



Save the Children



FROM WORDS TO ACTION

A decade fighting child trafficking in Mozambique

CASE STUDY

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Every child has the right to a future.

Save the Children works around the world to give children a healthy start in life, and the chance to learn and to be safe.

We do whatever it takes to get children the things they need – every day and in times of crisis.

Cover photo: Isidro Afonso, Save the Children

Adam,* 16, is greeted by his mother having returned home through Save the Children and partners' anti-trafficking project.

** Some children's names have been changed to protect identities.*

Written by

Tine Ramstad

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Save the Children

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Human traffickers sell children to the highest bidders, abusing them and leaving emotional scars for life. In Mozambique, criminals take advantage of children living in poverty by promising them prosperity in the cities or South Africa. When they arrive at these destinations, children are met with extreme violence and held in captivity to provide slave-labour or sexual services (UNODC, 2014; US Department of State, 2016).

Since 2006 and with funding from the Norwegian Government, Save the Children has implemented an anti-trafficking project in Mozambique. Major developments have taken place since the project's initiation, including the approval of the Anti-Trafficking Act (06/2008) and a strengthened protection system, which incorporated the obligations laid out in the Act. The implementation of the law is evident in the government-initiated investigations of human trafficking, raising from 0 in 2008 to 95 investigations in 2015 with 35 ending in prosecutions (US Department of State, 2016).

Without a doubt, in 2017 the protection system is much more robust than the one that existed in 2007. It now has a legal foundation and a structure to govern its operation. The system includes a referral mechanism, consisting of a nation-wide organizational structure and formalized collaboration with South Africa. The referral mechanism is vital for children exposed to trafficking; to access services (such as health, education and the judiciary) and for cases to be prosecuted. A regional collaboration with participation from South Africa, Zambia, Swaziland, Malawi, and Zimbabwe has also been established to address cross-border trafficking and to exchange lessons learned. In 2016, the referral mechanism expanded its mandate to include all forms of abuse. In 2017 alone, the referral network dealt with 46 cases of sexual abuse, 49 cases of negligence, 78 cases of child labour/exploitation, and eight cases of forced marriages.

Considering the project's duration and continued funding, it is essential to understand Save the Children's contributions to these achievements. As there is still limited research available about how and to what extent International Civil Society Organizations (INGO) can influence policy processes (Valters, 2015; Szarka, 2013), these lessons will hopefully be of interest to diverse audiences, beyond Save the Children.

To capture the richness of the project's experience (Yin, 2009) a case study approach was used. Case studies are well equipped to examine complex real-life phenomena, such as the anti-trafficking project. The anti-trafficking project presented a clear case and it had a sufficient pool of material to inform the research (Yin, 2009). The diversity of information sources contributed to a holistic understanding of change. This allowed the investigation to go beyond the descriptive understanding (what), and to try to understand how and why change occurred. The analysis aimed at identifying patterns (Yin, 2009) that could provide answers to the research question.

A political context is complex, with many relationships and feedback loops. Change is the result of the interplay of many diverse and seemingly unrelated factors, making it unrealistic to produce an analysis which clearly documents the cause-effect of the interventions (Kelly, 2002). As such, it will not be possible to attribute success directly to a specific intervention by Save the Children. This case study has therefore looked at Save the Children's contribution to the overall development of the Anti-Trafficking Act and its implementation in Mozambique. These findings cannot be generalized, as it is often done with results from quantitative research. However, the results produced strived to be reliable and valid in the context of qualitative research. As such, the results should be comparable if repeated in a similar setting (Golafshani, 2003).

This project focused on systemic advocacy that aimed at influencing change in systems, policy and laws. Advocacy, as a working methodology, needs time to produce results, as was the case with the anti-trafficking project. It was therefore essential that the funding was predictable and long-term, allowing the time needed for the project's interventions to contribute to a strengthened protection system. The findings from the descriptive analysis revealed a sequence of events that closely mirrors those described in the policy-cycle framework (Kingdon, 1995). This classic approach to policy making breaks the process down into five phases: agenda setting, text formulation, decision-making, implementation and evaluation. The first four were experienced in this project. However, the Anti-Trafficking Act has not yet been evaluated. In each of the phases, the



Isidro Acora, Miguiza Transit Center

Joana,*16, was trafficked to South Africa by her uncle when she was 14. Once there, she was forced to look after his children and sexually abused. After a neighbour reported her situation to social services, a social worker brought her to the Amazing Grace reintegration centre, where she received medical help and counselling. After six months at the centre she was reunited with her family in Mozambique and her abuser was sentenced to six years in prison.

*Not her real name

project interventions were effective in producing results. Over the project's lifecycle, most initiatives became sustainable. It can further be argued that the project has also had a catalytic effect. The government took over and scaled up pilot efforts in which Save the Children had invested. For example, the government expanded the number of referral groups that Save the Children established from three to 11 districts.

The analysis identified patterns that shed light at which advocacy strategies had been successful in

contributing to systemic change. The advocacy strategies identified in this project can at large be divided into two categories, one that targets the decision makers directly, referred to as a direct strategy; the other aimed at mobilising the public or subgroups in a community to demand change and is commonly referred to as an indirect strategy (Binderkrantz, 2005). Based on the findings of the case study, advocacy strategies were modified throughout the different phases of the policy-cycle and adapted to the opportunities and threats of the specific policy environments.

The goal of the agenda setting phase, was to ensure that the relevant target groups recognized trafficking as a social problem that required political solutions. Developing a common understanding of the problem was the first step. Limited understanding of the problem increases the risk of advocacy efforts being misdirected, failing to gain attention and quickly fading away. Save the Children invested resources to consult with a diversity of stakeholders and conduct field studies to develop an understanding of the triggers, movement trends, and legal protection mechanisms. Based on a rigorous, in-depth analysis and collaboration with other civil society organizations as well as the Norwegian embassy, a common narrative of human trafficking in Mozambique emerged. A well-defined narrative was useful to engage the public, broader civil society actors, and the media. During this phase the indirect strategies described above were predominated. Public pressure, and especially media involvement made, policy makers recognise human trafficking as a challenge in Mozambique. Towards the end of this phase human trafficking entered the political agenda.

The decision-making phase was closely interwoven with the text formulation phase. Therefore, the case study combined these two phases into one. Save the Children used a mix of strategies, including the indirect strategies established in the agenda setting phase, such as the partnerships with the media and civil society organizations. The main task in this phase was to initiate a dialogue with decision makers and to build consensus on which political solutions were desirable and feasible. Civil society actors in Mozambique developed a shared set of arguments, which made their voice stronger and more influential. By working with the government and building trust, the civil society alliance that Save the Children took a part in was invited to provide inputs and suggest text for the law. This collaboration with decision makers and use of direct strategies seems to have been successful, as the Anti-Trafficking Act had included text provided by the civil society alliance.

The implementation phase is still ongoing. The success of the implementation phase has largely depended on the political will of decisionmakers to prioritize implementation in plans and budgets. Direct strategies dominated at this stage. Save the Children entered into a strategic partnership with the General Attorney's office and drafted an action plan for implementation of the Anti-Trafficking Act. This served as guidance for implementation of central elements of the law, like the referral system. Further, Save the Children recognised the importance of working with governmental structures at a sub-national level and with professional groups. Through trainings and campaigns, Save the Children utilised easily understandable messages about the legal rights of children and what was required of the different stakeholders to fulfil their roles.

The ability to recognize and seize the right opportunities – which was critical to the project's success – was a challenge at times. This required Save the Children to analyse power, how its involvement could add value to the effort, and whether it was a worthwhile investment of resources.

The findings of this case study demonstrated the importance of long-term and predictable funding, when the goal is to contribute to systemic change. This allowed for time to gradually build commitment within the system, and for the line ministries to allocate the needed resources for implementation. The combination of capacity building, awareness raising, strategic partnerships and advocacy work was crucial to the project's success and sustainability. Throughout the project, there has been continuous interaction between the project components. Even if the awareness raising and capacity building activities did not target policy change, they have certainly contributed to strengthening Save the Children's credibility in policy forums. One lesson learned from this project experience suggests that one project component alone would not have led to the sustainability of the investments made. Advocacy and strategic partnerships were essential to the sustainability, and should be integrated into project designs at an early stage.

Table 1: Summary of the national protection system for trafficked children in Mozambique showing when different elements became sustainable

FORMAL STRUCTURE

SUPPORTING BODIES

National Referral Committee
(Led by Attorney General's Office
with members from all line ministries,
IOM and Save the Children).



NATIONAL REFERRAL
COMMITTEE



Collaboration with South African
partners is mainly at national level.

Sustainable in 2016

Sustainable in 2014



Provincial referral groups.



PROVINCIAL REFERRAL
GROUPS



The 116 Child Helpline is available
throughout the country, and calls
are free of charge.

Sustainable in 2012

In 2016/17 work was initiated with the
child protection community committees
to prevent trafficking cases and work
more holistically around protection.



District referral groups.



DISTRICT
REFERRAL GROUPS



An anti-trafficking brigade was
established in 2010 in the Ministry
of Home Affairs.

Sustainable in 2012

Police and reintegration centres work
mainly with the district level.

**The reintegration centres were
sustainable in 2012 (Magwasa) and
2016 (Amazing Grace).**

The system is organised in a hierarchy where the higher governance level has oversight, and also the responsibility to ensure that roles and responsibilities are clear, tools updated and information disseminated. The case information should move up in the system to ensure all cases are being processed correctly.

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Abel Mbombe, 16, was working for someone but now he works for himself. He was part of the anti-trafficking awareness sessions led by Save the Children and partner and now with the documents (ID) he will back to school next year.

1. BACKGROUND TO THE CASE STUDY

Globally, an estimated 50 million children are on the move, affected by war, conflict, disasters and poverty (UNICEF, 2016). These children move both within and between countries, with or without their parents, voluntarily or involuntarily. Migration can take place in a legal and safe manner, but this is not always the case. When the migration is illegal it can increase the risk of multiple forms of abuse, and have a negative impact on the child's welfare, safety and healthcare.

Moreover, it places children on the move at the mercy of unscrupulous employers and human traffickers. Human trafficking is a severe and systematic form of abuse, with people being transported from one location to the next by force or fraud to provide labour or commercial sex. More specific forms of trafficking include domestic servitude, forced marriage, child soldiering, forced begging, criminal activity, and organ trafficking (United Nations General Assembly, 2017; UNODC, 2014).

People in southern Africa are on the move for many of the same reasons as elsewhere in the world – to seek employment or education, escape poverty, reunite with their families, and/or to flee conflict. The *Trafficking in Persons Report* (US Department of State, 2016) describes Mozambique primarily as a country of departure and transit rather than a destination for children, women and men subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking. Trafficking of children from rural communities to Mozambique's cities and to South Africa is prevalent in several sectors, such as agriculture, mining and trade – or the sex industry, often with the complicity of family members (US Department of State, 2016). It remains a challenge for states to protect their national borders and provide safety for migrants, while enormous profits are generated for human traffickers – fuelling corruption and organised crime (SADC, 2016).

In the mid-2000s, Save the Children, along with partner organisations, became aware of the scope and severity of human trafficking in Mozambique – which was not prohibited by law. The system, legal and policy gaps and protection challenges were also documented in the 2006 Save the Children-commissioned – and Norwegian Embassy funded – study *Goodbye Mum and Dad (we will not see each other again because*

someone stole me). The study marked the beginning of a formalised strategic partnership between Save the Children and the Norwegian Embassy in Mozambique to deliver services to trafficked children, strengthen the capacity of border police, and to advocate for legal and system change.

The project has succeeded in influencing policies at national and regional level, strengthening protection structures, building capacity, and providing protection measures for the most marginalised children. The Anti-Trafficking Act 06/2008 has been a landmark in this process. Much of the success of the project rests upon its ability to contribute to the implementation of the Anti-Trafficking Act, including the establishment and continuing work of the protection system, which consists of case referral groups at district, provincial and national level. The main task of the referral groups is to ensure that trafficked children receive coordinated assistance to meet their needs, and that the perpetrators are held responsible for their crimes as per the Anti-Trafficking Act. The composition of the referral groups depends on the level of governance. At national level, all the government's line ministries participate in the National Referral Committee with IOM and Save the Children. At a subnational level (district and provincial), the referral groups consist of local officials, police, border guards, social workers, NGOs and faith-based organisations. The nationwide protection structure has proved to be sustainable since Save the Children phased out its financial support and the Attorney General's Office gradually took over full leadership and financial responsibilities. Today, as a member of the National Referral Committee, Save the Children provides technical support along with other members.

Globalisation and fast communications have made trafficking easier (United Nations General Assembly, 2017). As such, this report reflects challenges that are relevant across the globe. This project provides valuable learning, both for Save the Children and for the child protection sector generally. The anti-trafficking work provided an excellent opportunity to review the results generated over the last decade, as well as successful and less successful working methodologies. Given the timespan, it was possible to look at the relevance of the interventions and the effectiveness and sustainability of the results.

2. KEY CONCEPTS

ADVOCACY

Political influencing by aid organisations operating outside of the official political system is often referred to as advocacy. In the 1990s, many international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) recognised that traditional aid, in the form of service delivery, was ineffective in securing lasting change for poor and marginalised communities. Increasingly, therefore, INGOs worked towards creating space for marginalised groups to participate in decision-making processes and to influence change at a systemic level (Hudson, 2002; Beyers, Eising and Maloney, 2008).

There was some controversy about the introduction of this working methodology, partly regarding how well placed international organisations would be to represent people in aid-receiving countries and partly about whether spending money on advocacy would make any difference to the lives of poor and marginalised people in those countries. In the early days, there was also confusion about the terminology itself, with advocacy (as a concept) being seen as a synonym for the activities carried out or the partnerships established, rather than as a strategic process consisting of multiple activities. INGOs also faced challenges in documenting the results of their advocacy and in communicating its value, strengthening arguments by critics that funds would be better spent elsewhere (Olson, 1982). In the 1990s and with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) from 2000, donors and tax payers increasingly demanded documentation of results at an outcome level. At the same time, aid-receiving governments became more vocal regarding local ownership. INGOs came to recognise the value of working closely with governments to change policy and practice and that systemic change was needed to fight poverty and social injustice. Over a decade, advocacy gradually became accepted as a tool to scale up proven development practices and to hold decision makers to account (Hudson, 2002). Today, most international organisations, including civil society organisations, work with government institutions to influence change

as part of their day-to-day business. This can take the form of single/multiple-issue-based advocacy or time-bound campaigns, or it can be an integrated approach in programme delivery (Beyers, Eising and Maloney, 2008).

Save the Children frames advocacy as ‘a set of organised activities to influence government and other decision makers’ institutional policies and practice to achieve changes for children’s lives based on the experience and knowledge of working directly with children, their families and their communities’ (Save the Children, 2017). Working in partnership is integral to Save the Children’s theory of change and how the organisation delivers its vision of a world in which every child can realise their right to learn, survive and be protected.

In the anti-trafficking project, advocacy has been used as a tool to contribute to a national protection system for children affected by trafficking. While Save the Children’s aim was to influence the legal, policy and protection systems, it is the government of Mozambique’s duty to protect children affected by trafficking.

Rights-based approach, duty bearers and rights holders

A rights-based approach to development is used by many aid organisations, including Save the Children. The aim of this approach is to transform power relations and give the most disadvantaged in a society more influence. In this context, there are two key stakeholder groups: the rights holders (who may or may not experience full rights) and the duty bearers (the institutions obligated to fulfil the holders’ rights). In most cases, duty bearers are those obliged by their country’s laws and as signatories to international treaties to respect, promote and realise human rights and to abstain from human rights violations (Tsikata, 2007). This means that states such as Mozambique that have signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) are duty bearers, while the country’s

children are rights holders. In signing the country's Anti-Trafficking Act, the government of Mozambique is the duty bearer responsible for implementing the Act to protect children at risk of, or exposed to, trafficking. Further, it is responsible for prosecuting criminals engaged in human trafficking.

Human smuggling and human trafficking

There are many reasons why people move between and within countries. In recent years, the categorisation of people as migrants or refugees seems to have become blurred, adding to the complexity of international law. Human smuggling and trafficking are both serious and complex crimes. The trafficking and smuggling protocols, often referred to as the Palermo Protocols, frame the difference between smuggling and trafficking around the understanding of coercion and consent (Gallagher and David, 2014). People who are trafficked are forced, or moved under false pretences, to provide various services while in captivity. Human smuggling is typically based on a financial agreement between the person being smuggled who pays money to a smuggler, who then transports the person to an agreed destination (often across a state border that the individual does not have the right to exit or enter legally). The trafficking protocol addresses the need for the protection of trafficked persons and provides a broad range of protective measures, while the smuggling protocol contains minimal reference to protection for smuggled persons (Gallagher and David, 2014). This case study will frame trafficking in line with the definition provided in the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.

Child protection system – referral mechanisms and case management

The child protection system established under the Norwegian-funded project in Mozambique looks specifically at the trafficking of children. The referral mechanism and case management process are central elements in the protection system and these concepts will be used frequently in the report. Referral is the process of noticing a concern about a child or family, deciding that action needs to be taken, and reporting that concern to someone with the responsibility to act upon it. This might be directly, or by giving information to the family or child about where they should go for further help (Roelen, Long and Edström, 2012). A referral mechanism is vital to ensure that individuals can access the necessary services within different sectors (such as health, education and the judiciary) and for supporting the coordinated provision of services across sectors. These types of mechanism must be adapted to the particular context to ensure that they are culturally sensitive and embrace different referral methods, including self-referral (eg, a child helpline), family referrals (e.g. a mother taking her ill child to a health clinic), community-based referrals (e.g. a community protection committee referring a case of suspected child abuse to social or childcare services or the police) and referrals by local service providers (e.g. a teacher referring a child to another service) (Roelen, Long and Edström, 2012). Case management is a process within a referral mechanism to support the individual child. This requires a time-sensitive perspective from the early detection and management of referrals across sectors to the provision of services and follow-up (Roelen, Long and Edström, 2012).

3. PURPOSE AND SCOPE

PURPOSE

The purpose of this case study is to provide a learning platform to inform:

- Save the Children and the protection sector on effective advocacy strategies that contribute to the implementation of policies and legal frameworks
- donor reporting and future investment in children on the move and anti-trafficking projects
- the design of integrated programmes with advocacy, partnership, capacity building and service delivery components.

SCOPE

The project was established in partnership with the Norwegian Embassy in Maputo to address challenges associated with the trafficking of children. The Save the Children-commissioned study *Goodbye Mum and Dad* (2006) outlined gaps in the system used to deal with trafficking in Mozambique, as well as the need for the development of a legal framework. The report was funded by the Norwegian Embassy in Maputo, and the project continues to receive Norwegian funding. The main components have been service delivery, capacity building, partnerships and advocacy to ensure

that the government – as the duty bearer – steps up to meet its responsibilities towards children exposed to human trafficking.

The case study has assessed Save the Children's contribution to the results achieved, and why and how some advocacy strategies and project components succeeded in contribution to systemic change- while others not. The project was funded by the Norwegian Embassy in Maputo (2006–2010) and Norad (2010 to date). The OAK Foundation, European Commission and Save the Children Italy came on board later and supported segments of the child protection work.

In terms of results, the case study has looked at how successful the project has been in ensuring systematic protection for trafficked children and those at the risk of being trafficked. This means it will not, and is not equipped to, assess to what extent the child protection structures are providing effective, high-quality services. Further, the case study is not able to assess to what degree the project has led to a decrease in the number of children being trafficked. Although Save the Children and the Attorney General's Office established a database of trafficking cases in 2015, no statistics for previous years are available for comparison.

4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The underlying assumption behind this case study is that an understanding of how change occurs will provide learning on how to stimulate good results. The aim has been to provide information that will be of practical value to Save the Children and other organisations.

The overall research objective is to assess how Save the Children used several strategies such as service delivery, capacity building, partnerships and advocacy to influence the development and implementation of Mozambique's Anti-Trafficking Act (06/2008).

SUB-OBJECTIVES ARE TO:

- assess the relevance of interventions and the effectiveness and sustainability of results in the anti-trafficking project in Mozambique
- explore successful advocacy strategies for influencing policy development and system building
- provide an evidence base for donor relations
- guide future programme interventions, and formulate advocacy messages at national, regional and global levels.

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

- To what extent has Save the Children's investment been relevant and produced effective and sustainable results, and what have been the enabling factors for advocacy successes?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Can the results be traced back to the project interventions?
- To what extent has Save the Children's interventions in Mozambique improved the case handling of trafficked children?
- What has been essential for establishing and maintaining successful partnerships?
- What has been the added value of Save the Children in Mozambique in these partnerships?
- What have been the enabling factors for policy development and implementation?
- How and to what extent have the activities continued to develop after Save the Children reduced or phased out its funding?
- Which factors have influenced the sustainability of the project results?
- Has the project been consistent in terms of setting new goals?
- To what extent has the project managed to stay relevant?
- Has the project provided evidence or documentation of results?
- To what extent have the investments and interventions attracted new funding from international donors or the government?
- Has there been unplanned events or factors influencing the results/effects of the interventions?

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Advocates in international organisations engage in policy processes with a set of assumptions about how they can influence change, and what is needed to succeed. Researchers have investigated policy change and its pathway of change in numerous policy theories (such as agenda-setting, advocacy coalition and message and framework theory). These theories are not a blueprint of the reality. Rather, they tend to describe policy processes within one sector – predominately in the context of the USA or Europe (Cerna, 2013). While learning from these theories can be used to explore what is needed to influence decision makers, their relevance in explaining how and why Save the Children has succeeded in influencing the Anti-Trafficking Act in Mozambique is limited. Despite a growing body of policy literature, little of this work is related specifically to advocacy processes led by

INGOs within the development sector. Considering the research gap, a more practical approach to learning is needed, first, for organisations to continue to make well-informed decisions and, second, to ensure accountability to donors, partners and beneficiaries within their advocacy portfolios.

This case study will therefore take a more generic approach to guide its findings: the policy-cycle framework. The classic approach to policy making breaks the process down into phases collectively referred to as a policy-cycle-framework (Kingdon, 1995). The assumption is that the stages will be similar across governance models and time periods (Cairney, 2013). The policy-cycle framework is useful in the context of this study as it provides the findings with a simple and concrete structure (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Policy-cycle framework



The policy-cycle framework normally includes the following phases:

1. **Agenda setting** – often highlighting the ground rules in the society for legal and political developments. Evidence suggests that organisations making themselves relevant in shaping the agenda are likely to continue to be dominant actors throughout the process (Cobb and Elder, 1972; Kingdon, 1984).
2. **Text formulation** – often dominated by dialogue, consensus building and consolidation. Bureaucrats and technocrats tend to be the pen-holders in the drafting of laws and policies. It is therefore important to nurture relationships with the bureaucrats and technocrats to ensure that the desired text is included (Howlett, Ramesh and Perl, 2009).
3. **Decision making** – where the text of the law or policy is already negotiated and agreed upon. It will now go through the approval process in Parliament (Kingdon, 1995). It will be key to continue to advocate for approval of the policy or law through direct contact with individuals in key positions within the decision-making bodies
4. **Implementation** – broadly defined as ‘what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact on the world of the action’ (O’Toole, 2000, p. 266). The decision on a specific course of action and adaptation of a law does not guarantee that the action on the ground will follow policy makers’ aims and objectives (Kingdon, 1995), making the implementation phase labour intensive. From 2008 onwards, implementation has been the goal of the anti-trafficking project and the case study has therefore made a significant effort to track actions and developments under this phase of the policy process.
5. **Evaluation** – examines the relevance of the policy or legal framework and whether changes are needed. The evaluation phase has not been relevant in the context of this case study as Save the Children has not been involved in any related activities and to date the Anti-Trafficking Act has not reached the evaluation stage.

From an academic viewpoint, the policy cycle framework might be an unrealistic simplification of the real world (Jann and Wegrich, 2007). It has, however, been a functional structure in assessing the relevance of interventions and the effectiveness and sustainability of results in the anti-trafficking project.

How change happens

It is not enough to consider the structure of the policy process to understand how change happens. The dynamics of and interactions between the involved parties also need to be taken into consideration. Advocates adapt and adjust their strategies to specific targets and power players in each stage of the policy cycle. Strategies in this context refer to the approach (reflecting specific activities and tactics) the organisation uses to achieve its political goals (Binderkrantz, 2012). The literature has mainly focused on two types of strategies: one that targets the decision makers directly, referred to as an insider track or direct strategy; the other aimed at mobilising the public or subgroups in a community to demand change. The latter is often referred to as the outsider track or indirect strategy. For conceptual clarity, this case study will use the terms, direct and indirect strategies. Direct strategies typically include administrative and parliamentary activities. Administrative activities can take place in the established political forums or through direct contact with relevant political leaders, ministers or others in the political system. Parliamentary strategies target elected members in the Parliament. Indirect strategies, on the other hand, can include a wide range of activities – from evidence building, communications, coalition building, mass mobilisation and demonstrations to more radical activities such as civil disobedience. Indirect strategies give those without a formal voice a channel to influence the decision-making processes (Binderkrantz, 2005).

The next chapter, Research methodology, elaborates further on the methodology used to document the findings of this case study. Chapter 6, Findings and discussion, presents findings in line with the policy cycle stages outlined above. To understand why and how change takes place, the advocacy strategies, and other project components will be assessed to understand how these have contributed to change. This will embed the more complex relations in a political context, including power dynamics and interaction between the stakeholders.

6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGICAL RATIONALE

Due to limited research and theories of how INGOs are contributing to a lasting change in policy and practises, this study used a qualitative-exploratory methodology. This approach was instrumental to capture the richness of the project's experience (Yin, 2009) as it allowed for assessing power dimensions, exploring the outreach of partners, highlighting the insights of stakeholders, and tracking events that contributed to progress.

A case study approach to the qualitative-exploratory methodology was selected after careful consideration. Case studies are a popular qualitative approach and well equipped to examine complex real-life phenomenon, such as the anti-trafficking project. The anti-trafficking project presented a clear case as the scope of the research was limited to this specific project, and it had a sufficient pool of material to inform the research (Yin, 2009). Considering the complexity of the project with the involvement from numerous stakeholders, it was important to abstract information from multiple sources. This contributed to a holistic understanding that could go beyond the descriptive (what) findings and to answer the how any why questions. To compensate for the lack of theory in relation to how INGOs influence national systemic change, a retrospective theory of change was developed early on to frame the assumptions of how the project had developed from 2006 to 2017.

It has been a perception that advocacy results are hard to document, and there are still no commonly agreed international standards (Weiss, 2007; Olson, 1982). This meant that the case study could not rely on pre-formulated guidelines or indicators to determine whether the advocacy strategies had succeeded. Thus, the case study needed to define standards for what success would look like – in relation to this project. In line with the sub-objectives, the advocacy strategies should aim at being relevant, effective and sustainable to be successful. These three concepts are defined as follows;

- Relevance related to the extent the aid activity is suited to the priorities and policies of the target group. This was addressed by assessing the continued added value of the project objectives and results, as

well as whether interventions have been consistent with the intended impacts and effects (OECD/DAC, 2008).

- Effectiveness refers to the extent to which interventions achieve the defined objectives. This was addressed by looking at what had been achieved and Save the Children's contribution to these achievements (OECD/DAC, 2008).
- Sustainability, the continued benefits of an activity/ intervention after donor funding has been withdrawn was considered (OECD/DAC, 2008). This was addressed by looking at what had happened with the project activities after Norwegian funding had phased out.

A political context is complex, and the number of relationships and feedback loops cannot be a simple linear chain of events – perfectly balancing cause and effect. Change occurs from the interplay of many diverse and seemingly unrelated factors. It is therefore unrealistic to produce a counter-factual analysis documenting the cause-effect of the interventions (Kelly, 2002). As such, it will not be possible to attribute success directly to a specific intervention by Save the Children. The case study has therefore looked at Save the Children's contribution to the overall development of policy and practice related to anti-trafficking work in Mozambique.

DATA COLLECTION

Three data collection methods (literature and document review, key informant interviews and focus group discussions) were used. These were triangulated to ensure validation of the data across the information sources and mitigate any bias by the researcher (a Save the Children staff member).

In contrast to outcome monitoring, which examines whether targets have been achieved, this case study assessed how advocacy interventions taking place over several project cycles contributed towards systemic change of child protection.

Initially, a desk review was conducted to review existing research and literature relating to the trafficking of children in southern Africa. Key result documents and project proposals were also reviewed

Table 2: Overview of project elements in a chronological timeline

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Border control	█										
SANTAC Regional engagement	█										
Anti-trafficking Brigade		█									
Child Helpline 116			█								
Draft Anti-trafficking plan of action				█							
Provincial Referral Group				█							
District Referral Group				█							
Collaboration South Africa (informal)				█							
Collaboration South Africa (formal)						█					
National Referral Committee									█		
Collaboration child protection community										█	
Anti-trafficking brigade established			█								
Reintegration centre, Magwasa	█										
Reintegration centre, Amazing Grace, Maguaza	█										

to create a chronological timeline of when the different project components took place, see Table 2. At this stage, the retrospective theory of change was elaborated to connect the outcomes in the chain and build an argument as to whether Save the Children had made an instrumental contribution – or not. The theory of change detected some results where the extent of Save the Children’s contribution was uncertain, these results were specifically addressed in the information gathering. Following the retrospective theory of change, an interview guide was developed. The interview questions were formulated to address the research question.

The second phase of the data collection included a field trip to Mozambique to conduct key informant interviews and arrange focus group discussions, which were set up in advance by the country office. Key informants and participants in the focus group discussions were selected based on their ability to cast light on the research question. The aim was to represent all stakeholder groups (partners, subnational referral groups, the Attorney General’s Office, referral centres, children at risk of or who had been trafficked, current and previous Save the Children staff and donors), to capture a broader understanding of Save the Children’s contribution to the results. The key

informant interviews and the focus group discussions provided additional information that was not found in the written sources. In total, 19 key informant interviews and five focus group discussions were conducted in the last week of March and first week of April 2017 (see Table 3).

DATA ANALYSIS

The information gathered was analysed according to the case study methodology and carried out in four steps. The analysis looked for patterns (Yin, 2009) that could provide answers to the research question.

Throughout the analysis, the researcher separated concrete descriptions from interpretation.

Steps in the data analysis;

1. Minimum of two Save the Children staff members participated in each of the key informant interviews and focus group discussions so the notes and observations could be discussed afterwards. When relevant, the complementary information and observations were added to the notes. These discussions were important to remove potential bias towards the information provided or the interview objects.

Table 3: Description of information sources

MATERIALS ASSESSED

DOCUMENTATION

Global/regional level:

- SADC reports
- Anti-trafficking reports
- Evaluations specifically related to advocacy/policy initiatives, and evaluation related to result documentation
- Specific NGO reports and publications related to trafficking
- Press material

Field level/partner level;

- Laws and policies
- Government reports, plans and strategies
- NGO and partner reports
- Websites of NGOs, UN, World Bank and governments

Save the Children

- Annual reports
- Donor applications
- Workshop presentations, summaries and outcome documents
- Financial reports

INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

Interviews

- Former Save the Children staff initiating the project (3)
- Protection Cluster Mozambique (1)
- UN partners (2)
- Attorney General's Office (2)
- Local NGOs (2)
- Current Save the Children staff in Mozambique (6)
- Researcher (1)
- Media contact (1)
- Former staff at the Norwegian Embassy in Maputo (1)

Focus group discussions

- Reception centre (2)
- Local referral group (1)
- Local child protection committee (1)
- Young people in the reception centres (1)

Total number of informants (interviews and focus groups): 41

2. The second step included an initial analysis of the information gathered in the key informant interviews, focus group discussions and the desk review. The aim of the analysis was to prepare a timeline of the project activities, political decisions, system change, and partner involvement as well as the transfer of responsibilities from Save the Children to local stakeholders. The information gathered was organized in time sequences to formulate a descriptive analysis of what happened when. After the initial analysis there were still information gaps to complete the timeline, the country office therefore supplemented with additional documents. This included donor applications/reports to the Norwegian Embassy and Norad, workshop notes and presentations. At the end of this step the structure of the policy process emerged with a descriptive analysis of what had been achieved.
3. The next step of the analysis looked at how and why the systemic change took place. This was clearly the most time-consuming phase of the analysis. The information was reviewed again, with the aim of finding frequently mentioned phrases/words in the written information sources, key informant interviews and focus groups discussions. The analysis identified phrases/words as; partnerships, media, funding, capacity building, relationships, influencing, relationships, joint messages, diplomacy as frequently used. These words can be described as the smallest unit of analysis, often referred to as codes (Atkinson, 2002). These codes functioned as building blocks for the patterns in the information material explaining why certain advocacy strategies succeeded while others not. By the end of this phase assumptions were made in terms of which advocacy strategies had been successful in achieving results at different stages in the policy-cycle, why these had been relevant in the context and to which extent they had been sustainable. At this stage of the analysis the dynamics and interactions between stakeholders were taken into consideration.
4. The last step of the analysis took place once the patterns had been developed and formulated as findings. It was important to explore alternative explanations as there could be several possible ways of understanding the results. The last step of analysis therefore reviewed literature to gain new perspectives that casted light on alternative

explanations. This enabled the researcher to present more in-depth arguments for the patterns identified.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE RESEARCH

To ensure results of a high quality, validity and reliability were considered throughout the research process. The findings cannot be generalized as often done with results produced in quantitative research. However, the results produced should still be comparable if repeated in a similar setting (Golafshani, 2003).

Validity and reliability were important for being able to abstract sound learning from the findings. To ensure consistency, the same interview guide was used for all interviews. Furthermore, the researcher strived to understand the information provided in the key information interviews and the focus group discussions based on the social and cultural context. To create high reliability, concrete descriptions were separated from interpretations throughout the research process (Patton, 2002; Stenbacka, 2001).

Transparency was considered at every stage of the research process to ensure that the methodology can be replicated (Mayring, 2007). As the researcher was an integral part of qualitative research, she was aware of her own role, how she acted, and the potential effect of her presence on the informants. Two elements have been carefully considered in the data collection for this case study: first, keeping track of the different project components when making holistic assumptions; and, second, being aware of any bias towards those respondents that the researcher might feel closer to or more likely to identify with.

LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

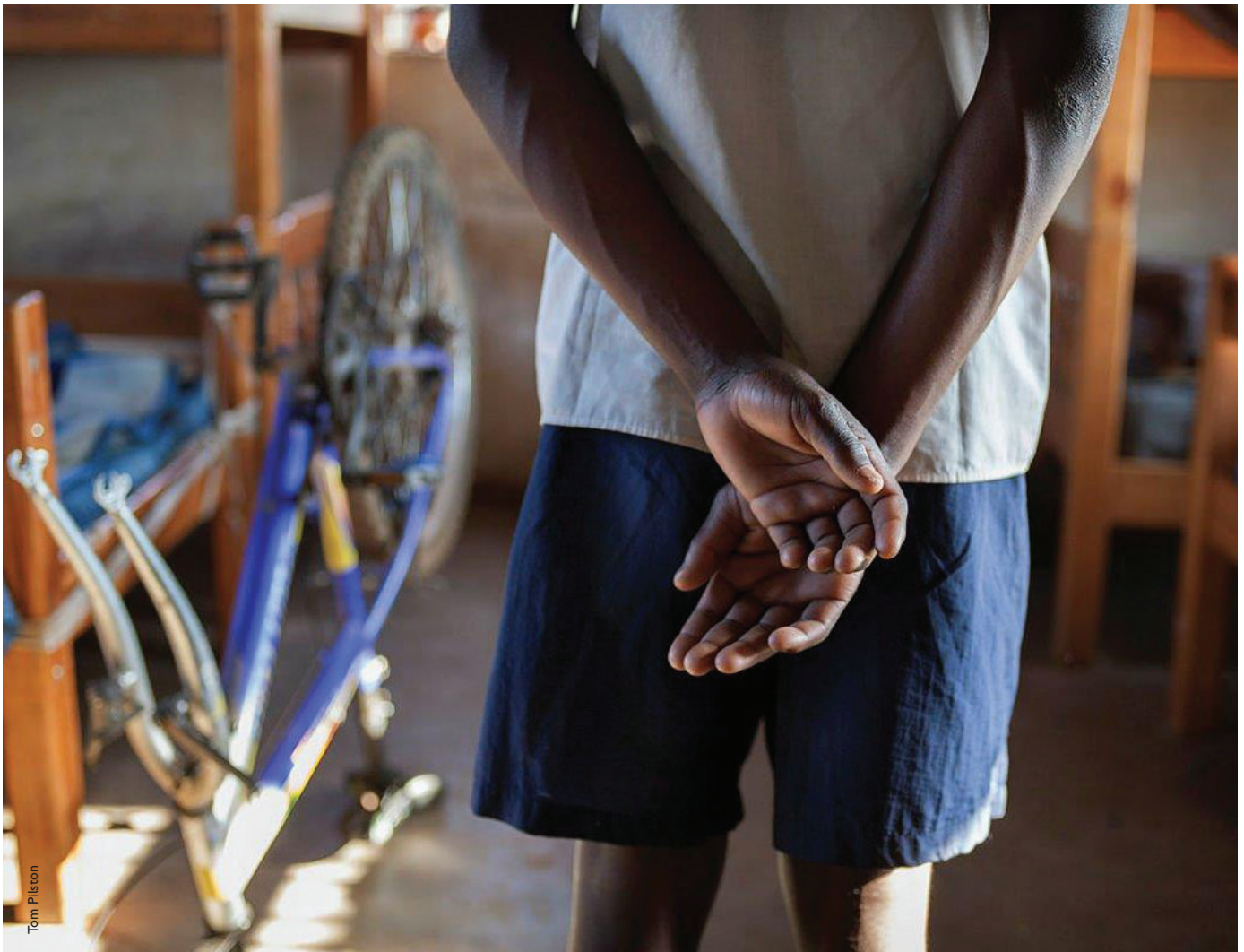
Limitations or biases were mitigated as much as possible using multiple data collection methodologies. A common limitation of qualitative research is the lack of potential for generalisation, and with a qualitative-explorative approach one should draw definitive conclusions only with caution (Shields and Rangarjan, 2013). Other limitations include:

- As the project covered several project cycles, spanning over a decade, there might have been information that has escaped the attention of the researcher.

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- The researcher aimed for objectivity and at finding the most plausible explanation to answer the research questions. However, this is qualitative exploratory research and the patterns identified are not necessarily the only version of the reality.
- Respondents who worked for the project at some point might have had a positive bias towards Save the Children's results and contribution to the anti-trafficking work.
- Although the researcher, who currently works for Save the Children Norway, has not been involved in the project previously and will not play an active role in the future, neutrality could still be compromised.
- Interviews were documented through notes rather than voice recordings, meaning that some information might have slipped the attention of the researcher and her fellow note takers.



Tom Pilsten

Trafficked children often suffer from isolation and feelings of loneliness and despair.

7. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings are divided into phases as reflected in the policy cycle, with each phase highlighting results achieved and their degree of relevance, effectiveness and sustainability. During the project's implementation, Save the Children went through a major restructure, with country offices – which had previously been part of the structure of Save the Children members – coming under the auspices of the newly-established Save the Children International. Until 2010, the project was implemented by Save the Children Norway in Mozambique. Thereafter, it was implemented by Save the Children International in Mozambique, with financial and technical support from Save the Children Norway.

AGENDA-SETTING PHASE (2004–2007)

The trafficking of children became evident to Save the Children and the Norwegian Embassy in Maputo during visits to the border between South Africa and Mozambique, as well through talking with young people. Without a formalised partnership, Save the Children and the Norwegian Embassy joined forces to explore the scope and protection needs of trafficked children. There were no formal objectives at the outset of this phase. Instead, they grew out of the action taken and knowledge produced. Based on information from informants, the objectives over these three years can be summarised as:

- Bring together stakeholders interested in the trafficking of children and make the government recognise the scope of the problem
- Produce evidence in terms of trafficking patterns, causes and protection needs
- Initiate a dialogue with the government on initiatives needed to protect children in the context of trafficking.

In the autumn of 2004, the Norwegian Embassy organised a seminar to provide organisations with an opportunity to discuss trafficking systematically. This initial seminar led to a series of regular meetings, hosted by the Norwegian Embassy, where civil society organisations could share information and discuss the trafficking of young people and children. At the time, there were no development reports providing detailed information about the trafficking of children, or even children on the move, apart from a report published in 2003 by IOM: *Seduction, sale and slavery: trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in southern Africa* (Martens et al., 2003). This report estimated that 1,000 Mozambican children and women aged 14–24 years were trafficked into South Africa annually, with criminal traffickers making a profit of approximately US\$150,000 (Martens et al., 2003). The Norwegian Embassy and Save the Children wanted to build on the report's findings to address more detailed information about trafficking, such as its mechanisms, processes and risk factors, and in 2006 published *Goodbye Mum and Dad (we will not see each other again because someone stole me)* (Save the Children, 2006). This report stressed three main findings:

1. **Trafficking is a major issue that involves severe violations of children's rights.** Most trafficking related to child labour or sexual exploitation. In general, child prostitution was prevalent across Mozambique, particularly in areas where infrastructure was being developed (e.g. the building of roads or bridges) and there were men with money to spend. Many of the children, and their families and communities, did not describe the men's activities as sexual exploitation, but as mutually beneficial relationships where the men gave the girls certain benefits (e.g. food, accommodation, clothing). Child labour was also highly prevalent across Mozambique and again it was not necessarily seen as exploitative.

2. Trafficking from Mozambique to neighbouring countries was well known, while little was known about internal trafficking.

While many children migrated within the country voluntarily – alone or with friends and family – there was some evidence that this migration may be forced, directly through physical violence or indirectly through the description and/or manipulation of perceived relationships or obligations.

3. The concept of trafficking was not well understood.

Young people, especially young men, have been crossing the border to work in South Africa for decades. The migration of minors for work was common in many communities and a valuable income source. The families and communities of children who had been exploited seemed reluctant to discuss trafficking, and were not familiar with the concept. It was decided that more information was needed about the risks associated with work migration, what is acceptable from an employer, and what should be categorised as abuse.

Findings: relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of the results

Indirect strategies dominated the agenda-setting phase, in order to get trafficking onto the agenda in public agenda. These strategies included information gathering and analysis of the legal and policy gaps to frame the debate. Save the Children's 2006 report, *Goodbye Mum and Dad (we will not see each other again because someone stole me)*, became a vital tool in building a common contextual understanding among civil society actors. Some partnerships initiated with civil society at this time (e.g. the Southern African Network against Trafficking and Abuse of Children – SANTAC)¹ proved important in following years. Close collaboration with the media started in 2006/07, with Save the Children providing funds to cover trafficking cases and giving technical support as well as background information to journalists, who succeeded in getting these stories into the news.

The strategies used were *relevant* in terms of putting trafficking on the civil society agenda and in prompting a response from national-level decision makers in the form of discussions about the need for an anti-

trafficking law. Both civil society and government informants said that the trafficking of children had a relatively low priority in the mid-2000s, and several underlined that the process would not have kicked off were it not for certain individuals in the NGO community and Norwegian Embassy. The study *Goodbye Mum and Dad* (Save the Children, 2006) shed light on concerns about the protection of children exposed to trafficking that had not previously been considered by decision makers in Mozambique. Informants who had been involved in the project in its early days underlined that partnerships with other civil society actors enabled Save the Children to disseminate the report's findings and speak with one voice to decision makers – creating a demand for the development of a legal framework.

Several informants reported that Save the Children's strategic relationship with the Norwegian Embassy, and the Ambassador's involvement (opening and attending events, meeting with higher-level officials) sent strong signals to the Mozambique government and triggered political leaders' participation in events. Some of these high-level officials, especially those from the Ministry of Justice, were convinced that trafficking was an issue that deserved more attention. Commitment by government bodies was needed to advance the development of a legal framework.

The strategies were *effective* in reaching the initial goal: ensuring that trafficking was placed on the national agenda. During this stage, the Ministry of Justice, in particular, cooperated with civil society to promote for a stronger legal foundation. Save the Children managed to become a convener for interested stakeholders and gradually built a bridge of understanding between the government and a wider audience through its collaboration with the media. This appears to have drawn attention to the legal gap, and Save the Children and its partners used this window of opportunity to present a solution to the decision makers in the form of the Anti-Trafficking Act. Informants who had been involved in the early days of the project stressed how important coalition building and consistent messages about trafficking problems had been for the development of the Anti-Trafficking Act. In the initial phase, it does not make sense to discuss the sustainability of results, but it is still worth mentioning that the multi-stakeholder collaboration created a stepping stone into the next phase.

TEXT FORMULATION AND DECISION-MAKING PHASE (2007–2009)

The agenda-setting phase clearly demonstrated the need to address trafficking in a systematic way, resulting in the next phase of the trafficking project. Save the Children's strategic partnership with the Norwegian Embassy continued and was extended through project funding for service delivery, capacity building and advocacy. The objectives for this phase were to:

- Ensure that civil society worked in a coordinated manner, and approached the government with one voice
- Prevent violence, sexual abuse, prostitution and trafficking of girls and young women
- Prompt the government to provide legal protection for trafficked children.

Anti-Trafficking Act 06/2008

Discussions at civil society meetings held at the Norwegian Embassy and the Save the Children-commissioned report *Goodbye Mum and Dad* (2006) created a contextual understanding of trafficking in Mozambique. Save the Children was able to build on these elements and work with other civil society organisations to convince the government of the importance of developing an anti-trafficking law. Together with the Norwegian Embassy, the US Embassy stressed the urgency for Mozambique to develop and accept a legal framework that would protect citizens against trafficking.

Save the Children was part of this process from the beginning and continued to advocate for the Anti-Trafficking Act through the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) group, comprised of representatives of NGOs and the Ministry of Justice. Bureaucrats were responsible for drafting the Act, while TIP made collective comments on the text throughout the process. Simultaneously, Save the Children worked with SANTAC for the same purpose, and could thereby present its views through several channels. Multiple activities were utilised to move the agenda forward. These included, arranging visits to the border so that politicians and policy makers could witness the scope of the problem, running

backdoor lobby meetings, partnering with the media, and working in strategic partnerships with other organisations. The partnerships included participating in alliances and networks (e.g. TIP) and bilateral relationships (SANTAC).

Mozambique's Anti-Trafficking Act was approved by the Council of Ministers and deposited in the Republic Assembly in 2008. The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Action is responsible for implementing the Act, which represents a commitment by the government to ensure the safety of all victims of trafficking, including before, during and after completion of the reintegration process.

Regional policy investments

Regional policies can act as a catalyst and vehicle for standards and methods across member countries (Polverari, Bachtler and van der Zwet, 2015). This was reported to be SANTAC's rationale for its involvement in Southern African Development Community (SADC) processes. As an umbrella organisation, SANTAC has a broad civil society membership base throughout southern Africa.² Together with its members, in 2007 it started working to advance a regional anti-trafficking agenda, mainly through advocacy directed at SADC. Informants and documents reviewed for this study highlighted the role of SANTAC and its member organisations in advancing the regional intergovernmental anti-trafficking agenda through advocating for a strategic regional plan to combat trafficking with their home governments. This strategy seems to have been successful as SADC's first intergovernmental meeting to address children on the move and child trafficking took place in 2008. The lobbying of and partnering with governments in the region led to the adoption of the SADC Strategic Plan of Action on Combating Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2009–2019).

Connecting advocacy and programme activities

In parallel with policy development, Save the Children initiated programme activities aimed at strengthening professionals' *knowledge and capacities* to recognise and deal with trafficking. In 2008, Save the Children established a formal collaboration with

the Ministry of Home Affairs to enable the system to handle trafficking cases. Save the Children produced information materials and worked directly with ministry officials to identify where improvements were needed. After joint field visits, meetings and lobbying efforts, in 2010 the Ministry of Home Affairs established an anti-trafficking brigade within the ministry. The main task of this brigade was to ensure stronger case handling on the ground and that each child was respected and received the assistance needed. The second capacity-building exercise was initiated with the Ministry of Justice to strengthen awareness and knowledge about trafficking among police at the South African border. At first this consisted of training and the dissemination of awareness-raising materials about the trafficking of children and later included training and information about the 2008 Anti-Trafficking Act.

A further two *service delivery components* were launched within the same project. To provide better assistance and identify vulnerable children, a telephone helpline was launched in partnership with Plan International and two national NGOs, Rede CAME and Rede de Criança. Informants who had been a part of the earliest project cycles mentioned that initially the Ministry of Justice was reluctant to establish a channel outside of the police to support children who had been abused, but gradually came on board after recognising the scope of the problem. A helpline was established in 2009 to assist children in distress through counselling and by referring individual cases to the appropriate institutions (e.g. police or social services). Informants to this case study recognise the uniqueness of the helpline, in the sense of its availability to all children in Mozambique (who have phones and are aware of it). Calls are free of charge and the line is sponsored by the phone operators.

It was evident from case study findings that repatriating children is a challenging task. This was a recurrent theme in both individual responses and focus group discussions. Through Save the Children partners in South Africa and the Scalabrini Sisters' facilities on the Mozambique side of the border, it was possible to systematically build the capacity, the Amazing Grace repatriation centre in South Africa's Mpumalanga province, as well as to the Maguaza

reintegration centre in Mozambique. At the initial stage of the project, in 2007, the Maguaza centre was fully funded and operated by Save the Children, while Amazing Graze received a small contribution from the South African government. On average, a child stays in a centre for 90 days, receiving care, food and shelter, before being repatriated and reunited with their families, once they have been traced.

Findings: relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of the results

Save the Children's role in the development and acceptance of the Anti-Trafficking Act was a game changer and shaped the future steps of the project. There is a clear shift in the strategies used in the agenda-setting phase in comparison with the text-formulation and decision-making phases. While indirect strategies dominated the first phase, *direct strategies* clearly dominated the agenda-setting phase. Most of the influencing work took place in direct partnerships with law makers in the Parliament, Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Home Affairs. A large variety of tactics were used, including joint field visits with decision makers, partnership building with the ministries, coalition and consensus building, traditional lobby meetings, and diplomacy. At the same time, some of the indirect strategies continued, especially collaboration with the media and partnerships with civil society actors. It is interesting to note that the direct influencing strategies dominated in both the final stages of the Anti-Trafficking Act and in establishing partnerships to build capacities within the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Justice.

Considering that the main advocacy objective in this phase was to strengthen legal protection for trafficked children, *relevance* in this context must be seen in relation to Save the Children's contribution to a strengthened legal protection framework for children.

The Anti-Trafficking Act covers all people in Mozambique and does not specifically legislate for children's rights. However, it has provisions that can be used to advance children's rights, in particular the rights of unaccompanied migrant children. To this end, some provisions refer specifically to the protection of unaccompanied children on the move. The Act also refers to the repatriation of children who are

victims of trafficking. It allows the state to enter into agreements with other countries to ensure the safe repatriation of child victims of trafficking. This provision applies to returning Mozambican children trafficked abroad as well as to the repatriation of foreign children in Mozambique. It entrusts the Mozambican government with the responsibility to provide food, shelter and medical assistance to victims of trafficking.

The Anti-Trafficking Act is the most important law for the protection of trafficked children, but not the only one providing protection to children on the move. To understand the relevance of the Anti-Trafficking Act in Mozambique's legal landscape, it is important to understand its added value in relation to the country's other laws. The constitution sets out basic principles and fundamental norms applying to all individuals and is binding on private and public actors alike. To the extent that constitutional norms apply to everyone, they can be used to protect children, including children on the move and those who are separated from their parents or other caregivers responsible for them. Within the Constitution, there are general and specific provisions covering children's rights. Article 47 is specific in regulating children's rights, while article 121(3) relating to the protection of children against discrimination helps to ensure that rights apply to every child without exception and under any circumstances. In parallel to the Anti-Trafficking Act, the Children's Act (7/2008), which was also developed and adopted in 2008, is the principal instrument regulating children's rights in Mozambique. It incorporates children's rights standards embedded in international and regional children's rights norms, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. In promoting implementation of these standards, the Children's Act places stringent obligations on the government, society, the family and private and public institutions to respect children's rights. Provisions in the Children's Act can advance the rights of unaccompanied children on the move to receive legal assistance. The country has also ratified relevant international and regional children's rights standards and has enacted a comprehensive children's statute, which seems in many ways to complement the Anti-Trafficking Act. This case study has not investigated to what extent the Children's Act has been operationalised and thereby contributed

to the protection of trafficked children in practice. The Anti-Trafficking Act itself seems to have added value in the legal landscape. Based on a light review of the different legal frameworks in the context of this case study, it seems that the Anti-Trafficking Act is not contradicting or duplicating other legal instruments, making Save the Children's investments relevant in providing trafficked children with a stronger legal base for protection.

The overall goal of the advocacy interventions was to contribute to strengthened legal protection for children. *Effectiveness* in reaching the project goals can best be addressed by looking at how effective Save the Children was in pushing the agenda forward. This process was effective in terms of timeframes. The development of legislation and endorsement by Parliament normally takes much longer. The fact that Save the Children had operational activities, with knowledge of what was happening on the ground through the reintegration centres and capacity-building activities, made its voice more credible in negotiations over text in the Anti-Trafficking Act. Further, informants stressed that Save the Children's collaboration with the media played a critical role in pushing the law forward in the final stages of the decision-making process. Daily media coverage of a trafficking case (known as the Diana case³) from the court room in South Africa was mentioned by several informants to demonstrate the effectiveness of media. This had a tremendous spin-off effect, with the case becoming a reference point on the radio, several TV channels and newspapers on both sides of the border. Even CNN covered the case.

Based on the case study's overall findings, Save the Children seems to have been instrumental in the development of the Anti-Trafficking Act and, as such, effective in reaching its objectives in the text formulating phase. It should be noted, however, that involvement in the development of a legal framework and its implementation plan will always demand compromises in order to reach consensus with other actors. This is the nature of policy negotiations (Mahoney, 2007). Self-reporting from Save the Children staff indicates that the most important elements of Save the Children's contributions were included in the Anti-Trafficking Act, but this case study has not gone back to review the written inputs provided and compared these with the final text in the Act.

FROM WORDS TO ACTION

A decade fighting child trafficking in Mozambique

While the desired result in getting the Anti-Trafficking Act approved by Parliament was achieved, Parliament did not approve an action plan or the funding needed to capacitate implementation of the Act. Therefore the change in the protection system for trafficked children could not at this stage be described as *sustainable*. Informants reported limited collaboration between state and non-state actors for children on

the move. It was a struggle to operationalise the new Anti-Trafficking Act, with a lack of knowledge among service providers, inefficient planning at all levels, limited coordination among law enforcement authorities and weak monitoring of compliance. These findings reflect relatively common obstacles in operationalising a legal framework (Ismail, Ariffin and Cheong, 2017).



Tom Pilston

An evening game of football at the Boys shelter, Musina, South Africa.

IMPLEMENTATION PHASE AND SYSTEM STRENGTHENING (2010–2017)

Even the most carefully crafted policy or law that is widely accepted by those it affects can fail through weak implementation. The implementation phase of a new policy or law is therefore the most crucial, and it is during this phase that its value can diminish or it can rise to its full potential (Ismail, Ariffin and Cheong, 2017). Save the Children became aware that the situation regarding the trafficking of children in Mozambique had not changed with the passing of the Anti-Trafficking Act. The key objective of the next phase was therefore to:

- Build the capacity of the police and other professional groups within the referral system
- Work with government bodies to develop an action plan for the Anti-Trafficking Act, and for the action plan to be operationalised
- Strengthen the national protection system for trafficked children.

These key objectives are ambitious and have therefore needed consistency over time. Since 2010, Save the Children has worked towards one set of objectives through several funding cycles, with the results produced during one funding cycle forming the foundations for new interventions in the next funding cycle.

National action plan for implementation

Following adoption of the Anti-Trafficking Act in 2008, Save the Children initiated a working relationship with the Ministry of Justice to develop an action plan to operationalise the law. Despite the law being in place, trafficking-related crimes were still not being prosecuted. The Ministry of Justice turned out not to be the best-placed partner to advance the implementation phase, so in 2010 the Permanent Secretary of the Attorney General's Office took over as the government counterpart to Save the Children. This turned out to be an efficient change in terms of operationalisation of aspects of the Anti-Trafficking Act.

In collaboration with the Attorney General's Office, Save the Children succeeded in developing a national action plan that was approved by technocrats in the

line ministries in 2010, but which was never formally approved by Parliament. Following a request by the Attorney General's Office for an updated action plan, a new version has been drafted in 2017. The National Referral Committee has developed a process plan outlining what is needed, and who needs to be consulted at the different stages in the process to increase the likelihood of approval by Parliament. The new version of the action plan includes many of the same elements as the first. Many activities are already being implemented, such as the protection system consisting of referral groups at district, provincial and national levels. The action plan is still key to ensuring that the government provides adequate resources to implement the Anti Trafficking Act. With its partners, Save the Children is therefore continuing to lobby Parliament to approve the action plan by early 2018.

Establishment of referral groups at all governance levels

With the Attorney General's Office, Save the Children aimed to develop a national protection system, starting with a national-level referral committee in 2010/11. However, this initiative met resistance from several of the ministries and therefore did not materialise. The strategy had to be adjusted to a 'bottom-up' approach, starting at district and provincial levels. Based on the partnership agreement between Save the Children and the Attorney General's Office, the approach was tested in three provinces (Gaza, Manica and Nampula). The subnational offices of the Attorney General's Office were instructed to work with Save the Children. In the following months, Save the Children provided training on the Anti-Trafficking Act, basic computer equipment and technical support to the provinces. The referral groups in these three districts were formally established in 2011, led by Save the Children. In 2012 representatives of the Attorney General took over the lead at both provincial and district level. Gradually the referral system was built up to include all Mozambique's 11 provinces.

Informants working within the government and civil society sectors described a fragmented and inadequate response to the complex needs of trafficked and other vulnerable children and young people before the referral system was in place. Services delivered through different service providers

were not coordinated. The referral system has contributed to a more comprehensive and systematic response. The referral system contributes to a strong case management system, where individuals receive coordinated support from the different entities in the assistance scheme. However, most services relate to reintegration and legal support. There is still a need to strengthen psychosocial care, health and educational services. Ideally the referral system should offer a framework where all sectors with a role in meeting the needs of trafficked children are required to communicate and act together, so that the multilayered nature of children's vulnerabilities are met (Roelen, Long and Edström, 2012). This case study is not designed to assess to what extent this is the reality in Mozambique, but the structures to ensure these functions seem to be in place. The *Trafficking in Persons Report* (US Department of State, 2016) underlined the importance of the protection structures laid out in the referral system, and that this is an important step in tackling the trafficking of children.

Simultaneously, as the referral system in Mozambique was established, Save the Children strengthened its collaboration with South African NGOs and in 2010 established an informal referral committee in South Africa. Led by Save the Children, this informal collaboration expanded to include local government and civil society organisations, and in 2012 became a formal referral committee facilitating case referrals and joint information campaigns on both sides of the border. The work is coordinated and the partners on both sides of the border meet twice a year to assess progress and plan for the future. Based on the success of the cross-border collaboration, Save the Children supported a meeting between the Attorney General's Office and its South African counterpart and conducted joint advocacy with UNICEF. Cooperation between the two Attorney Generals' offices was formalised in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed by their respective ministries in 2014. The MoU allows for a common strategy and outlook towards tackling problems and an efficient information-sharing system.

The National Referral Committee was established and became operational in 2016. Membership consists of appointed representatives from all relevant ministries, Save the Children and IOM. UNICEF and the media are not formal committee members but

normally participate as observers in meetings. The National Referral Committee's mandate is to support the district- and provincial-level referral groups by providing oversight and referring relevant individual trafficking cases to national institutions if needed. As trafficking cases are by definition also criminal cases, the legal system is involved to follow up on judicial aspects. Save the Children has led the development of the National Referral Committee's terms of reference, which were adopted in 2017.

In March 2017, all relevant ministers agreed (as reflected in National Referral Committee meeting minutes) to meet quarterly to address the increase in the number of trafficking cases reported in 2016. This increase could be due either to a growth in trafficking or an increase in the number of cases being reported. All leaders of the district-, provincial- and national-level groups meet once a year to plan for the following year, go through individual trafficking cases and feed into policy developments. The information flow between all levels (district, provincial and national) is key to the holistic functioning of the system. In addition to the annual meeting, visits to the districts and provinces take place at least once a year to monitor activities and follow up on the processing of criminal cases by Attorney General's Office.

Tools to support the referral system

Two important tools were developed by Save the Children in collaboration with the Attorney General's Office to mainstream the referral process:

- First, a standardised registration form was introduced in 2015/16 to ensure compliance, unified information and efficiency. This provides an opportunity for more systematic handling of individual trafficking cases, and collaboration between referral groups at different levels within the child protection system.
- Secondly, a database was developed in 2015 to register all trafficking incidents. It was initially established by Save the Children in collaboration with the Attorney General's Office to keep track of statistical information. The Attorney General's Office quickly took over responsibility for and management of the database. The database and data collected are available to the government and also NGOs.



Since taking part in anti-trafficking sessions and getting his identity papers, 16-year-old Adam,* who was trafficked and forced to work, has returned to his family and will be going back to school.

*Not his real name

The current database and its information have made it possible for SADC to include Mozambique in a regional database system that will be aligned across the SADC countries.

However, in terms of information and referrals, the database is still weak in linking trafficking information with information provided by local child protection community committees, which are already operational in many communities across Mozambique. These committees aim to detect all forms of exploitation and abuse of children and, when considered appropriate,

report these to the police. They can provide valuable information regarding the trafficking and abuse of children on the move. Save the Children has therefore initiated partnerships in selected communities to develop more responsive and holistic child protection measures, where all types of violations (in addition to trafficking) can be reported through the existing case referral system. It is assumed by Save the Children and its partners (as reported in interviews) that this strengthening of child protection in local communities can help prevent children migrating to neighbouring countries.

Findings: relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of the results

While advocacy efforts are often seen as successfully completed when a policy or law has been adopted, this project continued to use advocacy to strengthen operationalisation of the Anti-Trafficking Act over a number of years. It could be argued that advocacy efforts to operationalise laws are even more needed, as it is only then that a change in the law will create concrete change for children.

It is interesting to note that the *strategies* for influencing decision makers continued to directly address government officials and political leaders. The main tactic has been to work in partnership with the relevant government institutions in Mozambique, and to collaborate with South African authorities regarding cross-border trafficking. At the same time, indirect strategies have been used to continue to build commitment among the police and case workers involved in the referral system, either in their professional capacity or as members of a referral group. The commitment of professionals has been key in pushing for change from within the system and thereby convincing the decision makers in Maputo of the valuable role that referral groups play in the child protection system. Media has been used continuously as an indirect strategy throughout the implementation period, creating public understanding of the issue and thereby contributing to a sense of urgency for these problems to be addressed by decision makers.

Save the Children remained a *relevant* actor based on the chosen advocacy strategies for interventions described above. Following adoption of the Anti-Trafficking Act, no government institution took the lead in developing an action plan for operationalisation or implementation. The fact that Save the Children raised its voice in the policy debate based on experience and knowledge of the situation on the ground strengthened the credibility of its arguments. Further, partnerships with government institutions and especially the Attorney General's Office proved to be key in moving the agenda forward. The ability to choose strategic partners should be underlined as a vital contribution to the success of this project. Based on the findings in the case study, an integrated and consistent approach combined with traditional programme activities and advocacy/policy

interventions seems to have made Save the Children more relevant as a trusted partner – by policy makers, local government officials and partner organisations. Several mentioned that Save the Children's reputation and credibility meant that it was seen as a trusted partner by government institutions, and therefore it consulted for advice. Credibility and trust in an organisation seems to be key to that organisation being able to influence policy processes (Kingdon, 1984; Hudson, 2002).

Training and awareness-raising activities for border police took place on both sides of the Mozambique/South African border to strengthen understanding of the challenges in tackling trafficking. These included how to recognise victims of trafficking as well as the commitments spelled out in the Anti-Trafficking Act. Based on the findings of the case study (both interviews and written documentation), it seems that the training has made a positive contribution to identifying and arresting traffickers. However, informants (both civil society and government) also stressed that police investigative techniques, training, capacity and forensic abilities continue to be weak, particularly outside the capital, and that this work must be an ongoing investment. This demonstrates the need for continued support to the police within this field. This component of the project has been sustained with funding from Save the Children Italy since Save the Children International withdrew funding in 2014.

To assess Save the Children's *effectiveness* in the process, it is important to understand the time it takes to achieve results and the quality of those results. In this case, the main result has been to contribute to the 'real time' protection of children, based on the provisions of the Anti-Trafficking Act (06/2008).

Given that it is the sovereign right of each state to control its border and regulate migration, it is also imperative to ascertain how the human rights of migrants can fit within the politics of migration control. Mozambique adopted a criminal justice approach to address trafficking in persons, but arresting the traffickers remained a challenge. This was reported by informants to the case study and is also supported by the *Trafficking in Persons Report* (US Department of State, 2016). Save the Children's multidisciplinary approach to combating the trafficking of children has been effective in terms of creating

an understanding of the Anti-Trafficking Act, penal codes and codes of criminal procedures that are used to combat human trafficking. Article 10 of the Anti-Trafficking Act prescribes stringent penalties of 16 to 20 years' imprisonment for trafficking offences, exceeding those prescribed for other serious crimes such as rape. Before the law was passed, there had been no convictions of traffickers but, according to Save the Children, between 30 and 50 trafficking cases per year have been prosecuted over the last five years. As an anecdotal example, the Judicial Court of the City of Maputo sentenced one convicted offender to 19 years' imprisonment for transporting his two granddaughters to South Africa for prostitution. This indicates that the law has provided better protection and been an effective instrument in giving rights holders access to the legal system.

Before Save the Children's intervention, the referral system was described by partners as ineffective due to lack of awareness, confusion in terms of roles and responsibilities, and poor coordination between the different actors involved. One of the initial goals of the project was to establish and operationalise protection systems to ensure that the rights of children exposed to trafficking were not violated. Such a system requires strong collaboration between key ministries and civil society organisations. The new referral system has been crucial in identifying cases for prosecution as well as trafficked individuals in need of support. This was achieved through working with local structures such as community leaders and investing in the training of communities, police, case workers and the Attorney General's Office. Several of those interviewed for this case study underscored that Save the Children was key to operationalisation of the law and in providing involved parties with a clear understanding of the judicial framework and what it required. As stakeholders in the system are now able to fulfil their roles, information about trafficking cases will flow from district to provincial level, and then into the national database. The national database will in turn be feeding into a regional system providing statistics for the SADC region. This could be a potential game changer for anti-trafficking work as it will provide a strong evidence base, and interventions can be targeted based on more information about where, why and by whom. Alignment with the regional database was initiated by SADC in 2016 and, at the time of writing, is not yet completed.

So far, results have exceeded expectations in terms of sustainability. At the same time, there have been a few 'try and fail' approaches. For example, the initial collaboration with the Ministry of Justice as the government partner for operationalising the Anti-Trafficking Act did not bring about the anticipated results. Parliament's approval of the action plan has kept being postponed, and the establishment of the National Referral Committee faced resistance initially. Some of these obstacles along the way could probably have been avoided if a solid power analysis had guided the interventions. The ability to adjust the approach and learn from experience ensured the continued effectiveness of this project.

Looking at the *sustainability* of the investments made by Save the Children, it is impressive to see that the government has gradually taken on full responsibility for so many of the project activities. Implementation of the Anti-Trafficking Act has been achieved mainly through a strengthened referral system. Given that implementation of the law has led to an operational referral system at district, provincial and national level, and a formal collaboration with South Africa, the project has demonstrated strong sustainability.

However, the system is not perfect and still requires attention. Several informants mentioned that the referral groups at district and provincial level are not all equally strong. The Attorney General's Office is currently developing guidelines and standards for how the referral groups at provincial and district level should function. These are expected to strengthen the work of the weakest referral groups and set a minimum standard. Some informants underlined that the reporting and trial of cases is often hampered by family members who might not wish the case to be publicly known. Several also mentioned the practical barriers to implementing existing municipal laws and the fact that it is difficult to get access to and track government financial investment in implementation of the Anti-Trafficking Act.

In terms of building the child protection system, the referral groups provide an excellent example of how to combine a bottom-up and top-down approach. Interviewees outlined the importance of partnerships throughout all the stages of the process to ensure sustainability and ownership by the government.

Much of the work and materials have carried government branding rather than Save the Children's to foster ownership, commitment and sustainability.

The telephone helpline (116) is part of the government's child protection system and has remained an NGO funded by international organisations, with various donors and funders coming on board. Currently, UNICEF is the main donor, while Save the Children has continued to provide a smaller contribution. The helpline's continuing existence over the last ten years and its ability to gain funding demonstrates its sustainability. All calls to the helpline are entered in a database, and it appears to remain a useful tool to help protect vulnerable children. Apart from some anecdotal evidence provided by the helpline itself, it is difficult to assess to what extent it provides practical value added to children on the ground.

In terms of sustainability, both the Amazing Grace repatriation centre on the South African side of the border and the Maguaza centre in Mozambique are success stories. They collaborate with the overall referral system, with both centres sending information to the district where the child is from. It is then the responsibility of the referral group in that district to trace the child's family. This is not always an easy task, since civil documentation is not well developed in Mozambique and many children do not have ID cards. Save the Children set up both centres, providing the facilities and running costs, and overseeing services and staff. The South African government made a small contribution to the Amazing Grace centre, but there was no government funding for the Maguaza centre. Given Save the Children's good relations with both governments and its work with the referral systems, government representatives visited the centres regularly and eventually agreed to take on full responsibility for them. Save the Children was transparent about its costs so the governments could make realistic estimates. The government of Mozambique took over full responsibility and costs for the Maguaza Centre in 2012 and it is still functioning well. When the researcher visited the centre in April 2017, the physical premises had expanded to accommodate more children and psychologists had been employed to counsel the children staying there. A similar story is true for the Amazing Grace centre, which the South African government took over full responsibility and running costs for in 2016.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Advocacy and partnerships are increasingly being recognised as powerful and strategic tools for aid organisations as well as for donors in influencing systemic change and bringing successful development practices up to scale. While there is a growing body of literature on policy change and practical guidance, advocacy in the context of development aid has to a much lesser extent been part of academic research (Szarka, 2013; Valters, 2015). This may be due to the perception that advocacy results are hard to measure and, as such, create challenges in terms of abstracting generic success factors (Weiss, 2007). It is therefore even more important to learn from successful experience, which this project provides.

Advocacy projects need time to produce results, as was the case with the anti-trafficking project. Over time, the project's interventions have proved to be relevant, and the results effective and sustainable. Without doubt, it has resulted in a much more solid protection system in 2017 than the one that existed in 2007 (see Figure 2). The current protection system is sustainable, with a legal base and a structure to govern its operationalisation. Equally important is the information flow between all governance levels (district, provincial, national and regional). The project has also had a catalytic effect, with the government taking over and scaling up pilots invested in by Save the Children – for example, by expanding the number of referral groups that Save the Children set up from three to 11 districts.

The ability to deliver sustainable results seems to be based on the working methodology used. While informing public opinion and building a common understanding of the challenges related to trafficking was important in setting the agenda, findings from both written sources and interviews indicated that partnerships were key to building sustainability. By working with others, the total capacity has increased, outreach has been wider, and the voice stronger – which led to an increased ability to influence the system. Moreover, partnerships with different departments, technocrats, bureaucrats and political leaders have made it possible for the government to build commitment internally and gradually allocate the funds needed to operate the child protection system.

When unpacking the different project cycles in a chronological timeline spanning more than a decade, and drafting a retrospective theory of change, it was clear that time and systematic planning have enabled the project to gradually introduce building blocks and parts of the system before adding the next layer. This was reported as a significant element in building sustainable protection systems. For the gradual build-up of a system, it is necessary to ensure the commitment of different professional groups as well as different administrative levels of government. The roles of the different entities in the protection system were clarified and are now spelled out in Terms of Reference drafted by Save the Children and approved by the National Referral Committee. This makes it easier for all parties to perform their roles in a coordinated manner.

It is assumed that human trafficking remains under-reported and too complex to quantify. Due to the complexity of the system, it is difficult to state with any certainty that the project has reduced the number of trafficking cases. However, it can be stated with certainty that the legal system is much better placed to handle trafficking cases and that children are now receiving systematic protection through the referral system, which is structured to embrace all districts in the country. Through partnerships and collaboration, full responsibility for the protection system has been transferred to and is now fulfilled by the government as the duty bearer.

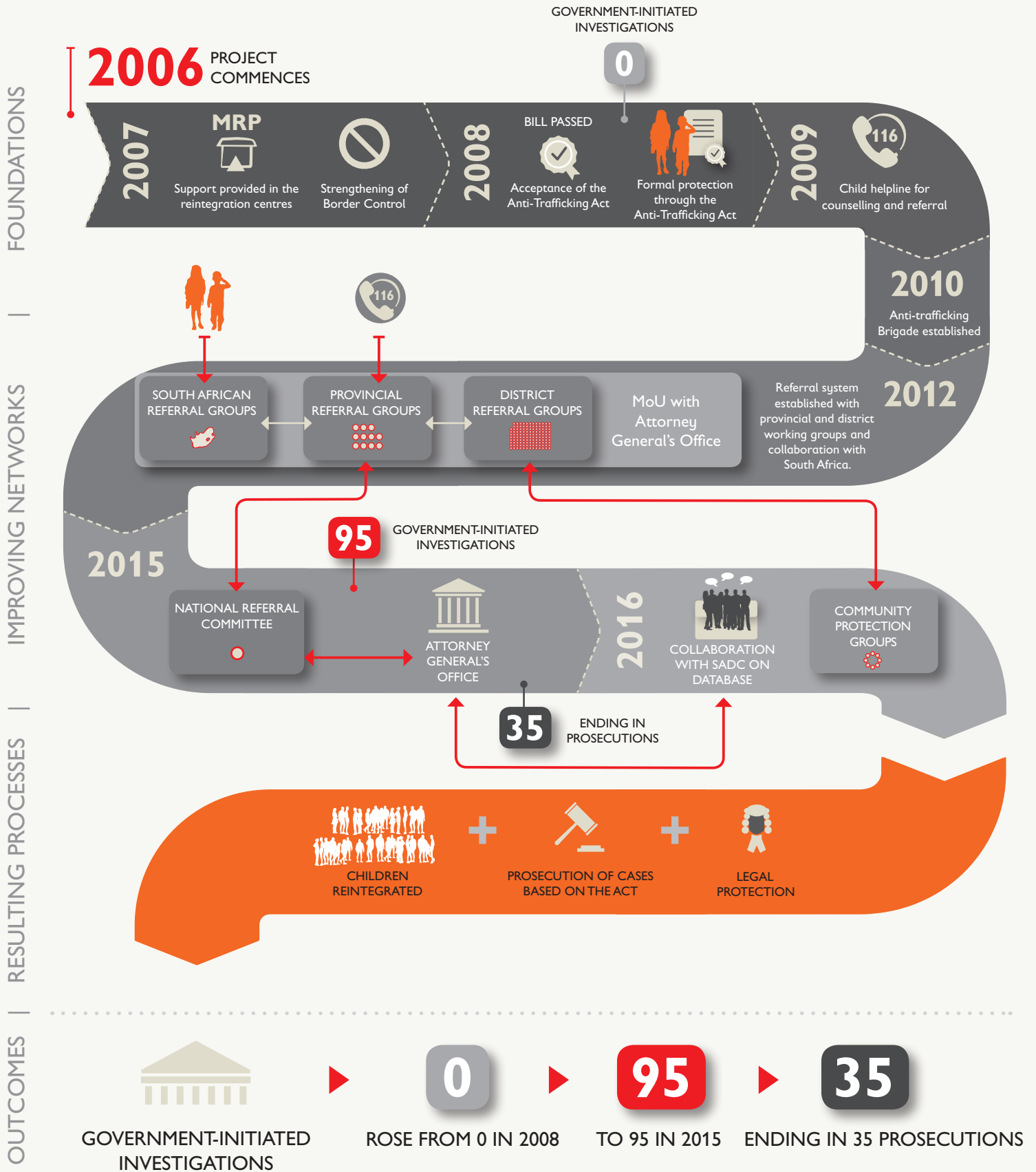
Even though it is outside the remit of this case study, the end game is a system that functions well for children. As a mother of a reintegrated daughter stated, *“I want justice to take place to the people who have been doing bad things to my child’s life and I will also insist that the police bring the man who raped my daughter to book.”* As a result of Save the Children and its partners’ efforts, children now have more knowledge of their rights and easier access to the legal system that can give them justice.

Recommendations for continued project activities

Save the Children should:

- continue to work for approval and implementation of the national action plan, and for the government to provide the funding necessary to implement the protection and prevention provisions of the 2008 Anti-Trafficking Act
- continue providing information and capacity building to the police – and expand this to Mozambique’s other borders, which will require new donor funding
- provide capacity strengthening initiatives to increase efforts to prosecute and convict suspected trafficking offenders
- support initiatives to build the capacity of the police anti-trafficking unit, the labour inspectorate, and the Women and Children’s Victim Assistance Units to investigate trafficking cases and provide short-term protection to victims
- continue advocacy towards the donors and the government to expand the availability of protective services for victims via increased funding to relevant partners in the national, and district referral groups to protect children and combat trafficking in persons
- with its partners, utilise an issue-based approach where different sectors collectively support vulnerable communities with income-generating activities, education, nutrition and child protection. To prevent the worst forms of child labour and trafficking, families and communities must be better supported
- continue working with child protection committees at community level to identify vulnerable children who tend to be more exposed to trafficking
- advocate for the government to monitor the reported growth in commercial sex and train officials to investigate and prosecute those facilitating child or forced prostitution.

Figure 2: Overview of the Child Protection Referral System for children who have been, or who are at risk of being, trafficked



8. ENABLING FACTORS FOR CHANGE

The enabling factors described below are based on findings from the case study and could potentially have added value in other contexts.

Table 4: Advocacy strategies used in different phases of the policy cycle

	DIRECT STRATEGIES	INDIRECT STRATEGIES
AGENDA SETTING	<p>Administrative strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact with relevant decision makers • Contact with the bureaucracy 	<p>Media strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact with journalists • Issue press statements • Initiate public debates <p>Mobilisation strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Publish research/studies • Organise civil society meetings and build alliances • Mobilise the public
TEXT FORMULATION AND DECISION MAKING	<p>Administrative strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact with relevant decision makers • Contact with the bureaucracy • Participation in meetings etc with line ministries and expert committees • Direct contact with technocrats making formal decisions • Partner with government • Demonstrate/show decision makers the realities on the ground <p>Parliamentary strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare documents that will be shared within formal decision-making forums • Make direct contact with representatives in Parliament and ministries 	<p>Media strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact with journalists • Issue press statements • Initiate public debates <p>Mobilisation strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organise civil society meetings and build alliances
IMPLEMENTATION	<p>Parliamentary strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in consultations with parliamentarians • Prepare documents that will be shared within formal decision-making forums • Make direct contact with representatives in parliament and ministries 	<p>Media strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact with journalists • Press statements • Documentaries • Initiate public debates

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

Defining the structure and functions of a child protection system is a complex task. The anti-trafficking project managed to keep an overview of the relationships and feedback loops among its many elements, and bind these together as a unit. It was clear from early on that a simple linear chain of events, perfectly balancing cause and effect, would not be realistic in building Mozambique's child protection system. Further, Save the Children staff in Mozambique believed that complex systems often prompt change through the interplay of many diverse factors – such as the repatriation centres, work with the border police and work with the government on the Anti-Trafficking Act. The diversity of project activities provides a broader base from which to abstract knowledge and build an understanding of what should be on the radar to succeed in influencing political decisions – and that, in many cases, one needs to expect the unexpected.

At each stage of the anti-trafficking project, funding cycles were used to plan for the next step. There has been a systematic and structured advancement of the project based on the general assumptions described above. In such a complex environment, it was wise to be flexible and adapt the approach to the learning abstracted along the way. The project did not have a theory of change as such, but seems to have adopted many principles with a dynamic process that allows for assumptions to be regulated based on contextual changes and abstracted learning. The strengths of such a working methodology are the opportunities to learn through emerging evidence and the assumptions on which the project is based. Advocacy and policy work can be complicated, but a well-focused plan and an overarching theory of change can simplify things by providing a pathway to expected change. Projects based on a theory of change also tend to be more efficient in achieving their objectives than those that are not (Organizational Research Services, 2007; Valters, 2015). The project has reported its results using a log frame system, which does not necessarily do justice to what has been achieved within such a project. In-depth analysis will therefore provide more of the information needed.

Earlier in the process, especially, the project did not invest enough in investigating the power dimension and mapping out how change could potentially happen. This created challenges in terms of ineffective partnerships and slow processing of policy change by the government. As part of the learning, power mapping has been incorporated more systematically into the working methodology in the later years of the project.

USE OF MULTIPLE ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

Policy environments create various opportunities and threats to success in any given advocacy context. While advocacy strategies and tactics need to be adapted to the context and time-sensitive opportunities (Kelly, 2002), some tactics have been continued throughout the project. Figure 3 below outlines the strategies most commonly used at the different phases in the policy cycle. This section attempts to describe the advocacy strategies and tactics that enabled change.

As seen in Figure 3, advocacy and policy influence is rarely achieved by presenting messages to a single target group, in one manner and through one medium. This project used and combined multiple strategies that gradually gathered attention and built commitment from other stakeholders. This is typical of advocacy interventions by INGOs (Sutton, 1999; Kelly, 2002). The project seems to have succeeded in selecting the most appropriate targets and media for advocacy messages for each specific stage in the policy cycle. Even if the target and purpose varied, many of the communication tools remained the same, including press kits and press releases, press conferences, fact sheets, public debates, and convening meetings for policy makers and other key actors. Save the Children seems to have managed to develop clear and specific key messages, presented by both staff and partners. Many of the government departments Save the Children initially sought to influence (such as the Ministry of Justice and the Attorney General's Office) became partners – the ultimate sign that an organisation's advocacy has been successful. The ability to recognise these opportunities and the flexibility to adapt advocacy strategies accordingly

is key to remaining a relevant stakeholder in an advocacy process. The following sections elaborate on two of the most influential advocacy tactics used in this project – media and partnerships.

Media

The use of media continued to be important and influential throughout the advocacy process. Political issues that are present in the media tend to be those the public is aware of and considers to be important. Media may or may not shape what the public

thinks about an issue, but it generally determines which political or campaign issues voters prioritise (Heywood, 2011; Pettifor, 2011; Stachowiak, 2013). Save the Children invested in the media by funding field trips, reports and documentaries (which were broadcast on national TV networks in southern Africa). This was a good investment. It managed to combine media and communications on specific issues with advocacy directed at decision makers. Save the Children has managed to build a network of journalists with expertise in trafficking cases which it can now draw on for support to communicate the

Figure 3: Partnerships established by Save the Children



continuing challenges. The partnership with media has been instrumental in advancing the political agenda on anti-trafficking work. As one journalist said, *'Almost all of the reports we have made so far have had a major impact. And I can consider that they were all a success because we found that our research always had a positive result. That is, we investigate, discover and speak to the victims, publish the reports and then verify that perpetrators are always discovered, charged and sentenced.'*

It is interesting to note that the use of social media has grown exponentially since the start of the project. Even though the project did not systematically use social media channels, some informants suggested that it had changed the demography of trafficking. Young people in cities with access to the internet were reported (by informants) to be more aware of trafficking traps than those in rural areas with less access to the internet. It is also clear that, in Mozambique, independent political bloggers generate a readership rivalling that of traditional news media and that their lack of affiliation to the traditional media strengthens their perceived credibility. Some informants mentioned that the independent blog platform had become more influential in recent years. One could also speculate about the role of social media in advertising smuggling services and coordinating trafficking, and what effects this might have. As it is outside the scope of this case study, this has not been investigated.

Partnership building

Effective advocacy and policy change must be situated within a broader framework of change, which cannot be undertaken by one organisation alone. Change is more likely to occur when many organisations work together across different levels and locations. Creating changes in policy and legal frameworks, and implementing them, is a tedious process and takes time (Kelly, 2002). Expansion of the community of support, cohesion of stakeholders, the gathering of diverse strengths, and the linking of talents were seen to be beneficial to the sustainability of the project. Partnerships have ensured wider outreach through media and civil society partners, and have broken down some of the traditional public administration silos to improve efficiency and effectiveness in delivering child protection.

The case study found that, through its partners, Save the Children contributed to shaping the collective civil society agenda by providing vehicles for sustained and collective action. It highlighted the severity and neglect of trafficking, partnered with media in shaping understanding of the scope of the problem and, from there, demanded a solution. Findings from the case study indicate that Save the Children has capacitated the media to play an active role in this work – with targeted messages to the decision makers. The partnership with the media, in combination with civil society and the Norwegian Embassy, became a powerful influencing force in persuading decision makers to bring the issue of trafficking to Parliament. For several years, Save the Children supported the development and growth of SANTAC and, even though the partnership was phased out, technical cooperation has continued. The project has also contributed to strengthening civil society at a subnational level through its role in the referral groups. Their voices are being heard and they are an integral part of a nationwide system. As such, the project has worked through established civil society structures to present arguments to the government with one voice. It has also contributed to strengthening civil society actors at a subnational level. Their participation in the referral mechanism has enabled them to play a strategic role within the overall protection system.

Save the Children managed to work with others to construct a compelling picture of the trafficking problem, one that includes a shared understanding of the issue, a consensus on solutions, and convincing reasons to act. Second, its success was also shaped by its ability to build a political coalition that includes individuals and organisations beyond Save the Children's traditional partner base. Informants reported that there were some contradictions in the interests of the stakeholders involved and that incorporating diverse perspectives challenged the development of a clearly defined understanding of the problem. By transferring ownership to the government and enabling it to be the official lead, it seems that partners have respected and balanced these two tasks. Figure 3 illustrates the outreach and broad commitment created by Save the Children for a child protection system and implementation of the Anti-Trafficking Act.

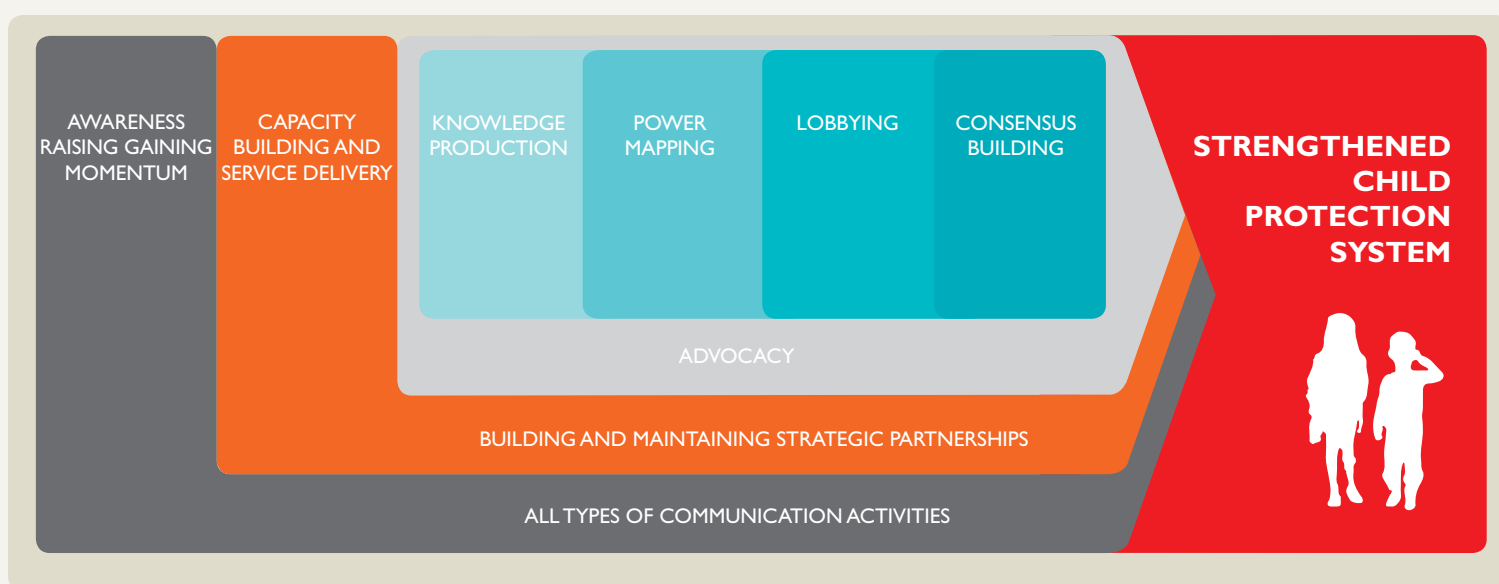
INTEGRATED PROGRAMMING

In the early 2000s, operational INGOs started to engage more systematically in advocacy. For many, the term advocacy was ambiguous and seen as synonym for activities carried out and the partners engaged to achieve the advocacy objective (Hudson, 2002). Over the last decade, this picture has evolved and Save the Children has also gone through organisational changes and adapted to developments in the sector at large. Findings in this case study clearly underline that the quality of the relationship between traditional programme interventions and advocacy work was crucial to the project staying relevant and delivering effective results. Moreover, combined with direct service delivery, capacity building and policy interventions, it made a strong contribution to the sustainability of the project. Throughout the project,

there has been a continuous wheel of interaction between the three project components. Even if the awareness raising and capacity building did not target policy change, they have certainly contributed to strengthening Save the Children’s credibility in policy forums. Figure 4 unpacks some of the project’s elements and methodologies and underlines those tactics whose sole purpose was to bring about policy change through advocacy.

Learning from this project suggests that advocacy should be integrated in a project from the outset, when the project is being designed. From the start, the goal should be to identify the different elements that together will trigger change – and it is seldom that one approach can ensure sustainability on its own. As Figure 4 illustrates, it was a continuum of activities that created change.

Figure 4: How advocacy and other programme activities contribute collectively to system change



9. LESSONS LEARNED: EFFECTIVE USE OF ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

To understand why civil society actors at times succeed in influencing policy processes and at other times fail, we must understand the overall political, social and economic context, and the institutional structure of the political system within which the civil society actor is operating. The complexity of the issue at hand and the skillset and strategic approach of the civil society actor will also be key (Mahoney, 2007). In other words, it is a complex task. However, to become wiser and better informed, and to improve our advocacy approaches as civil society actors, it is important to abstract learning from successful projects. The section below presents the lessons learned from this project which the author considers to also have added value for other organisations across diverse contexts.

Working towards sustainable system change

Working towards changes in policy and practice contributes to the sustainability of aid organisations' interventions. This can be achieved by bringing proven development practices up to scale and/or removing social and cultural barriers to achieve equal rights. When employing advocacy in system building, the following elements should be considered:

- As an INGO, ensure that you operate in strategic partnerships with national and local civil society partners in advocacy initiatives. This will build local commitment, knowledge and knowhow and promote ownership of the process. The longer-term goal must be for local partners to be capacitated to hold their governments accountable and to work with government institutions as partners to implement policy change.
- As a civil society actor, do not develop parallel systems to those of the government at any level. Even if initially the government is not willing or able to follow up on your collaboration, spend time building the relationship to get them on board. The government is responsible for delivering protection to children and its ownership should be secured. Civil society actors can support and contribute – and they can influence protection practices through their advocacy efforts.

- Ensure that, as the duty bearer, the government is in the driving seat of the process. This will encourage ownership and a sense of commitment. Design projects by building on existing structures and allow governments to brand interventions with their logos – rather than attempting to take the credit for your own organisation.
- Change in policy, practice and protection systems takes time. It must therefore be built gradually, and have realistic and achievable goals. Ensure that activities are carried out in partnership and that the achieved goals will be rooted in local structures.
- No matter how well justified investment in children is, government budgets are limited. Consider the economy of the context and/or sector you operate in and promote realistic policy changes. If the government, at a national or subnational level, is to take over the responsibilities, costs must be adapted to the budget of the specific ministry. Don't overestimate the investment capacity of your government counterpart.
- Well documented project results can help you gain support from a range of stakeholders and donors. Make sure that the results of each stage of the process are well documented in line with donor requirements and standards. Ensure that the organisation dedicates time to communicate these results to relevant stakeholders and donors.
- Remember to communicate your results and what they have meant for the target group. The communication should contain elements of before and after situations, facts and human interest stories. Communications about the learning and the results by the civil society actor may trigger others to invest in your proven development practices.

Preparing the ground for an advocacy process

Successful advocacy processes require a solid understanding of the political system you are targeting – as well as the synergies and functions within the system. To influence the key decision maker, ensure that what you can offer is relevant to those in power and adds value to knowledge and competencies

that already exist within the system. The agenda-setting phase might seem demanding, but investments at this stage can position your organisation at the forefront throughout the process. Contextual knowledge and understanding can be divided into the following steps:

- In the initial agenda-setting phase of a policy process, it could be worthwhile to invest in a study that outlines the root causes, trends, policy gaps, action needed and stakeholders involved. This helps to frame the challenges and solutions as well as to define the context of the policy issue at hand. Research will always be strengthened if it is combined with field experience from the same organisation, and with some personal stories that appeal to the heart.
- After the study, a policy analysis should take place to look at existing policies, and whether there are other ongoing processes that overlap, duplicate or contradict each other. If not, what are the policy, legal or systemic hurdles that need to be addressed through the advocacy effort. Based on the policy analysis, it will be possible to identify a clear objective.
- With a clear objective, it will be possible to identify the key powerholders that can influence change. Understanding the role of relationships, synergies and networks is important to understanding how change occurs. Consider working with both informal and formal powerholders to find the most effective ways to persuade decision makers to advance your agenda. Powerholders tend to change during the stages of a policy cycle, so they need to be updated regularly. Power mapping can make or break your advocacy initiative.
- Following the power analysis, it will be helpful to conduct a partner mapping exercise, which can take place in four stages. The goal of the first exercise is to identify your organisation's internal strengths and weaknesses in order to identify partners with complementary skills. The second step will be to list all potential partners that have the qualities the organisation is looking for in a partner. The third step looks at synergies between the partners to see which of them have the outreach and connections

that would be of interest to the organisation. In the fourth and final step, the most relevant partners will be assessed in terms of their power and ability to influence others in a way that will contribute to the organisation's goals. There are still two last questions to be asked when selecting partners: Will the most attractive partners be interested in partnering equally with your organisation? What would the costs/benefits of the potential partnerships be?

- Based on the findings from this case study, it will be important to formulate assumptions on how political change develops. Preferably these will lead to a theory of change that can provide a road map that will enable the organisation to reach its overall goal. The assumptions must be updated at each crossroads – to be adjusted or reconfirmed. Organisations that follow a theory of change approach are in general more successful than those that do not. The theory of change can make the advocacy process itself more effective by guiding how, where and when to invest time, money and human resources.

Advocating for change

- Advocacy issues in operational organisations should be linked to their programme work. Advocacy will benefit from field-based evidence, as it tends to increase credibility in negotiations with government officials. At the same time, programme work will become more sustainable by being lifted up to scale by the government.
- Being systematic and organised will make you a more effective advocate. Advocacy results take time. You will need to gather all relevant information, keep track of research and studies within the field, understand the power dynamics, and adapt to the context in order to remain relevant.
- Focus on a few concrete messages. Being a good advocate means knowing the facts. Ensure that you know some statistics and hard knowledge by heart. Multiple messages are confusing to decision makers. Create a message that is concise and easy for partners, legislators and stakeholders to remember. The message package should be tailored specifically for the target audience and the core substance

should be consistent. Present facts and figures, but be aware that human interest stories are important in order to create empathy. Messages need to be disseminated through different media and in different forums but, in order to succeed, make sure that partners and media are giving out the same messages.

- For civil society actors operating in development contexts, it is important to respect the context and the other (government and non-governmental) actors involved. Use partnerships in a cooperative approach rather than competing with other organisations.
- An important tool for change by civil society actors will be holding the government accountable for its obligations. This can be done through diplomacy and consensus building, but at times it is necessary to express an opinion and confront the government. In countries with weak democracies, it might be useful to combine the different approaches and work with media and other organisations to demand that the government is accountable to its rights holders. As an operational NGO, it is important to remain a trusted partner of the government.
- Trust and relationships should never be underestimated in advocacy processes. It is therefore worth retaining project staff to ensure the continuation of relationships. This is often affected by funding and management priorities during funding gaps.

Funding advocacy

- Donors need to recognise that policy development takes time and will not fit into shorter funding cycles. Predictable and continued funding is key. A time period of between three to five years is appropriate. After three years, donors can then take stock to assess the intermediate results and the value in continuing to support the process.
- Donors need to recognise that it is important for policies to go through a process of negotiation and consultation to build ownership among the stakeholders.
- To ensure sustainability, donors should demand that INGOs demonstrate their ability to build partnerships with local actors and the government from the start of a project. Advocacy should be an integral part of a project, not an add-on.
- Policy development does not take place in a controlled context. Donors must therefore be willing to take some risks with their investments, but should still recognise the cost-effectiveness of successful advocacy approaches.
- Quantifying attributions will be difficult. Tracking contributions will be more appropriate. Results reporting needs to open up to alternative reporting templates (other than log frames) to demonstrate and communicate how the organisation has contributed to policy and system change.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Based in Maputo, SANTAC aims to build synergies among southern African institutions to fight against child abuse, in particular child sexual and commercial exploitation, child labour and trafficking of children for any purpose, through lobbying and advocacy, protection, law reform, rehabilitation and care services for victims.
- 2 SANTAC is made up of civil society organisations from ten countries: Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
- 3 The Diana Case involved three girls who were taken to a condominium on the outskirts of Pretoria. The perpetrator was tried by the Regional Court of Pretoria and sentenced to life imprisonment.



Save the Children

Save the Children Norway (Redd Barna)
Storgata 38
0182 Oslo
Norway

www.reddbarna.no

