

# Chapter

# 1

## From a nice to do to a have to do- **Introduction**



*Flasback: Sheila Tlou, then minister of health in Botswana, with Botswana's Attorney General Dr Athalia Molokomme at a civil society meeting on the Protocol in August 2005 where she declared that a Protocol is a have to do. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

This chapter of the handbook provides the regional context for the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development; key information on the Protocol, and on the alliance of gender activists who campaigned for its adoption; as well as information on the structure of the handbook and how to use it.

### **From policy to practice: the Southern African context**

While the 15 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries have made great strides in signing global and regional declarations and instruments, and, in developing national policies to advance gender equality and women's human rights, progress towards achieving gender equality for women who comprise more than 50% of the region's citizens still remains mixed.

During the past decade, all SADC countries have ratified the international Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); all have a national gender/women's policy; all are signatories to the 1995 Beijing Declaration and the Beijing Platform for Action, the global blueprint for achieving gender equality; and countries in the region adopted two years after Beijing their own 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and its Addendum in 1998 on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children. SADC countries also have embraced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a framework for ensuring growth with equitable development, and achieving gender equality, Goal 3, is integral to this form of development.

In 2005, civil society organisations worked together with the SADC Gender Unit (GU) and SADC Parliamentary Forum (PF)<sup>1</sup>, in conducting an audit of how far countries had come in realising the objectives of the 1997 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. The audit on the provisions

for gender equality in key regional and international instruments for advancing gender equality, and the extent to which these have been implemented concluded that: "the SADC region needs to move from an era of commitments to an era of implementation."

Some of the key findings of this audit, which was conducted by six organisations<sup>2</sup>, working in the areas of gender justice and gender equality, HIV and AIDS and sexual and reproductive rights, gender and media, and women's legal rights included:

- At the time, despite several elections in SADC countries over the previous two years, the average representation of women in the parliaments of the region stood at 20 percent. Only two countries (South Africa and Mozambique) had achieved the 30 percent target mandated in the 1997 SADC Declaration.
- Laws, systems and services for addressing gender violence are inadequate. New forms of gender violence, such as trafficking, are on the rise.
- In virtually every country there are contradictions between customary law and codified law when it comes to women's rights. These contradictions are not addressed in Constitutions.
- Women, and especially young women, are the majority of those living with HIV/AIDS, the pandemic which more than any other has preyed on the gender disparities in the region and added to the already huge burden of care that women shoulder.
- In most countries, poverty is on the rise and increasingly has a feminine face.
- While there has been some progress in raising awareness and challenging gender stereotypes in the media and popular culture, as well as engaging men as partners, the battle to change mindsets is still far from won.
- Effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation of gender policies, programmes and activities continue to elude those charged with the responsibility of accounting to the public as the gap between policy and practice seems to widen.



HIV and AIDS has had a disproportionate toll on women. PHOTO: TREVOR DAVIES

The 2005 review of progress was significant in that it provided for the first time a wealth of quantitative and qualitative evidence to engage governments on the stumbling blocks, failures, as well as the successful strategies and measures that had made a difference to women's lives.

The audit also gave the civil society organisations that conducted it a hands-on education on how to develop frameworks and tools to begin to track and monitor governments and the SADC secretariat in order to make them more accountable to women. As the Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009 Report, *Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability* states: "Accountability is a core element of democratic politics and good governance... In democratic states, accountability relationships help ensure that decision-makers adhere to publicly agreed standards, norms, and goals."<sup>3</sup>

For the organisations conducting the

2005 audit, these standards and norms on women's rights and gender equality were agreed to by the SADC leaders when they signed CEDAW, the 1995 BPA, SADC's own 1997 Declaration, among others. The audit, therefore, gave them the means to assess the accountability of public actors from a gender perspective<sup>4</sup>.

One of the main recommendations of the 2005 audit gave rise to the process that is the subject of this handbook: **Heads of State were called upon to adopt a Protocol to Accelerate Gender Equality in SADC.**

1. International Ideas, UNIFEM, HIVOS and CREDO provided additional support. Organisations that contributed to the audit include: Gender Links, the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Women in Law in Development in Africa (WILDAF), SARDC/WIDSAA, and SAFAIDS.
2. Gender Links, the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Women in Law in Development in Africa (WILDAF), SARDC/WIDSAA, and SAFAIDS
3. Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability, Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), New York, 2008, pg.2
4. UNIFEM's 2008/2009 Progress of the World's Women notes that there are two processes in an accountability relationship: assessment of the adequacy of performance, and the imposition of corrective action (such as institutional reform) or remedy in cases of performance failure (pgs. 2-3). The 2005 SADC audit initiated the first step in making gender equality one of the standards against which the performance of decision makers in the region is assessed.

## Roadmap to Equality – Steps towards adoption of the Protocol

### SADC Consultations

- 2005: SADC Gender Unit and SADC Parliamentary Forum commission audit of progress by SADC governments towards achieving commitments in regional and international instruments; audit information used as background information for August 17-18, 2005 SADC Summit, Gaborone Botswana.
- 2005 August: SADC Summit adopts 50/50 in decision making policy and SADC Secretariat mandated to start developing SADC Protocol to elevate SADC Declaration on Gender and Development into a legally binding instrument.
- 6-9 December 2005: SADC Gender Unit convenes Consultative Conference on Gender and Development. Conference theme: *Reflecting and Re-strategising for Gender Based Regional Integration*.
- 28-29 March 2006: first meeting of the Task Force to finalise terms of reference for the task force, adopt a road map for the development of the Protocol, and drafting instructions.
- 14-15 September 2006, Johannesburg South Africa: Review of first draft by Technical Roundtable of Experts.
- 16-18 April 2007: SADC Gender and Development Stakeholders Consultative Conference to develop draft Protocol.
- May 2007, Maputo Mozambique: Draft Protocol reviewed by Ministers Responsible for Gender and Women's Affairs.
- June 2007, Maseru Lesotho: Draft Protocol reviewed by Ministers of Justice
- SADC Summit August 2007 Lusaka Zambia: Draft Protocol deferred for further consultations.
- December 2007: SADC Senior Officials responsible for Gender Protocol review meeting, Livingstone Zambia.
- May 2008: SADC Gender/Women's Affairs Ministers review draft Protocol in Windhoek, Namibia.
- July 2008: SADC Justice Ministers/Attorney Generals review draft Protocol in Zambia.
- August 2008: Protocol adopted by SADC Heads of State and Government at the SADC Summit held in South Africa.

### Alliance Consultations

- Planning meeting 17-19 July 2005.
- Planning and review meeting (teleconference) 23 February 2007.
- Planning and Strategy Meeting 19-22 March 2007, Johannesburg South Africa
- Post SADC Summit Alliance Strategy Meeting 9 November 2007, Willow Park Johannesburg South Africa to revisit campaign strategy, review new draft and map a way forward.
- Strategy Meeting January 2008, Johannesburg South Africa to develop a roadmap towards the 2008 SADC Summit; work on a strategy to influence SADC Poverty Conference in April 2008.
- Strategy Meeting Parallel to SADC Summit August 2008, Johannesburg South Africa; to lobby SADC officials, develop a medium term plan of action, restructure Alliance (six thematic clusters, new Steering Committee).
- March 2009, Strategy Review Meeting, Johannesburg South Africa, to priorities actions for 2009 (thematic cluster planning), review IEC strategy, and work on a monitoring tool (SADC Protocol Barometer).

## What is the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development?

Adopted on August 17, 2008, the Protocol has elevated the 1997 Declaration to the most binding of the regional organisation's instruments. SADC leaders opened the door themselves for this instrument in Article 26 of the 1998 Addendum to the Declaration which made provision for the adoption of legally binding instruments.

The Protocol has 28 substantive targets for achieving gender equality by 2015, and places SADC at the cutting-edge of innovative strategies for giving global and continental commitments meaning at sub-regional level. The instrument encompasses commitments made in all regional, global and continental instruments for achieving gender equality. Remarkably it is the only Protocol in the SADC legal system with time bound targets, and one of the fastest to be adopted.

The Protocol's preamble gives a heightened sense of commitment by SADC Member States to gender equality. Besides reaffirming the principle of non discrimination, acknowledging that "gender equality and equity is a fundamental human right", and recognising their obligations to meet international women's rights standards, SADC Member States also pledged to tackle "social, cultural and religious practices, attitudes and mindsets" that are barriers to achieving gender equality.

All provisions in the Protocol recognise that women's empowerment is a central strategy for achieving gender equality. This approach, as a principle, is also found in the SADC Gender Policy, the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997), and the 15 year Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), the blue print for regional integration.

### Why the SADC Protocol on Gender is unique?

Besides being a global first, there are several unique facets of the Protocol:

- As a SADC legal instrument, it lays the basis for mainstreaming gender in all other SADC Protocols and policies, thereby making it central to the agenda of achieving regional integration, development and democracy;
- It sets a new precedent in comprehensively addressing new and emerging issues in the region, such as trafficking and gender and media.
- It has clear and comprehensive institutional mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating progress, thereby potentially raising the bar in terms of accountability by SADC Member States.

Table one below gives an overview of the main provisions in the Protocol.

### Table one: SADC Protocol on Gender and Development at a Glance (Main Provisions)

#### ARTICLES 4 - 8: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL RIGHTS, ACCESS TO JUSTICE

This provides that by 2015, all Constitutions in the region must do their best to make specific provisions for gender equality and be sure that these are not contradicted by any provisions, laws or practices. This extends to equality between women and men in marriage.

By 2015, all countries must also do away with any remaining discriminatory laws and abolish the "minority status of women" or any legal provisions that leave women dependent on their fathers, husbands, sons, or any other male relative.

#### ARTICLE 9: PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

This Article provides that persons with disabilities must have their health, welfare and other rights promoted and protected, through enacting or reviewing laws and other measures. This should be done taking into account their vulnerabilities, for example, in the workplace, or abuse

#### **ARTICLE 10: WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS' RIGHTS**

Laws must be strengthened or put in place to make sure that widows and widowers are not badly treated, and unless if a court decides, widows automatically have guardianship and custody of their children, have the right to continue to live in the marriage home, and an equitable share in inheriting from her late husband.

A widow shall also have the right to remarry a person of her choice and protection from all forms of violence. These rights also apply to widowers

#### **ARTICLE 11: THE GIRL AND BOY CHILD**

Policies, programmes and laws must be in place to ensure the protection and development of both the boy and girl child, including eliminating all forms of discrimination in the family, community, institutions and government. Harmful cultural attitudes and practices must be eliminated, including violence and economic exploitation, and there should be equal access to education and health.

#### **ARTICLES 12-13 : GOVERNANCE (REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION)**

This Article provides that by 2015, governments will do their best to ensure that women will occupy at least half of all of decision-making positions in SADC in the private sector and public sector (including parliament, local government and cabinet).

The Protocol says that Member States should ensure that women participate effectively in electoral processes and decision-making by building capacity, providing support and establishing and strengthening structures to enhance gender mainstreaming.

#### **ARTICLE 14: EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

This article provides for equal access to quality education and training for women and men by 2015, as well as their retention at all levels of education. This should be done through passing laws, strengthening policies and programmes.

It further provides that by 2015, there should be gender sensitive education policies and programmes aimed at challenging stereotypes and eradicating gender based violence in educational institutions.

#### **ARTICLES 15-19: PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES AND EMPLOYMENT, ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT**

By 2015, governments are required to

- Ensure that there is equal participation of women and men in economic policy formulation and implementation.
- Allocate resources based on gender responsive budgeting to address the needs of both women and men equally
- Ensure equal access, benefits and opportunities for women and men to trade and entrepreneurship, public procurement processes
- Review all policies and laws that determine access to, control of, and benefit from productive resources by women, including land and water
- Ensure women and men have equal access to wage employment in all sectors of the economy.

#### **ARTICLES 20-25: GENDER BASED VIOLENCE**

The Articles addressing issues of gender based violence (GBV), provide that by 2015 governments:-

- Ensure that laws are passed or implemented to prohibit all forms of gender based violence, and that those responsible for such acts of violence are tried before the appropriate courts.
- Take measures to discourage norms and practices which legitimise or contribute to the problem of GBV with a view to eliminating them.
- Ensure that laws on GBV provide for comprehensive testing, treatment and care of survivors of sexual offences

- Have in place mechanisms for the social and psychological rehabilitation for those responsible for GBV
- Enact laws to prevent human trafficking and provide holistic support to survivors.
- Have in place laws, policies and programmes to eliminate sexual harassment
- Have in place adequate support services, including information, as well as gender sensitive training and education to all service providers
- GBV must be integrated and cross cutting, in order to reduce current levels of GBV by half by 2015.

#### **ARTICLE 26: HEALTH**

This article provides for the adoption and implementation of policies and programmes that address the physical, mental, emotional and social well being of women and men by 2015, and in particular:-

- Reduce the maternal mortality ratio by 75%
- Develop and implement policies and programmes to address the mental, sexual and reproductive health needs of women and men; and
- Ensure the provision of hygiene and sanitary facilities and nutritional needs of women, including women in prison.

#### **ARTICLE 27: HIV AND AIDS**

This Article covers prevention, treatment care and support in relation to HIV and AIDS, taking into account the vulnerability of the girl child and unequal status of women, coupled with harmful practices and biological factors resulting women being the majority of those infected and affected.

By 2015, governments are expected to develop strategies that are gender sensitive in order to prevent new infections, ensure universal access to HIV and AIDS treatment for infected men, women, boys and girls, and have responsive programmes that recognise the work of care givers and offers resources and support for their welfare. Men are to be encouraged to share responsibilities for care work.

#### **ARTICLE 28: PEACE BUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

This Article states that by 2015, measures should have been taken to ensure equal representation of women in conflict resolution and peace building processes as well as the integration of a gender perspective in the resolution of conflict in the region. Governments are also required to protect human rights, particularly those of women and children, during times of armed or other forms of conflict. They must also ensure that those responsible for such abuse are answerable before an appropriate court.

#### **ARTICLES 29 - 31: MEDIA, INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION**

This article provides for gender to be mainstreamed in all information, communication and media policies and laws. It calls for women's equal representation in all areas and at all levels of media work and for women and men to be given equal voice through the media by 2015. It also calls for increasing programmes for, by and about women and the challenging of gender stereotypes in the media.

#### **ARTICLES 32 - 35: IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING, EVALUATION**

Articles 32 – 35 make provision for

- Remedies for any person whose rights have been violated on the basis of gender
- Gender sensitive budgets and resource allocation
- Implementation of the Protocol to be monitored by a Committee of gender/women's affairs ministers, Committee of Senior officials responsible for gender/women's affairs, and the SADC Secretariat
- Development of national action plans based on the Protocol
- The collection of baseline data for monitoring and evaluation

The Protocol requires that Member states submit comprehensive reports to the Secretariat every two years indicating progress achieved in the implementation of the provisions.

Whilst comprehensive, there are still gaps in the Protocol. For example, it is not explicit on women's sexual rights, some provisions are weak (persons with disabilities), and some are missing (the rights of cohabiting persons, rights of vulnerable groups). The Protocol also has a number of provisions where the language is permissive and not obligatory, and there are no defined sanctions for non compliance. On the whole however, it is one of the widest windows currently open for gender activists to turn the tide in the direction of gender equality.

### **What is the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance?**

Southern Africa gender activists can proudly and wholeheartedly claim that the Protocol is a direct product of their sweat, blood and tears. In this handbook we showcase the evolution and growth of the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance (the Alliance), which has been pivotal in leading the campaign for the adoption of the Protocol since 2005.

The Alliance began with organisations voluntarily conducting an audit of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development to coincide with the 2005 Heads of State summit (and also the tenth anniversary of the Beijing conference and the 25th anniversary of SADC). The Alliance, which has grown to a collective of over 40 national and regional NGOs, is now focused on the ratification and implementation of the Protocol. Gender Links (GL), a regional organisation with offices in South Africa, Botswana and Mauritius, was mandated by the collective to serve as the coordinating NGO of the Alliance, a role it still holds.

The diversity of the membership gives the Alliance a depth of knowledge, and a variety of skills and resources which it successfully drew upon to reach its first campaign milestone – the 2008 adoption of the Protocol. Along the way, the Alliance pooled its political and technical skills to develop a number of lobbying and advocacy strategies that contributed to its success.



*Lesotho gender activists gear up for action. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*



### A quick look at the Alliance's key strategies

Strategies and tactics are the essence of campaign building. Some of the Alliance's key strategies used in its campaign for the Protocol's adoption include:

- Gaining a presence on the task force set up by the SADC Secretariat to work on the drafting of the Protocol;
- Providing technical input into nine successive drafts of the Protocol; and was part of the negotiation and counter negotiation on the key provisions;
- Building relationships with state actors, particularly senior government officials in the ministries of justice, gender/women's affairs, and foreign affairs across SADC countries;
- Developing intelligence on key SADC processes and learning how to have a presence in appropriate and influential forums; and
- Using the media to raise awareness; get out information to the public; to start public discussion on the Protocol and key issues on gender equality and women's rights contained within its provisions; and to put national leader's commitment to gender equality under the spotlight.

Other Alliance strategies discussed more in depth in this handbook include working at the regional and national levels simultaneously, consolidating positions (always looking for the highest common denominator) and managing conflict within the Alliance, and with other civil society sectors, to ensure a consistent message and unified voice on the minimum standards gender activists wanted to see in the Protocol.

A diverse collective, working across borders, is not without its internal dynamics, politics, challenges and limitations. In this handbook, these are frankly discussed and the lessons learned highlighted. Without these lessons, the growth of the Alliance would have been stunted, and a more democratic and accountable space for harnessing the energies and talents of the members stymied.

### The next steps



Even before the Protocol's adoption, the Alliance mapped out its next steps on the campaign journey. Gender and women's rights activists realised that the adoption of the Protocol was just one part of the larger agenda articulated in the collective's vision of "a region in which women and men are equal in all spheres".

Building on its model for cross border campaigning, the Alliance has developed an action plan to guide its campaign for ratification and implementation to reach the 28 targets by 2015; a set of modalities to guide its work; and, it has restructured to decentralise leadership and management to more sharply focus on getting two-thirds of the SADC Member States to ratify the Protocol so that it comes into force.

Its new structure, which will be discussed more in Chapter two, includes an overall coordinating NGO, thematic clusters<sup>5</sup> headed by a lead NGO, and focal persons/organisations within the 14 SADC member countries.

An even bigger task which the Alliance now prepares for, is monitoring the implementation of the Protocol, and evaluating the extent to which concrete results and impact are achieved in line with the set targets and indicators. The Alliance plans to produce annual reports in all 14 SADC countries, beginning 2009, that document progress.

This process requires reaching out to the region's women and men citizens, with a particular focus on ensuring that more women citizens 'own' the issues, and, that they are empowered and enabled to hold their own governments accountable for delivery on their rights.

5. The thematic clusters are: Gender and the Economy; Gender and Governance; Gender and Media; Gender-based Violence; Constitutional and Legal Rights; Sexual and Reproductive Rights - HIV & AIDS.

## Why this Handbook?



*Documenting change: Loga Virahsawmy, Judith Mtsewu and Pamela Mhlanga* PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

Throughout the three years of intense lobbying, advocacy and negotiations leading to the adoption of the Protocol, activists within the Alliance had a constant refrain: "We must document what we do; and, how we do it". There is a general sense among gender and women activists in the Alliance that the hands-on experience of building a unified campaign across borders has many lessons, tactics and strategies that activists can use to build campaigns on the issues they work on daily.

This handbook is the answer to this call for a publication that gives insights and tips on 'how to do it', and it is a follow up to the recently launched video "*Roadmap to Equality: The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development*", which traces the journey towards the adoption of the Protocol.

The video profiles footage from six countries (Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho,

South Africa and Mauritius), and takes the viewer through the provisions in the Protocol, linking them to men's and women's realities on the ground. It also focuses on the role of the Alliance, and gives the perspectives of the members and other strategic partners on the significance of the Protocol and the important role played by cross border activism to get it adopted.

The handbook and the video provide an in-depth case study of what it takes to build a strategic campaign that includes the elements of lobbying, advocacy and negotiation across borders, targeted at a plethora of governments and one that involves civil society organisations with varying interests. The handbook illustrates how gender and women activists within national and regional organisations turned a potential volatile cocktail into a strategic, focused and consensus building campaign.

## Who is this handbook for?

The Alliance's experience of working on the development, adoption and implementation of the Protocol provides a good case study for reference and learning by other networks and initiatives advocating to institutionalise a gender equality agenda.

Organisations, including male-led organisations, working on human rights and other cross border issues, also may find the lessons, strategies, tactics and checklists presented in this handbook useful in the building of their own campaigns on issues, as well valuable insights on how to mainstream gender and women's human rights into their campaigns.

The handbook is targeted at organisations and networks that primarily seek to lobby decision-makers and policy makers at the regional and national levels, and those that seek to develop evidenced-based strategies for increasing public awareness and institutionalising accountability as part of their engagement with public actors.

## Structure of the handbook

In addition to the introduction, the handbook comprises seven chapters which focus on 'how' the Alliance influenced the agenda for the adoption of the Protocol. Each chapter discusses a key strategy and ends with lessons learned and a checklist summarising the strategic entry points on the topic under discussion. Alliance members' reflections on particular topics or issues are interspersed throughout the chapters. The focus of each chapter is as follows:

**Chapter 2** discusses the coming together of Alliance members, choices made on which model partnership to use, how the partnership was broadened and rules of engagement.

**Chapter 3** covers strategies for engaging regional structures and processes. It specifically looks at how the Alliance negotiated and developed a relationship with SADC, gathering intelligence on the regional body in order to understand



Prof Nkandu Luo of Zambia speaking at an Alliance meeting PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

the system, and managing creative tension with governments.

**Chapter 4** on lobbying and advocacy at the national level looks at mobilising peers and the public, engaging government officials, and information and communication strategies adopted to raise the visibility of the campaign.

**Chapter 5** focuses on the Alliance experience of researching and drafting the text of the Protocol, beginning with the 2005 audit. This chapter also documents how the Alliance succeeded in rescuing key positions and texts in the Protocol as it went through the nine drafts.

**Chapter 6** examines the strategic role of information and the media in campaign, and illustrates how the Alliance targeted the media and used IT as a key tool for networking and communicating with the Alliance's members.

**Chapter 7** explores the capacity building of Alliance members for their effective participation in the campaign process, and provides examples of the learning approaches used and the skills learned.

**Chapter 8** analyses how it has worked, what needs to be guarded, priority actions and how the Alliance will track and measure change.

## How to use this handbook



This handbook complements the DVD, "Roadmap to Equality" produced by the Alliance soon after the adoption of the Protocol in August 2008. While the DVD

brings the process to life through pictures, words and music, the handbook contains essential reflection and analysis on which to build the next stages and to contribute to the vital body of knowledge on how civil society organisations can best engage with governments and regional processes to advance human rights.

Each chapter ends with lessons learned and a checklist. A composite checklist is attached at **Annex A**.

The information, checklists, pointers and lessons in this handbook are premised on the understanding that not all regions are the same and therefore, campaigns cannot be replicated exactly in the same way. This handbook is written in a way that facilitates different approaches, but provides some insights into standard strategies and tactics, such as the use of media, evidence-based research, and ways to keep track and evaluate not only the campaign itself, but also the commitment and actions of the campaign's targeted group of decision-makers and other actors, that make for a more effective campaign.

While the handbook is not written in a training manual format, many of its sections can be appropriately used as case studies for learning in lobbying, advocacy and campaign building training sessions. The checklists also provide a framework for developing exercises on the elements of a good campaign and also can be used as frameworks to analyse the effectiveness of an organisation's existing campaign.