of the ordinary.
- *Credibility.* Stories must be absolutely accurate.

6.6. Tools for Communicating with The Media

Media advocates have a host of free or inexpensive tools at their disposal. They include:

- Press releases
- Press conferences
- Press calls/story suggestions
- Media briefing
- Media events such as luncheons
- Media interviews
- Talk shows
- Editors meeting
- Commentaries or columns
- Letters to the editors
- Press kids
- In-house publications, newsletters
- Electronic communications
- Banners, posters, stickers
- Websites

PRESS RELEASE

Press conferences should be organized for two reasons and two reasons only: 1) the information you want to communicate is so complex that a dialogue is required to clarify it; and 2) you intentionally want to dramatize your news announcement.

For the amount of time and energy it takes to hold a press conference, you can make dozens of placement calls or organize several one-on-one meetings and briefing sessions. Too often, a group will rush to organize a press conference and find there are more representatives from their side in the room than reporters.

A press conference is appropriate when you have a real news item a new report, for example or must respond quickly to a fast breaking news story and are unable to reach all the media one-to-one. Call a news conference if you are releasing a major report, if a national news maker or celebrity involved with your issue comes to town, or if you are truly making a major announcement.

Always ask am I wasting a reporter's time? Could I just as easily do this by issuing a press release? If this is a real possibility, than skip the press conference.

PLANNING FOR A PRESS RELEASE

Depending on the complexity of your press event and the advance time you have to plan it, written notification of the press can take several forms. A press advisory listing the "who, what, where and when" of the upcoming event should be mailed, e-mailed or faxed to your key press lists about five to seven working days prior to the event. A complete press release, highlighting the "news" released at the press conference, should be prepared and released the day of the press conference.

CONTACTING THE MEDIA

Two to three days prior to the press conference, you should plan to call all potential news outlets that might cover your event, explaining that you are following up on earlier written materials. You should offer to fax or e-mail the advance press advisory either as further back-up to the call or, if you cannot get through to the press outlet or reporter, as a final precaution.

Source: Independent Journalism Foundation & Media Diversity Institute

HOW TO WRITE A PRESS RELEASE

As a creative you will often have some thing or event that you want to share. Whether it is a fundraiser you are holding, a new gallery exhibition with your work, or an important gig you are playing, a great way to get this information out into the public is by creating a press release. A press release is an official statement issued to media outlets giving the relevant information on a particular matter. There are some important things to think about when writing a press release.

CREATE ONE TARGET MESSAGE

You should create a press release that is about a clearly identifiable topic. Creating it on a single newsworthy topic will make it more likely for your target audience to find it and read it. If your press release contains too many topics or points it will be harder to understand the overall message of the news story and will be less likely to be republished on other news sources.

WRITE A CLEAR HEADLINE

After you specify whether the piece is for immediate release or to be released under embargo, which means released after a certain date, you must give your press release a title. The purpose of this title is to grab attention, encourage people to read, and let people know what the information that follows will be about.

INCLUDE THE BASIC

Press releases need to contain the following information, not necessarily in this order, but this information is important to the media and their readers.

Who– who is involved, including you, your company, and any others

What– what is the reader going to read about

When– when did this happen, timing, specific dates, any relevance to other events happening at this time

Where– where is this happening or where did it occur

Why– why are you sharing this news, is there a desired effect on the audience

How– how is this happening or coming about

These six things will help you write an informative yet concise piece. After you have a good foundation to build upon, begin your piece by summing up your story. You should try to do this within the first two sentences of your piece and elaborate from there. You want to give people a taste of that they are going to read without disclosing all the juicy information. You can then explain more in depth as you work your way through your piece.

HAVE A NEWSWORTHY STORY

You must convince the publication or reporter that your story is worth being in their publication, whether print or online. It is important that your story will appeal to the entire readership. This will make it more likely for it to be published and republished. It is important to also format your piece like a professional news story. This makes it quicker and easier to go into publication and requires less work from another journalist or publication staff member, which is preferred by media outlets.

USE IT AS A SALE TOOL

The purpose of a press release is to convey a message to your target audience. This message should spark them to become interested in your work and hopefully want to learn more. Sell yourself and what you do with an interesting, concise, and lively piece. This will cause more people to react to it and want to discover more about you and what you do. Just don't oversell. A press release should never read like an advertising copy.

HIRE SOMEONE

If you feel as though you can't write your press release in the proper format, while keeping a professional yet intriguing writing style, you may want to consider hiring someone. The more something looks and sounds like a news story the more likely it is to get picked up or republished by others. If it fits in your budget, hiring someone is the quickest way to get instant gratification when it comes to press releases. Another benefit to having a professional is that they have personal contacts within media outlets, making it more likely your press release will be seen and published.

CONCLUSION

Press releases need to be packaged as an informative story. The more interesting and relevant you make it, the more likely it is to be read, absorbed, and thought about.

6.7. Develop Media Directory

Newspapers

No.	Name/Contact Person	Position	Address	Tel/Fax	Email/website
1.					
2.					
3.					

TV

No.	Name/Contact Person	Position	Address	Tel/Fax	Email/website
1.					
2.					
3.					

Radio

No.	Name/Contact Person	Position	Address	Tel/Fax	Email/website
1.					
2.					
3.					

Other social media (website, Facebook, Twitter, Telegram, Whatup...)

No.	Name/Contact Person	Position	Address	Tel/Fax	Email/website
1.					
2.					
3.					

6.8. Tracking the Media

One of the most important activities in our advocacy campaign is to regularly watch, read, and listen to the media. This process, called "**tracking the media**", helps us evaluate how the media is describing the problem we are trying to solve,

how people perceive the problem, and how the problem is changing over time. To track the media effectively we must create a **media file** and **media database**.

MEDIA FILE

A media file is a list of all articles, radio broadcasts, or TV shows about our advocacy activities or other information relevant to our advocacy campaign. Depending on the type of media, the media file can include:

- The type of media
- The name of the media
- The date and time of publication or broadcast
- The author/reporter
- The title of the story/article/show
- The location of the article
- Synopsis of the coverage
- A physical copy of the article, newspaper, magazine, video or audio recording, or webpage called a "**clip**."

From our media file we can see how journalists and reporters are reacting and responding to news. Their ideas, opinions, and influence often determine what kind of news is covered by the media.

5.1. Develop Media Plan

Media Plan

Target Audience	Message	Messengers	Activities	Targeted Media (reporters/TV or radio stations/newspapers)	Time Line
Court	Call for the immediate release of five ADHOC human rights defenders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ADHOC staff - LAC staff - Prosecutor - Judge - Students from Royal Administration School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Press release to promote workshop. - Talk show/ interview on the radio. - Letter to editor - Ops-eds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Radio FM: RFI, VOA, RFA - Newspapers: Phnom Penh Post 	Weekly on Monday

Sources:

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