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**Strategic Advocacy Manual for Policy Engagement
towards Inclusive Legislation in Swaziland**



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*Developed by the Southern Africa Federation for the Disabled
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements.....	3
Preface	4
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	5
2.0 ROLE OF FODSWA	7
3.0 STRATEGIC ADVOCACY FOR POLICY ENGAGEMENT TOWARDS INCLUSIVE LEGISLATION..	7
3.1 What is strategic advocacy?.....	7
3.2 Strategic advocacy aim and objectives.....	8
3.3 Who does advocacy for legislation formulation and change.....	9
3.4 Strategic approaches to advocacy	12
3.5 Influencing styles	13
3.6 Developing an advocacy strategy	13
3.7 Implementing an advocacy strategy.....	22
3.8 Monitoring and evaluation of advocacy strategies.....	23
4.0 FRUSTRATING STRATEGIES TO UNPREPARED LOBBYING BY ADVOCACY TARGETS.....	25
5.0 CONCLUSION	26

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Preface

SAFOD stands to ensure that the promotion and protection of the rights of persons with disabilities is enhanced in Southern Africa. In addition to carrying out regional advocacy work, SAFOD will endeavour to technically support its national DPOs to ensure they carry out effective strategic advocacy work in their countries. It is in view of this that SAFOD is embarking on the capacity building of FODSWA in terms of governance and advocacy.

Strategic advocacy goes along with good governance. If an organisation does not carry good governance tenants, it risks failing in its strategic advocacy work. SAFOD will ensure that its affiliate national DPOs embrace both good governance trends and strategic advocacy skills.

One of the priorities of SAFOD is to ensure the promotion and protection of the rights and fundamental freedoms of persons with disabilities, including the respect for their inherent respect in Southern Africa. The pillar for this is the ratification, domestication and enforcement of disability inclusive legislation by States. This calls for effective strategic advocacy work by national DPOs. The Swaziland government ratified the UNCRPD and therefore there is need to domesticate it through enacting a new disability law. In addition, the Swaziland government needs to amend all other laws to make them UNCRPD compliant.

SAFOD is committed to its mandate and will continue to support its affiliate DPOs.

**Mussa Chiwaula,
Director General,
SAFOD.**

March, 2016.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Advocacy is a growing phenomenon in new democracies. It is becoming a very essential tool for policy, legislative and practice change. Advocacy is defined by many different people in different ways but in short, it is all about social movement to achieve change. It is high time persons with disabilities and their organisations in Swaziland engaged in more structured and practical advocacy work that could achieve reasonable change.

The adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in December, 2006 gives good reason and ground for serious advocacy. The convention is an international instrument that is aimed to ensure that the rights of persons with disabilities are promoted, protected and respected. It should be used for advocacy at all times. Policies, laws and programmes of every state should conform to the principles of the convention. Therefore, persons with disabilities and their organisations should ensure that their governments ratify and domesticate the convention. The government of Swaziland ratified the Convention; therefore, advocacy work should lean on the need to domesticate.

When getting into advocacy for domestication it is therefore important for all DPOs and their umbrella organisation in Swaziland to understand the principles enshrined in the UNCRPD.

The UNCRPD does not explicitly define disability. It rather attempts to state who persons with disabilities are. It says, "Persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others."

The principles of the convention are:

- (a) Respect for inherent dignity, individual autonomy including the freedom to make one's own choices, and independence of persons;
- (b) Non-discrimination;
- (c) Full and effective participation and inclusion in society;
- (d) Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human diversity and humanity;
- (e) Equality of opportunity;
- (f) Accessibility;
- (g) Equality between men and women;
- (h) Respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and respect for the right of children with disabilities to preserve their identities.

The above principles are essential to know because DPOs should engage in advocacy knowledgeably.

It is also important to select advocacy issues that hinder on definitions, for instance, advocacy to adopt and adapt the definitions in the UNCRPD in the disability law that will

domesticate the Convention. The UNCRPD provides for the following definitions which Swaziland may adopt and adapt to their local situation:

"Communication" includes languages, display of text, Braille, tactile communication, large print, accessible multimedia as well as written, audio, plain-language, human-reader and augmentative and alternative modes, means and formats of communication, including accessible information and communication technology;

"Language" includes spoken and signed languages and other forms of non-spoken languages;

"Discrimination on the basis of disability" means any distinction, exclusion or restriction on the basis of disability which has the purpose or effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal basis with others, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. It includes all forms of discrimination, including denial of reasonable accommodation;

"Reasonable accommodation" means necessary and appropriate modification and adjustments not imposing a disproportionate or undue burden, where needed in a particular case, to ensure to persons with disabilities the enjoyment or exercise on an equal basis with others of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

"Universal design" means the design of products, environments, programmes and services to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible, without the need for adaptation or specialized design. "Universal design" shall not exclude assistive devices for particular groups of persons with disabilities where this is needed.

DPOs in Swaziland should not ignore the above provisions because most of the advocacy issues are around communication, language, discrimination, accessibility etc. For us to be effective, the above provisions should be at our finger tips. Please know the above provisions by heart. Do not memorise, know and understand them!

Swaziland is one of the countries that have made significant progress in addressing issues that pertain to Persons with Disabilities. The Kingdom of Swaziland ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) in 2012. Subsequent to ratification of the UNCRPD, a National Policy on Disability was developed, aimed at promoting the mainstreaming of disability issues across all development programs of Government. The policy also seeks to implement the provision of the Constitution of Swaziland which recognizes and articulates the rights of Persons with Disabilities. Section 31 of the Constitution explicitly relates to disability rights. The 2004 Swaziland Constitution provides protection for persons with disabilities and requires Parliament to enact relevant implementing legislation.

It is in view of this that FODSWA needs to engage in strategic advocacy to ensure that disability legislation that is in line with the Constitution and domesticates the UNCRPD is enacted. Thus the purpose of developing this strategic advocacy manual. This manual

is a simple guide that could be used by all persons with disabilities. It would be helpful if it was translated to local languages so that even those community-based DPOs could use it.

2.0 ROLE OF FODSWA

FODSWA is the umbrella organisation of DPOs in Swaziland. Its overall mandate is to champion and lead strategic advocacy towards the promotion and protection of the rights and fundamental freedoms of persons with disabilities in Swaziland. It also ensures that respect for the inherent dignity of persons with disabilities is upheld in all aspects of life. FODSWA should always consult with its affiliates in order to carry out effective strategic advocacy. This enhances a unified and amplified voice. Affiliate DPLOs must be made to understand that FODSWA speaks the voice of its affiliates. So, the other role of FODSWA is to educate its affiliates and constantly inform them of any advocacy outcomes.

3.0 STRATEGIC ADVOCACY FOR POLICY ENGAGEMENT TOWARDS INCLUSIVE LEGISLATION

3.1 What is strategic advocacy?

It has been discovered that advocacy has got many different definitions. Many of these definitions are based on the nature of organisation defining advocacy. It also depends on the ultimate objective of that particular organisation. The general definitions of advocacy are as in the examples below:

- Advocacy is arguing in favour of something, such as a cause, idea, or policy.
- Advocacy occurs when an individual engages in dialogue about an issue they care about.
- Advocacy is about championing a campaign on a policy issue for the purpose of changing policies and laws for the benefit of the people concerned.
- Advocacy is a process of supporting and enabling people to: express their views and concerns; access information and services and; defend and promote their rights and responsibilities.
- The above definitions were adopted by the author of this manual as he facilitated various training on strategic advocacy in different countries.

Some advocacy definitions are specific for the organisations and are made in line with the vision and mission of the organisation. For instance, the definition of advocacy according to Sight Savers is:

“A purposeful activity that is aimed at changing the attitudes and behaviours of those individuals: policies and practices of those institutions whose actions affect the elimination of avoidable blindness and social inclusion of people who are blind.”

The other specific definition is from elderly persons and it says advocacy is “a one-to-one partnership between a trained, independent advocate and an older person who

needs support in order to secure or exercise their rights, choices and interests” (Older People’s Advocacy Alliance UK).

It is clear that Sight Savers and Older People’s Advocacy Alliance have their own vision, mission and objectives. It is in this perspective that advocacy is normally treated as “needs focussed”.

For the purpose of this manual and people working with persons with disabilities, advocacy is a planned process whose ultimate goal is to influence change in the behaviours and practices of people and institutions who can directly or indirectly affect the promotion, protection and respect of the inherent human rights and fundamental freedoms of persons with disabilities.

This definition is coined after a long experience of working with persons with disabilities and their organisations. Deriving from the definition, we realise that advocacy is planned.

3.2 Strategic advocacy aim and objectives

Advocacy aim:

An advocacy aim is the change in the lives of persons with disabilities. When carrying out advocacy work which is strategic in nature, it means we are focussing on long-term changes in the social welfare or livelihoods of persons with disabilities. So, when coining a strategic advocacy aim, the statement should always reflect the change FODSWA wants to see in the social welfare of Swazis with disabilities.

For instance: “persons with disabilities in Swaziland exercising their social-economic and political rights without any form of barriers arising from their disabilities on an equal basis with other citizens.

Now, what should happen or change in order to achieve this aim. The following may need to change:

1. Policies and laws.
2. Implementing practices of these policies and laws.
3. Increase in budgetary allocations towards disability inclusive programmes.
4. The mindsets and attitudes of people.
5. The way people behave, act or react towards issues affecting persons with disabilities.

Now that we have the above aim and what needs to be changed to achieve the aim, we should have short-term goals. These should assist us move towards the aim. These are what we refer to as strategic advocacy objectives.

For instance:

- i) Government to domesticate the UNCRPD through enacting of the disability law in Swaziland by December, 2017.

- ii) Citizens of Swaziland to support the advocacy work of FODSWA to ensure a disability law is in place.

These may be the immediate strategic advocacy objectives which if achieved will have the rights of persons with disabilities in Swaziland promoted and protected through legislation. After achieving these, then further strategic advocacy must be done to ensure persons with disabilities exercise those rights enshrined in the law by December, 2020.

Never forget to make the objectives SMART. I guess we are already familiar with the acronym SMART. This stands for S- specific; M- measurable; A- achievable; R- relevant and; T- time bound.

Specific means that the objective should be clear on what needs to be changed and by whom. Measurable means that what needs to be changed should be measured at one stage. People should be able to determine the amount of change that has taken place. Achievable means that the intended change issue should be reasonable and realistic in terms of attainability. You do not set objectives with actions that can never be achieved. Relevant means that the change issue should be of relevance to the advocates or the beneficiaries. Last, there should be some deadline to be met. Advocacy should not be indefinite.

It is important to have SMART objectives for the purpose of being clear and focussed. When we are clear and focussed even our planning become easier. This will help us monitor and evaluate change. The advocates will be able to follow what they are monitoring or evaluating.

When we look up at our definition of advocacy, we realise that it addresses two targets for change. It targets institutions and individuals. Therefore we have two sets of objectives in advocacy, those which target institutions and those that target individuals. Objectives that target institutions aim to change policies and practices in those institutions. For instance the above example of an objective is targeting an institution, the government. The government is targeted to put in place a disability law. Further strategic advocacy should follow to ensure practice change. It is easy to change laws or put in place new laws but it is always difficult to change practices. So, the first objective above targets an institution, government.

The second objective targets individuals, who are the citizens. Citizens should support your advocacy issue otherwise they may champion their own issues which might seem more attractive to government than your issue. So, it is always important to ensure 'buy-in' from the citizens.

3.3 Who does advocacy for legislation formulation and change

In most cases we have seen people getting engaged in advocacy just because there is an issue directly affecting them. It should not be the directly affected only who should be engaged in advocacy. Certain issues affect everyone. For instance, if women with

disabilities feel aggrieved with the way the education system discriminates them, it should be recognised that this affects a chain of people. Firstly, this issue affects the households these women come from. The neighbourhood will be affected because they will be living with a person who will be an economic burden on them. The social workers get affected because the number of clients increases and begin to compete for scarce resources. The church and other charities also get burdened. So, all these groups need to get into some of advocacy work around the same issue. These people are usually referred to as stakeholders.

In view of the above, advocacy is done by the directly affected, who are the beneficiaries; it is done with the beneficiaries and done for the beneficiaries in certain circumstances. Advocacy by the beneficiaries here means advocacy done by persons with disabilities as individual activists, groups or associations. The persons with disabilities identify the advocacy issues, plan and implement their advocacy plans. They do the research, lobbying, campaigning, monitoring and evaluation themselves. They may of course bring in experts who are not disabled to assist them with some technical aspects of advocacy like research etc. But they remain the principle advocates. In such circumstances, the persons with disabilities should carry the advocacy skills and have the necessary resources required. This type of advocacy is the most appropriate because it carries the power of legitimacy and ownership. It carries the power of knowledge over the issue or problem and it reduces the risk of being challenged or frustrated by decision and policy makers. So, FODSWA must carry this legitimacy.

Advocacy with persons with disabilities normally comes in when the persons with disabilities do not have the skills and appropriate resources. Some agencies come in with skills and funds to support disabled people's organisations. They equip the DPOs with skills and give them funds to implement advocacy activities. At the same time, they continue to work with them in implementing the activities. In certain circumstances, persons with disabilities are joined in advocacy by groups of people who get affected by a problem which consequently affects them. For instance, teachers for learners with disabilities may be affected by a problem of having no resources to deliver quality education. The teachers may work with persons with disabilities to carry out advocacy. This could happen with social workers, development workers etc. So, the absence of a disability law in Swaziland affects many organisations, including those in service delivery. These organisations may do advocacy with FODSWA. SAFOD or any other strategic organisation may also do strategic advocacy with FODSWA because they wield more advocacy power than FODSWA.

There have been some challenges in some circles where persons with disabilities feel sign language interpreters cannot be joined to advocacy for people who are deaf. Or, personal assistants joined in advocacy for people who are blind or deaf-blind. In such circumstances, the deaf, blind and deaf-blind should be left to do the advocacy themselves. This is an ethical issue and it simply needs to be adhered to. The role of the sign language interpreters and personal assistants is to interpret and assist the persons with disabilities. The other role of associations of sign language interpreters and personal assistants would be to educate the advocacy targets and public on their role in the lives of the deaf, blind and deaf-blind persons. They should avoid speaking on behalf

of the persons with disabilities. They can work with persons with disabilities in their advocacy work by simply carrying out education programmes on their role. This is a very controversial issue in advocacy work, when it comes to who should work with persons with disabilities.

The other angle of advocacy is working for persons with disabilities. This happens in circumstances where the particular persons with disabilities do not have the capacity and capability. They do not have skills; cannot acquire the skills; do not have the funds and cannot utilise the funds. It happens normally with young children with disabilities who cannot speak on their own. It happens also with those adults with profound mental or intellectual disabilities. It should be carefully noted persons who are mental health users have the capacity and capability to do advocacy by them. It only comes to those persons with profound mental disabilities who are not able to take charge of their own affairs permanently. The world over, persons who are mental health users have viable and vibrant associations engaged in advocacy work by themselves.

In circumstances where the beneficiaries cannot do the advocacy, parents, care givers, lawyer; the clergies and social workers do the advocacy. Parents and care givers for children with disabilities, especially those children with intellectual disabilities have developed the concept of 'self-advocacy'. This is where the children and youths with intellectual disabilities are equipped with skills to speak for themselves. The concept is working.

In all forms of advocacy, people should be alerted of the global slogan of "Nothing about us without us". There should be no advocacy work about persons with disabilities without the persons with disabilities.

At this stage, it is essential to understand that advocacy is a contested game. It is a game in which persons with disability will advance their issues in competition with many other issues from different groups. At the same time it is a competition in which persons with disabilities will be pushing their issues to government and other decision makers in competition with the views those government decision makers hold. So, it is important to realise this as we get into advocacy. We should never aim to get into advocacy to win and make the government officials and other decision makers to be on the losing side. Our negotiations should always aim for a win-win situation rather than a win-lose situation. At the end of it all, we should be able to sit down with government and any other target and say, "together, we have done it". Remember that for the UNCRPD to be domesticated, you need the Ministry responsible for justice or legal affairs; legislature; Cabinet and the Head of State. So, if the law gets passed, every one of the stakeholders in Swaziland has won. This is the spirit of strategic advocacy. Heads of State always gain glory by saying, "I have given persons with disabilities a law they needed, so I have the feel of what they need". So, ensure that one day, the Swazi Head of State will say this.

3.4 Strategic approaches to advocacy

We have got four strategic approaches to advocacy. These are the rational, collaborative, pressure or political, judicial or legal or strategic litigation.

i) Rational

This is where we get realistic and present facts and figures. We ensure that we do our research and present facts and figures as they are. Normally, this advocacy strategic approach is used by professionals. FODSWA can carry out some survey to pick up data on how persons with disabilities are negatively affected by the absence of protective disability law. Evidence can also be picked on how some countries in Southern Africa which have disability laws have progressed. This information is usually presented in a very formal and casual manner.

ii) Collaborative

In this strategic approach, we share responsibilities with our targets. We as DPOs provide certain skills or resources in order to achieve our aim. Sometimes, the DPOs could provide resources while the target, e.g. government would provide skills for research. This sort of advocacy approach is usually non-controversial. It works very well where the DPOs have got resources. FODSWA in the case at hand may mobilise resources to produce a shadow Persons with Disabilities Bill and present it to government. Government would save the financial resources to conduct expensive consultations. In this view, FODSWA would have illustrated its strength and willing to collaborate with government.

iii) Political/Pressure

This is the most common strategic approach among DPOs. Pressure is put on the target to change. It is effective when properly planned. This is where you find press statements, petitions, picketing, demonstrations, boycotts etc. FODSWA should realise that this approach needs a strong and effective written strategy. It also needs skill and persons or individuals who will stand the fire-back pressure from government. Training is needed for this approach.

iv) Judicial/Legal/litigation

This strategic approach seeks redress through the courts of law. This should be the last resort. It usually calls for a lot of funds and skills. It is very controversial and no one likes it. Otherwise, it works wonders. It is a new approach in DPOs found in developing countries. FODSWA needs to have well skilled lawyers to demand for their advocacy issue. In this case, FODSWA should be able to demonstrate through a natural person that the absence of the disability law has had adverse effects of the protection of the rights of persons with disabilities. This needs adequate strategic litigation skills.

We can select one or combine two or combine all the four strategic approaches depending on our skills and resources.

3.5 Influencing styles

Influencing styles are those manoeuvres you need to use tactfully during a lobby meeting. These help you to influence the lobby targets. Lobby targets are those individual decision makers you meet face-to-face. You need to convince them why the UNCRPD must be domesticated through a Swaziland made disability law. The available influencing styles include; factual, intuitive, normative and analytical:

- i) **Factual:** influences by a presentation of the facts; there is an emphasis on detail and documentation. FODSWA should beef up its rational strategic approach with empirical evidence.
- ii) **Intuitive:** influences by stressing the benefits of a solution; the emphasis is on the creative approach to new possibilities. FODSWA should be able to catch the emotions of the lobby targets on how devastating the absence of the disability law is to different categories of persons with disabilities. For instance, pictures, videos, voice recordings or visits to schools where children with disabilities are discriminated or are facing injuries due to inaccessibility. The key is catching the personal emotions of the decision maker.
- iii) **Normative:** influences by an appeal to a common set of beliefs; emphasis on a fair solution; behaviours tend to be based on emotions arising from norms and values of the tradition and culture of Swaziland. For instance, it is not within the norms and values of the Swazi to discriminate any member of society on the basis of disability. Accuse the Head of State for discriminating persons with disabilities for not putting in place a law that will promote and protect the rights of persons with disabilities when the traditional norms and values of Swaziland indicate inclusive family values.
- iv) **Analytical:** influences by showing causal relationships between parts and then synthesising them. This is where FODSWA must bring together different and several effects of not having a disability rights protective law in Swaziland. FODSWA should put together documentation on different small adverse results occurring because there is no disability rights protective law in Swaziland. Present them as a whole synchronisation to exhibit a huge negative effect on the promotion and protection of the rights and fundamental freedoms of persons with disabilities. Nevertheless, ensure it is factual.

3.6 Developing an advocacy strategy

It is important to always have an advocacy strategy when getting into advocacy work. When getting into advocacy, it should be noted that we are getting into a battlefield. We are therefore like soldiers who need to have a strategy before getting to war. A strategy will assist us to know what we want, who our target is, which people will help us, have action plans and to implement the action plans in a more organised and structured manner. Generally, an advocacy strategy gives us a clear picture of how we

will reach our destiny. A strategy should not be treated as a very complex thing by those in advocacy.

Let us look at this example. When you are about to travel to another town as a wheelchair user, there are some certain issues you need to look at before you start off. The first thing you will obviously need to know is your destination. Where do you want to go? You can never start off from your home without a reason. You must have a reason of going where you want to go. Why do you want to get there? You will also need to know how you get there. How do I get there? It is important to select the most appropriate and accessible way of getting there. What resources do I need? As a wheelchair user, you need to identify people who will help you with your luggage and wheelchair. Who will assist me get around, on and off the bus? Every wheelchair user needs to identify the obstacles that may confront them and how they will overcome them. When you answer these questions, you would have set your strategy. This form of strategic thinking when preparing for a journey affects every person with a disability. The wheelchair case was just an example.

In advocacy you need to know the advocacy issue and understand it thoroughly, you should know who is affected and who can bring about change. You need to have the right resources for your advocacy. You must be very clear of your destiny or your aim. You must also be clear of how you get to your destiny or aim. This gives you clear objectives.

In view of this, a useful strategy makes it easy to achieve four things just from the onset:

- a. Clearly identifying and defining an issue and its possible solutions;
- b. Making it easy to get more people involved;
- c. Bringing the people who have the power to bring about the solutions you want directly into contact with your organisation;
- d. Establishing how you will monitor and evaluate advocacy outcomes.
- e. Knowing how much you need and raising the money or other resources you need to carry out the work you plan to do.

The process of advocacy planning is somehow complex. It needs the presence of a trained expert in order to develop a clear strategy. In order to have a clear strategy for structured advocacy, there is need to be guided through the process. After going through the process for many times, then you can do it on your own. It is sometimes challenging because within the same group or organisation, you will find different views. This may derail the planning process. Different individuals will at first be holding different views and interests. All this needs to harmonise just as you start the planning process. That is why we said at the beginning, advocacy is contested. It is both internally and externally contested!

The other challenge is that you plan without real understanding the responses you will receive from different stakeholders. You may even be uncertain if the other beneficiaries who are not there during the planning process will share your view. You

are not even sure if supporters will fund your cause. It is therefore important to use an expert, if you are planning advocacy for the first time.

In order to overcome the above challenges, you need to begin your planning with research for the purpose of developing evidence for your advocacy. The research will also help you identify the right target and supporters. Advocacy should be evidence based. Without evidence, it is difficult to advance your issue. There must be evidence of the issue and its effect on the beneficiaries. The evidence base should fully exhibit a rights-based approach towards the change issue. If it is about law reforms, then the strategy should be focussed on ensuring the UNCRPD principles are complied with in Swaziland.

Advocacy planning should involve as many people as possible. The views of many people, especially the affected should be taken into consideration. The views of other concerned stakeholders should also be captured. Sometimes, it is important to consider the views of the potential target. In short, advocacy planning should be consultative and participatory. The views of different groups and individuals should be harmonised. The process of planning should have a leadership. There should be an individual or team facilitating the whole advocacy planning process. The planning process usually takes more than one month from the author's experience.

It involves the following stages:

1. Issue identification.
2. Problem analysis.
3. Drafting objectives.
4. Situation analysis.
5. Capacity assessment.
6. Finalising objectives.
7. Devising advocacy plans.
8. Implementing the plans.
9. Monitoring and evaluation.
10. Revising the advocacy plans.

(Source: Ian Chandler, the Pressure Group Consultancy Limited).

Let us now go through the planning process.

1. Issue identification

The issue is what affects the persons with disabilities. This issue normally arises as a result of regular complaints from many persons with disabilities. It arises as a common complaint from the different categories of persons with disabilities. There are some common issues that cover all categories of persons with disabilities, for instance, access to quality education, meaningful employment and participation in public life. The issue is normally picked up as 'discrimination'. As already emphasised above, it is very essential for FODSWA to early understand definitions and interpret them in order to influence adoption into the advocated for disability law.

There are some issues that are specific for each category of disability. Such issues come about due to the different barriers arising from that particular disability, for instance, issues around sign language for those who are deaf; Braille and mobility for those who are blind; physical access for those who are physically disabled; respect and self realisation for those with mental disabilities. Other issues concern those with partial disabilities like hearing aids and low vision devices. The deaf-blind have their issues around communication. Those with multiple disabilities have multiple issues. Other ignored groups like those persons with albinism have got a lot of issues around stigma and traditional beliefs. FODSWA should be well alive to all issues so that all categories of persons with disabilities participate in the consultative process for strategic advocacy towards the domestication of the UNCRPD. It is important that apart from participating, issues concerning all categories should be addressed in any disability friendly laws addressing domestication.

This brings us to the issue of general issue identification and planning; and specific issue identification and planning. After the issue has been identified, it still remains vague. It is very important at this stage to carry out research to establish evidence for effective advocacy. The research can either be quantitative or qualitative and may follow all the research requirements. It may sometimes be a simple desk review. This depends on the issue. FODSWA must ensure that the advocacy issue is very clear both to FODSWA Board Members and affiliates.

2. Problem analysis

When the issue has been identified it needs to be converted into a problem. The problem should be clear and be common to the majority of the beneficiaries. For instance, one common issue given above is access to quality education. This should be converted to an actual problem. There are many problems persons with disabilities face in education. So, the problem should be clear to enable easy analysis. For instance, 'there are inadequate trained teachers to handle inclusive schooling in which learners with disabilities would acquire education that gives value to their future life'.

There are many tools used for analysing advocacy problems. In this manual, we shall focus on problem and solution trees. The problem and solution trees assist us to dissect the problem by looking at the causes and effects on persons with disabilities. This tool also assists us to develop objectives for advocacy and the impact of the advocacy work. This means that at the end of the problem analysis we should be having our draft objectives and aim. We should also be able to see where we would like to be at the end of the successful advocacy work.

3. Objective drafting

The third stage of drafting objectives is directly generated from stage two. The objectives are the roots in the solution tree. The objectives are prioritised and

the most effective ones in achieving the solution, which is the advocacy aim, are selected. Remember, advocacy objectives are outcome focussed.

4. Situation analysis

A situation analysis is an assessment of the advocacy situation in the environment. This environment may be a community, a district, province, country or region. This is very important to note because advocacy may be done at district level by the Disability District Networks or at national level by the national Disabled People's Organisations. FODSWA should lead this. Therefore we have an **internal and external situation**. The internal situation is an assessment within FODSWA. On the other hand, the external situation is the assessment of the external environment of FODSWA.

There are many tools that could be used for **internal situation analysis**. These include: resources assessment, skills assessment, activity analysis, power analysis and SWOT analysis.

Resources assessment:

You assess the resources your organisation has. This includes infrastructure, finances, human resource, networks, technology and time.

Skills assessment:

This is the assessment of the skills you have within the FODSWA. This includes skills in advocacy, management, resource mobilisation and financial accountability.

Activity analysis:

This involves analysing the activities that need to be taken and checking the possible time for implementing or completing each of the activities. Timelines can be used in this analysis.

Power analysis:

This involves assessing the power FODSWA carries. There are different types or powers the organisation may carry. This is analysed in comparing to the power of other organisations out there.

SWOT analysis:

SWOT stands for Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats. The strengths and weaknesses refer to those strengths and weaknesses FODSWA have in terms of implementing advocacy work. It includes the finances, human resource, time, reputation etc. The opportunities and threats are those things opportunities and threats outside your organisation that can affect your advocacy.

When you have done your SWOT analysis, you have to enhance your strengths, change your weaknesses to strengths, take advantage of your opportunities and neutralise your threats. It should be observed that internal rundles within

federations is a weakness which needs to be strengthened. In advocacy it is a ground to weaken activists.

The external situation analysis is done using a tool called the **PESTLE analysis**. PESTLE stands for Political, Economic, Social/cultural, Technological, Legal and Environmental. This gives you how the external environment in terms of friendliness to advocacy work is.

Political:

You need to assess the political environment. This includes assessing the political system. Political systems are either democratic, dictatorship, theocratic or kingdoms. It is easier to do advocacy in a democracy than a dictatorship. The political environment includes assessing the time in the political cycle of the country. Is it during election time, just before, just after or during the neutral and election free time? Which politicians or political parties are allies or enemies? What political structures exist; wards, constituencies, districts, provinces etc and how can they be utilised? This includes the traditional structures of Swaziland. Advocacy standing should be taken on the position that Swaziland is a Kingdom. Advocacy should be structured in line with that!

Economic situation:

Assess in which economic system you are. We have three main systems: free market economic system; command or centrally driven economic system and mixed economy. Also find the strength and weaknesses of your economy. Check the economic priority sectors of the Swazi government. Is your sector a priority? Which sectors are competing? This is where you need to follow and track the economic policies of the country. Track both the development plans and budget presentations. This is done by looking at the previous and current plans and budget presentations as you plan.

Social/cultural situation:

This looks at the social dynamics of your area. It includes assessing the norms, values, customs, religion and traditions of the area you will be carrying out advocacy. For instance, your advocacy strategy will be different if you are advocating for the rights of women with disabilities in an Islamic environment compared to a Christian environment. That being an example, FODSWA is not about anything else but persons with disabilities. The focus of FODSWA should always remain disability, development and inclusion.

Technological environment:

Assess the technological situation in your area. Can you use the internet/blog/Email for your advocacy? Can you use TV or radio effectively? How is the communication system? This can also lead you to assess whether it is possible to demand for certain types of technology in a certain sector. For instance, is it SMART to demand for a laptop for every child with a disability in school? All these questions need to be answered here. FODSWA carries the responsibility to strategically advocate for inclusion.

Legal situation:

Many persons with disabilities and their organisations struggle around advocacy for policy and legislation reform. In the event of the adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, this aspect is very essential. You need to understand your policy and legal frameworks. First of all, does the legal system allow freedom of speech? Does it allow for freedom of assembly and association? These aspects are important in planning advocacy. It is also important to establish the policies and laws that will directly and indirectly affect your advocacy work. If you need to change policies and laws, which policies and laws are they? What do they say and what needs to be changed? The Swaziland environment is suitable of advocacy. It is the responsibility of FODSWA to develop a dramatic but effective advocacy strategy. This manual emphasises directive and structured strategic advocacy.

Eco-environment situation:

Normally this refers to the geographical environment. You look at the weather, climate and geographical position of your area. It is difficult to advocate for accessible roads in a flood plain if your country is not technologically developed. Some advocacy needs to assess the climate patterns, e.g. when should elections be held to let all categories of persons with disabilities participate. Obviously, the rainy season is terrible for persons with disabilities.

If your assessment has been good, it is easy to get into advocacy with a clear picture of what is already obtaining outside your organisation. Always do a PESTLE analysis!

5. Capacity assessment

This is where FODSWA checks its capacity to carry out advocacy. During the situation analysis, we did an internal situation analysis. For this exercise we selected some tools to be used. The same tools could be used for the organisational capacity to do advocacy work. These include: resources, skills assessment, activity assessment, power analysis and SWOT analysis.

The tools can help you tell whether you can go ahead to do advocacy or not. (Refer to situation analysis.)

Look at this interesting analogy and think about it critically.

Five ways of knowing who will win (from Sun Tzu's Art of War)

- i) Those who know when to fight and when not to fight are victorious
- ii) Those who discern when to use many or few troops are victorious
- iii) Those whose upper and lower ranks have the same desire are victorious
- iv) Those who face the unprepared with preparation are victorious
- v) Those whose generals are able and are not constrained by their governments are victorious.

(Source: Ian Chandler, the Pressure Group Consultancy Limited.)

You now imagine you are a General planning for war, where the war here is advocacy. How would you use this analogy?

When getting into advocacy you should assess the power capacity you have. There are two main types of power. These are **internal and external power**. Internal power is power that you carry yourself. This includes confidence and capacity in terms of finances and skills. External power is derived from the way your target views you. This includes: expert, legitimate, representation, resource/trade, reward and punishment,

- **Expert power:** Your target views you as an expert in issues concerning the rights of persons with disabilities. So, you need to utilise the power as far as you can. It is at this point that when planning for lobby meetings you need to select people who will really exhibit this power.
- **Legitimate power:** This is the power you get because of the fact that you are from an organisation that is legally registered and you were duly elected.
- **Representation:** This is the power you carry by the fact that you are duly representing a certain section of the Swaziland population. It is important to exhibit the fact that you represent a large number of citizens who are in this case persons with disabilities and their families. That is why it is important to know the number of people you represent.
- **Trade:** We all know that trade is about selling and buying. What power do you carry in order to compel your target buy your advocacy issue? This involves great influencing and negotiating skills. If FODSWA spoke on radio, would the government say “yes, we must give them the law they need”?
- **Punishment and reward:** This power has worked in my experience. This is where FODSWA should be able to compel government to give them inclusive laws because the State knows that FODSWA can influence the citizens not to give them support. For instance, FODSWA could carry out a campaign whose message is: “If you do not give us protection through a disability law, we will not support your government”. This normally works well in multi-party States. This is referred to as the punishment. If FODSWA says: “If you give us the law, we shall campaign for you”. This is the reward part.

6. Finalising objectives

The sixth stage in the advocacy strategy development plan involves finalising the advocacy objectives we looked at in stage three. In stage three the objectives were simply pulled out of the solution tree. We needed to do a situation analysis and capacity assessment before finalising the objectives. We can only finalise these objectives after we are satisfied that we have the capacity, as an organisation, to carry out effective advocacy. So, the draft objectives are finalised simply by making them SMART.

We can make the objectives SMART when we realise, during the situation analysis and capacity assessment, that we will be able to achieve them.

7. Devise advocacy plans

After finalising our advocacy objectives we now go ahead to do our action plans. These are the plans that we indicate all our advocacy actions. There should be some actions for each of the objectives set above. It is at this stage when the budgets are also looked at.

8. Implementing advocacy strategy

After we have the action plans, we implement our advocacy strategy. We shall look at how we implement our advocacy strategy in our next section.

9. Monitoring and Evaluation

As you implement advocacy strategy, it is important to monitor and evaluate the work. We shall look at monitoring and evaluation separately in another section.

10. Revise advocacy strategy

The revision of our advocacy strategy always emanates from the monitoring and evaluation results. When we evaluate our advocacy work and realise that we are not progressing, we need to revise the advocacy strategy. We revise the advocacy strategy regularly. After revising we may get back to:

- i) Start the whole process of planning again. This is when we realise we have gone wrong.
- ii) Stage two, where we simply have to analyse the problem again. The advocacy issue remains the same but is analysed again.
- iii) Stage five, where we need to do the capacity assessment again.
- iv) Devising the action plans again.

The above planning process could be divided into the following phases:

Phase 1: Know what you want to change

Phase 2: Identify best influencing strategy

Phase 3: Devise action plan

Phase 4: Implement action plan

Phase 5: Monitor & Evaluate Progress

Why do we write strategy papers?

It is important to understand that writing advocacy strategy papers is very essential. As already stated previously, we cannot get into advocacy without a strategy. We write advocacy strategy papers in order to consolidate our plans. Our plans should be consolidated so that our action plans are line with our objectives for the purpose of achieving our aim. A strategy paper outlines exactly what we need to do and how much we need. So, it gives us direction. It keeps us on the right track. The advocacy strategy paper gives us confidence in our work because we are sure of what we want to do. The process of developing the strategy paper puts us in the right picture of who we are, what

we want to do and where we want to be. It could be used to mobilise supporters. It can also be used to mobilise finances. A clear strategy paper can attract funding from many donors. We write strategy papers so that we find it easy at the monitoring and evaluation stage. The strategy paper can be a guide for evaluation even if the evaluator is an external one.

The advocacy strategy should include the following:

- i) Advocacy aim
- ii) Primary objectives of the advocacy
- iii) The target
- iv) Key strategies including audiences and secondary objectives
- v) Proposition
- vi) Action plans
- vii) Resources and budgets
- viii) Risks and assumptions
- ix) Monitoring and evaluation process

The planning process in advocacy is very essential and should be managed very well. Effective and efficient planning should be managed by the person in charge of advocacy in the organisation or the Chief Executive Officer. This calls for adequate financial resources and skilled human resource. The officer in charge of the advocacy work in the organisation should be present during the whole planning process. This officer should offer support to the advocacy expert assisting in the planning. This is also essential because if the plan is absorbed during the planning process, it becomes easy to implement. It also becomes very easy for the responsible advocacy manager to present the strategy paper to other approving bodies.

3.7 Implementing an advocacy strategy

The most exciting stage of advocacy work is implementing the advocacy strategy. Planning is very hectic and tedious. It is complex. But if the strategy is clear, it becomes exciting to implement. There are many approaches to implementing the advocacy strategy. It could be implemented by the Chief Executive Officer and his full time staff on behalf of the organisation and the persons with disabilities. This usually works well when the CEO is a person with a disability.

The other way is by putting in place an advocacy committee that will be working with the CEO or advocacy manager in the organisation. The advocacy committee could comprise different stakeholders including other DPOs. It is important to have a representative committee. The role of the committee would be to coordinate the advocacy work. Advocacy is about social mobilisation. The best way for social mobilisation is to include as many stakeholders as possible in the advocacy work. A new phenomenon of mobilising as many stakeholders is evolving. This is the phenomenon of having Advocacy Platforms. The Advocacy Platform is a big body that comprises, if possible, all stakeholders who have interest in the issue. Such a platform meets once or twice per year. The purpose of such a big body is to have many stakeholders championing the issue.

The management of the advocacy work needs to be managed effectively and efficiently. This is why there should be a dedicated manager to manage the implementation process. The manager should ensure that the whole implementation process is well coordinated with adequate financial resources allocated timely. The manager should ensure that the process is in line with the strategy paper. This means that the target audiences should be kept involved. The action plans are followed. The monitoring and evaluation process is in place. The manager should always monitor the successes in the advocacy implementation and regularly share them with the rest of the stakeholders on the Advocacy Platform. This should be done every time there is indication of success.

Note: Celebrate all advocacy achievements made whether small or large! It forms part of the influencing strategies. Celebration encourages more supporters to join the advocacy work and reduces the power of the target.

Advocacy Activities

There are many advocacy activities that we can get into. Some are quite complex but with practice, the skill develops. The main advocacy activities are:

- Research: Investigating issues and problems, gathering evidence and identifying recommended solutions or courses of action.
- Activism
- Alliance Building
- Awareness Raising
- Picketing
- Boycotts
- Peaceful Demonstrations
- Petitions
- Campaigning
- Communications
- Lobbying
- Policy Work
- Public Education

3.8 Monitoring and evaluation of advocacy strategies

Monitoring and evaluation is a key component of advocacy work. We cannot do without M&E.

What is M&E?

Let us examine monitoring first. Monitoring is a continual process of collecting data that is being generated from the advocacy process. The data being collected varies. It is data about what we are doing. It is also data about what others are doing. The data also includes how our advocacy target is responding and reacting to our advocacy work. As we are in the process of implementing our advocacy work, the beneficiaries, who are persons with disabilities in general, continuously respond to the process because it affects them. This data of how the beneficiaries are affected should be collected.

Data collection in advocacy is in two ways. We could be collecting quantitative data, for instance, the number of audiences agreeing with your advocacy issue at the beginning

of the work. As the advocacy work proceeds, many more audiences support the issue. This data could be presented in terms of figures or percentages. The data is used to monitor the support we are gaining. The figures could be used as a source of power. Qualitative data is also collected in form of pictures, videos, letters, newspaper cuttings, news footage, reports and interview etc. A data base can also be developed depending on the type of advocacy work we are engaged in.

Having looked at what monitoring is, let us now look at evaluation. Evaluation is a process assessing the whole advocacy process after a certain period in order to determine the impact being made. This is done through reviewing the data collected during the monitoring. Evaluation is done after six months, one year or at the end of the advocacy project. This could be done by internal staff or external consultants.

Evaluation is done in order to inform and modify current plans, to learn from experience and improve future planning. It is also meant to make us be accountable to beneficiaries, supporters, donors, managers, trustees and other staff, (Source; Ian Chandler).

In M&E, we also carry out impact assessments. Impact Assessment is a process of measuring how effective you have been in achieving your aims and objectives. Remember that the aim in advocacy is how the work will change the lives of persons with disabilities. So, we need to measure how the lives of the beneficiaries have changed. This is very effective if a base-line survey was done at the beginning of the advocacy work. That is why it is important to do a situation analysis when planning advocacy. When assessing the impact, it will be clear if a comparison is done.

The impact is not only on the beneficiaries but on the advocacy target and audiences. This assesses on how much the objectives have been achieved. Remember again that advocacy objectives should be outcome based. They should also be SMART. This makes it easy to assess the impact on the target and audiences.

Why should we do M&E in advocacy?

It is important to do M&E in advocacy for the following reasons:

- i) To check progress in your work.
- ii) To review advocacy objectives and strategies.
- iii) To report to stakeholders like beneficiaries and donors.

Challenges in advocacy M&E

M&E in advocacy is challenging. It becomes challenging especially when the planning process was not done properly. Advocacy tends to be a long process that is sometimes frustrating. The M&E process therefore sometimes becomes boring. It is involving and costly. Sometimes, what you are monitoring may not even be clear to you. When doing advocacy work, you may not be the only one carrying out advocacy on the same issue. So, when it comes to measuring what impact your specific advocacy work has done, it becomes very difficult. This has sometimes brought arguments among advocates. Each group will claim to have been the one that has caused a certain change. This is all about attribution!

Advocacy work is in many times not concrete. It is not like project development where you can count the number of houses you have build for persons with disabilities and know exactly how many people have benefited. It is easy to evaluate concrete projects. Sometimes, advocacy impact is abstract. So, we need to be aware of this as we get into strategic advocacy as FODSWA.

4.0 FRUSTRATING STRATEGIES TO UNPREPARED LOBBYING BY ADVOCACY TARGETS

4.1 Qualities of an effective lobbyist

Lobbying is about positive results that contribute to the achievement of the advocacy objectives. Therefore, one needs the following qualities and attributes to be an effective lobbyist:

- i) Must be knowledgeable with advocacy lobbying skills and lobby issue.
- ii) Should carry compassion and dedication to the lobby issue.
- iii) Should be a good time manager.
- iv) Should be composed and patient.
- v) Should be stable and consistent but not rigid.
- vi) Should be observant and be able to predict responses in targets.
- vii) Should know when to speak and when to listen; what to say and when to say it.
- viii) Must be non-political and non-partisan.
- ix) Must be transparent and accountable.
- x) Must be selfless and courageous.

4.1 Frustrating the unprepared lobbyist

Many advocacy targets are skilled on how to frustrate lobbyists, especially those from government. The government officials will do the following in order to frustrate you:

- i) Pass the buck by referring you to another ministry or department and claim they are not responsible.
- ii) Commission inquiry committees or commissions
- iii) Sympathise with the issue but do nothing about it
- iv) Postpone meetings
 - v) Interrupt lobby meeting with other issues
 - vi) Corrupt DPO leadership through different methods. For instance:
 - a. Provision of luxurious transport to the DPO leaders after meetings
 - b. Food and drinks to the leaders during lobby meetings
 - c. Provide direct funding of the organisation
 - d. Provide financial support to individual DPO leaders perceived to be powerful advocates
 - e. Appoint strong and vocal activists from FODSWA into political office.
 - vii) Question FODSWA of its governance position. They will question the following:
 - a. Governance structure

- b. Financial management including audits
- c. Corrupt practices
- d. Personalisation of organisations
- e. Fiduciary duties of leaders
- f. Challenge advocacy evidence base for strategic advocacy as illegitimate

It is important to understand that your advocacy work can be weakened using the above tactics.

5.0 CONCLUSION

FODSWA is a growing umbrella DPO which needs to be developed in terms of finances, advocacy skills and governance. It is therefore essential that its strategic advocacy skills are enhanced before the organisation gets into full fledged advocacy. Many DPOs have not managed to carry out effective strategic advocacy because of some of the issues raised in this manual. FODSWA should take a broad step to ensure things change in Swaziland.

Remember: Nothing About Us Without Us!