

CIVIL · SOCIETY · EMPOWERMENT

Advocacy &
Advocacy &
Lobbying
Lobbying

PASSIA
Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of
International Affairs



CIVIL SOCIETY EMPOWERMENT

Advocacy & Lobbying

Based on a PASSIA Training Course



PASSIA
Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs

PASSIA, the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, is an Arab, non-profit Palestinian institution, with a financially and legally independent status. It is not affiliated with any government, political party or organization. PASSIA seeks to present the Question of Palestine in its national, Arab and international contexts through academic research, dialogue and publication.

PASSIA endeavors that its seminars, symposia and workshops, whether international or intra-Palestinian, be open, self-critical and conducted in a spirit of harmony and cooperation.

PASSIA's *Civil Society Empowerment through Training and Skills Development* program has been designed to provide training seminars for Palestinian NGO professionals, practitioners and university graduates, with the aim to improve their operational abilities. It is hoped that this will enable them to deal more efficiently with the tasks ahead in their civil society.

This publication contains the proceedings of the Training Program on *Advocacy and Lobbying*, which was conducted in September 2001 by local and foreign experts in the field.

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INTRODUCTION

PASSIA's *Civil Society Empowerment through Training and Skills Development* program has been designed to meet the need in Palestinian society for training and enhancement of skills necessary to effectively run organizations and implement activities. The program was developed based on PASSIA's belief that the human resource is the most important asset in Palestinian civil society, which determines to a great extent success or failure in any development effort. To equip Palestinian professionals, graduates and practitioners for the challenges ahead, PASSIA has thus established a series of seminar and workshop-based training courses, which incorporate theoretical and practical training in areas relevant to the present and future role of Palestinian civil society organizations (CSOs).

Each of the seminars PASSIA runs as a part of this training program includes three interrelated activities:

1. *Preparation.* Approximately three weeks before the actual training program begins, participants are provided with preparatory reading material gathered by the PASSIA Project Team in coordination with the trainers and lecturers. The participants are also required to write a short paper on an issue related to the course subject.
2. *Intensive Training Seminar.* Trainees attend a five-day lecture program conducted by local and international experts. The lectures range from theoretical concepts to functional skills, exercises and case studies, whereby the participants are continuously encouraged to apply what they have learned to the institutions with which they are involved.
3. *Follow-up Program.* The intensive seminar is followed by two workshop days, concentrating on skill enhancement. The major goal is to link and apply the skills learned to actual issues of concern in the participants' working environment. Participants prepare for the workshops by completing practice-oriented writing assignments.

CIVIL SOCIETY EMPOWERMENT: ADVOCACY AND LOBBYING

The following pages contain the proceedings of PASSIA's *Advocacy and Lobbying* course, which took place from August-October 2001.

Advocacy and lobbying actions are taken with the aim to change the policies, positions or programs of institutions. The course was designed with this in mind and in view of the fact that Palestinian civil society is in urgent need of trained advocacy specialists in order to best address the issues facing it and foster fruitful debate on important topics. Engaging in advocacy and policy influence - fundamental processes in democratic societies - is increasingly being recognized as an integral dimension of CSOs' role.

The course aimed at increasing the capacities and skills of CSOs to engage in advocacy, policy development, and public awareness issues, enabling them to deal more effectively with constituencies and representatives, to better track policies and to plan and implement advocacy strategies and campaigns.

The training program aimed specifically at practitioners and team/staff members whose responsibilities include policy formulation, advocacy or lobbying work, including campaigning, monitoring, and mobilization of people. The course provided practical knowledge of what advocacy is, the range of possible approaches and lobbying instruments, and the art of running campaigns, often demonstrated by means of role-playing and other hands-on exercises.

THIS PUBLICATION

PASSIA hopes this booklet, which contains the original lectures and exercises (partly as brief synopsis of the main points raised), will allow for a wide dissemination of the course material amongst the Palestinian civil society community. The aim is to provide a practical tool that will empower a large number of NGO and other practitioners with knowledge and skills from which they can clearly benefit.

*The PASSIA Project Team
December 2001*

1

OVERVIEW OF AN ISSUE-BASED CAMPAIGN

*David Nassar*¹

We should begin by talking about change. You are all here because you believe in the importance of change. You all want some kind of change in your lives – you see that there is a need for it and you see different ways in might be possible. You want to learn how to make it happen.

During the next few days, we will talk about the “how”, for sure, but first we will talk about “what” you want to change. Many times if you talk to people you see that, intuitively, they know there is a need to change. However, if you ask them to articulate what it is exactly they want to change, often you find that they cannot. To do so usually requires that they have gone through a process of thinking about it ahead of time. There are several issues, which must be thought through when targeting some kind of change. We will cover each separately now.

Identifying Issues

The first step is to identify what issue to you want to change. This is also referred to as agenda setting. Ask yourself what the problem is that you want to solve. Once you have articulated a problem, you need confirmation that it is indeed a problem. While this may seem obvious in some cases, it is important to go through this process in order to establish evidence.

First, you need to collect data that backs up your observation. At this stage, you do not need new research. Instead, existing research that highlights the problem is fine. For example, if you are targeting crime, you might look at the numbers of non-violent and violent crimes committed in the past two years.

¹ David Nassar is National Field Director at the Arab American Institute, Washington, D.C.

It is important to use real data because it enables you to be more specific when you identify the issues. The more specific you are the more you are likely to move towards your goal.

The second thing you require is the agreement of others to give that issue credibility. It is true, of course, that many advocacy leaders speak out about subjects no one wants to recognize. Occasionally, they may be entirely alone. However, the number of people who are willing to support you in at least identifying a problem can assist in measuring whether or not this is a good subject for an advocacy campaign. Think of ideas as if they are a commodity, that can be bought and sold in the market. If people are not willing to accept your ideas then there will not be sufficient support for your issue. It is your job to convince people that your ideas are credible.

Goals

Once you have identified the problem you need to come up with solutions. Think of the solution as the goal. It is the subject of your advocacy effort to affect change. It should be general and not something you can measure. "Improving quality of life" is an example. It is not the actual things you will change. Those are objectives and they will be discussed later. Once you have identified the issue and ascertained a goal you need to then develop a plan.

Developing a Plan

There is a saying that if you do not know where you are going it does not matter what road you take. Conversely, if you do know where you are going it does matter what road you take. To succeed, you will need a plan. People often object to the idea of planning because it first requires the communication of your ideas. Leaders are sometimes reluctant to do this as it opens up those ideas to criticism and decision-making. Another objection to this method centers upon concerns that setting concrete objectives will undermine flexibility and determine your success or failure.

Having a plan does not mean that you cannot react to circumstances as they happen. A plan is a tool that empowers you to react to circumstances. It is not something that limits you. An effective plan adapts to the situation depending on the data that is presented to you. If you use your plan as a guide then you will be more readily able to adjust to the situation at hand.

Structure

In order to implement any plan you need to have a structure. In designing one you should ask yourself, how do I organize my activities so that I can achieve my goal? Can I do it on my own or do I need just one other person to help? Do I need a coalition or partners? Do I have the resources I need including the financial resources? How much time do I have to achieve my goal? These are just a few of the issues that you need to deal with when trying to establish the structure.

Evaluation

Evaluation is the most forgotten piece of advocacy and lobbying. If you do not evaluate your program then you will not know if you succeeded. More importantly, you will not know why you succeeded or why you failed. Evaluation can be done throughout the program and at its conclusion. On-going evaluation enables you to adapt your plan to allow for problems or issues that arise. It is crucial to any advocacy effort to measure whether or not something worked and why it did or did not.

2

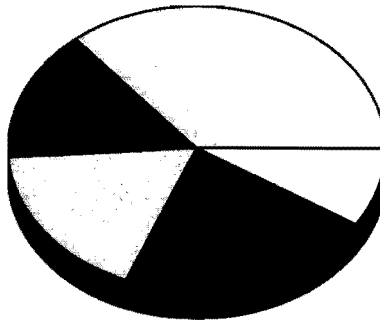
UNDERSTANDING POLICY FORMULATION, POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES AND ACTORS

David Nassar

This session will deal with the question of "audience". Who you need to reach is at least as important as what you need to do. They are parallel concerns. In other words, in order to prepare an effective plan you need to have in mind who your activities are targeting. Therefore, you must assess the existing power relationships that will affect your campaign as you prepare. In order to affect changes in policy, we must understand how policy is made and what the politics are that affect your particular situation. Ask yourself: Who are the players? Where do politics happen? How is the power distributed?

Exercise:

The participants are asked to mark on a common pie chart what proportions of the pie are controlled by which institutions? How much power does the State have to affect your issue, civil society, the market, or the international community?



Implicit in the pie chart is also an assessment of your own capacity for power. How powerful are you as an individual or as a group? Civil society is one group that in almost every issue is short on power. Once you understand who has the power now, and once you know what you want the power relationships to be in the future, you can bring to target your audiences for your advocacy campaign in a way that broadens the space for civil society. In short, the degree to which each of these players have power over your issue will affect your planning.

In doing your assessment you will quickly see that there are primary audiences and secondary audiences. The primary audiences are the people who on any given issue are the ones who can make the decisions. The secondary audience is the people that can help you affect your primary audience. If you reach the secondary audience, but do not reach the primary audience, then you have not achieved your goal.

What are the large groups that your audiences in Palestine are likely to fall into?

The executive branch:

This includes everyone from the chairman through the ministers on down. These people have been the decision makers in Palestine for centuries, just under different names. For that reason, I refer to them as old targets. They are more susceptible to personal contacts and less to public pressure.

The legislative branch:

This includes the PLC members. The legislature is a new institution in Palestine and for that reason I refer to them as newer targets. They are going to be more susceptible to constituent pressure.

Public opinion:

If you can educate the public about your issue and convince them that you are right, it is going to help tremendously. Politicians will always follow the direction the wind is blowing, so if you can change the direction of the political winds, you can change the politicians.

Press:

In Palestine, this is difficult because the press often does not respond. They write what they are told to write. Hopefully, this will change. Until it does, however, they are still susceptible to pressure points. If you get them on board they will be a great help.

Within both primary and secondary audiences, there are allies and opponents. You want to reach your allies and block your opponents. The way you do this is by identifying their pressure points. Every target has pressure points. For some it might be the press and embarrassment, for others it might be a grassroots pressure. For still others, it might be a family network. Family networks can be very helpful and even though it may seem to be traditional and not sophisticated, it is a very valuable system. We use it in the US all the time. To live in Palestinian society, and isolate family relationships from the decision making process, is foolish. Are you trying to get to a place where that won't matter and where rule of law is paramount? Yes, but that does not mean you ignore the current realities. Do not throw out your traditional methods if they work.

By assessing different audiences you are gaining valuable information about how policies are made. Your efforts to change them, therefore, are made more effective. The bottom line is that you are trying to make more power for yourself because you believe that the public should have more of a role in decision making. When you run a successful issue or advocacy campaign, I guarantee you that when you achieve your goals you will increase your power. It is what we call in the West, widening political space.

3

DEVELOPING AN ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN

David Nassar

We have covered the key aspects of any advocacy campaign from identifying a problem to implementing a solution. We will now discuss the importance of planning in detail.

I will begin by suggesting that when you recognize a problem and begin to propose change to address the problems, you are developing a hypothesis about what you think is needed. At that moment, however, it is only a hypothesis. That is not the point at which you begin to take direct action targeted at the problem. It is, however, the moment that you begin to plan. Today we are going to proceed step by step through all you need to do.

One word of caution before we begin - I do not want you all to get too caught up in the order I am mentioning these things - planning like this is always fluid. Remember the example of the river, it is always moving and mixing, you may not always be able to design your objectives before you target your audience. I am proceeding in this order because it is the most common, but you should not feel when you are planning that you cannot mix it up.

Gathering Data

There are different ways to gather data and they include (get specific info about each!):

1. **Written Surveys** – Generally used to learn about large audiences such as “voters”, “parents” or “youth”.
2. **One on One interviews** – used to ascertain the opinions of specific individuals, usually leaders.
3. **Poll** – Same purpose as written surveys but generally performed over the phone or door to door to obtain certain types of random sampling.

4. Focus-group discussion – Give an in-depth perspective on what people think and why. This method is particularly useful in testing policy messages.
5. Brainstorming or planning session – The most general for soliciting the overall views of those directly involved in the advocacy campaign.

Exercise:

Participants should identify appropriate research tools for programs they identified prior to the seminar.

Ask yourself what kind of information do I need? How will the answers be relevant to the solution I have proposed?

E.g.: If you want to preserve old buildings inside Palestine, what kind of information do you need? Would it be useful to know what percentage of the people think that preservation of these buildings is important? If yes, how would you get that information? A poll could be useful, so could a focus group.

Developing Objectives

Once you have collected the data, the next step is to analyze it. Objective analysis will enable you to determine whether your proposed solution will address the problem or not. For example, you may believe that bio labs are carelessly maintained and see this as a threat to public health. Your hypothesis may be that the problem exists because there are no legal standards and so you will propose new legislation. However, if your data shows that each lab in fact has its own strict standards but the staff is not educated enough to implement them, then you know that your solution to propose new legislation will not address the problem.

Once you have confirmed or denied your hypothesis (in which case you have to develop one consistent with the data), the next step is to develop objectives. This is different from a goal. Remember that a goal

is general and not something you can measure. It is not the actual things you will change.

Many of you are wondering how you can tell the difference between a goal and an objective. Ask yourself the following questions:

- Does it address the problem? Is it an incremental, realistic step toward a larger goal?
- Are there specific results that can be measured?
- Can I achieve it? This is determined by asking if you can get support for it and if you can pay (or raise money) for it?

*"An advocacy objective is **what** you want to change, **who** will make the change, by **how much** and by **when**. An objective is an incremental, realistic step toward a larger goal. The policy advocacy objective should address the problem through a specific action that an advocacy organization can take. An objective should be specific and measurable."¹*

Often the things that one identifies as goals are actually objectives. They are pieces towards solving the bigger problem but not the actual goal of an envisioned campaign. Mistaking objectives for goals is common. Everyone does it. However, if there is one thing I leave you with, I hope it will be the importance of the distinction. If you understand the difference between your long-term goals and short-term objectives then you will have a more successful campaign.

Example: *In the United States, the Arab American Institute believes that American policy in the Middle East should be more balanced. That is a goal because whether a policy becomes more or less "balanced" is difficult to measure. However, one of the objectives towards achieving that larger goal is to increase the voter registration rates of Arab Americans. How do I know it is an objective?*

- *Does it address the problem? Voters have influence over policymakers. Research shows that Arab Americans care about the situation in Palestine in higher numbers than average Americans. This means that if more Arab Americans vote then more people who care about Palestine have influence over policymakers.*

¹ An Introduction to Advocacy, Support for Analysis and Research in Africa.

- *Can I measure it? Voter registration rates are publicly available in the United States.*
- *Can I achieve it? There is support within the Arab American community for increasing voter registration rates based on normative and quantitative data. Past history demonstrates that money to support such a campaign can be raised.*
- *Is it what I want to change? Yes, I want to increase voter registration rates.*
- *Is it who will make the change? The "who" is AAI. If you do not know who is going to make the change, it is not specific enough.*
- *Is it how much change? We wanted to register another 20,000 people.*
- *Is it when there will be change? Our goal was set by the election cycle. In most states, voter registration closed 30 days before the election.*

If you can measure your achievements, you will know if you are making progress. If you are sure you are making progress, then you will be empowered for more change.

Exercise:

Have the participants identify objectives for at least three projects they have been involved with.

Question: How does an objective differ from an activity?

Objectives are often confused with activities because they are action steps that you take. The difference is that the objective is something you try to achieve and the activity is a task. A good example is cleaning the house. This is an objective, but within it there are several activities that you do to achieve it. The same goes with cooking dinner. While it is an objective, there are several tasks that you must do to achieve it. These include buying the groceries, preparing the food, setting the table, etc..

Question: *Is raising awareness a goal?*

Can you measure raising awareness? No, I do not think you can. Can you achieve raising awareness? No, I do not think so. I am answering you with questions because these are the tools that you need to plan. The questions you ask yourself are the most important thing.

I want to get you in the habit of asking these questions. This is what we try to do in the US. We ask ourselves a lot of questions and these questions help us find the answers. It is a process that we go through.

One last thing - a goal does not necessarily have to be identified to the outside world, but it should be internally - objectives should be clear to the outside world.

Identifying Audiences

Once you have objectives for your advocacy campaign, the first step in achieving them is to identify the audiences you will need. I encourage you to think of each audience as a target.

Example: *About a month and a half ago there was an initiative introduced in the US Congress to cut aid to Palestine. It was sponsored by Senator Feinstein from California and Senator McConnell from Kentucky. Their purpose was to cut aid to Palestine if there are not improvements in the way the PA deals with suicide bombers. AAI's objective was to stop this resolution and to do that we needed to identify the audience. We looked at the subcommittee that deals with foreign aid, but this subcommittee was hopeless. They would all vote for it based on their past votes and based on the fact that they did not have Arab Americans in their districts. However, the larger Appropriations committee had many members that we thought we could reach. How did we think we could reach them? About half of them had Arab Americans in their districts and we believed we could reach them through that secondary audience. The point is that we went through a process of targeting.*

Example: *In the US most members of Congress are opposed to Palestine. One of the exceptions is the congressional delegation from Michigan. Why? Michigan has the largest concentration of Arab Americans in the US and they are in the population centers of that state. Therefore, those members are obvious targets for people concerned about Arab Americans and issues that affect the Middle East.*

In each section we have looked at questions that are important to ask yourself in planning. When targeting your audience, I suggest you ask the following:

- Who can affect the change that I want?
- Who can influence the people who can affect the change?
- Who do I have access to?
- Who are my allies?
- Who are my opponents?
- What are my obstacles?

The answers will break down into two broad groups: primary audiences and secondary audiences. The primary audiences are the ones that can actually make the change you are looking for. The secondary audiences are the ones who can affect the primary audiences. They are your tools for reaching the primary audiences. For example, if your goal is to get a law passed, grocers might be a secondary target but they are not a primary audience.

Once you know who your primary and secondary audiences are, the next step is to identify allies and opponents among them. Ask yourself, who are my allies and who are my opponents? Allies are those organizations and individuals who have a self interest in your success and can be mobilized to help your organization achieve your goals. Allies include other organizations, informal organizations, people that use the service, and people who will benefit from the activity. Allies are the people who will volunteer and help.² Opponents are those organizations or interests who may want to stop or slow down your efforts. Often it is difficult to identify the opposition because the goal may not seem confrontational or competitive with others.³ If the governor is an ally and the minister of local government is not, how is that going to affect your message?

Primary audiences are important because they are the decision makers. However, secondary audiences are just as critical. Most of the time you are going to have to go through someone to get to the primary audience. I think that Arabs intuitively understand this idea of influence, you understand how people get influence, and you understand what people are influenced by. Sometimes you may use public pressure,

² Getting things done in the West Bank and Gaza Strip – Kate Head, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

³ Ibid.

other times it may be more personal. There is nothing wrong with using family networks for instance. They are part of your tradition and can be very useful in influencing others.

Developing a Message

In the last section, we learned how to identify an audience. In this section, we will learn how to reach that audience. The most important thing to remember is that your message depends on your audience. One easy example is the Yalla-Vote brochure, which appealed to Arab Americans because it uses the Arabic language. It would not have worked with African Americans.

A message is not just a slogan, it is really an argument and within the argument it should be implicit that what you are suggesting is in the listener's best interest. In other words, you are not just trying to make a point, you are also trying to be persuasive. The question then becomes, what are the keys to being persuasive.

There are six keys that are associated with persuasive messages and they are easy to remember because they all begin with the letter "c". They are content, concise, clarity, communication, credible and consistent.

The first thing you will consider in developing a message is what to say or the content. I suggest that you begin by writing down words that you want to include in the message. Then begin to draft sample statements until you get one that includes the words you want but may not be written perfectly.

Next, you need to think about making the message concise. Ideally, you want it to be no longer than a sentence. In order to be concise, you will need to think about the third "c", that is clarity. Above all else, you want the message to be clearly understood. This is a product of phrasing and requires that you use simple words whose meaning cannot be misconstrued either independently or in context.

These steps provide you with a message but designing it is only half the work. The other half is delivering it and this is where you think about communication. Repetition is the key. The message is something you say several times during the discussion. If you have 45 minutes with a person, an hour later the person should be able to tell someone else what your message was about.

Credibility is about research and the messenger. Sometimes if you are not sure what would be an effective message, you may need to go back and do more research. In the United States, many political leaders conduct polls to find out what the public thinks, and increasingly NGOs are doing the same thing. If you are sure your content is credible, you also need to think about your messenger. If s/he is not credible it does not matter what you say and if s/he is credible it can help strengthen a weak argument.

The last point is consistency. In American political culture, you will hear the phrase – “stay on message” This means be consistent. Without consistency the message cannot be clear. If you change the message you will confuse the listener and the message will not be successful.

These are things you want to consider when you think about the message you want to develop.

Example: *One of the last things I did at the Arab American Institute before I left to come here was to organize four press conferences in the state of Ohio. We had to think about what kind of message would be appealing. “The members of Congress from the state of Ohio have contributed to violence in the Middle East by opposing Palestinian calls for freedom.” We started to develop this message by coming up with a list of words (content). This goes to language. Ask yourself, “What words do I want to use?” One of the words we really wanted to make sure was in there was freedom. In determining clarity, we asked ourselves “What is the idea we are trying to get across”? We revised the statement until we were sure it was both clear and concise. Next, we asked ourselves “Who should be the source” and looked for a credible messenger. We made sure in our press conference to repeat the message over and over and to make sure that the other information we provided supported our message, ensuring consistency.*

Building Coalitions/Networks

A coalition is any group of people who work together to achieve a common goal. Building coalitions is something that happens all throughout the process of the campaign to one degree or another. You will constantly be building coalitions of some type. You should be talking to people, recruiting them and getting them involved.

The level of participation in your coalition can vary from moral support up to a clear division of objectives and the specific work involved with each. The first question you want to ask yourself is what kind of coalition you need. Frankly, managing coalitions are a lot of work and so you do not want to take on unnecessary work.

| Advantages | Disadvantages |
|--|---|
| Enlarges your base of support | Distracts you from other work |
| Provides safety for advocacy efforts | May require you to compromise your position |
| Magnifies existing resources by pooling them together and by delegating work | May require you to give in to more powerful organizations. |
| Increases financial and programmatic resources for an advocacy campaign | You may not always get credit for your work. |
| Enhances credibility and influence | If the coalition process breaks down it can harm everyone's advocacy by damaging members' credibility |
| Helps develop new leadership | |
| Assists in individual and organizational networking | |
| Broadens the scope of your work | |

The first thing to do when establishing a coalition is:

- Set clear and defined goals;
- Determine strategy and tactics (what will the coalition do?);
- Design a structure;
- Determine who you want in the coalition, based on your goals and your strategy);
- Determine how you will sell the coalition (why should someone help you?).

If you are going to organize a coalition you have to think that someone is taking time away from their goals to help you achieve yours. So ask

⁴ An Introduction to Advocacy: Support for Analysis and Research in Africa (SARA).

yourself, why would they do it? You need to think about how you would sell it to them and to sell it. Knowing the goals, strategy and structure are the tools for selling others on participating in your coalition.

Influencing policy makers

Once you have a message your next questions should focus on how to transmit it. In other words, "What is the best tool I have at my disposal for delivering my message in a way that communicates it clearly, applies pressure on policy makers, and achieves my objectives?"

There are many things that you can do but we will focus on three: grassroots pressure, media pressure, and civil disobedience.

One theme that runs through each mechanism is simplicity. In the grassroots model, we try to make it as simple as humanly possible for the public to communicate to their members of Congress the relevant concern.

Sometimes we give them the exact message we want them to relay to their public officials. We may give them a card to mail, a fax to send with everything but their signature or a statement to read over the phone. Sometimes, when we want each message to be a little different, we give them talking points rather than giving them the exact message. It is effective for a member of Congress to get 100 faxes, it is more effective to get 100 that are individualized.

Grassroots pressure in the United States is one of the most effective strategies but also one of the most difficult to do because you have the broadest group of people to reach and to motivate as opposed to motivating policy makers. The general idea is to give the public the information and the tools they need to take action.

Another tool for generating grassroots pressure is the public meeting. These include things like candidate nights. We send an organizer into the community to plan the meeting, organize the agenda, publicize the meeting and all the public has to do is show up. It would be great if you can distribute the work. But the point is that if you want it to happen you have to assume that you have to do all the work by yourself. A variation on this idea is the emergency meeting. Bringing people with stature to meet with policy makers applies pressure because of the timeliness of it, the people who are present and the press that such a meeting generates.

After the initial communication from the public it is important that there is follow-up. At AAI we had something called the National Action Network. What we would often do after issuing some sort of grassroots campaign is that we would target specific people in our network to go and meet with members of Congress. This concept of organizing networks of influential people is like a coalition but different because it is something that you only organize it as needed. For example, if you organized a letter writing campaign to ten members of the PA on an issue. It would be helpful if the week after your meeting you could organize follow-up meetings with members of the PA. Follow-up is about reinforcing the message.

Another way of generating influence is through the press. The local methods to utilize the press will vary from place to place. Some things include press conferences, writing letters to the editor of the newspapers and public flyers. You will have to decide at the moment and in the place how best to use the press. Palestine has private radio and TV stations and so there is some opportunity there to raise public issues in a critical way.

The last issue that I want to talk about is civil disobedience. These are things like boycotts, protests and nonviolent action. A boycott is not necessarily a negative thing. If you think of it as non-cooperation, the opposite of cooperation with an evil system, it can be a positive thing. This is another tactic.

When you have a protest you have to target your audience in the same way that you would target them with any other mechanism. For example, you do not hold a protest in front of an empty building. You do it at the right time and in the right place.

I have two final points on applying pressure. First, you cannot let yourselves be stopped by the absence of money. It is an excuse when people say that nobody comes because you do not offer food or do not pay them. Those things are certainly incentives and make your life easier but if you have an effective message you can do it.

Second is a related point about budgeting. We have spent the past day and a half on planning because you need to know how much time and resources you need to achieve your objectives in order to make an educated decision about how much it is going to cost you. If you do not know those things, you will end up taking on too much and if you do that you will surely fail. It is a very common mistake that leaders make is that they do not say no to more work and they do not say no because they do not plan.

4

INTRODUCTION TO NEGOTIATION SKILLS

David Nassar

Negotiation is something that happens everywhere and will happen at all stages of an advocacy campaign. Of course it will occur with the people that you are trying to convince but it will also happen with the people that are working with you on the campaign. Perhaps, the latter are the most important people you will have to negotiate with because you cannot function without their support. Very often the most heated debates and arguments come up with those people. If you try to run your organization as a dictator, you will quickly find that the enthusiasm of the people you work with will diminish.

There are several steps to successful negotiation. Obviously, we do not have time to cover all of them in depth. I believe the three most important are as follows:

- Separate the people from the problem;
- Focus on interests, not positions;
- Find win-win scenarios based on creative solutions that address interests.

The first question is are you prepared internally for the negotiation? **Psychological preparation** is perhaps the most important thing to consider. And the thing I want you to remember most about psychological preparation is the need to separate yourself from the problem. Most of us bring personal issues, likes and dislikes, past grievances, personal preferences into a negotiation. All of these things inhibit our ability to negotiate effectively because they diminish our capacity to function logically. The best way to get what you want out of the negotiation is to separate all those things from it.

Can anyone tell me what the difference is between issues and positions? A position is where you stand, it is fixed, but the issue is all around you. When I say, ask yourself what are the issues, it is important that as you prepare for the negotiation you focus on what is

the **real issue** that you are discussing and not just what it is that you want. For example, when going to my boss for a raise, I should not be focused on how much more money I can get, I should think about how can I get more compensated for my time, such as getting half-days on Fridays.

Example: *Two sisters have one orange and they both want the orange. They eventually decide to split the orange but after they split it, one takes her half and eats it and the other takes her half and uses the peel for jam, throwing the rest away. If they had focused on issues rather than positions they both could have had 100% of their objective.*

A third component of a successful negotiation is focusing on a **win-win situation**. Most people approach a negotiation differently. Most believe that in any negotiation one side wins and another side loses.

As leaders of advocacy orgs I would like to encourage you to think of this in terms of strengthening the overall society. What you are trying to do with each of your projects is to better Palestine. As leaders of advocacy orgs, I think you have a responsibility that whenever you are in a negotiation to ask yourself if you win and the other side loses, has Palestine benefited or has the benefit been neutralized? The best thing you can do as leaders of advocacy orgs is to promote the idea that it is important that everyone wins.

As you prepare for the sessions, you need to focus on the issue. If you are then you should be thinking what is the ultimate flexibility I can have and still accomplish my objective. Chances are that if you can promote a scenario where both of you win, then that will increase your chances of winning, because you do not have to conquer your opponent, you just have to negotiate with him.

A word about tactics: Questions are very useful for a variety of reasons. One is that they keep the conversation moving along when it is stalled but another is that they give you information about the person that you are negotiating with. They also take you to the heart of the matter. Instead of constantly talking at each other you are asking questions, and by definition, that is encouraging you to listen more. Even if you totally disagree, still listen to what they have to say. Knowing what they want is the only way to get what you want, especially if you are in a mutually dependent relationship, which, as an advocacy org, most of the time you will be.

Exercise 1:

Two participants role-play

One participant is the leader of an advocacy organization, and the other is also the leader of an advocacy organization. President Arafat wants both organizations to hold a meeting and wants one of them to host it but leaves it up to both organizations to decide where – there will only be one meeting. Decide where to have it.

Exercise 2:

Two participants role-play

You are both the heads of a company that supplies bicycles to Oreno (imaginary country). Until last year there was enough of a market for both of you to flourish but, recently, the youth have been emigrating from Oreno to find better jobs and send money home. You are faced with the possibility that one of you will go out of business. It could be either one of you. Negotiate a win-win solution.

5

ACTING AS A WATCHDOG

David Nassar

To be a watchdog means how do you monitor, as advocates, what is happening in government. With that in mind, let's do an exercise:

Exercise:

Have people take out money. Make sure they write down how much they contributed to the pot. Give the pot of money to one person in the group. Have three people in the group turn around and put their backs to everyone else. Spend some time talking with the rest of the people in the group about what they would buy with the money. Then have about 2/3 of the group turn around and continue talking. Then have the whole group turn around except for the person with the money ("X"). Make sure your back is to "X". Ask him/her how much money is in the pot. After a minute, have everyone turn back around.

Ask each successive group how they felt when each person turned around until everyone had their back to the group. Did it make them more or less nervous to think that everyone had their back to the group?

What we are really talking about when we say watchdog is two things: transparency and accountability. The exercise shows that without transparency there cannot be accountability. When the four of you turned around there was still seven who were watching and then four more turned around and there were three watching and then all of us turned around. Then, with our backs to "X", I asked how much money "X" had because no one knew the total amount so that got people wondering if "X" was telling the truth.

That is the point. If you can watch what is happening you feel a lot more comfortable about what is going on then you do if you cannot. And since you knew how much money you had turned in, if "X" had given you less back, you would have been able to hold him/her accountable.

That concept is the key to good governance. Without transparency and accountability, you do not have a democratic society.

Can you have transparency without accountability and vice versa? No, they are dependent on each other. If you cannot see what is going on, you cannot hold people accountable. If you do not hold people accountable then you will not have transparency. No leader will give transparency if there is not someone holding them accountable. Your job as civil society leaders is to hold the government accountable and demand transparency.

There are three main parts of transparency and accountability. They are:

- 1) You have to be able to **gather information** – you must be more informed then the person you are watching. If you are, then you are going to be able to hold them accountable. For example, if you are monitoring the budget process then you need to know more about the budget then the PA members who are doing the budget. Or for another example, voting records are great information to have to hold members accountable (although a lot of this kind of information is not available in Palestine).
- 2) **Observation and analysis** – once you have the information you have to be able to compare the two. For instance, if you are looking at voting registration rates, you have to compare them to a standard that you set, it can be objective or subjective. With registration rates there is an objective standard that says 10% of the population being registered to vote does not make for a legitimate election. It can also be totally subjective. For example, if you are working on consumer rights, you are the one setting the standard for a legislator's support or lack there of to consumer rights. Therefore, when you get their voting records, you are the one who decides whether or not the way they have voted is acceptable.
- 3) **Publication** – if you cannot publicize what you know then it does not matter. If you know that someone stole an election but if you cannot publicize it, you will not change anything. Some ways to get the information out include the press, the internet, word of

mouth and flyers. Make sure you have the data to back up what you publicize. Data equals credibility. You also have to be prepared for the response to the publication. If you put out a report, for example, that the PA has imprisoned 100 people this year you better be prepared that someone will challenge you, so you have to have a response ready. You have to know what it is you are going to say before you say it.

Transparency and accountability are easy concepts to understand and very difficult to do. Why is there not transparency and accountability in Palestinian society?

Discuss: *Do you think there is transparency and accountability in Palestine? Do you think you can monitor what the government is doing and can you hold them accountable? Why or why not?*

Many of you will argue that in order to be a watchdog you first need someone to grant you authority. In civil society around the world, people have to fight to get authority to monitor. Usually, the people who have been granted authority to monitor are the ones who are most corrupt, because who is watching them?

As advocates, you appoint yourself. It is the public's job to monitor their government. In that one idea is the concept of transparency and accountability. To whom is the government supposed to be transparent? To whom are they supposed to be accountable? To the people, of course. It is not easy to do this. However, if the public does not monitor what the government is doing, then over time there will be more and more corruption.

Example: *You are tasked with monitoring unofficial relief aid? What kind of info would you need?*

- *Where did their money come from?*
- *How much money do they have?*
- *Who received it?*
- *Where did it go?*

How would you get that information in this society? Money that we are talking about is not in the official budget. It is unofficial contributions from private charities. How would you monitor that money? The first step is to find out where the money goes by asking the source of the money. Then follow the lead where it takes you.

The only way that you can create an environment that enables you to monitor without being officially mandated by the government is by building a culture that encourages independent monitors. This happens two ways – by independently publishing reports that have accurate and credible information and secondly by building relationships with people in government so that they will pass a law accrediting independent monitors.

One of the main obstacles to monitoring the elections here in Palestine - if there were elections again – is that the authority does not want people to monitor. They might undermine your authority to monitor the elections.

The whole process of demanding transparency and accountability is about opening political space. If you are not willing to consider the work of watching the government, then all the work you are considering is pointless.

Example: *Let us suppose that you have a very successful civil society campaign and you get a law passed that sets standards for bio-labs. But what happens when they do not implement the law. Let us say you go to monitor and they tell you that you do not have the authority. Do you stop and go home? Of course not. This is to take nothing away of how difficult it is to assert yourself over the authority to expand the political space for you to monitor.*

No one is going to give you the power to monitor and sometimes these campaigns may lead to injury or even loss of life and I am not suggesting that any of you should expose yourself to that but if you cannot watch the system and you cannot monitor what happens, then all your hard work might be for nothing.

I want to explore the idea that elections are the ultimate source of accountability in democratic societies and what it means that Palestine has not had them. What does it mean to you that they have not taken place yet? Does not having them once prove that they can be held again?

Waiting to hold elections because the rest of the system is not fixed is like the person who gets on a bicycle, places their feet on the pedals and tries to understand the concept in its entirety before they begin pedaling.

What happens if you do not have the election? What do you think will happen to the people who are in the Parliament now? Will they be

more or less likely to accept change? The longer that people stay in power, the more money they get, the more power they have, the less likely they are to want to give it up. That is simple human nature. If you never force them to change they are not going to. The point about wanting to have a good system before you move is a good one, but I return to my analogy of the river. The river always moves and it plans as it goes. It is the same thing in a society and a political system and it is the public's job to make sure that the system keeps moving.

A good question is if the elections are fraudulent then why have elections? That goes back to the point of having election monitors. Independent election monitors may not be able to protect the system perfectly but you build the idea, you create the space for it, you create the credibility for it and the process gets better over time. It all starts with the concept that the power comes from all of you. In the Arab world, people often think that the power comes from above and that is why there is this idea that the minister can give you the authority to do something. That is the opposite of the way we do things in democratic societies. Our societies are not perfect – look at our last election. But we do not stop. The thing that makes me most proud about the US with regard to the 2000 election, even though it was such a mess, is that in the end it kept going. People said this is the president, the congress works, the judiciary works, we try to learn from our mistakes and we move on. But you do not stop. What happens when the river stops? It becomes stagnant and it dies.

6 INTERACTING WITH THE MEDIA IN TERMS OF ADVOCACY AND LOBBYING

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi¹

There is a frequent mistake made by people talking about the media - they consider it as one thing, and actually it is not. When we talk about the media, we have to remember that there are four types of media:

- *The Written Media*, which is attached to the newspapers, magazines and etc.
- *The Internet*, which is a new means of media.
- *Audio Media*, things that you listen to, such as radio stations.
- *Visual Media*, such as TV stations.

The most effective one of those types is the visual one, since it is the more powerful mode of transmission. More focus is needed; people have to see and listen in order to get the message.

But that does not mean that the visual media is exclusively the better tool. Which one you would use in your lobbying and advocacy depends on the issue you are dealing with. Sometimes using the Internet is much more powerful. For instance, if a message must be sent to a specific group of people, then using email will be more effective than using audio or visual means, since it is guaranteed that all members of the group will get the message. It also depends on the target group; for example, it would be more effective to use the TV in advertisement targeting the children than using radio stations. The circumstances in which we are working is another factor that determines which means of media must be used. Finally, it depends on resources that we have, since it is important to take into consideration the economic aspect in using the media.

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The Internet as a New Type of Media

Currently, the using of Internet is widely increasing as a means of media beyond other media resources. Internet tools like e-mails, web sites, and chat rooms are effective tools of media. It is a fast method of communication, and the message could be available anytime and anywhere. Using email, for example, would be effective when targeting specific group of people while having an email list for the group members.

It is important to think of media as a comprehensive concept and tool, and not perceiving it from a narrow perspective. Frequently, people think about a particular form and they forget about the other forms. In some cases, there is a need to use multi tools of the media.

When utilizing the media for particular purpose, there are six basic steps that must be taken into account:

First: Having a clear plan, and a clear-cut target. Without clarity of plan, the targeted purpose will be lost.

Second: Identifying resources and responsibilities; how many resources we have and which resources are going to be used during which period. Identifying the responsibilities by asking: who is going to do what. Having a clear-cut division of labor is very important in order to allocate the opportunities. This is a part of the planning.

Third: Making a list of the targeted people, their addresses, phone numbers, email addresses, etc, identifying the responsibilities of those who we want to talk to. In order to save time, the list must be easily usable.

Fourth: Identifying the means of communication that we want to use: mail, phone, Internet, etc...

Fifth: Timing is a very important issue while dealing with media. Always think of it from their perspective.

Finally: The most important piece of the plan that is always under estimated, is the plan for reactions: expecting what kind of responses we will get, and planning for the different kinds of responses in order to know how to deal with them. For example, when planning for an election, the biggest mistake is that people concentrate so much on advertising, campaigning, reaching people or telling them what to do. They subsequently forget about the most important part of the election, which is the election day. This is why they say that when you plan for

an election day you start by the last day and go backward. It is also very important to think of the sort of responses that may be obtained and how to overcome them.

There are three General principles that are important for campaigning, advocacy and lobbying and for any media action we want to carry out:

- *Clarity*, the message must be clear so that the targeted people can understand what is the content or the concept.
- *Testing* the clarity of message is important for its effectiveness. For example, asking if the message is specific and if it is in one frame can test the effectiveness of an email that is wanted to send to a targeted people.
- *Clarifying the purpose of the message*, which means specifying the goal of the message; to alert the targeted people, to make them better understand, to frighten them, or to get their support.

Some skills must be improved to order to be a professional speaker, whether in an interview, discussion or negotiation. One of the important approaches that a speaker should use is called block and bridge; block things that are not of reasonable factor and does not reflect the truth in order to sustain and build credibility, then bridge by influencing the audience, in order to take the attention of the audience to the main issue that is in our interest. Time is an important aspect when encountered in a TV or radio interview, since the time given for responses is limited. Time should be utilized perfectly to respond and to make a point of a main issue that is important to highlight. In other words, seizing the opportunity of an interview should be conducted in a professional manner and without hesitating. Finally, it is important that a professional speaker is always fully confident and should not be defensive.

Things To Do and Not To Do In Campaigns

- **Preparing:** it would be useful preparing key points about what you want to say or to send.
- **Always practice, and don't memorize.**
- **Always clarify, understand the question and never make up the question.** For instance, if somebody asks you a question, and you don't understand the question, don't ever start answering by assuming.

- **Be calm, and self-controlled.**
- **Do not make a long speech, and avoid falling in a trap of a giving a contradictory position of what is known to be a well-known truth.**
- **Do not insult anybody.**
- **Keep control on your body language, it is important that your body language can help in conveying your message.**

The media plays an important role for NGOs by publicizing their main issues of concern and connecting the organizations to the public. As a result, it is crucial for NGOs to enjoy a constructive relationship with the media. This should be the cornerstone of the overall public relations strategy. It will ensure the effectiveness of the full range of the NGO's activities.

Media relationships consist of three basic elements: the NGOs, society, and media apparatuses. The success of these relationships depends on the contributions and the cooperation between the elements. Herewith, we will focus on the role of NGOs and the media in formulating their relationship, their respective successes as NGOs serving civil society interests and concerns, and the media organizations that aim for objectiveness and independence in order to win society's confidence.

The Role of the Media

In order to reach out constructively to societies and its institutions, the media must be independent and objective. An independent media could defend itself from becoming an instrument of external interests. For example, if the media were employed for specific purposes, this would negatively affect its independent character and its objectivity, and could affect the perception of the society towards its role and objectives.

As the media is responsible for both monitoring information as well as informing the public, it should pay close attention to issues that are of importance to normal people. Media should pinpoint the problems and the concerns of people and try to publicize these issues, in order to hold government officials accountable to the needs of the public. The

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success of this media strategy reflects positively on the political regime policies and the interacting with people.

Media institutions should regularly carry out research and studies that focus on different programs and issues that represent clear prominence to societies. Such studies provide media institutions with an opportunity to pinpoint its strengths and weaknesses, so that they can try and improve and enhance their services and activities. Additionally, there are other important factors that influence the work of media, i.e., staff qualifications and funding.

The Role of NGOs

In order for NGOs to ensure media coverage of their activities and objectives, they should take into consideration that the media has their own considerations and interests, which might not be the same as the NGOs perspectives and concerns.

This type of contradiction, which should not be ignored, defines the coverage of the international media. In this regard, it is important to enlist public relations to overcome these contradictions. For instance, an NGO domestic issue might not be of interest to international media audience who might be interested in more global issues with different agendas and priorities. The ability of the public relations staff to communicate a clear message through the media is considered vital to creating a productive relationship with the media.

Value and Materialistic Considerations

There is a constant conflict between values and content and a balance should be drawn between the two concepts. One of the main problems facing media institutions is that they depend entirely on commercial announcements and entertainment programs to secure funding for their activities, with income seldom coming from cultural programs. It is the role of both media institutions and NGOs to maintain a mutually beneficial relationship and work on installing clear strategies and funding plans.

The importance of the media for NGOs emerges from the fact that it represents a connecting link between organizations and the public through publicizing the main issues that is of concern to people. As a result, it is crucial for NGOs to enjoy constructive relationship with me-

dia to ensure the effectiveness of its policy and this represents an important aspect and a core stone in the overall public relations policy that determines work and strategies of NGOs.

The relationship with the media has three basic elements: NGOS, society and media apparatuses. The success of this relationship depends on the contribution and the mutual cooperation between all elements. Herewith, we will highlight the role of NGOs and media in formulating their relationship and their respective success as non-governmental organizations in serving civil society interests and concerns and media apparatuses that seek society's confidence in its objectiveness and independence.

Self Disclosure

When we talk about communication, it will encompass one aspect, the aspect of self-disclosure. When we communicate, we talk about ourselves and listen to the others in order to understand and get the message in the right way. Self-disclosure is defined as "communicating information about yourself." As such, disclosure implies that the verbal and non-verbal you impart is directed towards another human being – a listener. Hence, bibliographies and diaries do not fall within this range of the above definition. Furthermore, the above definition carries within its fold the following assumptions:

1. Given that communication involves both verbal and non-verbal transfer of information, our tone of voice, gestures, facial expressions, and body language play an important role in how others perceive what we convey verbally.
2. Disclosure also implies that the information you impart is new and unfamiliar to the listener.
3. The focus of this communication is the self.

Aspects of the Self

The self could be divided into the following four components:

1. *Open Self*. This is the component of the self that is known to the individual but unknown to others.
2. *Blind Self*. The habits, mannerisms, defense mechanisms, and evasion strategies we use that others detect in us but which we are unaware of constitute the blind self.

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3. *Hidden Self.* Each one of us harbors thoughts, feelings, memories, and acts we committed which are kept under lock and key from others. In essence, these are the "hidden secretes" we keep to ourselves, and bar others from knowing them.
4. *Unknown Self.* This component can only be inferred since its in the realm of the "unknown". It is believed to be that component of the self that some psychologists have referred to as the "unconscious". We infer its presence from dreams, mystical experiences, and while being under the influence of psychedelic drugs.

Disclosure means removing things for the open self, which, in turn, means more ability to communicate. Non-disclosure is a block between us and the other person. But what we need is an optimal level of disclosure, which means a balance of disclosure. That balance is not fixed at all, it is different from one situation to another. Healthy disclosure is knowing when to tell or to disclose and for whom, since disclosure must be for a certain individual who we trust. There are some good advantages or rewards of disclosure:

1. *Increased Self Knowledge.* We become aware of ourselves only after we convey our thoughts and feelings to others and receive feedback from them. Self-knowledge becomes more elaborate, richer, and given more meaning to the degree we practice disclosure. It should be noted here that there does not exist a situation where a person discloses his/herself totally. Rather, we refer to the balance one strikes on when and to whom you disclose.
2. *Closer Intimate Relationships.* Intimate relationships are predicated on the premise that communication between the two parties is open. The degree of intimacy is directly proportional to the degree of disclosure between the individuals.
3. *Improved Communication.* Communication is facilitated by disclosure because human beings tend to reciprocate when others disclose themselves to them. The degree of willingness for others to share with you (i.e., communicate) their feelings and thoughts is contingent upon the degree of your willingness to disclose to them your thoughts and feelings. In essence, disclosure breed disclosure.
4. *Reduced Guilt Feelings.* Harboring negative thoughts and acts within ourselves tends to lead to the rise of guilt feelings within us. Disclosing these acts and feelings to others has the effect of reducing the intensity of experienced guilt feelings. We all have ex-

perienced at one time or another psychological relief when we disclose to someone what we have done, said, or felt towards others.

5. *Improved Energy.* Maintaining information to ourselves and not sharing it with others keeps us from focusing on other aspects of our life and work. Hence, we often “miss out” on the positive aspects of life because we are too engrossed in keeping our secrets from being divulged to others.

Blocks to Self Disclosure

Despite the many positive rewards to disclosure, we tend to refrain from self-disclosure because of some very powerful psycho-social blocks to it.

1. Society is generally biased towards disclosure. Arab-Palestinian society rears individuals to maintain family and personal aspects of our lives concealed from the public. We value highly the concept of “tassatur”.
2. Disclosure could lead to rejection by others.
3. It is feared that others would take advantage of the information disclosed to them. One could be blackmailed. This is often true in disclosure of sexual abuse. Furthermore, others may perceive us negatively and generalize the disclosed information to all aspects of our personality.
4. Disclosure of a stand or position requires that we must defend it. This could be problematic if the stand or position we uphold is not in line with popular belief or sentiment.

Practices in Self-Disclosure

1. *Information.* Start by providing an acquaintance with non-sensitive information (facts) about yourself such as your job, constellation of your family, interesting experiences, etc.
2. *Expressing Past Thoughts and Feelings.* Build on the previous step to include thoughts and feelings you had in the past. Do not focus at this juncture how you feel about a certain issue at the present moment. Focus initially on topics that are related to positive and rewarding experiences in the past, but express how you felt about them.

3. *Focusing on Present Communication.* This is the most difficult level of communication because you have to express current thoughts and feelings. It encompasses the most perceived "risk" for the individual. This level is best accomplished by targeting one piece of information to focus on for a given week to be disclosed to one specific individual (someone whom we believe to be safe, accepting, and non-judgmental). Proceed slowly and generalize the procedure to other topics and other individuals.

9

GENERAL IDEAS ABOUT LOBBYING AND ORGANIZING

Dr. Fu'ad Mughrabi¹

Lobbying is considered as one of the main aspects of organization. Everything needs to be organized in order to achieve success. In any position, institution or issue we are involved and a part of, we have to lobby effectively to influence the others in order to achieve our goals. The same organizational skills could be used in the various fields, and making connections between related fields will make the lobbying process easier and more effective, since those connections create what is called networking, which is extremely necessary for the individuals, groups and institutions in order to attain the support of those who share with us our interests.

First of all, we have to identify our vision of our main issue, whether it is of a political, social or cultural nature. Then, putting and specifying goals that are related to the adopted issue becomes the most important step in the organizational process, since knowing exactly what to lobby for is the starting point in the process of lobbying. For instance, the political system has to identify a political direction and strategies to work on. In addition, the lobbying process must be subjected to a clear law system, which governs and sustains the continuation of the whole operation.

Another important aspect in successful lobbying is empowering individuals and improving their skills by training. For instance, it is important to build communication systems that allow institutions and groups to interact and exchange knowledge. This requires professional people who are trained on communication skills and who have the ability to bring people together and focus them on a particular issue.

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The Palestinian Status

In the context of talking about the process of lobbying as an organizational aspect, it might become important to talk about our experience related to the Palestinian crisis. In the Palestinian case, there are many factors that make the organizational process much more difficult; there is an absence of political strategy, rule of law, and separation among the different authorities. In addition to that, the Palestinian society is a very fragmented society; between one city and another there are many Israelis checkpoints, which prevent creating a communication system that allows exchanging of knowledge among the Palestinian institutions. In addition, the Palestinians can be characterized as a culture that does not put much emphasis on details. In other words, it is a culture of generalist. By organizing in fields that are non-political, but related to the Palestinian crisis, the Palestinians could improve the process of what they lobby for. For example, putting forward strategies to improve the quality of education in Palestine will support the Palestinian question since education is considered one of the main factors that develops society. Another solution is that those Palestinians individuals having political experience can use their skills in the development process of the Palestinian society, since there are many social and cultural fields that directly related to the Palestinian issue.

Lobbying can be an important tool in the context of democracy, civil society and human rights issues, but applying the art of lobbying to the political decision-making process can be a sensitive and difficult issue that requires a thorough understanding of the different segments that make up societies. It is important to keep this in mind when introducing lobbying as a technique in the Mediterranean region. The absence of a clear understanding of the political, cultural and economic situation of the region could lead to inappropriate or unprofessional lobbying efforts. This in turn could result in the misuse of resources and efforts, which would then threaten the chance of achieving a vibrant society capable of taking part in the political dialogue within a political system based on the rule of law and human respect.

In the context of the political and economic balance of power between developed countries and undeveloped countries, the motivation behind introducing the concept of lobbying is not necessarily aimed at increasing the capacities of the less developed societies. It is important not to fall into the trap of using such concepts from developed countries to serve outside political interests rather than pursuing the main goal.

The constructive use of lobbying requires a system of values and internal structure in addition to a political system that favors the essence of the lobbying process.

Basic Characteristics of a Society that Encourages Lobbying:

- Since lobbying aims at exerting influence and pressure on the decision-making process in order to cause changes, the society should be open to such changes.

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- The culture should respect diversity and minority groups within the society, which in turn, reflects positively on the nature of the governing political system.
- As individuals are considered to be at the core of the lobbying process, the society should be based on respect for the individual. This is based on the concept that individuals are essential components to society and should enjoy independence within the society.
- A tolerant society that is capable of demonstrating mutual respect and recognition.

The Characteristics of a Political System Which Allows Lobbying

- A political system, which is based on the rule of law, this law should represent the only terms of reference to the lobbying process.
- A political environment that favors the separation of powers, motivated by a belief in diversity.
- A political regime with a vibrant and independent judicial system.
- A political system that guarantees a mutually constructive and complementary relationship between the society and authorities, developing from the latter's responsibility to observe rules and regulations, and the former's freedom to act within these rules and regulations.
- Collective and individual rights should be assured and respected by the political establishment. This would make lobbying an integral part of the society's structure and the political regime.
- A political system based on the idea of "One Issue Mentality," which would facilitate distinguishing between society's main concerns and priorities, and those of less importance. This would support the lobbying process and allow for the development of political alliances.

The introduction above is intended to shed light on our unique as well as difficult experience in human rights organizations. While it is evident that in the absence of basic social and political provisions, the applica-

tion of the lobbying process can be a very complicated issue, it is worth mentioning that the success of human rights organizations reflects on the status of society and the political regime. Such human rights organizations can be portrayed as playing an institutionalized and independent observational role towards political regime's apparatuses. Therefore, human rights organizations should use the lobbying process to achieve their objectives, since lobbying is inherent to the basic structure of these organizations.

Human rights organizations can initiate lobbying to mediate between authorities and society. The role of human rights organizations is to enter after attempting all other legal procedures, it can be seen as a mobilizing impetus in the context of trying to solve a controversial issue through creating provisions for its success, and through adequate and constructive utilization of the lobbying concept.

Human rights organizations need to develop basic elements to ensure the success of their lobbying processes:

- The credibility of an organization stems from its independence and its affirmation of its goals and objectives. This would strengthen its presence and role in the society and put it in a positive light.
- Human rights organizations should consider carrying out public awareness campaigns on its role, mandate, and objectives, and should address these campaigns to both society and the authorities.
- Human rights organization should be equipped with an effective public information policy.
- Human rights organizations should create partnerships and constructive relationships with other concerned organizations and authority officials to ensure mutual support and cooperation.
- Human rights organizations should establish lines of communication with governmental officials, in addition to holding press conferences and writing regular reports.

The previously mentioned elements are considered the primary tools for lobbying adopted by human rights organizations, and should be tackled as a whole. An important thing to keep in mind is whether the success of the lobbying process as practiced by human rights organizations depends entirely on the organization itself, or whether there are

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other irreducible provisions that should exist, i.e., that a society believes in diversity, and that the political regime is based on rule of law.

APPENDIX

SELECTED INTERNET RESOURCES

GENERAL SOURCES ON (NGO) MANAGEMENT

<http://www.clearinghouse.net/>

(Links to guides on Fundraising, Grants, Non-Profit Organizations, Public Services; click sub-category Business & Employment)

<http://www.cybervpn.com/resource.htm>

(Volunteer Program Management Resources)

<http://www.not-for-profit.org/>

(Nonprofit Resource Center with a comprehensive directory of links and information on issues such as Fundraising & Philanthropy; Volunteers & Human Resources; Advocacy & Public Relations; Board & Organizational Support; Management Consultants; Publications; Research & Policy Studies)

<http://comnet.org/net/>

(Gateway to sites for the nonprofit community, organized by resource topics such as Education, Government, Grants & Funding, Health Care Services, Human Services, and Political Activism)

<http://www.casenet.org/>

(Articles, survey results, program management tips and information on Volunteering; topics include Board, Program and Resource Development; Personnel and Financial Management; Evaluation)

<http://www.ncnb.org/>

(Dedicated to building stronger NGO boards; focus on NGO Governance)

<http://www.escape.ca/~rbacall/articles.htm>

(Online articles on Nonprofit Management Problems, Solutions & Issues; Training, Development, Learning & Human Resources; Defusing Hostility & Cooperative Communication; Change Management: Teams & Team Development, etc.)

<http://www.mapnp.org/>

(The Nonprofit Managers' Library; materials and links on topics such as Administrative Skills; Boards; Communication Skills; Finances; Fundraising/Grant Writing; Marketing/PR; Management & Leadership; Training & Development; Personnel & Policies; Program Evaluation; Strategic Planning)

<http://shortguides.com/nonprofit>

(Information and resources about nonprofit organizations, including funding, management, technology, philanthropy, volunteerism)

<http://www.idealists.org/>

(Database on NGOs worldwide, including publications, materials, programs and links. See <http://www.idealists.org/tools/tools.htm> for a list of resources for starting and managing a nonprofit organization. Categories: Financial Management; Foundations; Fundraising; Government Relations; Lobbying; Management; Personnel Management; and Public Relations).

<http://www.tncenter.org/library/links.html>

(Extensive list of links and resources for Nonprofit Organizations)

<http://fdncenter.org/>

(Includes an online library - see <http://fdncenter.org/onlib/onlib.html> - with links to nonprofit resources; Material on Grant Seeking; a Guide to Funding Research and Resources; a Proposal Writing Course; Literature on the Nonprofit Sector; and Common Grant Application Forms)

<http://www.jsi.com/ldr/ldrmast.htm>

(Links, information and reports from the Institute of Development Research, an independent nonprofit research and education center)

<http://www.oneworld.org/euforic/>

(Resources on Capacity Building and Institutional Development)

<http://www.worldlearning.org/>

(Educational services NGO with a people-to-people approach that undertakes projects in International Development, Training and Capacity Building, NGO Management, and Democratic Participation in Development Countries, Newly Independent States and Societies in Transitions)

HUMAN RESOURCES

<http://www.nwlink.com/~donclark/hrd.html>

(Website for Human Development Resources, including articles, online training guides, links to training, human resource development, and learning information)

<http://www.nbs.ntu.ac.uk/staff/lyerj/list/hrpub.htm>
(Internet publications on Human Resource Management)

<http://www.tcm.com/trdev/>
(Training & Development Resource Center for Human Resources)

<http://www.astd.org/>
(Website of the American Society for Training and Development with information, tools, articles and links to training, performance, evaluation etc.)

ADVOCACY AND LOBBYING

<http://www.benton.org/Practice/Toolkit/advocacy.html>
(Advocacy tools, resources, and how-to articles and tip sheets to help your organization's advocacy efforts)

<http://www.actionpa.org/>
(Activist Resources & Research Tools)

<http://www.helping.org/nonprofit/advocacy.adp>
(Resources below to learn the ABCs of online organizing and help your organization be more effective)

<http://www.independentsector.org/clpi/index.html>
(Tips and how-to points on lobbying; for a complete slide presentation see <http://www.independentsector.org/clpi/slidesinternetformat/HTMLPresentationfolder2/slideset2.htm> and for a downloadable copy (pdf) of the Nonprofit Lobbying Guide see www.independentsector.org/clpi/Table_of_Contents_of_Book.html).

<http://www.interaction.org/advocacy/index.html>
(Links and information on public policy and advocacy)

<http://www.democracyctr.org/lobbying.html>
(Overview of the basics needed for lobbying work)

<http://www.parentingproject.org/adman.htm>
(Advocacy manual of the Parenting Project serving as a guide/example)

<http://www.netaction.org/training/>

(The Virtual Activist – an online training course on Outreach, Organizing, and Advocacy)

<http://www.not-for-profit.org/pr.htm>

(Advocacy and public relations tools for non-profit organizations)

http://www.sit.edu/global_capacity/gpdocs/contents.html

(Comprehensive Directory with many links on NGO policy advocacy training and information, incl. methodology, case studies, articles, bibliographies, training manuals, etc.)

<http://www.politicsol.com/help.html>

(Tips and information on advocacy, with many links and free downloads)

<http://www.communitychange.org/howheard.htm>

(Guide with lots of information and how-to guidance on advocacy)

<http://www.advocacyguru.com/>

(Tools and how-to on advocacy, online advocacy tutorial and checklist)

http://www.ucpa.org/ucp_generalsub.cfm/1/8/6602

(links and information on advocacy by categories: family/individual advocacy, legislative advocacy and media advocacy)

http://www.apha.org/news/Media_Advocacy_Manual.pdf

(Media advocacy manual detailing ways of using the media)