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Advocacy the socio-political work of nonprofit organizations and grantmaking foundations

An introduction with case study

Kathrin Frey, Robert Schmuki



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Context

This publication deals with the socio-political work of operationally active nonprofit organizations (NPOs) and grantmaking foundations that pursue a social goal according to their foundation or association purpose. The focus is on the importance of advocacy work for the achievement of NPOs' goals. In doing so, we focus on so-called third-party service NPOs in Switzerland. Neither self-serving NPOs that try to achieve benefits for their members (e.g., sports or cultural associations) nor unstructured social movements are in the focus.

The idea of charitable action in a civil society has its roots in the Enlightenment and its ideal of a self-determined human being. The essential starting point in the 19th century was the facilitation of education, which is an excellent link to the case study of this publication, the commitment of the Jacobs Foundation to early childhood¹ education and care (ECEC) in Switzerland.

Until the middle of the last century, NPOs were the main providers of government social services, such as the distribution of retirement pensions or the operation of closed institutions. From the 1960s onward, a strengthened welfare state took over many areas and tasks that had previously been managed and performed privately by large NPOs. Since then, NPOs have increasingly provided complementary services.² In addition, they take on important tasks in policy implementation within the framework of public service mandates.

Operationally active NPOs and grantmaking foundations focus on topics that are socially relevant but are not (yet) understood as a task of the government. These include, for example, issues of globalization and ecology; new, more socially acceptable economic models; the protection of personal data, and the role of artificial intelligence in a societal context. These topics require not only practical solutions, but also a public debate on how to address such changes. Accordingly, NPOs and funders increasingly see themselves as important actors in a societal dialogue (Speth 2018, Schuler 2015).

Structure of this publication

In a first part, the term "advocacy" is defined more precisely. In addition to a contentbased definition, the tools of direct and indirect advocacy that can be used for this work are also presented.

The second part describes the historical and current context in which advocacy work is embedded in Switzerland.

¹ "Early childhood" is considered the first stage of life between 0 and 4 years of age.

² Subsidiary social services are tasks that are regarded as the responsibility of the state but are performed privately. Complementary services describe supplementary tasks that do not have to be performed by the state but are nevertheless desirable from a societal perspective.

CONTEXT & STRUCTURE

The third part gives an insight into a particular case study: The advocacy strategy "Early Childhood Policy" of the Jacobs Foundation. The description of the case study is based on the external evaluation of the advocacy strategy conducted by KEK – CDC on behalf of the Jacobs Foundation in 2020. The case study shows how the Jacobs Foundation designed and executed the advocacy strategy and to what extent the foundation was able to achieve its set goals with the advocacy strategy.³

The fourth part of the publication summarizes these experiences and the current state of the discussion and formulates possible consequences for the advocacy work of NPOs and of independent grantmaking foundations in particular.

Part 1 - The term "advocacy"

1.1 Definition

The term "advocacy" is a derivative of the Latin verb 'advocare', which translates as 'to summon' or 'to call'. Even in this basic form, it contains the idea of advocating for those who cannot do so on their own. In German it is often translated as intercession, and refers here to public championing of a person, a group of persons, or a cause. If it refers to legal issues, the advocates are those who are called in. In the case of issues of public interest that go beyond legal matters, other persons or groups of persons must be called in if the person or thing in question cannot speak for itself. In other words, those who are concerned must create a body that can make them heard.

Long fought-for rights such as retirement insurance in 1947, women's suffrage in 1971 or the ratification of the Disability Rights Convention in 2014 show how important this advocacy by civil society organizations was and still is today. The distinguished German



Fig. 1: Only church occupations – here that of the Zurich Predigerkirche in 2008 – brought the issue of Sans-Papiers in Switzerland onto the policial agenda. Image source: Bleiberecht-Kollektiv Zürich

sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas puts it this way with regard to new social risks such as the nuclear arms race, genetic research, ecological destruction, impoverishment of the Third World, and undesirable developments in the world economic order: "Almost none of these issues was first raised by exponents of the state apparatus, the large organizations, or societal functional systems." (Habermas 1992, S. 461)

In the modern reading of the term advocacy, there is a narrow and a broad definition. The narrow definition focuses only on direct influence on a specific political issue (Start and Hovland 2004). The broad definition – and this publication is based on it – postulates that advocacy work is "...*every activity that focuses on changing policies or securing collective goods.*" (Jenkins 1987, 297). When we use the term advocacy, it encompasses the broad field from public communication of scientific findings to raise awareness among the general public to the use of political tools such as the formulation of a parliamentary motion. (Speth 2016: 256, Coffman/Beer 2015: 5).

1.2 Advocacy as one of six domains of interventions

Every NPO, whether an association or a foundation, has an ideational definition of purpose in its founding documents. As an association, this purpose can be adapted by means of a membership vote, but in the case of foundations, it can only hardly be changed. In the case of third-party service NPOs⁴, persons or groups of persons who are not themselves part of this organization benefit from this purpose. Or it is an ideational issue that constitutes the goal of the NPO, such as clean oceans or equal educational opportunities for all. Globally, the current goals of the world community have been summarized in the SDG 2030, the Sustainable Development Goals of the UN⁵. This can also be understood as a framework in which all the individual purposes of the nonprofit organizations are embedded.

The bodies of an NPO have the responsibility to look for ways to achieve the set goals. In the case of third-party service NPO or grantmaking foundation, these are societal impact goals. In order to achieve its own impact goals, a NPO has six fields of intervention at its disposal:



Fig. 2: Six domains of interventions of NPOs' work (own illustration)

Depending on the stage of development of a set impact goal, a different approach appears promising. The fields of intervention are clearly related to each other. For example, multiplication (3) should not take place until a newly developed approach (2) has proven itself. Advocacy (5) can be credibly carried out if the scientific evidence exists (1) and a strong network is established (6).

It should be noted that advocacy is one of the potential domains of intervention for any NPO pursuing a social impact goal. Against this backdrop, the decision to forego advocacy

⁴ Political science literature often refers to *"cause groups"* that advocate for a principle, goal, value, or public good (see, for example, Hopkins et al. 2019). This term, as well as the term "third-party service NPO", is used in distinction to "sectional groups" or self-serving NPOs. The latter advocate for the interest of specific segment of society and private goods. Membership is limited and it is primarily the members who benefit from the objectives of these NPOs.

⁵ The SDG 2030 and Switzerland: https://www.eda.admin.ch/agenda2030/en/home/agenda-2030/die-17-ziele-fuer-eine-nachhaltige-entwicklung.html

as a possible way to achieve a goal must be well analyzed and justified, and requires a decision at the strategic level.

1.3 Grantmaking foundations in the advocacy intervention domain

Traditionally, grantmaking foundations are active in intervention domains 2 and 4, in "developing new, innovative projects" and in "securing proven services". Establishing fundamentals is a specific grantmaking goal of science foundations. Intervention domain 3, multiplication, can usually only be supported by very potent funders, since during the roll-out of a service or program not only the service or program but also the funds required for it multiply.

Advocacy work and the closely related network work are not among the domains for which most funders allocate funds. However, since fields 5 and 6 are relevant for achieving societal goals, two considerations from the perspective of grantmaking foundations will be formulated here:

Consideration 1: Protection of own investment

Many grantmaking foundations aim to provide support in areas that have yet to be explored because their importance has not yet been recognized by the public and politicians. They deliberately promote in a complementary way to government tasks and at the same time in areas in which the business community does not show any commitment because investments in this area are too risky⁶ or no returns can be expected. This is essentially the rationale given in market failure theory as the reason for the need for a third sector (Bator 1958).

However, if we look at this from a long-term perspective, the goal for every grantmaking foundation must be for a new topic to achieve significance in society. Only on the basis of such public recognition of a topic will it be possible in the medium and long term to build up stable funding, in which, in the best case, the government will also participate. If this fails, the grantmaking foundation runs the risk of having to finance the task itself over a long period of time, or of dropping it after a certain period of time, in which case the development assistance provided is largely lost.

The necessary societal recognition can only be achieved to a limited extent through pure project support, since this is usually only perceived by the beneficiaries. Every project needs translation work for the public, i.e. various forms of advocacy, in order to give the issue the necessary recognition. Consideration 1 therefore states that targeted advocacy work on a problem is needed in order to achieve a sustainable socially supported solution.

Consideration 2: Pursuit of collective goals

Whereas about 20 years ago funders more or less staked out their own funding area without finding out what funding goals other funders had set themselves, this has fundamentally changed. Today, foundations are oriented toward each other and are definitely interested in

⁶ The microcredit sector is a good example of how this form of lending was too risky for business until NPOs showed that stable economic relationships could be built here. Today, microcredit is a standard program of many banks.

exchanging ideas and, in the meantime, also in joint funding projects⁷. There are various reasons for this, in Switzerland not least the work of the foundation umbrella associations proFonds and SwissFoundations and their efforts to strengthen the dialogue on effective grantmaking strategies among funders. Soft law publications such as the Swiss Foundation Code⁸ have also contributed to changing the grantmaking perspective.

Internationally and nationally, coordinating collective goals of a global society were formulated for this reason, which found their overarching form with the Millennium Development Goals 2000 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 2030⁹ in 2015. Grantmaking foundations are under increasing pressure to demonstrate what they are specifically contributing to these universally recognized goals. The position of pursuing exclusively foundation-internal goals tends to be insufficient in the longer term.

Advocacy work in this context is no longer a task for individual organizations, but a concerted effort by many players. For grantmaking foundations, exciting new tasks arise here, such as those of the networking host or the coordinating partner among many operationally active agencies¹⁰.

1.4 Aim of combating causes, not alleviating symptoms

Starting in the Anglo-Saxon world, there is a growing international demand that NPOs be professionalized along the lines of the business world and measured by their efficiency. The perception exists that NPOs with their volunteers and barely compensated boards of directors or foundation councils can hardly perform effective and high-quality work, or that business enterprises do this more effectively.

It is ignored that the concept of efficiency in economic terms means that a product or offer for a need that has arisen is made available as quickly, leanly and, if demand permits, in as large a quantity as possible, such as the production of shelters for people on the run.¹¹ However, the fact that the core of this work is to find a solution through dialogue and a joint effort between governments, academia and non-profit organizations, so that the problem no longer arises, is not considered in the efficiency comparison. From an economic point of view, it would not be effective to invest energy and resources to eliminate a societal problem on which one's return is built. For an NPO, on the other hand, it is great if none of the manufactured accommodations for people on the run are needed anymore.

⁷ For example, the call for proposal of the Volkart and Mercator foundations (only available in German): https://www.volkart.ch/de/ausschreibung

⁸ https://www.swissfoundations.ch/aktuell/swiss-foundation-code-2021-bestellung/

⁹ https://www.eda.admin.ch/agenda2030/en/home/agenda-2030/die-17-ziele-fuer-eine-nachhaltige-entwick-lung.html

¹⁰ The Kresge Foundation, which is active in American inner cities, has changed its role in the reconstruction of Detroit away from the promotion of individual projects to the coordination of various social actors, https://kresge.org/our-work/detroit/. Its independence and its own resources have made it possible for it to become a hub between city residents, policymakers, businesses, and operational NPOs, enabling a holistic approach that could never have been achieved by any individual actor.

¹¹https://www.srf.ch/news/regional/zuerich-schaffhausen/untauglich-ikea-haeuschen-fuer-asylsuchendewerden-wieder-abgebaut, accessed on July 16, 2021

NPOs have a dual mission: On the one hand, they seek solutions as an immediate aid to meet an acute problem competently and quickly. In the medium and long term, however, the NPO strives to ensure that its services and assistance are no longer needed.

Here, the concept of efficiency in economic terms falls short. Or else one understands the fight against a market need as the culmination of efficiency – never has a car been produced so efficiently as when it is no longer produced because no one needs it anymore. Working in an organization in which the core goal is to be needed as little as possible and, in the optimum case, to dissolve completely, shifts the planning perspective quite fundamentally, and thus also the definition of efficiency and effectiveness.



Fig. 3: Life cycle of NPO, own illustration according to Stevens (2001)

This inherent goal of NPOs to make themselves superfluous is one of the central reasons why advocacy work represents, indeed *must* represent, an important domain of intervention for nonprofits. This commitment to solving problems as comprehensively as possible is an essential difference to the commercial enterprise¹², which can certainly deliver food to the hungry or look after asylum centers just as reliably as any NPO. In the medium term, it is the value and problem-solving orientation and the associated socio-political position that makes the work of an NPO or a grantmaking foundation complete.

1.5 Advocacy work and nonprofit status

Advocacy work, as outlined, is an important field of intervention for charitable organizations. In the socio-political context, the term "charitable" is significant here because it distinguishes a commitment from the pursuit of self-interest. In some questions, this delimitation is so important that the definition of the charitable will be briefly discussed here.

¹² International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (NPO) by Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier as part of the John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (1992)

Part 1

The term "charitable" is less precisely defined by law in Switzerland than in other countries, which attach to this term a comprehensive list of accepted charitable activities and tasks¹³. In Switzerland, it is the cantonal tax authorities who, in the respective case examination, grant an organization charitable status and, associated with this, the tax exemption at communal and cantonal level, and, based on this, also at federal level. Based on the underlying federal law on direct federal tax¹⁴, the following criteria are listed in the circular of the Federal Tax Administration of July 1994¹⁵, which is still relevant today (2021):

- The organization must be a legal entity.
- The tax-exempt activity must be aimed exclusively at the public service or the welfare of third parties.
- The funds dedicated to tax-exempt purposes must be irrevocably, i.e., forever, dedicated to tax-exempt purposes.
- In addition to the above-mentioned prerequisites, the actual realization of the specified purpose must also be required. The mere statutory proclamation of a tax-exempt activity is not sufficient.

Under point 3 of the circular, the two conditions for tax-exemption "pursuit of the general interest" and "altruism" are explained in more detail. One statement in the circular seems particularly worth mentioning in this context: *"Whether a certain activity is in the interest of the general public shall be assessed according to the relevant public opinion."*¹⁶

This is where the fundamental discussions on the use of advocacy tools for the achievement of NPO goals begin. While general information work is assessed as "in the public interest", public advocacy, e.g. in the context of a vote, already triggers controversy and criticism. For example, third-party NPOs were strongly criticized for their public advocacy in 1931 during the first vote on the introduction of the "AHV" (OASI), in 1971 on women's suffrage or in 2020 on the corporate responsibility initiative.

This discussion touches on very fundamental questions of our understanding of democracy and, in this sense, is to be understood as a process of negotiation in a society as to what extent "the relevant public opinion" approves of the participation of a NPO in a political process, such as a vote, or whether such participation is undesirable.

No "intermediaries" between state and citizen desired

Active participation in opinion-forming and legislative processes in a society is an important domain of intervention for NPOs to achieve their charitable purpose. However, as mentioned above, it cannot be assumed in any democracy that there is a right to active participation of civil society organizations in political dialogue. Time and again, there have

¹³ Example German definition approach: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/ao_1977/__52.html

¹⁴ https://www.fedlex.admin.ch/eli/cc/1991/1184_1184_1184/de

¹⁵ https://www.estv.admin.ch/dam/estv/de/dokumente/bundessteuer/kreisschreiben/2000/W95-012.pdf.down-load.pdf/w95-012d.pdf

¹⁶ Circular No. 12 of July 8, 1994, p.3

been campaigns and political initiatives that criticize the active role of NPOs in the process of shaping society's opinion or seek to prevent it¹⁷.

In terms of state policy, this political position that charitable NPOs should not participate in the public opinion-forming process was already formulated in 1791 in the aftermath of the French Revolution in the Loi Le Chapelier, which fundamentally prohibited the association of the same profession or occupation (Simitis 1989). This affected not only professional associations such as the guilds, but also charitable societies, Masonic circles, or student associations, as they emerged in many places in the late 18th century as part of the societal movement (Garber et al. 1996).

It was argued that no intermediary organizations should stand between the state representing the general interest and the individual interest of its citizens (Degen 2010). This debate about private entities participating in social and political dialogue subsequently characterized the first half of the 19th century. In Switzerland, it was the federal state that emerged after 1848, based on liberal ideas assuming an active civil society, that enabled the creation of a large number of socially and politically active NPOs. From 1880, their tasks in public areas were coordinated with the state and often subsidized by it. Many organizations acted subsidiarily to the state, sometimes endowed with state powers (Schumacher 2010, Guggisberg 2017).

It was not until the 1960s that there was a clear reorientation of the organizations, which until then had been partly state-run. The great economic upswing after the Second World War had led to the federal government, cantons and municipalities taking over more and more social and health care tasks, which had been provided by 3rd sector organizations for about 100 years. The significance of many nationally active NPOs changed fundamentally. Reinforced by individual scandals about quasi-governmental actions of individual organizations, such as the scandal about the "Kinder der Landstrasse" program of Pro Juventute, there was a disentanglement of the political level from the steering committees of large charitable organizations (Schumacher 2010).

From the 1990s onward, a new element came into play that was to have a strong influence on the sociopolitical work of the operationally active organizations. Under the influence of New Public Management, government support changed from subsidies to performance contracts, which are renegotiated every three to four years and can be put out to tender in a public competition. This competitive situation further limited the possibilities of socio-political work for NPOs.

At the same time, however, a pronounced phase in the establishment of grantmaking foundations began. More than half of the grantmaking foundations active today were established after 1995. This increased the importance of grantmaking foundations addressing important social issues. The Jacobs Foundation's focused work on early childhood education and care, as described in detail in Chapter 3, is a good example here of how significant the work of grantmaking foundations has become in addressing socially relevant issues.

¹⁷ Motion Noser (FDP) calling for NPOs to be deprived of tax exemption if they make political statements: https://www.parlament.ch/de/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaeft?AffairId=20204162, accessed on July 16, 2021.

Part 1



Fig. 4: Development of the foundation sector since 1990. Source: Swiss Foundation Report 2021, p.6

1.6 Opportunities and risks of advocacy work

From the point of view of an operational NPO or a grantmaking foundation, it is essential to clarify whether it can achieve its goals in the long term without targeted public relations work in the advocacy sense. The Democracy Center proposed three blocks of questions in 2020 to assess the appropriateness and opportunities of advocacy work¹⁸.

1. What do you want to achieve as an organization?

- Who or what is causing the problem that you are trying to solve?
- What needs to change in order to solve it, and not just symptom control, but a solution that starts at the root causes?
- What needs to be worked toward today to achieve a stable solution to the problem?
- Are you aiming to solve the problem fundamentally, or is it also enough, in your view, to counter the worst effects?

2. What does the "map of power" look like that you navigate?

- Who has the formal power, structurally and in terms of personnel, to contribute significantly to solving the problem?
- Which other institutions and persons have influence on how the problem develops or how it can be solved?
- Do you have possibilities to influence these decision-making mechanisms or these decision-makers?

3. What measures are you willing and able to take?

- Do you have an understandable message that can make people aware of the problem and mobilize them for a solution?
- Are you reaching those who you need, not just those who already support you?
- Do you have clear ideas of actions you can take that have a chance of making a difference?
- Do you have a review mechanism that lets you know when a strategy needs to be changed and adjusted down the road?

If an NPO determines that it has a clear idea of the causes and decision-making mechanisms, and that it also has suitable means and measures at its disposal, it should seriously consider targeted advocacy work. A first step here is to assess the opportunities and risks for one's own organization that public advocacy on an issue or position entails.

¹⁸ https://www.democracyctr.org/, an updated version of this questionnaire can be found here: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5e49ea5f94c2c44a94262103/t/5e717474eb2c831e97409adb/1585871 018471/Art_of_Advocacy.pdf

The following aspects can be contrasted:

Opportunities	Risks
One's own impact goals can be better achieved.	One's own position is also represented by organizations, companies, or interest groups from which or whose image or atti- tudes one would like to generally distance oneself.
The organization gains external visibility and profile.	Institutional funders or donors are deterred by a high-profile advocacy of a position.
Alliances on issues and positions create strong networks that strengthen the work of the organization.	The work of the NPO generally receives more public attention and is increasingly exposed to public controversy.
Institutional funders and donors can be ac- quired on a topic-related basis.	

Tab. 1: Opportunities and risks of advocacy work

1.7 Advocacy dimensions and tools

In the self-perception of many NPOs, advocacy is one of their important tasks, whether local, regional, or national. Each organization decides for itself how this should be done. Advocacy work is characterized by the following two dimensions:

Dimension 1: The "What" The first dimension is concerned with the objective pursued by advocacy, i.e. *what* is to be influenced. For example, an advocacy strategy may primarily aim to raise awareness of a social issue (e.g., the working poor). The focus is on generating attention for the topic in question. The goal is to get society, business and politics to address the issue.

At the other end of this "what" perspective is the legal anchoring of a concrete solution (e.g., minimum wage). Here, the task is for parliament, the executive branch or, if necessary, representatives from society and business to implement the solution. The aim is to achieve a fundamental change in the framework conditions. This involves generating pressure to get the state or economic actors to act.¹⁹

Dimension 2: The "Who" The second dimension of advocacy work is concerned with the question of *who* is to be influenced and which target group is to be reached directly by advocacy. In simplified terms, a distinction can be made here between the public, influential actors and decision-makers in the narrower sense.

Based on these two dimensions of advocacy work, the question arises as to which tools are available for the work. For the context of a direct-democratic society with corresponding participation opportunities for citizens, the following overview of the tools of an NPO or a grantmaking foundation for direct and indirect advocacy work was developed.

¹⁹ In the literature, the term "accountability politics" is also used for this part of advocacy work (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

Forms of direct advocacy

"Direct advocacy" refers to direct, issue-based societal work for the purpose of influencing public opinion.

The range of tools includes the presentation of one's own operational activity and its impact at the societal level, which is often neglected in considerations about advocacy. It extends to the use of the rights provided for by law and may even include interventions that violate legal requirements, should the political possibilities provided not be sufficient to give the cause, the person or the group of persons the necessary public attention.

Actions of civil disobedience are not an invention of the media age. From the suffragette movements to the Gandi resistance and the anti-nuclear power movement, unauthorized manifestations have repeatedly led to important social changes that would hardly have been possible without this commitment outside the legally prescribed framework.²⁰

Tools		Work contents		
Are	Area 1: Shaping public opinion			
А	Presentation of ex- emplary project work	Actively communicate the goals and results of exemplary im- plemented social projects; publicize promising projects/solu- tions.		
В	Translation of sci- entific findings	Translate and communicate scientific findings so that they can be used for public dialogue.		
С	Information of the public	Using campaigns and press work to raise awareness of the rel- evance of a particular topic and possibly also offer potential solutions.		
D	Public manifesta- tions	Organization, direct support, and participation in authorized public demonstrations.		
Е	Actions of civil disobedience	Unauthorized public demonstrations, unauthorized actions, provision of unauthorized aids.		

²⁰ Some organizations, such as Greenpeace or Sea Shepard, have made it the very hallmark of their work.

Are	Area 2: Influence on legislation / constitution (parliaments)		
F	Use of direct- democratic in- struments	Participation in socio-political discourse by initiating or con- tributing to petitions, referenda and initiatives.	
G	Thematic and in- formation work with parliaments	Information work and lobbying with members of parliament and parliamentary groups.	
Н	Use of parliamen- tary means	(Co-)launching of political requests at the federal, cantonal or municipal level: inquiry, interpellation, motion, postulate, par- liamentary initiative.	
Ι	Consultation work	Participation in consultation procedures on draft legislation, formulation of own proposals and adjustments.	
Are	Area 3: Influencing government and administration (policy imple- mentation)		
J	Thematic work among the execu- tive branch and its conferences and associations	Topic and agenda setting in executive bodies such as city, can- tonal or municipal councils, but also in higher-level bodies such as the Swiss conference of Cantonal Ministers of Educa- tion (EDK) and similar bodies (SODK, SSV, SGV,).	
К	Consultation work	Participate in consultation processes on ordinances, imple- mentation programs and directives; influence implementation regulations, objectives, and measures.	
L	Thematic work to- wards the admin- istration	Increasing the relevance of topics through information work and lobbying at the administrative level.	
М	Influencing the ac- tual implementa- tion	Influencing the direct implementation of policy objectives through active participation in implementation.	
Are	Area 4: Influence through legal means		
N	Court proceed- ings	Exemplary suing for rights and legal provisions (e.g., law- suits at the European Court of Justice)	
0	Association ap- peal	Use of the right of appeal	

Tab. 2: Forms of direct advocacy

Forms of indirect advocacy

Indirect advocacy aims to enable advocacy and, more generally, to promote societal discourse on an issue. Societal dialogues don't just happen; like any opinion-forming and willforming process, they need their vessels and vehicles as well as a sociopolitical and legal framework. And last but not least, it needs a culture of dialogue.

If one does not want to be the bearer and actor of a societal dialogue about a possible social change, indirect advocacy work focuses on providing the knowledge base and arguments, as well as on securing the necessary dialogue vessels and the appropriate legal framework.

Tools		Work contents
Р	Cooperation with "Policy Advocates"	Strengthening political decision-making bodies at local, can- tonal, or national level that pursue the same goals.
Q	Promotion of con- ceptual work	Create or support issue-based think tanks that take a related position.
R	General networking	Joining forces with other organizations to promote advocacy and facilitate societal dialogue.
S	Host of the net- working	Enable networking and exchange opportunities among the various stakeholders.
Т	Support for civil movements	Support for non-institutionalized, civil society actors and their work.

Tab. 3: Forms of indirect advocacy

Part 2 – The importance of advocacy work in Switzerland

In order to assess the importance of advocacy work, the second part of this publication deals with the historical development and the specific framework of this task in the democratic system of Switzerland, in which the NPO sector has played an important role on the social and political level for a long time.

2.1 Historical development

Community and charitable work have existed in central Europe for centuries, often understood as part of a faithful life (or as a gracious investment at the end of a not so godly life). Charitable work as we understand it today, however, emerges only in the second half of the 19th century as an element of the emergence of modern nation-states. Here, a causal relationship between liberal state model and emergence of a third sector can be assumed. Today, the existence of an independent, non-state-controlled sector is a relevant indicator of the status of a democracy according to Western understanding.

From the beginning of its existence, the nascent Switzerland of the 19th century – after Napoleonic reorganization, the attempt to reconstruct an old, medieval order and the subsequent power struggles that culminated in a civil war²¹ – was heavily dependent on the active, even statist commitment of a civil society. The prototype of this type of sociopolitical actor outside the political system was the Swiss Society for the Common Good (SGG), founded in 1810, and the regional nonprofit societies that emerged in many places. During the Helvetic period and in the young state, whose structures at the federal level in Bern were only weakly developed in the 19th century, they carried out important social tasks. Especially in the field of education, as a consequence of the Sonderbundskrieg, there was a vacuum. The Jesuit order, which was the leader in this area, was expelled from the country in 1848 because it had actively opposed a federal state.²²

Public education through elementary school therefore became one of the central fields of work of the NPO in the young federal state, combined with the fight for the necessary framework conditions. This not only refers to the cantonal elementary school laws, which had to be developed and implemented on a federal level, but also to much more controversial demands, such as the Factory Act of 1877, which banned child labor.²³

²¹ Sonderbundskrieg; Historical Dictionary of Switzerland, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/017241/2012-12-20/, accessed on July 16, 2021.

²² Article 58 of the first Swiss Federal Constitution of 1848 stated: "The Jesuit order and its affiliated societies may not be accepted in any part of Switzerland." This passage remained in force until 1973.

²³ Based on the pauperism discussion of the 18th century, the "social question" moved more and more into the center of the social discussion with the industrialization. An important promoter of this discussion was the Swiss Society for the Common Good (SGG), which commissioned various scientific social quetas (studies). The studies of 1868 showed the conditions under which workers in factories suffered. In addition to child labor, it also dealt with maternity protection. In the Federal Factory Act of 1877, as a European pioneer, maternity leave of eight weeks was demanded by law for the first time - however, without providing for compensation for lost wages for the mothers.



Fig. 5: Report of the Gemeinnützigen Gesellschaft of the canton of Zurich on the situation of factory workers (1868)

This state-building role of the third sector in Switzerland was demonstrated in the first half of the 20th century by the fact that important tasks, which in other states were taken over by corresponding ministries, were located in the third sector in Switzerland.

To date, there is no ministry for youth, family or old age at the federal level, as is the case in most democratic states today. The lack of such ministries is also due to the federalist system, which assigns extensive competencies in these areas to the cantons.

At the national level, NPOs were created for nationwide work, usually indicating in their names the social sector for which they saw themselves responsible: Pro Juventute, Pro Infirmis, Pro Senectute, Pro Familia. They were provided with subsidies or privileged fundraising models by the state.²⁴

While Pro Familia, which was founded rather late (1955), had a socio-political and moral mission,

the three "Pro" organizations, which were founded in the first half of the 20th century, took on extensive welfare tasks with quasi-governmental powers. Successes, such as the introduction of the old age and survivors' insurance (OASI) in 1947²⁵ (Luchsinger 1995), are contrasted by critical excesses, such as Pro Juventute's "Kinder der Landstrasse" program, which was launched in 1926 and only ended in 1972 under pressure from the media (Meier 2009).

Many of these parastatal activities were made possible by extensive personal overlaps between politics, administration and the management of the aid organizations. In many communities, for example, the youth and guardianship secretaries were simultaneously leaders in the local sections of Pro Juventute and used their structures to implement measures.²⁶

²⁴ Until 2014, Pro Juventute and Pro Patria were the only two organizations in Switzerland that were allowed to sell a special surcharge stamp every year.

²⁵ In 1917, Pro Senectute was founded from within the SGG. With the political weight of the SGG behind it and the coalition with reformist forces from the middle classes, it was possible, under the impression of the enormous old-age poverty during the First World War and the national strike, to create the legal basis for an old-age pension as early as 1925. The first vote in 1931 failed, however, and it was not until the experience of World War II, which had shown that loss of income for soldiers could be financed in the event of war, that the renewed push by the trade union federation and pro-organizations for a secure old-age pension was acceptable to the people.

²⁶ Overview of "pro" organizations in Switzerland: https://www.geschichtedersozialensicherheit.ch/akteure/verbaende-und-organisationen/pro-organisationen, accessed July 16, 2021. Great elaboration in Schumacher (2010).

2.2 Consociational democracy and the contribution of non-profits to visionary social policies

Switzerland is repeatedly described as a special case in very different contexts. In terms of its political system, it certainly is. A concordance democracy, in which all relevant political forces participate in government, leads to different political mechanisms than a government-opposition democracy, in which the group with the most votes wins all state power.

One of the mechanisms of this participation in government by all relevant forces is that there is little incentive for the state-supporting parties to draft innovative, novel social programs and development scenarios, since no elections can or need to be won with them. Formulating a government program that one would implement if one came to power is not part of this model of democracy. Nor do the parties involved in government have to agree on a unified government program, since the members of government are elected by parliament in individual elections. In the election of government members, the focus is on a balance of power between parties, language regions and the relationship between urban and rural areas.



Fig. 6: Poster of the Yes-campaign of the Action Committee for Women's Suffrage for the 1971 federal vote. Poster collection Schule für Gestaltung Basel, Sig. 16347.

In this political system characterized by pragmatism, the question arises as to how visions of social change emerge and, above all, how they are specified and disseminated. Traditionally, the triangle of the state executive, the political parties and, often leading the issue, the national and supraregional NPOs existed for public issues of the community.

A deliberate effort was made to create a personnel overlap that would hardly be conceivable in a government-opposition democracy. Thus, until the 1990s, a sitting Federal Councillor presided over each of the major "Pro"-organizations, and even today, current members of parliament or former Federal Councillors can be found in these leadership bodies.

Over the past 25 years, this cooperation between the state, political parties, trade unions and NPOs to develop visions of social change has stalled. There are social reasons for this, but above all there are structural reasons. The funding models

of many relevant NPOs have changed from earmark-free donations or organizational subsidies to tied thematic donations and supply-related performance contracts with government agencies. Taking an independent position in a social discourse vis-à-vis the state and politics and at the same time being dependent on performance contracts with the public sector is difficult to achieve. Also, the service contracts of the large national NPOs with federal agencies deliberately limit their socio-political activities in order to prevent a potentially problematic co-financing of political initiatives by federal funds.

Public information work also came under suspicion of being part of an organization's overhead, and thus became tainted with the nimbus of inefficient and thus ineffective work. As a result, entire policy departments at large, Swiss-focused NPOs were eliminated between 2000 and 2010. This is still different in the field of international cooperation, but here, too, one is aware of the increasing pressure from public donors to refrain from active political work, especially when there is a threat of funding shifting²⁷.

2.3 Federal model and advocacy work

Switzerland's pronounced federalism manifests itself in the fact that the cantons and municipalities enjoy strong political autonomy. They have far-reaching competences in independent policy-making and policy implementation, including the competence to levy taxes. As a result, many socially relevant issues are decided at the cantonal or even communal level. This applies, for example, to health and social services and to large areas of education (with the exception of vocational training). The federal government has only limited competences in these key areas.

For advocacy work, this means that it may not or may not only be focused on the national level, depending on its objectives.

On the one hand, federalism offers the opportunity to make a difference at the local level, which may then spread beyond the municipal/city and cantonal borders as a result of good experiences. It can make perfect sense for a locally active NPO to raise awareness of its work among the local public at the local or regional level, to work towards better framework conditions and to exert influence on local political decisions. Advocacy in Switzer-land therefore does not play exclusively on the national stage.

On the other hand, this federalism poses a challenge for advocacy work with a nationwide focus: Considerable resources are needed to launch social processes throughout Switzerland and to drive corresponding social developments at the cantonal or even municipal level as well. It also requires elaborate coordination of NPOs operating nationally and regionally.

In Switzerland, analogous to the federal system, many NPOs are organized in regionally independent sub-organizations (cantonal sections) and networked nationally in an umbrella organization (e.g. Red Cross, Pro Senectute, Swiss Workers' Relief Association, etc.). This allows them to differentiate their advocacy work locally. They can use their extensive knowledge of local practice as a resource for national advocacy work. However, the agreement of all sections on a nationally coordinated approach is sometimes not without conflict.

National umbrella organizations in federalism

In many disciplines, it is postulated that advocacy work in a societal problem area should be carried out by the umbrella organizations and experts in scientific research. However, the pronounced federalism means that the resources of many umbrella organizations are not sufficient to address an issue at all political levels in Switzerland and to initiate and drive forward the necessary social processes at the cantonal and municipal level as well.

²⁷ Relocation of the SDC's promotional activities, article by Public Eye: https://www.publiceye.ch/de/themen/deza-hilfsgelder-fuer-multinationale-konzerne, accessed on July 16, 2021.

Local and regional NPOs therefore play an important role. Through the exchange of expertise, a certain consensus is emerging in many specialist areas as to which social and legal steps need to be taken. These demands must be taken up by different NPOs at local, regional and national levels and put forward in a coordinated manner in order to generate a movement throughout the system. Grantmaking foundations can play an integrating and coordinating role here, as is currently the case, for example, in the field of digital civil society.²⁸

2.4 Participation in legislation and policy implementation

Before a bill is submitted to parliament, there are usually various formal and informal consultations to balance interests and reach a consensus. The aim is to develop a bill that enjoys a high level of social acceptance and meets with approval in parliament and, if necessary, also in a popular vote.

As a rule, numerous agencies have the opportunity to participate in the pre-parliamentary phase of a legislative project, e.g. in the context of expert commissions, more informal "round tables" or in consultation procedures. For many socio-politically active organizations in the third sector, these approaches are now one of the most important ways of influencing political processes.

In addition to influencing the drafting of laws, directives and implementing regulations, this increasingly involves participation in the development of long-term federal strategies. Strategic programs of the federal government such as Curriculum 21, Energy 2050, or the strategy on non-communicable diseases (NCD strategy) have shaped developments in Switzerland for decades and therefore deserve special attention from the third sector.

Internationally, the UN goes one step further in evaluating the performance of states and, in addition to the official state report, also obtains a "shadow report" on the implementation of a UN convention from the third sector. For the international agreements ratified by Switzerland, such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child or the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, NPOs work together to provide a critical analysis of Switzerland's implementation performance. They thus become a kind of 5th power in the state²⁹ (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

2.5 Advocacy work through initiatives and referenda

Switzerland's direct democratic tradition gives NPOs the opportunity to directly influence the constitution and laws of Switzerland. The Swiss people's rights provide that the electorate decides on the most important political issues in referendums. Decisions by parliament on the constitution and laws are subject to referendum, and through the popular initiative, the people have the opportunity to put their own proposals for changes to the constitution to a vote.

²⁸ The Swiss Society for the Common Good and the Foundation Mercator Switzerland are currently making it possible for actors in the field of digital civil society to network better, coordinate their work and jointly demand legislative adjustments in the field of digital data.

²⁹ In addition to the three powers, the executive, legislative and judicial branches, and the media, which are considered to play a role as the fourth power in the state.

Example: Switzerland's 3rd State Report Procedure on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child https://www.netzwerk-kinderrechte.ch/aktuell/2019/aktuelles-zum-3-staatenberichtsverfahren-der-schweiz-zur-un-kinderrechtskonvention

NPOs can use the instrument of the popular initiative to put their issue on the political agenda and, if successful, to anchor it in the constitution. The public discussion around a popular initiative opens up the opportunity to create broad attention and awareness for the respective concern of the NPO.

One example of such an initiative that has quite fundamentally challenged the social realities in Switzerland is the "Unconditional Basic Income" initiative, which arose in the environment of the non-profit organization "Unternehmen Mitte"³⁰ in Basel and was pushed forward until the popular vote on June 5, 2016. Switzerland is so far the only country where this issue has been put to a popular vote.



Fig. 7: Submission of the «Unconditional Basic Income» initiative in Bern in October 2013.

With a yes-vote share of 23.1%, the initiative suffered the same fate as most popular initiatives in Switzerland. However, the initiative has fueled discussions on other economic and social models, and other initiatives such as the 1:12 -für gerechte Löhne (1:12 - for fair wages) initiative, the Vollgeld (fully-funded money) initiative or the narrowly failed Konzern-Verantwortungs-Initiative (corporate responsibility initiative) make an important contribution to the development of social models for the future.

That this right to stand up for social developments is not simply a given, but has to be renegotiated again and again, is shown by the social discussions and parliamentary initiatives mentioned under 1.5.

³⁰ About the emergence and goals of Unternehmen Mitte: https://mitte.ch/geschichte-neu/

Part 3 – Case study: Advocacy work of the Jacobs Foundation for an "early childhood policy"

3.1 Initial situation and cause of the advocacy work

The Jacobs Foundation (JF) focused on early childhood education and care $(ECEC)^{31}$ funding in its activities in Switzerland and other European countries from 2008 to 2020. In the context of this case study, the focus is on the foundation's activities in Switzerland.

With this funding activity, the foundation wanted to make a contribution to ensuring that all children can make full use of their opportunities, regardless of their background, place of residence or their parents' income. The foundation focused on early childhood because the first four years of life set the course for a successful educational biography.

Initial situation: Early support in Switzerland

In Switzerland's federal system, the municipalities and cantons are primarily responsible for early childhood education and care. Due to the decentralized responsibility, this offer is locally very diversified in Switzerland. Differences are evident not only in the services offered and their scope, but also in the state responsibilities and regulations.

This is expressed, for example, in whether and to what extent the cities and municipalities offer and subsidize daycare places, playgroups or maternal and paternal counseling. Licensing, quality requirements, and supervision of these services are also regulated at the cantonal or municipal level. Since 2000, early childhood education and care services (especially daycare places) have been increasingly expanded. However, studies show that these services do not yet meet the needs of families.³²

Overall, early childhood education and care in Switzerland is strongly influenced by the fact that the legally stipulated state educational mandate does not begin until school entry. Early childhood is traditionally considered a private matter for families. This was impressively demonstrated in the intense political debates on lowering the age of compulsory school entry. In Switzerland, the age of school entry was lowered by two years only in the 2010s; today, children start school at the age of four in almost all cantons. As a result, government agencies – especially in German-speaking Switzerland – play a restrained role in the area of early childhood education and care, both in terms of funding for services and in terms of coordination and quality issues.³³

³¹ ECEC is often also referred to as "early support", which is aimed at children between the ages of 0 and 4. ECEC encompasses a wide range of services. These include supplementary care services such as daycare centers and day families, playgroups, health care services for pregnancy, birth and the first years of life, maternal and paternal counseling, parent education, but also meeting places such as family centers, playgrounds or cultural institutions. ECEC is aimed at all families, but also includes services aimed at families with special needs, e.g. language support or socio-educational family support.

³² See, for example, Burger et al. 2017; Meier, Magistretti and Schraner 2017; Stern et al. 2017.

³³ For information on ECEC in Switzerland, see Swiss Commission for UNESCO 2019: 26. For an analysis on the political context, see Häusermann and Kübler 2011 or Zollinger 2016.

Funding of the Jacobs Foundation in the field of early childhood 2008-2021 From research funding through intervention projects to advocacy work

The JF's advocacy work represented the final and third phase of an intensive focus on promoting the early childhood field.

In an initial phase beginning in 2008, the JF primarily supported research on the importance of early childhood development for children's well-being and their ability to reach their potential. The JF funded academic institutions, research projects, and conferences. It awarded funds for the development and dissemination of conceptual foundations and ped-agogical tools.

In the second phase, starting in 2011, the JF expanded its funding activities and specifically focused on this topic in its 2011-2015 multi-year strategy. It decided to take this step because the funded research proved the relevance of early childhood. The research showed that the field of early childhood is neglected in Switzerland. In this second phase, the JF increasingly supported intervention projects in addition to research projects. It also developed and implemented its own programs. In this way, the JF completed a change from a purely promotional activity to an operationally active project organization for lighthouse projects.³⁴ In its programs, namely "Primokiz – locally networked early support" and "educational landscape", the JF provided conceptual support and networking with local representatives from politics and administration, in addition to funding.

In the third phase from 2016 to 2020, the JF again changed its role: it decided to additionally use an advocacy strategy to reach its concerns in the field of early childhood. In this phase, the JF withdrew from the operational implementation of its programs in the field of early childhood. It handed over these programs to external organizations but continued to contribute substantially to their financing.

This development – from research funding to the promotion and implementation of exemplary intervention projects to the advocacy strategy – was not envisaged by the JF at the outset. Rather, the JF considered it necessary to go one step further in each phase. Thus, the JF successively worked on further domains of intervention in order to sustainably secure its investment in the field of early childhood in Switzerland.

As internal and external evaluations of its 2011-2015 strategy revealed, the JF was able to attract reliable project partners, fund numerous innovative projects, and achieve some impact with its own programs during this phase. However, these activities remained largely dependent on funding by the JF.

³⁴ JF programs included "educational landscape (Bildungslandschaften)" (https://www.education21.ch/de/bildungslandschaften21), QualiKita (https://www.quali-kita.ch/de/qualikita/verein-qualikita/) and Primokiz (https://jacobsfoundation.org/activity/primokiz2/).

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Fig. 8: Domains of intervention worked on by the Jacobs Foundation in the thematic area of "early childhood" (own illustration)

However, the JF did not succeed in sustainably anchoring the suggested developments and innovations in the existing structures. There was a lack of political will and awareness of the importance of high-quality, coordinated early childhood education and care services for the development of young children and their later educational success. Based on its evaluation of what has been achieved so far, the JF came to the conclusion that if the foundation still wanted to make a contribution in the field of early childhood in Switzerland, it would have to start at the system level. Therefore, the JF decided to do advocacy work. The internal discussions on whether the foundation could do advocacy work at all took about two years (see also section 3.2). With the advocacy work, the foundation wanted to bring about a systemic change and create conditions that guarantee all children a high level of equal opportunity when they enter school.

As planned, the JF withdrew from operational advocacy work on early childhood at the end of 2020. It handed over the advocacy campaign to an external supporting organization and will continue to contribute substantially to its financing until the end of 2022. Thus, the advocacy strategy represents the conclusion of many years of intensive support in the field of early childhood in Switzerland for the JF.

3.2 Capacity building for advocacy work

Prior to 2016, the JF's funding activities did not include advocacy work in the narrower sense. Directly influencing (national) Swiss politics was a new territory for the foundation. For this reason, those responsible at the JF were increasingly concerned that the JF's own and funded advocacy work could potentially damage its reputation. As mentioned in chapter 3.1, the internal discussions took about two years. According to those responsible, it took a great deal of internal convincing, including of the foundation's board of trustees. The advocacy work required that the JF clearly position itself and create awareness for this position among target groups that it had not previously addressed in this way.

Traditionally, a philanthropic institution such as JF, which is closely tied to the business community, has approached calls for expanded government involvement and greater government control with caution and reservation. In early childhood, however, the goal included an expansion of government activity. The JF finally decided to engage in advocacy work because it was convinced that it would not damage its reputation with an independent, credible and transparent advocacy strategy. On the contrary, it was convinced that precisely by positioning itself in this way, and also by using its resources, it could make a significant contribution to a change towards a comprehensive early childhood policy.

In addition to clarifying the possible reputational risk, it was also a matter of building up the necessary competencies for advocacy work within the foundation. The JF had already built up expertise and networking in the field of early childhood through its broad-based activities over several years. It had established networks with research and professional organizations as well as with the responsible agencies of the public administration. In contrast, the foundation first had to acquire the competencies for advocacy work. This included knowledge of the Swiss political system. This involved not only the team responsible for the focus on early childhood, but also the governing bodies – the board of trustees and the management of the JF. The board of trustees organizes itself with committees designated as 'board working groups' and one of these thematic steering committees closely accompanied the advocacy work. Because of the reputational risk, the advocacy strategy of JF was highly internal and all important decisions were discussed with at least one member of the board of trustees. By building up competencies, the JF also created important internal conditions to be able to adequately address risks and opportunities of advocacy work.

The JF used more internal staff resources for the advocacy intervention area than in its usual grantmaking activities; that is, the ratio of funds used for staff to grants awarded for advocacy work by other NPOs was lower than in its traditional grantmaking areas. This was for three reasons: The potentially higher risk of reputational damage should be minimized by a competent internal team and close monitoring of funded advocacy by other NPOs (e.g., Network Childcare Switzerland, Pro Enfance). Risks should be identified at an early stage.

Secondly, managing advocacy requires a faster response time than managing operational own and funded projects. The JF wanted to be able to take advantage of opportunities as they arise and to be able to make decisions and take action quickly.

Third, advocacy work was new territory for the JF. Since grantmaking foundations in Switzerland still do little advocacy work to achieve their social goals, the JF could not draw on the experience of other foundations in this regard. Therefore, the foundation considered it important to work on this new field of intervention with a powerful internal team. In addition, the JF hired public affairs and social media agencies for part of its advocacy work.

3.3 Design of the advocacy strategy

The JF designed its advocacy strategy "early childhood policy" for a period of five years, 2016 to 2020. The advocacy strategy aimed to bring about systemic change to increase equitable chances at school entry. Through the advocacy strategy, the JF sought to convince relevant political, administrative, economic, and social actors that a comprehensive early childhood policy is needed to help children reach their personal potential. Decision-makers at the federal, cantonal and municipal levels were to be convinced that high-quality early childhood education and care services are needed and that they are the joint task of the education, social and health sectors. The concept of the advocacy strategy included the following four specific goals for the period from 2016 to 2020:

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- 1. Two-thirds of the cantons and municipalities have developed a comprehensive strategy for early childhood education and care (ECEC).
- 2. Two-thirds of the remaining municipalities have recognized the importance of early childhood and assessed their needs in the field of ECEC.
- 3. The federal government is taking an active role in developing a comprehensive early childhood policy.
- 4. Two umbrella organizations are strengthened and can take over the advocacy campaign of JF.

Tab. 44: Objectives of the advocacy strategy "Early childhood policy". Source: Advocacy strategy concept, 2016, Jacobs Foundation.

The advocacy strategy was based on three key strategic decisions:

1. Evidence-informed persuasion: To justify its advocacy strategy, the JF drew on research evidence and the experience of its own programs (Primokiz, educational landscape, and QualiKita), which demonstrate the importance of early childhood. The target groups were to be convinced on the basis of evidence. To this end, the advocacy strategy included a research agenda and the targeted use and dissemination of research evidence. As part of the research agenda, the JF made targeted investments of substantial amounts (budget of approximately CHF 1 million) in the production of research evidence specifically relevant to policy and persuasion. The focus was on the economic benefits of an early childhood policy. This represented changes in perspective. The JF was convinced that evidence on child well-being alone would not be sufficient to convince policymakers of the benefits of early intervention. Therefore, it consistently promoted studies with an economic perspective (see Section 3.4). **2.** Awareness raising and mobilization of a coalition and so-called ambassadors: The advocacy strategy focused on raising awareness. The JF wanted to highlight the need for action, but did not want to propagate any concrete political solutions itself. It deliberately used resources and instruments to win over coalition members and ambassadors for its cause. The JF wanted to empower these stakeholders to develop concrete proposals for solutions and to advocate effectively for policy change.

3. Mix of measures: The advocacy strategy did not rely on just one measure, but on a bundle of measures. The campaign "READY! early childhood is critical" was the core of the strategy. Agenda setting, a project fund, monitoring of policy initiatives, capacity building of national NPOs, and the aforementioned research agenda were also part of the strategy. The JF advocacy strategy thus combined elements of both direct and indirect forms of advocacy (see Section 1.5).

The following figure illustrates the conception of the advocacy strategy and shows the intended impact. In addition to the effects on the target groups, the impact of the advocacy work on the reputation of the JF is also shown.



Fig. 9: Impact model for the advocacy strategy "Early childhood policy". Source: Frey et al. 2020.
3.4 Implementation of the advocacy strategy

This section describes the activities that the JF realized within their advocacy strategy 2016 to 2019. The description distinguishes between direct and indirect advocacy and generating evidence for advocacy work.

Direct forms of advocacy

Campaign "READY! early childhood is critical": The campaign launched in 2017 and focused on the core message "Early childhood education pays off.". READY! presented the cost of early childhood education and care as an investment in the entire national economy. The campaign message went on to emphasize that the investment pays off because children are better able to realize their potential as a result of it (higher return on education) and the compatibility between family and work is improved (higher participation of mothers in the labor market).

For the sponsorship of the campaign, the JF recruited four personalities from politics, business, and society. The president of the JF foundation board of trustees was one of the four sponsors. The JF managed the campaign office and was supported by public affairs and social media agencies.

The campaign primarily focused on building a coalition with institutions committed to early childhood policy and recruiting so-called READY! ambassadors. The campaign was able to recruit 83 organizations to join the coalition. It was able to recruit 56 personalities as ambassadors; among them 22 members of the 2016-2019 parliament and 10 (former) executive politicians. Two-thirds of these 32 politicians were center-right party politicians. The READY! campaign sensitized, informed and mobilized the coalition members and ambassadors with the aim of getting them to commit themselves to the concerns of early childhood policy in politics, business and society. To this end, the campaign used the following tools: coalition meetings, ambassadors' meetings, information services (fact sheets, media monitoring, monitoring of early childhood policy initiatives, evidence bases), mailing, social media, website, and personal background discussions. READY! meetings with coalition members, as well as READY! meetings with ambassadors, were used for stake-holder exchange and networking. The information resources, social media, and website were also designed for a broad audience.

Agenda setting: The activities carried out by the JF under the term "agenda setting" included numerous background discussions by JF staff and the public affairs agency commissioned with this task with members of parliament, federal agencies, the cantonal conferences, associations of municipalities and cities, and relevant organizations from the fields of business and civil society. In addition, the JF initiated and financed targeted events on early childhood policy from 2016 to 2019, such as two conferences of the Swiss Association of Cities, two symposia of Public Health Switzerland as well as a symposium of the Swiss Employers' Association. Indirect forms of advocacy

READY! project fund: The JF maintained a project fund to support networking and advocacy among READY! coalition members. Project funding was contingent on two conditions: collaboration among multiple coalition members and advocacy work for early childhood policy. In total, the JF funded six projects through early 2020.

Capacity building: The JF supported two umbrella organizations with financial contributions for their strategy and organizational development as well as for the implementation of concrete advocacy activities on early childhood policy. The organizations were selected on the basis of a collaboration that the JF established in its previous grantmaking activities. They were the organizations best legitimized in the field to do so.

Generating evidence for advocacy work

Research agenda: The JF deliberately focused its research agenda on the economic benefits of early education. It commissioned research that examined how investments in early childhood education and care services affect parents' employment, returns to education, and children's social security. The research agenda includes over twelve studies that build on each other and are brought together in a macroeconomic model of the costs and benefits of early childhood investments. The JF published the research findings in four so-called "white papers" (Stern et al. 2016; Jacobs Foundation 2018; 2020; and Balthasar and Caplan 2019). Consequently, the JF used the research agenda to specifically obtain research findings in order to win over representatives from the business community, respectively business-oriented, liberal players, to the cause of early childhood policy. The JF used the research findings for communication and argumentation as part of its advocacy strategy. The research agenda represented an important and costly component of the advocacy strategy.

Further fundamental reports: In parallel to the research agenda, the JF financed further research. These included, for example, an inventory of cantonal strategies for early childhood education and care or the report of the Swiss UNESCO Commission "For an early childhood policy".

Monitoring of the political initiatives: The JF had political initiatives at the cantonal and national level monitored. This provided it with timely information on political developments, which it used for campaigning and agenda-setting activities.

3.5 Evaluation of the advocacy strategy

The JF commissioned KEK – CDC to evaluate its advocacy strategy. The data collection and analysis of the evaluation took place in the period from November 2019 to April 2020. The timing of the external evaluation was set by the JF so that it could base decisions on the planned completion of the advocacy work on evaluation findings. The evaluation aimed to systematically assess the achievement of the advocacy strategy's objectives. In addition, the evaluation was also intended to provide insights into whether and in what form an engagement of the Foundation in the field of early childhood is indicated after the planned conclusion of the advocacy strategy by the end of 2020.

To assess the advocacy strategy, the evaluation team used a mix of methods and conducted extensive data collection and analysis. These included a document analysis, the evaluation of the monitoring of the political initiatives, 27 interviews with different stakeholder groups,³⁵ an online survey of the participants in the advocacy campaign READY!, ³⁶ three cantonal case studies and a results workshop.

Measuring the impact of the advocacy strategy faces the challenge that the intended impact (policy change), is a collective, dynamic process. This process extends over a long period of time, had already started before the advocacy work of the JF and is influenced by numerous factors. There is no possibility of comparison (development without JF's involvement). Consequently, it is difficult to assess the contribution of the advocacy strategy. The evaluation team met this challenge by considering contextual factors and searching multiple sources for evidence of the advocacy strategy's impact.³⁷

The key findings of the evaluation on the impact of the advocacy strategy are presented in the following.

Effects of direct forms of advocacy among direct target groups

The participation of numerous institutions as coalition members and personalities as ambassadors in the READY! campaign can be considered a success for the campaign. The coalition members included organizations from the targeted areas of education, social affairs and health.

The ambassadors were well-known personalities from politics and business. The coalition members and the ambassadors launched political initiatives, resolutions, manifestos, events or alliances, as intended by the campaign. The campaign succeeded in recruiting some representatives from the business community as coalition members and ambassadors. In addition, the Swiss Employers' Association founded an "Alliance for the Compatibility of Family and Career" as a result of the JF's advocacy work.

The alliance is headed by the president of the employers' association and includes a strategic and operational working group. Currently, until the end of 2021, the conferences of the

³⁵ Interviewees included people from the JF management and foundation board of trustees, people involved in the READY! advocacy campaign, people in charge of public administration, the Swiss UNESCO Commission, the employers' association, Public Health Switzerland and Avenir Suisse.

³⁶ All coalition members and READY! ambassadors were surveyed. A total of 81 people took part in the survey.

³⁷ This method is called "tracing the effects" cf. Patton 2008.

cantonal directors of education (EDK) and the cantonal directors of social affairs (SODK) are developing proposals on the concerns of the alliance with financial support from the JF.

However, the JF does not target the media, which it originally intended to do, with broadbased media work. It relied primarily on social media. The number of followers on Twitter (just under 400 in April 2020) and Facebook (around 4,300) indicate a limited media reach for the READY! campaign. However, the resonance of the social media work was not examined in depth as part of the evaluation.

Based on the survey and interview data, the evaluation concludes that the following three aspects were central to successfully raising awareness and mobilizing relevant decision makers:

- 1. **Professional credibility:** Many years of research and project funding in the field of early childhood gave the JF's advocacy work a high level of credibility, while also providing a foundation for evidence-informed awareness-raising.
- 2. **Involvement of economic actors and party-political center-right representatives:** The JF also succeeded in winning over stakeholders from the business community and center-right party politicians to the cause of early childhood policy. The independence of the JF (no vested economic interests), its good reputation in economic circles and the adoption of an economic perspective on early childhood education and care (economic evidence) were of importance in this respect.
- 3. Creation of open exchange platforms: Importantly for cross-sectoral and crossparty awareness-raising and networking, READY! provided a platform for stakeholders to exchange ideas without pressure to act through the coalition meetings and the meetings for ambassadors.

The forms of direct advocacy used, READY! campaign and agenda setting, proved to be effective tools in reaching the target group. The procurement of economic research evidence, its translation and diffusion, and also overall the JF's long-standing activities in the field of early childhood, proved to be significant. The evaluation also pointed out four critical issues:

- Expectations placed on READY! ambassadors and coalition members were vague. The campaign was not able to utilize their full potential.
- The JF partially limited communication on research findings to the online publication of a report. This did not result in widespread use and dissemination of the evidence. There are also critical interview statements on the relevance of the research agenda in general, but also with regard to the focus on economic calculations.
- The READY! campaign was criticized in part because it did not include any specific policy proposals. Several READY! participants interviewed felt that READY! probably could have achieved more with its own specific, concise policy proposals.
- There was some criticism that the READY! campaign focused too much on the national level, although the cantons and municipalities are responsible for education and upbringing.

Interview quotes³⁸: "The goal of READY! was to encourage political action in the ECEC sector; this was appropriate and urgently needed."

"READY! has brought people together who would not otherwise meet, and this has set things in motion that would not otherwise have happened."

"Messages were not very concrete; demands were vague."

"READY! paid too little attention to the cantons."

"READY! provides numbers that policymakers can use. The economic focus makes sense."

Effects of indirect forms of advocacy among funded organizations

The impact of the indirect forms of advocacy used – the READY! project fund and capacity building at two umbrella organizations – must be assessed more critically based on the evaluation results.

The READY! project fund primarily reached large organizations; smaller organizations did not apply. The requirements linked to the project funding were too demanding. Consequently, the project fund was only able to reach the target group of coalition members to a limited extent and indirect advocacy remained limited.

Capacity building strengthened the two umbrella organizations. They contributed to raising awareness for a comprehensive early childhood policy through their advocacy work at the local, cantonal and regional levels. The evaluation did not examine the effects of this indirect advocacy work in detail.

However, the JF failed to sufficiently strengthen the umbrella organizations to continue the advocacy work. By the end of 2019, it was foreseeable that these organizations would not have the necessary resources and sufficient support among member and partner organizations to take over the READY! campaign from the JF by the end of 2020. This failure was

³⁸ The interview quotes in this section are from the 2020 impact evaluation of KEK – CDC Analysis Consulting Evaluation on the Jacobs Foundation's advocacy strategy "Early Childhood Policy", on which Section 3 is based.

attributed in the interviews to two main reasons: The general scarcity of resources in the field of early childhood and the poorly consolidated organizational landscape, respectively the competition between a multitude of organizations regarding professional legitimacy, and claim to representation and resources.

After the evaluation was completed, a further development occurred: several organizations joined together to form the Alliance Childhood. The Alliance Childhood continues the READY! campaign and will be financed by the JF until the end of 2022 to strengthen its organization. This development could not be assessed during the evaluation.

Achievement of the advocacy strategy's goal: Raise society's awareness of the importance of early childhood education and care

The advocacy strategy aimed to raise awareness of early childhood policy issues among broad sectors of society by the end of 2020 (see Fig. 9). However, with the exception of social media communication and the campaign website, the JF deliberately refrained from broadly effective measures such as posters, advertisements or TV spots. The campaign relied heavily on the amplification of its concerns through the READY! ambassadors and coalition members. Therefore, it is not surprising that the campaign visibility remained limited among the general public.

"Outsiders were unsure whether the READY! campaign wanted to work behind the scenes or attract publicity."

Consequently, the advocacy strategy has not achieved the goal of widespread awareness. However, according to the interview and survey data, the issue of early childhood has become significantly more important in recent years. The extent of the contribution of the advocacy work of the JF is diversely assessed.

"Awareness has increased to a certain extent. It is difficult to say whether JF has simply gone along with this trend, or whether its efforts have made a crucial difference."

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Fig. 10: READY!-Charta, title page

Achievement of advocacy strategy goals: policy development on the national level

The advocacy strategy further aimed at the federal government taking an active role in the development of a comprehensive early childhood policy. To this end, the evaluation examined, on the one hand, the extent to which the parliament addressed early childhood education and care from 2016 to 2019. On the other hand, it looked for evidence of an increase in activities and coordination between federal agencies, cantonal conferences and associations of cities and municipalities in the field of early childhood during this period.

The analysis of the parliamentary procedural requests clearly proves: The advocacy campaign READY! has contributed to the fact that procedural requests were submitted and referred in the National Council. The most significant milestone is that the parliament instructed the Federal Council to prepare a report on a national strategy for early childhood.³⁹ The corresponding prostulate as well as numerous other procedural requests were submitted and/or co-signed by READY! ambassadors. Out of a total of 108 items of business in the field of early childhood, 32 (30%) were submitted by READY! ambassadors.

³⁹ Postulate of the Commission for Science, Education and Culture of the National Council "Strategy to strengthen early support" (19.3417) and postulate Gugger "If the children do well, Switzerland does better" (19.3262).

Year	Number of procedural requests	Poverty alle- viation:	Reconcilia- tion of family and career:	Family pol- icy (funding of these structures):	Education system and external child care (structures):	Equal opportunity:	Prevention and health promotion:	
2017	25	4	1	7	8	8	3	
2018	37	2	14	13	3	4	1	
2019	46	1	8	22	9	2	0	
Total	108	7	23	44	20	14	4	
Source: READY!-Politoscope, data obtained from the JF, December 2019. : If an initiative addressed multiple topics, it was recorded multiple times.								

Tab. 5: Procedural requests on "early childhood" in the Federal Assembly 2017 to fall session 2019

Consequently, the dynamic that the JF wanted to initiate was created. It should also be emphasized that other factors have also contributed to this political development, notably a report by the Swiss Commission for UNESCO (2019).⁴⁰ At the time of the evaluation, the parliamentary requests were still being processed. No material improvement of the conditions of early childhood in Switzerland had been decided yet. In spring 2021 – one year after the completion of the evaluation – the Federal Council presented the report "Early Childhood Policy – Assessment and Development Possibilities at the Federal Level". The report shows development possibilities and records which measures are implemented at the federal level. In addition, the parliament has approved an initiative of the Commission for Education, Science and Culture, which wants to convert the repeatedly extended start-up financing for supplementary family childcare into continuous support. These developments are further steps towards an early childhood policy.

"The problem has been addressed at a high level; the question now is whether politicians are willing to act and allocate the necessary funding."

Furthermore, the evaluation also shows that the responsible agencies at the federal level, the intercantonal conferences and the associations of cities and municipalities have become more intensively involved with early childhood education and care, and that their coordination and cooperation has also increased; for example, by these agencies establishing coordination bodies or setting priorities. The advocacy work of the JF contributed to this: directly through the financing of conferences or through background discussions. Indirectly through the initiatives, resolutions, manifestos that were triggered by these activities and that call on these stakeholders to improve the conditions in the field of early childhood.

As part of the processing of the parliamentary procedural requests, the federal government, namely the Federal Social Insurance Office, assumed a stronger leading and coordinating

⁴⁰ The JF maintained close cooperation with the Swiss UNESCO Commission and co-financed this report.

Part 3

role than before. However, it was still unclear at the end of 2020 what role the Federal Government would take on in the area of early childhood in the longer term.

"READY! has helped to move certain blocks. Every office and agency is now thinking more about how it can contribute."

"READY! has succeeded in breaking down a silo mentality."

Achievement of advocacy strategy goals: policy development at the cantonal level

The advocacy strategy further aimed that two-thirds of the cantons and the municipalities have developed a comprehensive early childhood policy by the end of 2020. Due to a lack of data, it was not possible to verify the achievement of the goals by the municipalities. For the cantons, however, inventories of cantonal strategies are available. These show that the number of cantons with a strategy on early childhood increased significantly: thus, in 2016, ten cantons had a specific strategy, by the end of 2019, already fifteen and, in addition, four more cantons had started to develop such a strategy. Consequently, the advocacy goal was achieved.

The JF was instrumental in this development, as almost all cantons that developed a strategy during this period participated in the JF Primokiz² program. The references to the JF and its program in the new cantonal strategies also testify to the importance of the JF commitment. However, statements by interviewees from selected cantons indicate that primarily the JF program Primokiz² and the JF studies were significant for this cantonal development. The advocacy activities of the JF in the narrower sense, on the other hand, were less well known to the cantonal actors. The interviewees shared the assessment that the READY! campaign did not play a significant role in the development of cantonal strategies in the field of early childhood.

Effects of the advocacy strategy on the reputation of the Jacobs Foundation

The survey and interview data from the evaluation show that the foundation has been able to strengthen its reputation through its long-term commitment to early childhood education and care. The foundation's commitment to early childhood, including its advocacy strategy, is perceived as coherent and highly professional. The JF is described as a highly competent, credible, and objective player. The JF's strong orientation towards evidence was recognized and appreciated.

The reputational risk associated with the JF's advocacy strategy in the field of early childhood is judged to be small from the outside. However, some criticism was voiced regarding the time horizon of the advocacy strategy and the timing of the planned withdrawal by the end of 2020. Interviewees pointed out that the time horizon of the advocacy strategy has been set much too short. Especially political actors, who first became aware of the JF's engagement in the field of early childhood through its advocacy work, expressed little understanding for the fact that the foundation was "only" committed to policy development for five years. The long-term partner organizations also regretted the planned withdrawal, but appreciated that the JF communicated its plans transparently.

In the timing of the planned withdrawal, some interviewed stakeholders from politics, administration, and the field saw a certain risk: although early childhood policy could be put on the political agenda, no decisions had been made at the time of the planned withdrawal. Therefore, these stakeholders feared that the JF might risk the sustainability of its investments in favor of early childhood.

Based on the evaluation results, the JF decided to withdraw from direct advocacy work as planned, but to hand over the READY! campaign to the Alliance Childhood and to fund it until the end of 2022.

Summary of impact assessment

The evaluation shows that READY! and the advocacy strategy unmistakably contributed to relevant stakeholders addressing early childhood policy and networking. The issue was successfully placed on the national agenda and a policy field began to form. Therefore, the evaluation gave an overall positive assessment of the suitability and effectiveness of the JF's advocacy work at the end of 2019.

However, when the evaluation was completed in spring 2020, the political process was still in a sensitive pioneering phase. The evaluation concludes that a stable, far-reaching alliance for strengthening early childhood education and care with a comprehensive approach had not yet formed in Switzerland. The success of the process was not yet foreseeable at the end of 2020 and the goal of bringing about a change in policy could thus not yet be achieved. To date (July 2021), there have been further steps towards an early childhood policy.

Part 4 – Implications for the advocacy work of nonprofits

In Switzerland, grantmaking foundations have so far rarely appeared as political actors that use direct forms of advocacy work to achieve their goals. The Jacobs Foundation took on the role of a political actor for the first time within the framework of the advocacy strategy "Early Childhood Policy". In the course of the first funding phases, the Foundation had recognized that political work would be necessary if it wanted to trigger and sustain social developments as a source of impetus. Through its advocacy work, the foundation has developed a new, more comprehensive understanding of its activities and today sees advocacy work as an effective complement to its project and research funding activities. Advocacy is also part of the Foundation's new 2021-2030 strategy, in which it deliberately positions itself as a "policy entrepreneur" alongside its other core competencies ("Evidence Generator", "Partnership Innovator", "Catalytic Investor"⁴¹). With its commitment, the foundation has broadened the scope for policy work by grantmaking foundations in Switzerland and prepared the ground for these activities.

This fourth part of our contribution on advocacy work shows which conclusions we draw from the introductory considerations and the case study of the advocacy strategy "Early Childhood Policy" of the JF for the advocacy work of NPOs in Switzerland.

4.1 Integration of the "advocacy work" into the self-image and external image of NPO

By opting for advocacy work, grantmaking foundations and third-party NPOs position themselves in the public eye with a clear profile. Advocacy work significantly influences how a grantmaking foundation or NPO is perceived by the public, by influential stakeholders, or even by decision-makers. This applies to advocacy work to a much greater extent than to the other five domains of intervention (research, innovation, multiplication, sustain and networking; cf. fig. 2), since advocacy work per se is about creating attention for a problem, a concern or a specific solution and aims to exert influence.

It is therefore essential that grantmaking foundations, like operational NPOs, carefully clarify the extent to which advocacy work is appropriate for achieving their social goals. In doing so, they should analyze which opportunities and negative constraints may arise in the cooperation with their stakeholders.

Due to their financial independence, grantmaking foundations are in a stronger position – both vis-à-vis possible donors and commissioning parties and economic interests suspected by outsiders. The independence of grantmaking foundations is a valuable resource for credibility. The case study shows that the Jacobs Foundation (JF) succeeded in winning over business circles and representatives from different political camps to the cause of early childhood policy.

⁴¹ Jacobs Foundation, Strategy 2030: https://jacobsfoundation.org/activity/strategy-2030/

In contrast, a third-party NPO may face the accusation that it engages in advocacy in order to increase the significance of and demand for its service offering. The JF also withdrew from the operational implementation of its programs in order to remove the basis for this accusation. However, credibility can be generated not only through independence but also, as the case study also illustrates, through professionalism and continuous commitment (including the use of resources and intensive networking).

Effective advocacy requires credibility: External image or perception is a key resource that grantmaking foundations and third-party NPOs can build and leverage. While grantmaking foundations may have an advantage over third-party NPOs as more independent advocacy actors, they do not necessarily have a high level of professional and/or experience-based credibility. Third-party NPOs can generally access this potential more easily. It follows for grantmaking foundations that they cannot effectively conduct advocacy work without corresponding thematic activities in the other domains of intervention (such as promoting research and innovation; see Fig. 2). However, it is definitely advantageous for advocacy work if they do not provide any services themselves and do not implement any operational projects in the corresponding thematic field.

Due to this different positioning (grantmaking vs. service provision), grantmaking foundations and third-party NPOs can also complement each other in advocacy work through strategic and close cooperation. In the case study, for example, the JF deliberately refrained from proposing concrete solutions and left this field to its partner organizations and other stakeholders (see also Speth 2016: 256).

4.2 Networking and coalition building enhances the impact of advocacy work

In order to trigger social change, democracies need broad support for the cause in society, business and politics. While a single organization may be crucial to the success of an issue coalition because of its technical expertise, financial resources, or a strong personality, as a single organization its reach can still be insufficient. This is especially true in Switzerland, where political decisions are made by shifting party-political coalitions, and the break-through of a new policy or reform requires the support of several parties (see, for example, Häusermann and Kübler 2010).

The case study illustrates that in its advocacy work, the JF relied heavily on networking among representatives from different sectors and political camps and also actively initiated a coalition with its partner organizations. In doing so, the foundation was also willing to work in the background and rely on indirect advocacy work. For example, it established a cooperation with the Swiss UNESCO Commission and co-financed a basic report by the Commission. This report generated public and political attention and contributed significantly to putting the issue on the political agenda. Through direct advocacy and networking, the foundation also prompted the Swiss Employers' Association to initiate an "Alliance for the Compatibility of Family and Career".

Successful networking and coalition building are a prerequisite for triggering social change. This usually requires communicating or framing the respective concern in a way

that is accessible to different circles.⁴² In the case study, this aspect is reflected in the fact that the JF specifically commissioned research into the economic benefits of an early childhood policy. JF made this a topic of discussion in order to specifically win over representatives from the economy and politicians with close ties to the economy for the cause.

Consequently, advocacy work should include sound stakeholder analysis and ongoing network maintenance. Key partners should be involved early on. Grantmaking foundations and third-party NPOs alike should strategically determine how to engage different players in the advocacy coalition. This should include clarifying which stakeholders should strategically take the lead in public outreach because, for example, they have high credibility, persuasiveness, and cover and reach a wide range of other stakeholders.

4.3 Expert knowledge and relevant evidence as the foundation of advocacy work

Expert knowledge and policy-relevant research findings are seen as a legitimate basis for advocacy work by both grantmaking foundations and third-party NPOs. In this way, they can contribute to a better-informed public dialogue or ensure that policy decisions can be based on more comprehensive information.

The case study impressively illustrates that the JF enjoyed a high degree of credibility due to its expertise, its experiential knowledge, but also thanks to the research it generated. Through the publication of studies, it was able to generate attention and sensitize influential players. The new research findings served as an occasion for symposia and conferences with influential participants.

Two aspects are central to making evidence work as a basis for advocacy:

- (1) Research findings should be generated and compiled that are relevant to advocacy work because they contribute to understanding the problem and/or demonstrate the effectiveness of a problem solution. In addition, by shedding light on specific aspects or impacts in greater depth, the topic can be accessed by different audiences. Research findings can be used to contribute to the framing of a topic (see above).
- (2) Experiences and research findings are not automatically widely adopted. Rather, advocacy work needs targeted processing and target-group-specific communication on research findings. Findings need to be made visible and ideally communicated verbally and directly to stakeholders. For credibility, it is central that the grantmaking foundations and NPOs prepare the research findings professionally and report the results transparently and not in a one-sided, distorted way.

⁴² In the literature, the term "frames" is used to describe cognitive structures, patterns of interpretation and interpretation. A "frame" indicates what is at stake, what the problem is, or what goals a specific policy pursues. A targeted "framing" brings certain causes of a problem or events to the fore and connects them, for "cample, with specific approaches to a solution or shows the benefits of a problem solution (cf. among others äusermann and Kübler 2010: 171-172).

4.4 Formulating clear goals and messages

For networking and coalition building, it is central that the goals pursued are clearly formulated and understood and accepted by all participants. The JF also noted that clear goals are very important and at the same time not self-evident. With vague objectives, it is difficult to take the right measures and use resources in a targeted manner.

This changes planning, especially at the beginning of an advocacy effort: it starts with a collaborative process among relevant partners for broad-based goal formulation, which leads directly to the next point.

4.5 Flexible, timely strategic management of advocacy work

Societal opinion-forming processes and a change in legislation are collective processes that cannot be planned and controlled by a single player. Numerous different actors participate in such processes. Individual events can accelerate or block change. In such an environment, the advocacy strategy should be designed and managed flexibly in order to take advantage of windows of opportunity as they open. For example, the COVID-19 pandemic represents a window of opportunity in that awareness of the relevance of early childhood care increased. Such changing contextual factors can be targeted as part of an agile advocacy strategy.

Strategic competencies are required here that are less significant in the usual activities of grantmaking foundations - reviewing and funding project proposals.

4.6 Entering into long planning cycles and providing resources

Social change and a change in conditions require a lot of time and perseverance. This requires a process involving society as a whole, which is influenced by numerous factors. Several attempts may be necessary, as the example of the introduction of women's suffrage or the creation of maternity insurance show. For example, the case study of the Jacobs Foundation's advocacy strategy on "early childhood policy" presented here has contributed significantly to the topic being on the Swiss political agenda. However, numerous organizations have been committed to this cause for fifteen years and more (see also Häusermann and Kübler 2010, Family Report 2004, Zollinger 2016). Consequently, advocacy work requires long planning horizons, which are often not compatible with the usual planning frameworks of grantmaking foundations and NPOs, which often only plan three to five years ahead.

The importance of the time factor, together with the need to involve partner organizations in an advocacy effort, points to the importance of transparency in planning. Especially for the partner organizations or the organizations supported in their advocacy work (indirect advocacy) it is central that they know the set goals and the planned exit time of a partner. Interview quote "After twelve years of commitment to the field of early childhood, the desired changes are only slowly taking shape and are still subject to great uncertainty."

Advocacy work requires work resources and, in view of the potentially long period of time, continuity in the use of funds. In this case study, a financially strong foundation committed substantial resources to the issue area for more than 13 years. This was also recognized and appreciated by the players involved. However, other advocacy activities by NPOs show that long-term, issue-related engagement in public discourse is not always dependent on the availability of financial resources.

Some advocacy tools in the journalistic and parliamentary field are strongly supported by the positioning of individuals. One possibility, which was hardly significant in this case study, is the involvement and use of voluntary work, as is used by many organizations for information work in the public sphere. It can be of great importance in highly current or locally significant topics.



Fig. 11: Elements of an effective advocacy strategy (own illustration)

4.7 Conclusion

The case study of the Jacobs Foundation's early childhood policy advocacy strategy, evaluated in detail by KEK - CDC, provides an excellent basis for discussion of the possibilities and limits of advocacy work. It illustrates the theoretical and historical reflections on advocacy in chapters 1 and 2 with the concrete findings of an organization's 13-year commitment to an important social issue.

Advocacy must be understood as a concerted effort with different approaches as well as with very different partners. The role that an individual third-party NPO or a grantmaking

vidual organization. What remains undisputed is that "advocacy" is an important domain of intervention for the third sector.

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