Advocacy
A Guide for Small and Diaspora NGOs

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Introduction

Understanding advocacy and how to use advocacy approaches and tools can help organisation’s to increase their impact. However often the technical language that surrounds advocacy, and concerns about risk, can make it seem more difficult and complicated than it really is.

This toolkit is divided into three main sections:

1. What is advocacy?
2. Why do advocacy?
3. How can an advocacy strategy be developed?

1. What is advocacy?

There are multiple definitions of advocacy but central to many is an understanding that by working with institutions, changes can be made in policy or implementation of policy that are more sustainable and on a larger scale than an organisation can achieve through direct service delivery or capacity building.

For example, if an organisation is working with orphans and vulnerable children in five villages it can change the lives of the children that it works with directly. However, if the organisation also engages in advocacy and changes local or national policy it could potentially impact on many more children and the change in their lives will not be dependent on the involvement of the organisation.

Although the focus in advocacy is often on changing policy and practice (the implementation of existing policies) there is often an effort to strengthen the capacity of civil society to engage with policy makers and to try and transform power relations.

This can make some Governments hostile to civil society organisations engaging in ‘advocacy’ or ‘campaigning’ and in some countries legislation prevents it. In these situations it can be helpful to use alternative language to describe advocacy activities e.g. influencing, strategic engagement, relationship building or communication with key stakeholders. Using alternatives can help smooth discussions about advocacy strategy.

Definition of advocacy:

‘A systematic and strategic approach to influencing governmental and institutional policy and practice change’

Often when people think about advocacy they think about the kind of activities that an organisation or group of activists can undertake. These could include:

- Press conference
- Court cases
- Pamphlets
- Workshop
- Petitions
- Press release
- Lobbying
- Networking

- Strike
- Poster campaign
- Survey/Opinion Poll
- TV or radio drama
- Public forum
- Policy research
- Flyers
- Coalitions or networks

- March
- Round table
- Theatre
- Letter writing
- Conference
- Exposure tour
- Website
- Newsletter
2. Why do advocacy?

2.1 Benefits of advocacy

The benefits of advocacy can be understood to include the following:

Increased impact for beneficiaries through:

- Creating sustainable change anchored in institutional policies or law not in service delivery by organisations.
- Challenging the structural underpinnings of disadvantage (transforming power relations, increasing people’s awareness of their rights and government’s responsibilities).

As part of undertaking advocacy it is likely that there will be wider benefits:

- Increased awareness of the issues that an organisation is working on.
- Better informed and enabled supporters and citizens.
- Involvement in civil society, acting on values by encouraging action.
- A more informed and committed donor constituency.
- Opening up of new sources of funding.
- Increased profile of the organisation.
- Improved links with other organisations through networks and coalitions.
- Wider relations and improved dialogue with decision-making bodies.

A way of visualising this is to think about the two spheres/circles below:

For example, when implementing a HIV/AIDS programme, a doctor may have control over a number of key factors which influence the success of the programme (e.g. recruitment and training of staff, stocking of drugs, engagement with national health programmes). However, there are a range of other factors which affect the outcome of the programme that may concern the doctor but over which he/she may have no control. These are within his/her sphere of concern – they could include national health policy, content of nurse training, pay and remuneration for health workers, health charging, levels of nutrition of payments etc.
Advocacy is one way of expanding our sphere of control by trying to influence more widely the factors that affect the success of our direct activities. For example, it may be that the HIV/AIDS programme is struggling because well trained nurses do not want to work in the rural areas where the programme is being implemented – so the doctor could advocate for an additional payment for those nurses who work in rural areas.

2.2 Risks of advocacy

Organisations can be concerned about the potential risks of advocacy, particularly in contexts with constrained or limited civil society space. Many organisations worry about alienating supporters, donors and the Government by undertaking activities that might be perceived to be ‘political’. For service delivery organisations there can also be a concern about losing organisational focus, over-extending capacity and diversion of resources. In some instances, there may be concerns about safety and security of staff and communities if the government or other key actors do not like the organisation’s advocacy messages.

2.3 Managing the risks associated with advocacy

It is important to manage any perceived risk associated with ‘scaling-up’ advocacy by being clear about the advocacy approach of the organisation and having a clear response to any questions about the legitimacy and accountability of the organisation’s advocacy work.

Concerns about risk should not prevent your organisation from engaging in advocacy but it is important to think through what is appropriate in terms of your issue and context. In many countries it may not be effective to take a confrontational approach to the government and a more collaborative approach may be more effective. Advocacy and campaigning doesn’t have to mean strikes or marching on the streets (an outsider approach). An insider approach that involves engagement and behind-the-scenes discussions to persuade decision makers to change their position can have a large impact.

**Legitimacy** is one of the most crucial concepts in advocacy. If you are going to ask decision makers and other stakeholders to engage with you in policy discussions and you are going to hold them accountable for their actions then they will ask: *‘who are you and why should I listen to you?’*

2.4 Accountability

Understanding and being able to explain to whom your advocacy work is accountable is critical in order to manage risks relating to advocacy. You should be prepared to answer questions about your organisation’s governance, how it is managed, who controls it and how decisions are made (e.g. how do you involve citizens and beneficiaries?).

If you are representing others, there are some basic questions to ask:
- Have they asked you (directly or indirectly) to advocate for them?
- Have they given input into your position and do they have on-going input?
- Are they happy with your strategy?

Sometimes NGOs and CSOs have been accused of being driven by ‘foreign’ and ‘western’ interests as a result of their lines of accountability and governance. Having a funding base
that comes predominantly from foreign donors can also provide some ammunition to Governments who want to discredit the advocacy issue or organisation.

**Which approach to advocacy is most appropriate for your organisation?**

**Advocacy by the people**
Advocacy and campaigning can be led and undertaken by the people who are directly affected by the issue. They have legitimacy and can negotiate and make compromises based on their own interests.

Others (e.g. development NGOs, donors) may support these groups to be their own advocates but sometimes this support can skew the priorities of the individuals and organisations involved. Leadership and decision making needs to stay with the community.

**Advocacy with the people**
It may be that affected communities and others are both advocating or campaigning on the same or similar issues. It may be useful for them to work together.

Again NGOs that do joint advocacy and campaigning with affected communities need to be careful not to dominate or drive the process (as they often have the money, status and knowledge). The question of who leads and who makes decisions is critical.

**Advocacy for the people**
People and organisations not directly affected by the issue can do advocacy on behalf of those affected. In some circumstances where civil society space is constrained they may be safer to speak out than those affected.

They may also have greater and faster influence with powerful actors. Wherever possible, affected communities should be consulted on both the solutions being recommended and advocacy strategy being pursued. Where there is a difference of opinion, these should be acknowledged.

### 3. Developing an advocacy strategy

There are five key questions to ask when thinking about advocacy and developing an advocacy strategy:

1. What do you want to change?
2. How will change happen?
3. What is your core argument/message?
4. How are you going to win the argument or deliver the message?
5. How will you know if you are making progress or have succeeded?

#### 3.1 What do you want to change?

Being clear about what you want to change is critical to advocacy.

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1 [BOND How To Guide to Advocacy and Campaigning](#) by Ian Chandler July 2010
If your organisation is new to advocacy or has limited resources you may want to look at your existing strategic plan or delivery activities and think about where you could have more impact through advocacy. There may be many issues that you could undertake advocacy on but you may want to focus on one or two changes. Advocacy can be time-consuming and often you have to make a long-term commitment in order to see the change so don’t spread your attention too thinly.

In thinking through development of an advocacy strategy, begin with the problem or issue that you want to address and then dedicate some time to analysis. This helps you to deepen your understanding – unpack the issues, identify any gaps in the evidence and areas where change may be most transformational.

It can be helpful to do this as a team or as part of a participatory workshop. If you are working with others on your problem analysis, you may want to use the problem tree tool explained briefly below.

**Problem Tree Tool**:  

Step 1: write the main problem/concern in the centre of a large sheet of flip chart paper.

Step 2: using arrows, as in a flow chart, add the causes of the main problem onto the chart below the main problem, with arrows leading to the problem.

Step 3: for each of the causes, write the factors that lead to them, again using arrows to show how each one contributes.

Step 4: draw arrows leading upwards from the main problem to the various results/consequences of that problem.

Step 5: for each of these results, add any further consequences.

Step 6: keep adding causes and results, with arrows showing how they contribute to each set until you can think of no more.

This exercise helps participants to visualise the links between the main issue, the resultant problems, and the root causes.

An alternative if you are working through the analysis on your own or with a smaller group, is to use a simple grid or problem analysis framework.

**Problem Analysis Framework**:  

Step 1: break the issue down into component parts or sub-issues, and list them in the first column.

Step 2: for each sub-issue, identify the *consequences* of the problem, the *causes*, and the possible *solutions*.

For example, if the selected advocacy issue is access to drinking water supplies in a rural region, an initial analysis of the cause may focus on the insufficient number of boreholes in

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2 For more information about this tool and to see an example read:  
rural communities. However, a deeper analysis of the causes of the problem should also consider why there are insufficient boreholes in the area: there may be issues of ethnic bias, of politically-motivated funding decisions, of gender bias and so on. Even deeper analysis may reveal structural constraints such as the debt burden on the national economy preventing sufficient spending on rural water supply, and so on.

The repeated asking of the question ‘why?’ helps in this process of digging deeper to provide a full analysis of the problem.

**Example of Problem Analysis Framework (including solution development):**

**Overall issue:** Lack of Access to Anti-Retroviral Drugs (in 2001)

| Problem        | Cause                                                                 | Consequence                                                          | Solutions                                                                 |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|                                                                    |                                                                          |
| ARV drugs are too expensive | Patent law prevents cheaper drugs being produced. Profit motive for pharmaceutical companies. | Policy makers don’t believe that it is possible to provide ARVs in low income settings. | Reduce the price of ARV drugs by changing patent law and encouraging generic production. Show that it is possible to provide ARVs in low income setting. |

**Proposing solutions:**

In general, when engaging in advocacy it is difficult to meaningfully engaging in influencing change by just pointing out what is wrong with the current situation (the problem). It is helpful to have a proposal for change – a solution or recommendations.

If you are going to engage in discussions with decision makers around your solution it can be important to ‘test’ it for any weaknesses.

Key questions it can be useful to ask are:

- Is your solution/recommendation realistic?
- Can it be implemented without much expense?
- Is your solution simple and easy to understand?
- Could your solution/recommendation achieve tangible results in a short period of time?
- Who will oppose your solution/recommendation or be sceptical about it? Why?
- Will decision-makers like your solution/recommendation? Why? Why not?
- Are there other solutions to the problem that are more practical than your initial idea, and that will be more appealing to the decision makers? What are these solutions?

**3.2 How will change happen?**

How change happens is context (and issue) specific so it is important to think about what you know about the context for change (whether at the international, national or local level). Key to understanding how change will happen is knowing who has the power to make decisions in relation to your issue and who influences them. It is also important to reflect on the role that your individual organisation can play in influencing change.
a) Understanding the context for change

A very simple way to think through your context and make sure you are taking it into consideration in relation to your advocacy strategy is to use the PESTLE framework. This is often used in strategic planning processes.

PESTLE stands for the (P)olitical, (E)conomic, (S)ocial, (T)echnological, (L)egal and (E)nvironmental context. It can also be useful to add in an extra ‘I’ (PESTLEI) which covers the (I)nternational context – the involvement of international donors or agencies in your context.

In turn think about each element of the context (the political, then the economic…) and think about how it affects your issue. For example, there may be elections coming up (political context) or there may be a high rate of inflation which affects the price of food (economic context).

Once you have been through each of the elements (PESTLEI), sit back and reflect on what it tells you about your context and what you need to consider in relation to your advocacy strategy. For example, election time can potentially be a good time to advocate as political parties may want to include your ideas in their manifestos but also on the other hand there may be greater instability, politicians may be distracted and civil society space may be constrained.

b) Understanding who will be involved in change

First list all of the potential stakeholders that are involved your issue currently and would need to be involved in the change you want to see.

The kinds of organisations/institutions you may want to include are:

- National Government
- Local Government
- Business and the private sector
- Civil society organisations
- Professional bodies
- Religious or community leaders
- Media
- International donors and international organisations

You will probably need to do some research in order to identify individuals within organisations as we influence people not institutions. For example, if you identify that the Daily Nation is an important media stakeholder, you may need to think about who at the Daily Nation you need to influence – is it the Editor, the health columnist or the opinion page editor? Once you have identified the individuals, you may want to gather other information which helps you to understand their interests so that you can better target your advocacy and understand whether they are allies or opponents of your ideas.
An example of a stakeholder analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution/Individual</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
<td>Decision-maker</td>
<td>Has made speeches on reproductive health issues. Is opposed to contraception as she is a Catholic. Ambitious and wants to be promoted to the cabinet. May be interested in engaging in an issue/cause that will increase her profile and popularity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Public Health</td>
<td>Mrs Helen Santos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Midwives</td>
<td>Potential ally</td>
<td>The Association of Midwives primarily focuses on pay and conditions (recognition of midwives) but would be supportive of our agenda (especially if we include advocacy for improved pay and benefits for health professionals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Eva Pinto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Times</td>
<td>Potential ally or opponent</td>
<td>He writes a weekly column but it is difficult to know what his position will be on this issue. He likes to write articles with a strong example and case study so we could provide him with these.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health correspondent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Juan Lopez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having the stakeholder analysis can be useful but it is difficult to visualise and understand how the various stakeholders relate to each other and also how your organisation or you as an individual can actually influence the decision-maker either directly or indirectly.

For example, there could be a range of different ways to influence the decision-maker – Mrs Santos at the Ministry of Public Health (above).

**Understanding multiple paths to influence:**

- You could request a meeting with the public health minister directly.
- You could focus on increasing press coverage that will influence the Minister.
- You could engage with the parliamentary committee on health who would produce a report that would be sent to the Minister.
- You could engage religious leaders within the Catholic Church who may be able to influence the Minister.
- You could form an alliance with the professional association (midwives, nurses and obstetricians and gynaecologists).

The most effective advocacy strategy might be to use a combination of all the above approaches in order to develop momentum and pressure for change.

**3.3 What is your core argument or message?**

Once you have identified the people (and institutions) that you need to influence to bring about change then you need to make sure that you have a strong argument for change that will convince your key stakeholders.

Your core message is a short summary of your advocacy issue and your strategy for addressing it. It tells the audience (the person you are talking to, who is reading your
advocacy materials) what you want to achieve and by when. The core message should explain why the change is important and how change can happen. It should be short and persuasive.

Remember advocacy messages are not just about informing your audience, they are also about persuading and influencing them.

**Aristotle’s top tips for messages:**

In the 4th century B.C. the Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote about the key ingredients of a persuasive message in *On Rhetoric*, this included his theory on the three persuasive appeals. Most advice from modern books can be traced back to these three appeals.

He called them:

- **Ethos**: Credibility (or moral character) of the person or message content
- **Pathos**: Appeal based on emotions
- **Logos**: Appeal based on logical argument

In your core message these elements can often be seen in:

**Ethos**: Establishing the credibility of your organisation to speak on this issue, explaining your or their experience to establish that you are informed, knowledgeable and trustworthy.

**Pathos**: If your message is written or spoken you may use a human story related to the consequences of your advocacy issue to elicit an emotional response or you may use a visual image. You need to be clear about what emotion you are trying to stimulate in your audience – is it anger, sadness, desire to act, surprise etc.

**Logos**: A need to ensure that your message is logical and makes sense to the audience. You could include facts, statistics and short pieces of evidence. Your audience needs to understand from your message how your proposed solution to the problem will make a difference.

**Your core message would include:**

1. Statement of problems and action desired
2. Evidence – statistics and information
3. Example – focuses on the affected

**Example: Oxfam’s core message on intensive farming**

Following a century of increases, crop yields are flat-lining because intensive farming can only go so far. It’s time to focus on the huge untapped potential of small-scale farmers in developing countries - especially on women, who often do most of the work for little reward. Already, 500 million small farms help to put food on the plates of two billion people – or one in three people on earth. With effective government support and a focus on sustainable techniques, productivity could soar.

In Vietnam, for instance, the number of hungry people has halved in just 12 years - a transformation kick-started by government investment in small farmers. It's time to change the way the world thinks about growing food.
Tailor your message to the audience:

Having developed your core message it is critical to tailor your message to your audiences and also ensure that you are clear about what actions you are asking each audience to take.

An example of how to tailor your message to your audience

**Decision-makers**
Nationally, diarrhoea accounts for 20% of under-five child mortality and intestinal parasitic infections continue to undermine maternal and child nutritional status, physical and mental development. A small investment in clean drinking water and low-cost sanitation facilities will yield a large return in terms of child and adult health and survival. We would like to request a meeting with you to discuss this issue further.

**Media**
Wangai is 6 years old. His mother walks 5 km each morning to the nearest clean water point to collect drinking water for the family. However, when Wangai and his friends are thirsty, they drink from the nearby river bed, where the cattle and goats drink. Wangai’s family have no latrine and use the riverbed in the early morning before it is light. Wangai has two brothers and one sister: he had another two sisters but both died of dysentery before they were four years old.

Wangai has visited his cousin who lives in the nearby town, where there is a good water supply and each house has a latrine. He has seen that his cousin’s family do not fall ill and his aunt has lost no babies because of sickness. He wishes there were similar facilities in his village.

**General public**
Clean water saves lives: water-borne diseases and poor sanitation today claim thousands of lives in rural Tanzania. Each village should have at least one borehole and adequate latrines. Talk to your local councillor today to find out how you can help to bring life-saving support that is needed.

3.4 How are you going win the argument or deliver the message?

Your advocacy activities need to be selected to have the **maximum impact for the lowest cost** or investment (so not just money but also your time and other resources). There may be a range of different ways to influence a decision maker – you could hold a conference with all key stakeholders and invite the decision maker to speak (this would be a large investment) or you could simply request a meeting and prepare a briefing (smaller investment).

If you are running an existing programme you may just want to look at your planned activities and see how you can add to them to achieve advocacy impact. For example, if you are planning an event in the community could you ask the local MP or relevant minister to give the opening address? Or if you have collected some good data or information as part of your monitoring and evaluation, could you turn that into a research report or policy briefing?
Your activities need to be **appropriate** for your organisation, your context, your issue, your audience, your message and your resources and assets! Some activities may be appropriate in one context or for a particular message (e.g. a march or petition) but would be counterproductive or ineffective in another. It is important to learn from other’s experiences and your own about what works but be confident in your analysis of what makes sense in the context of your strategy.

### Possible Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Press conference</th>
<th>Strike</th>
<th>March</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>

You may want to set out an annual plan for your advocacy which is focused around key opportunities for advocacy (e.g. a national conference on your issue or consultation around a new piece of legislation or policy guidance) and also your existing programmatic activities.

Advocacy activities generally try to achieve one or more of the following:

- **Develop and evidence your argument (or core message)** e.g. research, networking, policy analysis, attending conferences, engaging with experts and academics.
- **Putting your case to decision makers directly** e.g. lobbying, meetings, events and roundtables.
- **Build pressure or momentum for change** e.g. alliance or coalition building, media briefings, marches.

Often in the early stage of an action plan you may want to focus on building and developing your argument before you enter into direct discussions with decision makers or using the media to make your messages public. This can help you to address any weaknesses in your argument before you expose it to scrutiny.

It may be the case that initially decision makers are not interested in having a direct discussion with you about your issue as it isn’t important enough to them so you need to focus on generating momentum and pressure for change. You may need to build alliances or generate media coverage of your issue before the decision makers will meet with you.
Key point on impact or profile

Confusion can arise within organisations when thinking about advocacy and campaigns particularly when organisations mistake increased profile of the organisation for impact or change.

Increased profile for organisations can be useful for funding or fundraising purposes and also to build an organisation’s reputation on a certain issue. But when planning it is critical to understand whether you have an expectation that your activities will have impact (on the issue, on decision makers) or are primarily focused on raising the organisation’s profile.

You can design many activities to do both but sometimes you may have a big impact (but not be able to take credit for it) and in some instances you may gain a lot of profile for your organisation but not have any impact on the issue.

3.5 How will you know if you are making progress or have succeeded?

Knowing whether you are making progress or have achieved success is important for advocacy. This element of your strategy is more commonly known as monitoring and evaluation. It can help to improve effectiveness, strengthen impact, keep the focus on learning and increase accountability to donors and other key stakeholders.

In monitoring and evaluation (M&E) in general there are three critical questions:

1. Are we doing what we said we would do?
2. Are we making any difference? (Impact assessment)
3. Are these the right things to do? (Strategic relevance)

The challenge of measuring impact is establishing causality:

‘did A (our intervention) cause B (observed change)?’

This can be particularly difficult in advocacy where often decision makers do not want to admit that they have been influenced and also where many organisations may be working on the same issue.

Also monitoring and evaluating advocacy can be challenging as the advocacy environment is complex with potentially long and unpredictable timescales. Decision-making processes are often hidden and affected by many unknown factors.

This makes it critical to keep your M&E process simple. For example, it is important to be clear about what you are trying to achieve overall with your advocacy and how each of your activities will contribute to that overall objective.

When planning your activities, it is important to write down what you expect the outcome to be and any assumptions you have made about why that will happen. You may also

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3 For further information about monitoring and evaluation please consult the PLP M&E toolkit: [http://cgi-africa.org/resources/](http://cgi-africa.org/resources/).
want to document any risks associated with the activity and how you plan to manage them.

A simple way of institutionalising M&E is then to conduct ‘after action reviews’ after each activity. If you schedule these into your planning then it can be a really helpful way of documenting evidence and learning and also consolidating and sharing views between key partners. It can also help you with reporting to donors or sharing experience within your organisation.

**How to do an ‘After Action Review’:**

Convene a meeting for key people involved in the activity – whether a research report, a conference or a lobbying meeting. Make sure you make it clear that you are meeting in a spirit of learning and it is important that people are honest and open. In advocacy often the context changes and our activities do not have the impact that we expect. The most important thing is to learn from this.

**Example of ‘After Activity Review’ Questions:**

- Did we do what we said we would?
- Did it have the impact that we expected? If not, why not?
- What else could we have done to increase the impact?
- What have we learnt? What would we do differently?
- (If relevant) did we work well with others?
- Are the changes sustainable?
- Do we need to change our strategy as a result of this activity? If so, why?

**Conclusion and Next Steps**

By using the key questions above and the tools described, hopefully you can see that advocacy doesn’t need to be complicated or resource intensive. It is just about thinking strategically about how to increase your impact through policy and practice changes.

Don’t be daunted – just start by thinking about how you can integrate advocacy within your existing project or programme activities, for example, by inviting key stakeholders to community events or by using your monitoring and evaluation information to produce a report to share with parliamentarians.

Good luck!
Further background reading

Books


Research for Development

Toolkits and training guides


Advocacy Guidance Notes, BOND http://www.bond.org.uk/pubs/index.html#uk including: participative advocacy; Advocacy M+E; Getting the Message Across.


Change Management InfoKit, JISC, www.jiscinfonet.ac.uk/infokits/change-management This site has lots of other useful resources


**Articles and papers**

**Making Change Happen: Advocacy and Citizen Participation**, Cindy Clark, INTRAC 04 May 2004, from INTRAC website at  

[http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/13821/](http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/13821/)

**Campaigning for International Justice**, Brendan Cox, BOND 2011  
