IANRA

International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa

Advocacy and Gender Mainstreaming Guide

Advocating for Model Mining Legislation and Mineral Resource Policies

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Acronyms

ACPHR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
African Charter	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
AFIC	Africa Freedom of Information Centre
ATI	Access to Information
AU	African Union
IANRA	International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa
MML	Model Mining Legislation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PAP	Pan African Parliament
REC	Regional economic community
RTI	Right to Information
SADC	Southern African Development Community

The International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa (IANRA) is a network of 41 member organisations – forty in Africa and one in Europe, including thirteen national IANRA groupings or networks in Africa (at various stages of development) with community partnerships and international linkages. Each national network has up to thirty member organisations, totalling approximately 150 participating CSOs (CBOs, FBOs, NGOs, and Social Movements). IANRA's work focuses on advocacy for more just and sustainable management of natural resources in Africa.

This guide was produced as part of a larger project to develop a policy formulation methodology and African model mining legislation for the IANRA network and partners that would include various levels of study, analysis and reflection at community level, national level, and continental level. The guide accompanies a guide on mineral resource policies and legislation, providing some of the "how to" advocate for policy recommendations that have come out of this project. In addition, the guide is written so that it can be useful for advocacy related to other types of policies as well.

Dating back to 2010, IANRA members have had discussions and strategy sessions about the importance of: 1) advocacy work at the African continental level; 2) having directly affected communities be at the forefront, driving the direction and scope of the work; and 3) using the strengths and position of IANRA as a continental network of non-government and community-based organisations all working toward more just and sustainable use of natural resources in Africa. These discussions and strategy sessions eventually led to the development of IANRA's Pan-African Advocacy Project on Extractive Industries which would aim to develop and advocate for mineral resource legislation and related policies that would protect and promote human rights, and work toward inclusive development.

The project began with case study research taking place in communities in 5 countries: Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe. These case studies looked at the impact of extractive industries – focusing in on one particular company's operations – on human and peoples' rights. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights was used as the reference point. The case studies were then analysed and a case study synthesis report was developed, which highlights problems identified across the case studies, and that are seen in most cases of extractive industry operations. Principles were then identified that could address those problems, and they were formulated into a "First Principles" document.

In addition, a legal and policy analysis was conducted in order to identify the gaps that would also eventually feed into proposals for an African model legislation on mineral resources that would be developed by IANRA and its partners. This analysis resulted in a legal and policy analysis on mineral resources as well as a legal and policy guide. All of these documents then form the basis for a model mining law for Africa.

It is important to mention that these documents are an attempt to take a step forward in presenting analyses and guides of this kind. They are not, however, exhaustive. This guide has been a working document and will continue to be so even with this publication. Feedback, input and suggestions are very welcome and will help IANRA to strengthen its knowledge and work on these issues.

IANRA highly values critical engagement on its work, so please feel free to contact the IANRA Secretariat (info@ianra.org) with any questions or comments.

About the Guide

Many of the groups in the International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa (IANRA) have been engaged in advocacy for a long time and are quite experienced in this area. Some are working at community level, while others are engaged at national, regional or continental levels.

There are vast amounts of both advocacy and campaign support material available. The case is the same for gender mainstreaming tools and resources. This document has been adapted partly from a particularly useful, easily written and wide-ranging Community Toolbox[1] that can be used for advocacy planning, but also for training in advocacy. Sections sourced from the Toolbox are indicated in the endnotes. Links to additional references and resources for different sections have been added.

The sections we have selected include basic advocacy steps which are known to most. In particular, we have focused on steps that relate to advocating for change in laws and policies as IANRA is promoting Model Mining Legislation (MML) and has developed a 'First Principles' document as the basis for a MML in Africa. In addition, these Guidelines include actions that will help the network integrate gender and women's rights as they draw up their advocacy strategy and plan. In the Annexures we have included 14 Tools for use in developing advocacy strategy and planning.

IANRA's Strategic Framework
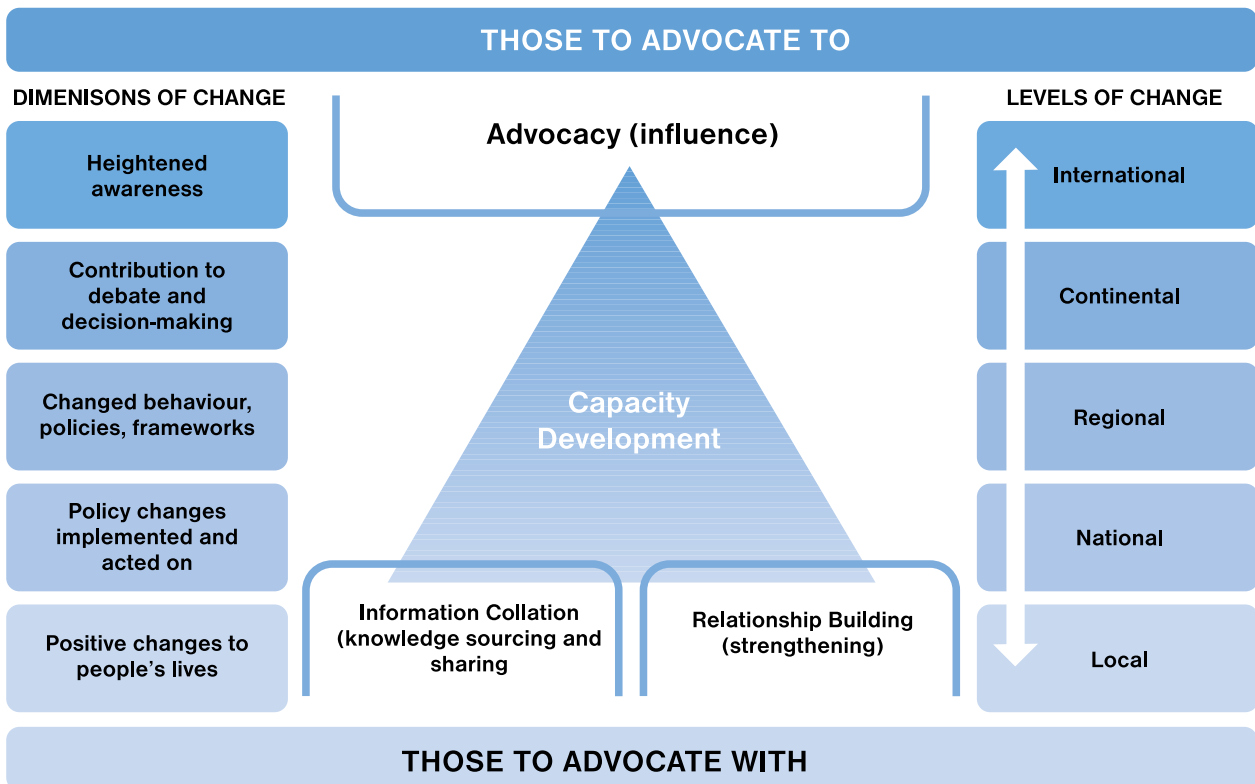
Towards a Set of Principles for a Model Mining Legislation (MML) For Africa

This section captures some of the key problems identified in the IANRA-commissioned case studies and with African mining more broadly. These problems need to be addressed by governments as a matter of urgency if local communities, and national populations, are genuinely to benefit from mining. This section will hopefully contribute towards forming a set of principles to act as a basis for drafting a model mining law.

PROBLEM 1: PEOPLE ARE OFTEN MADE POORER BY MINING PROJECTS

- People often live in extreme poverty on the doorstep of huge wealth.
- Local communities' land, water, forests and even air quality are all too often adversely affected by mining, making them poorer. People can be displaced from their farming and livestock, essential for livelihoods, deprived of their grazing land.
- Use of wood and water in mining concessions by mines can reduce access to wood and water for local communities.
- Mining employs few people and job promises often never materialize. Labour is often imported from elsewhere and what employment is available is often at low wages.
- Water and electricity services intended for mines often pass through local communities without their being able to access them.

Key principles

- **Mining projects must be guaranteed by governments to leave local communities better, not worse, off.**
- **Mining projects must be required to develop community development plans and benefit sharing agreements in which communities are involved in designing and monitoring. These should clarify the obligations of the company, government and community.**
- **Mining rights should exclude the use of local wood and water resources and/or be subject to community negotiation and consent**
- **Local content policies should be required to be promoted to ensure that companies source a certain percentage of their procurement spending from local/national sources and employ a certain percentage of their workers from locals/nationals, along with training programmes.**
- **Mining projects must be designed and monitored through local community participation.**
- **The adverse impacts of projects should be identified by independent third parties not paid by the company.**

PROBLEM 2: WOMEN BEAR A DISPROPORTIONATE BURDEN OF THE IMPACTS OF MINING

- The adverse impacts of mining – loss of land, wood and water – can affect women more than men since women are usually responsible for these in the household.
- Women have fewer opportunities than men to benefit from potential mining employment.
- Women are less represented than men in decision-making and consultation mechanisms concerning the development and impact of mining projects.

Key principles

- **Ensure that women are key beneficiaries in mine-related community development plans and benefit sharing arrangements**
- **Ensure that women are equally represented in consultation and decision making processes**
- **Regulate artisanal mining to ensure that women have access to equal opportunities and benefits.**

PROBLEM 3: MINE AFFECTED COMMUNITIES ARE OFTEN EXCLUDED FROM MINING REVENUES AND BENEFIT SHARING

- Mine-affected communities, and the nation at large, often benefit little, or sub-optimally, from potential mining revenues.
- Recent changes in mining legislation have been largely driven by the state seeking to capture a large share of resources. Yet in mining projects run by both private and, increasingly, state companies, local populations tend to be excluded from the benefits and decision-making.
- Mining revenues to the state and tax payments by companies are often not transparent. Individual mining agreements with companies are often secretly negotiated, offering large tax concessions, without public or parliamentary inputs.
- Transfer pricing by companies is allowed to continue due to insufficient government monitoring, enforcement or political will.
- Company financial declarations concerning their production figures or tax payments are sometimes not reliable.
- Local communities usually have no financial stake in mining projects that affect them.

Key principles

- **The principle of local benefit sharing must be incorporated into state policy to ensure that local communities benefit from mining. Such policies need to be transparently designed and implemented.**
- **Local communities should be entitled to a percentage financial stake in mining operations that affect them.**
- **The local administration of funds must be transparent and allow for the participation of affected communities.**
- **Countries must engage in national public debates to set and monitor tax rates. Tax receipts and payments must be published by governments.**
- **Mining agreements should be publicly debated and made publicly available.**
- **Individual agreements with companies offering different tax rates to the law should be banned; statutory tax rates should apply to all companies.**
- **Governments should monitor and adequately resource monitoring of transfer pricing, and ensure the law can clamp down on companies engaged in this.**
- **Governments should have the ability to deploy independent observers to monitor company activities, to ensure reporting is accurate.**
- **Key company financial figures, such as production levels and profits, should be made public.**

PROBLEM 4: MINING LEGISLATION IS OFTEN INADEQUATE AND/OR NOT IMPLEMENTED IN PRACTICE

- Many countries' mining legislation lacks adequate laws concerning, for example, resettlement, compensation, local content policies, community development, consultation and environmental standards. Other countries have such policies but do not adequately implement them.
- The development objectives of mining for local communities and the nation are rarely clear and explicit in legislation.
- Licensing with time bound rights can create a scramble to discover and exploit resources too quickly, which can result in adverse impacts, poor administration and management, and corruption.
- Many countries' mining legislation gives great discretionary powers to Ministers and does not oblige them to consult widely.

Key principles

- **Revise legislation so that it adequately addresses all areas that can have negative and positive impacts on local communities, and to ensure that it obliges government ministers to consult widely in promoting mining policy.**
- **Develop clear development objectives for mining and a set of outcome indicators to monitor them.**
- **Ensure that there is independent (eg, parliamentary) oversight of legislation and policy so that it is fully implemented.**
- **Adequate cadaster systems should be maintained providing details of mineral deposits**

PROBLEM 5: CONSULTATION MECHANISMS ARE INADEQUATE AND FREE, PRIOR AND INFORMED CONSENT (FPIC) ABSENT

- Consultation mechanisms with mine-affected communities are generally inadequate in designing and implementing mining projects. 'Consultation' is often ad hoc and intended simply to obtain the agreement of the community to the objectives of the mining company and state.
- The concept of free, prior and informed consent is not enshrined in policy-making, meaning that companies and the state do not see it as important to obtain the consent of the community to proceed with mining or on the details of projects (such as resettlement or compensation policies).
- Licensing processes relating to reconnaissance, prospecting and exploitation consider environmental assessments and community consultations only after the decision to mine has been taken, failing to respect community decision making processes and local knowledge.
- Local communities own structures for consultation are often ignored by mining companies.
- Many traditional leaders are co-opted into processes to obtain the compliance of the community.

Key principles

- **The principle of free, prior, informed and continuous consent should be introduced into mining policy and legislation.**
- **It is the responsibility of the state to ensure that adequate consultation processes with local communities have been undertaken; the state should not side simply with the company in expediting projects.**
- **Ensure that traditional leaders are held to account in their communities and separate traditional authority from customary law and decision making processes.**

PROBLEM 6: MINE-AFFECTED COMMUNITIES OFTEN LACK INFORMATION COMPARED TO COMPANIES AND THE STATE

- The information and resources available to local communities is often completely disproportionate to that of the state and companies. This uneven playing field increases the risk of manipulation and coercion.
- Formal negotiation and consultation processes can be meaningless in such situations.
- Processes such as Environmental Impact Assessments, which are technical and require expert analysis, often bypass affected communities and ignore their concerns.

Key principles

- **Governments must ensure that mine-affected communities are aware of their rights in mining projects. Rights and development planning education should be carried out for communities in mining areas.**
- **Governments must ensure that key mining processes – such as Environmental Impact Assessments and Resettlement Action Plans – are subject to full community consultation, and also independent scrutiny, to prevent these being merely mouthpieces of mining company policy.**
- **Licensing and environmental compliance processes must be dictated by community defined decision making time frames.**

PROBLEM 7: CUMULATIVE SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS FROM MULTIPLE COMPANIES AND/OR THE STATE ARE OFTEN SEEN AS NO-ONE'S RESPONSIBILITY.

- Many communities continue to suffer from historical dispossession and marginalization, affecting their current livelihoods.
- The social and environmental impacts of mining are often cumulative, involving several companies for which none are held to account. (For example, one mine may displace a community who now resides in an area already inhabited by another community adjacent to a second mine where pollution of water resources is a problem and greater resource stress is felt by all.)
- States often fail in these circumstances to provide adequate alternative land or livelihood options.
- Since social and environmental impacts can compound, remedies cannot be made simply by addressing the original transgression.

Key principles

- **Mine-affected communities must be adequately compensated for historical impacts and dispossession.**
- **The practice of collective accountability of an industry or set of mines for social and environmental impacts must be established in law, for which there is already some precedent in South African law.**

PROBLEM 8: PEOPLE ARE DENIED THEIR RIGHTS TO NATURAL RESOURCE GOVERNANCE.

- Local communities are granted the right over the use and disposal of natural resources in a number of international treaties to which governments are signatories, most specifically in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. Yet communities are excluded in law and practice from decision making on these resources.
- Some dispensations make all natural resources the property of the state, which facilitates capital accumulation by the state and corporate interests, often excluding communities and the nation at large.

- For centuries people have been custodians of their environment but this is rarely acknowledged in approaches to environmental management, for example. Here, rights of people are removed and ineffectual bureaucracies document and observe the destruction of the same resources.

Key principles
- **Local communities should be the custodians of local resources and receive support in promoting the sustainable use of such resources, such as training in environmental monitoring.**
- **Environmental management must include provisions for full community participation so that the value of resources is reflected in policy-making and in how impacts are assessed.**
- **Mine closure and rehabilitation must be included as elements in longer term community development planning.**

PROBLEM 9: DECISIONS TO MINE ARE OFTEN TAKEN ARBITRARILY AND SUBJECTIVELY.
- The decision to proceed with mining is often taken with little or no involvement of local communities or public debate, with details shrouded in secrecy. Beginning projects in this way is likely to shore up problems for the future.
- Governments rarely articulate the costs and benefits of possible mining projects and subject these to independent scrutiny.
- Preparatory work – such as Environmental and Social Impact Assessments – is often inadequate, being in effect managed exclusively by the mining company itself.

Key principles
- **Proper decision making towards a decision to mine must involve: achieving the consent of the affected community; ensuring that any social and environmental costs can be mitigated; having a plan for adequate compensation to be provided; demonstrating that national interests are well-served in terms of revenues and other possible benefits.**

PROBLEM 10: EXPROPRIATION OF LAND TO MAKE WAY FOR MINING IS NOT SUBJECT TO SUFFICIENT ANALYSIS AND OBJECTIVE CONSIDERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST.
- Many communities are displaced from their land in mining projects when governments invoke the 'public' or 'national' interest in proceeding with mining. Yet these terms are broad and subjective and too often amount to the abuse of state power.
- Governments rarely provide justifications, and cost/benefit analysis, for expropriating land.

Key principles
- **Depriving farmers and others of their land must be regarded as a last resort in mining projects, and always subject to community consultation, free prior and informed (and continuous) consent, and independent analysis of the costs and benefits.**
- **Policies must take fully into account customary as well as private land rights, ownership and land use systems.**

- **Outcomes based indicators of the national interest are developed with due regard to full cost analysis and the hierarchy of needs based rights this develops.**

PROBLEM 11: COMPENSATION IS RARELY ADEQUATE OR FAIR AND OFTEN NOT PAID AT ALL

- Where compensation is paid it is normally at low rates (set by the government or companies) and simply for the value of current assets (eg, trees and crops), failing to take into account lost future income or the spiritual and cultural value of land.
- Where land is lost and replaced, the alternative land provided is often poorer quality or poorly located, away from services.

Key principles

- **Compensation packages should leave people better off, not worse off. Rates must be revised upwards and take account of lost future earnings from assets and the spiritual/cultural value of lost land.**
- **Where replacement land is provided, this should be of at least equal quality and appropriately located.**
- **Compensation packages should offer mine-affected communities choices as to whether to accept cash or in-kind compensation.**

PROBLEM 12: ARTISANAL AND SMALL SCALE MINING IS POORLY REGULATED, EXACERBATING THE ADVERSE IMPACTS OF MINING.

- Commercial mining tends to take no responsibility for the small-scale mining that occurs nearby, even though the latter is often only possible because of the existence of the larger mine.
- The vast number of artisanal and small scale miners makes it very difficult to regulate these activities, compounded by inadequate state resources dedicated to monitoring compliance.

Key principles

- **Local communities must be involved in designing and monitoring programs related to small-scale mining.**
- **Ensure companies are aware of their legal and other obligations to small-scale miners near their mines. Specifically, company security forces must act within the law in protecting company property.**

PROBLEM 13: POOR PEOPLE LACK ADEQUATE REDRESS MECHANISMS AND JUSTICE MECHANISMS ARE INEFFICIENT.

- Mine-affected communities often have few places to turn to air their grievances and to access legal advice, to seek remedies for adverse impacts on their livelihoods.**Key principles**

- Independent trust funds could be established and funded by mining revenue to provide independent expert legal and technical advice to communities.
- All mining projects should include grievance mechanisms by which local communities can freely air their concerns, and in which the government plays a supportive role.

Introduction

We envision politics as the dynamic and often, unequal process of negotiations and decision-making in both the formal and informal spheres that determines access to resources and opportunities. The tendency of politics in many countries has been to concentrate decision-making and resources while excluding many voices and interests – such as those of ethnic minorities, women, small businesses, trade unions, and peasants. When disadvantaged groups become engaged in politics and advocacy, they seek public recognition for their problems, as well as a more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities to solve those problems. They also often demand that the state legitimize and protect their rights in both the public and private realms.[2]

Why change policies and laws?[3]

Policies and laws usually grow out of people's basic assumptions about the world and how it should be governed. As a result, they're often difficult to change, and efforts to do so require patience, sensitivity, and hard work if they're to be successful.

Policies and laws are the basis for decision-making. If you can change the policy, you may be able to affect – for the better, we assume – decisions about an issue well into the future.

- Attempting to change policies and laws may start a public conversation about the issues in question. Attempts at policy change make clear that current policies are inadequate to deal with the issues, and start people thinking about why.
- Changing policies and laws is easier in the long run than fighting the same battles over and over again. Even if you are successful in gaining concessions on a particular issue, unless you've changed the policy toward that issue you may have to work to gain those concessions again each time the issue arises.
- Changed policies and laws can change people's minds and attitudes. Once an issue is addressed in a particular way, the new policies themselves become part of the community's self-image, and lead to long-term change.
- Changed policies and laws have effects on the next generation.
- Policy and legal change is one path to permanent social change.

For all of the above reasons, changing policies is a real way to change society. The policies and laws in question may come from above, in the form of official government policies, or they may come from pressure from the grassroots, from unions and workplaces and social groups. Regardless of where they originate, positive amendments to policy and laws that speak to the real causes of social issues and needs of the people involved will lead to permanent social change.

IANRA's 'Contextual Baseline' document notes quite clearly that while many mining regimes lack adequate policies to protect communities' human, social, and resource rights, non-implementation is also a serious problem in most mining regimes. Therefore, in addition to legal and policy change in the context of mining regimes, institutional reform is an important question that needs to be tackled while promoting the IANRA 'First Principles' document and the Model Mining Legislation.

Advocacy's political/policy hooks[4]

Who decides? Heads of state, appointed officials, policy-makers, judges, ministers, boards of advisors, managing directors, administrators, etc.

What is decided? Laws, policies, priorities, regulations, services, programmes, institutions, budgets, statements, party platforms, appointments, etc.

How are decisions made? Accessibility of citizens to information and the decision-making process, extent of consultation with and direct say of citizens; accountability and responsiveness of decision-makers to citizens and other stakeholders, etc.

How are decisions enforced, implemented, and evaluated? Ensuring accountability so that decisions are put into action, laws enforced equitably, etc.[5]

Gender mainstreaming in extractives policy and legislative advocacy[6]

Women's work situates them closest to polluted soils and waters, placing them at greater risk for ill-health, a vulnerability they share with their menfolk who labour in the mines. But it is the women who labour on an unpaid basis to care for sick workers and family members, subsidising industries for poor living and working conditions, and releasing the state of its obligations to care for its citizens and hold mining companies accountable for their social and environmental impacts.[7]

IANRA's 'First Principles' document notes:

Women bear a disproportionate burden of the impacts of mining [requiring that policy and legislative advocacy specifically address women's rights] [8]

and further:

mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.[9]

Gender mainstreaming should lead to:
- allocation of adequate resources for gender objectives
- gender equality in all strategy and policy documents
- equal participation of men and women in setting priorities and in all aspects of programming
- equality of opportunity as well as equality of outcomes for women and men, through specifically addressing the constraints experienced by women
- gender equality at all levels and in all respects within the organisation/network/campaign.

Basic concepts and terms related to gender [10]

Gender

'Gender comprises widely held beliefs, expectations, customs and practices within a society that defines "masculine" and "feminine" attributes, behaviours and roles and responsibilities' (UNAIDS). At the community level, the mining industry creates new micro-economies with its own social/production/reproductive relationships in which who does what, who benefits, etc. are primarily defined by gender (as well as class and race).

Gender equality

Gender equality exists when both women and men are able to share equally in the distribution of power and influence; have equal opportunities, rights and obligations in the public and private spheres, including in terms of work or income-generation; have equal access to quality education and capacity-building opportunities; have equal possibility to develop their full potential; have equal access to resources and services within families, communities, and society at large; are treated equally in laws and policies. It does not mean that women and men are the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities do not depend on their sex. Efforts to expand gender equality in mining regimes should be based on a commitment to the realisation of human rights, including non-discrimination and freedom from violence both within the mining industry and within mining-affected communities.

Gender norms

Gender norms refer to learned and evolving beliefs and customs in a society that defines what is 'socially acceptable' in terms of roles, behaviours, and status for both men and women. In the context of mining regimes, these gender norms strongly influence both men's and women's risk-taking behaviour, expression of sexuality, and dependency or autonomy. New mining activities in an area may redefine or reshape gender norms and relations, but these are usually reshaped according to patriarchal values which further disadvantage women.

Sex disaggregated data

For a gender analysis, all data should be separated by sex and age in order to measure differential impacts on men and women.

1 The Fundamentals of Advocacy

Despite the seemingly progressive discourse and the acknowledgement that some bear a disproportionate burden for extractive activities very little is happening in real terms to turn this around. Instead the fourth [mining policy] reform wave currently underway seeks to obscure these rights in a haze of corporate social responsibility and privatised justice.[11]

Social issues and community rights in particular have not received the same level of attention and or strengthening at a domestic level precisely because they in general lay claim to the already highly contested revenue stream (capital and state) that is the subject of current reforms. In addition they potentially narrow the policy space of government (already severely restricted by the past decades of liberalisation) and potential access to land from which to extract at the same time. In other words they threaten the position of profiteers and elites in a real way.[12]

1.1 What is advocacy?[13]

- Advocacy is active promotion of a cause or principle.
- Advocacy involves actions that lead to a selected goal.
- Advocacy is one of many possible strategies, or ways to approach a problem.
- Advocacy can be used as part of a community initiative, nested with other components.
- Advocacy is not direct service delivery.
- Advocacy does not necessarily involve confrontation or conflict.

Advocacy usually involves getting government, business, schools, or some other large institution (also known as Goliath) to correct an unfair or harmful situation affecting people in the community (also known as David, and friends). The situation may be resolved through persuasion, by forcing Goliath to buckle under pressure, by compromise, or through political or legal action.

Several ingredients make for effective advocacy:

- The rightness of the cause.
- The power of the advocates, ie more is much better than less.
- The thoroughness with which the advocates research the issues, the opposition, and the climate of opinion about the issue in the community.
- The skill in using the advocacy tools available (including the media).
- The selection of effective strategies and tactics.

1.2 What are the basic components of advocacy?[14]

This is a broad overview of how to advocate for an issue.

1.3 Understanding the issue

It is important to make sure the problem analysis is based on solid research and a power analysis.[15] Advocacy is about power – who can influence things that matter. You will need to know where the power of your opponents lies, and how you can most effectively influence or confront it.

As you understand power, it is imperative that gender analysis is used so that power at all levels is recognised, addressed and gender power imbalance is not reinforced. Use gender analysis to examine the relationships between women and men, examine their roles, their access to and control of resources, and the constraints they face relative to each other, and how labour is divided and valued.

1.4 **Recognising** allies

If you are the only people in town or amongst the public who want something done about the problem you have identified, your cause could be in trouble. If there are only a handful of people on your side, it may be all too easy for those in power to dismiss you as the 'lunatic fringe'. One of your jobs will be to make that 'fringe' start to look like a representative slice of the whole population affected by the issue. Then people in power will take notice.

Somewhere, there are allies – people who can band together and give your cause bulk, visibility, and clout. You can use methods such as a 'power grid' [see Tool 9: Benefits & Risk Analysis of Allies] which will help you pinpoint those groups and agencies that have the power to help your group. This Tool will also help you identify specific ways in which these potential allies can help.

Of course, you'll need to be careful about who you invite on board – some allies may bring baggage that you don't need. Balance potential benefits against potential risks, and come up with useful backers who will help, rather than hinder, your cause. Ask yourselves if you want to build a full-fledged coalition, or an informal alliance or network.

In addition to deciding whether other groups have an interest in your cause, it's important to find out if an alliance is in your interest. Just how can you best help each other? Do you want a close relationship? Suppose these people are limited by their own charters in the type of action they can get involved in? Suppose they want to take over the direction of the whole campaign? Suppose they are with your interests on some matters, but against you in others?

1.5 Identifying opponents and resistance

Although it's possible to advocate without having an opponent (for example, you may be working largely to overcome ignorance and inertia), most advocacy campaigns have a recognisable Goliath – or even several big (and potentially mean) kids on the block. Who are your opponents? Why are they putting up resistance? And what can you do about it?

These questions should be answered together. There's not much point knowing the names of your opponents if you don't know why they are opposing you. Sometimes, this may not be for the most obvious reasons, so you'll need to find out more about what's going on.

Starting with the cause for resistance is often more fruitful than starting with a list of people you expect to be the bad guys: you may get some surprises. Similarly, people from whom you might expect support might turn out to oppose you. Perhaps a big agency that seems to share your goals is bent out of shape because you seem to be trespassing on their turf or accusing them of ineffectiveness in the past. You can't take anything for granted.

1.6 Encouraging involvement of potential opponents as well as allies

Once you have a plan, you'll know where you are going, and how to get there. This will give you confidence, which in turn will give you clout. Suitably armed, you may be able to approach certain groups or individuals whom you thought were opposed to you. Maybe they still are, but you may find help in unexpected quarters. Now that your plan makes you more business-like, people may decide to cut a deal. Or, now that your position is clear to both you and others, you may find while a certain group still opposes you on some issues, others are on the same side.

1.7 Developing a plan for advocacy

Planning for advocacy is often a complex programme because you'll have to deal with power and opposition. An advocate will usually have to overcome obstacles much greater than 'mere' inertia, or lack of funds, which are often the main barriers where other types of public problems are concerned. In advocacy situations, there are likely to be well-prepared opponents waiting in the tall grass. And they will need to be flushed-out and out-planned.

You will need to develop a plan based on your knowledge of who those opponents are; and who can help you.

For a useful analogy, think of the overall campaign as a building project:
- Your vision and mission is to provide a place to live that is warm and safe.
- Your objective is to build a house.
- Your strategy will take the form of blueprints for the house.
- Your action plan will include the specifics: who will pour the concrete for the foundation, put up a frame, add the roof, etc, and when will they do it?

All together this will go into one big action plan.

1.8 Including women in agenda setting

As you develop the plan ensure that women as well as men influence the agenda. It is critical not only to 'use' women when you mobilise, but integrate women's rights and gender equality goals and actions in your advocacy from the start. The first step is to ensure that women's voices are heard. This means promoting involvement of women in decision-making at all levels and ensuring that men and women committed to the promotion of gender equality influence decision-making. However, women's participation in decision-making must be bolstered by ensuring your advocacy strategy and plan include four critical elements:

1. An understanding of how civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights affect women and men differently, and of rights that are particular to women because they are women.
2. A reminder that rights cannot be enjoyed in the public sphere if they are not also present and upheld in the personal or private spheres.
3. Recognition that strategies must link change at an individual level with change at community, national, and even global levels.
4. A deeper understanding of the many ways in which power works, both to violate rights and to claim and uphold rights.

1.9 What is a gender analysis?[16]

- Gender analysis examines the relationships between females and males. It examines their roles, their access to and control of resources and the constraints they face relative to each other.
- Gender analysis is a methodology for collecting and processing information about gender. It provides disaggregated data by sex, and an understanding of the social construction of gender roles, how labour is divided and valued, how rights and entitlements are shared and the prevailing power dynamics within a community (resource/formal/informal power). It is the process of analysing information in order to ensure development benefits and resources are effectively and equitably targeted to both women and men, and to successfully anticipate and avoid any negative impacts development may have on women or on gender relations.
- Gender analysis allows you to understand how different members of a household or community are affected by a particular policy/project/intervention; what they need to mitigate the impacts; how the relationships between the different members may be negatively or positively affected; and what they can do for themselves.

Four key points to remember:
1. Always ask about the differences between women's and men's experiences, needs, and interests.
2. Undertake participatory assessment with women, girls, boys, and men together and separately.
3. Be aware of and address differences (and inequalities) between women and men in households and communities
4. Use the information gained from the above three questions to guide your programmes.

1.10 Pre-requisites of effective gender mainstreaming[17]

- Sex disaggregated data and gender analytical information: Gender analytical research and sex disaggregated statistical data (about stakeholders, user groups, and organisational employees at all levels) is essential for effective gender mainstreaming. Information should be, as a regular practice, disaggregated by sex and gender. Analysis should routinely be part of all social and institutional initiatives and appraisal and monitoring processes.
- Women as well as men should influence the development agenda: Women's voices have to be heard. This means, promoting involvement of women as well as men in decision-making at all levels and ensuring that men and women who are committed to the promotion of gender equality influence decision-making.
- Specific action to promote gender equality: Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women. Action to promote greater equality of influence, opportunities and benefits need to be explicitly included in policy and project documents and frameworks, backed by staff and budgets, and monitored and reviewed through appropriate indicators of change.
- Organisational capacity-building and change: Gender mainstreaming, as an organisational strategy, equally depends on the skills, knowledge, and commitment of staff involved in management and implementation.

2 Policy And Legislation

2.1 What is legislative advocacy?[18]

In its simplest terms, legislative advocacy is about influencing individual law-makers and law-making bodies in order to bring changes in laws or support for your proposed law that addresses the rights of a specific population. Legislative advocacy can take different forms:

- *A proposed law with funding attached.* You might want to advocate with policy-makers to sponsor a proposed law which, if passed, will provide money to work on your issue or benefit your target population.
- *A proposed law with wording that supports a particular philosophy or helps to legitimise your issue.* Such a proposed law may affirm the responsibility of government to deal with a particular problem or provide a particular service. Even if there's no money attached, having that wording pass into law makes it easier to get funding later, and makes the importance of the issue clearer to the community at large.
- *A proposed law with regulations that benefit your target population or advance your cause.* A proposed mining law that includes support services such as access to health (clean water for instance) for affected communities.
- *A local ordinance that supports your cause.* Local bodies can make regulations that provide particular health, social, or environmental protections for affected communities, for instance.
- *Budget advocacy.* Groups often advocate to put new or more money in the budget for their issue; to get proposed funding levels approved by the whole legislative body and signed into law by the executive; or to reverse proposed cuts in funding.

Legislative advocacy can involve anything from working personally with a legislator or aide on the wording of a proposed law to mobilising supporters to influence a parliament. It includes educating policy-makers, supporters, and the public about the issue; working with the media; continuously seeking out allies; and being persistent over long periods of time.[19]

When should you engage in legislative advocacy?

While good advocates keep at it all the time, deciding when to do a real push can be crucial to success and there are times when advocacy efforts are particularly important.

- *When law-makers are about to take up something crucial to your issue.* If someone has filed, or is about to file, a proposed law that's particularly favourable or unfavourable, or if someone proposes funding increases or cuts that will affect you, it's definitely time for action.
- *Just before and during a budget.* If you have funding concerns, the time to make them known is when policy-makers are actually working on the budget for the next fiscal year. At the same time, if they're thinking of making cuts in your area, you want your voice to be heard while they're deliberating.
- *When your issue or affected communities are drawing attention.* If there's a public debate about extractives or the environmental hazards of mining (even climate change) at the national or regional level, advocates need to make sure the voices of communities affected are heard, and that policy-makers think about the real effects of suggested policies.

- *When a vote on a crucial bill is likely to be very close.* You may have to pull out all the stops in order to try to influence the votes of a few key law-makers.
- *When it's important to make policy-makers aware that your issue exists.* Many areas that are now regularly discussed and funded by legislative bodies were often previously unheard of until concerted efforts by advocates brought them to law-makers' attention.

2.2 What is policy advocacy? [20]

What do we mean by policies?

Policies are the written or unwritten guidelines that governments, organisations, institutions, communities, or individuals use when responding to issues and situations. They are generally shaped both by logic and by people's assumptions about reality:

- *Assumptions about the way things should be.* These are formed by a combination of the values people learn as children, conventional wisdom (what 'everyone knows'), local custom and community norms, cultural factors, religion, and 'common sense' (which may be neither common nor make sense). People's conceptions of gender roles, relationships among groups, appropriate behaviour, etc. are usually subject to this set of assumptions.
- *Assumptions about what works.* These assumptions guide ideas about how to address a particular issue.
- *Assumptions about people.* What people think they know about other people in general or about members of other ethnic, racial, or social groups. Sensitivity to other cultures – or its absence – has a lot to do with these assumptions, as do empathy and exposure to a variety of cultures and situations.
- *Assumptions about what's good for the community.* These assumptions may not reflect reality, or the needs and wishes of everyone in the community.

Policies can take different forms, depending upon whose policies they are, and what they refer to. They may be public or private, official or unofficial, expressed or unexpressed.

[See Tool 1: Types of Policies]

When should you try to change policies?

There are particular times when the political or psychological climate is right for changing policies. That doesn't mean that you can't work on policy change at any other time, but simply that it's smart to strike while the iron is hot. If it's a good time for change, you're that much more likely to be successful.
- Politicians are often more receptive to suggestions from constituents during *election time.* If you're seeking a change in official government policy, close to an election may be the best time.
- Even though policies about the issue may already exist, it's sometimes easiest to change misguided ideas when the issue first arises and before there's been an investment of time and money in trying them out. If you can convince policy-makers or the public that there's a better way, they have less to lose by listening than they will after they've put their resources and reputations on the line by backing something different.
- When there's a deadline for adding input to or making a policy decision.

- When a crisis is reached, and it's clear the current policy isn't working.
- When a particular event or circumstance puts your target population at risk.
- When public opinion has reached critical mass; or the public has become fed up with policies of a particular business or institution.
- When there's a specific debate about the issue.
- When new information changes perceptions about the issue.
- When a publication or other source brings an issue to public attention.

2.3 On-going assessment for rights-based and gender-responsive strategies [21]

Checklist:

✓ What is the vision of decision-making and power relations that guides your work? Is it explicit and shared?

✓ Do members have a common analysis of the problem and understanding of how to address it? Why are you proposing these particular strategies?

✓ How was shared analysis of the problem developed? Who was involved in that analysis? What voices were absent and why?

✓ Do you have the information needed about the problem? About those playing a role in the problem? Can you identify how it is a rights issue? Does the public see the problem as important? If not, what can be done to persuade them of its importance?

✓ How do you engage women and men in thinking about their role in relation to the state and about rights?

✓ How do you engage women and men in thinking about the power dynamics present in their everyday lives?

✓ How are women and men engaged in planning and decision-making to ensure new leadership skills are being built?

✓ How do (different) women understand the problems they face?

✓ How will women and men be involved in initiatives? Will participation just increase the workload of women, without giving them a role in decision-making? How will the impact on men differ from that on women?

✓ Are you looking at multiple factors of exclusion (gender, ethnicity, class, age, etc.) and how are you addressing them?

✓ Have you considered what the potential response or backlash might be – not only public but personal?

✓ In what ways will this advocacy lead to women's increased empowerment and increased participation in decision-making?

✓ Do any objectives challenge the sexual division of labour, tasks, opportunities, and responsibilities?

✓ Are you proposing specific ways to encourage and enable women and their children to participate in the decision-making despite being in a traditionally more subordinate position within the community?

2.4 How do you change policies and laws?

In broad terms, the guide takes you through eight areas, the eight Ps:

Preparation: Prepare well for changing policies or legislation. You'll need a firm foundation for the work you're about to do. Changing policy and legislation is one of the most difficult – and one of the most effective – means of changing the community or the society for the better. To do it well, you'll have to prepare. Conduct the necessary research to get to know as much as possible about the issue. Make yourself or your group the acknowledged experts when the media wants information on your issue. Ensure you know:

- or get to know, the current policy and laws intimately; this includes knowing the current policies, laws, and regulations inside out, and knowing who actually makes and influences policy, who supports current policy, etc.
- who your allies and opponents are, who's open to argument or to public pressure, and who's ideologically flexible or inflexible
- who your most difficult opponents are, and what they are arguing. They may be people who have all the facts and their interpretations at their fingertips, can quote statistics, and can speak or write convincingly about their point of view. They may, conversely, be people who are willing to lie, make up statistics, and misrepresent your point of view. Be prepared to counter their arguments and attacks.

Planning: Plan carefully for changing policies and laws. In order to ensure that your overall strategy makes sense, and that policy and legal change is a necessary and appropriate part of it, strategic planning is essential. If the situation you're dealing with is an emergency, you may not have the time to develop a formal strategic plan, but you can strategise with a group and consult with others who've been in similar situations. Planning, even if it has to take place in a matter of hours, always leads to better results than simply doing whatever comes into your head at the time. The ideal is to have done your planning days or weeks before emergencies or the need to act immediately arise.

Personal contact: Establish and maintain personal contact with those who influence or make policy and legislation. Personal relationships are the key to successful advocacy of all kinds, and changing policy is no exception. Relationships should be two-way. In many cases, your contacts might develop into friends, or at least friendly acquaintances. In others, relationships will remain at a collegial level, but should never be exploitative, ie people should never only be a means to get what you want. If you concentrate on the relationship itself, its benefits will come naturally.

Pulse of the community/public. Take the pulse of the community or public to understand what citizens will support, what they will resist, and how they can be persuaded. You have a far greater chance of success if you set out to change policies in ways that the community/public will support, or at least tolerate, than if you challenge people's basic beliefs. When it's possible, it makes sense to start at the community/public level. This may mean putting off your final goal, and working toward an intermediate one that the community can support. There may, of course, be times when the moral issues involved demand that you address the core issues regardless of the community's position.

Positivism. Where you can, choose tactics that emphasise the positive. However, research also shows that people are more likely to take action when they have something to lose. The possibility of using both incentive and negative consequences may be worth considering in some circumstances.

Participation. Involve as many people in the community/stakeholders as possible in strategic planning and action. Try to engage key people (opinion leaders, trusted community figures) in particular, but concentrate on making your effort participatory, which will give it credibility. Encourage community/stakeholder ownership of the effort, make sure a wide range of ideas and information are considered in developing a plan and action steps, and encourage community leadership.

Publicity. Use the media, the Internet, your community connections, and your imagination to keep people informed of the effort and the issues, and to maintain a high profile.

Persistence. Policy change can take a long time. You have to monitor and evaluate your action to ensure it's having the desired effect, and change it if it's not. You have to be prepared to keep at it for as long as it takes if you hope to be successful. As with all advocacy work, policy change is a long-term commitment.

[See Tool 2: Working for Policy Change; Tool 3: Strategy Checklist; Tool 4: Turning Goals into Action Steps; Tool 5: Planning Tactics Strategy Planning for Advocacy]

2.5 Guidelines for monitoring policy changes [22]

Define Indicators for success

Clearly state what indicators will signify 'success':

- *immediate term:* for instance, media attention to the 'First Principles' document, or case studies
- *short term:* for instance, adoption of a close version of the MML
- *medium term:* for instance, faithful implementation of the elements of the MML
- *long term:* changes in affected communities' lives, for instance, revenue sharing with communities.

Describe how you will obtain information to measure success

For instance:

- monitor and archive media mentions of your materials, your network members' or strategic allies' comments
- review parliamentary debates, or even regional/continental bodies to record debates and questions brought up by your allied policy-makers or others
- monetary budgetary allocations that pertain to the MML
- review records of environmental and social impact assessments done by governments to see changes reflecting your advocacy
- interviews with implementers of state policy and those affected.
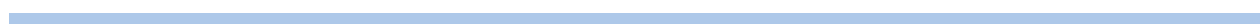
Indicate how you will make sense of the results

Define how you will analyse the data and how the affected communities will be involved in interpreting the information. One way to interpret data is to measure the results against the 'First Principles' document. Also, discuss how you will privilege long-term successes of policy advocacy that really make a difference to affected communities, while celebrating short- and medium-term successes.

Describe how the information will be used to improve the policy

Define how you will provide feedback to elected and appointed officials to review progress and make adjustments on implementation or set new policy goals.

2.6 Measuring change

- *Strengthened organisational capacity.* Organisational capacity is another name for the skill set, staffing and leadership, organisational structure and systems, finances, and strategic planning. Development of these core capacities is critical to advocacy and policy change efforts.
- *Strengthened alliances.* Alliances among advocacy partners vary in levels of coordination, collaboration, and mission alignment and can include non-traditional alliances such as bipartisan alliances or relationships between unlikely allies. Alliances bring about structural changes in community and institutional relationships and are essential to presenting common messages, pursuing common goals, enforcing policy changes, and protecting policy 'wins'.
- *Strengthened base of support.* Organisations and coalitions draw on grassroots, leadership, and institutional support in working for policy change. The breadth, depth, and influence of support among the general public, interest groups, and opinion leaders for particular issues are a major structural condition for supporting policy change. This outcome category spans many layers of culture and societal engagement including increases in civic participation and activism, 'allied voices' among informal and formal groups, the coalescence of dissimilar interest groups, actions of opinion leaders, and positive media attention.
- *Improved policies.* Change in the public policy arena occurs in stages – including policy development, policy proposals, demonstration of support, adoption, funding, and implementation. Advocacy and policy evaluation frequently focuses on this area as a measure of success. While an important focus, improved policies are rarely achieved without identifying changes required in other outcome categories.
- *Changes in impact.* Changes in impact are the ultimate and long-term changes in social and physical lives and conditions, ie individuals, populations, and physical environments that motivate policy change efforts. These changes are important to monitor and evaluate.[23]

2.7 Mainstream gender in monitoring

- Do your indicators for success include at least one that refers to women's rights and gender equality?
- How will you ensure that women's voices are heard as you gather information and analyse data to measure success?
- Will you include goals and actions on women's rights and gender equality when reporting the results of your monitoring?

[See Tool 7: Monitoring Policy Changes]

Table 1: Changing the law and influencing government policy [24]

CHANGING THE LAW	ADMINISTRATIVE & POLICY CHANGE

• Educating local representatives and policy-makers
• Educating power holders
  - party power brokers
  - ministers
  - ministerial advisers
• Submissions to law reform commissions
• Educating and input into parliamentary committees
	• Changing:
	  - government or departmental policy
	  - a particular agency's policy, practice or guidelines
	  - a particular decision or influencing a particular decision-maker
	• Educating specific power holder or minister
	  - head of department
	  - specific decision-maker
	• Seek action by a regulatory agency
	  - industry regulator
	  - local council
	  - anti-discrimination/human rights body
	• Formal complaints, reviews and appeals
	• Litigation

3 Understanding Political Power

Power dynamics in the mining and extractives sector make it particularly difficult to achieve long-term changes. The extracts below [25] help to find ways of identifying, understanding and dealing with the types of power exercised by business and political elites in order to devise more effective strategies to counter them.

What makes political power even more difficult to analyse and confront is the fact that it does not always operate in visible ways. To help activists and advocates navigate power more effectively, we describe three interactive dimensions of power that shape the parameters of political participation and advocacy. These range from the more obvious and visible to those that operate largely unnoticed behind the scenes. We also discuss some of the strategies used to influence and engage these different expressions of power. The less visible dimensions are, of course, more difficult to engage since power tends to be concealed and diffuse, embedded in cultural and social norms and practices.

3.1 Visible power: observable decision-making

This level includes the visible and definable aspects of political power – the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions, and procedures of decision-making. Examples include elections, political parties, laws, legislatures, budgets, corporate policy, by-laws, etc. There are two main ways that visible power discriminates against certain interests and people:

1. Biased laws and policies that may seem 'neutral' but clearly serve one group at the expense of others, such as health policies that do not adequately address women's specific needs, or the more obvious form of exclusion, like age and gender requirements for employment.
2. Closed or unrepresentative decision-making structures that do not adequately involve the voices or interests of the people they are intended to serve.

Citizens and donors naturally place considerable importance on influencing and responding to visible expressions of power, such as electing more women and minorities to office, or reforming discriminatory laws. These are important strategies but are not sufficient to overcome society's unwritten rules and power dynamics that often override the system's formal rules.

3.2 Hidden power: setting the political agenda

This level of power is less obvious and, hence, more difficult to engage. Certain powerful people and institutions maintain their influence by controlling who gets to the decision-making table and what gets on the agenda. These dynamics exclude and devalue the concerns and representation of other less powerful groups, such as women and the poor. Excluded groups often point out that they and their issues, such as toxics, land rights, and domestic violence, are both invisible to society at large and absent from the political agenda. Difficulties in gaining media coverage can further inhibit visibility and legitimacy since media outlets often do not see these groups' issues as 'mainstream' or newsworthy.

In some contexts, powerful political and economic interests attempt to discredit disadvantaged groups, making it impossible for citizens without resources or affiliation to get their voices heard,

even if they represent a substantial population. In some cases, leaders are vilified or even killed. By preventing important voices and issues from getting a fair public hearing, policy-making can be skewed to benefit a few at the expense of the majority.

Advocacy groups challenge this level of power by creating broad-based constituencies for policy and institutional reform that reduce systemic discrimination. In building strong and accountable organisations they tap into the power with others to get to the table. They produce and disseminate analysis and alternative perspectives about their issues and politics. They also attempt to develop ties with powerful allies to increase their political voice and presence. These strategies have been pursued effectively by environmental, AIDS, women's rights groups, among others.

3.3 Invisible power: shaping meaning

Probably the most insidious of the three dimensions of power, the third level operates in ways that render competing interests and problems invisible. Significant problems and issues are not only kept from the decision-making table, but also from the minds and consciousness of the different players involved, even those directly affected by the problem. By influencing how individuals think about their place in the world, this level of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self, and acceptance of their own superiority or inferiority. In many societies for example, men and women have been taught to accept their respective roles and relationships as natural. Socialised consent prevents people from questioning or envisioning any possibility of changing these relationships or addressing injustices.

Processes of socialisation, culture, and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal, acceptable, and safe. Schools, the media, corporate interests, and religious and political leaders, among other influential forces, shape values and norms that prevent change. In many countries values and prejudices regarding women and racial minorities are evident in and reinforced by stories and images that appear in schoolbooks, advertisements, and the press. They perpetuate negative stereotypes that limit the roles and aspirations of these groups. In turn, women and minorities often internalise such views and blame themselves for their predicament.

Paradoxically, this kind of power can also foster resistance and action in people when they come together around common issues. People can gain a sense of the power within themselves and with others to change the conditions that hurt and limit them. For example, women's consciousness-raising and education efforts have fuelled advocacy to change school curriculum and sensitise the media.[26] These collaborative strategies have engaged non-governmental organisations (NGOs), governments, and the private sector in reforms aimed at portraying girls and women more positively and ensuring more diverse ethnic representation.

The third level of power also makes problems invisible by controlling access to information. If people are unaware of a problem, they are unable to make informed choices or participate in public decisions that can contribute to its solution. For example, numerous communities around the world have suffered serious illness or death due to toxic waste. When confronted, those responsible for the pollution often deny the danger of the substances. Yet lawsuits later reveal they knew about the potential health impacts but chose to keep them a secret.

For marginalised communities, being denied information can reinforce feelings of powerlessness, ignorance, and self-blame, but can also spur people to action. In many countries, issue-focused advocacy efforts have sometimes evolved into Right to Know campaigns when governments and other bodies have refused to provide information. To address this dimension of power, NGOs and community groups frequently join academic institutions or investigative journalists to uncover the nature and scope of a problem.

Whatever the context, this level of power can be the most difficult and contentious to deal with. Social values and beliefs are extremely sensitive and personal. In politics, ideology, more than other arenas of conflict, seems to be a battleground with limited compromises.

3.4 More thoughts on the public and private angles of political power

Gender theory adds another perspective for understanding different levels and expressions of power which are applicable to women as well as men. It critiques the focus on visible power as the place where all politics takes shape. Practitioners and scholars familiar with the challenges of women's empowerment explain that political power takes shape in three interacting levels of a woman's life. Change will not occur, they argue, unless political strategies look at and address power in the public, private, and intimate realms.

- The public realm of power refers to the visible face of power as it affects women and men in their jobs, employment, public life, legal rights, etc.
- The private realm of power refers to relationships and roles in families, among friends, sexual partnerships, marriage, etc.
- The intimate realm of power has to do with one's sense of self, personal confidence, psychology, and relationship to body and health.

For an individual woman, the experience of power and powerlessness will be different, based on race, class or age, and may even be contradictory in different realms of her life. For example, a woman politician who appears confident in public may accept a subordinate role in her family; she may even survive abuse in her private relationships while keeping up with the demands and image of her public duties. Acknowledging these layers and contradictions can be helpful in understanding the tensions generated by empowerment for many women. Political change and advocacy strategies that focus solely on the public realm may overlook some critical challenges facing women who are leaders, active citizens, and public officials when they return to their homes and families. It is from this perspective that women activists argue that good citizenship for women and for men is not solely about public behaviour.

Table 2 can be used to explore how the three different layers interact with factors of exclusion and discrimination to determine the obstacles and opportunities for empowerment.
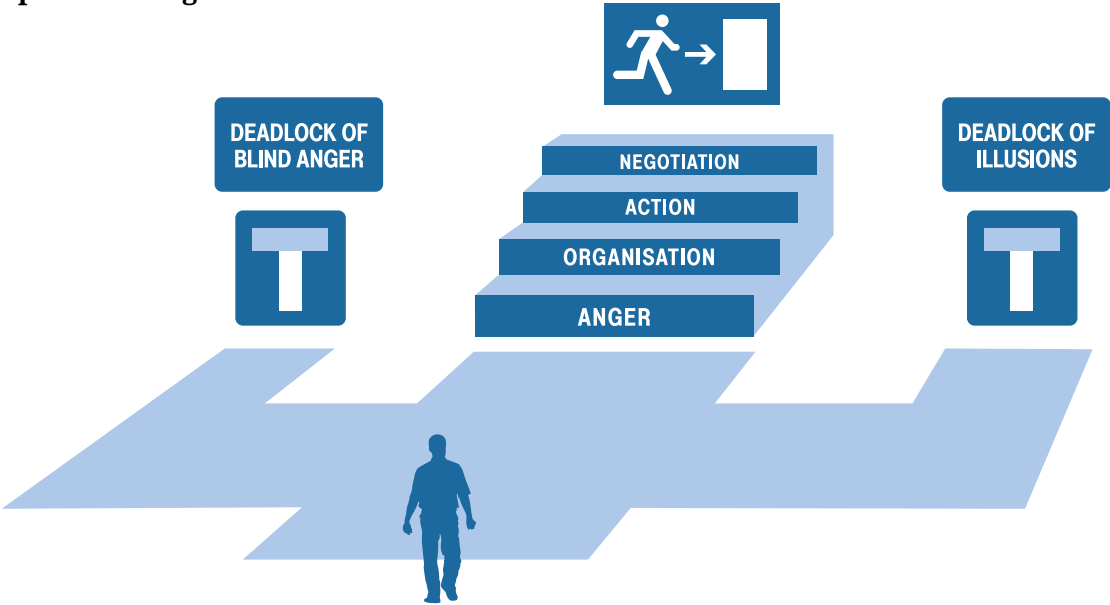
Table 2: Power, political participation, and social transformation

MECHANISMS & STRATEGIES	HIDDEN POWER	INVISIBLE POWER	VISIBLE POWER
Mechanisms Different expressions and forms of power participation in public decision-making seems relatively straightforward on the surface. It appears to be determined by the political context, clout, resources and expertise of different political actors. Yet invisible mechanisms of power shape the effectiveness of citizen participation. These mechanisms can foster powerlessness, marginalisation or resistance. Different strategies are required to counter these mechanisms so that political participation can be more democratic and so people can exercise their rights and responsibilities (see below).	*Exclusion and delegitimisation:* Certain groups are excluded from decision-making by society's and government's rules, practices, and institutions. They and their grievances are made invisible by intimidation, misinformation and co-optation. Leaders are labelled troublemakers or unrepresentative; issues such as domestic violence are relegated to the realm of the private and therefore not subject to state action.	*Socialisation & control of information:* Processes, practices, cultural norms and customs that shape people's understanding of their needs, roles, possibilities and actions in ways that deter effective action for change. Among marginal groups, socialisation internalises feelings of subordination, apathy, self-blame, powerlessness. Crucial information is concealed or inaccessible.	*Formal institutions, officials & instruments:* Visible mechanisms that shape the formal ground rules of society. Formal institutions & officials: President, prime minister, legislature, courts, ministries, police, military, UN, IMF, World Bank, multinational corporations etc. Instruments: Policies, laws, constitutions, regulations, conventions, implementing mechanisms etc.
Strategies Principal advocacy strategies to counter powerlessness and exclusion. Effective advocacy for social transformation requires alliances and comprehensive action plans that address each of the different forms of both visible and invisible power.	• Building active constituencies around common concerns • Strengthening organisations, coalitions, social movements, and accountable leaders and structures • Mobilising and demonstrating clout through direct action • Participatory research and dissemination of information that legitimises the issues of excluded groups	• Education for self-esteem, confidence, citizenship, working collaboratively, political awareness and analysis around concrete problems • Activities that reinforce the above such as sharing stories, speaking out and connecting with others, affirming resistance, linking concrete daily problems to rights • Investigation, action research and dissemination of concealed information	• Educating & monitoring by public interest groups & expert lobbyists • Negotiation & litigation • Public education & media • Policy research – shadow reports • Marches & demonstrations • Voting & running for office

3.5 Steps to Shifting Power [27]

DEADLOCK OF BLIND ANGER

DEADLOCK OF ILLUSIONS

NEGOTIATION

ACTION

ORGANISATION

ANGER

NEGOTIATION

ACTION

ORGANISATION

ANGER

> Delegation
> Negotiator
> Plan for negotiation

> Tactics
> Coordinator
> Mobilization

> Meetings
> Leaders
> Role Distribution

> Agitation
> Organizer
> Going toward people

NEGOTIATION

ACTION

ORGANISATION

SHARING ANGER

FEELING OF INJUSTICE

4 Strategy and Tactics

4.1 Strategy: the art of activism [28]

Effective strategy lies at the heart of successful activism. It is all very well to have a good cause, good information, and good intentions, but to be effective, activists and social change advocates need to coordinate all these elements into an effective strategy. Strategic thinking needs to saturate every aspect of campaign practice.

Public interest strategy

The use of strategy in public interest campaigning is similar in some ways to its use in military and business contexts, but there are key contextual differences. Military and business applications of strategy explicitly focus on defeating, overwhelming or outmanoeuvring an enemy, business competitor or opponent. Dealing with an opponent will often be a feature of a public interest campaign, but this will not always be the case, or there will be a more complex range of players than simply two sides. Two aspects of public interest strategy, in particular, should be considered:

- *Alignment with strategic focus.* It is essential that all aspects of strategic planning align with the campaign's or organisation's focus. Most often in a public campaign the goal will be a change in the law or in the public policy or industry sector.
- *Articulation of the public interest.* An essential part of any public interest strategy must be the clear articulation of how the 'public interest' is being advanced by the campaign. It is important to be able to explain the rationale behind the campaign and be prepared to argue it publicly. Reiteration of your public interest focus and restatement of your strategic rationale inform the public and also assist in maintaining focus and unity within your group.

Planning for flexibility:

- *Plan for the unexpected.* Effective strategy must deal with the unknowable, and in public interest campaigns this dimension is especially important since the wider public domain is inherently complex and can be unstable. It is vital to get an overall picture of the cultural or political terrain in which your campaign is taking place, so conflict mapping exercises are vital tools for identifying all of the stakeholders and anticipating their likely responses once your campaign begins to make an impact.
- *Anticipating backlash.* Campaign gains will almost certainly create a reaction from other stakeholders, sometimes referred to as a backlash. While the number, nature, timing and extent of these reactions might be unknowable, the likelihood there will be a backlash is knowable and needs to be kept in mind and planned for. You need to remember the status quo has a certain cultural inertia that many people find comfortable. Once your campaign begins to disturb the status quo you will unleash many different responses. Moyer [29] observes that many activists fall prey to a perception of failure, partly as a result of the backlash from opponents and power holders that they probably should have expected.
- *Anticipating organisational instability.* You should expect the unexpected in your own internal organisational dynamics. Key people may leave the campaign or organisation, so it is important that the strategy does not become over-centralised and dependent on only one or two people who become indispensable.

- *Anticipating disruptive events and developments.* Completely unrelated outside events may have a major impact on your campaign. Major public events such as natural disasters, war, or a financial crisis may have a major impact on your campaign. Some of these may only cause a delay but others may in themselves generate significant shifts in public sentiment that will require you to carefully reconsider your campaign approach.

Planning for the unexpected is exactly what you need to do to give your campaign the flexibility to ride through the tough times:

- Expect there will be a range of stakeholders with divergent interests who will all respond very differently to your campaign aims and activities.
- Expect resistance from some stakeholders.
- Expect a backlash from your opponents or targeted power holders, sometimes in the form of coordinated and intelligent backlash (counter-strategies).
- When backlash occurs, pause, understand its nature, and then make your next strategic move.
- Expect internal instability in your organisation and have practices in place to assist rapid redeployment of personnel.
- Expect external events to play a role in changing the overall context within which your campaign is unfolding and be ready to adapt.

4.2 Staying organised: managing group dynamics [30]

A well-structured group that holds regular well-run meetings is vital for successful campaigning. Over time, as the group works together, there will be highs and lows: highs as your campaign gets into the local press, your elected representative backs your campaign, and more new faces turn up at weekly meetings; and lows when it feels like the campaign is going nowhere and group members start to drift away. While you cannot anticipate every situation, you can manage them by preparing for busy and quiet periods of activity. Ideally:

- *Plan ahead.* The dynamics of a group constantly change. You never know when someone is going to decide to take on more work, or when a long-standing campaigner may leave. By planning ahead and giving all levels of membership something to do you will give everyone the opportunity to be involved and stay active.
- *Review progress when you are stuck in a rut.* If your campaign seems to be getting stuck, involve people in a review process. What is good about the campaign? What is not so good? What is within your group's control to change and what is not? What could be done differently?
- *Review progress annually.* As well as on-going progress reviews, hold an Annual General Meeting (AGM). This is a good opportunity to reflect on successes and look to the year ahead.
- *Recognise success.* Value achievements and successes. If the campaign gets press coverage or if there has been a successful fundraising event – share it within the group. If someone has written a good leaflet or has balanced the books – tell them so!
- *Manage your membership.* Members come and go so always be on the lookout for new blood. Public meetings and events are good places to recruit members. Build on your

group's successes and keep your messages locally relevant in order to attract members.

- *Public meetings.* When you are holding or attending public meetings to rally support and publicise your campaign, build in time to call for more active and general support. Advertising tasks for specific roles is one way of allowing people to approach you, as well as allowing you to target specific skills.
- *Events.* You may want to set up an event early on in your campaign to attract media coverage and new members. If you know the event is definitely being covered by the local paper/radio/TV, follow up with letters providing further information about your campaign and end by asking for help and funds.
- *Build on success.* People are attracted to groups that are seen to be successful. When dealing with members of the public – whether in face-to-face discussions or through written materials – be positive and sell your successes. As the saying goes, nothing succeeds like success.
- *Be relevant.* If you are trying to attract people to a campaign on climate change, when the biggest local campaign issue is an incineration plant, then this will limit your local appeal. Know your local issues and take account of them in group decisions about what sort of campaign to run.

4.3 Managing people

Groups are made up of individuals. There are practical ways to manage and support all your members to get the best out of the group.

- *Work together.* Even if your group is working well in small groups, identify one job that everyone can do together. Whether it's stuffing envelopes, painting banners or a group outing, it can be motivating – and fun – to plan an activity involving everyone.
- *Be realistic.* Everyone has to start somewhere. The more realistic and specific you are about what tasks involve, the less daunting they are to people.
- *Develop skills*. Improve group/individual skills through, for example, creating opportunities for constructive feedback within your group. You can also consider using outsiders' skills – would campaigners or people with particular experience or knowledge be willing to visit your group for an evening and talk about how they succeeded?
- *Develop confidence.* Confident campaigners are not necessarily born, but made through experience. Encourage more experienced people to work with newer people and show them the ropes, or get more experienced campaigners to explain issues to the group.
- *Managing difficult times.* During its lifetime your group may experience some sort of internal friction, and if not resolved it can become a distraction from campaigning or even a negative force within the group. Dealing with internal differences is not pleasant and unfortunately there is no magic wand to spirit them away. Basic suggestions to help:
  - Bring the issue into the open. Ignoring it will only make it worse, as will moaning about it in smaller groups. Avoid making any assumptions on behalf of anyone else – state what you see as the issue and say how this affects you. An issue with the group is best addressed to the group, while an issue with an individual is best addressed initially to the person concerned.

- *Propose a mechanism for discussing and resolving the issue.* This should be an open and non-confrontational way of discussing the matter, taking into account all relevant information and involving everyone with an interest. It should reach a clear outcome that people agree to, even if this is a process for resolving the issue at a later stage. Do not be afraid to make hard decisions.
- *You cannot please everyone all the time.* If your group has genuinely taken everyone's view into account, and reaches a decision that it believes to be fair and that best enables the group to achieve its objectives, then you must carry through that decision no matter how unattractive it may seem at the time.

4.4 Alliance building [31]

It cannot be said too often that having an effective organisation is crucial to successful legislative advocacy. You have to gather your allies, create a coordination structure, do your homework on the issue, define your message, establish and maintain a communication network, and cultivate media relationships so you can use everything you have when you need it. Legislative advocacy demands that you take the long road so expect to be at it for a long time and be open to adding allies along the way.

COOPERATION	COORDINATION	COLLABORATION
LESS INTENSE / EASYER		MORE INTENSE / COMPLICATED
Shorter-term, informal relationships Shared information only Separate goals, resources and structures	Longer-term effort around a project or task Some planning and division of roles Some shared resources, rewards and risks Additional funds might be raised as well	More durable and pervasive relationships New structure with commitment to cammon goals All partners contribute resources and share rewards and leadership Additional funds are raised

(Adapted from Winer and Ray, 1994. *Collaboration Handbook: Creating, Sustaing and enjoying the Journey*)

Identifying allies

While Identifying likely allies consider individuals or organisations that share common values or are engaged in related efforts; and those who can provide the type of support you will need (for example, sharing resources or advocacy efforts, providing financial support).
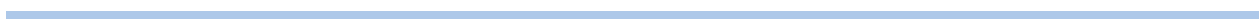
- *Any policy-makers who are already in favour of your position.* Approach those who have supported your issue in the past, or with whom you've had recent positive conversations. Policy-makers who have a political interest are natural allies, for instance those whose constituencies are affected communities.

- *Affected communities and their leadership.* It is essential that women are mobilised, but also that they take leadership positions within advocacy efforts to ensure their specific rights find voice.

- *Organisations that work with affected communities including service delivery.* In addition to being sympathetic, these are the people who usually know the most about the issue, for instance health service providers can be recruited around the health impacts of mining.

- *Recognised 'experts' and influencers in the field.* These may include academics, former officials who've dealt with the issue, long-time providers of services, heads of organisations, newspaper columnists. While focusing on influencers, allies within the youth movements can also play an important part as they may have the time and inclination to work on the campaign.

- *Organisations concerned with the issue or with the population affected.* Human rights and women's organisations which already engage in advocacy are especially helpful. Labour unions and mineworkers' unions, in particular, might be particularly important allies as health and safety standards in mining operations not only affect those living in mining areas but workers themselves. Also, as the policy guide shows, communities in mining regions and labour-sending communities are both affected by this industry and might be important allies, despite potentially conflicting interests related to livelihoods.

- *Decision on a big-tent or a strategic-alliance approach.* There may be organisations that only agree with you on one particular aspect of your advocacy (a big-tent alliance), however, you will have to take a decision whether they will help or harm your long-term vision. The advantage of a big-tent alliance is obvious in that there are greater numbers and greater diversity is ensured. The flip side is that a smaller group is more likely to be rock-solid than a larger one that is split into factions, or that can't agree on shared principles and therefore a common message.

> **As you identify allies ask yourself:**
> - ✓ Who are the stakeholders? What is their position on women's rights?
> - ✓ Is there gender balance?
> - ✓ Are women's rights organisations, feminist academics, and activists who are experts in this area involved?
> - ✓ Do we have a database of gender experts?

[See Tool 8: Identifying Allies; Tool 9: Benefits and Risk Analysis of Allies; Tool 10: Ally Power Grid Template]

4.5 Guidelines for community-based strategic alliances [32]

- *Communicate, communicate, communicate.* Make sure that lines of communication within and among the network, the media and, most importantly, the affected communities are wide open. Reflecting IANRA's 'First Principles' document opens communication as well as shared leadership will keep strategic alliances strong, as well as ensure that everyone has the information necessary to make joint efforts successful. Good communication with the media and the community will increase your chances for publicity and support when you need them.

- *Be as inclusive and participatory as you can.* Work at making the alliance a space in which anyone in the community feels welcome. Ensure community and specifically women are involved in the decision-making processes around strategy and tactics planning, educating, etc. and that conflict management and resolution mechanisms, including adequate grievance redress, are in place.

- *Network, educate, and mobilise.* Try to involve, or at least to keep informed, as many other groups in the community as possible. Let them know what you are doing, invite them to meetings (to make presentations, if appropriate, or just to see what's going on), invite them to join if they are interested, educate them about the issue. If groups in the community are informed about your work they are more likely to be supportive, and will help you create a constituency for the MML that will appeal to policy-makers when you approach them.

- *Try, at least at the beginning, to set concrete, reachable goals.* Success is a great glue – achieving reachable goals early can help a coalition develop the strength to later spend the years it may take to pursue and achieve long-term goals.

- *Be creative about meetings.* If each coalition meeting can be different, and have some elements of fun, you'll be much more likely to retain both membership and interest in the coalition. Some possibilities include rotating the responsibility for meetings among the groups comprising the coalition; having only a small number of meetings a year, each with a particular theme, and doing most of the work of the coalition in committees or task forces; or regularly bringing in exciting presentations on the issue or in areas that relate to it.

- *Be realistic, and keep your promises.* If you're not sure you can do it, don't say you will. If you say you will, be sure you do.

- *Acknowledge diversity among your members, and among their ideas and beliefs.* Your coalition will probably mirror the cultural, economic, racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of your community, and will certainly represent a diversity of opinion. Not everyone will agree with everything the coalition does or wants to do, and sometimes the minority opinion will be right. Make sure to take everyone's opinion and restraints into account, and to use diversity as a spur to discussion, rather than a source of division. By the same token, it's important that there be a mechanism for getting things done when there is a disagreement, whether it's a majority vote or something else. A long-term disagreement over strategy or tactics can permanently restrain a coalition, and make it totally ineffective.

- *Praise and reward outstanding contributions and celebrate your successes.* In addition to success itself, the celebration of success is a great way to cement the bonds among members of a coalition. Whether through individual or group rewards, or through parties or other events, celebration of achievements will help your coalition thrive, and give you a much-needed opportunity to remember there is a reason you're doing all this.

4.6 Is your alliance walking the talk on women's rights?

There is a strange character to injustice – it often seems to blind its victims to other forms of injustice. Movements against injustice carry the same trait: even as they mobilise outrage and a demand for change among their own constituency, they can be blind to other injustices, and especially to those practiced within and by their own ranks. The sense of righteousness about their cause often results in a narrow, myopic, and exclusionary view – a hierarchy of injustices where theirs sits at the top, more urgently in need of redress than any other. This syndrome is especially evident in the context of gender relations because women's subordinate position, and the gendered division of labour, privilege, decision-making power and leadership, has been so normalised, so deeply embedded in the fabric of daily life, that it is invisible unless we consciously search for its manifestations.

So even as social justice movements engage in struggles for a diversity of economic, social and political rights, the aspirations and interests of women within these are either forgotten, assumed to be the same as men's, or equally advanced by the movement's strategic agenda. Worse, many movements have actively opposed a focus on gender issues as divisive and disruptive of the larger struggle, and ironically, accuse women's movements of being too exclusive and myopic in their focus. The result is that there are very few social justice movements in the world that have authentically integrated gender justice within their worldview and strategies for change.[33]

Gender equality 'out there' in the world cannot happen if it is not also prioritised inside your alliance. Theory on organisational learning identifies four functions. Below we briefly describe these functions and how they can be used to enhance IANRA's commitment to gender equality.[34]

Environmental interface: Ability to deal with external forces, obtain needed information from the environment, and filter out unnecessary information.

- Does your network include and/or regularly interact with women's rights groups?
- Does it participate in major events (local or international) relating to women's rights/gender equality?
- Is someone in the network responsible for following key women's rights issues and/or events and sharing this information with others?

Action/Reflection: Ability to define and pursue appropriate goals. Goal-setting is based on existing knowledge, learning from past experience and reflection on the basic assumptions underlying the network's work.

- Are women's rights a stated part of the goals?
- Are goals regularly refined based on evaluations and learning?
- Are the goals known to all members of your network?
- Are there incentives in place for taking action on women's rights? Is there accountability in place to take action when someone ignores the women's rights mandate?

Dissemination and diffusion: The systems to disseminate information and ensure that the network can work effectively toward its goals.

- Where are women situated in the network? Are they in positions of leadership? Is their voice heard?
- Is there an investment in building women's rights capacity within the network?

- Are individuals who raise women's rights concerns within the network taken seriously? Are they isolated?
- Are lines of communication adequate?

Memory and meaning: The 'sense-making' function of any organisation. It is sometimes referred to as 'organisational culture', the shared values and beliefs (explicit or implicit) that guide people's action within the organisation.

- What are the dominant 'unspoken' values (as communicated through people's language and behaviours)? Do they reflect the network's 'spoken' commitment to gender equality?
- What is the reaction to people who raise concerns inside the network? Are questioning and dissent encouraged or discouraged?

[See Tool 11: Engaging Women in Community Processes]

4.7 Identifying opponents and opposition tactics [35]

Just as you will find allies, you are also likely to encounter some resistance or open opposition to what you are doing. Sometimes your opponents are visible and public. These opponents are sometimes easier to deal with because you know what you're up against. It can be a lot tougher when your opponents are less visible. In determining who your opponents might be, ask yourself 'who might lose something from your success?' Identify likely opponents and how they might resist or oppose the effort because of the consequences of your proposed policy. State the likely purposes of the opposition, including, to:

- oppose or block intended policy changes
- intimidate (for example, the policy advocates, their allies, elected officials); for instance, the violence against women activists who are against extractives is being documented by AWID [36]
- reduce effectiveness (for example, stall transformative policy changes by suggesting less-effective alternatives).

Outline tactics that may be used by the opposition, including the 10 Ds:

- deflect (not our responsibility)
- delay (long wait for additional review)
- deny (no real problem)
- discount (problem not as bad as portrayed)
- deceive (claiming no data available on the problem)
- divide (try to get some group members to oppose others)
- dulcify or appease (offer a less-effective alternative)
- discredit (labelling advocates as 'against economic development and national interest')
- destroy (effort to harm those who support change)
- deal (encourage acceptance of an alternative).

Indicate how the opposition can be countered, including to:

- understand your opponent and their perspective/goal
- turn negatives into positives (for example, turn the opponents' discrediting tactics into a public issue via communication at local and national levels)
- set the agenda or reframe the issue (for example, human and community rights are as much in the national and public interest as economic development; use continental human rights instruments)

- publicly state your opponent's strategy (for example, they are trying to deny the problem and pass responsibility off to others)
- keep opponents off balance (for example, raise new charges; tax breaks to mining companies is a new form of resource flow from Africa to the North)
- learn from the past (for example, understand the response to the proposed change elsewhere).

4.8 What are the challenges for social movements in integrating gender perspectives? [37]

Women's rights and gender justice advocates experience some common challenges when working to build commitment in their movements to gendered political concerns. These can be grouped into the following areas:

- *Barriers around the recognition of gender equality and women's active participation as key issues in movements.* Resistance to integrating women's rights and gender justice as a key movement priority can often take the form of dismissing the significance of gender equality – for example, it is argued there are already plenty of women's movements; therefore, gender can't be a problem; or specific actions on women's rights and gender justice are not necessary because the movement is already about democracy or inclusion.
- *Gendered attitudes, behaviour and stereotypes ingrained within the 'deep structure' of a movement.* The ideas and behaviours existing at informal level within a movement's 'deep structure' can create profound challenges for the realisation of women's rights and gender justice as external and internal priorities. Within movements many women face the expectation of playing caring roles, providing emotional support for movement members, or taking on the 'back office' administrative tasks. Deeply ingrained ideas on gender roles can lead to, and allow impunity for, sexist, discriminatory and even violent behaviour towards women and minority groups. Such behaviour is political in its impact, with the effect of re-entrenching deeply held normative beliefs around gendered roles.
- *Barriers posed by ideas around gender, culture, tradition and the private sphere.* Advocates for women's rights and gender justice within movements face particular challenges around making gender inequality in the private sphere visible and recognised. Ideas about tradition, culture and religion can be used to marginalise and silence those who speak up about gendered power in areas such as the family and on topics such as abortion, making it extremely difficult for such areas to become accepted and common topics in movement agendas and discussions.
- *Disparities and competition in movement priorities, allegiances, and alliances.* Integrating women's rights and gender justice into movement agendas is made more difficult where gender equality is seen as a moveable priority. Throughout history, women who have participated in community struggles have faced the suggestion that women's rights are issues to be dealt with 'after the revolution'. It is also often the case that 'trade-offs' take place in movement agendas, with gender equality issues dropped when their presence threatens solidarities with other constituencies or demands. Even within women's and feminist movements there are disagreements and hierarchies, particularly around recognising and acknowledging women's diverse identities. This inhibits the potential for women's and other social justice movements to build strong, progressive alliances.

- Difficulties in maintaining change in the long term. Even as social movements succeed in attracting women members, building women's leadership and encouraging thinking about what gender equality means in the context of their agendas, challenges arise in keeping up momentum. It is often difficult to sustain progress after a shorter change goal is achieved, to maintain an intersectional approach, or to build on initial achievements to ensure that women's rights and gender justice remain a constant area of focus.

[See Tool 12: Potential Opponents; and Tool 13: Recognising your Opponents and Power]

4.9 Mobilising public support [38]

Mining affected communities tend to be isolated, marginalized and invisible in public opinion. Even where problems are typical across many communities, issues are often presented as particular to one community, rather than common to a large number of them. Public support on whether mining is good or not is also divided – the public might often be convinced that communities are 'stopping development' when they protest against mining activities. In an African context, there is a great deal of work to be done in getting the issues of mining on to the public agenda and building consensus to push for alternative mining regimes.[39]

Why should you gain public support?

This may appear a foolish question, but it's remarkable how often gaining public support is ignored. Many initiatives or organisations seem to feel their cause is so obviously just and logical that people will support it automatically. They don't see the need to cultivate that support, and as a result, they fail to get it. Then, when they fail to reach their goals, they can't understand why.

Public support is important for a number of reasons:
- It lends credibility to your campaign for community change. It's not just your organisation that believes your issue needs to be addressed, it's the community or public as a whole.
- It generates increased support because once a certain critical mass adopts a new idea, that idea becomes the norm. No one will question that it ought to be a community priority, or that community resources ought to be devoted to addressing it.
- It is required for any action you take. The more public support you have, the more your action seems not only reasonable, but also appropriate.
- It means you can apply more pressure to politicians and officials, and that your pressure is perceived as coming from the mainstream, not from the political fringe.
- It means that the community or public has taken ownership of the issue, making it more likely not only that it will be dealt with, but that it will continue to be dealt with over the long term. Once the issue is in the community consciousness, it is unlikely to disappear.

Whose support do you need?

Whose support are we talking about when we refer to 'public support'? The ideal, of course, is the support of everyone in the community (or as many groups as possible), but you should aim to get support from some key individuals and groups. The better you understand your society and target constituencies (general public etc.) and your issue, the more effectively you can target the people and organisations whose support is important to your effort. Attention or lack of attention by a particular person (for example a head of state) or the media can either work for or against the public's perception of an issue as important.

When should you try to gain support?

Gaining public support for your issue is an ongoing process, but there are times of crisis when a push to gain support can be particularly productive, such as when:

- the issue has reached a point where it can't be ignored
- the number of people affected by the issue reaches critical mass; at the point where nearly everyone knows, or knows about, someone affected, the public is generally more open to championing the cause
- new information calls attention to the issue
- a publication, or a media story not initiated by you, highlights the issue
- a crucial event makes your issue more visible
- the political time is right – an approaching election, pressure on politicians or officials to address the issue, or a referendum all might make it a good time to build public support.

How do you gain public support? [40]

Frame the issue properly. This means defining it and its context. You want to cast the issue in a light that will make the largest number of people willing to support it:

- frame the issue as mainstream, not extreme or radical, and define it clearly
- don't make unsupportable claims, or claims that most people find extreme or counter-intuitive.
- emphasise common ground and universal or near-universal values where possible
- make common cause with other groups
- become the authority
- take advantage of opportunities by employing your knowledge and status as an expert to show people what can be done to change the situation … never let a chance to gain support pass you by.

Gain support of one individual and organisation at a time. Public support often gets built through personal contacts over time. People trust most those whom they know best. Ask people to do something, rather than just telling them about the issue. People are more likely to support you if they feel effective in doing so. Some things the public might do:

- write, call, or e-mail politicians to advocate
- report or share experiences of the problem/issue
- become a member of a campaign
- go to a meeting or rally
- volunteer
- create activities or events that highlight the issue and involve the public
- celebrate accomplishments publicly
- cede control of the effort to the community, if feasible.

Use the media and the Internet. [41]

Follow up and maintain support. Once you've gained public support, you have to keep it. Don't take the support of any individual or group for granted – continue to maintain contact. Continue to expand your base of support – add new people and groups at every opportunity.

Follow up and maintain support. Once you've gained public support, you have to keep it. Don't take the support of any individual or group for granted – continue to maintain contact. Continue to expand your base of support – add new people and groups at every opportunity.

4.10 What is critical thinking? [42]

This section has been included because much of the discourse around mining is 'received wisdom' or 'conventional wisdom', for example that mining is good for development. Attitudes like this prevail in the media. Much of the struggle against human rights violations in mining is masked by a great deal of propaganda. A challenge around mining activism is how to adopt a critical stance, not only in the way we strategise, but also in changing other stakeholders' views to look at issues differently.

Critical thinking is the process of examining, analysing, questioning, and challenging situations, issues, and information of all kinds. We use it when we raise questions about:

- survey results
- theories
- personal comments
- media stories
- our own personal relationships
- history
- scientific research
- political statements
- conventional wisdom, general assumptions, and the pronouncements of authority.

Critical thinking is an important tool in solving community problems and in crafting interventions or initiatives in local and national development.

Elements of critical thinking

There are a number of ways to look at the process of critical thinking. Stephen Brookfield [43] presents several, with this being perhaps the simplest.

- *Problem/goal identification:* What is the real issue?
- *Diagnosis:* Given all the information we have, what's the best way to deal with this issue?
- Exploration: How do we do what we decided on, and who will make it happen?
- *Action:* Do it!
- *Reflection:* Did it work? If so, how can it work even better? If not, what went wrong, and how can we fix it? What have we learned here that might be valuable in the future? Reflection leads you to consider other problems or goals, and the cycle begins again.

Critical thinking involves being thrown into questioning mode by an event or idea that conflicts with your understanding of the world and makes you uncomfortable. If you allow yourself to respond to the discomfort – that is partially an issue of personal development – you'll try to figure out where it comes from, and to come up with other ways to understand the situation. Ultimately, if you persist, you'll gain a new perspective on the event itself, and reach a more critical understanding.

Goals of critical thinking

- *Truth:* separate what is true from what is false, or partially true, or incomplete, or slanted, or based on false premises, or assumed to be true because 'everyone says so'.

- *Context:* consider the context and history of issues, problems, or situations.
- *Assumptions:* understand the assumptions and purposes behind information or situations.
- *Alternatives:* create ways of approaching problems, issues, and situations that address the real, rather than assumed or imagined, factors that underlie or directly cause them – even when those factors turn out to be different from what you expected.

Why is critical thinking important?

Specific reasons for the importance of critical thinking:

- *It identifies bias.* Critical thinking identifies both the bias in what it looks at (its object), and the biases you yourself bring to it. If you can address these honestly, and adjust your thinking accordingly, you'll be able to see the object in light of the way it's slanted, and to understand your own biases in your reaction to it. A bias is not necessarily bad: it is simply a preferred way of looking at things. Regardless of whether most of us would consider a particular bias good or bad, not seeing it can limit how we resolve a problem or issue.
- *It's oriented toward the problem, issue, or situation that you're addressing.* Critical thinking focuses on analysing and understanding its object. It eliminates, to the extent possible, emotional reactions, except where they become part of an approach or solution.
- *It gives you the whole picture.* Critical thinking never considers anything in a vacuum. Its object has a history, a source, a context. Thinking critically allows you to bring these into play, thus getting more than just the outline of what you're examining, and making a realistic and effective solution to a problem more likely.
- *It brings in other necessary factors.* Some of the things that affect the object of critical thought – previous situations, personal histories, general assumptions about an issue – may need to be examined themselves. Critical thinking identifies and questions them.
- *It considers both the simplicity and complexity of its object.* A situation or issue may have a seemingly simple explanation or resolution, but it may rest on a complex combination of factors. Thinking critically unravels the relationships among these, and determines what level of complexity needs to be dealt with in order to reach a desired conclusion.
- *It gives you the most nearly accurate view of reality.* The whole point of critical thinking is to construct the most objective view available; 100% objectivity may not be possible, but the closer you can get, the better.
- *It is most likely to help you get the results you want*. The closer you are to dealing with things as they really are, the more likely you are to be able to address a problem or issue with some hope of success.

In more general terms, the real value of critical thinking is that it is at the root of all human progress. You'd be hard pressed to find an advance in almost any area of human development that didn't start with someone looking at the way things were and saying 'It doesn't have to be that way. What if we looked at it from another angle?'

How to encourage the critical stance

Recognise assumptions. Each of us has a set of assumptions – ideas, attitudes or 'facts' we take for granted – that underlies our thinking. Only when you look at these assumptions and realise how they colour your conclusions can you examine situations, problems, or issues objectively.

Assumptions are based on a number of factors – physical, environmental, psychological, and experiential – that we automatically, and often unconsciously, bring to bear on anything we think about. One of the first steps in encouraging a critical stance is to try to make these factors conscious. Besides direct discussion, role-plays and debates of hypothetical or relatively non-threatening real situations are other ways to help people think about the preconceptions they bring to any situation.

Sources of assumptions are numerous and overlapping, but the most important are:

- *Senses.* The impact of the senses is so elemental that we sometimes react to them without realising we're doing so. You may respond to a person based on smells you're barely aware of, for instance.
- *Experience.* Each of us has a unique set of experiences, and they influence our responses to what we encounter. Ultimately, as critical thinkers, we have to understand both how past experience might limit our thinking in a situation, and how we can use it to see things more clearly.
- *Values.* Values are deeply-held beliefs – often learned from families, schools, and peers – about how the world should be. These 'givens' may be difficult even to recognise, let alone reject. It further complicates matters that values usually concern the core issues of our lives: personal and sexual relationships, morality, gender and social roles, race, social class, and the organisation of society, to name just a few.
- *Emotions.* Recognising our emotional reactions is vital to keeping them from influencing our conclusions. Anger at child abusers may get in the way of our understanding the issue clearly, for example. We can't control emotions, but we can understand how we react to them.
- *Self interest.* Sometimes each of us injects what is best for ourselves into our decisions. We have to be aware of when self interest gets in the way of reason, and always try to look at other interests in the situation.
- *Culture.* The culture we grew up in, the culture we've adopted, the predominant culture in the society – all have effects on us, and push us into thinking in particular ways. Understanding how culture acts upon our and others' thinking makes it possible to look at a problem or issue in a different light.
- *History.* Community history, the history of our organisation or initiative, and our own history in dealing with particular problems and issues will all have an impact on the way we think about the current situation.
- *Religion.* Our own religious backgrounds – whether we still practice religion or not – may be more powerful than we realise in influencing our thinking.
- *Biases.* Very few of us, regardless of what we'd like to believe, are free of racial or ethnic prejudices of some sort, or of political, moral, and other biases.
- *Prior knowledge.* What we know about a problem or issue, from personal experience, from second-hand accounts, or from theory, shapes our responses to it. We have to be sure, however, that what we 'know' is in fact true, and relevant to the issue at hand.
- *Conventional wisdom.* All of us have a large store of information that 'everybody knows' which we apply to new situations and problems. Unfortunately, the fact that everybody knows it doesn't make it right. Conventional wisdom is often too conventional: it usually

reflects the simplest way of looking at things. We may need to step outside the conventions to look for new solutions. This is often the case when people complain that 'common sense' makes the solution to a problem obvious.

Examine information for accuracy, assumptions, biases, or specific interests by asking some basic questions:

- *What's the source of the information?* Knowing where information originates can tell you a lot about what it's meant to make you believe.
- *Does the source generally produce accurate information?*
- *What are the source's assumptions about the problem or issue?* Does the source have a particular interest or belong to a particular group that will allow you to understand what it believes about the issue the information refers to?
- *Does the source have biases or purposes that would lead it to slant information in a particular way, or to lie outright?* Politicians and political campaigns often 'spin' information so that it seems to favour them and their position. People in the community may do the same, or may 'know' things that happen not to be true.
- *Does anyone in particular stand to benefit or lose if the information is accepted or rejected?* To whose advantage is it if the information is taken at face value?
- *Is the information complete?* Are there important pieces missing? Does it tell you everything you need to know? Is it based on enough data to be accurate?
- *Is the information logically consistent?* Does it make sense? Do arguments actually prove what they pretend to prove? Just about anyone can come up with an example that 'proves' a particular point – one example is not a general rule.
- *Is the information clear?* Do you understand?
- *Is the information relevant to the current situation?* Information may be accurate, complete, logically consistent, powerful, but useless if it has nothing to do with what you're trying to deal with.
- *Is the information true*? Outright lies and made-up 'facts' are not uncommon in politics, community work, and other situations. Knowing the source and its interests, understanding the situation, and being sensibly sceptical can help protect you from acting on false information.
- *The interests involved.* If there is a conflict, what are the needs and aims of the various factions? Who stands to gain, and who stands to lose? What are the best interests of the community – or can you determine that at all?

5 Regional and International Advocacy

5.1 Governance, citizenship, rights, and gender

Working with people to define and claim their rights, challenging dominant extractives-based development models and natural resources governance frameworks is a political struggle. It involves negotiations in formal and informal spheres about access to resources and opportunities and about how nature is commodified. For this reason, we need to look at the content of the international human rights system as well as understand governance and government, laws and policies, and citizenship and citizen participation. When we talk about rights, it is important to ask people: What should the relation between citizens and state look like? And what should the relation between citizens-state-private sector and financial capital look like? In regimes that have acceded to international and regional human rights instruments citizenship is about claiming rights and holding decision-makers accountable and being able to participate in decision-making around reforms or transformational changes in development thinking and mining regimes.

Feminists, human rights and social justice movements view citizenship as both a status and a practice. Beyond the legal rules governing the relationship between an individual and the state, some feminists extend the definition of citizenship to include the social relationships between individuals and the state, as well as between individual citizens, ie they extend the notion of public good from beyond the public into the family and household. Gita Sen describes citizenship as operating in four spheres: 'a) the political level; b) the economic levels; c) the cultural level of norms and values; and d) the personal level of family, home and relationships'.[44] She emphasises that the absence of citizenship at one level puts the others at risk as well.

5.2 What is international human rights advocacy? [45]

- NGOs may engage in international human rights advocacy at the United Nations (UN) as well as through regional systems including the European human rights system, the Inter-American human rights system, and the African human rights system. Each regional system has slightly different bodies and mechanisms that may be used to advance and monitor the human rights of women and girls.
- International human rights advocacy and monitoring at the UN may be accomplished through UN bodies, charter-based and treaty-based mechanisms, and specialised agencies, including special rapporteurs. In order to enforce the provisions of international treaties, the UN does not rely solely on information about violations of human rights brought by individuals or NGOs. The UN human rights bodies themselves regularly monitor compliance with treaty obligations. There are two ways the reporting and monitoring procedure can be initiated.

Required state reporting

Once a national government has ratified one of the treaties, it is required to report on a regular basis to the treaty-monitoring body. States are under an obligation to report on their own compliance with the treaty. Treaty bodies issue concluding comments based upon the receipt of state reports and information received from NGOs. Concluding comments are available on the country pages of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights website.

The following are the human rights treaty bodies that monitor implementation of the core international human rights treaties:

- Human Rights Committee (CCPR)
- Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR)
- Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)
- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- Committee Against Torture (CAT) & Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture (OPCAT) (a subcommittee on Prevention of Torture)
- Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW)
- Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)

NGOs have successfully used the state reporting period as a tool for advocacy. Most commonly, NGOs may submit alternative or 'shadow' reports, which offer an alternate view of state compliance with treaty obligations. Typically, shadow reports elaborate on information contained in State Party reports and provide an alternative analysis. Accredited NGOs can also monitor many of the committee's proceeding as observers.[46]

### Committee or NGO-initiated reporting

Some UN monitoring bodies initiate a report on government action outside of the reporting schedule required by a treaty. In the case of the UN Special Rapporteurs, such as the Special Rapporteur on violence against women and Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, the office initiates analyses of specific issues or developments, which are published in a report. Alternatively, information from advocates and NGOs may bring a specific issue to the attention of a UN body, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, which will then carry out a study and issue recommendations.[47]

Using the Universal Human Rights Index for advocacy

The Universal Human Rights Index (Index), designed for and maintained by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, is designed primarily to facilitate access to human rights documents issued by the UN human rights treaty bodies and the special procedures of the Human Rights Council. The Index provides any interested party, including civil society groups and NGOs, with a new tool for searching the observations and recommendations of these expert bodies. The Index allows advocates to quickly locate relevant information through searching by country, by region, by treaty body, by right, and by affected groups. A search for Angola and CEDAW, for example, allows advocates to instantly review all the CEDAW observations related to Angola's reports as well as the Committee recommendations, which can serve as a blueprint for advocacy.

CEDAW Optional Protocol complaints and inquiry procedures

The CEDAW Optional Protocol came into force in 2000 and there are currently 99 ratifications. This Optional Protocol provides an enforcement mechanism for the CEDAW treaty, which had been lacking up to that point. There are two main procedures under the Optional Protocol – an individual complaint mechanism, and an inquiry mechanism. Individual women who have a complaint of discrimination against a State Party to the Optional Protocol can submit their
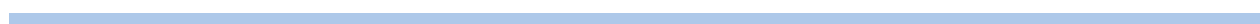
communication to the Committee in accordance with the rules under the Protocol. The Committee will contact the state for a response and will ultimately make a decision regarding the complaint. In order to submit an individual complaint:

- The entire claim must be submitted in writing; there is no oral hearing.
- The state in which the alleged abuse of rights took place must have been a party to the original Convention and the Optional Protocol at the time the abuse occurred (or the violation must continue beyond the date when the state became a party).
- The submission cannot be anonymous. Each submission must have an identifiable woman or group of women as victim(s) of the abuse. This requirement has been controversial as many groups have argued that it makes it more difficult for the most vulnerable women to bring complaints forward, however the requirement has remained.
- All domestic channels must have been exhausted before women can bring a case to the international level.

The Committee can also request states to take interim measures at any time during the complaint process. The inquiry procedure allows the Committee to investigate grave and systematic violations of women's rights in a particular state if they receive a report on such a situation from either and individual or a group. This confidential process includes the appointment of a small group of Committee members to investigate the claim and submit a report to the state in question.[48]

5.3 Key international and regional agreements relevant to mining, human rights and women's rights [49]

Since the UDHR and the various treaties cited enshrine universal human rights standards, including those that can help to address gender injustices in regard to extractives, activists can use the instruments to:

- develop position or issue papers on how extractives policies and laws can comply with human rights standards that protect women, and use these to advocate for improved laws and policies
- develop gender-sensitive MML and other extractives laws and policies that adhere to minimum human rights standards
- use the human rights standards to advocate for the development of gender-sensitive treaties related to the extractives industries; or for the development of gender-sensitive addendums to mining, other extractives or women-specific treaties, where possible; or for the development of General Recommendations by treaty-monitoring bodies like CEDAW and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) on how mining affects the enjoyment of various human rights by women
- develop monitoring mechanisms like the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Barometer (which regularly monitors the implementation of the SADC Gender Protocol in each SADC country) that can be used to carry analyses addressing gaps related to women and extractives.

DOCUMENT	LEGAL STATUS
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948)	This is an international instrument that was originally intended only to be a statement of human rights principles, but because states have treated it as a document that creates government obligations, the declaration has achieved the status of customary international law. This means that states must ensure their citizens enjoy rights set out in it.[50]
Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979)	This is an international women's rights treaty that imposes legal duties on Member States to comprehensively protect women's rights. It came into force on 3 September 1981.
International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966)	This is an international legally binding instrument that advances the obligation of States Parties to respect, protect full economic, social and cultural rights. It came into force on 3 January 1976.
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966)	This is an international legally binding instrument that advances the obligation of States Parties to respect, protect full civil and political rights. It came into force on 23 March 1976.
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989)	This is an international legally binding instrument that advances the obligation of States Parties to respect, protect full the rights of children. It came into force in September 1990.
The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (1989) (No 169)	This is an international legally binding instrument, addressing the fundamental principle that indigenous and tribal peoples should be consulted and fully participate in all decision-making processes that concern them. It came into force on 5 September 1991.
African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (or the African Charter) (1981)	This is a regional legally binding instrument, which was ratified by all African states by 1999. It came into force on 21 October 1986.
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003)	This is a regional legally binding instrument that was adopted on 11 January 2003 and came into force on 25 November 2005. All African Union (AU) Member States are expected to ratify this Protocol, and 36 countries had ratified it by 21 February 2013.
SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008)	This is a Southern African sub-regional legally binding instrument that aims to provide for the empowerment of women and is a tool used to set realistic, measurable targets, timeframes and indicators for gender equality and monitor and evaluate the progress made by Member States.[51] It came into force in November 2012.
SADC Protocol on Mining (1997)	This is a Southern African sub-regional legally binding instrument that came into force on 10 February 2000. SADC Member States decided to establish a Protocol on Mining in order to adopt internationally accepted regional standards within the mining sector.
ECOWAS Directive on the Harmonisation of Guiding Principles and Policies in the Mining Sector (2009)	This is a sub-regional directive governing West African Member States. The ECOWAS Council of Ministers adopted this Directive at its 62nd session in Abuja on 26 and 27 May 2009. ECOWAS Directives and their objectives are binding on all Member States. However, the modalities for attaining such objectives are left to the discretion of states.[52]

5.4 Principles of international and regional human rights advocacy

The basic principles for regional and international advocacy are the same as for policy and legislative advocacy at the national level. The following should be emphasised:

- understand the rules, institutions, actors and decision-making process calendars of regional institutions
- determine the legal and political status of the treaties, conventions, protocols etc.; which are binding and which are not
- know and meet officials who participate in government delegations, if possible before they go to meetings (lists of participants of meetings may often be found online)
- know which regional blocs your country is a member of, what your country's positions are before they meet at continental or international level (increasingly, African countries develop common positions at the regional economic community (REC) level – SADC, ECOWAS etc.)
- decide which sector it is strategic to meet and build alliances with, even if they are not key decision-makers (environment, women's rights, social welfare) in order to get extractives on their agenda
- build a profile at the regional/international level with your regional/continental groups and government delegations
- follow the process of drafting very closely, in particular joining technical or expert groups
- demonstrate multi-country representivity
- try to meet officials outside busy conference times, if possible
- identify officials and delegate members who may be friendly to your cause
- organise meetings with government officials and your group to explain what decisions are being taken
- ensure there is a budget for translation (English, French, Portuguese); documents will often not be accepted/distributed officially if they are not in all the working languages of the body in question
- find out what spaces are available for civil society within the institutional processes; where possible, try to get official observer status – some governments are willing to include civil society members in official delegations
- make clear proposals or demands addressed to the appropriate (ie most strategic level) target (this may be a politician, but may also be a government official).

5.5 How to get model legislation passed at AU level [53]

Model legislation plays a significant role in strengthening Africa's policy environment. It provides a reference point for State Parties to consider the adoption of a national framework (taking into account international standards and best practice), helps to contextualise global issues in local contexts, and provides civil society advocates with an important advocacy tool for influencing decisions around the need and nature of a national framework.

There are two main channels through which human rights related model laws can be adopted in Africa. Until June 2014, the ACHPR was the only institution of the AU with mandate to do so. Article 1(b) mandates the ACHPR to:

formulate and lay down principles and rules aimed at solving legal problems relating to human and peoples' rights and fundamental freedoms upon which African Governments may base their legislations.

More recently, the Pan African Parliament through the Protocol to the Constitutive Act of the African Union Relating to the Pan African Parliament adopted by the 23rd AU Summit on 27 June 2014 under Article 8(1)(b) is mandated to propose model laws:

The Pan African Parliament (PAP) may on its own make proposals on the subjects/areas on which it may submit or recommend draft Model Laws to the Assembly for its consideration and approval.

The process for developing a model law can also be initiated by the Heads of States and Governments Assembly who under Article 8(1)(a) may direct PAP to propose a model law. However, given the difficulty of using this channel, the realistic space for African citizens remains either the ACHPR or the PAP.

The effect of Article 8 (1)(b) is that PAP proposes model laws for the Assembly of Heads of State to approve a model law. Whereas models adopted by ACHPR under Article 1(b) would be soft law. In general (AFIC)'s experience is that soft law can have an equal impact if its dissemination, promotion, and use becomes so effective to influence policy on a regular basis.

Procedures for African citizens and organisations to propose model laws through the Assembly or the PAP are not in place, but engaging respective members of PAP or committees dealing with a special subject would be advised.

The Protocol to the Constitutive Act of the African Union Relating to the Pan African Parliament is yet to obtain the necessary minimum signatures to come into force. However, there is nothing that hinders PAP from proceeding to propose model laws, thus civil society and citizens should not be hindered to engage PAP.

Case Study: Experiences from the Africa model law on ATI

The origins of the Model Law on Access to Information (ATI) for AU Member States can be traced back to the February 2010 African Regional Conference on ATI held in Accra, Ghana. One of the key topics discussed was why there were only five countries with (RTI) (in full) in Africa, as compared to over 85 countries in other regions. While explaining the difficulties, Shemelis Kemal, Ethiopia's Deputy Minister of Government Communication Affairs observed at the February 2010 African Regional Conference on the Right to Information, 'when Ethiopia was drafting its ATI Bill, we looked for models in Africa and couldn't find any. This affected the process and outcomes of our law'. The conference recommended:

The Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression and Access to Information should be provided an enhanced mandate and the necessary resources and support to ... (c) Facilitate the drafting of a region-specific model law, through a participatory process with inputs from all relevant stakeholder groups, to support the passage of national laws and encourage observance of the highest standards of transparency.

During the 48th Ordinary Session of the ACHPR held from 10 to 24 November the Special Rapporteur of Freedom of Expression and ATI was mandated by ACHPR Resolution 167 (XLVIII) to initiate a process of developing model ATI legislation for Africa.

Following this decision, the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and ATI in Africa, Commissioner Pansy Tlakula set up a team of experts to work under her leadership to draft the model law. The team comprised freedom of information experts from public agencies, academia and civil society.

The first draft was subjected to wide online consultations and reviews through websites and listserves where various stakeholders were invited to make comments. These were integrated to produce a second draft.

The second draft was subjected to regional consultation meetings in Southern, Eastern, Western and Northern Africa. Each of these regional consultation meetings was chaired by the Special Rapporteur and attended by over 60 stakeholders from respective national human rights institutions, election management bodies, human rights and anti-corruption civil society representatives, RECs, and intergovernmental agencies. Ahead of the consultation meetings, the draft model law was translated into French and Portuguese and circulated to ensure that people had sufficient time to review it. These languages were also used in respective regions to ensure stakeholders were not hindered by language.

In the meantime, the Special Rapporteur kept the ACPHR informed on progress through her activity reports to the ACHPR every session. Once she was satisfied with content and level of consultation, she with the assistance of the Technical Working Group presented the report with draft model law on ATI for the Commission's consideration. The Commission made its inputs, which were later considered and integrated. The final model law on ATI for Africa was adopted at a ACHPR Special Session.

The impact of the model is phenomenal. Civil society organisations like AFIC have used it as a framework to make inputs in various draft Freedom of Information bills as well as analysis of laws. ECOWAS has used it in framing the draft regional Supplementary Act on a Uniform Legal Framework on Freedom of Expression and the Right to Information in West Africa and many governments and researchers are using the model law. The ACHPR itself regularly asks State Parties if their national ATI laws reflect the spirit of the model law.

Factors for success
- *Felt need:* The development of the model to guide legislating for ATI was a response to the expressed need of both governments and civil society. Indeed, in many countries like Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana, freedom of expression and ATI was long associated with journalists and this mobilised resistance from governments and key stakeholders. Further, even where political will existed, parliaments and executive arms of government faced challenges and tended to introduce many protective rather than facilitative provisions. In addition, many civil society organisations were advocating for the law in general, but were unable to make substantial contributions to make draft bills better.

- *Leadership:* The ACHPR's leadership role through its Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and ATI provided the necessary political weight and convening power for the process. This made it possible for buy-in from governments and civil society without fear that either side would highjack the process for their own interest. The Special Rapporteur also ensured her colleagues in the Commission were kept informed of the process, while at the same time ensuring the process and outcomes reflected the overall mandate of the African Commission.
- *Ownership:* Whether it is the ACHPR, governments or civil society, everyone felt ownership of the process and product. It is not surprising therefore, that the model law has been used by various stakeholders as a reference point for ATI legislation or advocacy.
- *Role of the ACHPR:* The early involvement of the ACHPR through Resolution 167 (XLVIII) ensured that space for the Commission to discuss and approve the model law was ensured.[54]
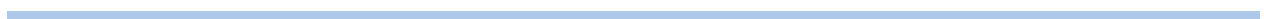
6 Annexures

Tool 1: Types of Policies

Official government policies

These are usually discussed publicly and written down, either as or within laws and official regulations or as statements of policy in government documents. Official policy, in and of itself can take many forms:

- Simple recognition of the seriousness of an issue.
- Support for addressing an issue, or for a specific position on that issue. A policy of support may mean officials consider that issue when discussing others related to it, that it gets funding priority, etc.
- The amount of funding available for a specific issue reflects government policy on the importance of that issue.
- Funding and eligibility standards for publicly-funded programmes. Eligibility in this case might include the types of programmes the government is willing to fund, which reflects its policy (and assumptions) on what will actually work to resolve the issue. It might also include who is eligible for services, which reflects official policy on where and what the need is.
- Enforcement – or lack of enforcement – of existing laws and regulations. Whether laws and regulations are enforced strictly, leniently, or at all is an indication of policy toward the issues they cover and/or the entities regulated by them. The policy of many states is to consider marijuana possession a misdemeanour, for instance, because it is so widespread.
- Actual laws or regulations are an expression of official policy, often brought about by pressure from citizens. Changes in official policy, leading to changes in laws and regulations, are also often motivated by public pressure.

Unofficial government policy

Unofficial policies are shaped by the unspoken attitudes and assumptions held by policy-makers. They are not generally written down anywhere, and may not even be stated to anyone, but they are powerful and long-lasting. They can become part of the culture of a governing body or agency, and, at least in part because they are unwritten, they are often incredibly difficult to change.

No one may admit that unwritten policies exist, or they may be so deeply ingrained that they are viewed not as policies, but as facts. Assumptions about such issues as gender roles, race relations, or the relative status of particular groups may play a huge, but unacknowledged, role in public or corporate policy. Unofficial policies may have to be exposed and changed before any official policy change is possible.

Policies made by government bureaucracies, and by public services

These policies may cover such areas as:

- How citizens are treated by agencies and departments, including disparities in the ways members of different racial and ethnic groups are treated.
- How bureaucrats choose to interpret and enforce laws and regulations.
- Whose emergency calls get answered, and how quickly.

- The character and quality of schools and services in different neighbourhoods.
- The situation of environmentally questionable industries or facilities.

Businesses

All businesses, from the smallest mom-and-pop corner store to the largest multinational corporation, have official and unofficial policies about the ways they do business. Among most businesses' policies are:

- *Hiring.* Some businesses may favour minority applicants, for instance, while others may pay no attention to racial or ethnic background, or actively avoid hiring minority applicants. Some may try to hire workers from the local community, while others may simply look for anyone with the appropriate skills.
- *Compensation.* Starting salary, regular raises, stock options, and fringe benefits all fall into this category. Compensation policy – including the difference between the pay of those at the bottom and those at the top of the company – reflects the business' view of employees' importance.
- *Employer-employee relations.* Company policy about how workers are treated may have a major influence not only on the company itself, but on the community in which it is located. Generous benefits, workplace education, promotion from within, and the encouragement and rewarding of workers' initiative are all evidence of respect and concern for the workforce, and – in the case of a town's major employer – can create a community climate of harmony and shared purpose.
- *Employer-community relations.* Again, especially in the case of a major employer, a business' relationship with the community can have a profound effect on both. Some businesses try to be good citizens, supporting community services, offering employees paid release time to work on community projects, and responding to community concerns about such issues as pollution. Others ignore the needs and wishes of the community entirely, often poisoning the atmosphere – literally and figuratively – both within and outside the business.
- *Business practices and ethics.* Illegal and unethical practices are the result of policies, just as community-friendly stances are. Corporate executives whose concern for their own finances leads them to 'creative' bookkeeping and illegal dealings are all too familiar. Businesses, in the name of profit, can act legally but unethically – failing to deliver on promises made to a community, for instance pressuring suppliers for discounts or services, or forcing local competitors out of business.

Media

While some media outlets follow policies that reflect particular political agendas, almost all media, no matter how objective they try to be, make and set policies by what stories they choose to cover, what features of those stories they choose to emphasise, where they maintain regular bureaus or reporters, and the words and pictures they use to describe what they report.

Community

While there may be no discussion or complete consensus about what community policy actually is, communities do have policies on issues and other matters.

Community policy is made by a combination of factors, but two are by far the most important. One is the opinion of community leaders – not necessarily those elected, but those whose opinions

are listened to because of their economic or political clout, or simply because of the respect they have earned. These may include influential business people, clergy, educators, or directors of organisations, among others. The second is public opinion – which may be formed partially by the opinions of community leaders, but is also a product of people's own experiences, the media, and the long-time standards and practices of the community.

A small community can have its policies determined by an elite group that controls the area's economy. People are afraid to challenge them openly because of their control over the livelihoods of community members, who may include themselves or their relatives.

Tool 2: Working for Policy Change

State why a policy needs to be developed or modified, including:
- Basic needs are not being met (for example, people are not receiving the health care they need)
- People are not being treated fairly (for example, people with disabilities do not have access to public places)
- Resources are distributed unfairly (for example, educational services are more limited in neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty)
- Current policies or laws are not enforced or effective (for example, the current laws on clean water are neither enforced nor effective)
- Proposed changes in policies or laws could be harmful (for example, a plan to eliminate flexitime in a large business would reduce parents' ability to be with their children)
- Existing or emerging conditions pose a threat to public health, safety, education, or well-being (for example, new threats from terrorist activity)

Study the issue or problem a policy change would affect:
- Outline the facts, myths, and values associated with the issue. Find out:
  - the results of previous research about the issue or problem
  - how similar issues have been resolved through policy decisions in other places or organisations
  - what those who are affected by the issue think 'should be' in an ideal situation
  - what people believe is maintaining the problem, true or not
- List who or what is affected by the current state of affairs. Ask:
  - how are they affected
  - what needs to be done differently to lessen the problem
- Define the issue or current policy in neutral terms and generate possible policy-related solutions

Based on knowledge about the issue or problem and who it affects, indicate the type and context of policies to be developed, including:
- Public laws and ordinances
- Regulatory policies
- Executive orders from elected officials
- Business policies and organisational rules and bylaws

State what your group will do to influence each of the stages of policy development (for example, agenda setting). What broad goals do you need to achieve to be effective?

- Bring the issue to the attention of the public and decision-makers and frame the issues and available policy options (for example, secure policy debate on the issue, develop and secure consideration of policy options [agenda setting stage]
- Influence the adoption of a preferred policy option [policy adoption stage]
- Assure effective implementation of adopted policies [policy implementation stage]
- Assess the effects of adopted policies and adjust as needed [policy evaluation stage]

Identify resources and assets to be used for policy development, including:

- The number and kind of people who are available and committed to working on the problem or issue
- The financial resources anticipated and currently available
- The communication technologies, facilities, and other material resources available
- Additional information and support
- Other assets that can be used to support the effort (for example, relationships with influential policy-makers and those who have spear-headed similar efforts)

When influencing the adoption of a policy or how it will be implemented:

- Identify precedents/best practices for policy option(s) that have been adopted and implemented in other similar situations
- Describe how the policy option(s) met the interests of potential targets, agents, and opponents
- Describe the critical features to be preserved in the policy option(s) including:
  - information about what to do, why to do it, and with what anticipated costs and benefits for whom
  - facilitation and support that reduces the time, effort, and other costs for those responsible for implementing it
  - regulation and monitoring that helps assure compliance or implementation of critical elements
  - incentives that reward change and improvements
- Gain an audience with those who can propose the policy or who will be active in forming its implementation

(As appropriate) state the circumstances under which you will close out the policy development effort:

- If you have been successful at negotiating a favourable policy or ensuring implementation, celebrate with those affected and invested in the issue
- If opposition is significant, consider:
  - postponing action (for example, If there are insufficient votes for a bill supporting construction of low-income housing, then postpone the vote)
  - mediating differences with opponents (for example, meet with land developers and discuss how they can build without disrupting water resources for local farmlands)
  - making a deal or a compromise to achieve part of your goal (for example, if there are no funds or support to expand drug rehabilitation services for women, ask if a percentage of existing services can be guaranteed for women clients)

Tool 3: Strategy Checklist

STRATEGY	DOES IT?	YES OR NO
1	Help us reach our goals Use our allies Minimise our opposition Suit our style	
2	Help us reach our goals Use our allies Minimise our opposition Suit our style	
3	Help us reach our goals Use our allies Minimise our opposition Suit our style	
4	Help us reach our goals Use our allies Minimise our opposition Suit our style	

Tool 4: Turning Goals Into Action Steps

GOAL	ACTION STEPS
	By
	By

Tool 5: Planning Tactics

Goal:
Strategy:

ACTION	BY WHOM	BY WHEN	RESOURCES AND SUPPORT NEEDED	POSSIBLE OPPONENTS

Tool 6: Campaign Planning Chart

GOALS	RESOURCES & ASSETS	SUPPORT / OPPOSITION	TARGETS / AGENTS OF CHANGE	STRATEGIES	ACTION STEPS

Tool 7: Monitoring Policy Changes

INFLUENCING APPROACH	OUTCOMES / WHAT TO MEASURE	HOW / TOOLS
Policy documents, case studies and other materials	Outputs	Evaluating research reports, policy briefs and websites
	Uptake and use	Logs, new areas for citation analysis, user surveys
	Influence	RAPID outcome assessment, episode studies, most significant change
Public mobilisation	Target audience attitudes, behaviour, etc	Surveys, focus groups, direct responses
	Media attention	Media tracking logs, media assessment
	Media framing and influence	Framing analysis, coverage
Advocacy approaches	Actors, relationships, policy process and institutions	Recording meetings, tracking people, interviewing key
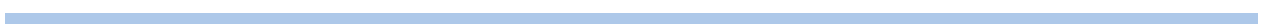
Tool 8: Identifying Allies

SOURCES OF ALLIES	POTENTIAL ALLIES	WHAT ARE / WHAT COULD THEY BE DOING	CONTACTED?
Who is already working on the issue in your community?			
Possible other allies based on general information sources			
Others			

Tool 9: Benefits & Risk Analysis of Allies

ASK YOURSELF	EXAMPLES	THE BENEFITS FOR YOU? WHAT DO THEY GAIN?	THE RISKS FOR YOU?
Whose problem is it?	Women in affected communities		
	Mineworkers' unions		

Tool 10: Ally Power Grid Template

TYPE OF POWER	RATIONALE
Members: How many members does the group have?	The more members a group has, the less likely it is to be ignored
Money: Will they donate money to your issue?	Donated money and other resources are always welcome in achieving your group's goals
Credibility: Do they bring special credibility?	A group with strong positive recognition in your community will help bring credibility to your own group
Appeal: Do they have special appeal?	Some groups of people have universal appeal, and being connected to them will help your image
Network: Are they part of a large, organised network?	A group who has many other groups in its network is going to have financial resources, credibility, and some political power
Reputation: Do they have a reputation for toughness?	Groups with a tough reputation may discourage opponents
Skills: Do they have special skills?	An ally may bring technical, media, or legal skills to your group
Newsworthy: Are they particularly newsworthy?	Some groups may have a reputation or connections in the media that make them newsworthy; if they align with you, that might give positive media attention to your cause

Tool 11: Engaging Women in Community Processes

IDENTIFY OBSTACLES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION	STRATEGISE TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES	REACH, ENGAGE AND EMPOWER WOMEN
Busy with other responsibilities	Take advantage of meeting spaces where women are together already and might feel comfortable speaking	Understand what women do in a day
Fear what their partner or male relatives will think if they talk to strangers	Make special efforts to identify women with leadership skills or potential and find spaces to work with them	Identify and work with the support systems that women can count on
Experience direct discrimination that prevents them from speaking	Use codes to initiate discussion when personal questions are too difficult	Generate a comfortable atmosphere and sense of shared experiences to encourage women to participate
	In mixed groups, call attention to people when they make remarks that inhibit women's participation	Ensure women play a role in designing, implementing, and evaluating activities
	Focus on small gains to build confidence	Help women question their situation and be prepared to provide information and support as needed
	Focus on small gains to build confidence	

Tool 12: Potential Opponents

ASK YOURSELF	POTENTIAL OPPONENTS	WHAT MIGHT THEY LOSE IF YOU WIN?
Who might lose something if you win?	Governments	Revenue and taxes; existing consensus on mining being in public interest

Tool 13: Recognising Your Opponents' Power

POTENTIAL OPPONENT	WHAT'S AT STAKE FOR THEM?	THE OPPONENT'S POWER	THE OPPONENT'S POTENTIAL STRATEGIES
Mining industries	• Money • Time • Jobs	• Financial resources • Newsworthy (major regional employer) • Credibility	• Tie you up in a long, costly legal battle • Try to portray your group as against public/national interest to the media • Mainstream economists who say for jobs and economic growth, mining is a must

Tool 14: Mining & Gender – Overview of Macro to Micro Links

This is a suggested framework to analyse gendered impacts of mining regimes at the macro-meso-micro level and develop policy responses at international, regional/national and local levels

LEVELS	ISSUES	GENDERED IMPACTS
Macro: dominant ideology Neoliberalism, capitalism patriarchy, destructive extractivism Target: UN, IFIs, multinational corporates, OECD/ G20 countries, regional organisations & development banks	• Separates production from reproduction • Profits are more important than people and planet • Reduce and externalise costs (human, social, environmental) • Use concepts of 'efficiency' & 'growth' to maximise extractive activities • Primacy of the interests of capital (investors) • Privatisation of natural resources/transfer from public to private • Commodification of natural resources • Reduce state/popular sovereignty over resources – ability to redistribute or allocate resources • Race/class/gender privilege defines inclusion and exclusion from the systems of production & profit sharing • Legitimises the notion of 'surplus people' – those not useful to capital Resources: The Impact of Extractives Industries on Women's Unpaid Labour and Social Reproduction, http://www.womin.org.za/women-s-unpaid-labour-social-reproduction.html	• Gendered division of labour excludes women from the market/economy (or parts of it) • Women confined to reproduction, men to production (though men are discriminated through class-owners/worker etc) • Subordination of the social/environmental/ reproductive to the economic/market/productive further disadvantages women • Community/local resource sovereignty abolished – ownership of resources transferred to private corporations • Role of the state is to facilitate capital rather than redistribute wealth equitably • Burden of care transferred exclusively to households, including coping mechanisms as a result of crisis (ie women) • Extractives-based development model is being subsidised by women's unpaid care

Tool 14: Mining & Gender – Overview of Micro to Macro Links *cont*.

LEVELS	ISSUES	GENDERED IMPACTS
Meso: laws and policies Mining regimes Target: national government, parliament, statutory bodies, judiciary etc	• Centralised but free mining regimes (state allocates rights but must privilege capital + elites) • Tight investment protection rights but loose human rights • National interest considered to be equal to 'extraction' • International HR standards and constitutional guarantees are excluded from mining legislation • Loose/non-existent enforcement of social obligations Resources: TWN Alternative Investment Framework Africa, http://www.womin.org.za/images/regional-and-global-perspectives/africa-region-law-and-policy/TWN%20-%20Alternative%20Investment%20Framework%20Africa%202009.pdf	• Lip service to social and environmental impacts of mining, as well livelihood impacts – no legal protections for women • Disregard of community ownership/rights – women lose resource rights, access to and control over natural resources • Imbalance between women's economic contribution through reproductive work and reward through social policy • Women do not get their fair share of profits • Women's ability to participate in mining economy is on the margins (informal economy, low paid labour etc) • No social policy = no gender policy in relation to impacts of mining on women • HR abuses of women as a result of how mining economy is structured are ignored • No data or counting of how many people are affected by mining operations and how women & households are affected
Micro: community, local ecology, household Target: national and local government, traditional leaders, community members, civil society etc	• Dislocation, dispossession and land alienation • Environmental damage/loss of livelihoods creating further poverty • Migrant labour system • Loss of traditional territories, land and livelihoods • Forced eviction • Migration & eventual resettlement • Water struggles • Livelihoods of communities who rely on the rivers for irrigation, gardening, watering of livestock, fishing & bathing • Food insecurity • Depletion of resources necessary for physical and cultural survival • Pollution, depletion & destruction of land & environment • Social & community disorganisation • Long-term negative health & nutritional impacts • Harassment & violence • Risks for governments, companies & other actors in the supply chain Resources: The impact of extractive industries Land grabs, dispossession & right to food violations, http://www.womin.org.za/land-grabs-dispossessions-right-to-food-violations.html Migrancy & extractivism, http://www.womin.org.za/migrancy-extractivism.html Women's bodies & violence, http://www.womin.org.za/women-s-bodies-violence-extractivism.html Women, extractives, Industries & climate change, http://www.womin.org.za/women-extractives-industries-climate-change.html	• Basic rights to food, water, health & education are violated • Coping strategies adopted by women to secure household welfare expose them to violence and exploitation • Non-recognition of de facto female households as a result of migrant labour • Women are caught up in increased conflict over scarce resources • Local and gendered impacts of mining economies • Women as workers, & as 'subsidisers' of Extractive Industries system through their unpaid labour • Specific impacts on women: water, land, education, health, etc. • Women and transactional sex in mining-impacted communities – link to HIV/Aids, STDs, ability to control own bodies etc. • Land rights typically not recognised for women, generally not able to lead and make decisions, carry limited power

Notes

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[2] V. Miller & L. Veneklasen 'Politics and advocacy (chapter 1)' *A New Weave of People, Power and Politics* (2002), https://www.justassociates.org/sites/justassociates.org/files/new-weave-eng-ch1-politics-advocacy.pdf

[3] See, Center for Community *Change How – and Why – to Influence Public Policy: An Action Guide for Community Organizations* (1996); *Community Toolbox: Changing Policies: Overview*, http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/implement/changing-policies/overview/main

[4] A policy hook is the link between your advocacy issue and specific policies, people, and/or institutions in the formal political arena. See Justassociates 'Chapter 11: Finding policy hooks and political angles' *The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation* (2002), https://www.justassociates.org/sites/justassociates.org/files/16chap11.pdf

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[6] Further reading: T. Moyo 'Extractive industries and women in Southern Africa' *BUWA Journal of African Women's Experiences* (July 2011), http://womin.org.za/images/impact-of-extractive-industries/social-and-environmental-impacts-general-analysis/OSISA%20S%20Moyo%20-%20Extractives%20and%20Women%20in%20Southern%20Africa.pdf

[7] WOMIN 'Women, gender and extractivism in Africa' A summary of WOMIN papers, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/summary_women__mininig_publications.pdf p. 12

[8] IANRA *First Principles towards an African People Centred Model Mining Legislation* (2015)

[9] United Nations Economic and Social Council, Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997, *Mainstreaming the Gender Perspective into all policies of the United Nations* (1997) Chapter IV, http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/52/plenary/a52-3.htm

[10] Adapted from *Training of Trainers Manual on Gender Mainstreaming in Disaster Risk Management*, GoI-UNDP, Disaster Risk Management Programme (2008)

[11] M. Koen *African Grievance Mechanisms* (2013)

[12] M. Koen 'IANRA contextual baseline' internal document (2014)

[13] *Community Toolbox: Getting and Advocacy Campaign off the Ground*, http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/advocacy-principles/overview/main

[14] Further reading: H. Coulby / INTRAC *Advocacy and Campaigning Course Toolkit* (2008), http://www.intrac.org/data/files/resources/629/INTRAC-Advocacy-and-Campaigning-Toolkit.pdf; UNICEF *Advocacy Toolkit* (2010), http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Advocacy_Toolkit.pdf

[15] For power analysis tools, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/1._peoples_action_in_practice_final_20_07_2012.pdf. Also, for conducting community drive Human Rights Impact Assessments, https://www.fidh.org/IMG/article_PDF/article_a7502.pdf

[16] Adapted from Inter-agency Standing Committee *Gender Handbook in Humanitarian Action* (December 2006)

[17] Adapted from *Training of Trainers Manual on Gender Mainstreaming in Disaster Risk Management*, GoI-UNDP, Disaster Risk Management Programme (2008)

[17] *Community Tool Box: What is Legislative Advocacy*?, http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/direct-action/legislative-advocacy/main

[19] *Parliamentary Advocacy in the Extractive Industries*, Policy Forum Tanzania (Case Study from Tanzania), http://www.resourcegovernance.org/sites/default/files/AdvocacyManualMail.pdf

[20] *Community Toolbox: Changing Policies Overview*, http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/implement/changing-policies/overview/main; further reading, Southern Voices on Climate Change *The Climate Change Advocacy Toolkits* (2014), http://www.southernvoices.net/en/documents/key-documents/43-advocacy-toolkits/file.html

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[24] A. Ricketts *The Activist Handbook: A Step by Step Guide to Participatory Democracy* (2012)

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[32] INTRAC *Community Tool Box: Coalition Building*, http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/assessment/promotion-strategies/start-a-coaltion/main; also, see UN Women *Virtual Knowledge Center to End Violence Against Women, Practical Steps in Alliance Building,* http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/1210-practical-steps-in-alliance-building.html

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[34] Adapted from D.R. Schwandt & M.J. Marquardt *Organizational Learning: From World-Class Theories to Global Best Practices* (2000)

[35] *Community Tool Box: Identifying Opponents*, http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/advocacy-principles/identify-opponents/main

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[37] J. Horn *Gender and Social Movements* (2013)

[38] *Community Tool Box: Gaining Public Support,* http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/assessment/getting-issues-on-the-public-agenda/gain-public-support/main; further reading, Southern Voices on Climate Change *The Climate Change Advocacy Toolkits* (2014), http://www.southernvoices.net/en/documents/key-documents/43-advocacy-toolkits/file.html

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[48] See DAWN Ontario *How Can Women Use the Optional Protocol of CEDAW?*

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