

CREATING AN ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN

**A Toolkit for Memory
Practitioners**



GIJTR

Global Initiative for Justice
Truth & Reconciliation

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL COALITION OF SITES OF CONSCIENCE

The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC or the Coalition) is a global network of museums, historic sites and grassroots initiatives dedicated to building a more just and peaceful future through engaging communities in remembering struggles for human rights and addressing their modern repercussions. Founded in 1999, the Coalition now includes more than 300 Sites of Conscience members in 65 countries. The Coalition supports these members through seven regional networks that encourage collaboration and international exchange of knowledge and best practices. The Global Initiative for Justice, Truth and Reconciliation is a flagship program of the Coalition.



International Coalition of
SITES of CONSCIENCE

Learn more at www.sitesofconscience.org

Cover:

Picture from a commemorative event organized by the Association of Victims of Camp Boiro, a GIJTR local partner in Guinea, to mark the anniversary of the shootings in October 1971.

ABOUT THIS TOOLKIT

Published in August 2021, this toolkit was created for activists, memory practitioners, survivors and others seeking resources for turning memory into action through awareness-raising and advocacy. It was produced as part of the Global Initiative for Justice, Truth and Reconciliation's (GIJTR) transitional justice programming in The Gambia. *Creating an Advocacy Campaign* draws on the deep advocacy experience of its author, Shirley Gunn, founder and director of ICSC member site Human Rights Media Centre in South Africa, and is organized by twelve key components that contribute to achieving advocacy objectives. The toolkit also features case studies from other contexts, including ICSC member sites' memorialization-driven advocacy campaigns, and includes reflective writing prompts throughout.

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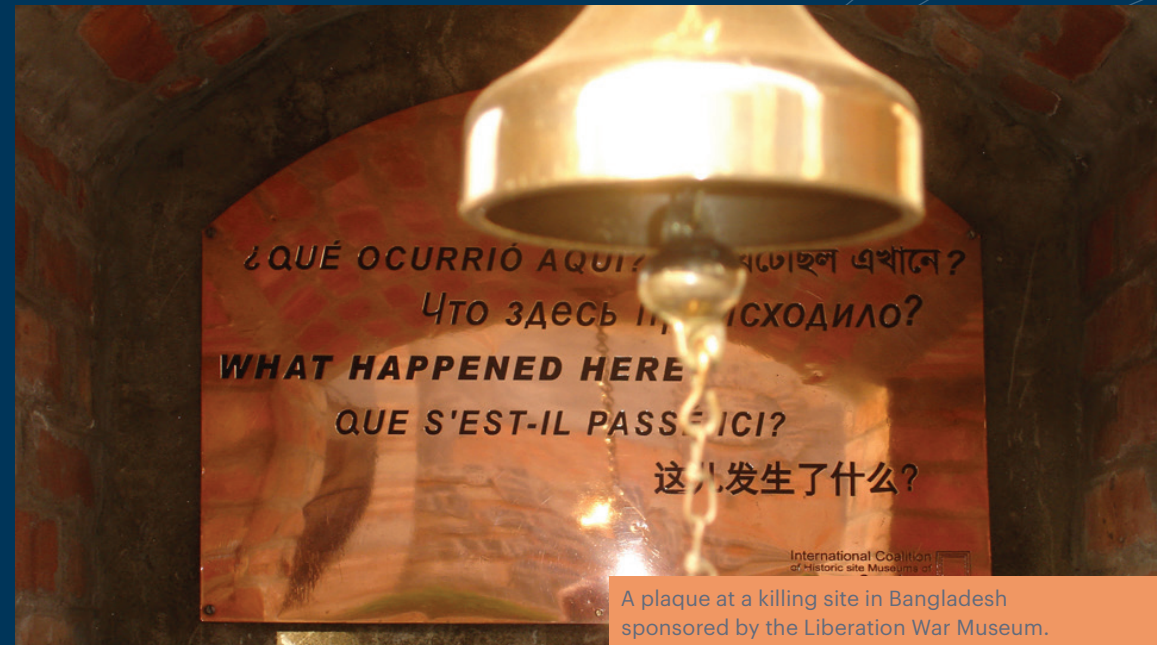
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Learn more about GIJTR at
www.gijtr.org

ABOUT THE GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR JUSTICE, TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION (GIJTR)

Around the world, there are increasing calls for justice, truth and reconciliation in countries where legacies of gross human rights violations cast a shadow on transitions from repressive regimes to participatory and democratic forms of governance.

To meet this need, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC or the Coalition) launched the Global Initiative for Justice, Truth and Reconciliation (GIJTR) in August 2014. GIJTR seeks to address new challenges in countries in conflict or transition that are struggling with legacies of or



ongoing gross human rights abuses. The Coalition leads the GIJTR, which includes eight other organizational partners: American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative (ABA ROLI), United States; Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR), Indonesia; Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), South Africa; Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), Cambodia; Due Process of Law Foundation (DPLF), United States; Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (FAFG), Guatemala; Humanitarian Law Center (HLC), Serbia; and Public International Law & Policy Group (PILPG), United States. In addition to leveraging the expertise of GIJTR members, the Coalition taps into the knowledge and longstanding community connections of its 300-plus members in 65 countries to strengthen and broaden the GIJTR's work.

GIJTR partners, along with members of the Coalition, develop and implement a range of rapid-response and high-impact program activities, using both restorative and retributive approaches to justice and accountability for gross human rights violations. The expertise of the organizations under the GIJTR includes:

- Truth telling, reconciliation, memorialization and other forms of historical memory;
- Documenting human rights abuses for transitional justice purposes;
- Forensic analysis and other efforts related to missing and disappeared persons;
- Victims' advocacy such as improving access to justice, psychosocial support and trauma mitigation activities;
- Providing technical assistance to and building the capacity of civil society activists and organizations to promote and engage in transitional justice processes;
- Reparative justice initiatives; and
- Ensuring gender justice in all these processes.

To date, the GIJTR has led civil society actors in multiple countries in the development and implementation of documentation and truth-telling projects; undertaken assessments of the memorialization, documentation and psychosocial support capacities of local organizations; and provided survivors in Asia, Africa and the Middle East and North Africa region with training, support and opportunities to participate in the design and implementation of community-driven transitional justice approaches. Given the diversity of experience and skills among GIJTR partners and among Coalition network members, the program offers post-conflict countries and countries emerging from repressive regimes a unique opportunity to address transitional justice needs in a timely manner, while promoting local participation and building the capacity of community partners.



Participants of the 2019 African Youth Transitional Justice Academy visit the Kigali Genocide Memorial

We are change agents

but

we are not able to change society,
the way it should be.

Why? Because

the path is different and difficult,
the system is corrupt, the structure
and system are closed.

What we usually do is

either we consider the structure as
an enemy or use only force to open it.

And therefore

most of our efforts are misdirected
because we only use one route
to reach the goal.

But

the concept of advocacy presents
many ways to get there.

It is said that the rule of advocacy
is to know the system, get into the
system, work within the system
and use efficiently the system

because

the system in our society is closed and
governing institutions (the State) have
legal and institutional power.

Therefore

social advocates should use other
sources of power like knowledge,
information, and the people in which
they themselves are strong and
others are weak.

Advocacy gives social groups
the bargaining power to
open a closed system.

*Poem by Anil K. Singh,
former Executive Secretary
Voluntary Action Network India¹*

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 2021, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) celebrated twenty-two years as a global movement of over 300 museums, historical sites and memory initiatives from 65 countries, connecting members in seven regions: Africa, Asia, Latin American and Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, North America, Europe and Eastern Europe.

Membership within ICSC is diverse and includes state-funded and independent museums, academic institutional affiliates, and a huge range of non-governmental, non-profit organizations that work on memory and memorialization projects at national, regional and local grassroots levels. Member sites perform different functions and have different objectives but generally their work is to share an aspect or period of their countries' histories - histories that foreground trauma, shame, humiliation, guilt, struggle, honor and victory - and connect it to current struggles for justice. Large and small institutions participate in the ICSC on an equal footing, united by their common commitment to connect past to present, memory to action.

Member sites are united in the desire to create a just and humane world by connecting past histories to present-day issues, and catalyzing action to promote a culture of human rights. From within the diversity of members, some are passionate about making change by representing inclusive histories, and integrating otherwise marginalized and victim-centered histories that are sometimes contested and uncomfortable, often side-lined and even ignored.

'Memorialization' is the process of preserving memories of people or events – an act of remembrance or commemoration. In the past, memorialization was largely

seen as something pursued by those in power and from the top down – as seen in the first case study below on South Africa – but today it is considered a fundamental human right for all people.

In memory work it is acknowledged that no one remembers alone. Instead, we remember with the help of recollections of others; in so doing, we produce collective narratives. Therefore, when trying to establish the truth of past events it is impossible to arrive at the fullest understanding without thorough consultation with the broadest public.

WHAT DOES 'TURNING MEMORY TO ACTION' MEAN?

For various reasons, history and what is remembered by States and their institutions is not fully inclusive. History is never black and white but filled with hues of grey. For this reason, some memory projects fulfil the difficult role of challenging state institutions, forcing them to become more inclusive and bold about holding narratives that encourage debate and critical analysis. Advocacy initiatives are often central in these struggles that may require changes in policy to broaden what history is told, by whom and how. The prophetic words of Anil K Singh from VANI at the start of this manual highlight that it is difficult to open closed doors, and he simultaneously opens our minds to the fact that there are a multiplicity of ways to do so, besides deploying force.

Most ICSC members are actively engaged in awareness-raising and educational work. There are many different and creative ways of doing this work, and many innovative and inspiring examples within ICSC's fold. However,



Memorialization initiative by Sites of Conscience member in Chile, Fundación 1367 Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas.



March for the disappeared organized by ASFADDES (Association of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees) in Lourdes Park, Bogotá, 2012.

awareness-raising work is not the same as advocacy although both, singly and collectively, can turn memory to action. Action would be very effective if both awareness-raising and advocacy work are engaged with in tandem, but sometimes it is one or the other. Awareness-raising work entails information-sharing, education and sensitizing the public about a problem in the hope of change; advocacy, through participation, consultation and engagement, places the change needed on the public agenda, and can result in systematic policy change. Linking awareness-raising work and advocacy can make the connection between past struggles and parallel, contemporary social justice and human rights issues. We can think of this as ‘memory to action’.

MEMORY AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Many memory practitioners, knowingly or unknowingly, are engaged in the field of transitional justice. There are four internationally recognized “pillars” of work in the transitional justice field. They include: **truth-seeking**; bringing about justice for victims; **reparations** for victims that range from official apologies to rehabilitation and monetary compensation; and, **guarantees of non-recurrence** that human rights atrocities will not be repeated – the “never again” principle.

In part through the work of ICSC member sites, **memorialization** is increasingly recognized as a “fifth pillar” because of its importance in various aspects of the transitional justice process, such as establishing the truth about historical events, providing acknowledgement, healing and symbolic reparation to victims and survivors of human rights violations.

Awareness-raising work and advocacy regarding history and memory can speak to any or all of these five transitional justice pillars. However, it is difficult and complex work. For example, in order for inclusive histories to be firmly embedded as part of the historical record, verified, well-documented and ethical research is needed. Furthermore, resources are required for memory work to result in outcomes such as tangible exhibitions; reopening of official inquests, where inquests in the past failed to establish the truth or prosecute those alleged to have committed crimes; and the establishment of formal truth commissions for nations to deal with their pasts.

Striving for inclusive histories can take a lifetime and span generations. Even then the outcome may be partial, bittersweet or wholly unsuccessful, as one

can expect opposition to truth-seeking in both totalitarian as well as even democratic and relatively peaceful societies that forbid grief and remembrance for various political reasons. In democratic countries, such as South Africa, there may be state opposition to truth-seeking and establishing a comprehensive historical record and prosecution. For example, when the inquiry into the 1983 forced disappearance of Nokuthula Simelane was reopened in 2016, affidavits were filed in the Johannesburg High Court that point to political interference.^{2,3} Furthermore, on its closure, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) handed over 400 cases to the State body mandated to further investigate and potentially prosecute those denied amnesty.⁴ However, the African National Congress (ANC) political leadership in 2002 applied pressure on the responsible prosecutorial arm, the National Prosecuting Authority, to halt investigations, allegedly for fear that its own history of human rights abuse may come under the spotlight and result in prosecution of high-profile ANC members.⁵

Linking past and present-day struggles



The drawing celebrates the victory of thousands of pro-choice Argentinean activists who campaigned for the legalization of abortion, an 18-month legal challenge that was finally approved by the Chamber of Deputies and Senate in December 2020. It is shared here courtesy of Malena Cristina, a 12-year-old

Argentinian girl whose grandfather, Roberto Cristina, was disappeared in 1978.

The movement's branding was a green face mask, a requirement during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, some artists, like Malena, have incorporated the white scarf, the insignia of the movement of the forced disappeared going back 50 years in Argentinian history, presenting a clear link between past and present-day struggles.

Currently, there is no detailed manual on how to turn memory into action through awareness-raising and advocacy. There are a number of useful articles on advocacy that can be sourced online, contextually rich and practical in their orientation, but they speak to other important and socially relevant struggles of marginalized communities – for example, disability and health-right advocacy – not directly to the intersection of advocacy and memory. Some of these writings have informed this manual, and are included at the end as valuable resources for advocates.

Commissioned by ICSC, this is a first step towards creating a comprehensive advocacy and memory manual. I am honored to be trusted with the responsibility. I have been involved in advocacy work in South Africa for over two decades regarding victims of apartheid-era atrocities and struggles for truth, justice, reparations, non-repetition and memory. I have attempted to reflect on and weave this advocacy experience into the content of the manual.

Besides South African experience, I am able to draw on direct experience across Africa, South and South East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and North America. There are so many excellent advocacy initiatives globally and so many examples with profound lessons to draw from, and while this manual can only touch on some of them, collecting further lessons learned would make an extremely rich resource. That process must still be undertaken with the involvement of those interested to share their experiences and insights and to expand the current work.

Our greatest failure is that we do not write, reflect and share enough. As a memory practitioner, I acknowledge that I have not made sufficient time to write,



The Red Thread of Memories, a community memorialization initiative by Fundación 1367 Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, Site of Conscience member in Chile.

journalize and carefully photograph and document processes, later realizing this missed opportunity of history in the making. I am not the only one at fault here. The limit of time is a common enemy in our historical endeavors. Collective approaches to writing can yield interesting and ground-breaking results that a writer on their own cannot achieve. May this be the first advocacy lesson: Learning is a process of give-and-take and careful reflection, and advocates wanting change require relevant and accessible lessons from which to draw. Writing up our personal and institutional advocacy experiences and sharing them is crucial.

For this reason, there are reflective writing worksheets interspersed throughout this manual to guide memory practitioners in the writing process – the ultimate goal being to learn from and share advocacy experiences, no matter how partial success may have been. We learn through reflecting on our actions and those of others too!

This manual first introduces the concepts of memory work and advocacy, and then illustrates the interconnection between advocacy and memory in the elaboration of twelve key components that contribute to achieving advocacy objectives, drawing on four case studies from United Kingdom, Argentina, South Africa and Lebanon.

WORKSHEET 1

Key Word: Transitional Justice

1. What is the name of your memory project or organization?

2. When was it founded, by whom and where?

What is memory work?

The Red Thread of Memories, a community memorialization initiative by Fundación 1367 Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, Site of Conscience member in Chile.

powerful method of changing mindsets and consciousness, enabling audiences to be more aware and responsive to problems and also to finding solutions, as stories, evidence-based documentation and artifacts speak to history and tell stories. On their own they might not do so comprehensively, and therefore information is needed to enable viewers to understand the significance of the memory work. In addition, memory is fragile and complex, and thus verification of facts is necessary.. The process of carrying out memory work with affected people can be a solidarity-building activity in itself.

What is advocacy?

In a nutshell, advocacy is action to promote change, exercised by an individual or a group of people who are bound together in pursuit of a common goal. Both approaches – individual and collective – can merge to influence the desired change in policy and/or decision-making among those in power. Beneficiaries of advocacy can be an individual, the public at large, or both.

Invariably, advocacy assumes a power dynamic that involves the powerless (or those with less power) driving change by those with power, such as governments, businesses or large institutions.

Advocacy promotes a cause or principle to correct wrongs committed by those with power, and it seek solutions to the problems that these wrongs still inflict.

Advocacy considers strategy and tactics thoughtfully to effect the desired solutions to the problem. The public is made aware of the issue, but advocacy is more than awareness-raising, as it galvanizes action to support the cause through advocates – those affected by the issue and their allies speaking out on public platforms and engaging with stakeholders and the media.

Advocacy involves problematizing, researching, strategizing, informing, raising awareness, sensitizing, mobilizing, dialoguing, negotiating, lobbying, petitioning, influencing, pressurizing, marching, protesting, sacrificing, speaking out, documenting, writing and archiving. The list is endless.

WORKSHEET 2

Key Concept: Action Words to Describe Advocacy

1. From your advocacy work, what additional action words would you add to the above list?

CASE STUDY 1

Convergence of Individual and Public Advocacy

Zonnebloem Renamed

On February 11, 1966, Cape Town's District Six was declared a whites-only area under the Group Areas Act of 1950. From 1968 onwards, the residents of District Six in Cape Town, South Africa were forcibly removed from their homes by the apartheid government. They were dumped in the sandy wastelands of the Cape Flats in the surrounds of Cape Town, and their houses were bulldozed to rubble.⁶

This gross human rights violation was made possible under the rubric of the white supremacist government's Group Areas Act passed in 1950 and was implemented in October 1952, enabling the government to assign racial groups to specific areas in the interest of racial capitalism, allowing only the minority white population to live in desirable areas.⁷

District Six is nestled on the periphery of Cape Town's Central Business District; the land was sought after by developers. In addition, District Six was a vibrant, mixed-class and racially mixed community that the racist government wanted to eradicate. So the apartheid regime declared District Six a slum and proceeded with its obliteration.

The Group Areas Act and policy of forced removals affected many communities across South Africa but District Six is one of the most well-known. To add insult to injury, the apartheid government erased the name District Six, the site of residents' trauma and resistance, and named the area Zonnebloem, meaning 'sunflower' in Dutch and close to sonnebloem in Afrikaans, a dominant language of the community.

In 2013, Haroon Gunn-Salie⁸, a young South African artist-activist, collaborated with veteran residents of District Six, who shared their

heartfelt stories of forced removals with him. These were then realized collaboratively as artworks in different mediums for the world to see in a series titled *Witness*.⁹

In that same year, provoked by former residents' narratives, Haroon embarked on a semi-clandestine intervention and changed the street signage of Zonnebloem in Cape Town to its original name, District Six. The public awareness intervention, titled "Zonnebloem Renamed", was performed without seeking permission from the relevant local government authorities and involved pasting the name District Six in vinyl over the Zonnebloem signage.¹⁰

Haroon was able to reach nine of the eleven signs with a ladder. There was no damage to property, as vinyl can be removed, and the action was executed without any immediate public statement. Slowly people began to notice the changed signage that was left intact, even the city authorities.

Six years later, on 17 December 2019 – the day after South Africa's National Day of Reconciliation – and following the persistent restitution efforts of former residents, the City of Cape Town, needing to be seen to be doing the right thing, officially restored the name of the community to District Six.¹¹

The photograph on the next page, courtesy of the artist, was taken in 2020 and shows that his site-specific interventions are still in place, evidence that the wheels of change are very slow, and the unresolved issues of apartheid linger. The South African Coalition for Transitional Justice (SACTJ) is looking at a campaign to encourage the current South Africa democratic government to sign the Apartheid Convention that declares that Apartheid a crime against humanity that carries concomitant responsibility and potential punishment.¹²



Zonnebloem Renamed: In the background stands one of the few buildings – besides churches and mosques – that was not bulldozed, namely the Cape Technicon reserved for white students until 1987, when, before the end of apartheid, it was opened to all races.
Photo: Courtesy of Haroon Gunn-Salie, November 2020

3. ADVOCACY: THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN MEMORY AND ACTION

Twelve key components for result-driven advocacy are presented in this section. They are all important contributors to successful advocacy, particularly if acted on together. Therefore, rather than seeing the twelve components in a hierarchical ascending order, perhaps see them on the same equal plane.

A. SETTING REALISTIC GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Goals are the outcomes you intend to achieve, whereas objectives are the actions that help you achieve your goals.

When embarking on an advocacy strategy, it is virtually impossible to know how long it will take to achieve the desired goals. Therefore, defining short-, medium- and longer-term goals can help to build morale and perseverance by claiming and celebrating smaller victories along the way to achieving longer-term goals.

The first step is to be clear about what it is that your memory project wants to change and what solutions are sought by those most affected by the problem.

Does a policy need to be changed or a law changed? What is the difference between a policy and law?

- A policy outlines what a government and ministry seeks to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them. A policy document is not a law but it will often identify new laws needed to achieve its goals. Policies sets out goals and planned activities of a ministry and department. It may be necessary to pass a law to achieve the aims of a policy.
- Laws set out standards, procedures and principles that must be followed. If laws are not adhered to, those responsible for breaking them can be prosecuted in court. Laws are guided by government policy.

B. UNDERSTANDING POLICY AND LAW-MAKING PROCESSES

Advocates need to understand the processes of policy and law-making in their countries, and the opportunities for public engagement. Stakeholders including non-governmental organizations and the public at large can seize opportunities along the way of the policy- and law-making process to make their inputs. Advocacy can be directed towards political parties, their representatives and parliament structures by attending parliamentary committee hearings, setting up meetings with department heads or ministers, and working the media to apply pressure. The process of policy- and law-making can take many years. The process differs in each country and is often set out in constitutions. Some general policy- and law-making steps are broadly similar across different contexts, as outlined below.

- Although governments and parliamentary structures play important roles in the making of laws and policies, in some countries, like South Africa, the process starts with the ruling party determining issue stances and direction through its conferences and at executive meetings.
- The ruling party directives are then converted as national party policies, and into official governmental policy or law following procedures constitutionally prescribed. The executive branch of government – responsible for the daily

administration of a country – develops new policies and law. The legislative branch – parliament – approves them.

- Government ministries draft discussion documents, called Green Papers and White Papers on the policy, to allow for debate and comment. A Green Paper is the first step towards legislation; it is a tentative report of policy proposals for consultation, debate and discussion. A White Paper is a more authoritative report. They may also include public and stakeholder consultation, and they signify clear intent on the part of the government to pass a law.
- When a policy has been thoroughly debated, the relevant department and ministry draws up a final policy published as a White Paper, a statement of intent and a detailed policy plan. The White Paper is debated and adopted by Parliament and approved by Cabinet.
- There are numerous stages in the approval processes of Green Papers and the White Papers. If the Minister or Department decides that a new law is necessary to achieve its objectives and implement its policy, the Department will begin the job of drafting the new law. A White Paper often forms the basis of legislation.
- In its early stages, before a new law is tabled in Parliament, it is called a draft Bill. Once it has been tabled in Parliament it is called a Bill. Before the draft Bill is tabled in Parliament, it is approved by cabinet, and the public may be asked to comment on it too. These comments are integrated in the next draft that is crafted by State legal advisors for legal approval, and only then is it tabled by the Minister in Parliament.



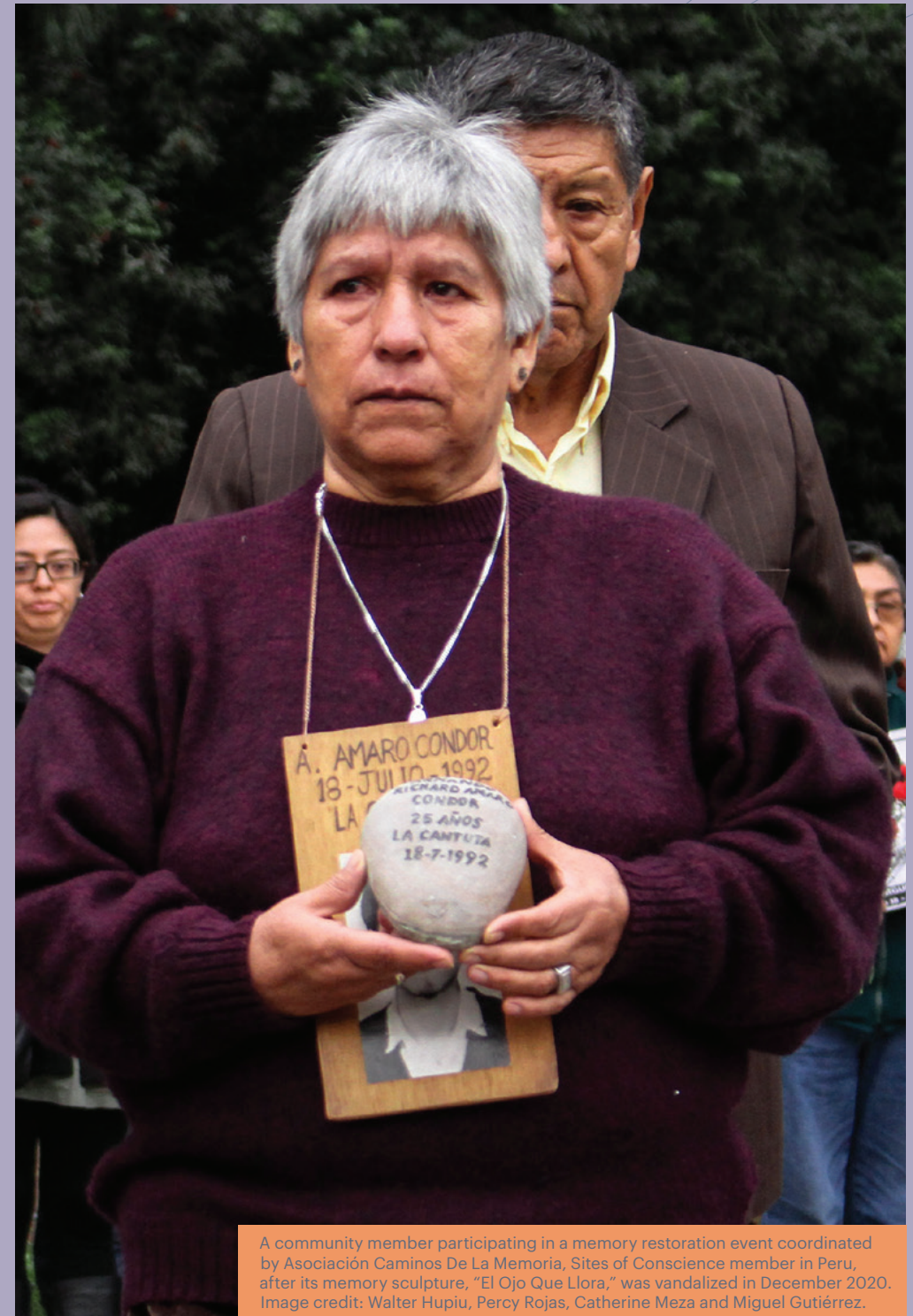
Remembrance ceremony hosted by Middle Passage Ceremonies and Port Markers Project, Sites of Conscience member in the United States. Attendees place carnations in a basket to be placed in the water, Plaza de la Constitucion, St. Augustine FL

- Once a Bill has been tabled, it will then go through the process of becoming a law, which includes more consultative steps; for example, it will be reviewed by a Select Committee or Portfolio Committee, and could entail a further round of public comment.
- The period while the Portfolio Committee considers the Bill is regarded as an opportune time to lobby for changes or to protest the principle of the Bill. Once the committee has made changes, it will send a report on their findings to parliament that considers the Bill and votes on it with the changes the Portfolio Committee made.

Consultative policy- and law-making strengthens polity, promotes transparency and accountability, strengthens implementation, reduces public opposition, and promotes state-citizen trust and collaboration. In transitional contexts, such as after a period of conflict or authoritarianism, the constitution- and law-making process in itself may be under debate and subject to advocacy around ensuring the process is as transparent and fair as possible, and thus breaks with the past.

C. UNDERSTANDING THE RULES OF ENGAGEMENT OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

To work effectively within the political space, advocates need to understand the rules of engagement of public participation. Each country has its own rules of engagement for public participation. Following the rules to the letter is time-consuming and can be frustrating, particularly when the issues at hand are urgent.



A community member participating in a memory restoration event coordinated by Asociación Caminos De La Memoria, Sites of Conscience member in Peru, after its memory sculpture, "El Ojo Que Llora," was vandalized in December 2020. Image credit: Walter Hupiu, Percy Rojas, Catherine Meza and Miguel Gutiérrez.

CASE STUDY 2

Advocacy in the UK to Remove Memorials Honoring Those with Contested Histories

In June 2020, at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, a monument to seventeenth-century slave trader Edwin Colston landed headfirst in the waters of Bristol Harbour after being pulled from its pedestal by protesters. Colston had been a conservative Member of Parliament, a merchant and philanthropist. He served as an official of the Royal African Company that was involved in and profited from the Atlantic Slave Trade. Approximately 80,000 West Africans were trafficked across the Atlantic Ocean as slaves to the Caribbean and Americas of whom between 10-20 percent died on the treacherous voyage. A significant amount of Colston's wealth came from investments in slave trading, sugar and other slave-produced goods.¹³

Colston's name was widely commemorated in Bristol landmarks and a bronze statue of Colston was erected in the centre of Bristol in 1895. The bronze plaque on the plinth read: 'Erected by citizens of Bristol as a memorial to one of the most virtuous and wise sons of their city A.D. 1895'.¹⁴

There had been advocacy campaigns for years regarding this monument. In the late 20th century, with growing awareness of his involvement in Britain's slave trade, there were protests and petitions for name changes. In 2018, advocates campaigned for changing the plaque's wording, which was highly contested. The campaigners also advocated for Colston's memorial to be removed and replaced by a statue of Paul Stephenson, a Black worker who led the boycott of the Bristol Bus Company in 1963 to force an end to discriminatory hiring practices against minorities.¹⁵

However, these debates culminated on 7 June 2020, when anti-racism protesters ripped the bronze statue of Colston from its plinth with ropes while the police stood by. The demonstrators danced on top of the statue before rolling it down the street to the Bristol waterfront where it

splashed into the waters amidst cheers from the large crowd gathered at the harbor. Two days later, the statue was clandestinely replaced with a sculpture of a Black woman – Jen Reid, a Black Lives Matter activist wearing a beret with her clenched fist raised.¹⁶ However, this monument was removed by the Bristol City Council the very next day, saying the decision about what replaces the Colston monument must be made by the people of Bristol..

These actions by protestors outside of formal rules of advocacy engagement, arguably inspired by the anti-racism protests across the United States led by the Black Lives Matter movement following the brutal murder of George Floyd by police in May 2020, forced Britain to confront its racist and exploitative history. In September 2020, Bristol's Colston Hall, an arts and entertainment venue, changed its name to Bristol Beacon to disassociate from Edwin Colston, and in October 2020, following consultation, staff and pupils at Colston's Girls' School voted to change their school's name.¹⁷

The debate continues globally. Revealed in a recent mapping exercise, there are 771 anti-abolitionists and confederate memorials, mostly in southern United States of America. Protestors are demanding they be taken down. These memorials are consistently vandalized or painted with graffiti; forty-four have already been removed by local officials.¹⁸

Meaningful public participation is desirable and needed. However in some countries the route to public engagement is extremely narrow, especially where democracy is limited or non-existent.

It is a matter of strategy and tactics that advocacy groups decide for or against taking the steps as legally prescribed in their countries to achieve their desired goals for change. However, it is essential for advocates to understand the rules of engagement in their countries, and at least try to operate within them, as a first step. Advocates are likely to galvanize public sympathy having tried and failed before adopting other strategies, potentially outside of these rules, to pursue their goals. We have witnessed many global examples of advocacy initiatives developing into rolling mass action and demonstration that can

result in repressive responses by States, with mass detentions and arrests, and protesters beaten and even killed, but not always.

D. EFFECTIVE STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

Many memory practitioners have had experience as stakeholders, working with those in and with power. Governments engage with stakeholders, to varying degrees of success, often as a function of its core responsibility to working inclusively, transparently and accountably. Stakeholder engagement may be successful, partially successful or not successful at all.

Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation', devised in the late 1960s when

she was the chief advisor to citizen participation in the Model Cities Program in the US, provides a helpful way to look at questions of effective advocacy in relation to the levels of engagement. The model consists of a ladder with eight rungs, and she encourages advocates to aspire to move up the rungs to reach higher levels of participation and power in the quest for change.

At the bottom rung of the ladder we have what she calls **manipulation**, where stakeholders are invited to participate in consultative meetings,

webinars, surveys or other activities creating an illusion of engagement but, in fact, they are invited to rubberstamp ready-made decisions. Nobody within the power hierarchy takes any notice of the information gained through engagements that largely focuses on making stakeholders feel engaged, while the actual ability to influence decisions and outcomes is non-existent. Sometimes, those in power use manipulation and co-option to neutralize stakeholder opposition.

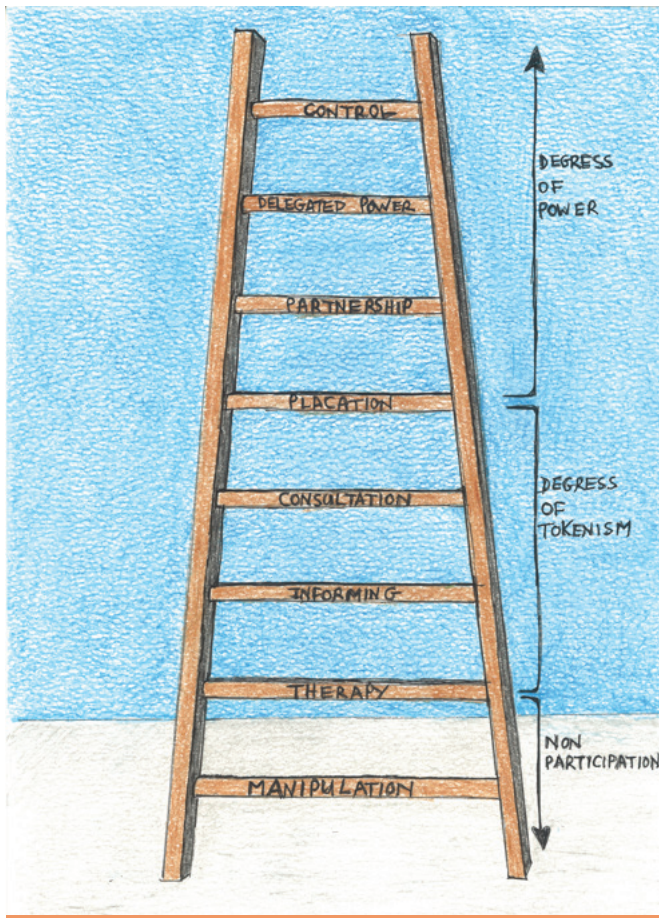
The next rung she calls **therapy**, where those in power engage stakeholders in activities to influence and change their points of view by selling the benefits of the project, while at the same time minimizing their actual ability to create change.

It is critical to remain vigilant, as effective stakeholder participation does not take place at these lower-rung levels and can best be described as stakeholder non-participation. Make sure those in power are aware that you do not accept being an ineffectual stakeholder. Negotiate better terms so that you move up the ladder to achieve a higher level of participation.

The third step she calls **informing**. At this level stakeholders are informed of their rights and responsibilities towards effective stakeholder participation in a project and its outcomes, but the information flow is one-way: top-down, from those in power to stakeholders. Often the project is at an advanced stage, with minimal opportunity for stakeholders to contribute to the project, as all important decisions have already been taken without them, although designed to deliver benefits for them.

The fourth step is **consultation** where stakeholders are invited to share their opinions. However, like informing them on the previous rung, if the consultation is not combined with other modes of participation, such as monitoring, this rung of the ladder is mere window dressing, as it offers no assurance that stakeholder viewpoints will be taken on board.

Participation at both the informing and consultation levels remain tokenistic. There must be mechanisms for two-way information flow, where feedback is received maximising its potential value for the stakeholders. Furthermore, effective participation empowers stakeholders with a degree of control over the consultation processes, with monitoring ability to ensure their inputs are considered and used. Continue to negotiate for more power as stakeholders, gained with each step up the ladder to the pinnacle, the eighth rung.



Author-illustrated rendering of Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Participation



Empty Chairs, a memorialization project conducted by Sites of Conscience member in Lebanon, Act for the Disappeared.

Sherry calls the fifth step **placation** where stakeholders have a degree of influence, although tokenistic. Including stakeholders in processes, such as focus groups or oversight and advisory committees, without them having any real power, gives the appearance of stakeholder engagement without any of the benefits.

The next step is **partnership**, where power is genuinely redistributed, and the stakeholders work with the project team to achieve outcomes that are beneficial to all. Everyone potentially benefits through power-sharing with stakeholders with a genuine interest in the outcome.

The second-to-last rung is **delegated power**, where management authority is delegated to key stakeholder groups to significantly improve outcomes, provided the required support is forthcoming.

At the top rung of the ladder is stakeholder **control**, which expands a small group of management elite to include many more affected stakeholders. Social projects, whose core purpose is to benefit stakeholders, can demonstratively be improved by involving the people the project is designed to help.

In addition, Sherry Arnstein uses the analogy of a ladder that narrows towards the top, as fewer stakeholders reach the top rung, although it is a goal. It offers a useful diagnostic tool to assess what type of participation has been reached and to strategize how to improve participation. Citizen participation requires perseverance, as goals may be achieved slowly and often only after a protracted struggle. However, the actual achievement of goals is what justifies the prolonged, long-term struggle.

WORKSHEET 3

Key Words: Stakeholder Engagement

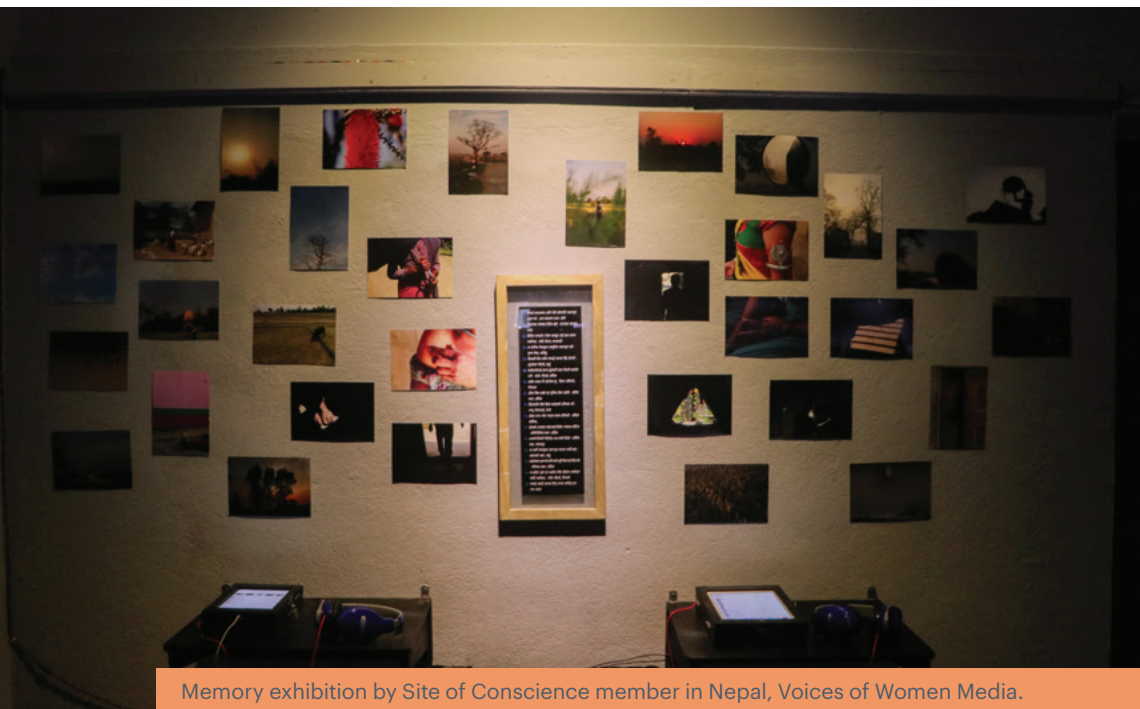
1. Consider one scenario where your organization was included as a stakeholder and where your engagement was successful. What was the nature of the engagement, with whom and for what purpose? On which rung of participation was your organization (on the scale of one to eight above) that enabled the engagement to be successful? What other forces were at play and / or tactics deployed making it successful?

2. Consider a second scenario where your stakeholder engagement was partially successful or completely unsuccessful. What was the nature of the engagement, with whom and for what purpose? On which rung was your organization that rendered the stakeholder engagement ineffective? What other forces were at play and / or tactics deployed making it unsuccessful? In hindsight, was there scope to negotiate the stakeholder relationship that could have made it more successful?

E. SETTING REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS

When considering expectations at the onset of an advocacy campaign, focus on expected outcomes or solutions and the time it may take to achieve these. However, many of the most morally justifiable advocacy campaigns may not achieve these outcomes in the short, medium or long term. But this does not mean that other, unexpected outcomes may be achieved, called unintended consequences (a term much conceptualized in the social sciences).

For example, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo advocacy campaigns have achieved many significant victories along their fifty-year campaign journey. However, at the onset of their campaign to trace their family members, did the mothers and grandmothers have any idea that their campaign efforts would inspire other campaigns across the world, and result in a global movement? Such an expectation was surely not considered as the original expectation at the early stage of a campaign, but at some point may have been acknowledged as an unintended outcome and spurred new expectations. In other words, setting realistic expectations is a continuous process.



Memory exhibition by Site of Conscience member in Nepal, Voices of Women Media.

Considering this case study, it may be necessary from the onset to consider an approach that would sustain the campaign over time, especially where political will to uncover the truth is lacking, or may shift depending on who is in power.

CASE STUDY 3

Five Decades of Advocacy and Campaigning: *A Luta Continua*

Madres de la Plaza de Mayo (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo (Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo) are movements of Argentinian mothers and grandmothers who relentlessly campaign for the return and/or information regarding their children and grandchildren who were disappeared during the last military dictatorship. On 24 March 1976, a military dictatorship took over the Argentinean government led by right-wing President Isabel Martínez de Peron. The military junta banned all human rights activities and kidnapped and killed political activists, students, workers, religious persons and human rights activists, stole their children and erased their identities. Madres de la Plaza de Mayo and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, founded in 1977, demanded information of their loved ones during the period of 1977 to 1983, when approximately 30,000 people were disappeared as a result of Argentinian state terrorism. Their struggles continue.²⁰

The Madres de la Plaza de Mayo started to meet in the Mayo Pyramid square in 1977 to demand information about their missing children. The Mayo Pyramid is significant because it is the political and financial hub of Buenos Aires. Those who gather there to protest gain considerable public and media attention.

The military junta ruled with an iron rod, and despite its terror tactics, many Argentineans supported it. It was in this repressive political climate that the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo gathered peacefully around the square demanding the truth about their children. In the same year, a group of grandmothers began mobilizing around what had happened to the babies of their illegally detained pregnant daughters. They knocked on the doors of embassies, the military, orphanages,

day care centers, churches and courts, with no results. They gathered clandestinely as they were threatened to stop their search. They formed the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo dedicated to fighting for the return of their grandchildren. They gathered information on every grandchild and prepared cases to take before the courts. Blood sampling could prove maternity or paternity, but the parents of the grandchildren were detained and missing. When democracy was returned to Argentina in 1983, and geneticists developed the grandparenthood index, blood samples of the grandparents were able to be used to identify their grandchildren. The grandparents galvanized the support of the scientific community and international human rights organizations to support their efforts.²¹

From the onset, the grandparents tried to raise awareness of their right to recover their children. The media referred to the appropriators with the euphemism “parents of the heart”, and society didn’t fully understand the right to identity. The grandmothers took on this responsibility of explaining to society the complexity of the child-theft cases. The emerging human right to identity was reflected by the creation of the National Commission of the Rights of Identity (CONADI) in 1992. Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo became an important stakeholder with the government through the formal institution of CONADI, and it worked efficiently. Anyone with any doubt about their identity could go to the grandmothers association and be referred immediately, without having to initiate a court case, to have blood tests at the National Bank of Genetic Data.²²

In 1998, the first presentations for the trial against the systematic plan of child appropriation took place. More than 30 cases of child theft were investigated. The Military Board was convicted, and it was proven beyond doubt that the practice of stealing the identity of the children of the illegally detained was a crime against humanity. It was proven that a systematic practice of stealing, withholding and hiding under-age subjects; making uncertain, altering or suppressing their identities, and concurring in kidnap, captivity and disappearance or death was forced



Photograph taken by Shirley Gunn at the Plaza de Mayo square, Buenos Aires, 2019, of the paving marking the path the mothers and grandmothers protest walk, every Thursday, to this day.

on Argentinean population.

The Tribunal sentenced the Military Board to 50 years of imprisonment in 2012.²³ Inspired by their victory, the grandmothers initiated a campaign to draw in their grandchildren, who were young adults now, to participate in the search, and to encourage all those who had doubt about their identity to reach out to them. The campaign made the search of the grandchildren visible. The National Network for the Right to Identity carried the grandmother's message to Argentineans. A cause held by a few became a cause of thousands.

The campaign continues, as not all kidnapped grandchildren have been traced. In the 30 years they've been working, around 130 of the disappeared children have been found. Some are living with their legitimate families and have become seamlessly integrated. Others are still living with the families that have raised them, but are in close contact with their true grandmothers and relatives, thus recovering their identities and living as a part of two families. The grandchildren are grown now, and many have children of their own. Like their parents, the great-grandchildren have the right to know their family histories.^{24,25}

The mindset of the Argentinean people has changed; no one refers to the appropriators as "parents of the heart" anymore, and the media speaks of a legitimate search, the right to justice and right to have an identity. Through the participation and effort of Madres and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo the inclusion of articles 7, 8 and 11 in the International Convention on the Rights of the Child refer to the right to an identity, known as the "Argentine clauses" that were later incorporated into the Argentine Constitution.²⁶ The mothers continue to meet and march around the Mayo Pyramid square in Buenos Aires every Thursday at 3.30pm. The white scarf is synonymous with this struggle.²⁷



Relatives of missing and disappeared people in Nepal. Photo courtesy of Voices of Women Media, Site of Conscience member in Nepal.

F. ARTICULATING THE MORAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN

Nothing can be achieved without a moral justification for a campaign, with a clear link to the sense of injustice in a way that appeals to the very foundations of society – its values and social conscience – to take action, for there is an indisputable need to seek redress.

Galvanizing support for an advocacy campaign is easier where the moral justification of the cause is clear and is communicated clearly to the public, especially in contexts where there is no political will or where there is complete denial of wrongdoing. For example, in Case Study 3 of the Madres and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, the right to identity is the moral justification and the central message.

CASE STUDY 4

Safe Return of Cultural Objects, Artifacts and Treasures Stolen from The African Continent by European Colonial Powers

In the late nineteenth century, the African continent, now made up of 54 countries, was carved up and dominated by seven colonial powers: England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and Italy. These European colonial powers eventually packed up and left the African continent, due to international pressure and country-based struggles against their domination, and African countries gained sovereignty and independence. But when they left, these European countries took with them many artifacts and objects belonging to the African countries they colonized.²⁸ These trophies of colonial occupation and power were displayed in cultural spaces and museums in Europe, as well as held by private collectors; hence the full record of these stolen cultural objects is unknown.

One need look no further than the Universal Declaration of Human Rights drawn up in 1948 to find strong moral and legal justification that these stolen artifacts should be returned to the people and countries dispossessed of them. Not doing so has moral consequences to peoples and their cultural practices. Today's decolonization debate points to the absolute urgency that these colonial powers face their pasts and make amends by, among other redress actions, returning all that was stolen.

The central questions are: How do communities assert their right to reclaim their cultural assets from those that still hold power, as well as assert the terms of the conditions of their objects' return? What would an advocacy program and campaign for redress look like? Thankfully there has been some progress.

Sarah Baartman, of Khoisan descent, was born in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa in 1789. At the tender age of twenty-one she was taken to London by a ship's doctor who coerced her by convincing her

she would make fortunes by parading her body to curious Europeans. In Britain, she was mockingly known as 'Hottentot Venus' and paraded at circus sideshows, museums, bars and universities. She then moved to Paris, drifted into prostitution, and died there in 1815 at the age of 26. Even after her death, European voyeurism continued. Sarah Baartman's body was dissected and preserved and parts displayed at the Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) in Paris to support racist theories about people of African ancestry.²⁹ In South Africa, Khoisan activists campaigned for her return for years and finally, more than two hundred years after she was first exhibited in Europe, her remains were returned to South Africa in 2002, and she was given a dignified burial in Hankey, close to her birth place, on 9 August 2002.³⁰ Although human and not object, Sarah Baartman was treated as an object by the European imperialists and befits the focus of this case study.

On December 17, 2020, the French senate finalized their approval for a bill to restore 27 artifacts that have been held in France since 1892 to museums in Benin and Senegal by November 2021.³¹ Twenty-six of these objects were stolen from Benin by French troops, and the sword that will be returned to Senegal belonged to a Senegalese military commander. The French senate vote was partially a result of a 2018 survey, known as the Savoy/Sarr report, commissioned by French President Emmanuel Macron, that recommended a series of bilateral agreements aimed at the repatriation of African objects. The Senate also called for the establishment of a national council charged with reflecting on the circulation and return of non-European cultural objects. According to the Savoy/Sarr report, some 90,000 African objects are held in French institutions alone.³² The Musée du Quai Branly, where the majority of the 26 artifacts are housed, was targeted by protestors in 2020 demanding the repatriation of the objects.³³

As with the return of Sarah Baartman's remains, this progressive move came about due to mounting pressure from former Francophone colonies, and cannot be seen in isolation from the world-wide movement to reform or demolish monuments that make heroes of oppressors and dark pasts, and ridicule people of African descent.

WORKSHEET 4

Key Word: Moral Justifications for Advocacy Campaigns

1. What is the core moral justification for your advocacy campaign?

2. What right(s) is being violated by this injustice?

3. What laws, treaties, and international conventions could be useful in justifying your campaign?

4. What values are related to your campaign? What kinds of stories could be shared for building public support and engagement with your campaign?

**5. How could / should such a campaign be driven beyond borders?
Could ICSC play a role?**



A Rohingya woman's sewn depiction of her memory of living in Myanmar. This panel has been connected with other panels to create "quilts" reflecting Rohingya survivors' lives and journey in the camp in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh. Image courtesy of AJAR, GIJTR Consortium partner in Indonesia.

G. DOING RELEVANT RESEARCH

An effective advocacy campaign cannot be achieved without relevant and ongoing research on all matters relating to the issues at stake. The research may straddle different government departments and agencies, as well as different countries and continents, as Case Study 3 would suggest.

There is plenty of information in the public domain on research methodology. The exercise should not rely on academics, scholars and writers alone. Rather, there needs to be a joining of academic research with the very people who have direct experience of the issues, to act as the primary source and stakeholders of the research.

Such an approach has its difficulties but none that cannot be overcome with strong commitment. With training in interviewing and ongoing monitoring and support, as well as technical training in the use of recording equipment, community members can make excellent researchers, precisely because of the trusted relationships that exist between them and those interviewed. Additional resources may be needed, and the research may take more time to execute if it is participatory, but in terms of research outcomes such an approach lends integrity and yields deeper results than can be achieved by academics and professional researchers, or 'outsiders', on their own.

Careful thought needs to go into what research is needed and the range of methodologies deployed to secure the information necessary for launching a well-informed and grounded advocacy campaign.

ICSC members have an important role to play in research through their trusted relationships with communities. They can act as bridge and mediator of grounded research, ensuring too that the research is driven and owned by communities.

It is also critical to ensure that the research is accessible to those at the center of the campaign, not only in terms of translating written research into local languages, but by including mediums other than the written format, such as audio documents or illustrations.

The research can inform the campaign and can be published and shared to consolidate and strengthen public support.

H. SELECTING APPROPRIATE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Strategies and tactics work together. Often used in military contexts, they also apply to government, business and civil society engaged in advocacy.

A working definition of **strategy** is that it is a plan of action to achieve a long-term or overall aim. Strategizing is important in advocacy because the resources to achieve the end goal are invariably limited, so it is necessary to set goals and priorities, determine actions to achieve these, and mobilize resources to realize the actions. In brief, strategy describes how goals will be achieved and by which means.

A **tactic** is an action or series of actions which aim to achieve short-term goals, and which progressively reach the longer-term goal(s).

Considering Case Study 3, from Francophone African countries' perspective, the restoration of 26 artefacts stolen by the French is a tactic to reach of the strategy of the return of the thousands of artefacts to 'non-European' countries. The overall goal could also include the French admitting wrongdoing and offering apology and redress. This symbolic gesture would go a long way towards healing and the transitional justice objective of 'never again' and set a trend among former European colonial powers that demonstrate a lack of political will to do so. This reluctance is also why advocacy, advanced by civil society to promote the objectives of affected communities, is so necessary, and could, predictably, take a long time to achieve.

I. DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY

Some experts in the field of advocacy, such as Frank Sharry, believe that media and communication is at the heart of an advocacy campaign. Having an effective media strategy that takes on board digital technology cannot be overemphasized. Sometimes there can be very little campaigning on the ground but due to an effective media strategy, pressure is mounted and change is forthcoming. A media committee can be selected to dedicate their energies to this task.

When designing advocacy campaigns, clear messaging is key to achieving impact to effect change. It is therefore necessary to formulate what the messages are that you want to convey. These are the foundation of your communication strategy.

They must be carefully crafted because they shape what you want people to think and what you want them to do. When you are clear about the key messages, you can design the media campaign strategy to create pressure and influence to advance your advocacy goals.

Sharry in *Creating Powerful Messages* suggests that those in power are not making decisions on the basis of policy papers, but are influenced by what they see, hear and read on TV, radio and newspapers. Therefore, in order to effect change in the media-saturated age we live in, advocates must compete for attention by advancing their narratives and messages in the media in a decisive, compelling and fresh way.³⁴

He suggests that when putting communications at the heart of an advocacy campaign, we must ask the simple questions: **who** says **what to whom, and how?**

The *who* are the spokespersons and messengers who are going to drive the narrative to connect with audiences (the *whom*) and by using a variety of media and platforms (the *how*).

It is critical to know *who* the media campaign aims to reach – in other words, *who* the audience is – in developing a multi-prong strategy. Consider the specific people you want to connect with or influence – i.e. those in power and policy makers – and *who* the other individuals and groups of people are that the advocacy campaign would benefit by reaching. It may be helpful to do a mapping exercise of supporters, detractors and fence-sitters, i.e. those who are not yet engaged.

Developing a media strategy, which reaches the converted and persuades skeptical audiences and fence-sitters, helps define those that could speak out on behalf of the campaign. Here, it is critical to consider *who* is the voice of the advocacy campaign: the persons who speak for and on behalf of a particular advocacy campaign. Those with personal stories to share must be included. They, more than anyone else, hold the potential to increase public support and solidarity, even though including these critical voices may make the task of the media committee more difficult, due to geographic distance and the lack of resources, such as data or internet access. All considered, these are not insurmountable obstacles: it is the affected people that must speak as their voice is the most powerful to influence opinion. Strategically, it may be in the interests of the advocacy campaign to draw in voices of those in power too, such as political leaders and those who hold power, influence and stature.

A media campaign includes interviews for print or newspaper coverage, radio, TV, film and podcasts, journals, publications, posters, photography, blogs and other social media. Media campaigns also make use of different approaches: meetings and presentations, press conferences, press statements and opinion pieces, and online platforms.

J. MOBILIZING RESOURCES EFFECTIVELY:

DEVELOPING A FUNDRAISING STRATEGY

Fundraising is an ongoing activity requiring creativity. Besides submitting proposals to public funders and philanthropies, crowdfunding strategies and fundraiser events with public discussions and sponsored refreshments can assist. If there are many organizations involved in a campaign, opening a dedicated bank account in the name of the campaign may be advisable, overseen by a board or elected committee for transparency and accountability.

PROJECT SUPPORT FUND

ICSC's Project Support Fund provides capacity-building grants to Sites of Conscience. These grants are up to \$10,000 paired with one-on-one consultations with ICSC's staff and other members to support the design and implementation of innovative new Sites of Conscience programs and initiatives that use the lessons of history to spark action on contemporary issues. The Project Support Fund has a rigorous application process and project grants are awarded by a peer-led Grant Review Committee. To learn about past awardees and the application process, please visit ICSC's website.

MOBILIZING PEOPLE

There is power in social capital. Social capital is the effective functioning of social groups through interpersonal relationships with a shared sense of identity, understanding, purpose, norms, values, trust, cooperation and reciprocity.



Empty Chairs, a memorialization project conducted by Sites of Conscience member in Lebanon, Act for the Disappeared.

People are more likely to stay engaged in an advocacy campaign if they are fully informed, involved in the decision-making, and share collective responsibility for the advocacy strategy. It takes a lot of energy to hold people’s movements and often it takes a dedicated person or committee to coordinate the work of mobilizing people effectively.

NETWORKING AND ENGAGING KEY STAKEHOLDERS

There is strength in numbers. However, there should be a careful analysis of who the stakeholders are in an advocacy campaign. Careful analysis is needed regarding who the beneficiaries are, who the campaign allies and partners are and what agendas they may bring, and who the campaign detractors are and how best to neutralize them. This analysis is an ongoing task.

K. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Progress does not happen without an honest appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the actions taken to meet a campaign’s strategic goals.

Monitoring is the continuous assessment of progress from the start of the campaign as it unfolds. It is conducted by members of the team, who also examine where progress is lacking and why, and whether achieving the planned results (outputs) is possible.

Conversely, **evaluation** is the periodic assessment of the campaign’s activities. Evaluation is done at certain intervals, by the internal team or external members, or both collaboratively. Evaluation examines the success of the activities, and their impact, against the campaigns’ objectives.

Monitoring and evaluation, or M&E, as it is called for short, is a requirement of some funders; but has enormous value for advocacy campaigns. It requires that the team meets regularly to discuss progress reports, enabling everyone to see where improvements can be made or remedial actions taken to the campaign’s design in order to meet the campaign objectives. When performed well, monitoring and evaluation exercises provide great potential for replicability and ongoing learning.

WORKSHEET 5

Key Words: Monitoring and Evaluation

1. What was the problem that you addressed in your advocacy program?

2. What was / were your goal(s)?

3. What was / were your objective(s)?

4. What strategy(ies) did you put in place to reach your goals(s)?

5. What tactics did you deploy?

6. Did your advocacy strategy(ies) reach of your objective(s)? What worked effectively and what did not work well? Why and why not?

7. Did your team have that necessary skills to perform optimally? If not, what training is needed to acquire these skills? Can training be delivered?

8. Did you have sufficient resources (infrastructure and funding) to deliver the advocacy program? Where can needed resources be acquired for future advocacy work?

9. What will you do differently when you next embark on an advocacy program?

10. Elaborate on the monitoring and evaluation process that was in place during the campaign - was it effective, and what would you do differently?

11. What is your central advice to ICSC members interested in embarking on advocacy work?

L. ARCHIVING OF ADVOCACY WORK

Reports, research documents, minutes of meetings, databases of stakeholders and media contacts, correspondence, media articles, soundbites, photographs and video footage – digital and hardcopy, published and unpublished – all can form part of an archive of advocacy work.

Archiving is a dedicated administrative task, entrusted to a trustworthy person or team, as part of the secretariat or media responsibilities.

It is important to develop guidelines on what will be preserved, how the records will be stored, and who has access to the archive and for what purpose. Where interested parties meet the criteria, approval on how the information and sources are used, and how the advocacy organization(s) is credited, should be agreed on beforehand.

Archivists must act responsibly and put measures in place to protect sensitive information and sources by locking up that information, disabling access, or perhaps by changing or anonymizing names. A common tactic deployed by reactionary governments and regimes the world over against activists is witch-hunting, framing and detaining, and using misinformation; hence the imperative of securing and protecting the archive.

Keeping the archive in order, updated, and safe in hardcopy and digital form for posterity cannot be overemphasized. Back-up copies of the archive must be kept safely in more than one location.

CASE STUDY 5

**Community Memory Work in Action –
Act for the Disappeared (ACT)**

The end of Lebanon's conflict in 1990 and resulting state-sponsored reconciliation processes were largely marked by top-level power sharing between the government, former warlords and militia. In subsequent years, the glaring inadequacies of these initial agreements became clear with the re-emergence of violent incidents. Critically, decisions around political reconciliation were divorced from the ongoing social realities on the ground, and the needs of survivors and victims were rendered invisible.

With an estimated 17,000 individuals unaccounted for as a result of the conflict, many Lebanese were left with little information about the fates of their friends and family who had gone missing or were forcibly disappeared over the years. It is under these conditions that trauma and collective healing went unacknowledged and many people were not able to address the loss of their loved ones. Instead, the legacy of

multiple wars was etched into daily realities of a supposed post-conflict context, with fragile coexistence masking mistrust and historical misconceptions between citizens.

Act for the Disappeared (ACT) is a Lebanese human rights organization and ICSC member site that was founded in 2010 as a response to the dire need to address the violent past and engage the Lebanese public on the ongoing impacts of the conflict. ACT's mission is to contribute to the clarification of the fate of the disappeared and missing in Lebanon, to foster a sustainable reconciliation process and to prevent the recurrence of violence in the country. Central to their work has been collaborating with the Committee of the Families of the Kidnapped and Disappeared in Lebanon on lobbying for investigations of missing and disappeared persons. Connected to these efforts, ACT works on generating public awareness and engagement on the campaign while also leveraging civil society to support the families' right to know through the dissemination of informational materials.

Throughout ACT's work, memory and memorialization play a key role in shaping advocacy efforts. A poignant display of memory-based advocacy is captured in the 2016 "Empty Chairs, Waiting Families" exhibition. For the project, ACT collaborated with Artichoke Studio, a social enterprise in Lebanon, and The International Committee of the Red Cross. Family members were asked to design and paint a chair to reflect their missing loved one's life and the memories they held of them. Once complete, the chairs were organized into an exhibition that featured images and stories of those missing since 1975.

Rooted in the emblematic and literal representation of not only the missing and disappeared but the families left behind, the project was held by the idea that "Empty chairs symbolize the empty spaces that the missing left behind."³⁵ Through group sessions, families gathered to share their suffering and express their memories using creative mediums. This collective work brought together families from different backgrounds highlighting their common cause, while empowering and encouraging them to continue their lobbying efforts for recognition of

the missing and disappeared.

The "Empty Chairs, Waiting Families" project is a powerful example of how memory can be harnessed to bring critical attention to the cause of missing and disappeared people, while also offering a space for truth-telling and healing where families are able to collectively grapple with the ambiguous loss of their loved ones. Simultaneously, the public nature of the campaign was critical to expanding the reach of the cause and raising awareness on the unresolved fates of people kidnapped, killed or forcibly disappeared during the conflict, thereby garnering broad solidarity for the plight of the families.

ACT's ongoing work has included various interventions that draw on memory and memorialization. Fushat Amal ("Space for hope" in Arabic) is an online memorial that commemorates the missing and disappeared while asserting the right to know their fates.³⁶ Visitors to the website can add a story or find a story of a missing person. The Map of Memory project is a collection of people's memories and experiences of the Lebanese conflict.³⁷ These accounts are shared through story-telling forums with the aim of creating public awareness of a shared history. Related to the Map of Memory, the Inter-generational Oral History Project focuses on awareness-raising among younger generations by training youth to interview the families of the missing people and people who experienced Lebanon's conflict. All these efforts demonstrate the powerful connection between increasing public awareness, furthering advocacy efforts and providing psychosocial support for families.

In 2020, under the culmination of multiple years of lobbying and advocacy, Lebanon made progress toward setting up a commission to investigate the fate of the disappeared. Through memory-based advocacy and awareness raising efforts, ACT's commitment to supporting the families of the missing and disappeared offers a powerful example of how memories and lived experiences can be mobilized to demand recognition of injustices while also transforming harm and loss to efforts of empowerment and healing.

4. CONCLUSION

The need for advocacy in the memory arena will never cease. These struggles require perseverance, dedication and long-term commitment, even stretching lifetimes.

Overarching principles that guide advocacy and memory work are inclusivity and accountability.

Advocates must act responsibly, as leaders and followers, speakers and listeners, learners and teachers, as they fulfil all these roles and perform all manner of tasks. Respect is earned. Effective teamwork is the key to reaching set goals.

Advocates can learn from other country-based projects, in and across different regions. Sharing information and networking makes this learning possible.

Monitoring and evaluation can enable reflection on best practice and stimulate replicability, and with it, a movement towards change.

Be kind and self-caring. This is challenging work but know there is support to be found across the globe.



Community members joining Site of Conscience member in Peru, El Ojo que Llora, during a memorialization event in December 2020

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A person visiting the memory exhibition at Fundación 1367
José Domingo Cañas, Site of Conscience member in Chile.

FOOTNOTES

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