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I. FOREWARD

INTRODUCTION

The Jordanian Civic Activist Toolkit is designed to share with Jordan's civic activists a rich selection of experiences, lessons learned and resources from a wide range of civil society organizations initiatives that took place between 2009 and 2013. It aims to inform, inspire and facilitate activists' networking in future advocacy initiatives in Jordan.

Civic activists strive to be “effecters” and “influencers” of change at the policy, legal and social perceptions level. This Toolkit provides them with access to tools which they can utilize to enhance and sustain their efforts. The resources included here will assist activists to engage in more strategic, effective, coordinated and inclusive activities in their communities and advance efforts to building a strong and vibrant civil society in Jordan.

WHY THIS TOOLKIT?

Although many advocacy resources do exist, few are available in Arabic and even fewer highlight examples of Jordanian advocacy initiatives and the impact that these efforts have had. This Toolkit has been produced to provide an account of documented experiences from the Jordanian context, by illustrating Jordanian-led civic initiatives and advocacy-related actions. It includes the models and resources Jordanian activists have been offered through the Jordan Civil Society Program, and which they subsequently adapted and used in their own campaigns.

This unique Toolkit is a culmination of systemic efforts over a period of four years of engagement aimed at enhancing Jordanian CSOs capacities in advocacy. What it includes extends beyond the mere provision of advocacy training resources, resulting in real-time and lively solutions to challenging questions that activists and CSOs have been confronted with while carrying out advocacy campaigns. It is both a capacity-building tool and a reference intended to serve as an engaging and informative resource to enrich activists and CSOs thinking of contextual and structural advocacy-related questions.

WHO IS THE TOOLKIT FOR?

This Toolkit is made for civic activists - a term which is effectively inclusive of a large spectrum of leaders, representatives, members and affiliates of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), non-profits, community-based organizations (CBOs); as well as individuals that comprise formal or informal groups active in the broader area of social, political and economic inclusion.

This can also be a reference for journalists, academics, researchers and think-tank analysts in formulating an informed opinion on the state of civil society in Jordan in the past four years. Elements can be adapted as a training resource for professional advocacy trainers and may also be used by Jordanian NGOs specialized in training as a reference or as a guide. The Toolkit can be useful for those who are new to advocacy as well as those who have solid expertise. It is a holistic learning tool for civil society activists who have never engaged in planning for or in advocacy activities.

HOW TO USE THIS TOOLKIT

The Toolkit is designed to be navigated in an electronically enabled CD-Rom environment. The start page which will prompt upon opening up the CD-Rom includes an interactive introductory page and table of contents with links to each resource. Inside are **Case Studies** and **Lessons Learned** that assist you and your team to apply and test theoretical knowledge with your advocacy realities. Accompanying the case studies are video snapshots where the leaders of civic initiatives talk to activists and CSOs' professionals, share their experiences and lessons learned. Additionally, each case study provides links to further resources for those wishing to learn more, as well as contacts of civic society leaders so that activists can network with them directly.

Supplementing the above, the Toolkit contains an expanded section entitled **Tools and Resources**. Its first subsection presents an *Advocacy Trainer Toolkit*. Its second subsection provides five guides and manuals as resources for *Skills and Tools for Advocacy*. The third section brings together three examples of policy papers and models on drafting designated for engagement on the policy level, under *Examples of Policy Advocacy Interventions*. The fourth and last subsection contains three innovative *Advocacy Assessment Tools*.

The last section in this toolkit contains **Additional Reading**- a list of various Internet resources, printed publications, and textbooks that will be useful in further advocacy capacity building, and for planning and implementing future initiatives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The production and finalization of this toolkit would have not been possible without dedicated and resilient efforts by the Jordan Civil Society Program staff and consultants. Sincere thanks go to every member of programmatic and operations teams for undertaking numerous tasks to finalize this production.

We would also like to extend gratitude and appreciation to our partners and grantees who provided material; case study content; videos and photos and who also dedicated time for discussion and interviews part of this toolkit. Particularly, we would like to thank the New Tactics in Human Rights Initiative for sharing their methodology modules on effective and innovative advocacy; members of the coalition for the Civil Society Report on the Status of Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Jordan for sharing lessons learned on building the coalition and advocacy

for the rights of Persons with Disabilities; the Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan (JREDS) for providing insightful material and videos for a case study; the Information and Research Center at King Hussein Foundation and its coalition building case study; the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists (CDFJ) for contributing videos and interviews to the case study on access to information tactical advocacy; and last but not least, Change Academy for the accounts it provided as part of a case study on Mobilizing local communities to stop violence on university campuses.

We would also like to thank USAID's OTI-funded Lebanon Civic Support Initiative (LCSI) for sharing and making available organizational tools and resources it developed to assist civil society organizations in measuring advocacy impact, organizations' performance and capacity.

Many of the initiatives included in this Toolkit were supported by the Jordan Civil Society Program, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by FHI 360.

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II. BACKGROUND ON JORDAN CIVIL SOCIETY ADVOCACY PROGRAM

Advocacy Empowerment in Jordan:

The Jordan Civil Society Program's Legacy in Facilitating Change Through Grants, Technical Assistance and Capacity Building (2009-13)

The Jordanian Civic Activist Toolkit brings a rich selection of experiences, lessons learned, and resources from activists like you in a unique manual, which highlights Jordanian civil society initiatives that took place between 2009 and 2013. During this period, the Jordan Civil Society Program (CSP), funded by USAID and implemented by FHI 360, provided grants and capacity building to a large spectrum of non-governmental organizations, non-profits, community-based and grassroots organizations to contribute to the strengthening and sustainability of Jordan's civil society through consultative research, training, strong public-private partnerships, grants and improved civil society-government communications.

CSP's initial research identified civil society groups as potential "effecters" and "influencers" of change at the policy, legal and social perceptions level but clearly revealed an overall need to enhance and enrich advocacy capacities of Jordan's civil society organizations (CSOs) to achieve this change on behalf of Jordanian citizens across the country. In response, CSP launched a framework for supporting civil society advocacy efforts in Jordan through professional development opportunities for advocacy trainers and mobilizing civic action through training and collaborative grants.

After Action Review (AAR) Grants. This two-phased grants program provided Jordanian CSOs involved or attempting to embark on advocacy efforts related to the same issue(s) to engage in a process of thought-out and structured analysis aimed at examining a variety of past interventions, contemplations, discourse and available results on that specific issue. This model extended beyond the phase of critical analysis to serve as the basis for strategic action-oriented planning and project-based interventions. Under the first phase of the AAR grants program, CSP provided technical, skill-based, support to three CSOs to conduct an in-depth review of advocacy interventions on their specific theme. In the second stage of the grants program, CSP supported 12-15 months implementation of project-based plans of action resulting from each AAR process.

Master Advocacy Fellowship (MAF) & Advocacy Assistance Grants: The project aimed at enhancing Jordanian advocacy efforts by providing a unique professional development opportunity for advocacy trainers that upgrades their practical application of advocacy strategies with an upgrading of training skills and links them to agents of

change who have impacted the situation on the ground. This nine month Fellowship combined training, curricula development and on-the-job training by providing participating fellows with opportunities to mentor and train the NGO and coalitions. Those who successfully completed the program were eligible to compete for Advocacy Assistance Grants which supported advocacy training and mentoring of Jordanian CBO's, NGO's and other community groups engaged in local advocacy initiatives as well as fund the implementation of advocacy initiatives at the local level.

Jordanian Advocacy Trainers Toolkit: Another follow-up product of the MAF program was the creation of a guide to advocacy training, building on New Tactics advocacy methodology (Strategic Effectiveness Method), along with links to specific advocacy references on specific issues. The Toolkit, which is included here, encompasses examination of the New Tactics methodological approach with direct input from Jordanian advocacy trainers –primarily CSP's MAF alumni - and accompanied with real cases studies from within Jordan's political and social environment.

Internal Strengthening for Change: Delivered by MAF alumni Partners Jordan, the 'Community Based Organizations Technical Assistance Program'(CBO-TAP) provided advocacy training and skills-building for action planning to more than 33 organizations from north to south of Jordan. The initiative is part of CSP's institutional strengthening program aimed at community-based organizations throughout which CSP introduced the Advocacy Readiness Index to assess CBO readiness to undertake local advocacy campaigns in response to citizens' demands. The index is available [here](#).

Organizational Tools for Measuring Advocacy Impact and Related Capacity: two additional significant resources were introduced by CSP as part of its advocacy capacity building tools for Jordanian CSOs. **The Advocacy Impact Index** measures the changes in the society or community that occur as a result of a civil society initiative on an issue. It tries to establish where the issue is on a scale between the obscurity, different levels of public debate, policy initiative, legislation and implementation. Still in Beta version, it has been applied on a limited number of issues. Additionally, the **Advocacy Capacity Index** measures changes over time in capacity of NGOs to advocate for local or national issues. Originally developed by USAID/OTI for the Lebanon Civic Initiative Support Program, it was adapted, contextualized and implemented by Jordanian CSOs through the Jordan Civil Society Program.

Human Rights Grants Program: In addition to creating advocacy resources, empowering advocacy initiatives and building the capacities of national and community-based advocates, CSP extended its support for rights-based advocacy through its Human Rights Grants Program which enabled six national projects to pursue defense of rights issues by a range of means, including an emphasis on advocacy. Utilizing Jordan's international

obligations as a framework for action, CSOs created unique interventions that combined research and documentation for public policy advocacy.

Disability Rights Advocacy: some of the most phenomenal breakthroughs with regards to advocating rights of Persons with Disability in Jordan took place with CSP's support and engagement during its lifetime. In 2010 technical assistance has been provided to an independent coalition of disability rights activists throughout the country, to claim voting rights for Persons with Disability during Parliamentary elections. TAKAFO' (Equality) – the name of the coalition - made an unprecedented success in securing amendments to the voting procedures through the inclusion of accessibility stipulations and the right to a personal assistant during the national elections. Another major element of CSP's support to advocacy efforts in the disability rights arena, was providing technical assistance to another independent coalition made of 40 civil society organizations, including 20 disabled persons' organizations (DPOs) and individual activists, who came together to draft the "Civil Society Report on the Status of Implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD Report)" while Jordan's country report to the relevant UN mechanism was still pending submission. Released in January 2012, the civil society report's recommendations have been subsequently taken forward by hundreds of activists and a number of human rights organizations who have endorsed it, to advocate for legislative and policy change, particularly in the area of employment rights and access to education.

CSP's Disability Rights Advocacy Grants Program was based on the framework of analysis and recommendations made by the CRPD Report and designed to ensure provision of adequate technical assistance, couple with financial support, to Jordanian CSOs and DPOs engaging with advocacy efforts around areas pointed out in the Report.

The enclosed Toolkit presents a range of examples and experiences of CSP's advocacy related efforts throughout its time frame. Presented here are the lessons learned, notable good practices, innovative approaches, as well as the resources which were made available to Jordanian CSOs through the Jordan Civil Society Program. Most importantly this Toolkit draws a vivid picture of the state of Jordan's civil society movement at, perhaps, a most critical era in recent history of the country.

III. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

CSO	Civil society organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
CBO	Community based organization
DPO	Disabled People's Organizations
CSP	Jordan Civil Society Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
AAR	After action review
PAR	Pre action review
JRF	Jordan River Foundation
JREDS	Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan
RSCN	Royal Society for Conservation of Nature
JGBC	Jordan Green Building Council
ASEZA	Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority
CDFJ	Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists
IRC	Information and Research Center – King Hussein Foundation
NCFA	National Council for Family Affairs
Q&A Sheet	Question and Answer Sheet (a backgrounder about an organization, activity or initiative made in form of questions and answers)
GPS	Global Positioning System
MP	Member of Parliament; deputy
HCD	Higher Council for Affairs of Persons with Disabilities
EOC	Equal Opportunities Committee
PWD	Persons with Disabilities

UN	United Nations
GOJ	Government of Jordan
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission

1. NEW TACTICS ADVOCACY FRAMEWORK

Since 2009, the Jordan Civil Society Program has contextualized the New Tactics advocacy methodology to the Jordanian context by including preparatory and M&E phases, as well as a number of Jordanian cases to illustrate concepts and steps. By 2013, a group of Jordanian trainers and NGOs have embedded the methodology in their advocacy trainings and actual campaign planning.

1.1. Introduction

New Tactics in Human Rights has based its advocacy methodology on the philosophy and teaching of Sun Tzu – who lived over 2,000 years ago in China. Sun Tzu said that good strategy is based on three sources of knowledge:

- Know Yourself (goals, resources, strengths and limits, allies)
- Know Your Opponent (goals, resources, strategy, strengths and weaknesses, allies)
- Know the Terrain (social, political, cultural relationships, institutions and structures – where the “battle” will be fought).

Since 1999, New Tactics in Human Rights has created unique resources – organized around the analysis of potential solutions rather than that of specific issues, geographic regions, or target groups – that allow advocates to clearly recognize the unique elements of their situation, and to seek promising approaches that have worked elsewhere in order to apply them to new regions or issues. It also improves advocates’ ability to combine diverse tactics into complex strategies.

While a focus on tactics is essential, it is not an organization’s first priority. An organization must first set broad goals that reflect the values and beliefs of its founders, leaders, or members, and that incorporate its mission and purposes. These goals must be clear in order to focus planning. An organization will also need to establish short and intermediate term goals that more closely state what it will accomplish over time, and that embed a strategic vision of what is feasible to accomplish. The New Tactics Strategic Effectiveness Methodology provides a framework, process, and tools for organizations to use Sun Tzu’s three sources of knowledge to build their own strategic and tactical capacity.

1.2. The Strategic Effectiveness Methodology

Step 1: Identify the problem. What do you want to change? What human rights violation would you like to address?

Step 2: Build a common vision in order to determine goals. What do you want to be different in the future? What is inspiring you in your work? How will you know you are successful?

Step 3: Define the context (terrain). How do you evaluate your situation? What individuals and groups are connected to this problem? How do the individuals and groups relate and interact with each other? What are their goals?

Step 4: Explore and select the tactics to help you achieve your goal. What is your focus? Which tactics can have the greatest impact?

Step 5: Develop a plan of action. How are you going to put the tactics together in a plan so you can achieve your goal?

Throughout the New Tactics Strategic Effectiveness Methodology, it is important to note that Sun Tzu's directive to "Know Yourself" is not limited to reflection on our organizations' goals, resources, strengths and limits, allies, etc. We must pay attention to our most valuable resource – ourselves.

1.3. New Tactics in Jordan

In 2010, in partnership with USAID-funded Civil Society Program (CSP), New Tactics in Human Rights started working with a group of 13 trainers from Jordan. From this group, four bi-lingual trainers were invited to facilitate the New Tactics Regional Training Workshop, which was conducted in Arabic.

The general approach was to provide a group of core partners with in-depth training in the New Tactics methods and resources, and then to work with them to apply the resources to specific campaigns, develop a network centered on tactical innovation that expands and eventually becomes self-sustaining.

In 2011 and 2012, with support from CSP, the four newly accredited trainers applied the New Tactics methodology within their own organizations and with a number of civic initiatives in Jordan and in other countries including Egypt, Tunisia, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

Three of the case studies in this Toolkit (Our Beaches are NOT FOR SALE, Youth Combat University Violence and the campaign to give mothers the right to give Jordanian nationality to children) are about initiatives that used the New Tactics methodology either in planning or in analysis phase of campaign.

The collaboration between the Civil Society Program-Jordan and the New Tactics and Human Rights project at the Center for Victims of Torture has provided an unprecedented opportunity to create a peer-to-peer mentorship model for building human rights advocacy trainers in the Middle East region.

This collaboration has provided the ability to work with a group of trainers over the course of more than a year, making it possible for the trainers to test and adapt the New Tactics methodology for their communities, groups and issues. This model of skill building and exchange of experiences has expanded their understanding of the broad scope of advocacy within their own organizations and the communities in which they work.

This understanding has translated into an appreciation and recognition of the successful strategy and tactics they have achieved, yielding a great desire to document and share these experiences within Jordan and beyond. In addition, a number of trainers have already taken the New Tactics methodology and tools, as well as other skills they have learned through the Civil Society Program-Jordan, to groups and organizations beyond Jordan to other countries in the region.

–Frances Abouzeid, Chief of Party, Jordan Civil Society Program

1.4. About New Tactics in Human Rights

New Tactics in Human Rights helps human rights defenders work more effectively so they can achieve their goals and better address human rights violations around the world.

A program of the [Center for Victims of Torture](#) (CVT), New Tactics began because CVT recognized how complex the systems are that allow torture and other human rights abuses to persist. In order to address such challenging human rights violations, CVT and others would need to be strategic and use a broad range of tactics and collaborations.



This led CVT to formally launch New Tactics in Human Rights in 1999 with the creation of an international advisory committee, working group and partners in Turkey. Since then, the New Tactics work has focused on three key initiatives:

Creating and sharing information and materials: New Tactics developed a range of online materials for human rights defenders to use in their work. These publications are available in our [Resource Library](#) and include an [award-winning book](#) documenting 80 innovative human rights tactics, 49 [detailed case studies](#) on practical applications of tactics and a [searchable online collection](#) of over 200 innovative tactics.

Training and mentoring: In the early years, the training focused on creating a forum and tools for the sharing and exchange of tactics. Since 2005, the training has focused on the

tools and methodology to create strategy and then connect the strategy with tactics that help organizations be more effective in advancing human rights. New Tactics has conducted workshops in all six regions of the world, including a five-day International Symposium that drew nearly 450 participants from 89 countries

Building an online community: Monthly peer-to-peer [online conversations](#) have enabled the strengthening of a global community of human rights advocates. Activists connect with others, share what they've learned, and ask questions. New Tactics is also active on [Facebook](#) and [Twitter](#) so defenders can interact with each other in a variety of ways. New Tactics has:

- Held more than 50 online conversations featuring more than 550 experienced practitioners
- Built a growing online community network of more than 4,500 human rights defenders in more than 120 countries

The New Tactics Project has strengthened the work of thousands of human rights defenders and organizations worldwide. [Partners and participants](#) consistently [report](#) that the tools, resources and methodologies make a significant difference in the way they approach their work. Human rights defenders in countries as diverse as Uzbekistan, Cambodia and Albania credit the project with making key contributions to successful human rights initiatives in those nations.

1.5. Additional Information

New Tactics Websites:

English: <https://www.newtactics.org/about>

Arabic: <http://goo.gl/CKDJB>

New Tactics Training:

English: <https://www.newtactics.org/training>

Arabic: <http://goo.gl/2vjW7>

Strategic Effectiveness Method:

English: <https://www.newtactics.org/training/strategic-effectiveness-method>

Arabic: <http://goo.gl/H5dII>

Online Conversations:

English: <https://www.newtactics.org/conversation/schedule>

Arabic: <https://www.newtactics.org/ar/conversation/schedule>

Resource Library:

English: <https://www.newtactics.org/toolsforaction>

Arabic: <https://www.newtactics.org/ar/toolsforaction>

Explore Tactics:

English: <https://www.newtactics.org/tactics>

Arabic: <https://www.newtactics.org/ar/tactics>

2. ADVOCACY CASE STUDIES

2.1. Jordan's Disability Movement: Shifting from Needs to Rights

Utilizing International Conventions to Advocate for Legislative, Policy & Behavior Change

Since 2008, the Jordanian Government has taken a number of steps towards meeting its international obligations as one of the first signatories to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). However, these steps have fallen short in ensuring the rights of persons with disabilities within a legislative framework, policy-making or governmental procedures and initial efforts by the Higher Council for the Affairs of Persons with Disabilities (HCD) and disabled persons organizations (DPOs) focused primarily on service provision in education, rehabilitation and health.

In early 2010, a group of activists with disabilities emerged to challenge the status quo by analyzing Jordan's compliance to its CRPD obligations and advocating for a shift from the medical/charity approach to the rights-based approach. With support for the USAID-funded Jordan Civil Society Program, a two-year effort began to research the status of implementation of the CRPD, resulting in the 2012 release of the first Civil Society Report on the CRPD in the entire Middle East.

Activists utilized the findings of this report to mobilize others and initiate a series of legislative and policy advocacy initiatives led by TAKAFO', the CRPD Coalition, and Sar Waqtha (youth and disability advocacy network). These initiatives have subsequently led to:

- The recognition of persons with disabilities within the Jordanian Constitution (2011)
- Legislative amendments to the Election Law securing the rights of voters with disabilities which were then applied in the recent Parliamentary elections (2012/13)
- Policy and procedural reform at the University of Jordan to ensure equal access to higher education for students with disabilities (2013)
- Creation of the Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC) within the HCD to ensure employment rights (2013)
- Re-drafting of Disability Law No. 31 (2013) by the HCD with the participation of TAKAFO' activists.

Strategy

Today, the disability rights agenda is at the forefront of civil society policy advocacy, serving as a model for collective action and direct engagement of Government to

advance change. The lessons learned below highlight the strategies and tactics that disability rights activists used to advance their cause - they can easily be applied in advocating for any other issue.

Strategies & Tactics	Lessons Learned
A. Shadow Reporting for Advocacy	
<p>As a signatory to numerous international conventions, the Government of Jordan is required to submit progress reports outlining its compliance with each treaty. To supplement the State's report, civil society has an opportunity to provide an alternative view through the submission of either a shadow report (in response to the State report) or alternative report (before the official governmental report has been made available). Such reports are a unique tool through which NGOs can present opinions of civil society on government action and present it to the United Nations' Committees illuminating what the government has done with respect to what it claims to have achieved.</p> <p>Disability rights activists in Jordan utilized Jordan's imminent review in front of the CRPD committee as an opportunity to develop its own report but upon completion chose not to wait until submission of the official state report. Upon release of the civil society status report in January 2012, Shaman al Majali, the CRPD coalition spokesperson said, <i>"The findings of this civil society initiative must be released now so that we can all start working together towards ending the violations against PWDs and contribute to ensuring Jordan meet its international obligations as a signatory to the Convention."</i> Subsequently, the TAKAFO', the CRPD Coalition and other disability activists such as Sar Waqtha used this report as a reference for advocacy campaigns aimed at achieving equality in education, health, and employment.</p>	<p>A Long-Term Investment for Change. Shadow report and alternative reports provide an opportunity for civil society to review evidence on a topic, measuring the performance of the State and its own work to reveal the "big picture". Not only does it provide you with an international forum where you can raise your concerns; it is an opportunity for advocacy both in an international legal environment and domestically. The resulting Concluding Observations issued by the UN committee can be very useful in subsequent advocacy work at home where activists can then hold the Government accountable to a process to which it committed at the international level. Shadow reports can be utilized as tools for education in civil society, ways to provide the media with a tangible document, as resources in collaboration with other organizations that work on similar goals. Producing such a comprehensive report requires a major time and resource commitment by activists, civil society organizations and coalitions, but the effort invested into it will pay off if it is a part of a long-term strategy for change.</p>
B. Research	
<p>In addition to the CRPD civil society report, specific research initiatives were supported by the USAID-funded Jordan Civil Society Program to</p>	<p>Initiating Evidence-Based Advocacy Strategies. Regardless of how big or small your budget is research is essential to any advocacy initiative.</p>

<p>equip activists with evidence from which activists developed policy advocacy and awareness activities on elections and employment. The exit poll measuring the experience of voters with disabilities during the 2010 Parliamentary elections created the basis from which TAKAFO' activists developed their proposed amendments to the Election Law. Research on employment equity created a baseline from which the newly established Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) would work: a survey of private sector hiring practices and a survey with persons with disabilities on experiences in the labor market.</p>	<p>It provides the evidence and data necessary to create strategic interventions, precise targeting of decision-makers and the framing of compelling messages. For example, the results of the private sector survey on employment equity creates a benchmark from which the EOC will design an outreach plan for raising awareness on the Labor Law quota requirements, on the EOC itself and what reasonable accommodation and accessibility are. Meanwhile, the results of the PWD survey demonstrate a need for targeted messaging to address the issues raised by different types of disability. This research will lay the ground work for partnering with specialized DPOs on awareness campaigns.</p>
<p>C. Legal Analysis and Legislative Drafting</p>	
<p>TAKAFO's in-house legal specialists undertook a comprehensive legal analysis on which of their demands were procedural issues within the existing election law that could be changed at the discretion of the Minister. On September 16, 2010 the Ministry of Interior publicly announced that it had agreed to TAKAFO's demands after which the Ministry incorporated the required procedures into its regulations and training for electoral committees and polling center staff. Later in 2012, TAKAFO' developed the EOC initiative from its own legal analysis of the Disability and Labor Laws providing legal arguments for the creation of the proposed committee. Finally, in 2013, the HCD approached TAKAFO's legal experts and invited them to participate in the drafting of the new disability law.</p>	<p>Defining the Legal Framework. Civil society organizations many times draft laws as part of their advocacy initiative. Starting with legal research is essential and often gives answers to who the decision maker on an issue is; what course of action is needed (amending a law or drafting a new one) and what is possible within Jordan's current legislative framework or in relation to its international obligations. Consider inviting legal experts to join your coalition and put them to work; or if funding allows, engage a lawyer to analyze the legal framework around which your issue relates. Consider comparative legal analyses or international review mechanisms (such as the Universal Period Review) to make a case for your legislative reform efforts.</p>
<p>D. Stakeholder Outreach</p>	
<p>In 2010, TAKAFO' organized orientation sessions in all 12 Governorates to inform voters with disabilities of their rights and recruited 160 volunteers to conduct an exit poll on Election Day. These volunteers interviewed approximately 1,450 voters with disabilities at 92 out of 250 polling stations that were designated as</p>	<p>Nothing About Us Without Us. Integrating the voices of persons with disabilities, their families, and representatives proved to be a defining factor in creating grassroots recognition of the need for action in claiming rights on the individual and collection levels. Disability issues had so far been relegated to</p>

<p>accessible by the Ministry of Interior. In 2011, during the final stages of drafting the CRPD civil society status report, the CRPD Coalition conducted nation-wide consultation sessions in all 12 Governorates to share the findings and validate the recommendations stemming from the report. This resulted in practical recommendations from the field as defined by stakeholders themselves.</p>	<p>discussions about the laws, rather than openly debating discriminatory practices which people face every day and identifying solutions for ending these. Directly engaging those affected by the issues empowered them with knowledge about rights and strategies for claiming them.</p>
<p><i>E. Engaging Decision-Makers</i></p>	
<p>For the 2010 Parliamentary elections, TAKAFO' activists reached out to the Ministry of Interior and the Electoral Commission to explain what reasonable accommodation and accessibility meant and what was required to make this happen, per Jordan's international obligation. During this historical first encounter between the Ministry of Interior and civil society activists, TAKAFO' presented its legal arguments and recommendations which were accepted by the Ministry.</p>	<p><i>Propose Solutions.</i> Election officials were simply not aware of what was required to enable people with disabilities to enjoy their right to vote on an equal basis with others. Once TAKAFO' activists provided them with a road map for how this could be provided for within Jordan's existing electoral framework and available human resources, the Ministry of Interior and the Election Commission approved TAKAFO's demand. The Commission even invited them to provide training to electoral staff on the procedures, preparing them for election day.</p>
<p>In early 2013, the Sar Waqtha campaign emerged as a university student movement to demand equality for students with disabilities in the University of Jordan. Its cornerstone objective at the initiation phase was demanding allocating extra exam time for blind, deaf and all students who cannot write independently. The campaign leveraged its demand by developing comparative factsheet of the situation across Jordan's universities while providing guidance on reasonable time allocation for extra exam time which can ideally meet students with disabilities requirements. Although university's decision makers made note of such recommendation in an informal way at the beginning of the campaign and thusly provided informal instructions to comply with - the lobbying efforts excreted by the campaign's members compelled the University leadership to formally incorporate reasonable extra exam time allocation to its</p>	<p><i>Inform and Educate the decision maker.</i> The Sar Waqtha campaign illustrates a lively experience when the decision makers, albeit their intentions, positions and/or their policy approach, simply do not know how to introduce the changes you are requesting. It could be more complicated if decision makers are not at all familiar with the cause or problem your campaign has identified. If they are able to recognize the problem but do not know how to treat it, and accept to introduce changes, it is your duty (and golden opportunity at the same time) to assist them in developing the practicalities for introducing changes. If they are not familiar with the problem and not able to recognize it, it is essential your campaign creates adequate thus articulate and convincing flow of information to help them acquaint with the issue. Fact sheets and comparative backgrounds proved successful in this case, so</p>

<p>internal bylaws.</p> <p>While reaching such a milestone, the campaign provided extensive technical information to the decision makers at University of Jordan on how to make the bathrooms accessible including physical check by the wheelchair users. The University took this as a rule and included two members from the campaign in the official committee which usually does not include students.</p>	<p>was the guidance and advice provided by campaign expertise.</p>
<p>The CRPD Coalition reached out to the National Center for Human Rights with a request to host an exclusive briefing on the Civil Society Status Report for representatives of the Government of Jordan. NCHR in its role as Jordan's national human rights body was able to bring together a number of governmental department heads and ministries as well as the Higher Council for the Affairs of Persons with Disabilities to attend.</p>	<p>Leverage Others to Join Your Cause. The CRPD Coalition understood NCHR itself has in monitoring compliance with the CRPD and had the access which the Coalition needed in order to deliver their message directly to the Government of Jordan. The Coalition's activists prepared a detailed outline of the report findings and specific recommendations for each Governmental department so that each could take this forward on their own. The Coalition reiterated that it is ready to serve as a resource for the GOJ in making the required changes.</p>
<p>In defining its advocacy strategy for employment equity, TAKAFO's original goal was to abolish the use of the medical report as a required reference for employment of persons with disabilities. But upon further analysis of the Labor Law and Disability Law, including the legal mandate of the HCD itself, TAKAFO' decided on a different strategy: to introduce the idea of creating an Equal Opportunities Commission (similar to that in the US and UK) to serve as a reference for the public and private sectors in determining reasonable accommodation and accessibility requirements, thereby creating job opportunities for persons with disabilities. HCD and TAKAFO' then reached out to the Ministry of Labor, Civil Service Bureau, Chambers of Commerce, DPOs and other stakeholders introducing the idea, highlighting international best practices and outlining how the EOC could work.</p>	<p>Create Collaborative Partnerships. When TAKAFO' prepared a detailed legal analysis of employment equity policies and practices, they realized the benefit of approaching the HCD as a partner, rather than a target of its advocacy campaign. Since HCD's legal mandate provided an opening to help make the EOC a reality, TAKAFO' positioned the EOC proposal as a shared mutual benefit that would advance the rights of persons with disabilities. A partnership emerged whereby TAKAFO's legal expert worked with HCD staff to draft the bylaws of the EOC and created guideline for equitable employment practices. A strategic planning retreat for Governmental and non-governmental stakeholders was organized where TAKAFO' presented the EOC proposal, legal analysis, and international best practices, whereby the HCD secured a green light from all parties involved to move ahead.</p>

F. Media Outreach	
<p>As the CRPD coalition prepared for the launch of the civil society status report, it knew that the media would not automatically embrace the findings of the CRPD report and took the tactic to exclusively release the findings to the media prior to releasing the report to the public or the Government of Jordan. On January 31, 2012, the Coalition organized a background briefing for journalists explaining the details of the Convention itself, what Jordan committed to doing as a signatory, and outlining the major findings and recommendations of the report. Similarly, TAKAFO had presented the findings of its nation-wide exit poll of the 2010 Parliamentary elections to the media, creating an opportunity to comment the Ministry of Interior for what it did well while providing the GOJ with detailed recommendations for future elections.</p>	<p>Take the time to analyze the pros and cons of media coverage of your issue. This includes timing of your news, placement in which media outlets, and specific messaging for targeted audiences. The CRPD coalition understood the benefits and the risks of presenting the results to the media before others, basing its decision on the fact that it had already engaged more than 400 persons with disabilities in reviewing the recommendations and securing # of endorsements of the report prior to its public release which journalists found newsworthy as well. TAKAFO' also knew that it could not sit on the research findings of its exit poll and both organized its own briefing for journalists on the findings of its survey and integrated the survey messages into the press conferences of other election monitoring groups.</p>
<p>In 2012, breaking news in the Arabic-language media revealed abuse of children with disabilities in special care centers. The GOJ responded with the creation of an investigative committee of governmental and non-Governmental representatives. The CRPD coalition responded with a press statement declaring that such a committee must include persons with disabilities and rejected the proposal to include a representative from the Governmental department that is actually responsible for preventing such abuse. This public response from disability activists resulted in the Ministry of Social Development acknowledging publicly that it was withdrawing from the Committee in response to the CRPD's justified criticism.</p>	<p>Be Proactive and Reactive As Appropriate. Activists created proactive media strategies for engaging journalists in covering the release of the CRPD status report, in highlighting the changes that the University of Jordan undertook to ensure that students with disabilities had equal access to education. But when BBC Arabic and Ammanet released the findings of an investigative report on child abuse, activists stood up and shouted against decisions they believed would perpetuate the problem rather than finding the solution. Having built trust and credibility among journalists through its previous efforts, including the "What to Say, What Not to Say" glossary, TAKAFO's statement was given the prominent coverage in the media which the Government could not ignore.</p>
<p>Having followed the media's coverage of disability rights issues, activists knew the reasons why coverage was limited, including a lack of understanding on terminologies, concepts and understanding of the CRPD as well as the minimal outreach that disability activists had done to engage the media. During the development of</p>	<p>What To Say, What Not to Say. Terminologies, concepts, and understanding of the rights-based approach require education and awareness. Activists cannot assume that the media fully understands their issue or shares the same point of view as they do. So this requires civil society to be creative in how to</p>

<p>the CRPD report, the Coalition analyzed more than 30 news articles and investigative reports related to the rights and issues of persons with disabilities, and specific cases of violation or discrimination against them on various levels. In response, activists developed a glossary of terms and definitions called “<i>What to Say, What Not to Say</i>” to provide journalists with a user-friendly resource that they could turn to as needed.</p>	<p>educate journalists about your issue and to define new ways to engage in covering your priorities. By developing the “What to Say” guide, disability activists created a resource full of examples and non-complicated language that journalists came to rely on. This publication has been cited as a reference for journalists throughout the Middle East including by Al Jazeera editors who have made it part of their own editorial policies.</p>
<p>Websites were created to host the content related to the TAKAFO’ campaign (www.takafo.org); the CRPD status report (www.crpjordan.org); and to engage youth in the Sar Waqtha campaign (http://www.facebook.com/SarWqthaSarWaqtha) In addition, short documentary films were prepared to highlight the human interest stories behind the campaigns. Click here to watch TAKAFO: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zXEBMOU77PQ CRPD: http://en.crpjordan.org/2012/03/documentary-on-report.html Sar Waqtha: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MnHnf4Mjfk0</p>	<p>Creating Your Own Media Products. By creating their own documentaries, websites and social media pages, disability activists were able to deliver their messages directly to their stakeholders. Once in the public domain, these resources remain live and continue beyond the lifetime of any specific activity, providing a platform for others to engage at their own pace. Although social media is an important tool for dissemination, Facebook and YouTube are not a conducive platform for debates and require that you dedicate time supplementing this with other outreach activities.</p>
<p>G. Mainstreaming Your Issue</p>	
<p>During implementation of advocacy efforts initiated by the Jordanian disability rights movement, activists discovered that decision-makers simply were not aware of the necessary requirements for enabling persons with disabilities to participate on an equal basis with others. This proved to be an opportunity for engagement resulting in the design and delivery of customized training and technical assistance on the fundamentals of providing reasonable accommodation and accessibility. A core curriculum was developed and activists with disabilities were trained as trainers to deliver this</p>	<p>Provide Expertise and Equip Others with Your Knowledge. The CRPD coalition, TAKAFO’ and Sar Waqtha all positioned themselves as expert resources which others could benefit from. Training courses on reasonable accommodation and accessibility were delivered to the Health Accreditation Council to raise awareness of what accreditation staff should look for when certifying health care centers; Ministry of Labor inspectors were trained on the employment equity guidelines developed under the EOC initiative; University of Jordan officials and professors participated in workshops on</p>

information on inclusion to mainstream NGOs and Governmental departments.	reasonable accommodation resulting in extended exam time for students with disabilities, reconstruction of facilities for accessibility, and funding allocations in the University of Jordan budget. In addition, efforts were made to introduce inclusion strategies and practices among mainstream NGOs working on youth empowerment and women's rights.
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Ask yourself

1. There are numerous United Nations conventions on the issues such as torture, refugees, rights of the child, violence against women, illicit traffic in narcotics, organized crime, corruption, desertification, etc. Some of them Jordan has signed. ***Have you done research to find out if there are any conventions that are applicable to your issue?*** Did you do search on Wikipedia, at a university library, or discussed it with legal experts? If so, what is the possibility of civil society organizations to influence the government meeting its obligations as a signatory of the conventions?

2. ***How is disability related to the core issues that your organization works on?*** Are the basic principles of disability rights included in your work? If not, how could you include them? Are your products such as reports and manuals accessible to people with disabilities?

3. Your organization probably reached out to its stakeholders in many ways. Try to analyze how was it done and if it could be done in a more organized and planned way. ***Why was the stakeholders outreach important and useful?*** Did you include everybody or you missed some important stakeholders?

4. Takafo approached the media with a manual "What to Say, What Not to Say" which was developed to help news reporters cover disability issues in a more effective, inclusive and non-harming way. ***Have you thought of developing manuals or training sessions in order to sensitize media on your issue?*** More often than not, media need help in finding out what language to use, where are the sources of information, whom to interview, and what angle to take in reporting on your issue, so to be relevant, interesting, and yet not to be sensationalistic and harming.

5. Sar Waqtha campaign illustrates a quite common situation - that decision makers are not aware of a problem, and when pointed to it, are willing to accommodate change but do not know how to do it. ***Have you developed fact sheets, Q&A sheets, backgrounder papers***, case studies, international comparison papers or policy solutions and approached decision makers with them in order to help them introduce those changes in your case?

Additional information:

<http://treaties.un.org> This is the official United Nations website that lists all the UN treaties, provides their text and lists of signatories, special conditions and exceptions.

2.2. Our Beaches are NOT FOR SALE

A Campaign by the Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan to Protect Public Beaches in Aqaba

In 2011, the Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan (JREDS) built a coalition of concerned individuals, experts and organizations to preserve the right of the Jordanian people to access public beaches on the Aqaba shore. With a grant from the USAID-funded Jordan Civil Society Program, the coalition brought together different civil society sectors including non-governmental and community based organizations, youth entities, universities and education centers to work together in the “Our Beaches Are NOT FOR SALE” campaign. In just 12 months, this coalition succeeded in amending the Master Plan of the Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA) and winning the amendment’s approval by ASEZA’s higher technical committee.

The Jordan Red Sea coastline is just 27 km long. Due to ongoing investments – through an economic zone for tourism and development – only 5 kilometers of public access beachfront remains. When ASEZA, the government body responsible for development in this economic zone was established in 2001, a total 15 kilometers of Aqaba’s shoreline was still publicly owned. Since then, another 10 km has been sold to investors. JREDS determined that rapid action was needed to preserve the public’s access to the beachfront and engaged 136 organizations and over 2,600 adults, youth, students and persons with disabilities in the campaign. JREDS also utilized this momentum to expand its efforts to preserve the coral reefs and the diversity of the sea life it sustains – including the livelihoods of the population along the same coastal area.

Strategy

The coalition’s campaign strategy rested on the following key decisions:

1. A broad coalition of concerned individuals, experts, academics, environmental and human rights organizations, and professional associations mostly from the Aqaba region was formed to take this issue beyond those interested in environmental protection.
2. In order to manage decision-making in such a broad coalition, eight committees were created.
3. As ASEZA exercises high level of independence in decision making from Jordan’s central government, the coalition focused their advocacy efforts towards this agency.

4. The campaign focused on amending the Master Plan because key decisions on zoning and development priorities in Aqaba are specified within its regulations, which did not include the existence of public beaches at all.
5. Significant research was conducted and data collected, analyzed, and organized so as to support the campaign messages with evidence.
6. The campaign's messages pointed decision-makers to the various problems that have arisen from the uncontrolled urbanization and the sale of public beaches to private investors and convinced citizens to claim their rights.
7. The coalition organized a number of mass events, most of them on the beaches, which aimed at recruiting volunteers and supporters and putting the issue in the media.
8. A collaborative approach to engaging decision makers was designed whereby the coalition proactively engaged ASEZA officials in dialogue sessions and campaign events as well as seeking to develop solutions together with ASEZA.

Mobilizing Allies and Building the Coalition

"Every day we hear about campaigns organized by one NGO at a time," says Faisal Abu Sondos, the Executive Director of JREDS. "We knew that if we stayed alone, we would never succeed in changing anything. Instead, before strategy development, we mobilized the community and gathered 77 of the most active individuals and representatives of NGOs and CBOs to take this issue on as their own," says Abu Sondos.

Over the course of a year, new volunteers joined, and JREDS trained 63 organizations and 222 individuals on advocacy. The training, based on the New Tactics methodology applied on the Aqaba beach issue, enabled the coalition to develop a comprehensive strategy to tackle the problem. "It took us seven months to understand what the core of the issue is, who the decision makers are, and who are our opponents and allies," adds Abu Sondos.

This training foundation, coupled with the guidance of the eight committees, led to the further engagement of 73 organizations and other entities; 77 persons with disabilities; 1,441 youth (18-25); 871 students (under 18) that were engaged in a comprehensive mix of advocacy interventions:

Campaign Structure

In order for the coalition to act effectively on many fronts, members formed eight committees to address specific needs for the "Our Beaches Are NOT FOR SALE" campaign. One of them was the steering committee that collected the output of other committees' work and coordinated future steps. Following were the roles of the committees:

- *Steering Committee* – to oversee and coordinate the efforts of the entire campaign
- *Historical Contest Committee* – to build appreciation for the history of the coastal environmental resources and community, to understand the speed by which the coast was privatized, and to understand the urgency of the issue
- *Technical Issues Committee* – to research the ASEZA structure and Master Plan
- *Activities and Awareness Committee* – to build community awareness of the beaches, ASEZA development plans, and engagement for direct actions
- *Impact Assessment Committee* – to compile information on environmental damages
- *Decision Makers Outreach Committee* – to focus immediate efforts to halt the loss of public access to the beaches
- *Media Committee* – to ensure coverage and outreach through media mechanisms
- *Legislation Committee* – to research the current legislation and draft the desired changes for the Master Plan and national legislation

Messages

“I am not new to environmental issues,” says Faisal Abu Sondas. “For years we focused only on the environment as our main message and nobody listened. During the New Tactics advocacy training organized by the Jordan Civil Society Program I learned about issue framing and the rights-based approach in advocacy: people first! I realized that in order to succeed, we have to make it clear that by destroying the corals and coastal line, we destroy people’s source of income; that by selling the public beach to hotels we are infringing on their right to access the beach.”

Within this framework, the campaign messages were built around four main themes:

1) Social issue: The sale of beaches to investors makes them inaccessible to ordinary Jordanians. Private hotels charge a minimum of 25 JOD for access to their beaches. This is beyond the reach of most families. Beaches should remain public in order to be accessible to all Jordanians.

2) Public health and safety: Beaches should remain public and made safe to use. Currently, public beaches do not have control towers, lifeguards, or even garbage containers to collect trash. An additional danger is that there are no separate and designated swimming and boating areas. This has resulted in deaths from accidents and drowning each year.

3) Access to the beach is a human right: “The beach belongs to everyone! Every Jordanian has the right to walk on the beach, on all the 27 kilometers and not one centimeter should be prohibited,” says the head of the Aqaba Divers Association in a documentary film produced by the campaign.

4) Investment is negatively influencing the livelihood of the local residents: 55% of the fish in the Aqaba Bay feeds from the coral reefs. By destroying the corals, the

investments are endangering the livelihood of the fishermen and their families who are the majority of the local residents.

Some of those messages can be seen in a documentary movie created by the campaign coalition. Click on the screenshots below to see excerpts from the movie:

Social issue

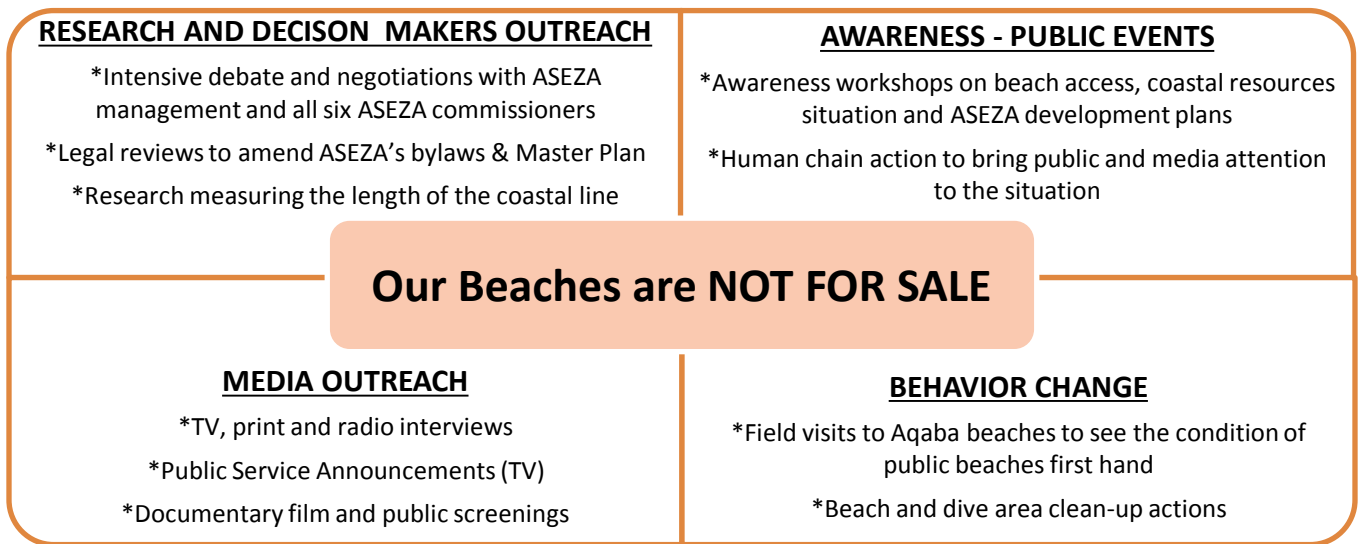
Public health and safety

Access to the beach is human right

The investment is negatively influencing the livelihood of the local residents

Campaign Activities Mix

Our Beaches are NOT FOR SALE campaign was undertaken through a mix of different activities:



Impact

A major success has been the approval of the amended Master Plan by the ASEZA Board of Commissioners and issued in the Official Gazette by the Cabinet. JREDS is now poised

to advance their comprehensive legal study into legislative advocacy to preserve the public's right and access to beaches in national law.

A significant additional success, which emerged from this broad coalition building effort, was the coming together of the seven largest environmental NGOs in Jordan. This group of organizations is the first union of environmental associations to carry forward the environmental advocacy movement on a national level.

"We are now monitoring how the newly established Public Beach Unit at ASEZA is implementing the Master Plan" says Abu Sondos. "We will be advocating for better services at public beaches; and JREDS will start looking at the situation with public beaches at the Dead Sea."

Campaign Analysis

Strategies & Tactics	Benefit & Lessons Learned
A broad coalition of concerned individuals, experts, academics, environmental and human rights organizations, and professional associations mostly from the Aqaba region was formed to take this issue beyond those interested in environmental protection.	In advocacy, you cannot work alone. No campaign can be successful if led by a select few. Aim to create a broad coalition of NGOs, community organizations, experts and individuals who share your concerns.
In order to manage decision-making in such a broad coalition, eight committees were created.	Coordinating Action. Critical to the coalition was the establishment of committees that managed different aspects of the campaign based on their expertise and interests. Create one committee that will coordinate work output of other committees and coordinate future activities. Its members should be the most experienced and committed members of the coalition.
The campaign focused on amending the Master Plan because key decisions on zoning and development priorities in Aqaba are	Know Your Terrain. Who is the decision maker for the change you want to be made? Who are your opponents and who are the likely allies? Are

specified within its regulations, which did not include the existence of public beaches at all.	the opponents open for dialogue? What is the desired action you need decision makers to take to advance your issue? What is the key change they should decide about? A comprehensive legal analysis brought the coalition to the understanding that changing the Master Plan is what is needed to secure the establishment of public beaches.
Significant research was conducted and data collected, analyzed, and organized so as to support the campaign messages with evidence. Academics and experts in the research committee took a lead in social, economic, environmental and historical data collection. They were supported by the volunteers who, equipped by GPS devices, visited the beaches and measured the length of their remaining public sections.	Research is crucial for every campaign. In this case, the coalition undertook research to find out how much of the shore is still not privatized; what is the current situation at the remaining public beaches and on the private ones? What is the status of the coral reefs? How much the livelihood of local residents depends on fishing and how will their lives be affected by the investments? This work was done by the Research Committee, which provided the campaign with facts and figures and evidence to take forward their campaign.
The campaign's messages pointed decision-makers to the various problems that have arisen from the uncontrolled urbanization and the sale of public beaches to private investors and convinced citizens to claim their rights.	Customizing your message. Although your campaign may be closely tied to your NGO's priority, try to see it through other people's concerns – it will make your victory more plausible. In this case, JREDS's messaging focused on the environmental point of view, but research revealed other priority issues that were of equal concern to other coalition members. By customizing the message to different target groups, the coalition expanded their reach by developing messages on public health and safety, human rights, social and economic angles. All the sudden, the lack of public beaches was everyone's priority, not just environmentalists'. It is a concern for the whole community! We are all in it together and we all have to work to solve the

	problem!
A collaborative approach to engaging decision makers was designed whereby the coalition proactively engaged ASEZA officials in dialogue sessions and campaign events as well as seeking to develop solutions together with ASEZA.	Advocacy is not about “us versus them”! Those with different opinions are not your enemy; they are only opponents! You can establish a dialogue with them and work together towards the solution.

In the following short videos (up to 1 minute each), Faisal Abu Sondos, the Executive Director of The Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan (JREDS), tells us about the lessons learned in Our Beaches are NOT FOR SALE campaign, and how they can be used in your activities.

Ask Yourself:

1. Why did the campaign coalition decide to develop different angles in their message? Why were those angles useful? What would be possible angles in your campaign message?
2. What was the role of the eight committees? Why were they necessary? How were they coordinated? What committees would you suggest to create in your campaign?
3. What was the value of the research? Why collected and analyzed data? What kind of research did you do for your campaign?
4. Why did campaign focus on the ASEZA and not the central government or parliament? What are the institutions your campaign focuses on? Why?
5. What was the role of the public activities at the beaches? Who participated in them? Did you think of similar activities in your campaign?

Additional Information:

If you require additional information about the campaign Our Beaches are NOT FOR SALE, please contact Faisal Abu Sondos on the following email: f.sondos@jreds.org

[The Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan](#) (JREDS) website (accessed in July 2013)

INCLUDE A SCREENSHOT HERE

Documentary on Jordanian Beaches by JREDS

2.3. Towards Full Citizenship

A Campaign by the Information and Research Center at King Hussein Foundation for the Right of Jordanian Women to Pass on Citizenship to their Children and Spouses

Contrary to equality principles enshrined in its Constitution, Jordan does not allow its women citizens married to foreign citizens to pass on nationality to her husband or children. While arguments made in support of such deprivation have often quoted a dire economic situation in the country, many believe that the real reasons rest in the fear of demographic changes in Jordan. Opponents to bestowing the right for Jordanian women to pass nationality to husbands and children claim that instability in the Levant (which is generating an influx of refugees into the Kingdom), may result in Jordanians becoming a minority in their own country.

The restrictive legal framework affects some 65,000 families and about half a million individuals. In June 2012, the Information and Research Center at the King Hussein Foundation (IRC) embarked on an initiative to tackle the issue and within a year created a broad-based coalition of activists, individuals, and organizations who substantially reframed the debate on nationality among decision-makers and the public at large, while setting the ground for legislative reform on gender equality. This case study provides an overview of its campaign and analysis of the approach and lessons learned.

Research

In the first phase of its initiative, the IRC sought to investigate the various options to tackling the problem in order to identify the most appropriate solution.

In July 2012, the IRC formed a legal committee of fifteen experts of diverse backgrounds, mostly legal (lawyers or judges), as well

as governmental and non-governmental representatives, in addition to human rights activists and

Story of Mohammed Sharaf

Despite being born and raised in Jordan, Mohammed Sharaf does not have the right to work in the country. “Every time I go to a place, they tell me we don’t employ Egyptians, knowing I was born and raised in Jordan.”

Sharaf does not enjoy Jordan's citizenship because his father is Egyptian and his Jordanian mother does not have the right to pass on her citizenship to him. Sharaf lives with his parents in a low-income neighborhood part of Jabal al-Hussein in Amman. His family is depending on his income, but without citizenship he has few options. If he is not able to find a job soon, he says he is considering moving to Egypt.

academia.

The experts proceeded to map laws and legislation which link to the civil, economic, and social aspects of the issue while examining the obstacles which families of Jordanian women married to foreigners face. Subsequently, legal experts examined the extent to which Jordan laws regulating the issue are consistent with the Jordanian Constitution, laws, and international conventions to which Jordan is a signatory. IRC's legal experts worked in three groups: civil rights, social rights, and economic rights, in order to produce position papers which encompass a review of potential solutions based on three scenarios which could reduce the complications and effects that existing legislation has on these families. The scenarios included granting the husbands and children: (1) nationality; (2) civil rights with a naturalization process for nationality; (3) civil rights only. Throughout the process there were many disagreements between the experts in regards to these scenarios and eventually, consensus among the members led to the selection of what is regarded as the "safest position"— granting husbands and children civil rights only.

Choosing a Position

The IRC reviewed legal findings and recommendations of its legal experts committees, and after extensive review and consideration, decided that while the proposed solutions were better than the status-quo, they did not represent the views of the IRC. As an organization which strives to eliminate all forms of discrimination and the promotion of human rights and gender equality, the IRC then began to investigate other options to obtain full nationality. Initially they attempted to formulate a position which would respond to the effects of regional issues such as Palestinians' right of return and the ban imposed by an Arab League convention on holding two Arab nationalities simultaneously. Ultimately, the IRC came to the conclusion that it must call for full gender equality and the elimination of gender bias within the framework of granting nationality.

This meant that not only was the IRC demanding the right to automatic nationality for children of Jordanian mothers, but rather legal recognition that the rights of Jordanian women are equal to the rights of Jordanian fathers married to foreigner women. For example, this includes a child's right to nationality even if they were born outside of Jordan. Based on these points, IRC legal consultants drafted a position paper suggesting a range of legal revisions and amendments which upholds the right to nationality on equal gender basis.

This is My Story

http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=U4Kuvp5H4C8

In this movie, children of Jordanian mothers and foreign fathers tell their personal stories. Click on the image to start the movie!

(IRC produced this film in a previous research project sponsored by the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) entitled: "Reversing the Gender Bias against Jordanian Women Married to Foreigners".)

Coalition and Committees

Once it selected the position, the IRC decided to reach out to allies who shared the same views on the issue. The IRC sought out well-known advocates of the nationality issue, media figures known for their moderate views and support to women's rights as well as recognized human rights activists or representatives of human rights or women's rights groups who were then invited to a two-day retreat to review and consolidate a position with regards to gender equality in granting nationality.

"We invited those we knew shared our position" said Dr. Aida Essaid, Executive Director of IRC. "We decided to establish four committees beforehand, so people could chose a committee before the retreat and start working there immediately which saved us a lot of time," explained Essaid.

The members chose two committees each, between research or legal, and media or advocacy. The research and legal committees were set to generate information on the issue and desired solutions, while the media and advocacy committees were setup to act as the "channels" through which such information would flow to the public and government officials.

It was during this retreat that the position changed yet again. Still aiming for full nationality rights, coalition members decided that their mission would be to affirm gender equality at the level of the Jordanian Constitution which would in turn make the existing nationality law unconstitutional. The result of the retreat was the creation of this new coalition with a refocused goal.

Educational Media Campaign

Members of the coalition planned to engage in campaigning right after the retreat. The preliminary legal research commissioned by IRC, in addition to its past research project¹ on the social and economic impact of the issue, produced significant information for such a campaign. However, on October 4, 2102, King Abdullah II issued a decree dissolving the Parliament, the main target of the coalition's campaign. "We decided to postpone the advocacy campaign until the new Parliament is elected," said Dr. Essaid. "But instead of just waiting, we decided to start an education and information campaign that would introduce us to the community as catalysts on

¹ *"Reversing the Gender Bias against Jordanian Women Married to Foreigners" funded by the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)*

behalf of the issue while building pressure until the new legislative house is elected.”

Within a short period of time, the Media Committee set up coalition members with numerous opportunities to speak about the coalition in a range of media programs including television and radio interviews. In addition to appointing veteran TV presenter Aroub Soubh as the official spokesperson of the campaign, the IRC worked with the Media Committee to ensure that all coalition members had the opportunity to conduct media interviews to ensure a true reflection of the diverse representation of the coalition’s membership.

In addition, a social media effort, led by journalist Lina Shannak, was effectively used in creating debate among the youth. The coalition was active on Facebook and Twitter, sharing updates and sharing new aspects of knowledge about the issue. Al-Ghad daily newspaper reporter, Rania Sarayrah, who headed the coalition's Media Committee, believes that these forums have created what she describes as “a change in the position of some sectors from a disengaged or even unfriendly to an active ally.”

She quotes the example of a young man by the name of Moaz who posted “Yes my position has changed. I am now committed to defending the rights of a Jordanian woman married to a foreigner to grant her nationality to her children.”

Debate: Leaders of Tomorrow vs. Nabil Ghishan

The fact that coalition based its arguments on research data and legal analysis made it for the opponents difficult to argue against nationality rights. Nabil Ghishan, Editor-in-Chief of Al Arab Al Yawm and well-known columnist, was seen as one of the leading opponents of the nationality issue. But in a public debate organized by the youth NGO Leaders of Tomorrow, one of the members of the coalition, moderated by the well-known lawyer Saed Karajah, Mr. Ghishan was unable to argue against the legal arguments of this group and therefore only spoke of the political fears and implications. In essence this debate was seen as an indicator of the shift in the position of leading opponents who did not appear to have the facts to support the exclusionist policies.

Campaign Identity and Message Coordination

The unity of voice and image was crucial to the success of the coalition in raising awareness about the issue and articulating the validity of facts supporting the campaign.

Popular cartoonist Emad Hajjaj designed the campaign logo used in all campaign materials whether offline or online. Coalition members used the campaign logo primarily when discussing the issue, with their own organizations' logos used secondarily. The broad diversity of coalition members and their united action, combined with the strong media coverage of the launch of the coalition, contributed to the creation of a solid image of the coalition, which indicated that a credible and engaged force emerged to represent and speak on behalf of those affected by the issue.

To maintain the image of unity, coalition members recognized the need to coordinate messaging

in all media and public appearances. The Media Committee provided each coalition member with a backgrounder which included basic information on the coalition's profile, and a list of Frequently Asked Questions and Answers; all of which contributed to strengthening the coalition's voice as a single entity and demonstrating that – despite members' diversification - the message to the public is one and the same. Coalition members appreciated the usefulness of the document.

Meeting Members of the Parliament

Meetings with MPs were initially considered to be the significant final push for a policy change towards achieving gender equality with regards to the right to nationality. With the constant shift in attitudes towards the residency/nationality issue during the span of the year and the growing realization among policymakers that the issue was fast becoming a credible demand that has gained a plausible, albeit quiet, popular base behind it, parliamentarians were already putting forward proposals to grant residency and full civil rights. A bill signed by over 30 deputies called on the Government to draft legislation reflecting this demanded change.

This development changed the emphasis of meetings with the parliamentarians: from handing a policy document and a fact sheet in order to secure support to nationality option (which was the initial expectation of the project's activity with parliamentarians) to engaging and coordinating with key MPs on new tactics to move forward proposals related to residency and civil rights policies. The coalition regarded such a shift as positive change in the current political configuration and as a first step towards granting full rights and nationality to affected citizens.

The MPs met by the coalition's representatives mostly saw themselves in the same camp as the coalition and were open to discussing future tactics to achieve residency as a first step with the ultimate goal of eventually granting nationality.

Deputy Wafa Bani Mustapha highlighted the effect of the more informed and balanced media coverage on MPs. She encouraged the coalition to work further on building a positive narrative among columnists and journalists, which in turn could influence the entire Parliament. In the meeting with liberal deputy Mustapha Hamarneh, a discussion contemplated future tactics and suggesting collaboration between the coalition's legal team and the MP signatories to the bill demanding granting residency,

Challenging the Initiative as Foreign-Funded

Opponents to the proposed policy changes made an effort to discredit the coalition by planting media reports questioning the foreign funding it received. To counter such attacks, the coalition made it clear that the IRC was the front-runner of this initiative, with the support of indigenous Jordanian organizations. That message, regularly repeated in media and public appearances, prevented the opponents to portray the coalition and the initiative as foreign to Jordan.

Impact

Six months of campaigning on such fundamental issues is relatively short period of time to bring about lasting changes, however, the initiative had a strong impact during this period. The project substantially influenced the narrative on the nationality issue, moving it to a more constructive one grounded in fact and research. In addition, it managed to bring together a group of civil society partners who until the formation of the coalition had worked in isolation from one another and without coordinating their messages or efforts.

It will not be an easy job for any opponent to deny the rights of the affected segment of the population and maintain the status quo. A good indicator to that is evident in the acceptance of the most vocal opponents of residency and civil rights demand as a minimum right for the affected families.

Additionally, opposition based on economic arguments seems to have faded away. Prevailing narrative in this area had initially argued that this segment of the population would drain the economic resources of the Jordanian state. However, segments engaged in such a discourse have reformulated their opposing position to a protestation about the current political situation and the fear of a demographic shift towards “Palestinizing” Jordan. This was confirmed in meetings with MPs who reported that while the “political mood” of parliament was not yet ready for the shift to granting nationality, it was now possible to put forward and win an argument for residency and civil rights.

Plans for Future

In order to move forward and push towards the achievement of its advocacy objectives, the coalition will need to continue to work on three fronts:

Firstly: Consolidate the efforts of the coalition members by providing them with financial and logistical support to maintain consistency and sustainability of their effort.

Secondly: Work with parliamentarians and civil society activists to lobby the government to introduce changes to the residency law as a first step.

Finally: Transform the achievement (residency) into a movement for gender justice and equality that accepts such a first concession but continues to press forward with demands for nationality. This second advocacy push will have to tackle the political questions posed by the opposition and provide credible and politically sound solutions that would guarantee justice as well as address national security concerns.

The tactics of involving and engaging both positive and passive allies and actors in different sectors of the executive, legislative, media and among the public, and all at the same time has shown that a positive shift can be successfully created and in time it can change “common wisdom” positively.

Lessons Learned

The following table outlines some key steps in this campaign and draws the lessons learned from them.

Strategy or Tactic	Lessons Learned
Research: Before starting the campaign, IRC created a legal committee to collect data and analyze laws and legislation impacting civil, social and economic aspects of the issue, its compatibility with the Constitution, Jordanian legislation and international conventions. The committee was asked to provide data, data analysis and policy recommendations.	This case once again proves the importance of research. It was of key importance for the IRC <i>not</i> to get out to the media or policy makers <i>before</i> getting facts and figures about the issue. The results of the legal and research committees in addition to the IRC's past research projects, helped the IRC to develop its position on the issue, to inform coalition building, and ultimately, to win over the arguments made by their opponents.
Defining a Position: The IRC has analyzed the research data and tested the experts' policy recommendations against its values and beliefs. It agreed that the expert position is legally valid but lacks human rights perspective, and decided to take a position which demands full gender equality in nationality rights.	While expert support in data collection and analysis is crucial, experts are not advocates, and will often lack the vision and drive to bring about change. To base a policy change position on merely legal expert view would be inadequate. Research data is necessary, but defining a position is a political step required to move the issue forward!
Coalition: For the IRC it was clear that they needed to join forces with other allies if they wish to make a change. However, the IRC decided to collect data first, analyze alternative solutions, and only once it had a clearly articulated position, did it contact potential allies for whom they knew they shared similar position.	This strategy provided for clarity of message and prevented internal infighting and disagreements among the members of coalition, particularly when defining their position. But it was possible thanks to the IRC's reputation, experience with the issue, and organizational capacity to undertake research of such a scope.
Coalition Composition and Identity: A broad coalition was created comprised of broad range of NGOs, individuals, academics, human rights and gender equality defenders, with both governmental and	The coalition, initiated by an experienced national-level NGO with a track record on the subject, was given political legitimacy thanks to the fact that it included a broad range of NGOs, individuals and experts. Its

<p>nongovernmental backgrounds. A well-known cartoonist designed the logo for the campaign which was included in all offline and online marketing and PR products. The coalition was launched at a well-prepared retreat and its outcomes were covered by majority of influential media.</p>	<p>launch at a highly visible event positioned it as a serious undertaking that unites a number of organizations and individuals that share the same vision on the issue of women and nationality. The visual identity gave the initiative personality that is unique, yet comprised of many members that act in unity.</p>
<p>Media Committee: Media Committee, created at the launch of the coalition, included a group of well-known media figures and members who are experienced in working with media. It started feeding the media with information from the first day. From the retreat up until the launch of the campaign, it started feeding the media with information and continued to do so afterwards.</p>	<p>Media is one of the most important instruments in reaching out to your constituencies and engaging them in dialogue over an issue. It is of crucial importance for every campaign to have a media committee comprising of individuals with as rich a media experience as possible.</p>
<p>Message and Messengers: The coalition had its spokesperson, but at the same time all coalition members were encouraged to get out and talk to the media. For that purpose, the IRC developed materials that laid out key information about the issue, the composition of the coalition and its policy proposals. That was done through a number of backgrounders and question and answer sheets that were distributed to coalition members.</p>	<p>For any organization or initiative to be taken seriously, the message that comes out of its different parts has to be coordinated and non-conflicting. The most efficient way to ensure that is to put the message on the paper. This helps both the coordination process and unified dissemination of the message from coalition members. In communications, the messenger is as important as the message. Diverse organizations and individuals that send out a unified message on the issue will help the clarity, provide for message repetition and ultimately help win the case.</p> <p>You should develop the language about your NGO or coalition, its vision, aims, as well as backgrounders about the issue or initiative and sheets with most frequently asked questions, and distribute them to all your members who will contact the media. Ideally, you should also provide some basic</p>

	media interviewing training to those who will speak out.
Constantly Revisiting the Strategy: IRC recognized early on that it was essential to monitor its progress against its goals to ensure that it was on track. When facing obstacles or hitting a road block, they were not afraid to stop, analyze, and re-strategize in order to go forward.	The structure of project needed to be adjusted as the project progressed. Advocacy projects need to have a solid position; however they also need to be fluid enough to take shape according to the needs and situation of the issue at hand in order to have the best opportunity in making a positive impact at the policy level.

Ask Yourself:

1. The coalition selected veteran TV presenter Aroub Soubh as the official spokesperson of the campaign. Why do you think she was selected as the spokesperson? Does your organization and/or campaign have a spokesperson? Why?
2. The Campaign Media Committee developed a Q&A sheet with most frequently asked questions and answers about the campaign, its demands and the members of coalition. Why was this document important? Have you made something similar for your campaign?
3. When a group of 30 MPs put forward legislative bill that would grant residency and full civil rights, the coalition decided to support the bill and change the focus of its campaign from granting full citizenship. Why was that done? Why do campaign objectives sometime changes during the campaign? Have you done something similar and why?
4. The initiative was at one point challenged as foreign funded. What do you think is the best course vis-à-vis your donors? Why is it important to be transparent about the sources of funding of your campaign? Why is it important to have balanced funding that includes foreign and local sources? How would you answer media questions about your funding?
5. Messenger is as important in advocacy as the message itself is. Who are the messengers that send your message out? Does your campaign include experts, academics, MPs, other NGOs and youth from various regions?

Additional Information

More about the campaign is available on the IRC website <http://www.irckhf.org.jo>

In case you have additional questions, you are welcome to contact Aida Essaid, the IRC Executive Director, on the following email: aida.essaid@irckhf.org.jo.

2.4. The Wasted Right

A Campaign by the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists to Amend and Fully Implement the Law on Access to Information in Jordan

In 2007, Jordan was the first Arab country to pass a law that gives citizens the right to access public information from all branches of government. Six years later, very little can be said on its implementation. None of the provisions that the law stipulates – such as the development of information request forms that would be easily accessible to citizens, or the appointment of information contact persons in government institutions, or development of the mechanisms for information flow and retrieval– has ever been accommodated for. By 2012, research revealed that many governmental representatives, including communication officers or spokespersons, were not even aware of the existence of the law.

As media professionals are among the most frequent users of information produced by public and government institutions, the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists (CDFJ), with support from the USAID-funded Jordan Civil Society Program, undertook a year-long initiative in 2012-13 to critically address failures in the implementation of the law while developing alternatives to shortages and restrictions in the applicable legal framework.

Research and Findings

CDFJ's research produced unique insights on both the legal aspects pertaining to access to information and the current state of affairs of freedom of information in Jordan. Research undertook three main directions:

Comparative Study: A group of legal and information experts was engaged to conduct a comparative analysis of access to information laws in Jordan, Yemen and Tunisia. The findings demonstrated that the relevant laws in both Tunisia (passed in May 2011) and Yemen (April 2012) are more advanced - in many aspects - over Jordan's law. This provided CDFJ with unique insights into ways in which Jordan's law could be improved by utilizing useful aspects of implementation and applicability from other laws in the Arab world.

Studying Supply Side: In order to test institutional responsiveness to citizen inquiries, CDFJ submitted official requests for information to the office of the Prime Minister, six relevant ministries and the National Library's Information Council (the designated public entity in charge of overseeing implementation of the Law on Access to Information). The request consisted of questions related to the law— how it is implemented, whether the department designates responsible contact persons, where can the request form be obtained from, etc. Research showed that most of those institutions had no previous information about the law; many did not answer in time; some of the submitted requests were claimed to have been lost and CDFJ was asked to resubmit them; and it turned out that request forms had never been created.

Parallel to this, CDFJ's lawyers worked with a number of journalists who filed their own requests for information sent to the Electricity Regulatory Commission, four ministries and to the Greater Amman Municipality. While this process of submitting and resubmitting requests continued alongside intensive follow-up by CDFJ, these government institutions started to show signs of response. Ministries' responses began to come along faster - though in many cases their answer was that they simply do not know.

Studying the Demand Side: CDFJ then looked at the demand side by conducting a survey of 607 media practitioners, out of which 163 responded. The survey included 30 questions with the objective of understanding to what extent the law is being utilized by media practitioners while defining the most prominent obstacles that impede enforcement of the law. A follow-up survey on a sample of 65 journalists tackled the most frequent violations of the right to access information.

Expert Committee

As the research data was collected, a committee of legal experts, journalists, judges, representatives of the Information Council at the National Library and members of Parliament engaged in meetings to analyze the data, scrutinize the law and its application and compare it to international standards, conventions, and basic human rights standards.

The information obtained through research clearly pointed to some key deficits in the current law. In response, the committee developed a draft legislation in which amendments to provisions of the current law are being introduced to treat obstacles, deficits and aspect of non-compatibility with international standards. CDFJ based its consequent promotion of the alternative draft law on various stakeholders' feedback on the draft.

The Campaign

CDFJ's campaign integrated several components:

Demand Side: Raising Awareness and Education. CDFJ reached out to inform the public at large about the present situation, citizens' rights regarding access to information and existing mechanisms which facilitate such access. Through newspaper supplements, tens of thousands of Jordanians were reached across the country. Additionally, seminars were

held for journalists and NGOs covering technicalities on accessing public information. Every year on May 3rd, CDFJ celebrates the World Press Freedom Day through holding a number of public events and in 2013 they focused on access to information. "As we traditionally target the youth with our May 3rd events, we avoid long and boring speeches. Instead, we engaged artists and musicians to send the message of freedom in their own way," said Nidal Mansour, the Executive Director of CDFJ.

Supply Side: Building Capacity. An effort was made to improve the institutional capacity of state institutions to accommodate information requests. Two legal and technical guidance seminars were held for a few dozen public servants. During these meetings, work groups discussed potential steps to improve the application of the law. One of the initiatives which emerged was a poster designed to help citizens understand where and how they can get information. The poster was later displayed in reception areas in several ministries and public departments.

Lobbying for a New Law. Once an alternative law was drafted by the Expert Committee, CDFJ started promoting it to decision makers. Numerous consultative meetings were

King Abdullah II Award for Excellence in Government Performance and Transparency

An idea emerged during technical seminars for Government officials: to coordinate efforts with the King Abdullah II Award for Excellence in Government Performance and Transparency- King Abdullah II Award for Excellence - which recognizes on annual basis efforts for upholding " application, enlightenment and promotion" of good governance in public institutions. CDFJ approached the Award with the idea and during the second CDFJ seminar the Deputy President of the Board of Directors of the Award pledged to explore implementation of the law on access to information as one of the indicators of transparency within Jordanian institutions. *Click on the image to hear Nidal Mansour, Executive Director of CDFJ talking about this collaboration.*

organized with representatives of government, Parliament and the Royal Court. In August 2012, the government made public a new draft law to on access to information. Responding to such a development, CDFJ approached the Minister of Media and Communications at the time, in order to share the body of research and coordinate on producing a most effective amended law. However, after several initial contacts, culminated by the participation of the Minister in a meeting of the Expert Committee, the government decided to send its own draft to parliament without integrating CDFJ recommendations. CDFJ was not deterred and sought alternative ways to promote its proposed reforms to the law on Access to Information.

Pledges by Parliamentary Elections Candidates. In October 2012 King Abdullah II dissolved Jordan's 16th parliament and CDFJ recognized that this provided a unique opportunity for its freedom of information campaign. In partnership with the All Jordan Youth Commission (Kuluna Al Urdun) and the Civil Alliance for Monitoring the Elections, an exclusive campaign was designed and launched to target candidates for the 17th parliamentary elections. A detailed background paper on the Law on Access to Information was developed as part of the outreach efforts. It explained the law as a key instrument in fighting corruption, reinforcing transparency and fortifying inspection and the application of good governance principles.

In a ten-day tour of the Kingdom's regions and governorates, activists met with hundreds of candidates, explained the problem and asked them to sign a pledge that in case they were elected they would commit to modifying the law. By the end of the tour, 295 candidates signed the pledge. The final results of the elections showed that out of the 295 candidates who signed the pledge, 76 were elected, or 50.6% of the new 150 seat House of Representatives. As soon as the new house assumed its powers in January 2013, the Executive Director of CDFJ wrote a letter to the new House Speaker calling on the Parliament to join hands with CDFJ in reforming the access to information framework and amending the law. However, the Government quickly submitted its own version of law (drafted in August 2012) effectively preventing CDFJ's draft law to be proposed by members of the Parliament. Although CDFJ's draft law would have likely had a majority, the bylaws of the Parliament prohibit two drafts of the same law to be simultaneously presented. Until July 2013, the parliament has not discussed this draft law.

While CDFJ acknowledged that elements of the Government's proposed amendments were good, it also recognized many points as insufficient and in turn, continued to lobby for its own draft by attempting to keep it on the public agenda. In March 2013 CDFJ held

a consultation session between parliament and media representatives, hosting 80 deputies and 60 journalists.

Although opponents to the Government's amendment to the law have the majority in the House of Representatives, their rejection of the law would move the draft to the Senate which in effect reduces or make impossible any future influence of the House of Representatives over the development of progressive draft law. Consequently, the campaigners plan to continue the pressure on parliament by constructively engaging with the House of Representatives Legal and National Guidance Committees, aiming to request the withdrawal of government's proposal.

Campaign Analysis

Lessons Learned

- Research: Three most important things you should do before starting your campaign: 1) Research; 2) Research and 3) More research! In this case, CDFJ engaged a number of legal and communications researchers to collect data about the current law in Jordan and other Arab countries, about the practice in governmental institutions that should provide access to information, and about the ways and frequency media reporters use the right to request information from governmental entities. The data was used both to raise awareness on the current situation and to draft a new law that would tackle the key problems. Without research, CDFJ's arguments would not be as powerful and CDFJ would not have been able to identify the key points in the law that needed intervention.
- Mainstreaming: CDFJ used all available platforms to send messages about the proposed draft Law on Access to Information. They covered the campaign in their newsletter and on the website, featured it in the annual Press Freedom Day events, in the annual iftar and succeeded to include access to information as one of the indicators for the King Abdullah Excellence Award. It is not always necessary to develop new platforms - look around, there might be numerous opportunities in existing events. It is not a problem if your events and activities overlap among different projects!
- Electoral Pledges: In what proved to be a highly successful exercise, CDFJ joined forces with two specialized NGOs that have deep understanding of and experience with the electoral process. Together they approached Parliamentary candidates to solicit their commitment in tackling the issue of access to information once elected. Pre-election period should always be seen as an opportunity to get support for your cause from future elected officials.
- Rolling Assessment: CDFJ was closely analyzing the evolving social and political context and adopting messages and tactics so to use new opportunities and avoid

threats. It is of key importance for your campaign to anticipate and recognize upcoming threats and opportunities which will keep you ahead of the curve. Once written before the campaign, strategy should be continuously revisited during its implementation. Many strategic planning terms have been borrowed from military practice. One of them is “rolling assessment,” referring to the continuous analysis of the changing surroundings and the adaptation of your tactics and message in response to this. Try to organize small strategic retreats once every three months or whenever a big event (such as the dissolution of parliament in October 2012) takes place.

- Golden Hour: In emergency medicine “Golden Hour” refers to a short period of time when a patient’s life can be saved with appropriate treatment. Not only that you should continuously evaluate the changing surroundings, but once the window of opportunity is identified you should act fast to seize it before the window closes down. In this case, the dissolution of Jordan’s 16th Parliament, which could have been seen as an impediment to the lobbying campaign that had just started, was rightly recognized as a window of opportunity. In a matter of weeks, backgrounders were developed, candidates identified and a cross-country road show was organized to reach out to them. ***The results were unprecedented in Jordan’s history: 50.6% of the new deputies had committed to an issue before being elected!***

Ask Yourself

1) In the research phase of its effort to amend the law on access to information, CDFJ made a comparative study on international best practices, undertook legal analysis of the existing law and its compatibility with Jordanian Constitution, as well as legal system and its international treaties; it conducted two surveys with journalists on how they use the rights the law provides and tested the system with journalists and citizens posing questions to the Government. How could those or similar research methods apply on your issue and campaign?

2) After the 16th Parliament was dissolved, CDFJ changed the campaign tactics. What did they do in the period of time leading to the new elections? Was that activity successful? Why? Compare it with the campaign to give Jordanian mothers right to pass nationality to their children. How did IRC use the time without Parliament to further their case? If you were in a similar situation, what would you do?

3) Why do you think CDFJ organizes public events every year on May 3, the World Press Freedom Day? Do you think media and Government are more likely than usual to engage in discussion about press freedom on that day? What are the international or national observations that could be used for your advocacy initiatives?

4) Why does CDFJ use music and arts in reaching out to the youth? Is the youth one of the key audiences of your campaign? How are you reaching out to them? How could you do it better?

5) In case of the May 3 World Press Freedom Day and the King Abdullah II Award for Excellence in Government Performance and Transparency - King Abdullah II Excellence Award, CDFJ used already existing events to promote new access to information law. Are there any events, annual celebrations or activities inside or outside your organization that could be used to promote your initiative?

Additional Information

Visit the website of CDFJ for additional information about the organization, its activities and the campaign to amend the law on access to information in Jordan: www.cdfj.org

In case you would like to find out more about the campaign on access to information, please contact Mr. Nidal Mansour on nidal@cdfj.org.

http://www.unesco.org/new/en/amman/about-this-office/single-view/news/singing_for_press_freedom/

2.5. Youth Combat University Violence

Community Initiative Mobilizes Youth as Agents of Change

More often than not, youth violence is perceived as the fault of the individual youth and rarely are external factors considered such as weak educational system, community/societal tensions or family violence. However, research identifies disfranchised youth as more prone to violence and extremism with a vicious circle perpetuating itself as many closed communities deprive youth of the space and means to express themselves. In Jordan, the phenomenon of communal violence has been escalating, particularly in recent years, manifesting itself on university campuses across the Kingdom. National statistics from the Public Security Directorate tracked the number of scuffles among youth on the rise: from 297 in 2006, to 488 and 600 in 2007 and 2010, respectively.

In November 2011, Change Academy, an NGO from Amman, started a yearlong campaign to tackle the problem of campus violence at the Balqa Applied University in the City of Salt. Supported by the USAID-funded Jordan Civil Society Program, the initiative brought together youth, community leaders, and university administration to address the problem, resulting in an advocacy campaign to create a mechanism for student decision-making based on the principles of equality, rights and duties.

Research: Youth as Agents of Change

Change Academy began its work by conducting a study on community and university violence, which helped them develop their own approach to tackling the problem. The research took place just after the city of Salt witnessed tribal riots, which were sparked by the murder of a university student at the hands of another student. Witnesses considered campus violence as an extension of communal tensions.

Fotouh Younes, the leader of Change Academy, explained, “We believe that youth should be empowered in order to become productive members of the society and build a positive self-image. So we based our intervention in Salt on three key premises: Youth have the right to participate and as the majority of the population in Jordan, society must listen to their opinions; A change in socialization is essential to combat society’s acceptance of violence as a method for raising children and tackling conflict; And youth should be the agents of that change. When equipped with learning, economic and psychological skills, youth can positively contribute to the development of society to stand against communal violence. They can achieve the aspired change – with their energy - by becoming involved actively in the process.”

Campaign Objectives

Independent student councils or unions throughout Jordan are the most important means for students to voice their views and ideas and contribute to the policy-making

process within their educational environment. However, there is no student council at Balqa Applied University in Salt nor is there another platform for students' participation in university affairs. Students do not have space to express themselves freely.

A coalition consisting of Change Academy, Arab Network for Civic Education (ANHRE) and three community-based organizations from Salt was created to address this. A core campaign team represented by six CBO youth, Change Academy, ANHRE members, and university students was responsible for planning and implementation. Change Academy led an initial workshop with youth, applying the New Tactics advocacy methodology to identify the problem, decision makers and develop strategy for the intervention. Participating youth identified the establishment of a student council as the main objective of their campaign with the President of the University as the targeted decision-maker.

In addition, the campaign *Youth Combat University Violence* aimed at showing the community the youth's talents and positive energy. Ms. Younes explained that, "This would win the youth more trust in the community, while in the same time keeping the youth busy, focused on arts and sports, and hopefully contribute to curbing violence." The main target audience for this secondary objective was the local community, reached through the participation of a Community Advisory Committee in the campaign.

Message

The message focused on the role of student council in combating violence in campus and building trust with the local community. The student council would:

- Give students the opportunity to participate in the policy-making process in the university and voice their opinions. It will provide a platform for students work.
- Encourage dialogue, respect of the opinions of others, and the development of democratic practices.
- Function as a representative body that has an influence over all students and intervene directly to confront violence.
- Be responsible for handling students' issues and external relations while being in direct contact with the local community leaders and media in order to facilitate lobbying for supporting initiatives against violence.
- Work on activating the role of the youth by having them involved in extracurricular and voluntary programs to serve both the university and the community. It will propose as part of its program a number of activities that would encourage students to take advantage of their leisure time.

Campaign Structure: Community Advisory Committee

The core team took the initiative to create Community Advisory Council with the participation of 25 CBOs, tribal and religious leaders, youth clubs, and charity organizations from Salt. This ensured that the campaign was strongly rooted in the community and helped to avoid any possible misunderstandings or face suspicion. "The majority of the Advisory Committee represented an older generation which views youth

as part of the problem. By engaging them from the start, they understood what we were doing,” explained Ms. Younes. “They came to our events and saw the youth in action. We created a memorandum of understanding, which spelled out the Committee members’ roles and responsibilities. Clearly, the Committee had only advisory and not decision-making role. Everyone signed it and it worked very well to regulate our work together.”

Being politically neutral, the Committee included representatives of diverse groups and CBOs. It was important to identify a neutral host to bring together these often-adverse groups and clubs in one place. The All Jordan Youth Commission, a quasi-governmental body, was selected as the site for the Community Advisory Committee meetings as everyone saw it as a neutral organization.

Strategy

The coalition led by Change Academy started with a small-scale pilot project in Salt that later could be multiplied in other universities. They conducted quantitative and qualitative research (focus groups) in order to identify the affected group(s), the roots and magnitude of the problem. Given the tribal and religious nature of the community, the coalition engaged tribal leaders and clerics through the Community Advisory Committee. Recognizing the important role that the Ministry of Higher Education plays the coalition engaged the Minister as well as the University Presidency with requests to establish the student council. Finally, the coalition created opportunities for youth to become engaged in activities that are important to them, such as music, art and sports.

Activities

At the University Open Days the youth presented community and religious leaders with theatre performances, rap, dabke, break dance, hip hop, acrobatic ball games and beat-box stunts. Parallel to this, the youth were busy attending civic education classes provided by Change Academy and ANHRE that introduced the concepts of human rights and citizenship. The core group engaged in advocacy efforts that included meetings with community leaders, President of University and Minister of Higher Education with the message about the need for a student council at the university. Hosted at the university were two interactive performances by Amnesty International.

Impact

The Dean of the Balqa Applied University agreed to establish a student council and subsequently hired a lawyer to draft its bylaws. The Minister of Higher Education included elements of the initiative in his action plan to combat violence in universities in the Kingdom, elevating the issue to a national level.

Change Academy has received support from US-Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) of the State Department to continue the project in Salt and to expand it to four other universities in Jordan. The new project will work closely with student councils where students will be trained on citizenship and have opportunities for exchange with

students from the other universities. “We realized that in order to challenge the tribal sub-identity, we have to invest in developing the idea of citizenship among the students. We believe this is the way to develop a common identity and curb campus violence and in society in the future,” concludes Ms. Younes.

Campaign Analysis

These are the key lessons learned from this initiative:

Campaigning in closed communities Concept of civic initiatives might be unknown to small or closed communities. Be transparent about your goals so as not to be perceived as having hidden agenda and inform the community and local government in advance about future activities. If possible, create an advisory committee that would build bridges between you and community and inform your campaign, rather than being part of your campaign’s decision-making.

Start with research It will help you substantiate your message, or, as in this case, understand the powers at play and help you define possible ways to approach the problem. Think of collecting existing data, as well as of developing new data yourself. One of the easy ways to do so is by conducting focus groups which will bring the voice of the community to you and can be done at a low-cost. Included in this toolkit is a manual on organizing focus groups for NGOs .

Fotouh Younes, the leader of Change Academy talks about the importance of research (click on the image to start the movie).

Remain neutral You need to remain neutral and demonstrate that your initiative is not political but is for the benefit of whole community. Include in the advisory committee representatives of different parties, religious and tribal leaders and organize your meetings in the premises of the most neutral partner.

Use creative and inspiring messaging tools If you work with or are targeting youth, do not organize symposia and lectures that youth may find boring! Use the language your audience understands. In this case, it was theatre, music and sports.

Ask Yourself:

1. What was the value of the Community Advisory Committee? Who were its members? If you would organize a campaign in your community, would you establish a similar body, and whom would you invite to join it?
2. Why is political neutrality important when campaigning for change in small communities? Does political neutrality mean you cannot have position about the issue in case? Explain.

3. What do you think of using music, sports and theatre in community campaigns?
Would it work in your community? Why?

Additional Information:

If you require additional information about the campaign Youth Combat University Violence, please contact Fotouh Younes on the following email: yfotouh@yahoo.com

3. Lessons Learned

Below you will find a collection of strategies and related lessons learned from Jordanian advocacy experiences. Take these into consideration while designing and implementing your advocacy efforts. Remember to constantly assess where you are and fear not, it is never too late to try something new if it will help you achieve your goal.

Research

Almost all advocacy initiatives identified research as a key component that helped the advance of their issues. Research provided the evidence and data necessary to create strategic interventions, precise targeting of decision-makers and the framing of compelling messages. Consider these:

- Sometimes, research helped to understand the way things happen in the community, such as the research conducted by Change Academy which identified the factors that contribute to youth violence and enabled the campaign to focus on key elements in the chain of influences.
- Although “research” might sound scary to many small and inexperienced NGOs, in fact it can often be a simple and straightforward process. In many cases desktop research can provide you with interesting data. You can use the Internet search engines to find online media articles about your issue or visit university libraries to search for related topics. And some groups developed easy to organize focus groups by using the manual CSP has developed for NGOs. Focus groups can provide useful information why community thinks and acts the way they do on a certain issue. Often, research means measuring things: to define the seriousness of the beaches issue, JREDS took GPS devices and measured the length of public beaches and used this number in all campaign communications.
- Legal research is important and will often give answers to who the decision maker on an issue is; what course of action is needed (amending a law or drafting a new one) and what is possible within Jordan’s current legislative framework or in relation to its international obligations. You can have the research done by your legal team, as was the case of JREDS campaign, or ordered from an independent panel of legal experts and lawyers, as IRC did in their campaign.

- Sometimes conducting a comparative analysis can be relatively simple and is an easy way to identify best practices. It can be done on the national level when national policies are compared, or on municipality level when looking at solutions to community problems. For example, the Royal Society for Conservation of Nature conducted an international best practice study to compare forest protection legislation in three countries while the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalist conducted a comparative study of access to information laws in Jordan, Yemen and Tunisia. The findings were integrated into their advocacy strategies and utilized as evidence in messaging.
- Before you start your initiative on any problem, it is important to understand what has been done on the same issue so far. That process of looking back before going forward is called a “Pre Action Review” (PAR). Such action reviews are during and after a campaign.
- Before starting their campaign to amend family violence legislation, National Council for Family Affairs (NCFA) led a pre-action review of family violence advocacy efforts implemented by NGOs during the period of 2000-2010. The process started with a desk top review and analysis of all relevant documents (i.e. policies, strategies, studies, research and reports) in partnership with relevant stakeholders, and an inventory of all relevant advocacy projects carried out by different NGOs working in Jordan. This was followed by a review and analysis of those projects with full participation of all NGO partners. The outcome of these steps was used as a basis for a comprehensive consultation process with different stakeholders that NCFA then used to develop a multi-year strategic plan to advocate for family protection.

Defining Your Position

Decide on your organization’s position on the issue during the development of your advocacy strategy and analyze how the issue impacts your organizational values, mission and vision. It is essential to clarify your position before you start networking and coalition building. It may require a bit more time in the beginning, but will save you time later on as it will ensure harmony among the coalition.

- Part of its campaign’s first steps to demand Jordanian women's right to pass on citizenship to their children and spouses, the Information and Research Center at King Hussein Foundation formed a legal committee of fifteen experts, mostly lawyers or judges, with the aim of mapping the legislative and legal frameworks which impedes Jordanian women from enjoying such a right. The mapping in itself was designed as a prerequisite to development of a responsive solution. The IRC reviewed recommendations of the legal experts committees, and after extensive consideration, decided that proposed solutions do not represent the views of the IRC, which are built on a strive to eliminate all forms of discrimination and gender equality. IRC then began to investigate other options to obtain full nationality, finally adapting a tactical alternative by creating a coalition among a large spectrum of groups and individuals who are aligned with its position and principles.

Between 2010 and 2011, The Jordan River Foundation (JRF) led an After Action Review process along with relevant stakeholders around the issue of child abuses in Jordan. The major findings of the review highlighted the need for advocacy efforts on a range of areas including policy and legislative changes; influencing the decision making process and mobilizing target groups who

are right holders. JRF's position firmly outlined a proactive approach which reflects its own identity as a child protection agent that accepts no compromise on child rights and the framework which those rights are stipulated within. Continuous consultations with other stakeholders have reached critical points as other approaches were introduced suggesting behind-the-scene advocacy with legislators to encourage their gradual consensus of a legislative review of child protection related law(s). Notwithstanding effectiveness and role of that module in advocating, JRF determined that such an approach at such a moment in time would carry risks that may not be addressed successfully, and which may contain a degree of damage that may not be recovered appropriately. JRF maintained its public, proactive and fore-front approach by transforming its program activities into a Social Marketing campaign where much of its public advocacy objectives could be achieved as a result.

Strategy Development

As outlined in section 2.3. and 2.4. of this toolkit strategy development is not a one-time activity and requires that advocates be flexible and responsive to opportunities and challenges that arise. Lessons learned remind us of the following:

- Strategy should be reviewed from time to time, to evaluate the effectiveness of your action, to review changes in the surroundings and fine-tune appropriately your strategy and tactics. Such “rolling assessments” should be undertaken at least once a year, and in case of more condensed campaigns in a fast-changing environment, they can be conducted every three or six months.
- Position should firmly be preserved and not compromised. Your strategy building should be aiming higher than what is currently offered while constantly looking at the roots of the problem no matter how that might impact the proposed solution or the scope of project activities.
- Include all interested members of your network or coalition in the development of your strategy. It can be facilitated through a strategizing workshop organized to define collectively the strategy of campaign, including choosing the tactics that would be used per action. In this way members will develop deeper understanding and ownership of campaign goals, tactics and strategies. In addition, this is an opportunity to define their specific resource contribution to the campaign.

Engaging Decision-Makers Directly

Through their activities, Jordanian activists have learned that advocacy does not necessarily mean conflict, and that it involves much more – a dialogue and often collaboration with decision-makers. They also learned that a victory for advocates does not necessarily mean a loss for decision makers. Indeed, the issues that are framed in such a way as to provide a win-win solution for majority of those involved are the most likely to be successful. In fact, decision makers often need assistance of civil society organizations and many campaigns responded with technical training and awareness sessions for decision makers. NGOs have access to volunteers that governments usually do not have. CSOs can mobilize community and pro-bono engagement

of experts – and it is at times more difficult for the government. Some donors would support civil society initiatives but would not have funds for government.

- Analyzing its campaign to protect forests in Jordan, Royal Society for Conservation of Nature (RSCN) and Jordan Green Building Council (JGBC) argue, “The technical capacity of the Forest Administration need to be enhanced. The number of highly trained staff is insufficient. The forestry research activities are absent and technical improvements are difficult to promote and monitor. There was a lack of basic survey data and presently, there are no management plans for the natural and planted forests.” For all those reasons government was open to collaborating with RSCN and JGBC, and the NGOs worked together with Forestry Department, Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Agriculture and even the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. In the end of the campaign policy changes have been introduced to better regulate the forests conservation.
- In case of JREDS campaign to save public beaches in Aqaba, campaign activists and experts engaged in a dialogue with Aqaba Free Economic Zone (ASEZA). The Free Zone officials were very much open for this communication, and it turned out that the absence of public beaches in Aqaba Master Plan was neither conspiracy nor result of government opposing public beaches. Simply, the concept of public beach did not exist at the time when the plan was drafted. Through collaboration, the Master Plan was changed and five kilometers of public beaches have been saved while the campaign activists, ASEZA, and the community at large came out as winners in the end.
- CDFJ organized technical and legal seminars to spread awareness and understanding of government officials on the Access to Information Law and its implementation. They also assisted government ministries and agencies to develop information request form and developed a poster that was displayed at several government ministries, that spells out the procedures for access to information.
- TAKAFO’ met the Ministry of Interior in the run up to the 2010 Parliamentary elections, clarifying in detail what was required to make voting accessible for persons with disabilities and provided guidelines for procedures which would allow persons with disabilities to vote independently with the support of a personal assistant of their choice. Election commission members welcomed TAKAFO’s technical assistance in training electoral staff and facilitated TAKAFO’s monitoring of the elections. Procedures and recommendations made by TAKAFO’ were then incorporated into the Election Law 2012 and implemented during the 2013 parliamentary elections.

You can’t win alone!

“In advocacy, you cannot do anything alone,” says Faisal Abu Sondos, Director of Royal Marine Conservation Society of Jordan (JREDS). “We knew that if we stayed alone, we would never succeed in changing anything. Instead, before any strategy development, we mobilized the community and gathered 77 of the most active individuals and representatives of NGOs and CBOs to take this issue on as their own,” says Abu Sondos about JREDS campaign to protect Public Beaches in Aqaba.

Coalition-Building and Community Mobilization

You should try to establish as broad as possible a group of individuals and NGOs that are

interested in your cause and willing to work on your initiative. A broad coalition will give you political legitimacy, access to expertise in different fields, to resources and institutions, and power to implement activities. Here are some things to consider:

- Think of NGOs and government institutions that are in various ways connected to the issue; include experts, academics, university students, research institutes, media, as well as concerned individuals.
- Try to understand what your issue means to different people so as to mobilize them to join your cause. Frame and customize your message in ways that relate to their interest in the issue. Although JREDS is an environmental NGO, they recognized the need to diversify their message in their campaign to protect public beaches in Aqaba so to attract others to their campaign. This included specialized messages to *fishermen* (by destroying coral reefs, new developments on the Aqaba Bay destroy most of the fish, which provide livelihood for the local villages), *divers* (they care about coral reefs), *families* (who cannot afford to pay cover for private beaches), and *human rights defenders* (every Jordanian should have right to access every meter of the Aqaba beach).
- Approach different allies in appropriate ways. Big and established NGOs can be reached out through a conference - IRC did exactly that in their campaign to give Jordanian women right to pass nationality to their children. Create new opportunities to bring governmental departments together to learn more about what change you are trying to seek – CDFJ did that by holding sessions with 17 different governmental departments to explain how to implement Jordan's existing law on access to information.
- Experts need to be addressed individually; you should map the terrain for decision makers, influencers and legal framework to identify interested influential individuals to approach.
- Volunteers can be attracted through social media, big public events (i.e. beach cleanup by JREDS) or through media advertisements and supplements.
- If you work in the community, you will have to include all key community leaders, including significant individuals, tribal leaders, and religious figures. Depending on the topic of your campaign, community leaders could have different roles. In case of youth violence campaign organized by Change Academy, community leaders were given a consultative, not decision-making role through a "Community Advisory Committee". In order to facilitate this role and "not to raise false expectations", Change Academy developed a memorandum of understanding that spelled out roles and responsibilities which every committee member signed.
- Last but not least, the coalition should ideally have its own identity. In case of the nationality campaign led by the Information and Research Center at King Hussein Foundation, a coalition was created with its own name, logo, visual identity and spokesperson.

Campaign management

While the establishment of wide coalitions and networks are in many ways beneficial to advocacy initiatives, it is also true that the bigger a coalition or network, the more challenging it is to manage. In order to get best possible results, any campaign needs to balance between the need to provide freedom and space to individual members to fully express their creativity and expertise, and the need to coordinate different activities and voices into a unified message and

action without limiting individual freedoms. How to support individual creativity and in the same time provide for unity? Consider these:

- First, create committees that will work relatively independently in their fields. Different coalition members will have different interests, skills and will join different committees. Committees will enable different coalition members work simultaneously, without waiting for the leadership of coalition to decide on small questions and issues. For example:
 - In case of IRC, four committees were created: for research, legal, media, and advocacy activities. Research and legal committees were producing legal and scientific output, which was then sent to media and advocacy committees to “translate” it into the language understandable to broader audience and decision makers, and send it out.
 - In JREDS campaign seven committees were created: *Historical Contest Committee* – to understand historical context of the issue; *Technical Issues Committee* – to research the ASEZA structure and Master Plan; *Activities and Awareness Committee* – to build community awareness of the beaches; *Impact Assessment Committee* – to compile information on environmental damages; *Decision Makers Outreach Committee* – to lobby decision makers; *Media Committee* – to ensure coverage and outreach through media; *Legislation Committee* – to research the current legislation and draft the desired changes for the Master Plan and national legislation.
- Second, create a steering committee to oversee and coordinate the efforts of all other committees. That is exactly what JREDS did in their campaign. Steering committee will collect data and results of work of different committees, coordinate communication between them, facilitate strategic reviews and decide on tactics or strategy changes.
- Third, coordinate message across different committees and the campaign in general. In addition to a position statement, IRC with a help of the coalition’s media committee developed backgrounders and Q&A sheets on the campaign issues and proposed solutions which were distributed and used by all coalition members and spokespersons. Creation of backgrounders and Q&A sheets is an easier part of the message coordination. The more challenging one is the content of those materials, the message itself. The message should be developed through a collaborative effort, whereby all voices will be heard and all campaign members will develop ownership of the message.

Reframing messages to engage constituencies

In advocacy, it is important to move from themes that are of interest to a narrow group of people to themes that are of concern to wider society. In communications, such change in focus is called “reframing”.

- IT’S MORE THAN JUST THE ENVIRONMENT: In their public beaches campaign JREDS realized that it is not only about beaches, corals and fishes, but about people, their livelihoods, human rights and the future. “I am not new to environmental issues,” says Faisal Abu Sondas, Executive Director of JREDS. “For years we focused only on the environment as our main message and nobody listened. During the New Tactics advocacy training organized by the Jordan Civil Society Program I learned about issue framing and the rights-based approach in advocacy: people first! I realized that in order to succeed, we have to make it clear that by destroying the corals and coastal line, we destroy people’s source of income;

that by selling the public beach to hotels we are infringing on their right to access the beach, and that privatization of the coast has social consequences, making the privatized beaches inaccessible to majority of Jordanians.”

There are numerous other examples, both in Jordan and internationally that show how changing the focus from the interest of a small group to the wider community contributes to mobilization and success of the campaign. JREDS reframed their issue from environmental into human rights, social, security and economic frames.

EQUALITY FOR ALL: In case of the disability rights campaigns for Takafo’ (Equality) and Sar Waqtha (It’s Time) the campaigners reframed their narrative from the story of self (we, people with disabilities) to the story of us (we, the wider community) and the story of now (what are the challenges and choices that we as individuals have, what aspire us as a group, and what drive us to take action?) Others then understood the bigger picture and joined their campaign to fight discrimination at all levels.

- UNIVERSITY VIOLENCE IS THE COMMUNITIES LONG TERM PROBLEM: For Change Academy the issue of university campus violence was reframed as the issue of a society that perpetuates violence through socialization in family. An issue of youth that is not given space and platform for expressing themselves. The issue is reframed in such a way that it shows that we all – whole community – are affected. We all should act!
- SMOKING IS EVERYONE’S PROBLEM: An international example that is often mentioned in reframing tutorials is the campaigning against smoking. For long the issue was presented as bringing harm exclusively to those who smoke, and it did not go nowhere because it was presented as an issue that affects the minority – the smokers themselves – who they did not seem to care and neither did the broader community or society at large.

But once campaigners started reframing it into the frames that affect whole society things started moving forward. They showed that every smoker affects a number of secondary smokers. It is not only about the health of the smoker, it is about our health too! Advocates also showed that smokers get lung cancer more often than non-smokers. Treating lung cancer is very expensive and all taxpayers pay it through the increased public health cost! The number of sick leave days is higher for smokers than non-smokers, so their smoking habits cost the employers as well! Therefore, we are all together in it! Smoking is not only a smoker’s problem! It was only after this reframing that smoking ban laws started winning in parliaments across the United States, Europe, and recently the Middle East.

Using music and art in reaching out to youth

Not all supporters of your cause will be willing to take part in discussions, meetings or public events. Some of them might care about the issue, but are not willing to take part in something if they consider such events as too “political” or your advocacy goal is far away from their daily lives. Think about how to engage them in other ways and through interactive activities.

- In the past few years several campaigns in Jordan used art, dance, sport and music to reach out to the youth. A couple of years ago activists organized a bicycle rally against domestic violence. Such creative events attracted people to their causes who may not have joined

otherwise. For example, most youth can express themselves through art, music or dance. Do you care for their support? Do you care for them getting your message? If you do then try to provide a platform for them to participate in your campaign.

- Change Academy organized an “open day” in Salt with youth performing dabke, break dance, rap, beatbox and showing their acrobatic skills. “We organized the open day with an intention to give the youth a platform to show their talents” says Fotouh Younes from Change Academy. “They showed that they are good in sports and music. That made them feeling valuable, useful and proud. We had imam and tribal leaders in the audience, and they appreciated the program.”
- In Amman, CDFJ observed 2012 International Press Freedom Day with a cultural program where youth played music and danced. “We don’t organize conferences and poetry readings because that program does not interest young people, whom we want to attract,” says Nidal Mansour, Director of CDFJ. “Instead, we put together arts and music events that attract youth. Our events have 800 young people in the audience, and they always stay till the end,” concludes Mansour. Think also of organizing outdoor activities for your members and supporters. Young people like street action, which can be even cleanup, signing petition or a sports event. Parallel to conducting research and approaching Aqaba officials to lobby for preservation of public beaches, JREDS organized cleanup and petition signing on the beach – a fun activity that made their volunteers busy and happy.
- But it is important to note that art, music and sports should not replace other activities, but complement them instead. You should organize them to give an opportunity to young supporters of your cause to take part in the initiative. Parallel to it, you will continue your core advocacy and lobbying activities.

Using international observances in advocacy campaigns

Many governments decide to devote certain days of year to specific causes. Those days are called observances. Some of them are purely local, connected to local causes, while some are international. The purpose of observances is to constantly remind wider audiences, media, and decision makers, on the importance of certain issues and to promote action on them.

- The United Nations have declared a number of observances member states observe. United Nations observances promote awareness of and action on important political, social, cultural, humanitarian or human rights issues. Among the best-known international observances are probably International Women Day (March 8th) and Human Rights Day (December 10th).
- Every year media and policy makers will try to come up with a new message or set of activities to prove their commitment to the cause. For NGOs that are focused on those causes, the observances clearly present an opportunity for their voices to be heard and policy ideas to get public attention.
- Many Jordanian civil society organizations have used observances in their own work. Jordan River Foundation launched their 2012 violence against children campaign

iPhone alarm: Press Freedom Day!

There are many international observances and it is sometimes difficult to keep track of them. As of recently, it is much easier with the help of an iPhone application released in December 2012 by the United Nations. *UN Calendar of Observances: Making a Difference*, created by volunteers, allows users to import observances into the iPhone calendar and includes sharing options for email and social media. *UN Calendar of Observances: Making a Difference* is a download on the App Store. [[Direct Link](#)]

on June 6 the National Day of Child Safety. Every year on May 3 the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists organizes well-attended public events to mark the World Press Freedom Day, while disability rights organizations organize events on December 3, International Day of Persons with Disabilities.

- There is a new iPhone application (see the text box) that incorporates UN observances in your calendar. If you do not have iPhone, or are in favor of printed calendars, you should review the list of the United Nations Observances, available online to find those that correlate with your issue.

Here are a few easy to follow suggestions in order to get the most from international or Jordanian observances:

- Prepare backgrounders and Questions and Answers sheets by using results of your research; rewrite your policy ideas and position papers, and make them easy to read and without technical jargon; prepare visuals, such as photos from your initiatives that are free of rights and with quality good for print ... and send them out to media and decision makers at least one week prior to the observance, in order to inform but also direct the public discussion on the issue.
- Prepare a couple of spokespersons from your coalitions as well as independent experts who are willing to talk on the issue, and send their names to media organizations in case they need more information or want to have a statement or an interview.
- If you are preparing events to be held on the exact day of the observance, let the media know about them well in advance.

4. Tools and Resources

4.1. Advocacy Training

- 4.1.1. Advocacy Trainer Toolkit

4.2. Skills and Tools for Advocacy

- 4.2.1. Pre Action Review Manual
- 4.2.2. Engaging Stakeholders: Focus Groups Manual
- 4.2.3. Strategic Communications Guidebook for CSOs
- 4.2.4. Communications Smart Chart
- 4.2.5. Manual on Creating Blogs for CSOs

4.3. Examples of Policy Advocacy Interventions

- 4.3.1. What to Say, What Not to Say: A Guide for Journalists Covering Disability Rights
- 4.3.2. Civil Society Report on the Status of Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Jordan 2012
- 4.3.3. The impact of religious affiliation on exercising civil rights and religious freedoms

4.4. Advocacy Assessment Tools

- 4.4.1. Advocacy Readiness Index
- 4.4.2. Advocacy Impact Index (with a separate PDF scoring card)
- 4.4.3. Advocacy Capacity Index

5. Additional Reading

While the tools and resources listed in the Chapter 4 of this toolkit have all been developed by Jordanian civil society experts and practitioners with support from CSP Jordan, this chapter lists resources developed in other Middle Eastern countries, as well as manuals developed in the West that are considered to be the best advocacy resources available at the moment.

TRAINING

A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide For Advocacy And Citizen Participation by Lisa Veneklasen and Valerie Miller. Parts of the book can be downloaded from the Internet free of charge. The integral version can be ordered from www.amazon.com

Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide by David Cohen and Rosa de la Vega.

The ABC's of Advocacy by Lina Alameddine. Published with support from Danish Church Aid and USAID/OTI-Lebanon, Beirut, Lebanon, 2013. You can download your own e-copy in English or in

Arabic free of charge at www.civicboard.org (see the Resources section) or request a hard copy from the author on the following email address: pcdd@pcdd.org

ADVOCACY TACTICS

New Tactics in Human Rights: A Resource for Practitioners by New Tactics in Human Rights.

You free copy in English or Arabic can be downloaded here

<https://www.newtactics.org/resource/english-collection-tactics-book> (English) or here

<https://www.newtactics.org/resource/arabic-collection-tactics-book> (Arabic)

COMMUNICATIONS FOR NGOS

Media Relations for NGOs by Nebojsa Radic, USAID/OTI-Lebanon, Beirut, Lebanon, 2010.

Download your copy of this bilingual manual on

<http://www.civicboard.org/?m=resources&ItemID=10>

CIVIC ACTIVISM

Civic Activism Toolkit by USAID/OTI Lebanon, Beirut, 2013 Download free of charge e-copy of the manual on www.civicboard.org

Civic Board: a community-managed Lebanese civil society portal with a number of resources in Arabic or English that can be downloaded for free. www.civiboard.org

POLICY IN ADVOCACY

Policy Development Manual by Youth Economic Forum, Beirut, Lebanon, 2012

English http://www.yef-lb.org/ckfinder/userfiles/files/YEF%20Policy%20Guide_ENG.pdf

and Arabic http://www.yef-lb.org/ckfinder/userfiles/files/YEF%20Policy%20Guide_AR.pdf

USE OF TECHNOLOGY IN ADVOCACY

Tactical Tech Collective in English: <https://informationactivism.org/en> and Arabic:

(<https://unstitched.informationactivism.org/ar#>)