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Advocacy and Policy Influencing Reference Manual

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Advocacy and Policy Influencing Reference Manual Prepared for CSOs in Ethiopia

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CCRDA	Consortium of Christian Relief and Development Association
CETU	Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions
CLASP	Credibility Legitimacy Accountability Service–Orientedness Power-Based
CYDOE	Consortium of Youth Development Organization in Ethiopia
CSA	Center for Social Accountability
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSF	Civil Society Fund
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EEA	Ethiopian Economic Association
EDHS	Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey
ENDAN	Ethiopian National Disability Action Network
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HPR	House of Peoples Representative
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
MP	Member of Parliament
PADet	Professional Alliance for Development
PESTLE	Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal and Environmental (analysis)
PHE-EC	Population Health and Environment – Ethiopian Consortium
PI	Policy Influencing
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, Timebound
TAU	Technical Assistance Unit (of the European Union Civil Society Fund III)
WTO	World Trade Organization
UN	United Nations

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Foreword

The European Union's (EU) support to civil society in Ethiopia under its Civil Society Fund (CSF) started in 2006 and was implemented up to the end of 2018 in two phases. Following the successful implementation of, and lessons learnt from, the two previous interventions, CSF-III began operations in November 2018. After a Call for Proposals and selection process during 2019, 23 grantees signed contracts and started their actions between January and March 2020. Towards the end of 2020 and the beginning of 2021, four direct award contracts were also signed with three organisations to implement projects addressing the impact of COVID-19 on vulnerable sections of society. In addition to the grants component, the programme has also been implementing several non-grant activities benefiting the wider civil society sector.

The overall objective of CSF III is to increase the contribution of citizens and CSOs in the development and democratization process of the country. The programme aims to help civil society gain a stronger foothold in policymaking and implementation and encourages the government to establish a closer partnership with CSOs and the people. It intends to strengthen the engagement of CSOs in Ethiopia by going beyond their usual role of service provision, and seeks to enhance their intermediary role between state bodies and citizens.

Despite their natural role in advocating for effective policies relevant to the needs of citizens, CSOs' influence and experience has been quite limited to date because of the restrictive regulatory framework before 2019, and their internal capacity challenges. Following the new civil society proclamation no. 1113/2019, it is now appropriate to develop CSOs' competency in undertaking policy dialogue. Thus, the Technical Assistance Unit (TAU) for CSF-III recruited an expert to undertake an assessment of the technical skills and knowledge of CSOs to fulfil their policy influencing roles, and to identify the barriers they face in this regard. This manual is a product of that assignment. It covers all stages of the policy cycle, providing a step-by-step guide to ensure a better understanding of policy contexts and processes in Ethiopia, and the role CSOs should play in policy agenda setting, dialogue, monitoring and evaluation. As such, the TAU and European Union Delegation to Ethiopia hope that it will be a valuable tool to support such work.

Introduction

Ethiopia is a developing country with a bright future. New government systems and organizations are evolving. People now have more opportunities than ever to participate in the decision-making processes that affect their lives. Although it may not be possible to practice every aspect of advocacy discussed in this manual, the new law governing the operations of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), in conjunction with a number of other law reform programmes, as well as increased capacity for advocacy, can open new avenues for participation in the policy making process.

Another point to consider is the insufficient participation of CSOs in the policy making process of the legislature. Procedurally, CSOs have a legal right to participate in public hearings concerned with bills and specially organized issues. However, as revealed by the capacity assessment that preceded the development of this reference manual, civil society participation in these policy related issues is not only limited but is also declining. Furthermore, the majority of CSOs have no say in the performance evaluation of executive departments – on the policies and development programmes that are directly or indirectly affecting the citizens, especially those that live in poverty.

Policy advocacy is not limited to decisions made through open, organized, and formal systems of governance. This guide's tools can be used in situations where decision-making is informal, adaptive, opaque, or even secluded. Advocacy can help bring about change wherever it is needed. It helps to achieve goals in various activities, such as funding raising for a family planning clinic, new programmes to address the most vulnerable community groups, laws to make primary schooling accessible, or increased attention to a health programme, etc.

This reference guide is intended for CSOs' staff and partners involved or interested in advocacy and policy influencing work. It is intended to be a resource guide for both civil society and advocacy and policy work oriented towards the non-governmental sector in general, but also to be used as a general advocacy resource on its own. The manual is divided into two parts: the first deals with advocacy, and the second with policy influencing. Both parts contain a mixture of practical steps, exercises, templates, etc., for both advocacy and policy influencing – all the way through the policy influencing process.

¹ The TAU was established by the European Union to assist with the management of the CSF-III programme. It is operated by experts appointed by International Consulting Expertise (ICE), which is headquartered in Brussels, along with its consortium partners, INTRAC, FCG International and Cideal Foundation.

The Need for an Advocacy and Policy Influencing Manual

Previous phases of the European Union's Civil Society Fund (CSF) have supported Ethiopian CSOs since 2006, with a particular focus on building their overall capacity to effectively implement their projects and programmes. The current phase of the programme, EU Civil Society Fund III, is focused on building the capacity of selected civil society organizations and CSO networks in policy influencing and monitoring, leading to the formulation and implementation of effective social, economic and political policies that reflect citizens' needs and interests.

Recognizing this, the Technical Assistance Unit (TAU) for CSF III assigned a Senior Policy Expert to assess CSOs' capacity to undertake policy engagement through evidence-based advocacy and, based on that, (a) to develop a reference manual, and (b) to design training that could improve the civil society sector's policy engagement capacity and effectiveness in their advocacy work in Ethiopia at various levels of the governance hierarchy.

As a result, this manual was prepared in response to the aforementioned objectives. The manual is comprehensive and intensive, covering a wide range of advocacy and policy influencing topics. It should provide CSOs with a thorough understanding of how to conduct advocacy and policy influencing in Ethiopia and beyond. The manual also includes Ethiopia's policy processes and the 16 standing committees of the parliament, which are key in policy making processes in the country and, according to the author, are key target audiences in engaging in advocacy and policy influencing work. The manual also includes more practical methods of conducting analysis (such as power, stakeholders, context, advocacy cycles, policy cycles, evidence, etc.), to help CSOs in the preparation of advocacy strategies and policy influencing action plans.

The manual is divided into two major parts. **Part One** is on **Advocacy** while **Part Two** deals with **Policy Influencing**. The former examines what advocacy is and how participatory advocacy can be carried out effectively through the 12 stages of the advocacy cycle. Part two discusses policy influencing and the techniques that can be used in each stage of the policy influencing process, with a focus on Ethiopia. Both parts are further arranged into modules dealing with various relevant topics to each in some detail. The manual also contains references and a list of useful links for further reading and annexes.

How to use this Manual

This reference manual has been made available as a written publication from the TAU, with all rights reserved. The essential information and lessons presented in the various modules of parts one and two can be used to guide your own organization's Advocacy and Influencing efforts.

Try not to get caught up in the jargon of advocacy, budgeting, processing, and policy influencing. Many people find it unsettling because the language sometimes appears confrontational or political, with references to targets and allies, power analysis, stakeholders, media, influencing, etc. Instead, keep in mind that advocacy and influencing are about having a greater impact and influence by being strategic based on evidence, reality and improved analysis, and alliances building.

This Manual was compiled by Eshetu Bekele Yimenu (PhD), an Independent International Consultant, who drew on his experience and knowledge, as well as materials and tools developed by various advocacy and policy institutions around the world. Dr. Eshetu has extensive expertise in CSOs, advocacy, and policy influence, among others, in Ethiopia, Africa, and globally.

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PART ONE: ADVOCACY

Module 1: Advocacy Concepts

Preamble

Civil society organizations are critical to the development and implementation of public policy to promote an informed, healthy, and strong democratic society. CSOs observe and respond to the impact of public policies on the people they serve, and act as a vital link between policy makers and their constituents. Effective advocacy strengthens civil society's capacity to achieve the best for the greatest number of people and communities they represent. As a result, civil society is expanding its efforts to advocate, campaign, lobby, and mobilize the public in order to achieve changes in lives and livelihoods.

Before exploring the concept further and looking at some definitions of 'advocacy', let's consider our own organizations' advocacy experience and culture.

Exercise: Sharing your experiences with your group

What advocacy issues have you been working on and how have you approached these?

Describe your organization's advocacy strategies, and what advocacy means to you.

What is Advocacy?

The term '**advocacy**' is often used as if everyone understands what it means. In reality, there are different definitions of advocacy and there is considerable disagreement about which is the most appropriate to use. Advocacy is simply the **act or process of pleading or arguing in favour of a cause, idea, group or policy**. It includes multi-faceted and multi-levelled strategies for bringing about/eliciting societal or broad change. It is about persuading people, policies, practices, structures and systems to change in order to affect such change. It can include work that focuses on one specific issue, campaigns that last a given amount of time, or ongoing work that addresses a range of issues.

Advocacy can be conducted on an international, national, regional or local level. In most cases, effective policy advocacy is carried out through **advocacy networks or alliances**. These are **groups of organizations and individuals who collaborate to impact policy, position or programming changes**. The mission of advocacy is widely accepted to create a fair and just society in which the interests of marginalized individuals or groups are represented and addressed.

Examples of definitions of Advocacy

- Advocacy is the process of putting a problem on the agenda, proposing a solution, and gaining support for acting on both the problem and the solution.
- Advocacy aims to change an organization's internal culture or to alter an entire system.
- Advocacy entails a variety of specific, short-term activities to achieve a long-term vision of change.
- Advocacy is a set of strategies for influencing decision-making at the organizational, local, regional, national and international levels.
- Lobbying, social marketing, information, education and communication (IEC), community organizing, and a variety of other "tactics" can be used as an advocacy strategy.
- Advocacy is the process by which people participate in the decisions that affect their lives.
- Advocacy is a type of action that aims to change the policies, positions or programmes of any type of institution.
- Advocacy is the act of pleading for, defending or recommending an idea to other.

Source: Collected and compiled from different websites and publications (2021)

While acknowledging that many definitions of advocacy will have different meanings in different organizational contexts, the purpose of this document is to provide some clarity on definitions and to assist organizations in their thinking, as well as to update an organization's Advocacy Guide and future advocacy directions.

Exercise: Which of these definitions best describe the things that you or your organization do?

Note: It is not necessary to develop a precise and elegant definition of advocacy which encompasses all its aspects. However, it is critical to define what advocacy means to you.

What is policy advocacy

Policy advocacy is a subset of the many different types of advocacy. It is *the process of taking action to influence the creation and development of public policy through a variety of strategies*. It employs a variety of targeted actions aimed at changing policies, positions or programmes. Policy advocacy specifically seeks to:

- ❖ Establish new policies
- ❖ Improve on existing policies, and/or
- ❖ Challenge pieces of legislation that have a negative impact on specific individuals or groups.

Policy advocacy focuses on **public policy**, which is defined as **a set of laws (or other types of legislation) enacted by government, or other governing bodies with a local, national, regional or international impact**. Its evolution entails a system of courses of action (or inaction), regulatory measures, legislative acts, judicial decisions and funding priorities pertaining to a particular issue. In summary, policy advocacy aims to influence public policy.

There are numerous reasons why advocacy is an effective method of bringing about social change. Policies, legislation, directives, strategies, and programmes are implemented across large jurisdictions, affecting large numbers of people, sometimes the entire populations of a country or region/s. **Policy and decision makers are the people tasked with developing, implementing and evaluating policy**. Organizations can influence the content of policies by alerting them to policy gaps and shortfalls, which allows for shifts in social norms and practices.

Furthermore, advocacy:

- ❖ Scales the work we do, allowing it to reach large numbers of people
- ❖ Provides people with leverage to demand their rights because they are protected by law
- ❖ Commits the government to putting policy and legislation into action, to funding and supporting civil society, and adopting best practices as developed by civil society.

Advocacy related concepts of lobbying, campaigning and popular mobilization

Advocacy, lobbying, campaigning and popular mobilisation have similar meanings and involve a range of organised activities designed to influence government policies and practices. However, there are differences as follows:

- ❖ **Advocacy** is a set of organised activities aimed at influencing government and other institutional policies and practices to achieve positive, long-term changes.
- ❖ **Lobbying** is a type of advocacy involving any attempt to influence specific decision makers on specific issues. It may include urging the public to contact policy makers for the purpose of proposing, supporting, or opposing legislation; or advocating for the adoption or rejection of legislation. Lobbying may be *direct* or *indirect*, through *grassroots*. Direct lobbying is any attempt to influence legislation through communication with a member or employee of a legislative body or other government official who may participate in the formulation of legislation. Grassroots lobbying is any attempt to influence legislation by persuading the opinion of the general public. There are numerous policy-related activities that you can engage in that do not constitute lobbying - it only counts as lobbying when you ask a decision maker to vote for or against a specific piece of legislation. It is worth noting that advocacy and lobbying are NOT interchangeable. Advocacy, in general, encompasses many different kinds of activities designed to promote a particular cause or idea. Lobbying, however, refers to specific activities intended to influence legislation, and there are rules governing these activities.
- ❖ **Campaigning** is a set of organised activities intended to influence government and other institutional policies and practices, social norms and behaviour, in order to achieve positive, long-term changes. It is a strategy that employs a wide range of tools, including lobbying those in power. However, campaigning always seeks to engage the public in changing behaviour, taking action and creating a broader movement for social change, rather than simply influencing government policies and practices. Thus, popular mobilisation will always be one of the tools used in campaigning.
- ❖ **Popular mobilisation** is a set of organized activities to create a favourable environment for national and international political and policy change. Popular mobilization seeks to engage public audiences with our issues, to inspire people to get involved, motivate people to take action, and harness and demonstrate popular support for change.

Module 2: Introduction to the Advocacy Cycle

Preamble

Advocacy mainly hinges upon three key elements. Before embarking on advocacy, we should pose the following questions:

- a. What change do we want to bring about?
- b. Who can make the change?
- c. How can we influence them?

In order to address the first question, we need to establish what is wrong - do the issues we work around have problems? If so, these need to be sorted and analysed, and substantiated by research, if necessary, to provide strong and unambiguous evidence. Then we need to focus on what needs to change or what must stop, or what alternative solution should be adopted to change a particular situation.

To help us identify who can make the desired change, we must map out those decision makers with the power to do so. It is not so easy to identify these people and ultimately influence them and their affiliates to bring about the change we want. As well as being clear that the persons identified can actually make the change, we must also be able to identify our supporters or allies and opponents. This will inform us as to whom we can work with, and whom we have to convince.

Finally, to determine how to influence those who can bring about the desired change, we need to work on an effective advocacy action plan, strategy, and tactics, setting out how we going to win. Effective advocacy and policy influencing work will also require clear and continuous monitoring and evaluation to enable us to assess if the change has happened?

Stages in the Advocacy Cycle

Advocacy is a planned and systematic process with distinct steps and activities, each of which is critical to your advocacy efforts. While specific advocacy techniques and strategies vary, the cycle presented below, and subsequent modules form the basic building blocks for effective advocacy. Not all elements must be used, or used in a specific order, to create an advocacy strategy.

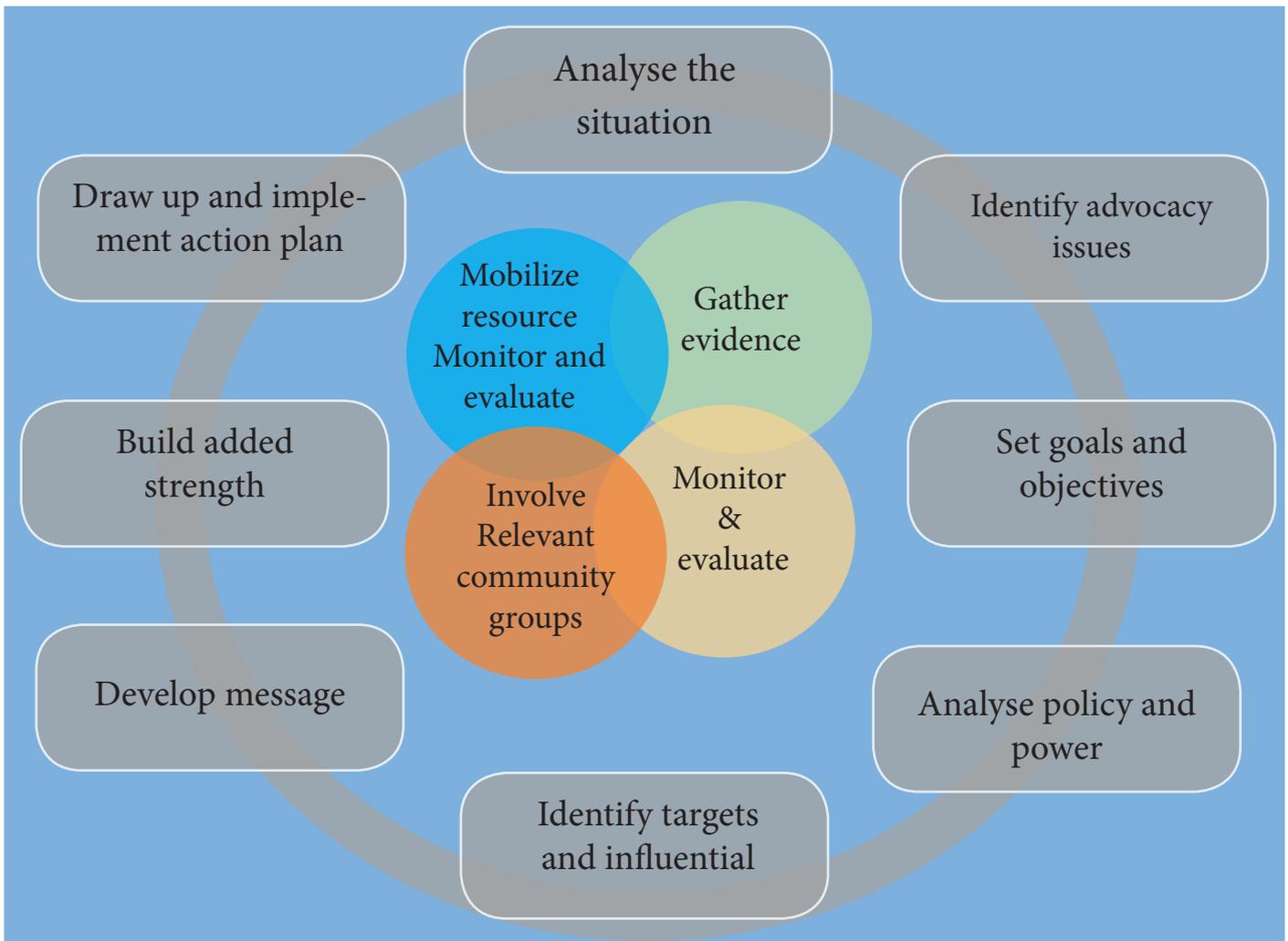


Figure 1: The Advocacy Cycle (Source: Advocacy Matters: Helping children change their world. A Save the Children guide to advocacy- Facilitator’s Manual, 2019)

Note that the circles in the centre apply to all eight stages.

Advocacy in the real world

Of course, our advocacy efforts do not often in reality progress in the logical, methodological fashion captured in the cycle presented above. Nevertheless, an understanding the advocacy process will help you in planning, using resources efficiently and staying focused on your objectives and overall goal. At the same time, it is important to be flexible and opportunistic!

The various components of the advocacy cycle will be explored in more detail over the following modules.

Module 3: Analysis of the Situation/Context

Preamble

This module focusses on increasing understanding of the types of questions to be raised when conducting a situational analysis concerning policy context and policy barriers; and how advocacy fits in as a strategy and intervention to address policy barriers to our programme goals. It will be helpful to break down the process of undertaking a context analysis into manageable chunks with a Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal, and Environmental (PESTLE) analysis. This tool promotes understanding of the wider environment systematically. It can also contribute to the identification of new problems and opportunities on the horizon; the creation of various scenarios; and the development of a coherent vision.

Why undertake a Situation Analysis?

A situation analysis should reveal the following:

- ❖ What rights are not being realized?
- ❖ For whom you are speaking?
- ❖ Why – what are the root causes?
- ❖ Who bears responsibility?
- ❖ What constraints and obstacles do they face?
- ❖ How can you change the situation to realize the rights of people you work for?

A robust, comprehensive situation analysis should allow you to identify a very well-defined advocacy problem and will support the formulation of your advocacy and policy influencing strategies and tactics for each situation.

Applying the PESTLE approach

Exercise: List the external factors that may affect the cause or consequence of the problem identified in the PESTLE categories mentioned above. Then, identify which of these may be the most significant – either as opportunities or threats. Consider the different ways in which they affect women, men, people with disabilities, children, minorities, etc. Then, agree on the key trends that are most important for the problem you are undertaking advocacy around.

Note that it may be necessary to undertake further research on these areas.

Module 4: Identification of Policy Issues

Preamble

This module examines the data and policy-making process; the identification of issues for policy action; and the formulation of policy solutions to the issues identified.

It is frequently stated that “the facts speak for themselves.” If this is true, why do more decision makers not base their actions on objective data and research? Why is it that so much good research and data is never put to use to influence policy? The policy process, and choosing one policy option from among several options, is essentially a negotiation between various actors. In order to be included in the negotiation process, data and research must be translated into information and presented in formats that policymakers can understand and use.

In this way, the facts can be made to “speak” the language of policymakers, community leaders, advocates, the public and the media, amplifying the impact of data and research. Infusing solid research into the entire policy debate will undoubtedly improve the quality and effectiveness of policy actions.

Data and Policy Making

Data and Research in Policy advocacy may be used to:

- ❖ **Identify** issues for policy action
- ❖ **Widen** the range of possible solutions to the identified problems
- ❖ **Influence** what is considered changeable or doable in a policy process
- ❖ **Select** an advocacy goal
- ❖ **Directly influence** decision makers (the primary audience of an advocacy programme)
- ❖ **Inform** the media, the public or others (the secondary audience) who have indirect influence on decision makers
- ❖ **Support** a pre-existing advocacy position
- ❖ **Counter** oppositional positions or arguments
- ❖ **Alter** people’s perceptions of an issue or problem
- ❖ **Challenge** myths and assumptions
- ❖ **Confirm** successful policy actions and programmes
- ❖ **Reconsider** strategies that are not working.

Exercise: Brainstorm on the experiences of your organization and others in your team on:

How have you used data and research to successfully influence policy decisions? Do you know of any other organizations that have used data and research in any of the ways listed above? How have they used the data?

Issue Identification

The process begins by identifying issues that require policy action, that is, **problems that can be addressed** by the actions of institutions and individuals who represent these institutions.

Policy actors use a variety of techniques to identify issues for action, ranging from the spontaneous generation of ideas to the cautious and deliberate study of issues. Refugee interest groups, for example, may highlight a crisis and call for urgent policy action, while economic research institutes might ponder a situation thoroughly before offering a policy recommendation.

Research data can bring to light previously suspected or even unknown issues, as well as provide a means of comparing them. Data may also reveal constraints that indicate potential challenges in the advocacy process. You can use data from the Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS) data, Central Statistics Agency (CSA) statistical surveys and analysis, other studies, etc., to demonstrate how data can be used to identify issues for policy action.

Policy Solutions

Once you have identified several problems or issues that require action, the next step is to develop policy solutions to these problems.

For example, in rural Ethiopia, men are aware of family planning in general, but they are not willing to use birth control to protect themselves and their spouses. To address this issue you must consider in what ways relevant organizations (such as a national family planning provider) or government institutions (such as the Ministry of Health) could assist in resolving this problem? Family planning providers who conduct education programmes might decide to prioritize male contraceptive use and its benefits. This could be one policy option.

Exercise: Examine your own work and data first, and then:

Identify three issues which require policy action.

List at least one policy-relevant solution for each issue (i.e., a solution that requires action from a government institution or other organization).

If you have an advocacy goal or objective, but lack the data to support it, consider what kind of data you need to find or collect.

What research is required to support your advocacy goal or objective?

Where can you find this information?

The table below summarizes the factors that promote or hinder the use of data and research for advocacy and policy making.

Factors which promote the use of data and research	Factors which hinder the use of data and research
<p>The information needs of the policy maker are taken into account when designing the study.</p> <p>Research is conducted by an organization that policy makers perceive as credible and reliable.</p> <p>Research is focused on a few questions that can be answered.</p> <p>Findings are presented in multiple formats, tailored to each audience.</p> <p>Findings are disseminated to multiple audiences using a variety of channels. Audiences receive the same message from diverse sources.</p> <p>Presentations of findings to policy makers emphasize the important lessons that were learned, rather than the need for more research.</p>	<p>Research questions (and findings) that are not relevant to policy decisions.</p> <p>The timing is off: the research addressed yesterday's questions or assessed yesterday's programme.</p> <p>The research is conducted or presented by an organization or individual that is not credible to policymakers.</p> <p>Findings are inconclusive or subject to widely differing interpretations.</p> <p>Findings are undesirable because they are negative and/or not presented with policy relevant solutions.</p> <p>Findings are not generalizable.</p> <p>Findings are presented in lengthy, technical, or jargon-laden reports.</p> <p>Findings have not been widely disseminated.</p>

Module 5: Setting Goals and Objectives

Preamble

In Module 4, you identified issues for policy/programmatic actions and corresponding solutions. Selecting one of these solutions to work on as an advocacy objective is the next step in planning your advocacy efforts.

Consider the political climate, the probability of success, research and data gathering on your issue, the budget available to support your advocacy efforts, your organization’s capacities, and your own capabilities, when deciding on an advocacy goal and objectives.

- ❖ An **advocacy goal** is the long-term outcome of your advocacy efforts. It is your change vision.
- ❖ An **advocacy objective** is a shorter-term achievement that contributes to your overall goal. It is the specific change that you can bring about.

Problems can be extremely complex. In order for an advocacy effort to succeed, the goal must be narrowed down to an advocacy objective based on answers to questions such as: Can the issue bring diverse groups together into a powerful coalition? Is the objective achievable? Will the objective really address the problem?

Data and research are essential for making informed decisions when defining a problem to work on, identifying solutions to the problem, and setting realistic goals. In addition, good data itself can be the most persuasive argument. Given the data, can you realistically reach the goal? What data can be used to best support your arguments?

What is an Advocacy Objective?

The aim of advocacy is to influence the policies, programmes or positions of governments, institutions or organizations.

Your advocacy objective is what you want to change, who will make the change, how much it will cost, and when it will happen. In general, the time frame for an advocacy objective will be between 1-3 years.

An objective is an incremental and realistic step towards a larger goal or your vision. The goal of policy advocacy must focus on a specific action that an institution can take. An objective should be Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Time-bound – in other words, it should in general be SMART.

Examples of Advocacy Objectives

Is an advocacy objective?	Is not an advocacy objective?
Launch a national government programme to build twelve schools in each woreda in the next two years.	Increase the number of girls enrolled in woreda level primary schools.
In the next year, increase funding for family planning education programmes for married couples through the Family Planning programme over the next year.	Increase married couples’ use of family planning.

Example of Advocacy Goal and Contributing Objectives

Goal: *Reduce childhood malnutrition among children under the age of five in order to reduce child mortality and morbidity while also improving child development.*

Objective 1: *The Ministry of Food and Agriculture in cooperation with the Ministry of Health will launch a national programme to fortify salt with iodine in the next two years.*

Objective 2: *The Ministry of Health will launch a community-based nutrition education programme to improve young child feeding practices in the coming year.*

Module 6: Analysing Policy and Power

Preamble

A critical element to the success of any advocacy effort is a thorough understanding of a country's policy process and key policy players. No two countries in the world formulate policy in exactly the same way. In some cases, the procedures might not be clear or transparent, or could even be informal.

Mapping policy and power

Think ahead and ask:

- ❖ How are policy decisions made at various levels in Ethiopia?
- ❖ Who really has the power to change things?
- ❖ When will you have the opportunity to make the change(s)?

You must be focused and long term! Short-term gains, on the other hand, help you build strength!

Knowing a country's policy process entails understanding:

- ❖ How policy issues are identified
- ❖ How policies are formulated and implemented
- ❖ Both formal and informal processes
- ❖ The roles, responsibilities, and power balances of institutions and individuals
- ❖ How, when, and where to act to maximize the impact of your advocacy efforts.

Understanding the stages of policy formulation and implementation

- ❖ Agenda setting
- ❖ Formulation and enactment
- ❖ Implementation and enforcement
- ❖ Monitoring and evaluation
- ❖ What are the opportunities for influencing each stage?
- ❖ Who has power at the different stages?

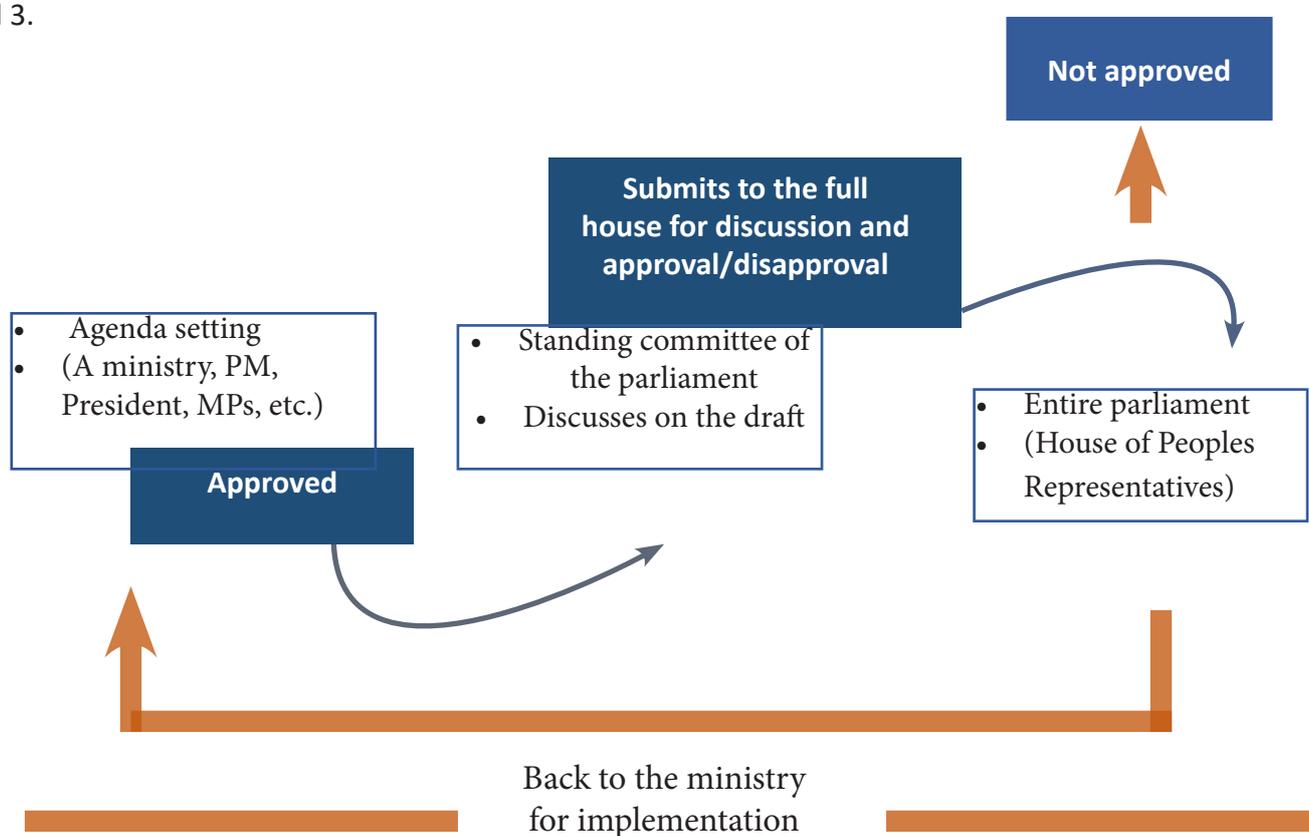
Implementing policy

Civil society can hold the government accountable for policy implementation, for example, by examining budgets and staffing levels. Budget analysis has the potential to expose corruption and imbalances in terms of resource allocation. Implementation is often at local level, so it will be important to build coalitions and community groups to involve and monitor activities at these levels.

Exercise: Firstly, brainstorm on your experiences of policy processes in Ethiopia within your team. Secondly, identify the key stages of Ethiopian budget processes. Thirdly, identify who should be the primary targets.

The Policy Process in Ethiopia

The diagram below summarises the policy process in Ethiopia. For further details, please refer to annexes 2 and 3.



Value addition in policy knowledge

Knowledge of the policy environment allows you to:

- ❖ Identify and recognize advocacy opportunities
- ❖ Flag possible entry points into the policy process; and
- ❖ Guide the selection of the advocacy issues.

What sorts of power do we have in the policy process?

- ❖ **Visible power** – formal rules and structures.
- ❖ **Hidden power** – who really controls the agenda.
- ❖ **Invisible power** – values, norms, beliefs, and social hierarchy.

Power analysis

The following exercise will help you in mapping all of the relevant stakeholders, as well as the links, power dynamics, and relationships that exists between them. Start with your targets and work your way up to other influential people (both allies and opponents).

Exercise: On a flip chart draw two axes (see below) showing support/opposition for advocacy and power. Then, as a team, within your organization:

Brainstorm on possible key advocacy targets and place each name on post-it notes or cards.

Place your targets on the axes according to your perception of their support or opposition to your advocacy objectives, and their power to make a change.

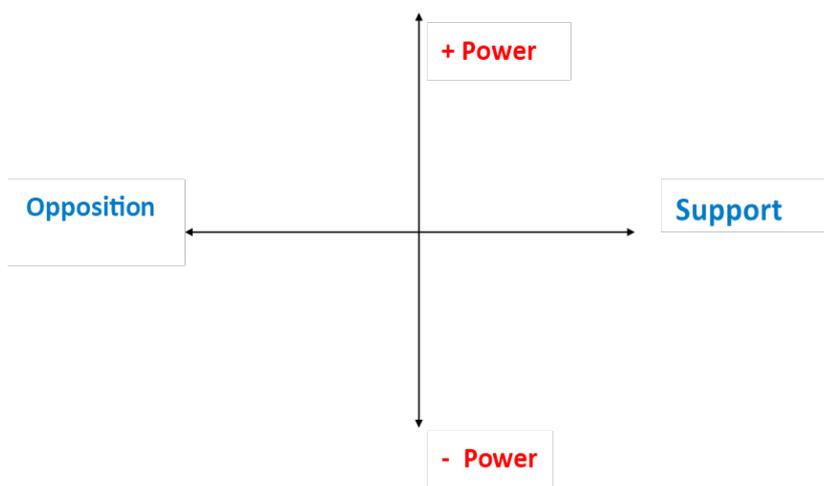
Those in positions of power are your main targets and should be prioritized.

The most difficult targets to influence will be those with the most power who oppose the advocacy.

Then repeat the process, but this time use different coloured pens to identify influential actors.

Some tips

- Go beyond those that you already work with.
- Consider where the true power lies – it is not easy to identify the hidden and invisible power behind the decisions.
- The targets should be the primary decision-makers who can effect change.
- Be as specific as possible (think individuals and departments rather than whole ministries or organizations at federal, regional, zonal, woreda, and even at kebele levels).



Module 7: Identifying targets and influential actors

Preamble

It is important to understand your target audience in order to target your advocacy activities; develop persuasive messages and select the most effective channels of communication. Building, nurturing, and expanding relationships is essential for advocacy.

Targets and influencers differ depending on the situation and issue. They could include political leaders; national and local government officials; private and public sector service providers; the media; religious and traditional leaders; NGOs; professional associations, and business or civic groups, etc.

Stakeholders, Targets and Influentials

Stakeholders may be defined as all those individuals and groups who may be interested in the change you are advocating.

Targets are key individuals who have the ability to bring about the change you want. You need to understand the policy process and who can make decisions in that process.

Influential persons (influentials) comprise those people who have influence over your targets.

Exercise: In the Ethiopian budget process, identify key targets and influentials (including institutions and personalities by name).

Module 8: Developing Messages

Preamble

Crafting the advocacy and policy message is the most important step after we have completed all of the steps described in the preceding modules. However, messaging is a time consuming and difficult stage of the cycle. It is often overlooked as activity planning and report writing take precedence. Because governments and other power holders are frequently unable or unwilling to act, messages or policy requests must be as solution-focused as possible to capture their attention.

How to formulate your core message

Policy requests are the specific, real-world actions that we want our targets to take in order to achieve our goals. They must be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound - SMART.

Some tips to follow:

- ❖ Identify your core message.
- ❖ Tailor it to the interests of specific targets and audiences.
- ❖ Communicate it as effectively as possible.

- ❖ Determine what the most effective mode of communication will be.
- ❖ Identify who the bearer of the message should be.

When crafting your core message use well researched and identified evidence, as such messages will be picked up and repeated by the media and politicians. Powerful evidence is often described as “killer” facts because, if used effectively, they can “kill off” the opposition’s arguments. Big numbers or facts are useful for quick action and the changes we seek - a single statistic indicating the size of the problem has great power in this regard.

Examples:

Armed conflict costs Africa \$18 billion a year!

In Ethiopia, road traffic accidents kill more people than malaria and HIV/AIDS combined.

Module 9: Building Added Strength

Preamble

Adding strength to our advocacy entails building alliances and coalitions. Coalitions are similar to families – when they are communicating well and supportive of one another, they can achieve great things. Conversely, when there are internal disputes or differences of opinion, they can create quite a commotion.

Policy advocacy coalitions can make a tremendous difference in whether or not real policy change occurs, but there are real and multiple barriers to success. Battles over who works on what issues and funding, poor links to local communities, coalition partners who insist on dominating rather than cooperating, limited organizational capacities, and poor leadership or decision-making structures can all make a coalition weak, or at least make it feel like the costs of being part of the coalition outweigh the benefits.

Guidelines

The following guidelines will help policy advocacy coalitions minimize some of the challenges mentioned above:

- ❖ **Defining a common vision and getting consensus on it.** Starting with a clear and commonly shared vision will help keep coalition members focused on a common goal and provide valuable perspective when it is expected.
- ❖ **Laying out roles and responsibilities within the coalition at the outset.** This will help to minimize misunderstandings about who is doing what and will enable the group to work effectively together with shared understanding.
- ❖ **Establish clear rules for decision-making and communication.** It needs to be crystal clear how decisions are made, by whom and when.
- ❖ If possible, **use experienced coalition staff.** Someone must assume responsibility for the smooth operation of the overall coalition. This rarely happens well if it is not clearly defined. Ideally, the person assigned to this role should be an experienced organizer, networker and manager who is perceived as impartial, not favouring any one of the coalition’s organizations.
- ❖ **Develop a realistic coalition budget.** The budget should include each organization’s staff time so that the real costs of the advocacy work are clear, and each organization has made an explicit commitment to its contribution.

- ❖ **Celebrate success and distribute credit fairly.** In a coalition, some organizations and individuals will be more visible than others. Ensure that everyone who has made a meaningful contribution, regardless of size and stature receives credit for it.

Remember: The larger your support base, the more likely you will be to achieve your advocacy goal.

Based on our previous power analysis:

- ❖ **Identify allies** and decide how to best collaborate with them, for example, through networks or coalitions, opinion leaders, community leaders, etc.
- ❖ **Mobilize the public**, if necessary, to raise awareness of the issue and influence decision-makers.

Exercise: Considering the guidelines above, how do you think your coalition should be organized? How should it be managed? Is there anything you would change about the way any alliances you are currently running or participating in?

Module 10: Developing and Implementing an Action Plan

Preamble

The purpose of developing an action plan is to identify the outcomes and indicators for the advocacy goals specified in the previous steps. Outcomes are the tangible changes that result from a series of activities and contribute to the achievement of an objective. They could be changes in the behaviour of people, organizations, or partners. An indicator is a piece of evidence that can be used to track progress (Source: Participatory Advocacy: A toolkit for VSO staff, Volunteers, and partners, 2017).

Guidelines on Action Plans

The action plan should be straightforward and include the following items:

- ❖ What opportunities exist – when should we undertake advocacy, when should we deliver messages, etc.?
- ❖ What activities must be completed – identify all of the activities in the action plan table?
- ❖ When – establish clear timelines for each activity?
- ❖ Who is responsible for doing what?
- ❖ What resources are required?

Module 11: Involving the Target Communities

Preamble

Communities may be involved as actors at every stage – as planners, researchers, and messengers, for example. They can constitute powerful and effective advocates. Moreover, their involvement in advocacy activities will empower communities further. However, it is important to consider the ethics and potential risks of community participation. Thus, standards should be developed and applied to guide the participation of communities in your advocacy work.

How to actively involve communities

A number of avenues may be followed to mobilize the community to become active citizens. These include:

- ❖ Conducting training sessions
- ❖ Carrying out rights literacy initiatives and awareness raising campaigns, which may include the distribution of materials such as pamphlets, booklets or manuals providing relevant information
- ❖ Mobilization for participation in direct-action activities, such as pickets, protests or marches.

Module 12: Mobilizing Resources for Advocacy

Preamble

Before developing an advocacy budget and action plan, it is essential to conduct a realistic assessment of existing capacities, resources, and gaps, and of potential sources of funding to support your advocacy and policy influencing work. You should first assess your internal and existing capacity – what resources do you have, and what else do you need on top of what you have, etc? You cannot just start from the scratch - rather you should build on what you already have at hand for these projects. In addition, at this stage, it is helpful to identify possible donors and/or funding opportunities to finance the advocacy and policy work. These activities will help to assess whether the overall strategy is realistic and achievable.

Advocacy Resource Planning

Your advocacy resource planning should include the following:

- ❖ Plan your advocacy budget, identify costs, and raise funds to fully finance your plans
- ❖ Consider the risks and benefits of accepting money for advocacy – watch out for potential conflicts of interest!!!
- ❖ Combine resources through alliances – working through coalitions and networking is often advised for common advocacy and influencing efforts.

Advocacy work can be time and resources intensive. If your budget is limited your plan will especially require a sharp focus to make it cost effective, and you may have to change objectives, identified targets, messages, allies, networks and planned events accordingly. Consider more cost-effective ways of doing things – for example, volunteers may contribute their time and skills without charge.

Remember - Resources are not only about money, but also capacity, partnership, materials, and time.

Module 13: Gathering Evidence

Preamble

Having solid evidence is critical to support policy influencing and to provide arguments to influence and convince the target audience. Your organization needs to document and explain the problem that you are attempting to solve, to demonstrate what works and what solutions you have tested to address it, or what has been the impact of a particular course of action that could be scaled up.

Guidelines on Conducting Research

Conducting effective and useful research for advocacy and influencing requires careful thought and planning early in the process. An effective research paper should take cognizance of the following points:

- ❖ Address an issue in a timely manner – is the research agenda forward-looking?
- ❖ Provide new evidence and new approaches to address the problems
- ❖ Simplify complex issues/challenges. Bad papers are overly complex in terms of both concepts and style, whereas good papers simpler and more straightforward
- ❖ Involve and engage stakeholders and targets/partners from the beginning. If they are bought in from the beginning, they will continue to listen to the end
- ❖ Back yourself up with a well-planned launch event and media strategy.

Gathering data and evidence is an integral part of the advocacy process and should take place throughout the advocacy cycle. As already discussed, data is collected initially to identify and select the issue (evidence about the problem, likely impact of change, feasibility of possible solutions, and who is responsible to make change); then to develop messages; expand the of support base; influence policymakers, and eventually to assist in the monitoring of progress and evaluation of impact. The collection of accurate and verifiable data coupled with the provision of high-quality service, will greatly enhance your credibility.

Module 14: Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

Preamble

Monitoring and Evaluation involves continuously asking about the effectiveness of your effort? It allows us to identify what works well and what needs to be changed.

M&E Steps

A basic but effective M&E system will involve the following stages:

- ❖ Identifying SMART objectives and indicators during the planning stage that will later show whether you are making progress
- ❖ Gathering information on all aspects of your advocacy on a regular basis and using this to help improve your work
- ❖ Evaluation - systematically assessing your impact and using this information to improve your effectiveness.

The following simple example should be used to map progress towards impact:



Throughout the policy advocacy process, you must be aware of the impact of your activities on the people on the ground as well as at the highest levels of government. You will be able to identify the areas that require more targeted efforts, completely strategies, or those who need to be held accountable as a result of this. For example, if not enough people are aware of an issue, you may need to increase media coverage to reach a wider audience, or you may need to strengthen your support base by inviting more civil society organizations to join your cause.

If your policy advocacy efforts are unsuccessful, you may consider instituting legal proceedings against the government or other responsible body through a court of law, if, for example, the policy in question violates the fundamental human rights of a marginalized group of people. You should also monitor the implementation of policies and laws after they have been issued - the best policies and laws in the country will be meaningless in terms of changing people's lives unless they are effectively implemented.

PART TWO: POLICY INFLUENCING

Module 15: Introduction to Policy Influencing

Preamble

The core of this Manual is the Advocacy and Policy Influencing Cycle and its steps. According to our experience with this cycle, the most common error made in projects is organizations' tendency to identify a problem and head directly to implementing possible solutions. As a result, many essential planning steps are omitted. A similar observation can also be made for policy influencing - a problem is identified, and direct actions are taken.

Many CSOs undertake policy influencing activities as part of projects/programmes or as part of their core business, as discussed during the assessment that preceded the production of this manual. Thus, we will focus on the various phases that must be completed when engaging in policy influencing activities. Much of the emphasis will be on planning actions in such a way that activities are relevant and have the greatest possible impact.

What do we mean when referring to Policy?

At their core, politics and governance are a competition of ideas on major issues such as:

- ❖ How the **country** should be run
- ❖ How the **finances** should be managed
- ❖ How the **economy** should be developed
- ❖ What the **spending priorities** should be
- ❖ How **relations with other countries** should be managed
- ❖ What the state of **health care** should be
- ❖ How the **educational** system should be structured
- ❖ What citizen's **rights and responsibilities** should be
- ❖ What **quality of life** should citizens expect?
- ❖ How **infrastructure should** perform, etc.

In order for ideas to come to life, they must be translated into policies. These may be seen as clear plans that outline how a social, political or economic vision will be achieved and how ideas will be put into action. Thus, the government of Ethiopia is developing policies, laws, regulations, etc., to address these and other high-level questions (visions).

Policy Processes and Policy Influencing

The policy-making process comprises several stages, including problems identification and agenda setting; policy initiation and formulation; adoption; implementation; evaluation and policy redesign. The same approach is being applied in the Ethiopian policymaking processes.

When people discuss politics and policies, they use the words with mixed meanings, and sometimes in confusing ways. Politics is commonly defined as the actions and interactions taking place when stakeholders discuss and negotiate. In such processes, the power, status and influence of the people involved play the most important role. The term *politics* may also refer to the art or science of running governmental or state affairs, or to behaviour of civil governments. However, politics can be observed in other group interactions, such as within corporate, academic, and religious institutions. Generally, it consists of “social relations involving authority or power” and involves the regulation of public affairs within a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and implement policy. (Source: Politics, Power, and Authority, Boundless Sociology - Lumen)

A *policy* is typically described as a principle or set of rules that guide decisions and achieve rational and predictable outcomes. Policies are generally adopted by government bodies and parliaments, or by the board or governance body of an organization or company. (Source: Politics, Power, and Authority, Boundless Sociology - Lumen)

Throughout this Manual we use the general term *policy influencing* to refer to all possible actions designed to influence policies. This term can easily be translated into most languages, is accepted in most political cultures in many countries, and can address all kinds of actors, including civil society organizations, government and the private sector. Every respected entity has a vision, a mission, and defined policies, and influencing these policies is day-to-day work.

Working definition of Policy Influencing

For the purpose of this Manual, we use a working definition of policy influencing as follows:

Policy Influencing is the deliberate and systematic process of influencing the policies, practices, and behaviour of different targeted stakeholders who have greatest influence on the issue at hand. It involves beneficiaries and increases their ownership and understanding of the issue. Activities can be singled out, or a mixed strategy can be applied, in which joint forces and concerted action increase the effectiveness of any policy influencing intervention. (Source: TACSO, Advocacy and policy influencing for changes, Ger Roebeling, Jan de Vries, 2011)

The above definition contains two elements that may need additional emphasis. Firstly, if policy influencing is the process of changing the behaviour of certain stakeholders, the changing their behaviour must be a prerequisite to changing policies. However, changing policies should not be the only intended result of policy influence - you also want something to change in practice. To accomplish this, it is important to change one's behaviour. Subsequent modules of this manual will describe a range of tools and approaches that focus on changing the behaviour of different actors in the policy-influencing process.

The definition above refers to “different targeted stakeholders that are most influential”, instead of the more common term “decision makers”. This reflects the reality that not all people who are commonly referred to as decision-makers are the most influential stakeholders on a particular issue. Much will depend on the outcomes of different analyses which are explored further later in this manual.

What is advocacy, lobbying, and activism?

Common terms used to describe policy influencing are advocacy, lobbying, and activism. Definitions of these terms are not clear-cut and widely accepted, and it may seem that the meaning of these terms and the activities they entail overlap. It is possible to have an inherent sense of what activism is about, or what advocacy and lobbying entail, without being able to clearly define these terms.

Whilst the concept of *advocacy* was explored in detail in module 1 of this manual, the following paragraphs outline the meanings of *lobbying* and *activism*.

Lobbying is defined as activities carried out with the objective of influencing the policy formulation and decision-making processes of an institution.

When an organization attempts to “influence legislation,” the communication:

- ❖ is directed towards a legislator or employee of a legislative body
- ❖ refers to specific legislation
- ❖ reflects a view on that legislation.

Grassroots lobbying occurs when the communication:

- ❖ is directed towards the general public
- ❖ refers to specific legislation
- ❖ reflects a view on the legislation; and
- ❖ “encourages the recipient ...to take action concerning to the legislation.”

(Source: IRS Definition of grassroots lobbying)

Lobbying often has a negative connotation for some people, conjuring up images of men in suits making obscure deals with politicians in back offices. The connotation is so strong that the European Commission prefers to use the term “interest representation”. There are, of course, cases in which lobbying is done by professionals hired by clients who need representation in some way. Its main characteristics include consensus-driven negotiation and dialogue amongst different parties.

Activism is often associated with demonstrations, standing on the barricades, or funny and creative activities designed to draw attention to an issue. Mostly, such activities are not designed to create or propose consensus. Rather, they are designed to convince or inform others, for example, to encourage popular support for an issue or to place an issue on the agenda. Such activities can put pressure on particular stakeholders to change, using third parties such as the public. Activism in that way is often considered to be very different to lobbying and/or dialogue, which are seen as more passive, non-visual and consensus-driven activities. It is important to understand that activism can be positive, legal and non-violent, but also illegal and violent. Violence is always a possibility since activism is inherently confrontational.

Activism consists of intentional action taken to effect social, political, economic, or environmental change. Writing letters to newspapers or politicians, political campaigning, economic activism such as boycotts or preferentially patronizing businesses, rallies, street marches and strikes, both sit-ins and hunger strikes, etc, are all examples of activism (Wikipedia).

Activism increasingly works through the use of social networks, such as Facebook and Twitter, as well as the use of new media, such as YouTube. Several CSOs use such means to raise public awareness and exert pressure on decision-makers.

Awareness -raising and policy influencing

The term “awareness-raising” is very often mentioned in combination with policy influencing, advocacy, lobbying and activism, as well as on its own. Many people describe it as a set of activities or a strategy. In some cases, awareness-raising is an end in itself.

Awareness-raising is a pre-condition of all policy influencing activities. It is a mutual exchange of information between the different stakeholders involved, who can be either beneficiaries or decision makers. You could say that awareness-raising and keeping it raised is a continuous process throughout any intervention.

Many actions, especially projects aimed at policy influencing, contain an element of awareness-raising. For example, in lobbying, organizations provide information to decision-makers, raising their awareness of a certain issue. Advocacy and activism-related activities often aim to raise the general public’s or specific groups’ awareness, to mobilize them to put pressure on decision-makers. You can also raise the awareness of the beneficiaries of your intervention.

Raising awareness through certain activities is done to:

- ❖ provide information in order to add something to the agenda
- ❖ mobilize groups or the general public in order to put pressure on others to change
- ❖ undertake the first step towards empowerment of beneficiaries.

Example of Awareness Raising and Policy-Influencing: Centre for Social Accountability (CSA), Ethiopia

CSA works on the issue of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and changing the behaviour of Business, CSOs and Government. They want these actors to collaborate on CSR, and ultimately for the Government to create a conducive environment for CSR. A first step is to raise awareness among all actors about the importance of CSR and the fact that it can work, as well as about the possibilities for cooperation and the mutual benefits from it. A conference on CSR best practices was organised and a best practice book was published. CSA continues to provide training to various actors on CSR and to promote partnerships. They are also taking advantage of the increased awareness to start lobbying for a more conducive environment for CSR in Ethiopia.

Module 17: Responsible Policy Influencing

Preamble

As we have discovered, policy influencing is the process of influencing the behaviour of those with decision-making power in government, business or civil society. When such persons or entities make decisions, those decisions have an impact on larger groups or society as a whole. Similarly, if you attempt to influence these decisions, you become co-responsible to a certain extent.

Policy Influencing Principles

Most decision-makers apply a set of principles, whether consciously or unconsciously, in order to define if they have to take a person or an organization seriously. The following questions must be addressed by both you as policy influencers, and your political targets, the decision-makers from government, private sector, or CSOs and beneficiaries:

- ❖ Why should people trust you?
- ❖ Who or what gives you the right to interfere?
- ❖ How can you be transparent towards decision-makers, donors, your constituency, and beneficiaries alike?
- ❖ How are you being helpful, and do you focus on win-win solutions?
- ❖ What is your power base and how do you use it?

The answers to these questions may be translated into the five so called PI-principles, which are abbreviated as CLASP, which stands for:

- C** Credibility
- L** Legitimacy
- A** Accountability
- S** Service-orientedness
- P** Power-based

Credibility: why should people trust you?

Credibility refers to the objective and subjective components of the believability of a source or message, also known as evidence-based advocacy. Indicators of credibility include:

- ❖ Constituency participation in fact finding and research
- ❖ Providing evidence and fact finding in a scientific way
- ❖ Creating availability of data on your constituency
- ❖ Doing research on policy and effects on your constituency

Legitimacy: who or what gives you the right to interfere?

In political science, legitimacy is defined as the popular acceptance of a governing regime or law as an authority. (Source: Politics, Power, and Authority, Boundless Sociology - Lumen)

Indicators of Legitimacy include:

- ❖ Involvement of your constituency / participation of beneficiaries in planning and implementation, but also in M&E
- ❖ Joint positioning
- ❖ Budgeting for legitimacy
- ❖ Meetings for preparation and feedback, also known as awareness raising.

Accountability: how can you be transparent towards stakeholders?

Accountability is a multifaceted concept in ethics and governance. It is often used synonymously with concepts such as responsibility, transparency, answerability, blameworthiness, liability, and other terms associated with the expectation of account giving. As an aspect of governance, it has been central to discussions related to problems in the public sector, non-profit, private, and corporate worlds. Indicators of accountability include:

- ❖ Your credibility can be proven by making public statements that can be supported by verifiable data, fact sheets and research reports
- ❖ Involvement of beneficiaries can be proven by public-facing activities
- ❖ You are budgeting for accountability
- ❖ Your legitimacy can be proven by providing information on beneficiaries, constituencies, and boards; meetings for preparation and feedback, which could be referred to as awareness raising
- ❖ Your financial data is open to the public, sound and transparent.

Service-orientedness

Service-orientedness is more than just delivering a service - it is also your attitude when influencing policies and thus representing your beneficiaries. Service-orientedness is also about how you assume the role of a leader and how you treat your political targets, by respecting their personal integrity and fulfilling some part of their needs. Indicators of Service-Orientedness include:

Attitude indicators:

- ❖ Serve your constituency, your beneficiaries or the citizens you represent
- ❖ Do not treat your targets as your enemies
- ❖ Leave your pride at home and be a servant leader.

Performance indicators:

- ❖ Do as you promise, i.e. delivering promised facts, details, information, reports, and answers to questions that are relevant to your constituency and political targets
- ❖ Ensure your deliverables are of high quality
- ❖ Deliver the information in a timely manner so that your beneficiaries can respond, and your political targets can reflect and use the information.

Power-based

Power is an integral part of life, yet it is a difficult topic to address and work with. Power exists in interpersonal relationships such as friendships and marriages; organizational relationships, networks and alliances, including political parties – most certainly in the dynamics of politics.

Power may be perceived as especially monolithic and impenetrable for people who have lived under regimes that deny or repress citizens' participation. Our experience has shown that both newcomers in politics and seasoned activists often see power as sinister and unchanging. Such a one-dimensional perspective can paralyze effective analysis and action.

In reality, power is both dynamic and multi-dimensional, changing according to context, circumstance and interest. Its expressions and forms can range from domination and resistance to collaboration and transformation. This is good news.

"Power can be defined as the ability to achieve a purpose:

whether it is good or bad depends on how you deal with

the powers you have."

Martin Luther King

Indicators for Power Based PI include:

Power over

- ❖ the position you have in society, an organization, or politics, which is commonly referred to as the only power base, increases and maintains the image of your organization and its relations with its constituency and beneficiaries

Power to

- ❖ your policy knowledge, and development of evidence-based research with beneficiary involvement

Power within

- ❖ your attitude, reliability, and self-confidence, and having a servant leadership style of working as a networker and policy influencer

Power with

- ❖ your beneficiaries and allies, working together in joined and concerted action, effective way of working than doing it all alone, and participating in or collaborating with networks and alliances on your PI issues
- ❖ **Budgeting** for preparing and strengthening your power base, which can be accomplished through networking and alliance building, communication and transparency on websites, research, etc.

Exercise: Questions for further reflection

When you think of your opponents or political targets – the people you want to influence – what would be the difference if you used CLASP principles, in comparison to the interventions of other organizations that do NOT use CLASP? And why?

How can you convince your managers and donor organizations to create a budget for CLASP-based policy influencing?

How can you show to the outside world - your audiences – that your work is CLASP-based? What would you use and when?

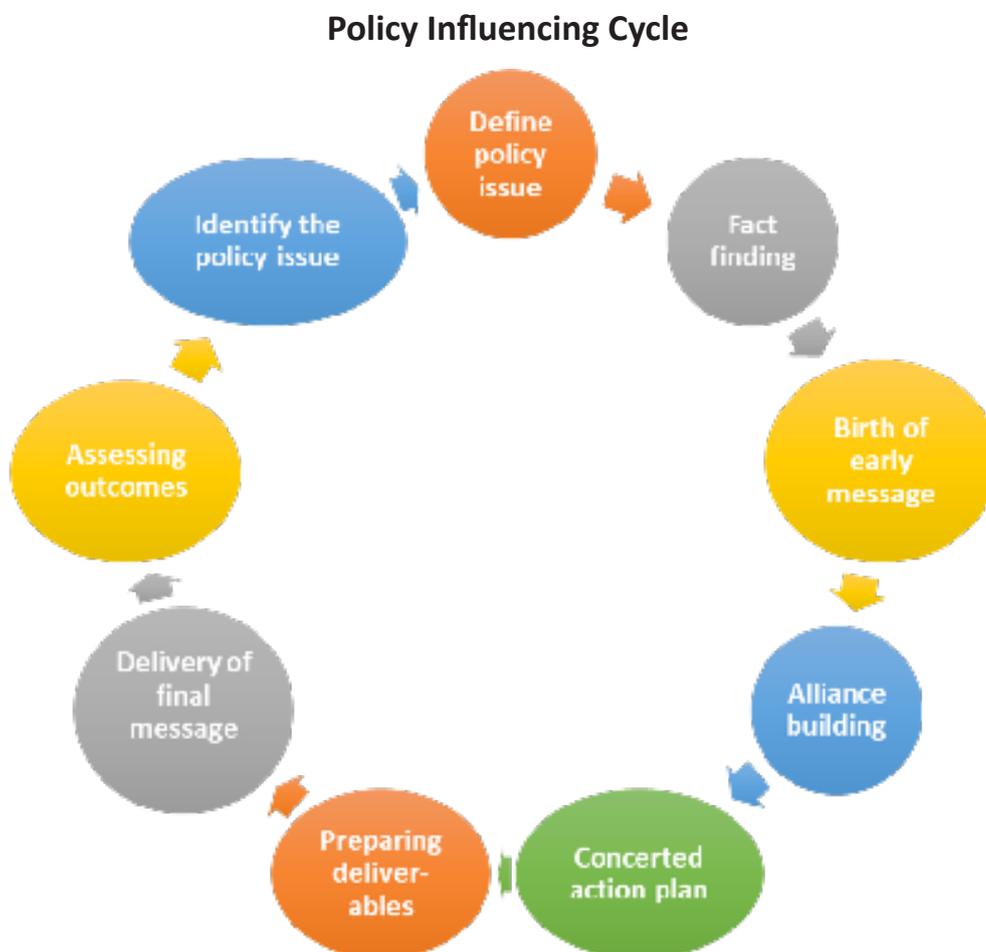
Module 18: Introduction of the Policy Influencing Cycle

Preamble

This manual is constructed in accordance with the Policy Influencing Cycle (PIC). The latter consists of interlinked steps with deliverables to be achieved after each step. It is complemented by tools designed to achieve these deliverables.

The Policy Influencing Cycle

The PIC is presented in the diagram below:



The circles above contain a mix of products or deliverables and what needs to be done to achieve these. This manual covers both aspects, complemented by how you get to the products by introducing a number of tools and approaches. Ways of using these tools and approaches in trainings and workshops are introduced in the Toolbox section.

Tips for practical application and facilitation

The policy influencing cycle is helpful to get started with a policy issue. However, it is not a road map, and you should not expect to have completed your task once you reach the circle at the end. Defining the policy issue and preparing the deliverables are the concrete steppingstones, and a concerted action plan is the work that needs to be done in order to reach the next level. You should address all of the different steps repeatedly throughout the cycle. Use the practical exercises alongside the cycle in order to keep aligned and effective in your policy influencing. Apply CLASP as your quality check list and your effectiveness will increase.

Exercise: Questions for further reflections

Does your organization identify policy issues while developing its vision, mission, and strategy?

Is there time and budget reserved in your organization to go through all steps of the policy influencing cycle?

Module 19: Identifying and Defining a Policy Issue

Preamble

Policy influencing interventions seek solutions to large-scale and complex problems in society. Thus, it is a serious, complicated business, and it has to be done well. The success of your policy intervention will be determined by how you choose your issue, who you choose it with, who else cares about it, and how well it is understood. Your credibility, which is a mix of *trustworthiness* and *expertise*, will be vitally important. Indeed, other, more subjective factors, such as a person's charisma and physical attractiveness, will also come into play.

Identifying a policy issue will give you an abstract idea of what you want to work on. However, this will not be sufficient. Following the identification of the policy issue, the next step will be to further define the issue. You will

need to have a clear and concrete message - without such a message, strategizing and identifying who to target and how to target them will be extremely difficult.

Example of identifying a policy issue

Sanitation in Ukraine's rural areas is a problem due to the deterioration of plumbing and sewerage systems after communism, and the use of pit latrines in densely populated villages. Ground and drinking water are polluted, and babies die of blue tongue disease. A potential solution could be to install eco sanitation toilets – a closed system in which the sewage is collected in containers and composted before being used as fertilizer. Unfortunately, no regulations exist in the country, and therefore it is illegal to build these eco-toilets. You therefore have to decide what the policy issue is: to change Ukraine's existing sanitation policies and regulations, or to find another practical solution within the current legal framework?

Exercise: Questions for further reflections

What policy influencing issues is your organisation addressing?

Why and how did you decide to take them on as an organization?

Is the policy influencing issue embedded in the organization? Is policy influencing in itself embedded within the organization?

How to further define the policy issue

A contextual analysis represents the baseline of your work and the departure point for planning your future interventions. Having a good contextual analysis allows you to make informed decisions about your activities. It captures the situation as it is now and provides the basis for thinking about how the situation should be. It is at this point that you start understanding more about the issue you are working on, making it more precise and elaborating on what and who to change and why this change should happen.

A contextual analysis should contain at least three types of analysis that sometimes overlap:

- ❖ **Analysis of actors:** Who will you be collaborating with in your intervention planning and implementation? How will you work with them, and at what level of participation in planning and implementation?
- ❖ **Analysis of factors:** What factors (both internal and external) are likely to influence your organization and/or your policy influencing interventions on the issue?
- ❖ **Analysis of your own organization:** This part is often forgotten but is an important pillar of the overall contextual analysis. Analyzing your own organization helps you place yourself within the context, in particular regarding the issue. It also allows you to determine whether you are best placed to intervene, and to identify potential bottlenecks or lack of capacity for working on the issue.

Beneficiary Participation: Who are beneficiaries?

“It is not the function of our Government to keep the citizen from falling into error; it is the function of the citizen to keep the Government from falling into error.”

U.S. Supreme Court

People, groups, or institutions with interests in a process, such as policy influencing, are referred to as stakeholders. There are always beneficiaries with regard to the policy issue you are working on. These are people and groups whose lives are likely to improve due to successful policy influencing.

Exercise: QUESTIONS for further reflections

Encouraging beneficiaries to effectively participate in the planning and implementation of policy influencing interventions requires a lot of time and resources, and these are often not available. How then do you ensure their participation without losing momentum?

True participation is difficult as it requires the participation of beneficiaries, who themselves are not homogeneous and have different agendas. How do you make sure all interest groups are represented?

Module 20: Strategizing with Stakeholders on the Early Message

Preamble

A stakeholder is a person, group, institution or organization who has a particular stake or interest in a given issue. In policy influencing they may include those directly affected by the problem (e.g. local communities, farmers, traders, women, etc.); those responsible for creating it, or with formal responsibility for finding a solution (e.g. government, local authorities, civil servants, health workers, etc); those concerned with the welfare of others (e.g. trade unions, CSOs, church groups, the media); and international players (e.g. UN, World Bank, donors, etc).

In this module, the focus of the stakeholder analysis will be on strategizing for your intervention. By doing a stakeholder analysis around a policy issue, you can identify who your allies, political targets; and opponents are.

Stakeholder analysis

Undertaking a stakeholder analysis is common when planning project interventions. It involves listing the stakeholders (of all kinds) who are involved in, or identified with, your project / policy influencing activity. This is the beginning of strategizing. However, you will undertake the listing of stakeholders and the identification of primary stakeholders on several occasions.

When carrying out your stakeholder analysis you should apply the following three filtering questions:

- ❖ To what extent does the stakeholder agree or disagree with your position?
- ❖ How important is the issue to the stakeholder in comparison to others?
- ❖ How influential, relative to others, is the stakeholder in any related decisions?

The information obtained can be presented in an *Allies and Opponents Matrix*.

Allies and opponents' matrix

Attitude of the audience to your position	Very pro			Main allies
	Pro			
	Neutral			Key influence ground
	Anti			
	Very anti			Main opponents
		Low	Medium	High

Influence of the audience on the issue

From the *Allies and Opponents Matrix*, you can identify who your most significant allies and opponents are, and who the most influential neutrals are. Those neutrals could be very important as you might be able to shift them over to your side, a key battleground as your opponents will also be trying to do the same. Stakeholder groups are not fixed in their positions and the matrix may provide you with insights into how to create extra power for your strategy, for example by:

- ❖ building alliances with allies with positive attitudes and low influence
- ❖ persuading stakeholders of your position on the issue of influential neutrals and soft opponents
- ❖ increasing the influence of allies with mostly low influence
- ❖ reducing the influence of opponents with high influence.

Mapping the Policy Process

Mapping the policy process involves identifying whether or not your issue is being dealt with in the policy-making process, and where and when any decision will be taken. It also provides an indication of how to get the issue on the agenda if it has not yet been dealt with. This is extremely important for your policy influencing as it will affect what you do, with whom and who you target.

Networking for Policy Influencing

Using the Allies and Opponents matrix, we will detect a clustering of allies at one side, and a clustering of opponents at the other side of the matrix. In between, we have the so-called key battle ground, and this is where influence should be exerted on the primary targets and decision makers. They will be influenced from different sides and will have to balance the interests of all sides – from allies to opponents of your political position. Additionally, every organization will use its own *channels of influence* to get the message across for the sake of its beneficiaries or its own constituency. One organization can have several *direct or indirect targets* they will influence.

Summary of key areas to be scrutinized

- ❖ What exactly is the problem your policy influencing work is trying to address?
- ❖ Who is involved in the definition of the issue and the analytical process?
- ❖ How do beneficiaries/communities/ constituencies participate?
- ❖ Who are your primary targets (individuals, groups of people, organizations in various structures ranging from the Kebele to the Federal Parliament)?
- ❖ What is the acceptance of the issue?
- ❖ Do you know the decision-making processes and timelines?
- ❖ Do you need alliances to build up power in your advocacy and influence?
- ❖ Is influencing them directly enough, or do you need a more differentiated and phased approach? (This is very important when you develop an action plan - designing a clear strategy and tactics are key things to consider.)
- ❖ What activities are you planning in order to achieve the expected results?
- ❖ What progress can you see?

Module 21: Policy Influencing Action Plan

Preamble

This module recaps on all the elements of the action plan, along with questions you should now be able to answer, having gone through the different analyses.

Context Analysis

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND: Describe the background and events that led to the choice of solutions envisaged by you and/or your organization/alliance – both practical as well as policy and political solutions.

POLICY ISSUE: Describe the policy issue you are working on.

FACTORS AND ACTORS AND YOUR ORGANISATION: Describe the factors and actors related to this policy issue. Describe these in facts and figures in order to make your issue credible, legitimate and accountable.

Planning

PARTICIPATION OF BENEFICIARIES: Describe the participation of beneficiaries and the results of this participation in planning.

- What has been the role of beneficiaries in the planning?
- Have they been consulted?
- Do they have official decision-making responsibilities?

How have you arranged the participation of the beneficiaries and how frequently have you consulted them?

What other activities have you undertaken to strengthen their capacity to participate in planning?

Have you ensured that all beneficiary groups, such as men, women, youth, persons with disabilities (PWD), different age groups and so on, have been consulted? If so, how did you make sure you got relevant information from all those groups?

What was the consultation and was it gender sensitive / disability / ethnically sensitive, etc (as appropriate)?

DEFINING THE POLICY ISSUE AND EARLY MESSAGE: Describe your final analysis of the problem situation (including a cause-effect analysis).

Describe your vision or ultimate goal for the situation if everything you and others do to solve the problem succeeds. Please do remember to make the change for the beneficiaries as concrete as possible.

Describe what changes are needed to achieve the vision. Make explicit what YOU are going to do. These are changes that you, as an organization, and your partners, are working on. Your programmes contribute to these changes. An outcome is formulated by concretely stating who will change what.

Describe the final policy issue on which you will be working:

What is your position or early message with regard to this issue?

STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS: Repeat the issue and early message as it is the starting point of your stakeholder analysis. List *all* stakeholders that have a stake in the policy issue, and score them according to their *attitude, importance and influence on your position or message*.

Present the results of the stakeholder analysis in:

- a. an audience prioritization matrix; and/or
- b. allies and opponents' matrix;
- c. the audience targeting table.

Indicate how you will make different stakeholders participate in the planning and implementation of your intervention.

MAPPING POLICY PROCESSES: Describe the major policy processes, events and opportunities for influencing policy decisions relevant to your policy issue. Put these on the table.

Phase	Structure (where?)	Actor (who?)	Time	Action
Brainstorming				
Design				
Pre-decision				
Decision				
Implementation				

Who is responsible for making sure actions are directed towards the right actor at the right time?

Have you considered budgeting for this?

ALLIANCE BUILDING: Based on the stakeholder analysis, describe with which partners you will be seeking to form an alliance.

Describe how you intend to manage the alliance and network dynamics.

Do you have a shared ambition? Who is willing to spend time, money and energy?

Who will be partners and suppliers?

CLASP PRINCIPLES – ASSESS YOURSELF and YOUR NETWORK PARTNERS

Describe how your organization and your network score on the principles of Credibility, Legitimacy, Accountability, Service Orientedness and Power.

	Current situation	Desired situation	Actions to undertake
Credibility			
Legitimacy			
Accountability			
Service-oriented-ness			
Power			

Do you have the budget to keep the principles going and to improve them if needed?

FINAL ACTION PLANNING – and APPLY CLASP on this ALLIANCE ACTION PLAN: Describe your final action plan. For each step, you should indicate:

your results / progress markers on the step, in terms of behavioural change

your activities / products / services under the step.

Preparation activities: Delivering products and services:

- o research and fact finding - lobbying
- o constituency/beneficiary participation - communication
- o alliance building and networking – campaigning
- o division of tasks and responsibilities among your alliance members
- o timeline
- o resources (financial, human resources, materials)
- o potential barriers
- o communications plan.

Short term results:

Your intervention will always start with a phase in which you engage others such as beneficiaries and allies. Describe the steps leading to the initial engagement: describe for each step which type of engagement you want to see:

Step 1

Step 2

Step 3

Etc.

At the end of these steps, is there an early, encouraging response to the programme?

Intermediate results: The initial engagement should change the behaviour of those with whom you engage. They start to do things differently in order to achieve the ultimate behavioural change that they all agreed was required. This is active engagement and shows true commitment. This is where political targets will start to be influenced. Describe the steps leading to the effective influencing of political targets. Those are the steps you see happening when an initial engagement is converted into action. Describe for each step the type of change you want to see per stakeholder:

Step 1

Step 2

Step 3

Etc.

Long-term outcome: This is where the influence on political targets is converted into the behavioural change in those targets. If your political targets are not those who need to ultimately change, then you also want to see change at the level of that target – the final step.

Describe the steps leading to the change in the final stakeholder you want to effect. Describe the type of change you want to see happening each stage.

Step 1

Step 2

Step 3

Etc.

Module 22: Delivering the Final Message

Preamble

For every lobbyist, campaigner, communication officer, or director, the delivery of the policy message is the “moment of supreme importance”. After lots of preparation, you go public with your well-defined position, together with your allies. The way you do this and who does it depends on your defined strategy and tactics. The PI Continuum (described previously) will help you to define when you do what.

Preparing your position for delivery to different audiences

Different activities require different outputs, different messages and different competencies. In direct and personal contact with policy makers and political decision makers, you have to improve your negotiation skills, and reflect on your own attitude, that of your political target, and deal with this in your conversation. In contact with the media, you need writing and presenting skills, or media training, and, nowadays, know how to use the internet and social media. When campaigning and mobilizing the masses, you have to be an excellent speaker and leader. Not everyone can do everything well – so you need to divide the roles according to positions and competencies amongst the members of alliances or other organizations you work with.

Formulating your Final Message for different audiences

The core of your message will be the same, but the audiences you target are different.

Consequently, you will have to adapt your message to the public you are trying to reach.

Five Key Elements of Messages

Content is only one part of a message. Other nonverbal factors, such as who delivers the message (messenger), where a meeting takes place, or the timing of the message, can be just as, if not more, important than the message itself. In addition, what is not said can send a stronger message than what is.

i. Content/Ideas: What concepts do you want to convey? What arguments will you use to persuade your audience?

ii. Language: What words will you choose to get your message across clearly and effectively? Are there words you should or should not use?

iii. Source/Messenger: Who will the audience respond to and find credible?

iv. Format: Which way(s) will you deliver your message for maximum impact? e.g., a meeting, letter, brochure, or radio ad?

v. Time and Place: When is the best time to deliver the message? Is there a place to deliver your message that will enhance its credibility or give it more political impact?

Examples of different audiences and related skills:	
❖ Examples of different audiences and related skills:	❖ Examples of different audiences and related skills:
❖ Examples of different audiences and related skills:	❖ Examples of different audiences and related skills:

Delivery of the message

- ❖ Before you go to the meeting, make sure you have made your CLASP checks:
- ❖ Can people trust you? (Credibility)
- ❖ Do you have the right to interfere? Are you there with a mandate from your beneficiaries? (Legitimacy)
- ❖ Can you be transparent with decision makers, donors, constituency, and beneficiaries alike? (Upward and downward accountability)
- ❖ Are you willing to assist, and are you positive about finding win-win solutions? (Service orientedness)
- ❖ What is your power base and how do you use it? (Power)

Module 23: Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

Preamble

The monitoring and evaluation of policy influencing initiatives is notoriously difficult and full of challenges for a number of reasons. These include poor planning without clear goals. There are also many inherently difficult factors. For example, policy influencing is not only about changing things for the better – it sometimes tries to prevent things from getting any worse, and it is difficult to measure or attribute what you do to this. Furthermore, policy influencing is primarily concerned with influencing those you wish to influence, and they are also influenced by other factors, many of which are outside your control. When such external factors are not monitored closely, it becomes very difficult to understand how much influence your intervention specifically has had on changing behaviour.

M&E Criteria

There are five basic criteria against which you may evaluate your policy-influencing interventions, as outlined in the table below.

Monitoring and Evaluation template

Criteria	General question	Policy influencing question
Relevance	Is there still a need?	Is the issue still a problem for the beneficiaries?
Efficiency	Were resources used wisely	Were resources used for the planned activities and outputs?
Effectiveness	Did we deliver as planned?	Did those activities and outputs lead to the anticipated changes we wanted in the sphere of influence? Did we strategize well?
Impact	Did it change the lives of the target group?	Did the change we influenced also change something for the beneficiaries in the sphere of interest?
Sustainability	What remains after leaving	Did we make sure the change is lasting and others, such as beneficiaries, can continue working on the change?

Selected References (included for further reading)

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- VSO’s Participatory Advocacy Toolkit
http://www.vsointernational.org/Images/advocacy-toolkit_tcm76-25498.pdf
- Womankind Women’s Rights Advocacy Toolkit
<http://www.womankind.org.uk/policy-and-resources/womens-rights-advocacy-toolkit/>

Annexes

Annex 1: Glossary of Key Terms

Accountability is a concept in ethics and governance with several meanings. It is often used synonymously with such concepts as responsibility, transparency, answerability, blameworthiness, liability, and other terms associated with the expectation of account-giving.

Actors entail any actor in society with an interest in a particular issue, either from the government, private sector, or civil society. It can be organizations, institutions, and individual persons.

Activism as used in the context of this Manual is a distinctive feature that entails activities directed towards third parties (e.g. the public) and may be non-violent or violent, legal or illegal. Mostly such activities are not designed to create or propose consensus. They are set up to convince or inform others, for example, to get popular support for an issue or place an issue on the agenda.

Advocacy refers to non-violent activities to influence policies, practices, and behaviour. It includes lobbying (non-violent by nature) and other activities that are not lobbying but are non-violent and considered legal.

Behavioural change is the change in the behaviour of your political target(s).

Beneficiary participation is the level of involvement of beneficiaries or citizens in the policy influencing process at all points – the selection and definition of the issue, the analysis, the preparation, the delivery, and the evaluation.

Credibility refers to the objective and subjective components of the believability of a source or message, also known as evidence-based advocacy, based on trustworthiness, expertise, and charisma.

Communication is sending messages to, and receiving messages from, different audiences.

Constituency is the group of people, citizens, members, beneficiaries, or board representatives that provide your mandate and give you support when speaking out in public.

Legitimacy is the popular acceptance of a governing regime or law as an authority – it refers to a system as well as something on which consensus and acceptance are built.

A logical framework is a tool for planning, monitoring, and evaluation of interventions for projects and programmes, based on a context analysis.

Lobbying refers to all activities designed to influence, whereby dialogue with those you want to change is central. It is consensus-driven and both parties are willing to work towards a consensus.

Outcome Mapping is a tool for planning, monitoring, and evaluation of complex changes in society involving several actors, stakeholders, and beneficiaries.

Pathway to Change refers to several So-that ladders (one following the other) by one or more actors to achieve the wish for behavioural change.

Policy is a set of factors directed or guided by the law or accepted practices (legitimate), often represented by the government, dominant power brokers, or stakeholders. Such factors are not easy to change or influence. However, most policy influencing processes target such factors and actors to bring about change.

Politics is the formal forum of policy and law negotiations taking place in the political arena of a democracy like the government, the parliament, the senate, but also at the higher level of NGOs and businesses.

Policy Influencing refers to the deliberate and systematic process of influencing the policies, practices, and behaviour of different targeted stakeholders that are most influential on the issue, involving beneficiaries and increasing their ownership and capacity on the issue. Activities can be singled out, or a mixed strategy can be applied, in which joined forces and concerted action increase the effectiveness of the policy influencing interventions.

Policy Influencing Cycle, based on the Project Management Cycle, is used throughout the Manual to set out the steps to be taken in developing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating a policy influencing intervention. The steps are complemented by-products to be developed after each step and tools and methods to undertake the step. The basic message of the cycle is that you need to plan your intervention carefully.

Power is the force, position, and energy that people have and can use to bring about change. Power can be used positively and negatively. You can distinguish between power over, power to, power with, and power within.

Service Orientedness is the attitude by which you deal with other people and in policy influencing the targeted political decision-makers. It means that you have to respect people, that you keep your promises, that you provide high-quality inputs and that your delivery is timely.

Social Media are media for social interaction, using highly accessible and scalable communication techniques. Social media is the use of web-based and mobile technologies to turn communication into interactive dialogue like Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, Linked In, etc.

Stakeholder refers to all actors in society from government, civil society, or private sector who have an interest 'at stake' either in favor or against or neutral to your own position or opinion.

Strategic Partners is a term used in the Outcome Mapping theory for actors with whom you or your organization collaborates, those of your allies, or like-minded organizations.

(Source: TACSO, Advocacy and policy influencing for changes, Ger Roebeling, Jan de Vries, 2011)

Annex 2: The Policy and Law-Making Process in Ethiopia

The policymaking process comprises several stages. The process includes problem identification and agenda setting, policy initiation and formulation, adoption, implementation, evaluation and policy redesign. The most important public policy making bodies in Ethiopia are the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The focus here is to show the practice of the policy making process in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian legislature is more or less involved in all policy making stages, be it significantly or not. However, it is boldly involved in legislative and oversight activities. Draft Laws (Bills) and other strategic documents, such as development plans, are scrutinized and adopted by the legislature.

According to the Ethiopian constitution (1995) the HPR has the mandates from initiating to adopting laws. The MPs, the committees and the parliamentary groups have the right to initiate draft bills, except financial bills which are limited to the government only. However, in practice MOST bills are initiated by the executive departments (ministries). Nevertheless, the initiation of most of the bills by the executive does not mean the legislature has not any input in the preparation of the bills. The issues and problems that arise frequently in the legislature push the executive to prepare bills that would ease the problems and the legislature contributes to the initiation of bills indirectly.

Any bill that comes to the legislature must be signed by the respective initiator and handed over to the speaker. Under the auspice of the speaker, the bill is required to be approved as an agenda item by the business advisory committee and be presented to the plenary session. Prior to its discussion, a representative of the policy initiator needs to brief to the house on the contents and importance of the bill. After the briefing the first reading debate takes place, focusing on general issues. As the first reading is concluded, the bill either will be referred to the relevant standing committee for further scrutiny or directly, if the motion is moved, it will be passed to a second reading and enacted as a law. Nevertheless, direct adoption of bills is not common, except financial bills. If the document is not distributed before 48 hours, it must be presented by reading in detail.

Any bill referred to the concerned committee after the first reading is required to undergo several stages prior to its approval by the House. Firstly, the committee to which the bill is referred has to examine it carefully and in detail. After the committee members make it clear to themselves it is important to identify issues and questions to be clarified and answered by the initiator. The next step will be inviting the initiator government department heads and professionals to explain the purpose and importance of the draft bill and answer the questions prepared by the respective standing committee beforehand.

In this testimonial forum, MPs other than the committee members can take part and pose questions and opinions over the agenda. The representative(s) of the initiator government department give(s) clarifications over the vague issues and give(s) answers to the questions from the standing committee and participants of the forum. If the bill under question is deemed to affect public interest, a public hearing will be organized by the focal committee. The public forum is represented by different stakeholders who may include mass organizations, professional associations, civil society organizations (CSOs) and higher education and research institutions, chambers of commerce, public institutions, interest groups and individuals. These stakeholders are invited through broadcast media publicly and through letters individually along with a copy of the agenda to make the necessary preparations in advance.

Stakeholders who are not able to participate in person can send their opinions and questions through letters, telephone and other electronic means. Once the arrangements are finalized, the public hearing debate will take place. In this forum, the committee plays the role of a mediator. The opinions and questions forwarded by the participants are addressed (responded to) only by experts of the initiator department. However, the committee takes notes carefully during the discussion. As the public hearing is concluded, evaluation of the standing committee is important to ascertain whether the hearing is enough or more hearing is needed. If the committee believes that more hearing is needed it can be organized in a similar way as per the aforementioned pattern.

In the post hearing period, the concerned standing committee discusses public opinions and identifies issues to be amended in the bill. Then a report and resolution proposal will be prepared. Its content includes the process of examination of the bill, amendments and the resolution proposal. As the report is submitted to the speaker, he/she presents it to the business advisory committee to be approved as an agenda item in the next session of the House. The second reading is held based on the report of the concerned standing committee. In this step, detailed debate takes place and finally the bill is either passed as a law or referred back to the committee for more scrutiny. In the case of the latter, once further scrutiny takes place, a report is presented to the House in a similar way to the previous situation, and a third reading is carried out. Eventually the bill is voted to be law. This is the procedure governing how Ethiopian legislation is approved. So far, we have seen the general procedure of the law-making process of the legislature. This procedure is only applied in examining and approving draft bills.

The FDRE's Constitution (1995) Article 55(10) stipulates that the general policies and strategies of the country shall be approved by the legislature, while under article 77(6), economic, social and development policies shall be formulated and implemented by the executive.

However, like the PASDEP and GTP plans, the general policies and strategies of the country must be discussed and approved by the legislature. Though the adoption of regulations is vested in the legislature, the mandate is delegated to the Council of Ministers based on the constitutional provision. Directives are initiated and approved within the executive departments.

Annex 3: Summary of Names, Functions, Number of Standing Committee Members and Public Departments in Ethiopia

Standing Committees are the pillars of the House and almost all the business of the House is processed under the auspices of these Committees. The House has established 16 Standing Committees in the fourth term, which have been given the powers and duties, by the same regulation, to examine draft laws referred to them and to submit reports and proposals after examining them; oversee government bodies; initiate laws; examine witnesses and documents, and so on.

Number of committee members and public departments overseen by the committees

No.	Name of the committee	No. of committee members	No. of Public departments overseen by the committees
1	Human resource Development Affairs Standing Committee	20	9
2	Trade Affairs Standing Committee	15	5
3	Industry Affairs Standing Committee	20	8
4	Agriculture Affairs Standing Committee	20	10
5	Natural Resource and Environmental Affairs Standing Committee	20	12
6	Transport Affairs Standing Committee	20	9
7	Urban Development and Construction Affairs Standing Committee	15	4
8	Science, Communication and Technology Affairs Standing Committee	20	5
9	Budget and Finance Affairs Standing Committee	20	9
10	Legal, Justice and Administrative Affairs Standing Committee	18	14
11	Foreign, Defence and Security Affairs Standing Committee	15	4
12	Women, Children and Youth Affairs Standing Committee	19	3
13	Culture, Tourism and Mass media Affairs Standing Committee	20	10
14	Social Affairs Standing Committee	20	9
15	Pastoralists Affairs Standing Committee	19	1
16	Public Accounts Affairs Standing Committee	15	1
Total		296	113

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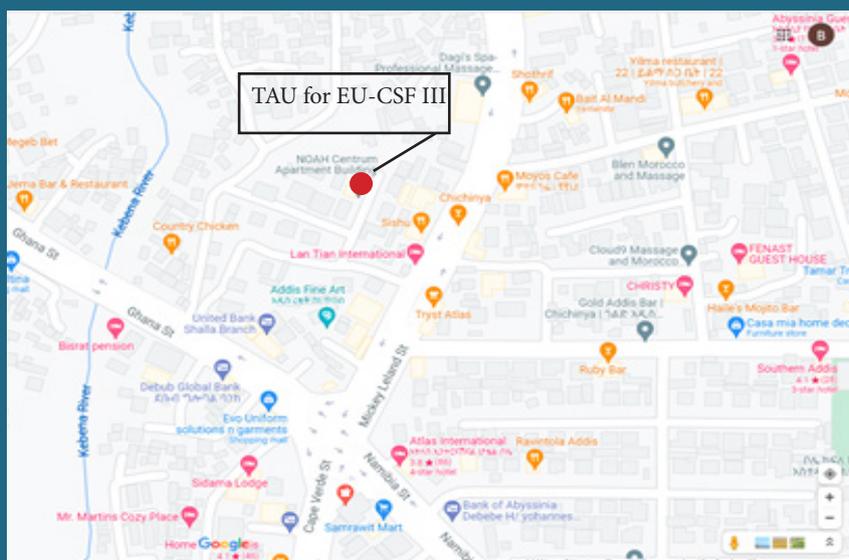
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