INCLUSIVE SECURITY

AP Photo/Fernando Vergara

MODULE SIX

Choose Tactics

Advocacy for Inclusive Security
Curriculum

Acknowledgements

Carrie O'Neil and Nanako Tamaru are the primary authors of this curriculum. Many Inclusive Security staff also contributed to its development; Elena Parades, Jacqueline O'Neill, Michelle Barsa, and Miki Jacevic were instrumental in shaping content. Thanks also to Lauren Conroy, Farah Council, Radhika Behuria, Angelic Young, Ruth Allen, Marie O'Reilly, Pari Farmani, Kristin Williams, Kelly Case, Anna Tonelli, Shereen Hall, and Stephanie Pierce-Conway for invaluable help along the way.

Many thanks to the members of the Women Waging Peace Network for telling us we needed this resource, and for helping us develop and refine the content, with special thanks to Alice Nderitu, Huda Shafig, Rajaa Altalli, and Stella Sabiti. Your tireless, strategic work to make the world a more just and peaceful place is Inclusive Security's reason for being. Thank you for being our teachers, and showing us what kind of persistence and leadership is possible.

RESTRICTIONS OF USE

©2017 Inclusive Security. All rights reserved. This module is provided to you pursuant to the following terms and conditions. Your acceptance of the work constitutes your acceptance of these terms:

- You may reproduce and distribute the work to others for free, but you may not sell the work to others.
- Any reproduction of the contents in this module must include attribution as to source ("Originally adapted from the works of Inclusive Security, a Program of Hunt Alternatives").
- You may modify the work, provided proper attribution and provided further that you send any significant modifications or updates to info@inclusivesecurity.org.

Contents

Presentation 6.1 Introduction to the Module 8

Activity 6.2 Advocacy Tactics 9

Discussion 6.3 Criteria for Choosing Your Approach and Tactics 14

Activity 6.4 Strategic Timing 16

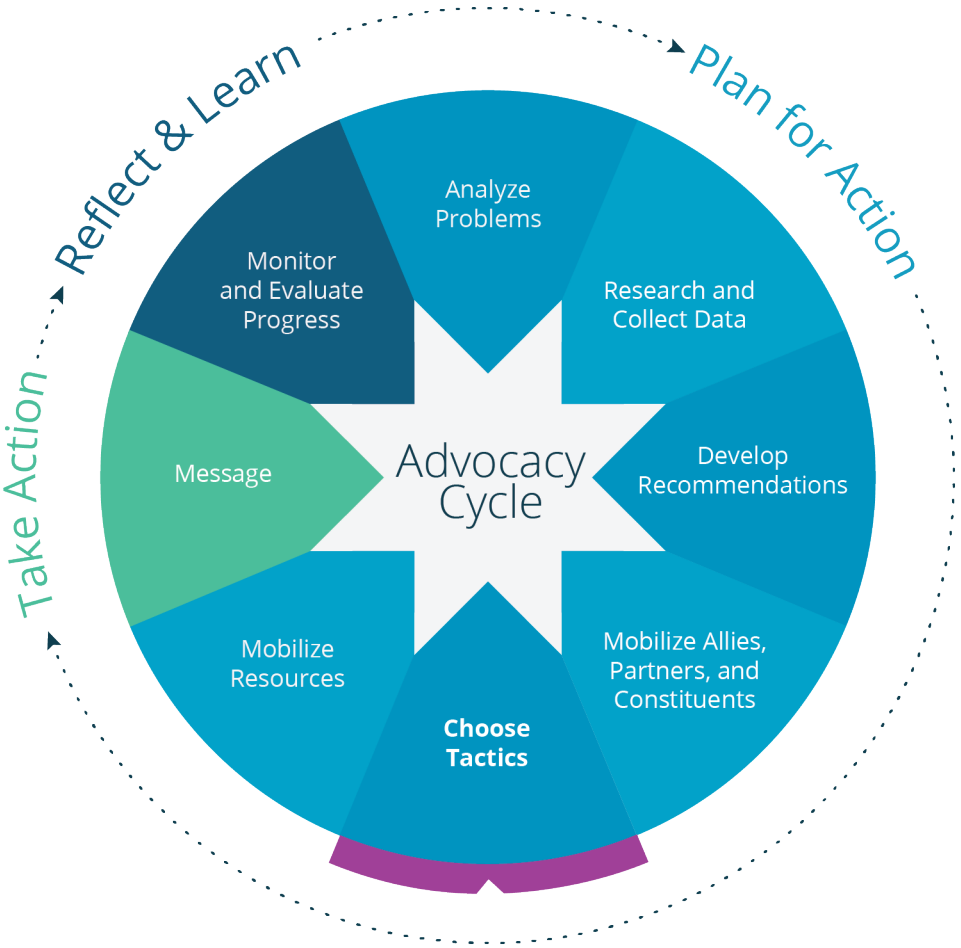
Activity 6.5 Assessing Risk 18

Activity 6.6 Advocacy Action Planning 21

Presentation 6.7 Conclusion 23

Annex 24

© 2017 Inclusive Security



Advocacy for Inclusive Security Curriculum

Module 1 | Introduction to Advocacy

Module 2 | Analyze Problems

Module 3 | Research and Collect Data

Module 4 | Develop Recommendations

Module 5 | Mobilize Allies, Partners, and Constituents

Module 6 | Choose Tactics

Module 7 | Mobilize Resources

Module 8 | Message

Module 9 | Monitor and Evaluate Progress

© 2017 Inclusive Security

MODULE OVERVIEW:
Choose Tactics

Learning Objectives

Participants are able to:

- Explain the range of tactics advocates can use and the appropriate time to use them.
- Identify and take advantage of strategic timing and unexpected openings for impact.
- Identify, analyze, and develop plans for mitigating risk.
- Create an action plan that captures your advocacy strategy and tactics.

Evaluation Procedures
Pre- and post-workshop evaluations

Time Frame
6 Hours 9 Minutes

Background for Facilitator

This module introduces participants to constructive and confrontational approaches to advocacy and tools for deciding which tactics to use to achieve your advocacy objectives. The risk analysis and advocacy action plan components of this module are best implemented in workshops where there are groups of participants who are currently working together or will work together after the workshop.

The content of this module aims to highlight that different circumstances necessitate different tactics. You may want to emphasize to participants that while there may be a time and place for large-scale public tactics (e.g., protests, demonstrations), these tactics will not succeed in bringing about change in every case. When policymakers are open to dialogue and engagement, that may be an ideal time for constructive approaches (e.g., Arab Spring – demonstrations were effective to overthrow the existing government, but were often less effective in the post-revolution context).

Background resources

- Inclusive Security. *Inclusive Security: A Curriculum for Women Waging Peace.* Washington: Inclusive Security, 2009.
- Inclusive Security and International Alert. *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action.* Washington: Inclusive Security, November 2004.
- VeneKlasen, Lisa and Valerie Miller. *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics.* Warwickshire, UK, Practical Action Publishing Ltd., 2007.
- Bobo, Kim, Jackie Kendall, and Steve Max. *Organizing for Social Change Manual.* Chicago: Midwest Academy, 2010.
- University of Kentucky, Working Group for Community Health and Development. "Community Tool Box: Chapters 5. Choosing Strategies to Promote Community Health and Development." ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents-community-assessment/choosing-strategies-to-promote-community-health-and-development.
- University of Kentucky, Working Group for Community Health and Development. "Community Tool Box: Chapters 33. Conducting a Direct Action Campaign." ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/direct-action

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Time	Type of Session	Title
2 minutes	Presentation	Introduction to the Module
65-115 minutes	Activity	Advocacy Tactics
60 minutes	Discussion	Criteria for Choosing Your Approach and Tactics
55 minutes	Discussion	Strategic Timing
75 minutes	Activity	Assessing Risk
60 minutes	Activity	Advocacy Action Planning
2 minutes	Presentation	Conclusion

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Choose Tactics

Key Takeaways

Advocacy tactics can support a constructive or confrontational advocacy strategy.

There are different considerations for when one approach might be better than the other for achieving a given advocacy goal. The type of tactics employed largely depends on the environment surrounding the change you want to achieve.

An advocacy strategy should be responsive to strategic timing.

Good advocates think long term about how to ripen policy issues, but they also carefully monitor the policy landscape for opportunities that may arise to gain momentum on policy change. Regularly adjusting your advocacy tactics, based on ongoing policy and political analysis, is necessary to take advantage of these kinds of opportunities.

Advocacy planning should include a process for identifying, analyzing, and managing risks.

At a minimum, failing to assess risk can lead to limited results and ineffective partnerships. In certain contexts, failure to assess risk can have much more significant consequences and can put people's lives in danger. The purpose of assessing risk is not to become so aware of the risks that you become paralyzed and do nothing. Understanding risk is important for planning and can help you to make smart decisions that keep your organization's/platform's best interests in mind.

Advocacy action plans organize your strategy into concrete, actionable steps.

An advocacy action plan requires you to get really specific about how you are going to achieve your advocacy goal. Developing a coherent plan can help to test your change logic and establish clear steps to make your activities happen.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Presentation 6.1 Introduction to the Module

Background for Facilitator

This section introduces the purpose and learning objectives of the module.

Materials Needed
None

Learning Objectives
Participants are able to identify the purpose and learning objectives of this module.

Time 2 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- Determining your advocacy tactics will help to focus your advocacy planning efforts. You will begin to think more concretely about your advocacy goal, when you consider the types of tactics or activities needed to achieve your intended policy change.
- Choosing tactics depends on a combination of factors, including potential for success in your operating environment, associated risk, timing, and resources. We'll consider two different approaches to advocacy (constructive and confrontational) and explore which types of tactics or activities may best fit your desired goal in your given context. Specifically, we'll look at how strategic timing and risk factor in to choosing and planning your advocacy tactics.
- We'll also explore advocacy action plans as a means to organize your advocacy strategy and tactics. You'll have an opportunity to reflect on much of the work you've done in developing your advocacy goal, advocacy targets, and recommendations.
- After this module we hope you will be able to:
  - Explain the range of tactics advocates can use and the appropriate time to use them.
  - Identify and take advantage of strategic timing and unexpected openings for impact.
  - Identify, analyze, and develop plans for mitigating risk.
  - Create an action plan that captures your advocacy strategy and tactics.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Activity 6.2 Advocacy Tactics

Background for Facilitator

In this activity, participants will be introduced to two broad categories of advocacy approaches - constructive and confrontational. Participants will reflect on the types of advocacy tactics that others have used and share their experiences. The purpose of this activity is to introduce a framework for planning strategic action. Participants will begin to think about which tactics would best serve their advocacy goal.

This activity includes a case study that is available in print or film. The film is called "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" (75 minutes); it's a production of Fork Films and can be purchased at www.forkfilms.net/pray-the-devil-back-to-hell. Note that the video and written case study are also referenced in Module 1: Introduction to Advocacy. The Liberian case study presents examples of more confrontational approaches to advocacy.

Materials Needed
Presentation slides; Identifying Advocacy Tactics handout; flipchart; markers; Women Mobilizing Case Study – Liberia handout or "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" film

Learning Objectives
Participants are able to identify the difference between confrontational and constructive advocacy tactics and relate this distinction to their own experiences as advocates.

Time 65-115 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- Once you have identified your advocacy goal and conducted sufficient research to understand the environment you're working in, you're ready to choose the tactics that will help you achieve your advocacy goal. Advocacy tactics are the actions or activities that you conduct to push toward your advocacy goal or your desired change. Determining what tactics to choose is an important strategic decision that depends on a number of factors, including timing, risk, resources and the external environment.
- There are two broad categories of advocacy approaches – confrontational and constructive. And within each of these approaches are a wide range of tactics.
  - A **constructive approach** uses collaborative means to get your point across. Tactics that could be used in this approach include working with policymakers and awareness raising.
  - A **confrontational approach** uses adversarial means to get your point across. Tactics that could be used in this approach include strikes, protests, sit-ins, naming-and-shaming, and petition drives.
- Your organization or platform will need to decide which type of approach you will use to convey your message. This may depend on the environment surrounding the change you want to achieve. Your tactics or activities should then align with your approach. For example, if you choose a constructive approach, you may want to plan for activities/tactics like preparing policy briefs and arranging meetings

Advocacy Tactics
The outward facing actions or activities that you conduct to achieve your advocacy goal.

Constructive Approach
Using collaborative means to get your point across.

Confrontational Approach
Using adversarial means to get your point across.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

with policymakers. You may not want to take on a naming and shaming campaign as one of your tactics, because that could jeopardize your working relationships with policymakers. This doesn't mean that your advocacy approach is set in stone; your advocacy approach can change as the environment changes or evolves. You just want to make sure that your tactics are not working at cross purposes to your approach.

- To explore the wide range of advocacy tactics that can be used, we're going to examine the mobilization work of the women of Liberia.

Instructions

Option 1: Written Case Study (30 minutes)

Distribute Women Mobilizing Case Study – Liberia handout and Identifying Advocacy Tactics handout (see annex). Invite participants to read the case study and then discuss in small groups. See answer key below.

Option 2: "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" Film (75 minutes)

Distribute Identifying Advocacy Tactics handout (see annex) and review the questions before starting the video (75 minutes).

After the case study or film, write "Confrontational" at the top of a flipchart. Invite participants to share one example of an advocacy tactic from the case study/film.

Once you've developed a full list, write "Constructive" at the top of another flipchart. Invite participants to share additional examples of advocacy tactics (confrontational or constructive) that they have used themselves or that they have seen used in their contexts. Ask participants to be as specific as possible.

Facilitator Talking Points

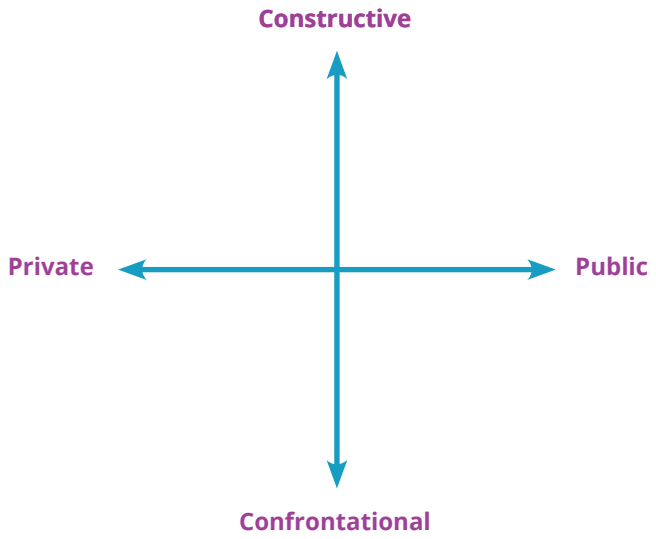
- Advocacy tactics can be further distinguished on a spectrum of public to private. Public tactics are those tactics done out in the open, in the public view and often seek to bring attention to a policy issue and grow a support base (e.g., protest), whereas private tactics are not necessarily secretive, but are done behind closed doors and are not public in nature (e.g., meeting with policymakers).

Public Tactics
Done out in the open, in the public view and often seek to bring attention to a policy issue and grow a support base (e.g., protest).

Private Tactics
Not necessarily secretive, but are done behind closed doors and are not public in nature (e.g., meeting with policymakers).

© 2017 Inclusive Security

- [*Facilitator note: Draw the 4-quadrant diagram on a flipchart.*] The further left on the spectrum, the more private the advocacy tactics. The further the right, the more public. Similarly, the further up on the spectrum, the more constructive and the further down, the more confrontational.
  - Working with policymakers is one example of a constructive-private tactic.
  - Organizing a sit in at the capitol building is one example of a confrontational-public tactic.



- Can you help me chart some of the tactics from the case study/film?
- [*Facilitator note: If participants have conducted advocacy in the past, you can also have participants chart and reflect on the advocacy tactics they have used.*]
- [*Facilitator note: The purpose of the 4-quadrant chart is to show participants that there is a range of possible tactics. Many people think that confrontational-public tactics are the only tactics available; we want to expand beyond this type of thinking.*]

Debrief

Discussion Questions

- Did you learn about new advocacy tactics you might want to use in your work?
- Is it difficult to distinguish between public and private? What about confrontational and constructive?

Facilitator Talking Points

- When thinking about your advocacy strategy and choosing between different types of advocacy tactics, there are a number of factors to consider, including strategic timing. The timing of your advocacy activities can have a significant impact – if the timing isn't right, your advocacy tactics could go unnoticed or not have the intended impact. But, if the timing is well placed, then your advocacy tactics could succeed in getting the attention of key policymakers. What were some of the examples of strategic timing you identified in the Liberia case study?
- Timing is only one of several factors to keep in mind when choosing which tactics and when. Let's explore additional factors or criteria for choosing tactics.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Answer Key

Identifying Advocacy Tactics

Women Mobilizing Case Study - Liberia

What type of advocacy approach did the women of Liberia choose?

- Confrontational

What advocacy tactics did the women of Liberia use to support a confrontational advocacy approach?

- Joint public statements
- Protests/sit ins/demonstrations in high visibility areas (fish market and at the peace talks) with symbolic colors and placards
- Presenting list of demands to Charles Taylor
- Presenting list of demands to the lead mediator

What were the moments of strategic timing in this case study? How did the women of Liberia adjust their tactics to take advantage of these opportunities? What were the results?

- **When the Christian Women's Peace Initiative was established,** Bah-Kenneth approached them and offered to create a Christian/Muslim alliance – this coalition helped to strengthen the women's voices; to show that relationships could be built and sustained between Muslims and Christians
- **When the peace talks were announced in Accra** they sent representatives to Accra to mobilize Liberians in Ghana and made an alliance with MARWOPNET who had observer status – this helped to pave the way for collective action and protest at the peace talks
- **As violence was escalating in Monrovia during the peace talks,** Gbowee decided to stage a sit-in in Accra – this put pressure on the negotiation delegations to take the talks seriously

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Answer Key

Identifying Advocacy Tactics

Pray the Devil Back to Hell (Film)

What type of advocacy approach did the women of Liberia choose?

- Confrontational

What advocacy tactics did the women of Liberia use to support a confrontational advocacy approach?

- Protested at fish market every day where they knew Charles Taylor would see them
- Presented their position statement/list of demands to Charles Taylor
- Sex strike
- Marched in Sierra Leone to get the attention of LURD
- Protested at the US embassy during peace talks when fighting was escalating in the city
- Blocked the delegates in at peace talks
- Marched after the agreement to ensure implementation of the agreement
- Used radio and in-person meetings to express what UNMIL did wrong in the disarmament

---

What were the moments of strategic timing in this case study? How did the women of Liberia adjust their tactics to take advantage of these opportunities? What were the results?

- **After fighting spilled over into the camp and international community put pressure on the parties to come to the peace table** – the women responded by drafting a position statement and marched/protested at parliament, demanding a meeting with Charles Taylor. Charles Taylor agreed to meet and subsequently agreed to attend the peace talks.
- **Once the peace talks started** – in addition to continuing their sit in in Accra, the women started to engage with the delegations on each side, pushing both delegations toward agreement. However, their efforts didn't lead to much impact; significant progress was not made until the women staged a sit in at the conference room.
- **When peace talks were not going anywhere** – the women responded by moving their sit in from outside the building to blocking the delegates inside the conference room. This put more pressure on the parties and caused the delegations to take the talks more seriously.
- **After the peace talks had concluded and a peace agreement was signed** – the women continued to march and also started to engage the UN and other internationals on the implementation of the peace agreement and on disarmament, in particular. UNMIL, however, did not take into account the women's recommendations.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Discussion 6.3 Criteria for Choosing Your Approach and Tactics

Background for Facilitator

The purpose of this section is to introduce participants to a set of criteria for choosing advocacy tactics. Participants will consider different kinds of tactics in relation to the criteria and explore what tactics might be appropriate in their contexts to achieve their advocacy goal.

Materials Needed
Criteria for Choosing Your Advocacy Approach and Tactics handout; Example Advocacy Tactics handout; flipchart; markers

Learning Objectives
Participants are able to think strategically about choosing tactics.

Time 60 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- There are many, many factors to keep in mind when choosing advocacy tactics appropriate for your context and your advocacy goal. Can someone tell me when or in what conditions it might be best to use a confrontational approach? And when might it be best to use a constructive approach? [*Facilitator note: You could alternatively ask participants to list the pros and cons for constructive and confrontational approaches.*]
- We've selected six priority criteria to consider when selecting your approach (constructive vs. confrontational) and tactics (public vs. private) and planning your activities.
  - **Operating environment:** The operating environment sets the stage for your advocacy approach and, for those seeking policy change, the accessibility and openness of policymakers is particularly pertinent. In situations where government actors are not accessible (e.g., closed government), a constructive approach (with activities like working directly with policymakers) may not be realistic. Similarly, in an environment where policymakers are prepared to meet with civil society actors, a confrontational approach (with activities like protests) can be less effective than working directly with policymakers.
  - **Level of risk:** Consider carefully the potential risks that accompany your chosen approach and tactics. This includes thinking about whether your advocacy approach and tactics will succeed in compelling your advocacy targets to take action. It also includes the safety and security of your organization/platform and staff. When working in conflict affected contexts where dynamics are changing all the time, it is critical to weigh the potential risk involved in the both approach and tactics you choose. [*Facilitator note: Risk assessment will be covered in Activity 6.5: Assessing Risk*]
  - **Alignment with your advocacy objectives:** Once you've determined the change you want to achieve, tactics represent the steps that will get you there. You want to think about which tactics will help you achieve your advocacy objectives. A theory of change (i.e., if we do X, Y, and Z, then A, B, C will happen) can help to identify what intermediate changes are necessary to achieve your advocacy objective and thereby inform your choice of tactics. [*Facilitator note: See Module 9: Monitor and Evaluate Progress for more information on developing a theory of change.]*

© 2017 Inclusive Security

- **Strategic timing:** Different moments in time present different opportunities and constraints for your advocacy tactics. You want to remain flexible enough to take advantage of opportunities or moments when key policymakers or policyshapers are paying attention, but you also want to be aware of when the space for engagement on your policy issues is shrinking or expanding. [*Facilitator note: See Discussion 4.6: Strategic Timing for more information.*]
- **Defined advocacy targets:** Tactics should be directed at a defined advocacy target or targets. You have to be strategic about the best way to use your resources and access to influence these advocacy targets. You may also consider the impact your approach might have on your relationship with your advocacy targets. A confrontational approach can be effective in getting policymakers' attention, but it's intended to call out policymakers in a way that could affect an existing relationship negatively. [*Facilitator note: See Module 4: Develop Recommendations for more information on assessing advocacy targets.*]
- **Organizational capacity:** Your organization or platform must have the capacity and ability to carry out the tactics that you've chosen. If you are a small and relatively unknown organization, a large-scale strike may not be achievable without more well established partners. You must have to have the resources and expertise to carry out your planned activities.

Instructions

Divide participants into small groups (3-4 persons per group, preferable if members of each group work/will work together after the workshop or are from the same context) and distribute Criteria for Choosing Your Advocacy Approach and Tactics handout (see annex) and Example Advocacy Tactics handout (see annex). Invite participants to discuss the criteria, example tactics, and what tactics might be appropriate in their contexts to achieve their advocacy goals.

Debrief

Discussion Questions

- Is there anything you would like to add or amend in terms of the criteria? In terms of the example advocacy tactics?
- Do you have any examples when one of these criteria has been relevant to your work?

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Activity 6.4 Strategic Timing

Background for Facilitator

The purpose of this discussion is to encourage participants to think about what strategic timing looks like in their contexts. Participants will reflect on moments in the past that have yielded momentum on certain policy issues and brainstorm ways to anticipate future opportunities.

Materials Needed
Flipchart; markers

Learning objectives
Participants are able to describe the importance of timing for advocacy and reflect on and anticipate opportunities for strategic timing in their own contexts.

Time 55 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- While good advocates think long term about how to ripen policy issues, they also carefully monitor the policy landscape for when an opportunity may arise to gain momentum on policy change. Regularly adjusting your advocacy strategy, based on ongoing policy and political analysis, is necessary to take advantage of these kinds of opportunities.
- When thinking about strategic timing, consider these events or milestones:
  - **Stages of law or policy formulation:** Keeping track of any government actions that could negatively or positively influence your policy issue is crucial, such as when policymakers are about to act on something related to your issue. These are times when the media and policymakers are likely paying attention. Since much of advocacy can be related to how funding is allocated, being aware of when budget decisions are made is also important.
  - **Elections:** Elections are a great time to engage a broad range of actors in an effort to draw attention to a policy issue.
  - **Major national or international conferences/events related to your policy issue:** Events (like the Commission on the Status of Women or the UN Climate Change Conference) are often attended by top policymakers and are covered widely by major media outlets. The public nature of these events can give visibility to a range of policy issues and are moments when it might be ripe to galvanize support for your work.
  - **When your issue or target population is drawing attention:** If something is causing people to pay attention to something related to your policy issue, this is a great time to join the discussion and demonstrate your advocacy group's expertise. For example, the media coverage on the steady influx of Syrian refugees into Europe could pose as an opportunity to highlight the need for a sustainable, inclusive peace process in Syria.
  - **An unexpected, highly visible event:** Unexpected events can often represent an opportunity to draw attention to a policy issue. These events can be dramatic or even tragic in nature and can personalize a policy issue and galvanize momentum on a certain issue. For example, a suicide bombing conducted by an extremist group may be an opportunity to call for more inclusive approaches to countering violent extremism.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

- The term 'political will' describes the willingness of policymakers to take action on a particular issue. Political will is an essential part of the policy process; policy change is unlikely if there isn't sufficient political will. For example, elected policymakers are often influenced by voter demands – thus to generate political will, strategic timing may be tied to the electoral cycle. You may want to advocate prior to or during the electoral campaign and then you may want to advocate at some point after the election to remind policymakers of their election promises. Similarly, policymakers motivated by their reputation may have more political will when your policy issue drawing a lot of attention or during a major international conference.

Instructions

Divide participants into small groups (3-4 persons per group, preferable if members of each group work/will work together after the workshop or if group members work on the same policy issue). Give participants 20 minutes to brainstorm in small groups examples of events in the last five years at the community, national, and international levels that might have yielded strategic moments for advocacy on their policy issue. Remind them to keep in mind the events and milestones just discussed. Write the discussion questions on a flipchart, so all groups can read:

- What are examples of events/milestones that advocates took advantage of?
- What are examples of opportunities that were missed?

Then, in the same small groups, give participants an additional 20 minutes to think about the future and standing events throughout the year that might be worth capitalizing on. Ask participants to make a calendar with all the events throughout the year at the community, national, and international levels that might provide strategic opportunities for advocacy on their policy issue.

Debrief

Facilitators Instructions

- Ask participants to share one or two examples they discussed and then invite reactions to the exercise.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Activity 6.5 Assessing Risk

Background for Facilitator

The purpose of this section is to present some key considerations for identifying, mitigating, and managing the risks associated with advocacy. Advocates should be aware of the risks so they make good decisions about which tactics to choose, but do not become paralyzed. Risk analysis should not impede action, but rather make action more strategic.

In this activity, participants will practice conducting a simple risk assessment. This activity is most appropriate where there are groups of participants from the same organization or platform – this activity could be difficult for one person to complete alone.

Materials Needed
Risk Analysis handout

Learning Objectives
Participants are able to explain why assessing risk in their work is important; describe the steps to identify, mitigate, and manage risks that might arise; and describe how risk relates to their decision making on advocacy tactics.

Time 75 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- It is important to evaluate the risks of conducting advocacy. This includes the potential gains versus the risks of not conducting advocacy and the potential losses. Advocacy planning should include a process for identifying, analyzing, and managing risks.
- Not all advocacy tactics can be used universally. Advocacy is about challenging power relations. In some instances, confrontational tactics aimed at policymakers may be politically dangerous or may weaken a long-term effort at policy change. If the space for free expression is shrinking in your country and activists are being arrested at an increasing rate, it is important to take this into consideration as you decide which tactics to deploy.
- At a minimum, failing to assess risk can lead to limited results and ineffective partnerships. In contexts where violence is a common tool used by the government and/or other influential parties, failure to assess risk can have much more significant consequences and can put people's lives in danger. Certain advocacy tactics, such as public campaigning and action, may entail more risk than others. Even public debates that highlight both sides of an issue can turn into heated events if the context or operating environment is highly volatile.
- The purpose of assessing risk is not to become so aware of the risks that you become paralyzed and do nothing. The risk assessment may help you develop a different timeline or structure your advocacy action in a different way, so that you're working toward your mission or goal. That will not help anyone and there are also risks involved in doing nothing! Choosing to do nothing is okay as long as it's a deliberate choice; don't want to be paralyzed and doing nothing because don't know what else to do.
- Risk assessment is at its core a subjective and personal analysis. As advocates who are always courageously pushing boundaries, you know your context better than anyone, and there is no straightforward

© 2017 Inclusive Security

way to measure the risk involved in your ongoing work. We are going to discuss some key considerations and tools for thinking about how to identify, mitigate, and manage the risks associated with your advocacy tactics.

- Advocacy in the midst of conflict takes especially careful planning in order to avoid: reduced access or security threats to populations you are trying to help; security threats to staff and programs; loss of organizational/coalition legitimacy and influence; loss of partners due to perceived risk of association; distortion of messages; misunderstanding or conflict among partners and internally within the organization; and misallocated resources. Risks can be minimized thorough analysis and planning, including careful selection of advocacy activities, messages, and messengers. Risk management is often a question of weighing opportunity costs. Sometimes speaking out strongly may be better than losing legitimacy by keeping quiet. Such decisions must be made responsibly, collaboratively, and with good leadership.
- Risk analysis generally includes these steps:
  1. Identify possible risks arising from proposed action (or lack of action)
  2. Assess the potential benefit of the proposed action
  3. Identify who could be harmed and how
  4. Assess level of risk
  5. Consider measures you can take to mitigate the risks
  6. Assess the level of risk remaining after mitigating measures have been taken
  7. Decide if the benefit outweighs the risk
- As you think about how to reduce risk, consider these approaches:
  - **Reliable information:** Using unreliable information as the basis of your advocacy is very risky. The research and evidence on which you base your recommendations and advocacy strategy needs to be collected from trusted sources and thoroughly analyzed to ensure that your assumptions and conclusions are valid and strong. [*Facilitator note: Consider having participants brainstorm examples of reliable sources that exist in their communities.]*
  - **Policy and relationship analysis:** This type of analysis can provide a clearer picture of the political culture and current conditions in which you are initiating an advocacy effort (i.e., your operating environment). Assessing how power-relationships work in the context of conflict, and which communication channels are safer than other channels, will significantly help minimize risks. [*Facilitator note: See Conflict Transformation for Inclusive Security curriculum for more information on power and power dynamics.*]
  - **Support from partners:** All members of an advocacy platform will have their own set of relationships and power dynamics that can be used to minimize risk or that should be considered if, for example, their involvement might increase risk. A collaborative process of openly discussing risk can also help any platform identify risks that might otherwise have been over-looked. Sometimes working with a larger organization or with more organizations can be safer than advocating alone (i.e., power in numbers).

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Instructions

Divide participants into small groups (3-4 persons per group, preferable if members of each group work/will work together after the workshop) and distribute Risk Analysis handout (see annex). Review the steps for conducting a risk analysis with the participants (page 1 of the handout) and instruct participants to work in small groups to fill out the table on page 2.

Debrief

Facilitator Instructions

- Invite participants to react to the exercise. You can facilitate a brief report on their risk analysis, but you don't want to focus only on the risks they discussed. This can be an opportunity to really delve into their individual perspectives on risk and can be a useful exchange for women who are working in isolation on these issues.

Discussion Questions

- What was it like assessing the risks involved in your work? What did you learn?
- Did this exercise help you think more strategically about advocacy?

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Activity 6.6 Advocacy Action Planning

Background for Facilitator

This activity will help participants organize the information and ideas they've generated in previous modules in one document. The action planning tools should push participants to be concrete and specific about what they are planning to do and who is responsible for which tasks. This activity will also enable participants to share their commitment to action with each other.

There is a range of action planning tools you can use in this activity. For a group that might be going back to their organizations and do not have plans to work together beyond this training, use the Individual Action Plan handout (see annex) to show how each individual will use the skills and knowledge from this training. For trainings that include groups who are currently working together or will work together after the training, use the action plan that best fits the level of detail you've chosen for this training – Advocacy Action Plan – Detailed handout for more advanced groups or longer trainings and Advocacy Action Plan – Summary handout for less advanced groups or shorter trainings (see annex).

Participants must have a policy issue, advocacy goal, advocacy objectives, and a few advocacy targets to complete this activity.

Materials Needed
Action Plan handout

Learning objectives
Participants are able to conceptually link their chosen tactics to specific actors and their advocacy objectives and see how the components of the Advocacy Cycle form an advocacy strategy.

Time 60 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- An advocacy action plan is a snapshot of your advocacy strategy. It requires you to get really specific about how you are going to make your plans happen. These specifics include who is responsible for what activities, what resources you need, and timing – as well as how all of these pieces fit together with your advocacy objectives and goals.
- An advocacy action plan will also help to make sure your advocacy strategy is coherent and makes sense. By capturing all of these important details in one document, you can see how the components you've developed separately (advocacy goal, advocacy objective, advocacy targets, tactics etc.) build on one another to create a strategy for change. This may also be a good time to review and assess all of the components to make sure your logic holds.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Instructions

Option 1: Individual Action Plans

Distribute Individual Action Plan handout (see annex). Ask participants to think about everything they've learned so far in the training and to write three actions they will take to apply the knowledge and skills they've gained thus far in the workshop. Encourage them to set a timeline for those actions to create some personal accountability.

Option 2: Organizational Action Plans

Divide participants into groups, where members of each group work/will work together after the workshop and distribute either the Advocacy Action Plan - Detailed handout or Advocacy Action Plan – Summary handout (see annex). Ask participants to complete the action plan, using the information they've developed over the course of the training. The groups may need to reference materials from previous sessions (advocacy goal, actor map, recommendations, etc.).

Debrief

Facilitator Instructions

- If you have time, have the groups put their plans on flipcharts and hang them around the room. Conduct a gallery walk or have groups present their plans to the entire group, narrating their key activities.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Presentation 6.7 Conclusion

Background for Facilitator

This section provides an overview of the module's key takeaways.

Facilitator Talking Points

- Choosing tactics is a strategic process that requires thinking about your advocacy goal, your advocacy targets, and your operating environment. Strategic timing and potential risks are two important considerations when choosing your tactics and developing your advocacy plan.
- Flexibility is an important component of any advocacy plan. Factors in your operating environment may change, particularly those relating to timing and risk. Unexpected opportunities to affect change may arise and you should be ready to take advantage of those opportunities when they arise.
- An advocacy action plan is an easy and effective way to organize your advocacy strategy, from your broad advocacy goal to your tactics and who will be responsible for carrying them out. You can use the plan template we distributed as a starting point for developing additional planning tools to help you maximize the impact of your advocacy.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

ANNEX

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Women Mobilizing Case Study[1]

Liberia

Conflict Background

From 1989-2003, Liberia experienced two civil wars that became known as Africa's bloodiest and most destructive conflicts. The first war began in 1989, when Charles Taylor and his rebel forces invaded Liberia from the Ivory Coast to overthrow the Liberian government. The government quickly fell, and a power struggle to overtake the capital ensued between Taylor's forces and various armed groups. A cease-fire was signed in August 1996, paving the way for elections. Charles Taylor's political party won 75% of the vote amid accusations of fraud, violence, and voter intimidation. Taylor's presidency did little bring about peace. In 1999, another rebel group based in Guinea—Liberians for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)—invaded the country, marking the beginning of the second civil war. Between 1999 and 2003, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, LURD, and other rebel forces battled for control of the country, eventually leading to the signing of a peace agreement in 2003. Fourteen years of civil war devastated Liberia, claiming over 250,000 lives (a quarter of them children), displacing one in three persons, and destroying 75% of the country's physical infrastructure.[2]

Women's Mobilization

In 2001, the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) was launched in Accra, Ghana, and included women from Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Burkina Faso, and Togo. The Liberia chapter was headed by long-time activist Leymah Gbowee. For the first time, women were organizing across borders to focus solely on advocacy for peace. WIPNET hosted trainings to teach women strategies and skills for building peace, like non-violence, effective communication, negotiation, and mediation.

During this time, the war in Liberia worsened. Several women in WIPNET also started the Christian Women's Peace Initiative, where women from local churches gathered every Tuesday at noon to pray for peace. In support of this initiative, a Muslim WIPNET member named Asatu Bah-Kenneth told the Christian group that she would gather Muslim women to join forces with them to work for peace in Liberia. The Christian and Muslim women began to take action, visiting churches, mosques and markets spreading the same message, "Liberian women, awake for peace!" To get people on board, they went from market stall to market stall, handing out fliers, answering questions, hearing concerns and getting women on board.

This coming together of Christin and Muslim women was significant since the armed conflict divided Liberian society across religious lines. In the beginning, there was a high level of mistrust between the Muslims and Christians. To help address these divides women held a joint workshop for women from both sides, using confidence-building and empowerment exercises to help the women share their personal stories and realize their commonalities.

1 This case study was adapted from Gbowee, Leymah with Carol Mither, Might Be Our Powers (New York: Beast Books, 2011).

2 "Liberia: Conflict Profile," Insight on Conflict. www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/liberia/conflict-profile/.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Using the slogan "Does the bullet know a Christian from Muslim? Does the bullet pick and choose?" the women agreed to work together but with separate leadership. In December 2002, they announced a Christian-Muslim alliance and began organizing peace marches that shocked Monrovia. Using their connections with the media, including local newspapers and radio stations, the women began making public statements and press releases with one single demand: "The women of Liberia want peace now!" Their alliance received so much attention that they issued another statement asking women to assemble, to wear white, and protest for peace. Their demands were nonpartisan, simple and clear: (1) the government and rebels had to declare an immediate and unconditional cease-fire; (2) the government and rebels had to talk; and (3) an intervention force had to be sent to Liberia.

This was a direct provocation to President Taylor, who threatened to publically flog anyone who tried to embarrass his administration. Despite the risk, the women gave President Taylor three days to respond to the demands and threatened a sit in. They chose a central, strategic site—the local fish market—that Taylor drove past every day for the protest. To ensure it was a non-violent protest that focused on peace, not politics, the organizers asked everyone to wear white and to hold placards with messages of peace. WIPNET invested significant time and energy to manage and plan the huge daily public protests. They formed committees to handle different tasks, such as working with the media and finding buses to bring in women from the internally displaced camps. Every night, a core group met at the WIPNET office and spent hours debriefing what had happened that day and assigning roles for the next day's activities.

In May 2003, peace talks were announced and poised to take place in Accra, the capital city of Ghana. Knowing they had to take immediate action, seven WIPNET members flew to Accra two weeks before the talks began and begin mobilizing Liberian women in refugee camps. They partnered with the Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET), who had been designated formal observer status for the peace talks. MARWOPNET agreed to share information about what was happening during the talks and the two groups issued daily joint press releases that garnered significant media attention. By the start of the talks, over 500 women sat outside the conference hall to demand peace.

During the peace talks, violence escalated in Liberia. A distraught WIPNET member called Gbowee to report a bombing outside their office in Monrovia and Gbowee knew the women had to take more direct action. Rather than continuing to protest outside the conference hall, Gbowee led 200 women inside the building, to the main entrance of the meeting room where the negotiations were being held. The women formed a chain by linking arms and handed a note to the lead mediator stating that they would hold the delegates hostage in that meeting room until the peace talks began in earnest. With the media and international community following every move, the women called on the negotiators to get serious and threatened to continue their sit-in until the peace talks moved forward.

While the war in Liberia did not end that day in July, WIPNET and MARWOPNET's actions marked the beginning of the end. Soon after, UN peacekeeping troops arrived in Liberia and the talks began to be productive. Charles Taylor resigned from his presidency and on 17 August 2003, the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed by the parties to the conflict.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Identifying Advocacy Tactics

What type of advocacy approach did the women of Liberia choose?

What advocacy tactics did the women of Liberia use to support a confrontational advocacy approach?

What were the moments of strategic timing in this case study? How did the women of Liberia adjust their tactics to take advantage of these opportunities? What were the results?

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Criteria for Choosing Your Advocacy Approach and Tactics

- **Does your approach make sense in your operating environment?** The operating environment sets the stage for your advocacy tactics and, for those seeking policy change, the accessibility and openness of policymakers is particularly pertinent. In situations where government actors are not accessible (e.g., closed government), a constructive approach (with activities like working directly with policymakers) may not be realistic. Similarly, in an environment where policymakers are prepared to meet with civil society actors, a confrontational approach (with activities like protests) can be less effective than working directly with policymakers.

- **Is your organization/platform comfortable with the level of risk associated with your overall approach and specific tactics?** Consider carefully the potential risks that accompany your chosen approach and tactics. This includes thinking about whether your advocacy approach and tactics will succeed in compelling your advocacy targets to take action. It also includes the safety and security of your organization/platform and staff. When working in conflict affected contexts where dynamics are changing all the time, it is critical to weigh the potential risk involved in the both approach and tactics you choose.

- **Are your tactics aimed at defined advocacy targets?** Tactics should be directed at a defined advocacy target or targets. You have to be strategic about the best way to use your resources and access to influence these advocacy targets. You may also consider the impact your approach might have on your relationship with your advocacy targets. A confrontational approach can be effective in getting policymakers' attention, but it's intended to call out policymakers in a way that could affect an existing relationship negatively.

- **Do your tactics align with your advocacy goals?** Once you've determined the change you want to achieve, tactics represent the steps that will get you there. You want to think about which tactics will help you achieve your advocacy objectives. A theory of change (i.e., if we do X, Y, and Z, then A, B, C will happen) can help to identify what intermediate changes are necessary to achieve your advocacy objective and thereby inform your choice of tactics.

- **Do your tactics take advantage of strategic timing?** Different moments in time present different opportunities and constraints for your advocacy tactics. You want to remain flexible enough to take advantage of opportunities or moments when key policymakers or policyshapers are paying attention, but you also want to be aware of when the space for engagement on your policy issues is shrinking or expanding.

- **Do you have the organizational capacity to carry out your tactics?** Your organization or platform must have the capacity and ability to carry out the tactics that you've chosen. If you are a small and relatively unknown organization, a large-scale strike may not be achievable without more well established partners. You must have to have the resources and expertise to carry out your planned activities.

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Example Advocacy Tactics

TACTIC	CONSTRUCTIVE OR CONFRONTATIONAL?	WHY CHOOSE THIS TACTIC?	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Working with policymakers	Constructive	To build relationships directly with those with the power to make change To deliver recommendations, policy papers, petitions or research that support your position If policymakers are not well-informed about your policy issue and/or how their constituents feel about the policy issue	New or deepened connections Raises awareness of individual policymakers, can create allies New information directly from the source about what is going on related to the issue you are working on	May be difficult if policymakers are opponents Weak ability to hold policymakers accountable – needs to be combined with other tactics
Awareness raising	Constructive	To generate widespread understanding/recognition of your policy issue Stakeholders are unaware of how the policy issue affects them or links to their current circumstances	Strengthens understanding on your policy issue among a broad range of stakeholders Increases interest in participating in political processes Empowers stakeholders with knowledge	Relies on individuals to take action independently When carried out alone (without other tactics that require mobilization or consultation), may have little impact on policy change
Demonstration or protest	Confrontational	To generate widespread understanding/recognition of your policy issue If you are not able to gain access to policymakers Protests can be a tactic of last resort in many cases because other strategies have failed	Achieves high visibility and illustrates to both the public and policymakers that there is a critical mass supporting your advocacy objective Applies pressure on policymakers to pay attention and take action Unifies individuals into a community of shared purpose	Requires broad messaging Requires a large enough force to be impactful Potential for social or political backlash; Less effective when policymakers are prepared to collaborate Safety/security of participants can be at risk Can be difficult to sustain momentum; requires follow-up and continued pressure after demonstration is over

© 2017 Inclusive Security

TACTIC	CONSTRUCTIVE OR CONFRONTATIONAL?	WHY CHOOSE THIS TACTIC?	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Sit-in	Confrontational	To generate more understanding/ recognition of your policy issue by a particular policymaker or group of policymakers If you are not able to gain access to policymakers	Applies pressure on policymakers to pay attention and take action Because it is targeted at particular actors, the messaging can be specific around a particular action While targeted at policymakers, it can also achieve visibility and raise awareness of the public	Safety/security of participants can be at risk Requires a large enough force to be impactful Potential for social or political back-lash; Less effective when policymakers are prepared to collaborate Can be difficult to sustain momentum; requires follow-up and continued pressure after sit-in is over
Petition drive	Confrontational	The issue is straightforward and has widespread support that needs to be demonstrated to policymakers To generate more understanding/ recognition of your policy issue by a particular policymaker or group of policymakers If you are not able to gain access to policymakers	Demonstrates public concern on a policy issue in a straightforward way to policymakers Written petition allows the message to be easily controlled Individuals are often more willing to sign a petition than join a demonstra-tion or sit in Can grow your support base and connect you to allies	Requires significant support to be impactful (e.g., # of signatures, support from prominent individuals) Written format can be easy for pol-icymakers to ignore or sideline (as compared to a group of people, e.g., demonstration or sit-in)
Naming and shaming	Confrontational	To generate widespread recognition of your policy issue and the lack of action by policymakers If you are not able to gain access to policymakers	Useful for holding policymakers accountable (e.g., if they promised to take action, if laws aren't being implemented) Exposes information that policymakers may be trying to hide Can be used to build a support base for further mobilization (e.g., protests, sit-in)	Potential for social or political back-lash; Less effective when policymakers are prepared to collaborate Needs to catch the attention of the public and other policymakers to be effective

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Risk Analysis

Instructions: Use the guiding questions below to chart identified risks. Make sure to discuss major risks in the immediate term, as well as other risks that you will need to start managing now.

1. **Risks**: Brainstorm what risks you might be facing in carrying out your advocacy tactics:
   - What things could go wrong?
   - Could your actions provoke a negative backlash and put your organization, staff, the people you work with in danger? What about your constituents and other stakeholders?
   - What are the ways that these individuals/groups could be affected by your advocacy tactics?

2. **Impact**: Once you have identified the major risks, think about their potential level of impact on your organization/platform (in terms of reputation, status, funding, operations), your staff, and the external people you work with. Consider these suggested categories:
   - HIGH: A catastrophic impact that threatens the future existence of your organization/platform/movement and endangers people's lives or could lead to a potential reversal of the policy issue you are trying to change
   - MEDIUM: Some damaging effects in the short term but with few consequences in the longer term
   - LOW: A noticeable impact that has little effect on the organization/platform, your staff, the people you work with, or your advocacy.

3. **Likelihood**: Think about how likely it is that the risks or negative outcomes will actually happen. Decide whether their likelihood is:
   - HIGH: Likely to take place in the next # months or years, or may already be taking place
   - MEDIUM: Could potentially happen in the next # months or years
   - LOW: Would be very surprising if happened

4. For risks that have a HIGH impact and HIGH likelihood (and maybe important MEDIUM impact and likelihood risks), discuss and develop clear strategies that might help you minimize their impact or avoid them altogether, if possible.
   - What could you do to reduce the risk to the organization/platform, your staff, and the people you work with if your advocacy didn't work as planned?
   - What would you need to have in place?
   - Who would have the authority to take action?

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Risk Analysis

RISK	IMPACT / LIKELIHOOD	WAYS OF REDUCING RISK	WHO WILL TAKE ACTION ON MINIMIZING RISK?

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Individual Action Plan

What are three actions you will take to apply the skills and knowledge gained in this workshop?

Action 1

Action 2

Action 3

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Advocacy Action Plan - Detailed

Policy Issue:					
Advocacy Goal:					
ADVOCACY OBJECTIVE:					
Advocacy target	What action do we want the advocacy target to take?	Activities/Tactics	Timeline	Resources needed	Point person (Our staff)

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Policy Issue:					
Advocacy Goal:					
ADVOCACY OBJECTIVE:					
Advocacy target	What action do we want the advocacy target to take?	Activities/Tactics	Timeline	Resources needed	Point person (Our staff)

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Advocacy Action Plan - Summary

Policy Issue:		
Advocacy Goal:		
ADVOCACY OBJECTIVE:		
Advocacy target	What action do we want the advocacy target to take?	Activities/Tactics

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Policy Issue:		
Advocacy Goal:		
ADVOCACY OBJECTIVE:		
Advocacy target	What action do we want the advocacy target to take?	Activities/Tactics

© 2017 Inclusive Security

Inclusive Security
1615 M Street NW, Suite 850
Washington, DC 20036
202.403.2000
inclusivesecurity.org