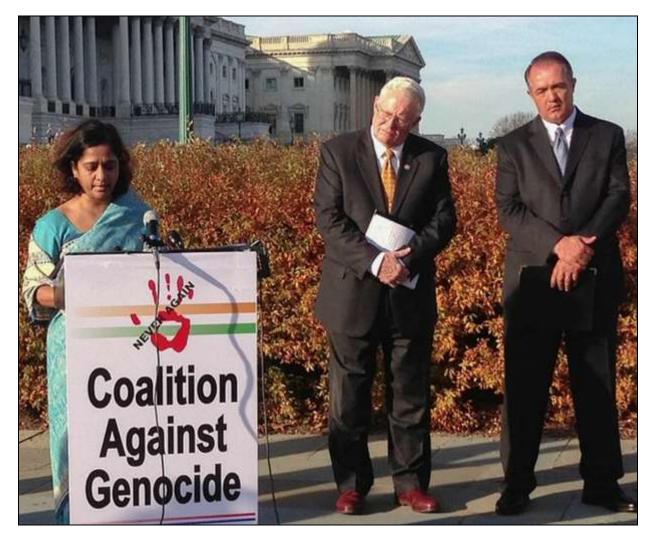
Chapter 7. Advocacy



Advocacy is a set of organized actions aimed at influencing public policies, social attitudes, or political processes. Advocacy can include the following:

- Enabling and empowering people to speak for themselves;²³³
- Giving support to a policy and persuading those with power to act in support of the policy at local, national, and international levels;234
- Gaining and exercising power to influence a political action;²³⁵ and
- Organizing efforts by citizens to influence the formulation and implementation of public policies and programs by persuading and pressuring state authorities, international financial institutions, and other powerful actors.236

²³³ Equitas, International Human Rights Training Program Resource Manual (Equitas: International Centre for Human Rights Education, 2009), 207. Also available online at http://www.equitas.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/IHRTP-2013-Res-Man-ENG_Cover.pdf. 234 Women, Law & Development International and Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project, Women's Human Rights Step by Step.

Washington, D.C.: Women, Law & Development International: 1997, 116; Global Rights: Partners for Justice. Legislative Advocacy Resource Guide: Promoting Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Washington, DC: Global Rights, 2005), 4. 235 I Know Politics, "Issues," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/unpan/unpan028058.pdf.

Careful human rights monitoring and documentation can help identify systemic failures to protect, respect, or fulfill human rights obligations and can give rise to recommendations to solve those problems. But advocacy is required to maximize the impact of monitoring and documentation. Advocacy ensures that solutions are implemented and that the victim's right to a remedy for violations is realized. Activists undertaking human rights documentation and monitoring should consider in the project's early stages how to use the report to accomplish their advocacy goals.

This chapter provides human rights activists with a general overview of advocacy strategies, as well as guidelines on implementing specific advocacy tactics. It is meant to serve as a general overview and foundation for advocates who are new to advocacy. The chapter describes the steps involved in planning an advocacy campaign, from writing goals to evaluation. The chapter then focuses on some of the following broad human rights advocacy tactics:

- Public education;
- Media advocacy;
- Lobbying and legislative advocacy;
- Advocacy targeting businesses; and
- Social media tools for human rights advocacy.

Chapters 8 through 10 cover more complex advocacy strategies and tactics. These chapters provide information and targeted advocacy tools to help human rights advocates pursue:

- Accountability for human rights violations through domestic and international mechanisms such as criminal prosecutions, civil lawsuits, international criminal tribunals, and truth commissions;
- Advocacy at United Nations human rights mechanisms; and
- Advocacy at regional human rights mechanisms.

A. The Advocacy Process

The advocacy process involves a number of interrelated actions strategically designed to effect change at various levels. These actions might include increasing community awareness of the issue, creating constituent pressure to push for reform, improving the state response to prevent and punish human rights violations, and influencing law and policy-making.

Before initiating action, advocates for change should identify the purpose of the advocacy campaign. The purpose may range from solving a specific problem by changing a law or policy to raising general awareness about human rights violations in a specific community.

i. Defining Advocacy Goals: What is Success?

The first step in creating an advocacy strategy involves identifying the goal. A successful advocacy campaign will look different depending on the issue and the context. Activists set goals for the advocacy campaign and should define what constitutes success in their context.

The first question to answer when taking on any advocacy endeavor is "what result are you hoping to achieve?" These goals can range widely from simply raising awareness of an issue, to establishing the organization as an information resource in a particular area, to actively passing or blocking pieces of legislation. Defining clear goals early in the process is important. If another organization unexpectedly wants to weigh in or offer changes to the proposal, for instance, it is helpful to be able to refer back to an initial goal in order to stay focused. In fact, being

²³⁶ Washington Office on Latin America, *Manual for Facilitators of Advocacy Training Sessions* (2001), 12. Also available online at http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/downloadable/Advocacy%20Training/past/manual_complete.pdf.

aware of other positions (especially those in opposition to your interests) will be key in defining what is achievable.

After setting goals for the agenda, the advocate should also determine specific intermediate benchmarks to chart any progress made. The practical reality is that human rights advocacy is a long-term process of social and political change. A goal is a statement of the change one wants to see as a result of advocacy efforts. When developing the goal, advocates should ask two key questions: Will achievement of the goal actually affect the identified human rights violations or abuses? What unintended consequences might result?

An advocacy goal statement should do the following:

- Relate back to the human rights monitoring mandate;
- Reflect the findings from the documentation phase;
- · Be developed in collaboration with partners and other stakeholders; and
- Express desired change in terms of human rights language.

ii. Developing an Advocacy Strategy

After the goal is established, the human rights advocate should design the strategy for achieving it. Advocates should ask: What needs to change to ensure human rights are protected? Who has the power to make that change happen? What capacity is lacking that will make that change possible? Each step of the strategy will draw on available tactics, such as those described later in this chapter.

Step 1: Identify what needs to change to remedy the human rights violation or abuse. The findings of the human rights documentation and monitoring should identify why the human rights violation or



abuse is happening. Human rights issues are rarely simple and advocates should take time when developing their advocacy strategy to map the various causes of the human rights violation or abuse. Consider the immediate causes; the legal and economic causes; and the root societal, cultural, and political causes. Keep in mind that all may need to be addressed before the human rights violation can be ended and that one problem may need to be solved before others can be corrected.

Step 2: Identify who has the power to fix the problem. Effective advocacy relies on clear identification of the responsible authority—the person or institution with the decision-making power and authority to make the needed change, often referred to as the "target."

Step 3: Identify the obstacles that prevent the target from fulfilling their duty to respect, protect, or fulfill the human rights. Telling someone they are failing in their obligation without also acknowledging that they may lack the capacity to succeed can lead to frustration. "Capacity" includes:

• **Obligation:** the legal and moral duty to act. What should the responsible authority do to end the human rights violation? What legal standards define that obligation? What legal standards are missing?

- **Motivation:** the will to act. Why is the responsible authority failing to fulfill the obligations? What or who can hold them accountable?
- Authority: the power to act. Does the responsible authority have the power to carry out their obligations? Is action by the responsible authority socially or legally acceptable?
- **Resources:** the people, infrastructure, and money to act. Does the responsible authority have the necessary human, organizational, and financial resources to meet the obligation? What is missing or needed?

While the recommendations arising out of the monitoring and documentation provide a roadmap for what needs to be done, each recommendation may require a specific strategy. Some recommendations may require a phased approach to be most effectively implemented. Some changes may need to occur before others can be put into place. Advocates should identify the necessary first steps to facilitate progress to the next phase. For example, an organization that works on minority rights might define success in the first phase of advocacy as raising awareness in the international community about the human rights abuses experienced by an ethnic minority. Later in the advocacy process, success might mean passing legislation to protect the rights of that minority group.

Creating objectives-statements that define the necessary steps to meet the goal-will provide direction for all team members and can be used as markers of success. Project managers and human rights organizations recommend that objectives be "SMART: specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and time-bound."237

iii. Leadership and Organization

When structuring an advocacy effort, activists should take into account capacity and expertise, relationships that can be leveraged or might be threatened, and the mission of the organization. In some cases, the same group that undertook the monitoring and documentation may take the lead on advocacy. In other cases, advocacy is best led by others. Questions activists should ask themselves when deciding on leadership structure include the followina:

- Is the implementation effort best led by a single organization?
- Is a coalition needed to build support and exercise the needed power?
- What natural or new alliances can be fostered?

An organization should evaluate its capacity to carry out a specific strategy. Organizations should evaluate their resources, staffing, experience, and skills to determine advocacy strategies that are feasible. For example, organizations seeking to change public policy and laws affecting victims might assess factors such as the following:

- Ability to interact constructively with the government;
- Willingness and commitment to coalition-building with other groups;
- Knowledge of the functioning of judicial, legislative, and executive branches;
- In-depth understanding of the political context; •
- Access to research and information and the capacity to use it to inform policy-making;
- Clearly defined and agreed upon roles and responsibilities of individuals and organizations involved; and
- Human and financial resources to accomplish the advocacy goal.²³⁸

²³⁷ E.g., Amnesty International, Making Rights a Reality: Campaigning to Stop Violence Against Women (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2004), 11–12; Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller, "Planning Moment #5: Mapping Advocacy Strategies," in A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation (Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2002), 198. Also available online at http://www.justassociates.org/chap10%20mapping%20strategies.pdf. ²³⁸ Washington Office on Latin America. *Manual for Facilitators of Advocacy Training Sessions, supra* note 236, at 15–17.

Coalition Building

Coalition building is "the ongoing process of cultivating and maintaining relationships with a diverse network of individuals and organizations who share a common set of principles and values."²³⁹ "In addition to sharing a common set of values, a coalition will often work together towards a common goal or to execute a specific campaign."²⁴⁰ Coalition



building can happen at the local, national, regional and global levels. Because organizations bring different strengths and constituencies, working in coalition can be extremely effective and important, especially when there are broad goals such as legislative or policy changes. A crucial aspect of coalition building is choosing a unifying issue or issues and working together to define clear goals.²⁴¹

Some civil society organizations choose to increase their impact by working in coalition with diaspora organizations, and vice versa. Diaspora communities may already be working through Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) to provide services and support to refugees to help them adjust to life in a new country. Some MAAs work in coalition to achieve larger policy goals. For example, the Hmong American Partnership is a MAA whose subsidiary Hmong National Development works on policy advocacy (including the rights of Hmong in other countries) and civic engagement in coalition with the National Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans.²⁴²

The success of advocacy depends in large part on those involved in both formal and informal leadership positions. It is important to select an individual or two who have a passion for the issue and the organizational skills to accomplish the goal as the formal leaders. At the same time, the formal leaders should recognize that other leaders will emerge from within the coalition and stakeholder groups, and that those leaders should be encouraged and supported in their work. The following leadership qualities should be sought:

- Ability to identify and initiate advocacy effort;
- Ability to inspire and attract interest;
- Ability to manage process; and
- Ability to mobilize support.²⁴³

Alliances are critical to successful advocacy. While alliances can be challenging to identify and maintain, they build power, expand capacity, and help advocates work on the various direct, systemic, and root causes of the human rights violation at issue.

²⁴⁰ Scholars at Risk Network, "Coalition-building and Networking," *supra* note 239 (internal quotation marks omitted).
 ²⁴¹ See CoalitionsWork, "Coalitions Work Tools," accessed Jan. 23, 2014, http://coalitionswork.com/resources/tools/.

²³⁹ Children's National, "Reaching Out: A Guide to Effective Coalition Building," accessed Jan. 23, 2014,

http://www.childrensnational.org/files/PDF/EMSC/PubRes/Reaching_Out_-_Effective_Coalition_Building.pdf; Scholars at Risk Network, "Coalition-building and Networking," accessed Jan. 17, 2013, http://scholarsatrisk.nyu.edu/Workshop/d_strategy_coalition.php.

See Coantionswork, Coantions work roots, accessed Jan. 23, 2014, http://coantionswork.com/resources/tools/.
 ²⁴² See Hmong National Development, "Advocacy & Civic Engagement," accessed Jan. 23, 2014, http://www.hndinc.org/advocacy.php.

²⁴³ The Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence Against Women and Girls, "Developing an Advocacy Strategy," accessed Jan. 21, 2014, http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/104-developing-an-advocacy-strategy.html.

General Tactics for Increasing Influence

- Grow support. Alliances, including connections with influential persons, can be invaluable for an organization engaging in legislative advocacy.²⁴⁴ If a legislator knows that an organization has strong connections and alliances, he or she may be more likely to seriously consider the group's perspective.
- Have a concrete understanding of the "target" political system.²⁴⁵
- Urge others to write and advocate for the same position. Building a unified front as an organization will ensure the legislator knows who and what he or she is supporting. If the organization is not recognized as representative in the community, a legislator will be less likely to support it for fear of being accused of "naïveté, cynicism, or playing favorites."²⁴⁶
- Use all communication platforms available to support the goal and as part of the effort. Platforms include social media, op-eds, diaspora media, and pitches to traditional media.
- Take the long view. Success may not be achieved (or achievable) in one legislative cycle.
- People who are most directly affected by the policy should be part of the messaging. For instance, the victims of human rights abuses can provide the most compelling testimony as to why change is needed to end the abuses.

Receiving endorsements and creating a stakeholder coalition around the issue is a sign of strength, which is often useful if or when opposition to the bill is raised. An effective tactic for achieving this goal is to gather public support for the position from other groups, associations, or influential individuals. Using a human rights framework in messaging can help bring additional members to a coalition because it frames the issue as one of broad concern to all people, not as a specific issue relevant only to members of a particular group. Being able to show that the proposal is supported by stakeholders other than the organization is important—it is good for the organization to have a meeting with a legislator about its issue, but it is great to have many other groups contact or meet with that same legislator to echo the same position.

Finally, it is important for a coalition to have regular meetings and continuous information-sharing. It is damaging to any coalition effort when members of the coalition, either because of lack of leadership or poor or inadequate communication strategies, do not act in a coordinated manner and with a singular message. Internal struggles acted out in public are damaging to a coalition, to its members, and to the relationship with policymakers.

At times, leaders may emerge whose goals are not in line with the overall advocacy strategy. When this occurs, it is important to discuss the diverging goals in private rather than in front of the target audience of the advocacy.

iv. Framing and Carrying the Message

A clear and cohesive message is invaluable when advocating for a cause. Not only will it provide decision-makers a clear point of focus, it will help keep staff, volunteers, and allies focused on the goal before them. If and when advocates are working within a coalition, it is especially important for everyone to use the same message.

²⁴⁴ Kathleen Newland, Migration Policy Institute, *Voice After Exit: Diaspora Advocacy* 2 (2010). Also available online at http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/diasporas-advocacy.pdf.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. ²⁴⁶ Ibid.

Advocates should remember that the initial advocacy goal, if written using a human rights framework, can serve as a great starting point for a powerful message.

Advocates should craft a message that resonates with the target audience of the advocacy effort.²⁴⁷ There is no one-size-fits-all message, and activists should consider what will motivate the target, i.e. the person or entity with the power to make the desired change. A well-written goal statement should be readily adaptable into a human rights-based message. (See Chapter 6: Documentation for tips on using neutral, objective, and non-adversarial language and tone.)

Advocates also should consider how to carry their message to the target. The kind of communication that will be most effective will be different for each situation. Is this a case that requires change of societal norms and attitudes? Or is this a case of correcting how a government agency interprets an administrative rule? Will that government agency be most swayed by the political process or by litigation?

Advocates should also consider how their messaging affects the bigger movement or environment in which their campaign operates. For example, immigrant rights activists in the United States often used the message "we are not criminals" when talking about injustice in the **Practitioner's tip:** Take into account how the potential message can undermine or strengthen ongoing or future efforts. For example, using a public shaming campaign may motivate public constituents and build pressure, but it may alienate lawmakers, making future advocacy efforts more difficult. Activists need not compromise their message in light of these considerations, but should explore ways to overcome these challenges. They may want to designate an advocacy partner as the visible messenger who interfaces with the public and another partner to interact with the legislators.

immigration enforcement system. While this message had some short-term value in drawing attention to the fact that people in the United States without immigration status were not violating criminal laws, the message undermined the immigrant rights movement's credibility with potential allies focused on the criminal justice system who were working on some of the same issues.

Advocates can often achieve clarity in message development by adopting a simple problem/solution framework. Messaging about the "problem" should point to systemic failures and institutional failures as much as possible. Messaging about the "solution" should highlight as many beneficiaries as possible and should be based on shared values or principles that are fundamental to society (or to that level of government). Advocates should never underestimate the power of personal stories to highlight systemic problems and to illustrate a proposed solution.

v. Mobilization and Action

The mobilization and action phase is the outcome of effective goal and objective development and is linked with communication and education. It requires mobilizing constituents, the public, and stakeholders to act on the issue. When deciding whom to mobilize, consider who the responsible authority will listen to and respond to. Will the target respond to widespread public pressure or will a private word from an influential leader be more effective? Design the mobilization strategy to get the target to act.

During this phase, the following activities may occur:

- Recruiting advocacy volunteers;
- Building a coalition of partner organizations and institutions;

²⁴⁷ American Library Association, "Advocacy University," accessed Jan. 21, 2014, http://www.ala.org/advocacy/advocacy-university (for resources on crafting advocacy messages); Alliance for Justice, "Bolder Advocacy," http://www.afj.org/our-work/issues/bolder-advocacy.

- Educating staff, volunteers, and stakeholders about the goals, objectives, and tactics of the advocacy plan;
- Carrying out the advocacy strategy and plan;
- Taking legal and political actions; •
- Taking action with interested and affected groups to secure change:
- Monitoring and evaluating the process; and
- Continually reexamining and adapting the advocacy plan and messaging. •

vi. Measurement of Progress toward Goal and Achievement of Objectives

Any advocacy plan should include the ongoing measurement of progress toward the goals and objectives. Evaluation, both throughout the effort and at its conclusion, helps the advocate understand what is working and identify when adaptation is needed.²⁴⁸ Regular collection of evaluation information should be focused on producing useful feedback on the effectiveness of the advocacy effort. Evaluation need not focus exclusively on the question of whether the human rights violation has been "fixed."

Ideally, the evaluation plan mirrors the overall advocacy plan and reflects the goals and objectives defined at the outset. The evaluation plan helps keep track of the steps taken toward the ultimate goal. The Harvard Family Research Project suggests broad categories for evaluation measures.²⁴⁹ Evaluations can measure the impacts achieved, such as the creation of more programs or better services. They can also measure the policy goals accomplished, such as the passage or blocking of proposed legislation. Finally, evaluations can measure the outputs and activities undertaken during the effort, such as the number of members recruited to a coalition or sign-on letter.

B. Types of Advocacy

Advocacy can take many forms. This section provides more detailed information to help activists decide which advocacy tactics will best meet a particular goal. The advocacy tactics described here start out with relatively familiar and accessible strategies, such as conducting public presentations, and move on to less familiar strategies, such as lobbying lawmakers and engaging in shareholder activism.

Choosing the advocacy tactics relates directly to the chosen mobilization strategy. Advocates must choose the tactics that will most likely result in the target taking the desired action. Wasting time on a tactic that is easy to do but unlikely to result in change depletes time, energy, and money.

i -**Public Education**

Education involves disseminating information to increase awareness and ultimately stimulate action. Advocates can present public education focused on human rights issues or human rights education in hundreds of different ways. Many organizations begin by doing public presentations on the findings that emerged from their monitoring and documentation work. This approach is one of the simplest means of public education. Other strategies may include the following:

- Poster/billboard campaigns;
- Conferences:
- Public demonstrations and protests;
- Small group meetings with stakeholders;

²⁴⁸ Julie Coffman, Harvard Family Research Project, Focusing, Mapping, Prioritizing, Designing: A User's Guide to Advocacy Evaluation Planning (Fall 2009), 3. Also available online at http://www.hfrp.org/evaluation/publications-resources/a-user-s-guide-to-advocacy-evaluationplanning. 249 lbid., 17–20.

- Large community meetings;
- Public hearings in which victims can testify about their experiences;
- Books or pamphlets documenting victim experiences;
- Public tribunals or mock trials, in which evidence is presented and violators are symbolically held accountable;
- Intergroup dialogue (led by experienced facilitators);
- Screenings of documentaries or human rights-related films, in conjunction with local movie theaters or libraries, and post-film talkbacks;
- Exhibits of photographs or other art at a public venue, such as a gallery or coffee house;
- Collaborations with a local museum to create and lead human rights-themed art tours;
- Book club with a human rights theme;
- Social media;
- Blog on human rights issues;
- Twitter account to spread awareness of the issue;
- Events with cultural and human rights themes hosted at local music venues;
- Showcases of original poetry, songs, stories, or essays written by victims of human rights abuses;
- Games and other interactive tools to teach about an issue; and
- Organizational websites that include human rights information.

Regardless of strategy, the key to success is knowing the audience and keeping in mind the following guidelines:



- Not all participants have prior human rights knowledge. Do not assume participants have any prior knowledge about the human rights topic at issue. Try to relate to what human rights knowledge the participants may already have, and what they may already know about the human rights topic.
- **Do not focus solely on the violations of human rights.** Highlight the values, beliefs, and attitudes that serve as the building blocks of human rights. Show how human rights law establishes international standards and norms rather than upsetting and alarming participants by focusing only on human rights violations that they may not be in a position to address.
- **Connect participants' experiences to the principles discussed.** Create opportunities for participants to relate their personal experiences to the human rights issues and principles explored.
- **Highlight at least one human rights document.** Engage participants in an activity or exercise that involves a human rights treaty or other description of standards, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Give participants a copy, if possible. Participants should understand the international law that defines and guarantees the human rights being examined.
- **Provide opportunities to take action.** Participants should be provided with opportunities either during or after the educational event to take action. This strategy emphasizes the importance of individual responsibility for human rights.

- **Give participants something to read, share, and take away.** Provide participants with fact sheets, reading lists, local organizations involved with the topic, or websites for more information on particular human rights issues.²⁵⁰
- Do no harm. Consider the consequences to those you mobilize.

Practitioner's tip: The Advocates for Human Rights and several other organizations produce toolkits and other educational materials free of charge on various human rights issues. Toolkits on general human rights; the rights of women, migrants, persons with disabilities, and indigenous peoples; the death penalty; and the rights to food, housing, health care, and education are available from The Advocates for Human Rights at www.advrights.org. Each toolkit contains multiple components to educate and engage people, including a fact sheet, take action guide, resource list, lesson plans, PowerPoint presentation, and quiz. In addition, advocates can find numerous educational materials that address human rights issues. Several organizations have sample curricula and lesson plans available online, including the following organizations:

- The Advocates for Human Rights (www.advrights.org);
- Amnesty International (www.amnesty.org/en/human-rights-education/resources);
- Human Rights Education Associates (www.hrea.org);
- Human Rights Resource Center (www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/);
- Human Rights Education Info (www.humanrightseducation.info/); and
- United Nations (www.ohchr.org/EN/PublicationsResources/Pages/Publications.aspx).

ii. Media Advocacy

Media advocacy is the process by which an organization presents information to the news media to influence public opinion and to address policymakers on an issue.²⁵¹ The news media may be the most effective outlet for human rights activists to reach a broad audience and potentially influence those individuals responsible for public policy. Effective media advocacy requires a carefully planned strategy, thoughtful messaging, an understanding of the relevant media outlets, and an awareness of which media tools will best suit the strategy.

Prior to any communication with the media, the human rights advocate should develop a media strategy. For each issue, the



advocate should isolate a specific problem to address, provide a set of possible solutions to that problem, suggest what steps can be taken to achieve those solutions, and identify the people who can take those steps.

²⁵⁰ Nancy Flowers, University of Minnesota, Human Rights Resource Center, *The Human Rights Education Handbook: Effective Practices for Learning, Action and Change* (2000), Part 5, Section B. Also available online at http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hrhandbook/part5A.html.

²⁵¹ UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, *Media Advocacy: To Advance Public Health Policy Workshop Workbook* (Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California, 2002), 13. Also available online at http://www.healthpolicy.ucla.edu/programs/health-data/trainings/Documents/tw_media2.pdf.

In addition, certain organizational steps can facilitate effective media advocacy, such as designating a spokesperson. A spokesperson is an individual within an organization selected to communicate with the media. The fewer people an organization permits to communicate directly with media, the more likely its message will be presented consistently and clearly.²⁵²

a. Strategy and Framing

"Framing" is the act of arranging facts and opinions to tell a story from a certain viewpoint. An advocate who artfully and thoughtfully presents an issue will be more likely to attract media attention ("framing for access") and to guide the media's approach to the issue ("framing for content").²⁵³

"Framing for access" is the process of determining which element of a story will appeal to media. In determining what stories to cover, journalists look for certain elements. Possible hooks include a striking conflict or controversy, a local angle, or eye-catching photographs or images.²⁵⁴ Be careful to avoid sensationalizing a human rights issue or breaching the principles of do no harm and confidentiality with stories and photos.

Practitioner's tip: The Opportunity Agenda has designed a simple human rights messaging formula called VPSA: Values, Problem, Solution, and Action.

Value: the human rights message. Problem: the human rights violation or abuse. Solution: the change being sought. Action: the steps to address the violation.



"Framing for content" is the process of shaping facts and opinions into a story told from a particular perspective. Effective framing for content can transform a set of circumstances into a compelling story that demonstrates the need for policy change.²⁵⁵ Advocates who frame the content of a story effectively can promote their chances of seeing their viewpoint reflected in the media coverage.

b. Familiarity with Relevant Media Outlets

The more advocates understand relevant media outlets, the more fruitful their interactions with media are likely to be.²⁵⁶ Different broadcasts, newspapers, and online media outlets approach stories differently and target specific audiences, while certain reporters are more likely to take an interest in certain issues.

A contact list, which organizes the contact information of relevant producers, editors, and reporters, can be a useful tool in managing media communications. Activists can compile such information directly from a station, newspaper, or other partner organizations. Activists should keep the contact list updated by checking the information as often as possible.

c. Using Diaspora Media

Advocates seeking to engage individuals and organizations in the diaspora or the governments of the countries where those individuals and groups reside should consider reaching out to diaspora media sources. Diaspora communities around the world have established new media networks and institutions for producing and

²⁵² American Public Health Association (APHA), *APHA Media Advocacy Manual* (Washington, D.C.: APHA), 5. Also available online at http://www.apha.org/NR/rdonlyres/A5A9C4ED-1C0C-4D0C-A56C-C33DEC7F5A49/0/Media_Advocacy_Manual.pdf.

²⁵³ UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, Media Advocacy, supra note 251, at 13.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 13–14.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 14–15.

²⁵⁶ American Public Health Association, APHA Media Advocacy Manual, supra note 252, at 5.

distributing unique programming for their target diaspora audience. Diaspora community media can be used not only to influence policy, but also to inform community members about human rights issues and galvanize them to take action.

Diaspora community media exists in a wide variety of media formats. Some diaspora community organizations produce regular print newspapers or magazines to provide news (often in the native language) to members of the diaspora. For example, the National Herald newspaper is printed in both English and Greek.²⁵⁷ Other diaspora media outlets use radio or television broadcasts to reach their diaspora audiences. Hmong TV Network in Fresno, California has 24-hour programming on current events, culture, and entertainment relevant to the Hmong community.²⁵⁸ African Diaspora Today (Chicago, IL)²⁵⁹ and African Roots Connection (KMOJ 89.9 in Minneapolis, MN)²⁶⁰ are both weekly radio programs that address a wide variety of subjects and issues which affect African diaspora communities.

Online media is, however, perhaps the most common form of diaspora community media. Some websites, like AllAfrica.com, aggregate, produce and distribute news from a large number of countries. Other online media sources such as The Liberian Journal²⁶¹ provide news and opinion articles for a specific diaspora community.

While activists should approach outreach to diaspora media outlets in much the same way that they approach mainstream media outlets, they may find that diaspora media outlets are easier to connect with and more willing to cover a story because of pre-existing audience interest in the issue. Human rights advocates should, however, go through the process of developing their media strategy and framing before conducting outreach to any diaspora media outlets.

d. Traditional Media Tools²⁶²

- **Press release:** Grab attention for the human rights issue within the headline and first paragraph. The headline should summarize the newsworthy event/issue and draw the reader into the release. The release should cover the most significant information first in the lead paragraph, and less important information toward the end of the release. For a sample press release, see Appendix E.
- **Press conference:** Think carefully about the objectives—have a newsworthy reason to hold a press conference for reporters to hear the message in person rather than through a press release.
- Letter to the editor: Write concise letters to the editor that link human rights to local issues. Note that letters that refer to stories the newspaper or magazine has already published are more likely to be selected.
- **Op-eds:** Draft an opinion piece to provide in-depth commentary on an issue. Check the publication's guidelines for commentaries and submission information. It may also be possible to speak with the editorial staff to discuss an issue and clarify expectations.
- Editorial board meeting: Try to win the support of a newspaper's editorial board on a human rights issue. Request a meeting with editorial staff, design an effective presentation in line with the overall media strategy, and provide written information for the board members to review.

²⁵⁷ The National Herald, accessed Jan. 21, 2014, http://www.thenationalherald.com/.

²⁵⁸ 32.6 Hmong TV Network, accessed Jan. 21, 2014, http://www.hmongtvnetwork.com.

²⁵⁹ African Diaspora Today, "About," accessed Jan. 8, 2014, http://africandiasporatoday.com/.

²⁶⁰ Facebook, "African Roots Connection," accessed Jan. 8, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/pages/African-Roots-

Connection/24005089977?sk=page_map.

²⁶¹ The Liberian Journal, accessed Jan. 8, 2014, www.theliberianjournal.com.

²⁶² The Advocates for Human Rights, *A Practitioner's Guide to Human Rights Monitoring, Documentation, and Advocacy* (Jan. 2011), 91–92. Also available online at http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/final_report_3.pdf.

• **Interviews:** To prepare to give a radio or television interview, activists should familiarize themselves with the format and style of the program for which the interview is conducted. In addition to presenting their own viewpoint, activists should also prepare to counter opposing arguments in a professional and credible manner.

Practitioner's Tips on Press Conferences:

The following tips are a useful guide in holding a press conference.

1. Determine the goals of the press conference. Activists should think carefully about their objectives: is the press conference to publicize the project's findings? Demonstrate clout? Empower constituents and/or the affected group? Garner public support and involvement? Communicate a point to stakeholders? Raise international awareness? Activists should have a newsworthy reason to hold a press conference for reporters to hear the message in person rather than through a press release.

2. Determine the message. Identify what is sought from the target audience and tailor the message accordingly. Also, advocates should ensure that all speakers understand their roles and what each person's message is to avoid repetition.

3. Select a venue, date, and time. The location for the press conference will depend on the organization's needs. When deciding on a venue, activists should consider factors such as symbolism, the best angles, backdrop, and technical requirements, such as lighting, electrical outlets, and sound systems. In addition, activists should think about the venue's accessibility, including location and parking availability. Consider whether there is an overflow or a smaller space nearby in case turnout is not as expected.



When selecting a date, activists should consider deadlines for journalists and rival events, and bear in mind that mid-week days are generally better for obtaining media coverage.

4. Send invitations. Activists should draft a press advisory to invite both media personnel, as well as partners, allies and sympathetic officials. They should use their list of reporters or begin to build a list by calling newspaper editors—ideally in the morning—to learn who would be the appropriate reporter. Activists should also seek to build relationships with any local reporters from Agence France Presse, AI Jazeera, the Associated Press, the BBC, or Reuters, for example, and call them once they have the basic conference information to request they add the conference to the daybook. Establish a realistic goal for the number of people to expect. Recruiting volunteers to help conduct outreach is one strategy to maximize turnout. If the news outlet is unlikely to send a reporter, call the photo desk to check whether they can assign a photographer to cover the event. Invitations should be sent generally between two to seven days before the news conference, followed up by reminder phone calls before the conference.

5. Prepare materials. Advocates should prepare a press packet, including background material, the press statement, facts sheets, copies of the report, and visuals, to hand out at the event. They should also send the press packet to journalists who did not attend the conference. They should prepare visuals to depict the message at the conference, such as charts, signs, photos, graphics, maps, banners, and props. Advocates can prepare a take action activity for attendees during the conference. Finally, advocates should prepare the statements that will be made at the press conference.

6. Prepare everyone for their roles. Activists should aim to have one to two people speak for no more than 10 to 15 minutes each. Pre-planning and trial runs are a good way to ensure that speeches are succinct, understandable, and non-repetitive. Activists should also select and prepare a facilitator or host to welcome reporters, maintain control, and keep the conference focused on the topic. Prepare and have a master list of speakers' contact information.

7. Conduct the press conference. Allow sufficient time to set up the venue and be prepared to receive reporters 15 minutes before the start time. Greet reporters as they arrive and ask them to sign in with their contact information. Take high-quality photographs and distribute them to print journalists immediately after the conference. After the statements, take questions from the audience. Some considerations for creating an effective impression:

- <u>Television</u>: Pay attention to how to portray the visual image. Place spokespersons and audience near each other where they can all be seen within the frame. Strategically seating audience members, such as affected populations, in view of the camera is another strategy. Use visuals that have a strong impact and clearly communicate the message.
- <u>Audio</u>: Take steps to ensure that the sound is clear by having only one person speak at a time to the media and using another area separate from any noisy action to speak to the media.
- <u>Print journalism</u>: Be credible in communications to the press and refrain from discussing topics that are not relevant or that the organization is unprepared to address. Use pithy and high-impact quotes and distribute press packets to the reporters. Immediately after the event, email photographs of the event to print and radio journalists in attendance.

iii. Government-Focused Advocacy and Lobbying

A third kind of advocacy is lobbying, or advocacy directly targeting lawmakers and other government officials with the goal of changing laws and government policy. Legal reform is often a very real and desired outcome of human rights monitoring. Advocates collaborating with diaspora groups should consider that those groups may lobby the government of their country of origin or ancestry—alongside local advocates—and may also lobby the government of the country where the diaspora community is based.

a. Lobbying the Government: An Overview

Each country's government and laws are different, and advocates should consult with organizations and individuals that have experience lobbying the targeted government to help develop a lobbying strategy that is appropriate for that country's political context and legal system. This section focuses on lobbying the government in the United States, but many of the strategies and approaches can be adapted for other contexts. Advocates collaborating with diaspora communities in the United States should explore these strategies with their diaspora partners, particularly if there are actions the U.S. government could take to influence human rights in the targeted country.

How to Contact Legislators in the United States:

To find a Representative, go to http://www.house.gov/representatives/find/.

To find Senators, go to

http://www.senate.gov/general/contact_information/senators_cfm.cfm?OrderBy=state&Sort=ASC.

How to Contact Legislators by Mail:

Senators: The Honorable (full name) United States Senate (Room # & Office Building) Washington, DC 20510

Salutation: Dear Senator (Last Name),

Representatives:

The Honorable (full name) United States House of Representatives (Room # & Office Building) Washington, DC 50515

Salutation: Dear Representative (Last Name),

When corresponding with elected officials in the United States, keep the following tips in mind:

- Because of security protocols put in place following the 2001 terrorist attacks, all postal mail is scanned and irradiated. It can take a minimum of two weeks for mail to be received. Therefore, it is best to send correspondence electronically when possible. Members of Congress have their information on their individual websites. Consider hand delivering letters to legislators' offices if possible.
- Include your mailing address in all correspondence, including email.
- Be aware that as a matter of professional courtesy, many legislators will acknowledge, but not respond to, a message from another legislator's constituent.²⁶³

(i) Meeting with Legislators and Staff

Meeting face-to-face with legislators can be a highly effective way to lobby for an issue. Advocates should meet face-to-face whenever possible. Calling, writing, or emailing the legislator can be useful to augment such visits, and can suffice if a visit is not practicable. Several organizations have published best practices for groups advocating through personal meetings with legislators.²⁶⁴ This section provides recommendations for maximizing the impact of an advocate's meeting with a legislator.

⁴ This section references best practices information from the following organizations (alphabetical order): American Academy of Physician Assistants (AAPA), (available at www.aapa.org);

American Speech-Language Hearing Association (ASHA), (available at www.asha.org);

Association of Community College Trustees (ACCT), (available at www.acct.org); Learning Disabilities Association of America (LDA), (available at www.ldanatl.org); and

Migration Policy Institute, (available at www.migrationpolicy.org).

²⁶³ United States Senate, "How to Contact Your Senator," accessed Jan. 21, 2014,

http://www.senate.gov/reference/common/faq/How_to_contact_senators.htm.

American Planning Association (APA), (available at www.planning.org);

Scheduling the meeting

It is best not to simply drop by legislators' offices, particularly when they are in session. Schedule an appointment with a Member of Congress no less than one month in advance.²⁶⁵ When scheduling the appointment, provide all of the following information:

- Full name of all who will attend;
- Organization;
- Issue the meeting is about; and
- Contact phone number and email.

It may be helpful to write the legislator first to schedule an appointment and then follow-up with a telephone call.²⁶⁶ Be sure to confirm the visit by letter or email soon after scheduling and call approximately one day before the meeting to verify that the meeting is still taking place and that the time and location have not changed.²⁶⁷ Legislators' schedules are often very busy, so be flexible in scheduling.²⁶⁸

The following is an example of a message to leave for a legislator: "Hello, this is Jane Smith with the ABC Organization. I would like to make an appointment to meet with Senator Jones to discuss . This issue will be heard in committee in two weeks, and I would very much like to have her support. You can reach me at (123) 456-7890. Thank you very much."

If the advocate is able to meet with a legislator when not in session, the legislator will likely have more time to fully discuss the issue, provide pertinent background materials, and answer questions. During the legislative session, legislators will have a very brief amount of time to talk, often only 10 to 20 minutes.

Be prepared to meet with staff instead of the legislator, even if the legislator meeting is confirmed.²⁶⁹ Do not see meeting with staff as a slight; it is simply a practical reality that when legislatures and Congress are in session, lawmakers have many more demands on their time. Moreover, staff members are highly respected and influential in legislators' offices, so do not reject or devalue the opportunity to meet with them.²⁷⁰ In fact, if an advocate is able to develop a positive relationship with legislative staff, staff may look to the advocate and his or her organization in the future as a valuable source of information.²⁷¹ An advocate who explains his or her expertise and leaves contact information may encourage the legislator's office to use the advocate as a resource.²⁷²

Preparing for the Meeting

An advocate should always prepare thoroughly prior to a meeting with a legislator or legislative staff. Here is a helpful checklist:

- Choose a main goal or message.²⁷³
- Know the particular issue in depth, and be familiar with other associated issues. •
- Be familiar with opposing views and be ready to respond to them in a respectful manner.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁷ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

²⁶⁸AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

²⁶⁵ LDA. "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," accessed Jan. 8, 2014, http://www.ldaamerica.org/legislative/resources/meeting_legislators.asp.

APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://www.planning.org/advocacy/toolbox/legislativemeetings.htm.

http://www.aapa.org/uploadedFiles/content/Events/PA_Week/Resource_Items/Tips%20For%20Meeting%20With%20Legislators.pdf. ²⁶⁹ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266.
 ²⁷⁰ Ibid.; AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268; ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators,"

accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://www.acct.org/how-guarantee-successful-meeting-legislators.

¹APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," supra note 266; AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," supra note 268.

 ²⁷² AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268.
 ²⁷³ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

- Know the legislator, including his or her current stance on the issue, voting record, statements, committee assignments, and party positions.²⁷⁵
- Know what federal programs relate to the issue.²⁷⁶
- Know the community—both the legislator's broader constituency and the community the advocate represents.²⁷⁷
- If meeting with a group, select a spokesperson and decide ahead of time who will raise which points.²⁷⁸
 This division of labor will maximize the amount of information conveyed to the legislator or staff and
 create the impression that the group is well-organized.
- Prepare handouts and a leave-behind product. Include: (1) contact information; (2) fact sheets and stories about your issues; (3) constituent letters; and (4) any briefing materials deemed appropriate.²⁷⁹ Fact sheets and briefing materials should be no longer than one page.
- Have supporters send strong letters of support for the advocate's position before the meeting. Consider including similar letters or statements of support in the leave-behind informational packet.²⁸⁰
- Prepare two sets of remarks, one that is approximately 15 minutes and one that is approximately 90 seconds.²⁸¹ Legislative offices are often busy places and interruptions should be anticipated. Preparing a short set of remarks will allow the advocate to get the main issues across in a coherent manner even with a major interruption to the meeting.
- Practice giving the remarks to make sure they are not too long. Solicit objective feedback from a neutral audience.

During the Meeting

To increase the effectiveness of a meeting, advocates should consider the following advice:

- Be on time. Preferably arrive early and be willing to wait for the appointment. Advocates may even be able to use the wait time to get to know the staff.
- Be prepared to begin the conversation.²⁸²
- Be prepared to give an overview of the issue(s) and support your claims. Do not assume the legislator or staff has a full understanding of the issue. At the same time, do not assume they are ignorant of the issue. For example, there is no need to give an overview of a bill if the legislator is a co-author of that bill. Advocates can simply offer to give a quick overview if any uncertainty exists with respect to the legislator's knowledge.²⁸³
- Be positive, friendly, and brief.²⁸⁴ Stick to the main issue. Do not overstay the visit.²⁸⁵
- Avoid partisan critiques or threats.²⁸⁶
- Take notes during the meeting to create a written summary of what was said.²⁸⁷ When in a group, designate someone to take the notes.

²⁷⁵ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266; LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.
 ²⁷⁶ ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 270.

²⁸⁰ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

²⁷⁴ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265; AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268.

²⁸⁴ ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 270; AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268.

ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 270.

²⁸⁶ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," supra note 266.

- Ask for support; it is expected at these meetings.²⁸⁸ Make a clear, actionable request that is both timely and realistic within the legislative process.²⁸⁹ Avoid making requests for generic support.²⁹⁰ If the legislator appears supportive, ask for a specific commitment; if opposed, ask her or him to keep an open mind and remain neutral.²⁹¹ Do not assume that a show of respect or concern means that the legislator agrees or supports the advocate's position; make a specific request.²⁹²
- Stay focused on the core message. Advocates should have set a narrow scope for the meeting from the outset and should stick to it.²⁹³ Remember, time is limited.
- Keep a local focus. Legislators are meeting with the advocate because he or she is a constituent, so
 relate the issue and position to the local community. Keeping the focus local helps humanize the issue.
 Local statistics and stories provided by a constituent advocate are not only compelling, but the advocate
 may be the only source of such information.²⁹⁴
- Prioritize the issues. Get to the most important issues first.²⁹⁵
- Ask about the legislator's priorities. Finding out goals and priorities of the legislator may open up later opportunities and possibilities to work together and build rapport.²⁹⁶
- Be responsive to questions. An advocate who does not know the answer should admit to not knowing and promise to get back to the legislative staff with the answer. Be sure to get back to them with the response.²⁹⁷
- Get and give business cards. They show interest in further communication and will make for easy reference.
- Reaffirm the intention to forward any information or material requested by the legislator.²⁹⁸ Ask how quickly the legislator needs the information.
- Ask for a photograph if the opportunity presents itself.²⁹⁹ Having a photograph helps to communicate that the advocate is proactively working on the community's behalf and is willing to help promote the legislator's work.

Outline for Meeting with a Legislator or Legislative Staff

The Learning Disabilities Association of America suggests the following format for an advocate's discussion with a legislator. It can be adapted as appropriate if the advocate is meeting with staff.³⁰⁰

- Begin by introducing yourself and thanking the legislator for meeting with you. Also thank the legislator for some favorable position he or she has already taken (if there is one). This approach helps create a friendly and open climate.
- Present your message:

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

²⁸⁸ ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 270.

²⁸⁹ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," supra note 266.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

²⁹² APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268.

²⁹⁶ ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 270.

²⁹⁷ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

²⁹⁹ ACCT, "How to Guarantee a Successful Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 270.

³⁰⁰ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265; ASHA, "How to Respond to Different Congressional Meeting Scenarios," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://www.asha.org/Advocacy/grassroots/Effective-Meetings-with-Legislators/. ASHA offers a similar guide.

- Open the discussion by framing the issue on your terms.
- Explore the issue by taking a position and identifying any relevant legislation.
- Support your position by explaining why such a measure is good public policy.
- Apply the policy to real lives by showing how the legislation affects people in the legislator's district. Anecdotal evidence of how you will be personally affected can also be very moving.
- Use a few memorable statistics to emphasize your point.
- When possible show that the issue affects the legislator's committee assignments and supports public statements she or he has made.
- Be sure to cite any significant support within the district.
- Make a specific request for legislative action. If the legislator seems supportive, ask for a commitment. If you're meeting regarding a bill, ask the legislative staff to introduce or co-sponsor it. If opposed, ask the legislator or staff to keep an open mind and remain neutral.
- Conclude by thanking the legislator for hearing your concerns.

How to Respond to Legislators and Staff

The American Speech-Language Hearing Association has developed a chart with recommendations on how to respond to legislators in certain scenarios.³⁰¹

Legislator/Staff Reaction	Your Response	Other Visit Etiquette
The legislator/staff listens carefully and asks few or no questions. This is a noncommittal meeting. <i>"I will think about what you have said.</i> "	This very common type of Hill meeting allows you to tell your story and express your opinions. For some meetings this is all that you will accomplish, but try to get specific feedback and commitments.	Ask questions to find out what could influence a decision. Does your legislator/staff know how this issue or legislation impacts the community in their district?
Unless your legislator works on a relevant committee—don't expect staff to know much about the issue. <i>"I'm new,"</i> and <i>"I know very little about this particular issue."</i>	Before delving into specifics, you might need to take a step back from your original plan to ensure the staffer has a complete understanding of the issue context. Discuss what the issue is, why it's important, and whom it will impact. Staffers use the information you provide to construct memos about your discussion for the policymaker. They'll greatly appreciate the perspective you provide.	Describe the role of your organization in the community. Encourage questions—don't assume the staffer knows even basic information. <i>Try to find a personal tie between</i> <i>the individual you're meeting with</i> <i>and yourself.</i> Personalize your meeting with real life examples to help them remember you.

³⁰¹ ASHA, "How to Respond to Different Congressional Meeting Scenarios," *supra* note 300.

Legislator/Staff Reaction	Your Response	Other Visit Etiquette
After introducing the legislative issue, the legislator or staffer agrees with you. <i>"I agree."</i>	Use this as the gateway to secure policymaker commitment to your position, and ask them to work with legislators to secure support on issues.	Get verbal commitment from your legislator/staff if possible. Thank them for their support. Indicate that your organization will follow-up, as they'll be excited to hear of their official support for the legislation. Offer to help promote their support, if they are open to it.
After introducing the legislative issue, the legislator or staffer disagrees with you. <i>"That is not my position"</i> or <i>"I</i> <i>disagree."</i>	This rarely happens as legislators and staff do not like to disagree with their constituents. Try to understand why the legislator may not support/oppose the legislative issue so you can use this information in the future to work toward your position. If possible, discuss the consequence of his/her opposition on his/her legislative district.	Find out why there is disagreement. Determine whether the problem is the issue or politics. Agree that no bill is perfect and find out which part of the bill is a problem.

After the Meeting

- Debrief immediately.³⁰² Debriefing right after the meeting when memories are fresh will help to avoid forgetting valuable aspects of the meeting. It may be helpful to go through the notes taken during the meeting to add any necessary details. Do not conduct the debriefing in or around the legislator's office.
- Send a thank-you note as soon as possible.³⁰³ Include in this note: (1) an expression of appreciation; (2) a reinforcement of the message and any verbal commitment made by the legislator or staff;³⁰⁴ (3) highlights of the main points of the visit; and (4) any requested information.³⁰⁵ Advocates could also consider concluding the letter with a personal story that surfaced during the meeting.³⁰⁶ If the meeting was with a staff member because the legislator was unavailable, address the letter to the legislator with a copy (or "cc") to the staff member.³⁰⁷ If the meeting was intentionally with staff, write the legislator to thank her/him for providing staff to meet, lightly touching on the core issue. Send a copy of the letter to other members of the organization who are also lobbying directly on behalf of the cause.³⁰⁸
- Follow up with any information promised to the legislator.³⁰⁹
- Track how the legislator responds. If he or she followed through or later acted in a way beneficial to the cause, thank him or her; if there is no follow-through, request an explanation.³¹⁰
- Keep track of results of each similar meeting and the tactics used to better identify more successful advocacy techniques for the future.³¹¹

³⁰² LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

³⁰³ AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note. 268; APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266.

³⁰⁴ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," supra note 266; LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," supra note 265.

³⁰⁵ LDA, "Meeting With Legislators: Federal, State, or Local," *supra* note 265.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ APA, "Tips for Successful Legislative Meetings," *supra* note 266.

• Touch base with the office from time to time.³¹²

(ii) Legislative Advocacy

In addition to engaging generally with elected officials, advocates may work to influence the legislative process by advocating for or against specific legislation that impacts the human rights situation in a targeted country. Otherwise known as lobbying, this involves specific work on actual proposed or pending legislation with an intent to influence the outcome of the vote on that bill.

Diaspora partners can wield significant influence in their country of residence around foreign policy, foreign aid, and other legislation that has a direct impact in their country of origin.

Legal Considerations of Lobbying

Before embarking on a lobbying strategy, advocates should consider their organization's legal status and resources. The following section, which focuses on lobbying in the United States, provides a general overview for advocates to understand what constitutes lobbying under the law. Each country's lobbying laws and practices are different, however. Advocates outside the United States should consult with local organizations with expertise in lobbying to tailor their government-focused advocacy to the local context.

What does the U.S. tax code say about lobbying?

The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) defines lobbying as any attempt to influence legislation, either by contacting members or employees of a legislative body, or encouraging others to do so in favor of or in opposition to legislation. In this case, legislation refers to any acts, bills, resolutions, or similar items put forward by the U.S. Congress, state legislatures, city councils, or other governing boards.³¹³

The rules for lobbying differ based on the type of organization involved and the type of activity. For example, a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization may participate in some lobbying, but taking part in too much lobbying activity could result in a loss of tax-exempt status. Generally speaking, the federal government uses one of two tests to determine if a 501(c)(3) group is performing an acceptable amount of lobbying:

1. Expenditure Test. Lobbying activity is measured in terms of the amount of expenditures relative to the size of an organization.³¹⁴

2. Substantial Part Test. A number of factors, including the amount of employee and volunteer time, in addition to expenditures, are measured to determine if the amount of lobbying is "substantial."³¹⁵

In addition to federal regulations, individual states and local units of government may have their own lobbying regulations and requirements. As an example, lobbyists operating in the State of Minnesota are governed by the Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board.³¹⁶ It is a good idea to research additional rules before beginning any lobbying.

It is important to note that lobbying is different from advocating, which involves promoting a particular cause. The Minnesota Council of Nonprofits³¹⁷ identifies five categories of activity that do not constitute lobbying:

1. Self-defense;

³¹² AAPA, "Tips for Meeting with Legislators," *supra* note 268.

³¹³ IRS, "Lobbying," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.irs.gov/Charities-%26-Non-Profits/Lobbying.

³¹⁴ IRS, "Measuring Lobbying Activity: Expenditure Test," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.irs.gov/Charities-&-Non-Profits/Measuring-Lobbying-Activity:-Expenditure-Test.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, "Home Page," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.cfboard.state.mn.us/.

³¹⁷ Minnesota Council of Nonprofits, "Federal Law and Nonprofit Lobbying," accessed Jan. 31, 2014,

http://www.minnesotanonprofits.org/nonprofit-resources/public-policy-advocacy/federal-law-and-nonprofit-lobbying .

- 2. Technical advice;
- 3. Non-partisan analysis or research;
- 4. Examination and discussion of broad social or economic problems; and
- 5. Regulatory and administrative issues.

If an organization is unsure as to its status or activities, staff should consult a qualified attorney immediately.

Not all lobbying is treated equally. In fact, the IRS lists clear distinctions between direct and grassroots lobbying, described here by the Minnesota Council of Nonprofits:³¹⁸

Direct Lobbying: Direct lobbying is when an advocate states his or her position on specific legislation to legislators or other government employees who participate in the formulation of legislation, or urges members to do so. In order to qualify as direct lobbying, the statement must refer to specific legislation, express a view on it, and work to have that governmental body adopt that same position or viewpoint. At the federal level, paid staff who work for organizations that engage in this form of lobbying must submit disclosure reports to the U.S. Congress. Further details are available on the websites for the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate and through their respective chief administrative officers.

Grassroots Lobbying: Grassroots lobbying is when an advocate states his or her position on specific legislation to the general public and asks the general public to contact legislators or other government employees who participate in the formulation of legislation. If the communication to the general public does not include a call to action, it is not lobbying.

At the federal level, these distinctions are codified in the "Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007" (Public Law 110-81).

Identify the Issue

Legislation starts with an idea. Identify clearly what the problem is, what solution you propose, and why that solution is both necessary and appropriate. Research the issue to be sure that legislation is needed. Write up this idea in a one-page explanation.

Identify a Legislative Author

After the organization has identified its policy proposals, its next step should be to identify a sitting legislator to be the bill author. In order for a bill to be introduced for consideration by the legislature, a legislator must agree to submit it under his or her name. Bill authors do not actually perform the writing of the bill, rather, the author is responsible for navigating proposals through the legislative process and helping to advocate for that particular issue with his or her elected colleagues.

Finding a bill author can be challenging, but there are several helpful strategies:



³¹⁸ Ibid.

- A personal relationship between a legislator and the organization or its members is often the most effective when looking for an author. Determine if anyone in the coalition has relationship with legislative staff (who work directly for a legislator or for a committee, or both). Enlist their assistance in finding supportive legislators. Lobbying and politics are often as much about relationships as they are about policy.
- 2. Most elected bodies keep detailed electronic archives of previously introduced legislation—research can help reveal if any legislators have worked on this specific issue in the past.
- 3. Look for legislators who have had prior experience working on similar issues. Legislative bodies divide themselves up into committees that focus on distinct policy areas which can help narrow a search for an author. The ideal opportunity is when the target is a champion of the issue and sits on the committee with jurisdiction over the subject matter.

Draft Legislation

After a legislator agrees to carry the bill, the next step is to transform the proposal into formal legislation. All legislative bills, regardless of subject matter, must be drafted to adhere to certain legal language standards before they begin to move through the legislative process.³¹⁹ Each legislative branch will have a research or revising office that will help format the proposal into this legislative language. However, advocates should always remember to keep legislative timelines in mind—this bill is not the only one on which staff members will be working and their workload often accumulates quickly after a legislative session begins. It is a good practice to submit legislative language to them as early as possible.

Deal with Opposition

Hearing opposition to one's ideas can be uncomfortable and sometimes intimidating. Although difficult at times, it is important to try to remain respectful to the opposition. Everyone has a right to make his or her respective cases, but legislators are less likely to listen objectively to any arguments if they believe a debate has spiraled into a personal fight.

Although most lobbyists prefer to have their initiatives pass without any opposition, disagreements can also be very useful tools. Advocates should listen carefully for opportunities to clarify or correct misrepresented information or any inaccurate facts. In some situations, these discussions can lead to solutions for policy concerns that may not have been anticipated in the beginning of the process.

When the opponent is a sitting legislator, advocates should seek common ground, at least by keeping dialogue open. Legislators can have an array of reasons for opposing bills—even ones that seek to protect or promote human rights. Advocates should try to understand these reasons so they can develop effective counter-arguments. Advocates may be able to identify other areas of common ground beyond the particular legislative proposal that can form the basis of relationships that ultimately aid their efforts. Relationship-building with the opposition can lead to surprising results.

Get the Bill Heard in Committee Hearings

After the bill has been introduced, legislative leadership will refer it to the appropriate committee. Advocates should not assume that their bill will automatically be given time on a committee's agenda. Instead, they should investigate the proper protocol for requesting time on a committee's docket, and research whether the bill must be heard by additional committees. The bill author can be a helpful resource in this situation.

³¹⁹ As always, be sure to research the specific bill drafting procedures for the legislative body you will be lobbying.

Nigerian Diaspora Group Lobbies for Hearing on Situation in Ogoniland and Niger Delta Region A Nigerian diaspora group, the Council of Ogoni Professionals International, reported to Voice of America News that a U.S. House of Representatives committee had agreed to hold a hearing "on the situation in Ogoniland and the oil-rich Niger Delta region" and that Congress had drafted a concurrent resolution on the importance of the Niger Delta. Council member Anslem John-Miller said the he had received an invitation to testify at the hearing because of "quiet lobbying by his organization" and urged the diaspora community to reach out to their representatives to ask for support of the resolution.³²⁰



After the bill has been assigned to a committee and a hearing has been scheduled, advocates should attempt to meet with each member of the committee before the hearing takes place. During the course of these meetings, advocates should determine if the bill has enough votes to pass. In the legislature, if it appears that the committee is split, or there are insufficient votes to pass the bill, consideration should be given to rescheduling the bill. It is better to delay a vote that may not win than to push it forward and risk losing the vote on the bill. Bills voted down in committee are far less likely to be taken up again in the near future.

United Farm Workers Presses for Immigration Reform

The United Farm Workers (UFW) is active in legislative lobbying to address frequent violations of human rights and farm workers' labor rights in the United States and Mexico.³²¹ The UFW is currently using social media to share photos and stories, pressuring key senators to support immigration reform.³²² The UFW website provides instructions on how to participate in this advocacy, including separate pages with pre-drafted emails that supporters can send to legislators on a number of issues.³²³ Learn more about United Farm Workers at its website: http://www.ufw.org/.



³²⁰ James Butty, Nigeria's Niger Delta to Receive US Congressional Hearing, Voice of America, June 28, 2012,

http://www.voanews.com/content/us-congressional-committee-to-hold-hearing-on-nigeria-in-july/1263039.html.

³²¹ Kathleen Newland, Voice After Exit: Diaspora Advocacy (Migration Policy Institute, 2010), 6. Also available online at

http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/diasporas-advocacy.pdf.

³²² United Farm Workers, "Fieldfotos," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

323 United Farm Workers, "Speak Out," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://action.ufw.org/page/speakout/CA_chloropicrin?js=false (as an example).

http://www.ufw.org/_board.php?mode=view&b_code=cre_leg_back&b_no=13966&page=1&field=&key=&n=39.

In Congress, consideration of bills in committee is a two-step process. First, bills receive a hearing, during which witnesses may offer testimony if the chair invites them. "A hearing is a meeting or session of a Senate, House, joint, or special committee of Congress, usually open to the public, to obtain information and opinions on proposed legislation, conduct an investigation, or evaluate/oversee the activities of a government department or the implementation of a Federal law. In addition, hearings may also be purely exploratory in nature, providing testimony and data about topics of current interest."³²⁴ Hearings "are the principal formal method by which committees collect and analyze information in the early stages of policy making."³²⁵



Major Bernadel addresses the Global Haitian Diaspora Unity Conference in 2012

Retired Army Officer from Haitian Diaspora Testifies about the Need for Funding to Rebuild Haiti

Major Joseph M. Bernadel, a retired U.S. Army Officer and a member of the Haitian diaspora, testified on behalf of the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Committee before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, advocating for commitment to spending for rebuilding after the 2010 earthquake.³²⁶

Second, bills receive a mark-up during which final votes that push them out of committee are taken. Hearings on bills are done solely at the discretion of Committee or Subcommittee Chair. Bills without strong support from the majority party within a committee seldom receive hearings. Bills that do not have the votes to pass are never taken up in Committee.

During a hearing in the legislature, the bill author and a representative of the lobbying group will present the bill to the committee. Typically, this presentation consists of a brief discussion of the provisions in the bill and any necessary background information. In Congress, bills are routinely brought up when sponsors are not present. The sponsors, however, have previously collaborated with the committee's leadership to ensure that the bill is heard.

Practitioner's tip: When Testifying Before a Committee, Be Organized

1. Double-check where and when the hearing will be held so interested parties can arrive on time. Communicate with committee staff to ask about any protocols unique to the chair/ranking member of the committee, in general, of which you need to be aware. Provide staff with information on how to contact you the day of the event should any problems arise. Find out whether other witnesses will be giving testimony and understand what their main message will be.³²⁷ Hearings are often set up to hear opposing

³²⁵ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), So You've Been Asked to Testify before Congress, (Fort Monroe, VA:

³²⁴ U.S. Government Printing Office, "Congressional Hearings," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/browse/collection.action?collectionCode=CHRG.

Congressional Activities Office), 1. Also available online at http://www.tradoc.army.mil/tpubs/misc/handbooktestifyingbeforecongress.pdf. ³²⁶ See the written statement of Major Joseph M. Bernadel (Ret.) at http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Bernadel%20testimony%20-%20corrected.pdf.

³²⁷ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

http://www.acep.org/Advocacy/Testifying-Before-Lawmakers/; University Corporation for Atmospheric Research (UCAR), "So, You've Been Asked to Testify," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.ucar.edu/oga/html/advocacy/tips_on_testifying.html.

views.³²⁸ Research the other side so you are prepared to counter opposing views during your testimony and during the question and answer period. 329

2. In preparing materials to distribute, provide enough copies so that every member of the committee and the audience may have one.

3. Decide in advance of the hearing who will testify to the committee. Inform committee staff before the hearing who will be testifying for the group so their names can be added to the agenda.

4. Testimony should be succinct and straightforward: What does the bill do? Why is it important? Who else supports the bill? Understand fully the purpose of the hearing,³³⁰ and stay on topic. Respect the committee's jurisdiction on the matter and do not comment on elements that are outside of its scope. Attempt to incorporate your personal and professional experiences, as well as examples from your community.³³¹

5. Prepare three versions of the written statement:³³²

- Official written statement. This version will go into the record as what was said at the beginning of the hearing, and should take 5–20 minutes.³³³ Include an executive summary of this testimony which clearly conveys the facts and key messages. 334
- Opening remarks. This version is a shorter version of the official statement; it must be consistent with your official version and should be between 3–5 minutes.³³⁵ Practice reading aloud.
- Abbreviated opening remarks. This version is an even shorter version of the official statement, approximately 1 minute, in case strict time-limits are imposed.³³⁶

Testifiers should feel free to bring prepared notes with them to the witness table.

6. Consider using visual aids to support and augment points made orally, attract attention and stimulate interest, where a picture or other visual aid expresses a point more powerfully than words, or to create a "visual source for discussion, questions and answers in the hearing for the committee members to return to for consideration."³³⁷ Remember to notify the committee ahead of time that you intend to use visual aids, and provide members a hard copy of the visual aids along with your written testimony.³³⁸

³²⁸ University Corporation for Atmospheric Research (UCAR), "So, You've Been Asked to Testify," supra note 327.

³²⁹ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," *supra* note 327. ³³⁰ Ibid.; University Corporation for Atmospheric Research (UCAR), "So, You've Been Asked to Testify," *supra* note 327.

³³¹ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," *supra* note 327.

³³² U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), So You've Been Asked to Testify before Congress, supra note 325, at 5. ³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," *supra* note 327.

³³⁵U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), So You've Been Asked to Testify before Congress, supra note Error! Bookmark not defined., at 5.

³³⁶ Ihid

³³⁷ William N. La Forge, *Testifying Before Congress* (Alexandria, VA: The Capitol.net, 2010), 298.

³³⁸ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," *supra* note 327.

7. Be prepared for members of the committee to ask questions. Communicate with the committee staff before the hearing and inquire as to what questions/types of questions will be asked; committee staff often draft the questions.³³⁹ Stick to your main message/theme. If possible, incorporate your main message throughout all of your answers.³⁴⁰

8. If asked a question to which you do not know the answer, admit that you do not know and ask permission to write a detailed response at a later time. Guessing, or giving an



incorrect answer, could damage your credibility, as the committee member may know the correct answer.³⁴¹ If the question asked is vague, you may consider giving a broad or generic answer using your main message.³⁴² Remember that what you share is part of a permanent, public record.

9. Consider providing copies of your remarks to the media.³⁴³ Factor your testimony into any outreach and media relations strategy.

10. Follow up. Thank the staff with whom you worked for their assistance throughout the process, and offer to participate in the future.³⁴⁴

For detailed advice on testifying before Congress, see William N. LaForge, The Capitol.net, Testifying before Congress (2010).

Types of Congressional Hearings

Types of Congressional hearings include Legislative, Oversight, Investigative, and Confirmation. Legislative hearings are to consider proposed legislation or the need for legislation. Oversight hearings are conducted to gather information or to review the implementation of legislation by the executive branch. Investigative hearings are to find evidence of wrongdoing. Confirmation hearings review Presidential appointments that are subject to confirmation by the Senate.³⁴⁵

Regardless of the type of hearing, advocates should always: (1) identify and set up opportunities to testify; (2) prepare thoroughly; (3) know what to expect at the hearing; and (4) have a follow-up plan. An advocate who offers herself as a subject matter expert for a hearing can demonstrate her seriousness about an issue. Testifying can also serve to build relationships with members of Congress and staff.

See It Through

The committee hearing is often just the beginning of the process. As bills come out of committee, lobbying efforts will continue, using the same tactics described above. One-on-one meetings with legislators will continue to be important, as will mobilizing the organization's base to make calls in support of the bill.

³³⁹ Ibid.; University Corporation for Atmospheric Research (UCAR), "So, You've Been Asked to Testify," *supra* note 327.

 ³⁴⁰ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), So You've Been Asked to Testify before Congress, supra note 325, at 14.
 ³⁴¹ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," supra note 327.
 ³⁴² U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), So You've Been Asked to Testify before Congress, supra note 325, at 14.

 ³⁴³ American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), "Testifying Before Lawmakers," *supra* note 327.
 ³⁴⁴ University Corporation for Atmospheric Research (UCAR), "So, You've Been Asked to Testify," *supra* note 327.

³⁴⁵ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), So You've Been Asked to Testify before Congress, supra note 325, at 2.

At the end of a lobbying campaign, advocates should take time to review all that has happened in order to evaluate the appropriate next steps. Analyze which tactics were effective, and, if necessary, consider changing a strategy.

Lobbying for an important cause can be a very rewarding and fulfilling experience. Beyond the facts and arguments, however, advocates should remember that their most important asset in the capitol building or city hall will always be their reputation. To that end, advocates should constantly strive to act professionally and provide accurate information to all parties.

Comment on Legislation

Even when an organization does not propose its own legislation, there are opportunities to participate in legislative advocacy. Policymakers may draft legislation in response to the recommendations from important reports or studies. Part of that process often involves contacting appropriate groups or agencies to obtain comments on the bill's substance. Such commentary can be a valuable opportunity to influence policy decisions.

Organizations should carefully observe notices released by public agencies to closely follow actions that will affect their issues. Often state departments will publish requests for comment on initiatives, which are important opportunities to influence public policy on the regulatory level. Organizations should also watch legislative calendars. Often legislative committees will hold hearings on topics of interest. Testimony and other information provided at those hearings can influence future legislative proposals, and ultimately, the resulting law.

Hold a Congressional Briefing

A congressional briefing requires fewer resources than a committee hearing and can be an effective way for advocates to convey important information to congressional and executive-branch staffers and to a broader audience. A briefing functions like a short lecture on a targeted topic about which one or more experts present information for a lay audience of policy-makers.³⁴⁶ Briefings are a good way to provide staffers with relevant background information about a human rights issue. Some larger organizations host a series of congressional briefings on a particular theme throughout the year. The Advisory Committee to the Congressional Research and Development Caucus is one such organization. For further information, consult its *How to Organize a Congressional Briefing*, available online at

http://www.researchcaucus.org/docs/Organizing%20Congressional%20Briefings.pdf.

³⁴⁶ Advisory Committee for the Congressional Research and Development Caucus, "How to Organize a Congressional Briefing," accessed Jan. 16, 2014, http://www.researchcaucus.org/docs/Organizing%20Congressional%20Briefings.pdf.

Congressional Briefing Highlights Concerns about LGBT Rights in Russia in Run-up to Sochi **Olympics**

On Friday, December 13, 2013, U.S. representative David Cicilline and Human Rights First hosted a congressional briefing at Capitol Hill to address human rights concerns for the 2014 Sochi Olympic games in Russia. Russia was under fire for its recent anti-LGBT law prohibiting "[the] distribution of information that is aimed at the formation among minors of non-traditional sexual attitudes, attractiveness of nontraditional sexual relations, misperceptions of the social equivalence of traditional and nontraditional sexual relations, or



Congressional briefing with Olympian Greg Louganis and Russian activists about LGBT rights in Russia

enforcing information about non-traditional sexual relations that evokes interest to such relations."347 Human Rights First noted that Russia's law violates the Olympic Charter, which states that "Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play."348

Prior to the briefing, Human Rights First sent a letter to the Obama Administration citing the symbolic importance of the U.S. delegation to the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics. Human Rights First urged the administration to select a delegation including prominent LGBT figures as well as LGBT allies. The briefing addressed the importance of preparing the U.S. delegation to engage Russian officials, the international media, and human rights defenders regarding issues of human rights and equality at the Olympics.³⁴⁹ The briefing also addressed the importance of educating U.S. delegates on LGBT rights and the laws currently in place in Russia, particularly because foreigners who do not follow the anti-propaganda law may be subject to 15 days in prison and deportation from Russia.³⁵⁰

On December 18, the administration announced its delegation to the Sochi Olympics.³⁵¹ The delegation includes three prominent, openly gay athletes.³⁵²

³⁴⁷ The Council for Global Equality, "The Facts on LGBT Rights in Russia," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

http://www.globalequality.org/newsroom/latest-news/1-in-the-news/186-the-facts-on-lgbt-rights-in-russia.

International Olympic Committee, Olympic Charter (Switzerland: International Olympic Committee, Sept. 9, 2013), 11. Also available online at http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf.

¹⁹ Human Rights First, "Congressional Briefing on LGBT Rights with Greg Louganis," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2013/12/13/congressional-briefing-on-lgbt-rights-with-greg-louganis/. ³⁵⁰ The Associated Press, "Q&A on Anti-Gay Legislation in Russia," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://bigstory.ap.org/article/qa-anti-gay-legislationrussia.

Cindy Boren, Obama names openly gay athletes to Sochi Olympic Delegation, Washington Post, Dec. 18, 2013,

http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/early-lead/wp/2013/12/18/obama-names-openly-gay-athletes-to-sochi-olympic-delegation/.

¹² Fox Sports, "Figure Skating Champ, U.S. Sochi Delegate Brian Boitano Says he's Gay," accessed Jan. 9, 2014,

http://msn.foxsports.com/olympics/story/figure-skating-champ-brian-boitano-says-he-is-gay-united-states-sochi-delegate-1211813.

b. Lobbying: Engaging the Diaspora

Advocates from diaspora communities have the opportunity to engage the government of the country in which they live to help advance human rights in their country of origin. The goal of this lobbying may be to lift or impose sanctions on the country of origin, to enact laws supporting human rights defenders in the country of origin, to encourage the country of residence to take action in a specific case of human rights violations, or to prohibit human rights abusers from the country of origin from obtaining an entry visa, for example. Some countries have laws that bar visas for alleged perpetrators of certain categories of human rights violations. In recent years, for example, the European Union has imposed "restrictive measures" as a consequence of human rights violations in Belarus, and the U.S. Government has used visa bans as an accountability mechanism for human rights violations in Russia and India. These laws can be used by human rights activists as part of a larger advocacy agenda.

Diaspora communities may also enlist the government of their country of residence to intervene in specific cases. Often the first step is to engage the elected official who represents a particular diaspora community member or an area in which many members of the diaspora community live and educate them about the issue of concern. Members of diaspora communities play an important role in informing their elected officials about issues in their home country and the ways in which the country of residence can impact human rights in that country. Elected representatives may help by raising the issue with the executive branch or with the specific government agency that can assist, meeting with the home country ambassador to raise the concern, or making a public statement to draw attention to the issue.

Advocates Mobilize to Bar Narendra Modi from the United States

Section 604 of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 renders foreign government officials ineligible for visas or admission to the United States if they have engaged in particularly severe violations of religious freedom. The act was used in 2005 to denv a visa to Narendra Modi, chief minister of the

Indian state of Gujarat, on the grounds of his alleged role in religious freedom violations connected to communal violence in 2002 that left more than 1,000 people (mostly Muslims) dead. When Modi's intended visit to the United States for a conference was announced in early 2005, 41 South Asian diaspora groups came together to form the Coalition Against Genocide.³⁵³ The diverse coalition included organizations from a wide variety of

SEC. 604. INADMISSIBILITY OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN PARTICULARLY SEVERE VIOLA-TIONS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

(a) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS OR ADMISSION.—Section 212(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(2)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph: "(G) FOREIGN GOVEENMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN PARTICULARLY SEVERE VIOLATIONS OF RELI-GIOUS FREEDOM.—Any alien who, while serving as a foreign government official, was responsible for or directly carried out, at any time during the preceding 24-month period, particularly severe violations of religious freedom, as defined in section 3 of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, and the spouse and children, if any, are inadmissible.".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to aliens seeking to enter the United States on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

religious backgrounds, including the Indian American Muslim Council and other diaspora organizations, the Center for Religious Freedom at the Hudson Institute, the Institute on Religion and Public Policy and the American Jewish Committee. They worked to block Modi's visa with a bipartisan group of members of

³⁵³ Zahir Janmohamed, U.S. Evangelicals, Indian Expats Teamed Up to Push Through Modi Visa Ban, New York Times, Dec. 5, 2013, available online at http://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/12/05/u-s-evangelicals-indian-expats-teamed-up-to-push-through-modi-visa-ban/?_r=0.

Congress interested in religious freedom, who introduced House Resolution 160 condemning Mr. Modi "for his actions to incite religious persecution."³⁵⁴ On March 18, 2005, the U.S. State Department denied Modi a visa.



Narendra Modi

In September 2013, India's Bharatiya Janatata party selected Modi as its candidate for upcoming elections for prime minister. Two days later, a U.S. State Department spokesperson reiterated the U.S. policy regarding Modi's visa: "There's no change in our longstanding visa policy. He is welcome to apply for a visa and await a review like any other applicant."³⁵⁵ The Coalition Against Genocide and its member organizations again went to work on the issue. With the bipartisan support of 37 co-sponsors, House Resolution 417 was introduced in November 2013. In May 2014, however, Modi was elected Prime

Minister of India. He has been able to enter the United States on a diplomatic visa due to his status as head of state.

No matter what the issue, effective engagement of elected officials rests on relationships. Diaspora communities should consider reaching out to their elected officials to educate them about the community's country of origin and the issues of concern. In general elected officials welcome contact by their constituents, even if those individuals are not citizens of the country of residence. Individuals, informal groups, or established organizations all can build these relationships so that, when opportunities to intervene in policy decisions affecting the country of origin arise, the elected official is prepared to act.

Diaspora communities also have the opportunity to try to influence law and policy in their country of origin or ancestry. They may consider a variety of strategies.

Embassies and High Commissions

The most natural starting point for people living outside their country of origin or ancestry who want to lobby for law or policy change in that country is the country's embassy, high commission, or other diplomatic post in the country where the person lives. The embassy or high commission may offer different services and levels of access to consular officials, depending on whether the individual is a citizen of the country. Individuals who have fled persecution in their country of



Website of the Office of the State Minister of Georgia for Diaspora Issues

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

origin should consider any safety concerns before reaching out to a local embassy.

Diaspora Offices and Ministries

Diaspora communities can often leverage government ministries or offices in their country of origin that conduct diaspora outreach. These offices may be housed within the government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or they may be free-standing ministries or committees of parliament. Appendix F contains a table of these diaspora offices, along with any available contact information. Diaspora groups seeking to influence laws and policies in their country of origin should consider including the relevant diaspora office in their lobbying efforts.

Diaspora voting



Imen, a Tunisian PhD candidate, cast her first vote in a Tunisian election while living in France in 2011.

Voting can be a direct way to influence government and promote legal reform. One common subject of diaspora advocacy targeting the country of origin focuses on voting rights for the diaspora. For a citizen outside the country, attempting to assert the right to vote is not always straightforward. Diasporans can confront issues of dual citizenship and voter eligibility.

(i) Dual Citizenship

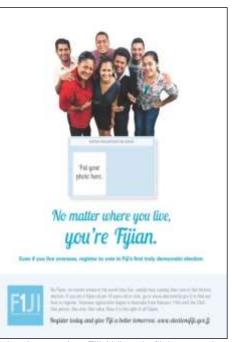
A person has dual citizenship if he or she has citizenship with more than one country at the same time. As such, he or she is subject to the laws of both countries and should verify that an action with respect to one country (such as voting) does not jeopardize citizenship in the other country.

According to U.S. law, voting in a foreign country is not grounds to revoke citizenship.³⁵⁶ In order to revoke citizenship, the government must prove that a citizen committed an expatriating act—which voting in a foreign country is not—and intended to surrender U.S. citizenship.³⁵⁷

Other countries, however, might view the act of voting in another country differently. Diasporans with dual citizenship who want to establish and exercise voting rights in both countries of citizenship should verify that neither country of citizenship considers voting in a foreign country grounds for loss of citizenship.

(ii) Voting

Voter eligibility, registration, and the voting process vary by country. Countries typically determine eligibility based on citizenship, age, and sometimes residency.



Advertisement in a Fiji Airlines in-flight magazine

³⁵⁶ The Nationality Act, Pub. L. No. 76–853 § 401(e) (repealed 1978); Afroyim v. Rusk, 378 U.S. 253 (1967).

³⁵⁷ Vance v. Terrazas, 444 U.S. 252, 261 (1980) (For a list of expatriating acts, see 8 U.S.C. § 1481 (1961)).

Governments do not ordinarily have a legal obligation to extend the right to vote for people who are located in other countries.³⁵⁸ To verify whether a particular country allows absentee voting for citizens residing abroad, consult the country's voting laws or online resources. For overviews of voting laws by country, along with



A Malian refugee votes in Niger in July 2013

commentary, consult the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network: http://aceproject.org/.

Restrictions on voter eligibility can passively restrict voting. For the 1996 Bosnia and Herzegovina election, many citizens were displaced and living outside the country. Voters were eligible to vote only in their municipality of residence as determined by the 1991 census. Anyone who was displaced or had moved could vote in his or her current municipality of residence or a "future municipality" if the person provided documentation. In effect, this law restricted out-of-country voters to those who could provide proof of intention to return, and the government strictly enforced that requirement.³⁵⁹

Registration and voting typically takes place at an embassy, high commission, or consulate. In some cases these procedures can become a financial burden, requiring non-resident citizens to make multiple trips to the embassy to register in advance and then return on Election Day.³⁶⁰ Some countries allow voting by mail or situate polling places near large diaspora communities.

Governments have an obligation to protect the voting rights of internally

displaced people.³⁶¹ The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has initiated several programs related to voting rights of displaced people and has helped conduct elections for refugee populations.³⁶²

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) published a handbook on voting from abroad: http://www.migration4development.org/sites/m4d.emakina-eu.net/files/voting-from-abroad-the-international-idea-handbook-pdf.pdf.

iv. Advocacy Targeting Businesses

Some human rights issues arise out of business practices. Advocates should consider whether shareholder advocacy or consumer activism can be effective strategies to address human rights violations caused by or related to business practices. In addition, advocates can target business practices indirectly by lobbying government lawmakers and regulators or intergovernmental organizations.

³⁵⁸ International Foundation for Electoral Studies, "External and Absentee Voting," in Jeremy Grace, *Challenging the Norms and Standards of Election Administration* (2007), 35–57. Also available online at http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/White-Papers/2007/Challenging-the-Norms-and-Standards-of-Election-Administration-full-text.aspx.

³⁵⁹ International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-War Trends in External Voting," in *Voting From Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook* (2007), 163–67. Also available online at http://www.idea.int/publications/voting_from_abroad/.

³⁶⁰ International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), "Iraq: a Large Diaspora and Security Concerns," in *Voting From Abroad*, ibid., 168–71, 170. (During the 2005 Iraq elections, for which out of country voting was overseen by the International Organization for Migration and the Independent Election Commission of Iraq (IECI), there was a three day gap between voter registration and polling days. The IECI decided against on-site registration to prevent fraud, even though "many Iraqis had to travel long distances to the registrations and polling centres.")

³⁶¹ Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *The Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement* (2004), Principle 22. Also available online at www.unhcr.org/43ce1cff2.html.

³⁶² International Organization for Migration, accessed Jan. 8, 2014, http://www.iom.int/.

UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights

In 2011, the UN Human Rights Council endorsed the results of a six-year study called the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.³⁶³ The Guiding Principles concern the businesses themselves (11–25, 30–31) and the States involved (1–10, 26–29, 31). These Principles are a good standard by which to assess any business. Advocates can use them to press a business to respond to human rights violations. For example, principle 15 recommends that businesses establish internal policies and processes to address adverse impacts on human rights. Principle 17 calls on businesses to engage in ongoing human rights due diligence, principle 20 includes an assessment of the effectiveness of measures taken, and principle 22 enlists businesses to provide for or cooperate with remediation if adverse impacts have occurred. If a business does not have a credible system for addressing human rights concerns, advocates should encourage the business to consult the Guiding Principles to establish one.³⁶⁴

a. Shareholder Advocacy

The most important consideration for shareholder advocacy is that numbers count. Few people own enough shares to make a difference on their own. Advocates should work to build a coalition of investors willing to take a stand together in order to pressure a company to change.

People who hold shares in a publicly held company can advocate for change within the company in four main ways:

- Making proposals to management;
- Voting for or against candidates for the company's board of directors;
- Introducing and voting on shareholder resolutions; and
- Divesting shares.

Proposals to management

Shareholders can make proposals directly to company management to address human rights issues. Shareholders should contact management informally before making a formal proposal. This approach gives management the ability to make changes before an issue becomes public, creating an opportunity to resolve the issue at the earliest possible stage and reducing the risk of the company responding defensively. If shareholders are unable to reach an acceptable resolution, they can make an official proposal.

Voting

Publicly held companies hold annual meetings during which shareholders elect a board of directors and vote on any resolutions presented to shareholders. These annual meetings give shareholders the opportunity to participate in corporate decision-making. Shareholders can inquire about board candidates' positions on human rights issues. A person holding even a single share is entitled to attend the company's annual meeting.

³⁶³ UN Human Rights Council Resolution 17/4, UN Document A/HRC/RES/17/4 (June 16, 2011). Also available online at http://www.ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/17/L.17/Rev.1.

³⁶⁴ In fact, the Human Rights Council Complaint Procedure form requires that domestic options have either been exhausted or proof that they will be ineffective or unreasonably prolonged. Office of the High Commission for Human Rights, "Human Rights Council Complaint Procedure," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/ComplaintProcedure/Pages/HRCComplaintProcedureIndex.aspx (relevant form can be found here). See also Appendix I.

Shareholder resolutions

Substantial shareholders may introduce shareholder resolutions that have the potential to bind the board's conduct. A shareholder resolution could, for example, require a company to review its human rights policies. To be eligible to submit a resolution in the United States, a shareholder generally must have continuously owned at least \$2.000 in shares for at least one year and must continue to hold those securities through the date of the annual meeting.³⁶⁶ Rules for other countries vary.

IBM Shareholders to Vote on Resolution Calling for Supplier Sustainability Reporting

In 2014, IBM shareholders will vote on a shareholder resolution submitted by the New York City Office of the Comptroller:³⁶⁵

RESOLVED: Shareholders request that the Board of Directors take the steps necessary to require the Company's significant suppliers to each publish an annual, independently verifiable sustainability report that the Company makes available to its shareholders.

Among other disclosures, reports should include the suppliers' objective assessments and measurements of performance on workplace safety, human and worker rights, and environmental compliance using internationally recognized standards, indicators and measurement protocols. In addition, reports should include incidents of non-compliance, actions taken to remedy those incidents, and measures taken to contribute to long-term prevention and mitigation.

Significant suppliers are those from which the Company reasonably expects to purchase at least \$1 million in goods and services annually.

³⁶⁵ Ceres, "IBM Supplier Sustainability Reporting," accessed Jan. 16, 2014, http://www.ceres.org/investor-network/resolutions/ibm-supplier-

sustainability-reporting. ³⁶⁶ U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO), "Electronic Code of Federal Regulations: § 240.14a-18 Shareholder proposals," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://www.ecfr.gov/cgi-bin/text-idx?c=ecfr&rgn=div5&view=text&node=17:3.0.1.1.1&idno=17#17:3.0.1.1.1.2.88.226.

In some cases, shareholders withdraw these resolutions after the company promises to address the issues raised.

Ceres Helps Track Shareholder Resolutions

Ceres is a nonprofit organization that established an Investor Network on Climate Risk. Ceres tracks shareholder resolutions on sustainability issues, including human rights. Ceres makes these resolutions available in a searchable database: http://www.ceres.org/investor-network/resolutions.

Divestment

If all else fails, a shareholder may simply sell, or "divest," shares in protest. One of the most famous examples of a successful divestment campaign took place in response to apartheid in South Africa. During the 1980s, college students across the United States pressured their schools to divest from companies doing business in South Africa. As schools began to divest, state and local governments and private corporations began to take notice. By 1990, over 150 schools, nearly 100 cities, and approximately 200 companies had eliminated some or all of their investments tied to South Africa. The visibility of the anti-apartheid movement grew as the divestment campaign spread, leading to increased awareness of conditions under apartheid. Ultimately, "worldwide popular opposition in the 1980s contributed to the decline of apartheid, and divestment was an important piece of this puzzle."³⁶⁷

b. Consumer Advocacy



"Consumer advocacy refers to actions taken by individuals or groups to promote and protect the interests of the buying public."³⁶⁸ These interests can vary from consumer safety to human rights violations. Consumers may engage in boycotts, petitions, letter-writing, and awarenessbuilding campaigns.

Some businesses are proactive in their commitment to human rights. Carlson Companies, owner of hotel brands such as Radisson and Country Inns and Suites, has been a leader in the corporate movement to combat human trafficking. Traffickers often

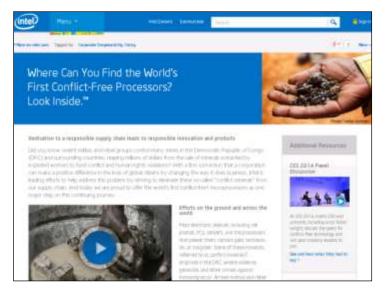
base their operations out of hotel rooms, so Carlson requires training for its employees to help identify and respond to human trafficking. Carlson is also active in the broader business community, promoting the use of antihuman trafficking policies.³⁶⁹ In 2013, Carlson received the Presidential Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Eric Hendey, *Does Divestment Work*? Harvard Political Review,.http://www.iop.harvard.edu/does-divestment-work.

³⁶⁸ U.S. Legal, "Carlson Receives Inaugural Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://definitions.uslegal.com/c/consumer-advocacy/.

³⁶⁹ Carlson, "Carlson Receives Inaugural Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, http://www.carlson.com/news-and-media/news-releases.do?article=6733463. ³⁷⁰ Ihid

At the January 2014 Consumer Electronics Show, Intel, the world's leading computer processor manufacturer, announced that its processors were free from so-called conflict minerals. Minerals such as gold, tantalum, tin, and tungsten are found in a wide variety of consumer electronic goods, but they often come from war-torn countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the mines where those minerals come from often have ties to armed groups. In 2000, the U.S. Government enacted a law that did not prohibit manufacturers from using conflict minerals, but instead simply required companies to disclose to the public if products are manufactured with conflict minerals. In response to this law, Intel first



mapped its production supply chain to identify where its minerals came from. Then it conducted site visits and third-party audits of the smelters in the supply chain. Intel told these smelters that if they wanted Intel's business, they needed to provide validation that the minerals were conflict-free. As Intel and other large customers began asking for this validation, many smelters changed their systems and altered their sourcing practices. Going forward, Intel will continue to monitor the smelters to ensure that the minerals do not come from conflict zones. As Intel's Director of Supply Chain Management put it, "it will be up to the public and ultimately consumers to determine and highlight those that are doing the right thing and those that are choosing to turn away."³⁷¹

Social Media as a Consumer Advocacy Tool

John Ruggie, Professor of Human Rights and International Affairs at Harvard University, and the author of the UN Guiding Principles, observed that consumers can effectively use "social media coupled with commentaries from an authoritative source" to maintain momentum toward the recognition of businesses' obligation to further human rights.³⁷² Businesses are ultimately seeking profit, and if public opinion demands better respect for human rights, businesses may respond to public demand.

³⁷¹ Audie Cornish, "Intel Steers Clear of 'Conflict Minerals,'" All Things Considered, National Public Radio, Jan. 7, 2014, http://www.npr.org/2014/01/07/260564575/intel-steers-clear-of-conflict-minerals.

³⁷² John Ruggie, "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights," in *Proxy Review* (As you Saw, 2013), 48. Also available online at http://www.proxyreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ProxyPreview2013_0308.pdf.

Consumers and Civil Society Organizations Press for Improved Conditions after Garment Factory Collapses in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a global hub of garment production. Many major U.S. and European retailers produce clothing in the country. In April 2013, a Bangladeshi garment factory collapsed, killing more than 1,000 workers. In the wake of the collapse, a group of NGOs, labor organizations, and retailers drew up an international pact, the Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh. The Accord has over 70 corporate signatories. Many major U.S. retailers, however, have refused to sign the agreement.³⁷³



c. Lobbying Governments and Intergovernmental Organizations to Press Businesses to Respect Human Rights

Legislative advocacy targeting business practices can focus on pressing for laws or regulations to improve business compliance with human rights standards. Advocates can press governments and inter-governmental organizations to comply with the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights by providing judicial and non-judicial mechanisms capable of addressing human rights issues. The Guiding Principles call on governments to provide "effective and appropriate non-judicial grievance mechanisms, alongside judicial mechanisms, as part of a comprehensive State-based system for the remedy of business-related human rights abuse."³⁷⁴ Non-judicial mechanisms can be an effective and accessible way for advocates to encourage businesses to respect human rights.³⁷⁵ The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is an international organization that functions as a non-judicial grievance body.

³⁷³ Thomas Lee, *Target Joins Bangladesh Worker Safety Group,* Star Tribune, July 8, 2013,

http://www.startribune.com/business/214648191.html.

³⁷⁴ Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights* (2011), 30, UN Document HR/PUB/11/04.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 30.

Advocates Use OECD Grievance System to Raise Concerns about Business Involvement in Human Rights Abuses in Bahrain

In February 2013, Privacy International, the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights, the Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Bahrain Watch, and Reporters without Borders filed formal complaints with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development calling for an investigation of two surveillance companies: Gamma International and Trovicor. The complaints allege that both companies may be complicit in serious human rights abuses in Bahrain.³⁷⁶

If the OECD accepts the complaints, OECD national contact points in the United Kingdom and Germany will:

- Investigate the extent of the companies' complicity in human rights abuses in Bahrain;
- Mediate between complainants and the companies;
- Issue final statements on whether the companies have breached OECD Guidelines;
- Provide recommendations to the companies on how to avoid further breaches; and
- Follow up in order to ensure that the companies comply with the recommendations.³⁷⁷

Advocacy at the United Nations and regional human rights mechanisms should be part of any comprehensive advocacy plan targeting business practices. For example, the UN Working Group on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises plays an active role in examining the intersection between business practices and human rights, and it sometimes accepts individual communications about specific incidents of human rights violations. See Chapters 9 and 10 for more information.

The Netherlands Urges Finland to Adopt Mechanisms Preventing its Companies From Using Child Labor in Foreign Companies

UN advocacy can be an effective approach to changing the behavior of companies. At the Universal Periodic Review of Finland in May 2012, the Netherlands recommended that Finland "provide a framework for prohibiting use of child labour by the Finnish companies engaged with businesses abroad and multinational companies headquartered in Finland," including Nokia, one of Finland's largest companies.³⁷⁸ Finland responded that it has a "special programme to promote corporate social responsibilities of such companies."³⁷⁹

For more resources and links about business practices and human rights, consult Appendix G.

C. Social Media Tools for Human Rights Advocacy

Social media tools allow human rights advocates to engage in conversations with a global audience and to disperse information faster than ever before. The wide array of social media tools has revolutionized many aspects of modern society, sometimes serving as a catalyst for social change. Traditional media (newspapers,

³⁷⁶ Privacy International, "Human Rights Organisations File Formal Complaints Against Surveillance Firms Gamma International and Trovicor with British and German Governments," accessed Jan. 9, 2014, https://www.privacyinternational.org/press-releases/human-rights-organisations-file-formal-complaints-against-surveillance-firms-gamma.
³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ UN General Assembly, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Finland*, UN Document A/HRC/21/8, ¶ 90.16. Also available online at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G12/150/24/PDF/G1215024.pdf?OpenElement. ³⁷⁹ Ibid. ¶ 32.

television, radio) remain an important part of advocacy, but they can be costly, time-consuming, and often limited in reach. Advocates can use social media to fundraise, share information, network, engage with stakeholders, and respond to human rights abuses.

What is "Social Media"?

At its most basic, social media is simply any form of media people use to be social. This includes traditional media tools as well as tools from new technology (e.g. text messaging, e-mail, web sites).³⁸⁰ Often, when people talk about social media they mean public web-based tools that are continuously updated in a participatory and collaborative manner. These tools vary in terms of anonymity and immediacy.³⁸¹ Some common social media "platforms" include:

- Twitter
- Facebook
- LinkedIn
- YouTube
- Instagram
- Reddit
- Pinterest
- Google+

- Blogs
- Listserves
- Internet forums
- Wikis
- Flickr
- Podcasts
- Instant messaging.

Technology and social media increase access to evidence of human rights abuses and allow advocates to organize against those abuses more rapidly and effectively. These new means for sharing information have created an "unprecedented global public space that vastly increases and amplifies the number of accessible voices and connections in all parts of the world."³⁸²

SMS is a Multifaceted Tool for Human Rights Advocacy

Organizations can use text-messaging (SMS) tools to alert their members to take action or respond to a human rights crisis. Groups can use SMS alerts to increase organizational membership, speed up response efforts, and help transmit digital content and brief messages. SERPAJ in Argentina uses a cell-phone alert system to respond to the arrests of children so that human rights defenders can arrive at jails quickly. The tactic has been used to alert individuals to neighborhood violence and human trafficking, and to call for people to participate in demonstrations. For more information on the tactic, see New Tactics in Human Rights' report: *Using text-messaging to build constituencies for human rights action*: https://www.newtactics.org/tactic/using-text-messaging-build-constituencies-human-rights-action.

³⁸⁰ Lon Safko, *The Social Media Bible: Tactics, Tools, & Strategies for Business* Success (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2nd ed. 2010), 4, 9–14.

³⁸¹ Andreas M. Kaplan and Michael Haenlein, "Users of the World, Unite!: The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media," *Business Horizons* (2010), 53, 60–62.

³⁸² Sarah Joseph, Social Media, Political Change, and Human Rights, 35 Boston College International & Comparative Law Review 145 (2012), http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol35/iss1/3; http://www.slideshare.net/ifad/ifad-social-media-guidelines.

Some Pros and Cons of Using Social Media for Advocacy	
Advantages	Disadvantages
Free or inexpensive	Sources of information can be unreliable
Potential for global reach	Some target audiences have limited internet access
Reduces need for "insider" contacts	Engagement can lead to cyber-bullying
Builds and supports coalitions	Anonymity can unleash incendiary language
Responds quickly to breaking news	Many outreach efforts find only a limited audience
Facilitates two-way communication	Engagement can be superficial
Promotes engagement and activism	Information overload may cause audiences to tune out
Empowers human rights defenders	Publicity may facilitate harassment or persecution
Facilitates rich content, including photos, video, and	Volume of information may make it difficult for users to
personal narratives	identify quality sources
Gives advocates control of the message	Over-reliance on social media may result in neglect of
	in-person advocacy opportunities

This chapter focuses on using social media for human rights advocacy, but there are many ways advocates can take advantage of social media to promote human rights. Social media can be a tool for:

Capacity-building

- Increase organizational membership;
- Conduct fundraising;
- Find volunteers;
- Identify organizations to collaborate with on human rights issues;
- Document the level of support for and interest in the organization for funders and other stakeholders;
- Evaluate the effectiveness of advocacy for funders and other stakeholders;
- Network with organizations and individuals;
- Establish relationships with journalists who may be interested in covering human rights issues;
- Publicize organizational events;

Fact-finding

- Gather information about human rights conditions from people on the ground;
- Gather information about human rights conditions from people in the diaspora;

Advocacy

- Raise awareness in the local and diaspora community about human rights conditions;
- Raise awareness among the general public about human rights conditions; and
- Encourage people to take action on human rights issues.

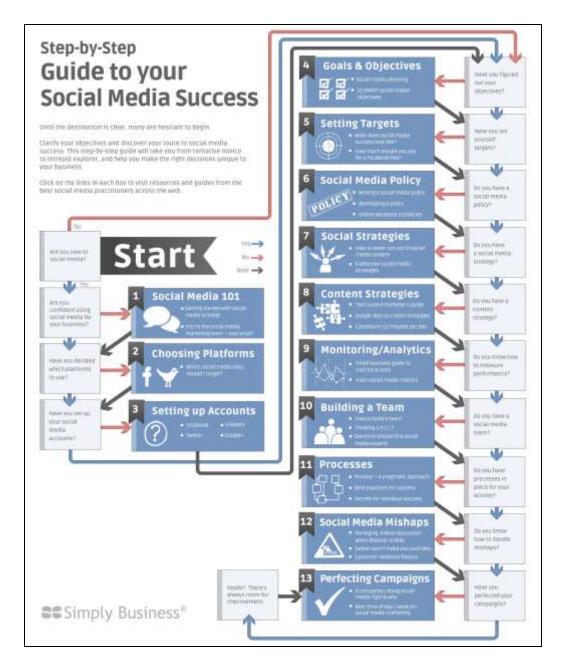
A Social Media Policy Can Help Advocacy Groups Control their Messaging

Thoughtful and carefully crafted messaging is an important component of any human rights advocacy strategy. Social media is a powerful tool for conveying advocacy messages to the public, but its ease of use creates the danger that an organization can lose control of the message. A social media policy can help an organization retain control over advocacy messages and other public outreach. There are many online resources to guide organizations in setting up a social media policy. It is important to consider how groups can conduct themselves ethically online, especially when they use social media to share information. Civil society organizations should consider who can use social media on behalf of the

organization, whether anyone must pre-approve any social media messages before they go out, and whether to have an organizational policy about "following" or "retweeting" other social media. For further information, consult:

- National Public Radio's social media guidelines for reporters: http://ethics.npr.org/tag/social-media/
- Inc.'s advice to businesses on writing a social media policy: http://www.inc.com/guides/2010/05/writing-a-social-media-policy.html
- Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service's description of the process of setting up a social media policy: http://www.acas.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=3381
- Social Media Governance's database of social media policies from a wide variety of businesses and organizations: http://socialmediagovernance.com/policies.php#axzz1jAcjKjPJ.

Simply Business, a UK-based online business insurance broker, has created a flowchart with valuable insight on how to create a social media presence from scratch. The tool is geared toward businesses seeking to engage with social networking sites, but it offers helpful guidance for civil society organizations that want to perfect their use of social media, too:



i. Navigating Social Media Platforms

An organization that is interested in using social media can get started even before establishing a social media strategy. Advocates can experiment to see how the platforms work. Each social media platform has certain strengths, and some platforms are more popular with certain target audiences. This table shows some of the strengths of the more popular platforms. But remember, social media platforms are constantly changing. And some platforms may be particularly popular among certain communities that groups may be targeting. **Practitioner's tip**: Social media platforms are constantly evolving, and new platforms are always emerging. For an updated version of this book's information on social media advocacy, visit the diaspora social media section of The Advocates for Human Rights' website: www.advrights.org.

Social Media Platform	Strengths
Blogs	 "Citizen journalist" format allows advocates to create messaging using polished, journalistic style, enhancing credibility and potentially attracting attention from traditional media Blogger controls overall page layout Blog posts can demonstrate the connections between personal stories, the organization's work, and current events Bloggers can establish credibility with a wide audience by consistently providing quality content Multiple bloggers can collaborate on a single blog Metrics can measure visitors and clicks Comments allow readers to interact with the organization
Facebook	 Capitalizes on real-world personal relationships Allows individual followers to share messages with a network of friends Organizations may purchase advertising for a low price Groups can publicize events and keep track of attendees Metrics are available to measure followers and the impact of posts
Twitter	 Allows quick action on breaking events Hashtag searches enhance visibility of tweets Reply, retweet, and favorite functions allow organizations to identify and engage with supporters Easy to tweet via SMS, even without a smart phone Metrics can demonstrate support and engagement on particular topics
YouTube, Vimeo	 Facilitates first-person story-telling Engages and motivates viewers Combines fact-finding and advocacy Videos can be embedded in other social media platforms

Appendices C and D discuss in detail how to use some of the more common social media platforms, including blogs, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube and Vimeo. Advocates who are interested in learning more about another social media platform can find more information by using their favorite search engine.

Other Social Media Platforms

Google+

Google+ pages allow users to create circles for sharing private information and having discussions with staff, donors, or other audiences. Groups can organize circles by interest, geographic location, or other demographic qualifiers. The Hangout app on Google+ allows users to connect with an audience through videoconferences with up to ten people at a time. This tool can be effective in organizing staff meetings, volunteer orientations, board meetings, or conversations with donors. For more information, visit http://www.socialmediaexaminer.com/how-to-set-up-a-google-page-for-your-business/.

LinkedIn

LinkedIn can help organizations manage relationships with other advocates, donors, board members, and

staff. Groups can create and maintain a "LinkedIn Nonprofit page," learn about other organizations, and network with people who could be potential future donors, volunteers, or advocates. These LinkedIn Nonprofit pages allow groups to highlight their mission, share updates, and keep in touch with an audience. LinkedIn's Board Member Connect for nonprofit organizations offers free access to the Talent Finder tool, exclusive educational webcasts, and membership to the Board Connect group. LinkedIn also allows groups to post job openings and recruit new employees, volunteers, and interns.

To create an organizational profile, consult http://blog.linkedin.com/2008/11/17/creating-company-profiles-on-linkedin/.

LinkedIn's nonprofit portal is here: http://nonprofit.linkedin.com/.

Pinterest

Pinterest, a networking platform focused solely on sharing visual digital content, was the fourth most visited social networking site in the United States as of 2013. Pinterest offers groups an opportunity to reach people through sharing images and videos. Groups can "like" pins and "re-pin" content that aligns with their message, and they can collaborate with others to build a "Me+contributors" board and re-pin other nonprofits. Groups might consider creating boards to visually highlight different aspects of their work.

Matt Petronzio offers 10 Strategies for Nonprofits on Pinterest: http://mashable.com/2012/03/02/pintereststrategies-non-profits/.

Instagram

Instagram helps organizations develop their online personality, gain loyalty from followers, and create awareness of their efforts. Groups can start by following and interacting with other Instagram members, posting and tagging photos, and sharing content across other social networking sites.³⁸³

Photo sharing websites

Flickr and other photo sharing sites are often overlooked, but they can be an important part of an organization's social media campaign. Flickr offers an alternative, graphically oriented way to develop content that can be shared across most social media platforms. Flickr allows for higher-quality image uploads and offers copyright protection. Use relevant, search-friendly titles and descriptions to provide meaning and context to the images. The description section of the image offers an opportunity to link to core content such as a website, article, or report.³⁸⁴

Content Calendars Help Organizations Organize and Coordinate Social Media Activities

Content calendars are tools that allow organizations to plan and organize content and posts for Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms.

- Hootsuite is a popular social media content-management dashboard that works for Facebook, Twitter, and many other social media platforms. Visit https://hootsuite.com/ for more information.
- A free Facebook content calendar created specifically for non-profits is available here:

http://www.socialbrite.org/2011/10/28/6-reasons-to-use-flickr-for-your-next-media-campaign/.

³⁸³ Justin J. Ware, 5 Instagram Tips for Nonprofits, The Social Side of Giving, Dec. 1, 2011,

http://socialphilanthropy.wordpress.com/2011/12/01/5-instagram-tips-for-nonprofits/.

³⁸⁴ Karissa Van Hoover, Don't Overlook the Visual Component of Social Media Marketing, Social Brite, Oct. 28, 2011,

http://www.nonprofitfacebookguy.com/free-downloadable-facebook-content-calendar/.

 PostPlanner is another Facebook app that helps people to plan and post content: http://www.postplanner.com/app-features/. Groups can use it to schedule Facebook posts in advance for consistent posts at optimal times, targeting specific demographics.

ii. Developing a Social Media Strategy

After learning more about the different social media platforms and their strengths, a civil society organization should develop a social media strategy. A group's social media strategy should align with the group's goals. Does the group want to educate others, engage in advocacy, fundraise, or find volunteers? What type of content does the group want to share? The organization should develop a strategy that uses a variety of social media tools to meet its goals, keeping in mind its target audience for accomplishing each goal and how it can best reach that audience. Framing is a critical component of social media messaging. See page 107 for more information on framing.

General Social Media Tips

These steps provide a blueprint for advocates seeking to use social media as a tool to meet organizational goals.

- Segment audiences. If a group can better identify and understand its targeted audiences, it will be better able to tailor its message to specific groups.
- Establish a message arc. A message arc is a narrative that accomplishes a goal with the intended audience. If a group's goal is to make a neutral or unaware audience care about its cause, an effective message arc would start with something short and emotional (e.g., a YouTube video) to capture the audience's interest, followed with contextual facts to provide a deeper understanding, and then a small action step followed by a larger one.
- Fine tune messaging and provide a call to action. Emotions and personal stories can be effective in grabbing attention. An effective strategy then follows with facts to establish the group's credibility and to help the audience understand the issue. Messaging should define the solution and provide an explicit call to action.
- **Be conversational**. Groups can use social media to engage with stakeholders, solicit feedback from audiences, and exchange ideas. Open-ended content can encourage conversation. Listen to and monitor the conversations that you initiate.
- "Brand" the organization consistently in all social media platforms.
- Understand supporter networks. Social media makes it easy for supporters to share a group's
 message with their social network and can help the group build a larger audience. Seek out your
 communities and become an active member by engaging in meaningful conversations.
- **Promote** the group's social media profile on the organization's website, through email lists, in email signature files, and at organizational events.
- Update sites regularly.
- Gather data to track which messages are effective.

• Use caution when sharing content. Once an organization publishes something on social media, it becomes part of the organization's "permanent record."

For example, if a group wanted to increase the number of people making donations to support the group's work, it could consider a three-pronged strategy: (1) upload a YouTube video storytelling campaign accompanied by a donate button and call to action; (2) use Facebook and Twitter to link to the video and to promote a landing page for the group's fundraising website; and (3) post a photo series through Instagram, Pinterest, and Facebook with a request for funds.³⁸⁵

Civil society groups that send out emails to supporters should use every message to highlight social media content and contacts. A common practice is to include at the end of each email links to recent blog posts as well as social media buttons for the organization's social media platforms.

Blog Posts

Recent Articles from The Advocates Post

Support The Advocates and Ten Thousand Wilages by Shopping on December 12
 Fact for Families, "Its time for Congress to act"

f 💟 🔊 in 🚥 🕌

End of an email message from The Advocates for Human Rights

- Thinksgeing Mouring
 "We felt guilty going to bed, on warm beds..."
- Two Gunshots on a Summer Night

Use Social Media Analytics to Measure Impact and Refine Strategies

Groups can track social media metrics to determine which efforts are most effective in advancing the group's goals. Analytics can also determine the sources of traffic and user demographics. The social media platforms themselves provide analytics, and there are also third-party providers:

- Google Analytics for WordPress: http://wordpress.org/plugins/google-analytics-for-wordpress/
- Google Analytics in Blogger: http://www.bloggerplugins.org/2011/10/google-analytics-in-blogger.html
- Facebook Insights: https://www.facebook.com/insights/
- Twitter Analytics: https://analytics.twitter.com
- YouTube Analytics: https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/1714323
- Vimeo Advanced Statistics: http://vimeo.com/stats
- Hootsuite Custom Analytics: https://hootsuite.com/features/custom-analytics
- NodeXL: http://nodexl.codeplex.com/

For more information on social media analytics, consult:

- Campaign analytics, from 10 Tactics: https://archive.informationactivism.org/en/basic5
- 5 Essential Speadsheets for Social Media Analytics, from Mashable: http://mashable.com/2012/02/09/social-media-analytics-spreadsheets/
- Measuring the Value of Social Media, from the Minnesota Council of Nonprofits: http://www.minnesotanonprofits.org/events-training/technology-and-communicationsconference/handouts/Measuring_Value.pdf.

³⁸⁵ GiveMN, "Using Social Media to Raise More Money," GiveMN—Using Social Media to Raise More Money.pdf.

iii. Social Reporting

Social reporting is often a hybrid of social media fact-finding and advocacy. Social reporting refers to the practice of using social media sites to report in real-time from a live event to share information and have conversations with an online audience. The tool allows advocates to reach a larger audience than the people who are physically present at an event and even to engage more actively than is often possible during an event. Before the event, depending on the size of the event and number of volunteers available to "social-report," groups can set a strategy for what they hope to cover, how they plan to cover it, and which platforms they plan to use. At the event, organizers should ensure that participants have WiFi connectivity and should set up a workspace for the individual or team responsible for generating the social media posts. After the event, groups should consider posting a blog with consolidated live updates and a general summary. For a comprehensive guide to best practices in social reporting from conferences, workshops, and other events, consult http://www.slideshare.net/cgxchange/social-reporting-from-conferences-workshops-and-other-events-a-practical-guide-for-organisers.

Social Media for Human Rights Documentation and Fact-finding

Reporting on human rights abuses in real time, using new technologies, helps to increase public awareness of human rights incidents, speeds up response times, and provides human rights advocates access to new data and evidence of human rights abuses. Social media tools enable advocates to share information on human rights abuses in real time through SMS messages and peer-to-peer (P2P) social media sites like Twitter, email, and smart phones. Mobile phones equipped with camera and video recorders and access to the Internet have increased the "speed, depth and scope of human rights monitoring."³⁸⁶ The tools have facilitated reporting from areas that human rights fact-finders have historically not been able to access, allowing advocates to circumvent government restrictions on access to emerging human rights situations. Social media technologies lower the barriers to human rights advocacy collaboration. Social media can help provide warning signs of an impending human rights monitoring and documentation: http://blog.amnestyusa.org/middle-east/twitter-to-the-rescue-how-social-media-is-transforming-human-rights-monitoring/.

iv. Social Media and Fundraising

General Social Media Fundraising Tips³⁸⁸

- **Be specific** with the "ask." The group should introduce itself, tell people why they should contribute to the cause, and keep the ask concise, yet personal.
- **Tell a story**. 56% of people who support nonprofits online say that compelling storytelling is what motivates them to take action on behalf of nonprofits.²²
- **Create urgency**. The more **successful** fundraising campaigns last 4 to 6 weeks; people are more inclined to donate if the fundraising drive has a shorter time frame and a greater sense of urgency.
- **Be creative** and have a little fun with the campaign to encourage donations and distinguish the organization from other efforts.

³⁸⁶ Philip Alston and Colin Gillsespie, Global Human Rights Monitoring, New Technologies and the Politics of Information, 23 European Journal of International Law 1089, 1112 (2012). Also available online at http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/23/4/1089.
³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Lindsay Oberst, "8 Tools to Help Fundraise for a Cause," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.socialbrite.org/2013/03/04/how-to-fundraisefor-causes/.

- Share with friends and family and encourage supporters to do the same. Share across all social media sites.
- Be persistent.

Other Social Media Fundraising Sites

- **Socialbrite** offers a helpful PDF of the various fundraising sites: http://socialbrite.s3.amazonaws.com/fundraising-tools.pdf.
- **Kickstarter** has revolutionized fundraising.³⁸⁹ The site, which charges a 5% fee for all donations, allows individuals and organizations seeking funds to post a video, set a fundraising goal, and post a link to a fundraising page that accepts credit card donations from supporters: http://www.kickstarter.com/.
- Razoo allows groups to create organizational pages and a widget to post directly onto the group's website to accept donations through Razoo. Razoo charges a 4.9% fee for donations, deposits money directly into the recipient-organization's bank account, and allows recipients to send out thank you emails to donors.
- **Indiegogo** is a crowdfunding platform that can be used to raise money and awareness for issues around the world through international campaigns. It is free to join; all that is needed is a bank account. Most contributions through Indiegogo are not tax-deductible.

Social Media as a Fundraising Tool

Online fundraising sites, like Kickstarter, and social media platforms that aren't primarily fundraising sites, like Twitter, have revolutionized fundraising. Between 2006 and 2011, these sites helped groups collect nearly one billion dollars in donations, more than doubling all online donations that had been generated before that time. Each year these "crowd-funding" sites generate more funding for causes. Between 2011 and 2012, the amount of money raised increased by 91%, with the average donation at \$59.³⁹⁰ Organizations that use social fundraising tools increase their fundraising by 40% over organizations that do not use those tools. Despite these benefits, fewer than half of fundraisers utilized social media for fundraising in 2011.³⁹¹

Groups need to have a broad social media presence in order to make the most of tools that allow organizations to accept online donations. Sites like Facebook and Twitter allow users to share the online fundraising pages offered through sites like Kickstarter or Razoo and help generate web traffic, increasing donations. One recent study found that organizations that used Twitter to share their social fundraising sites generated ten times the donations of organizations that did not. Another study found that one "share" of a fundraising page on Facebook led to 5 visits to the fundraising page and was worth \$10.87 in donations.³⁹²

The best approach to using social fundraising tools depends on the type and size of the fundraising campaign as well as the size and budget of the organization. Socialbrite helps advocates determine which approach is the best for their organization and describes 24 different ways to raise money online: http://www.socialbrite.org/2010/05/28/19-tools-for-fundraising-with-social-media/.

³⁸⁹ Christopher Wallace, "5 Tips on How to Stand Out in Crowdfunding World," accessed Jan. 22, 2014,

http://www.socialbrite.org/2013/02/13/how-to-raise-1-million-on-kickstarter/.

³⁹⁰ Justin J. Ware, 5 Instagram Tips for Nonprofits, supra note 383.

³⁹¹ Frank Barry, "The Power of Social Fundraising and Friends Asking Friends," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.npengage.com/socialmedia/the-power-social-fundraising-and-friends-asking-friends-infographic/.

³⁹² Social Brite, "What Social Fundraising Means for your Nonprofit," accessed Jan. 22, 2014, http://www.socialbrite.org/2011/09/12/whatsocial-fundraising-means-for-your-nonprofit/.

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