

Advocacy Champion Strategies for the Reproductive Health Supply Coalition



Prepared by:



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Introduction

This report outlines the tools that will enable the Reproductive Health Supplies Coalition to effectively partner with a champion advocate, by offering a comprehensive analysis of the celebrity/champion advocacy phenomenon, from its early history to the present day. We look at what the academics, pundits, public, organizational leaders, and the champions themselves think, and then connect the ostensibly disparate dots. But this moment also provides Ampersand Global and the Reproductive Health Supplies Coalition an opportunity to reflect upon the communication and advocacy efforts of the Coalition.

The success of many global health initiatives can often be attributed to the visibility of advocates who are able to speak on their behalf. High-profile “champions” not only attract worldwide attention to their cause, but can also often access the halls of power where key decisions are made.¹ Recent advocacy efforts by Sarah Brown and Bill Clinton, for example, are testament to the power of such visibility and, in this case, credibility.

A 2008 study on the long-term financial sustainability of the Reproductive Health Supplies Coalition, found that despite its recent growth in size, the Coalition was still relatively unknown on the global scene, especially when compared to other health partnerships. While several strategies for addressing this issue were suggested in the study, one that has subsequently emerged from the ranks of the Executive Committee (EC) is the use of supply champions, specifically persons whose professional careers have directly or indirectly linked them to broad supply-related issues. While there is no general consensus on the form a “champion(s) initiative” might take, past suggestions have included the following:

- A cadre of champions (no specific number) whose linkages with the Coalition could vary from occasional speech-making to speech-making and participation in some advisory capacity.
- A single patron or someone who allows an organization to use their name in advertising and/or advocacy.
- Selection criteria based not on celebrity per se, but on credibility derived from past professional experience in commodity security or a related field
- A remuneration policy that would cover no more than transport or other costs directly related to Coalition-related outreach.

The Coalition, therefore, enlisted Ampersand Global to assess the feasibility, practicality and likely costs of involving champions, as defined by the EC, to serve as both spokespersons and as global advocates in the struggle to achieve reproductive health commodity security (RHCS). This report is the product of that assessment and is intended to prepare the EC to make a well informed decision about whether or not to pursue a champion and, if such pursuit is made, the type of champion and level of engagement to build.

To that end, this report will discuss:

- The various roles a champion can play in an organization

- The five common categories of champion, highlighting the benefits and limitations of each as well as applications from specific case studies that offer relevant insight to the RHSC.
- The findings of Ampersand's extensive interview process with the policy players who work with champions the most
- An outline of the strategic decisions and resources RHSC will need to secure before pursuing a champion campaign
- An action plan for choosing and engaging a champion

The Development of the HANDtoHAND Campaign

Since the RHSC Secretariat asked Ampersand Global to draft a study on the involvement of advocacy champions to create visibility for the Coalition and its cause some fundamentals have changed due to the success of the HANDtoHAND campaign.

When we started to look into champion advocacy strategies for RHSC, the coalition was seen, by the Secretariat as well as by the Board members and global health professionals we interviewed, as a successful, but very technical, 'dry' organization without a high profile in media or political clout.

Being 'technical' was perceived as a strength and weakness at the same time. While RHSC members have a track record of very efficient cooperation across institutional borders due to a common background, the Coalition lacked clout and visibility for larger advocacy efforts on the highest political levels and had a rather low profile in the broader Global Health community.

Apart from lacking a strategic advocacy focus or capacity, this was mostly attributed to the absence of a high-profile spokesperson with access to the highest political echelons and gravitas in the Global Health and development community.

A champions program was seen as a way to mend these deficits, in order to raise awareness for the cause (reproductive health supply), raise the Coalition's profile and act as a door opener.

The HANDtoHAND campaign has been conceived as an effort to rally support of the family planning community behind the UN Secretary General's Global Strategy for Women's and Children's health. By formulating a metric-based goal for 2015 (100 million new users of modern contraception) and pursuing a pledge-driven tactic HANDtoHAND introduced to RHSC what was so far missing, a strong basis for a communications and advocacy strategy.

Specific Issues for RHSC to Address Regarding Champions

This report provides a comprehensive discussion on the history, benefits and challenges of the champion advocacy movement to inform the RHSC's decision-making process about whether and how to pursue a champion. To provide context in reading the material and recommendations laid out in this report, it will be helpful for the reader to consider the following questions that the RHSC must address as it determines its course with regard to champion advocacy:

Does a Champion Fit With the RHSC's Objectives?

In addressing the feasibility of a "champion's initiative" for RHSC, it is important to recognize the following potential challenges:

One, as noted previously, is the potential disconnect between the realities of such an initiative and the Coalition's institutional culture. Can the personalized, relatively hands-on style of the Coalition co-exist with one (or more) high-profile individuals who will likely to remain at arms-length from the membership, including the Executive Committee, and yet potentially become its public face?

Second are the practical challenges of assuring a meaningful role for champions, given the Coalition's current governing structure (and the fact it is not an independent legal entity); the frequency of its interaction (annual and semi-annual membership meetings); and its limited budget. For an organization that takes for granted the technical knowledge and expertise of its members, what would it mean to bring on board individuals who, though not novices, may still be relatively low on the learning curve?

Third are the challenges of making sure that what we expect of champion(s) corresponds to what we have defined, in our strategic plan, as the role of the Coalition itself (versus that of our members). Clarifying the expected outputs of a champions initiative is critical – both to measure success, but perhaps even more importantly to guide us in shaping the program: in determining who is selected; how many; what audiences to reach, etc.)

What Objectives will the RHSC Seek to Achieve with a Champion?

It is also absolutely crucial that, before making a decision to enter into a champion advocacy program, the RHSC must clearly determine its communication goals and internal communication structure and responsibilities. The recent success of the HANDtoHand campaign sheds some important light on a clearly defined list of goals, which a champion advocate, might help advance.

Roles a Champion Can Play

As the RHSC considers a champion campaign, the following discussion of roles provide options for the Coalition to consider:

Member of the organization's governance structure

A champion can be an integral part of an organization, for example with a seat on the board (with or without voting power). This set-up is usually found when champions were founders or co-founders of organizations, experts or elected officials.

'Free agent'

A champion such as an elder statesmen (e.g. Archbishop Tutu), incumbent politician (e.g. Liberian President Johnson-Sirleaf) or Royal (e.g. Queen Rania of Jordan) might decide to support different causes and different organizations without becoming a champion for one organization.

Public face

A champion can be the main spokesperson of an organization. This concept stems from celebrity endorsements in corporate advertising, where celebrities are linked to consumer or corporate brands, lending their positive image. Adapted to advocacy communication's needs, the public face is more than a 'face' but a prominent, knowledgeable spokesperson with the ability to cut through media clutter and with political access.

Own voice

A champion is by definition an external validator. Having one does not replace an insider with the necessary knowledge of the cause. Such an internal champion, who might be the CEO or Communication Director, needs the same amount of vetting and especially training (media, policy, rhetoric) as a recruited champion from the outside. This type of champion is oftentimes used when causes are very technical and the advocacy target is not the wider public.

Advocate cum advisor

Sometimes advocates are so expert that they can actually advise the organization that recruited them and become a board member or senior advisor to the organization. However, more common is a token advisory group, where the organization does not expect advice from the committee but uses it mostly to show credibility.

Types of Champions

Though celebrity advocates may garner the most attention in the eyes of the general public, champions from several walks of life have exerted tremendous influence in the global health and policy arena in recent years. For purposes of this discussion, we have categorized champions into five types of advocates, according to the type of fame or success that has brought them the stature that enables them to advocate in the first place.

As RHSC determines its course of action in enlisting a champion, it must consider how its goals for an Advocacy Campaign fit against the strengths and resources of each of the types of champions listed below. This report will examine each category of champion in more detail, but this overview is presented at the outset in order to establish an introduction to the types of advocates and establish a frame of reference for the ongoing discussion of their roles.

Celebrity

For the purposes of this report, the "celebrity" champion is defined as a famous individual whose reason for fame is unrelated to the cause for which they advocate. Bono, the most famous and influential of this type of champion, is famous for being a musician. He has lent his fame to global health, the eradication of hunger, and so forth.

Expert

Expert champions have typically been working hands-on in the field in which they become an advocate. Scientists, public health workers, and the like are natural candidates for this role, where an extensive body of knowledge and passion is translated into a champion role.

CEO/Philanthropist

The classic examples in this category are Bill Gates, George Soros and Warren Buffett—extremely wealthy individuals who have not only donated significant portions of their income to causes like global health, but have created foundations and lent their time, energy and persona to advance their causes. In addition to the traditional CEO-turned-philanthropist champion roles, there is an emerging category of champions whose desire to advance social justice is intricately tied to their commitment to making smart business decisions. Coca-Cola CEO Muhtar Kent is a prime example of this movement. His non-traditional advocacy roles on behalf of his company will be discussed in more detail below.

Developing Country Spokesperson

This category includes a mixture of all the others—celebrities, experts, business leaders and elder statesmen—but adds a certain additional level of influence due to the champion's connection to the developing world. Their personal experience lends credibility to the issues, by virtue both of their substantive knowledge and often, simply, their persona or nationality.

Elder Statesman

The influence of former elected officials in the world policy arena certainly is nothing new, but the increased visibility of elder statesmen champions like Bill Clinton, Nelson Mandela and Mary Robinson, as well as the combined efforts of such leaders via The Elders, has given new insight into the role this type of champion can play.

Celebrities as Advocates: The History and Implications for Champions

In examining how a champion advocate might advance the goals of the RHSC, it is beneficial to examine the history of such advocacy and how it has come to bear such great influence in the advocacy world today.

No discussion of champion advocacy would be complete without a thorough discussion of how champions have come to hold the position they do. Much of that history is rooted in the rise of the celebrity champion. Many of the same media and cultural forces that have given “traditional” celebrities such a loud voice in issues of policy advocacy have also played a role in the relative fame and increased influence that philanthropists and developing country champions now exert. Thirty years ago, who could have imagined that the wife of the British Prime Minister would have nearly 1.2 million people subscribing to her daily blasts of micro-information about her favorite causes via a tool like Twitter?²

The Rise of Celebrity

Sociologist C. Wright Mills was a pioneer in the study of the modern celebrity, and asked in 1956, “But what are the celebrities?” His answer provides possibly the most gripping, timeless definition of the term:

The celebrities are The Names that need no further identification. Those who know them so far exceed those of whom they know as to require no exact computation. Wherever the celebrities go, they are recognized, and moreover recognized with some excitement and awe. Whatever they do has publicity value. More or less continuously, over a period of time, they are the material for the media of communication and entertainment. And, when that time ends – as it must – and the celebrity still lives – as he may – from time to time it may be asked, ‘Remember him?’ That is what celebrity means.

In 1961 historian Daniel Boorstin simplified Mills’ definition, claiming a celebrity is “a person who is known for his well-knownness.” Communications professor David P. Marshall offered an updated analysis of the celebrity concept and defines the term within its historical context, explaining that the resulting “intense focus on the public personality” is a “peculiarly modern phenomenon,” and traces its birth from the twinned discourses of modernity: democracy and capitalism. Marshall admits the “ubiquity of celebrities, as well as their intangible nature, makes them difficult to define.”

The term itself, celebrity, developed in the nineteenth century and carried an original affinity with piety and religion, and has become a term announcing a “vulgar sense of notoriety” and “describes a type of value that can be articulated through an individual and celebrated publicly as important and significant.” Marshall also attributes the development of the celebrity concept to the mass reproduction of popular music, a technological result of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that began with the advent of sheet music production and distribution, and led to the creation of “the singing star.”

Social Scientists John Corner and Dick Pels add to this understanding with an excellent description of the current notion of celebrity in *Media and the Restyling of Politics*:

Forms of celebrity, involving sustained performance within conditions of expanded media visibility and, quite often, vigorous media scrutiny, are major features of contemporary culture. Alongside the more established ‘public figures,’ a whole new range of people from television,

sport, popular music and other areas of entertainment have become, if only temporarily, members of a celebrity system that extends to the international level.

The technological expansion of media is a common and intuitive explanation for the rise of celebrities, a factor that is also considered when examining the convergence of celebrities and political activism. In *Celebrity Politics*, political scientists Darrell M. West and John Orman examine the rise of celebrity engagement in politics and credit several factors for its emergence in 20th century America including the advent of radio and television, which also contributed to what English professor Leo Braudy called the “democratization of fame,” and included journalistic shifts such as gossip journalism. C. Wright Mills also pointed to the rise of mass communication as a bearing responsibility for the development of celebrities noting the media system is a “prime means of acclaim and even a creator of those acclaimed.” For the first time in world history, ordinary people were propelled into the spotlight with the advent of movies, recorded music, television, and radio.

Before Live Aid

An important if not obvious distinction needs to be made between celebrity activists and those celebrities who become politicians. There are several cases of modern celebrities turned politicians, perhaps actor-turned-US President Ronald Reagan being one of the most famous. But there is a clear political difference between becoming a politician and remaining within the celebrity realm. Sociologists David S. Meyer and Joshua Gamson explicitly divorce traditional celebrity status from formal, institutional power and note that they are “distinguished by their autonomy from state institutions.”³

Celebrity activism has a long history going back as far as Mark Twain’s participation in the movement to halt the exploitation of the Congo. But we can further distinguish celebrity *activism* from celebrity *advocacy*, a more recent phenomenon. Celebrity *activism* is more times than not initiated by the celebrity. It usually entails an ad hoc approach to celebrity support of a cause, generally with little if any coordination between an organization and the celebrity. In contrast, celebrity *advocacy* is an organized and deliberate collaboration between an organization or a coalition of organizations and an informed celebrity in an effort to bring a combination of public, media and political attention to a cause.

Before Bono revolutionized celebrity activism and created a replicable model of celebrity advocacy in the late 1990s, celebrities rarely ventured beyond vocal public support of the cause. These vocal plugs generally occur during concerts, benefits, award shows, or in interviews. Numerous celebrities also engage in the ever-present political fundraising battles, where they are skilled at raising money and attracting media attention while highlighting the importance of causes. They can also be significant financial contributors to political campaigns themselves.

In the United States, celebrity musicians have also donated their songs to political campaigns; such as Ronald Reagan’s reliance on Lee Greenwood’s song *I’m Proud to be an American*, and a host of musicians who contributed songs to Barack Obama’s campaign soundtrack, *Yes We Can: Voices of a Grassroots Movement*.⁴ The activist musicians of the sixties and seventies include folk singers such as Arlo Guthrie, Phil Ochs and Joan Baez, who mostly played out their activism through protest songs and concerts. There have also been highly publicized benefit concerts. George Harrison was the first to organize such an event with his 1971 *Concert for Bangladesh*, which raised \$240,000 for the UN Children’s Fund for Relief to Refugee Children of Bangladesh.

Actors Marlon Brando and Jane Fonda also took part in the civil rights struggles, primarily as participants in public demonstrations. Brando began his activism in the sixties by raising money for famine relief in India. He also participated in one of the most successful activist publicity stunts when he sent Native American Sasheen Littlefeather to the 1973 Academy Awards ceremony as his stand-in, a symbol of solidarity with the American Indian Movement. Brando won the Best Actor Oscar for his role in *The Godfather*, and Littlefeather accepted the award with a moving speech in defense Native American rights. In addition, actors Audrey Hepburn, Danny Kaye, and now Angelina Jolie, have represented the United Nations as Goodwill Ambassadors.

Many celebrities have also offered themselves as “expert” witnesses during US Congressional testimony—a trend that has not subsided since the early years of celebrity activism. These tactics can appear as trite political tokens when used by celebrities who are not seen by the public as an expert or a moral authority, which has muddled the public perception of celebrity political activism. There are of course exceptions. By the eighties, celebrities began taking new approaches to activism, becoming more strategic, educated and engaged—in short, adopting the advocate approach.

Actor Paul Newman has been called one of “the most consistently principled celebrity politicians,” as a fundraiser and advocate for various political issues.⁵ Newman created his own fine food label called *Newman’s Own*, which has donated more than \$300 million in profits to various charities since 1982. Charlton Heston took a similar tack when he became the president of the National Rifle Association (NRA), a US-based guns-rights organization. Heston frequently spoke on behalf of the NRA to raise publicity and funds, and led voter registration rallies that targeted the political districts of gun control candidates. Another example of this evolving approach from celebrities includes the Creative Coalition, founded in 1989 by a Hollywood group led by actor/director Ron Silver. Their mission is to “better inform and influence the community and nation” on a wide range of arts-related political issues.⁶ This unique strategic approach to public and political advocacy may have inspired the formation of Bono’s organization DATA and The ONE Campaign.

Live Aid: Game-Changer

It would be an injustice to neglect the efforts of Bob Geldof, Bono’s buddy in campaigning for the African continent, and organizer of the first global benefit concert, Live Aid in 1985. Bono’s tremendous impact on the celebrity advocacy movement will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

Bob Geldof went from leading the Irish rock band *The Boomtown Rats* to being knighted in England for his advocacy efforts, and was the first rock star nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize. He has also met with several world leaders including members of the US Congress, the British Parliament, UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Mother Theresa. This unlikely path began with his foray in arranging Live Aid—the largest benefit concert of its time, until its successor Live 8 in 2008.

Geldof’s metamorphosis from celebrity *activist* to celebrity *advocate* happened quickly and was probably due as much to his legendarily brusque personality as to the rapidly changing technologies around him. Deeply moved by a BBC documentary about the Ethiopian famine, Geldof was inspired to produce an all-star charity single to benefit those affected. Thus the plan for Band-Aid was hastily created, and within two weeks Geldof had enticed 36 popular musicians including U2’s Bono to lend their talents. The resulting single ‘*Do they know it’s*

Christmas? sold nearly ten million copies and raised almost £8 million for Ethiopian famine relief.⁷

Geldof wanted to expand his efforts beyond the single, and soon began planning the concert extravaganza Live Aid—two mega-concerts that were held simultaneously on July 13, 1985, at Philadelphia’s JFK stadium and London’s Wembley Stadium. Each concert was broadcast live via satellite to televisions around the world, as well as to both concert venues. The 20th century media spectacle required precise timing to include its live televised audiences—as one performance finished, another began immediately on the other side of the Atlantic. Phil Collins was the only musician to perform both Live Aid venues that day, taking advantage of the supersonic Concorde Jet to make the cross-Atlantic trip in three hours.

U2 was a Live Aid headliner at Wembley Stadium, and their performance was arguably the most riveting of the day. Bono leapt from the stage during their second song, *MLK*, and ran through the Wembley masses. The extroverted front man selected an unsuspecting female fan for an onstage dance, a seemingly foolish venture that swept away U2’s allotted performance time and forced them to axe their final song. Yet their gamble was rewarded, as U2’s performance is still remembered as one of Live Aid’s best, and helped propel the ascending band to rock n’ roll superstardom. Afterwards thousands of people went to record shops asking for something by “the singer that danced with the girl at Live Aid.”⁸

Live Aid was declared a phenomenal success. It was beamed to a worldwide television audience of 1.5 billion viewers in more than 150 countries and raised over £60 million for Africa. As sociologist Reebee Garofalo notes, “Not even the producers understood the power of what they were dealing with.”⁹ Bob Geldof was less impressed with his own creation. He said:¹⁰

[W]e’ve used the spurious glamour of pop music to draw attention to a situation, and we’ve overloaded the thing with symbolism to make it reach people. But people get bored easily. People may have been profoundly affected by the Live Aid day—some were shattered by it—but that does not translate into a massive change in consciousness.

Geldof’s frustration and discontent with the permanence of the structural issues behind poverty paved the way for his future African political adventures with Bono. Live Aid and a mutual concern for Africa helped create a friendship and strategic partnership between Bono and Bob Geldof, one that has kept them working together on the issues since that time. The partnership also helped cement Bono’s reputation and moral authority as a humanitarian.

Development of the Celebrity Advocate: Bono’s Influence

A review of the history of celebrity advocacy shows there are no documented cases of celebrity political impact similar to Bono’s, while still remaining a celebrity, as opposed to those like Ronald Reagan who left celebrity to pursue more orthodox paths to influence. In fact, there are no documented cases of celebrities who have used the methods that Bono has pioneered—namely the incessant lobbying of politicians and the creation of a successful think tank, lobbying and advocacy firm, *DATA (debt AIDS trade Africa)*, which birthed a burgeoning grassroots organization, *The ONE Campaign*, both part of a transnational coalition of poverty activists.

In addition, the uniqueness of this new model partially reflects Bono’s actual involvement with the political system without leaving his entertainer-celebrity post. It could be argued that Bono would actually lose political power and influence were he to assume a traditional political post such as Irish Prime Minister, Ambassador, or even World Bank President as was speculated in

2005. Sociologists David S. Meyer and Joshua Gamson help demonstrate the progressive nature of Bono's approach as they stress the celebrity tendency to avoid seeking any kind of structural change, and note that the "appeal for generosity, but not reform... is a well-established tradition of celebrity activism."¹¹ David Marshall comments on the typical ineffectiveness of traditional celebrity activism by concluding, "The agency of celebrity is more often reduced to a privatized, psychological representation of activity and transformation—it rarely moves into a clear social movement."¹²

Bono's story can be viewed as a continuum along the long line of celebrity activism, through celebrity advocacy, to full-fledged celebrity champion. Bono incorporated the best efforts from the past, while developing his own unique model—one that many serious champions have sought to emulate. Bono's approach started with the necessary precondition that was his own fame, gained through being the lead singer of global rock and roll powerhouse U2, but also included the following ingredients:

Bono has extraordinary charisma. Charisma is a trait shared by many celebrities, but Bono certainly seems to possess disproportional amounts. Neil McCormick, Bono's high school friend and author of the satirical Bono memoir, *Killing Bono*, claimed that Bono has "always had that messianic glint about him."¹³ McCormick added: "Everybody loved Bono. He was such a charismatic force and he always seemed to have so much love to give, enveloping everyone in the room around him, whether it was a small photo studio or a huge rock venue."¹⁴

Boston College sociologist and philanthropy expert Paul Schervish categorizes Bono as one of a few celebrity "hyper-agents"—those "with the wealth and time to dedicate to finding new ways of addressing age-old problems, as well as the *charisma* to motivate others," and who Schervish claims has partially spurred "the first roots of a dramatic change in philanthropy that we're going to see emerge and become a regular part of our culture in the next 10 years" (emphasis added).¹⁵ Put simply, Bono's celebrity open the doors—his charisma helps keeps them open.

Bono has exhibited a lifelong commitment to social justice issues and activism. Bono and his band U2 were politically involved from the beginning, primarily through promoting a peaceful solution to English occupation of Northern Ireland. Their involvement also included participation in the Ethiopian Famine and related African hunger issues, engagement with the anti-nuclear movement, protesting the Salvadoran Civil War and the questionable involvement by the United States, and bringing media attention to the Yugoslov Wars. Bono and U2 also have been involved in different capacities in several political campaigns in Ireland, the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. And all of this political engagement occurred *before* Bono became involved with Jubilee 2000, DATA and the ONE Campaign.

Bono is an expert on the issues. As Republican Senator Rick Santorum explained, "If you really want to be effective, you have to bring something to the table beyond just charisma. The important thing is, Bono understands his issues better than 99% of members of Congress."¹⁶ Jeffery Sachs also testified to Bono's dual-attack of charisma and issue-knowledge: "Celebrities open doors, without question—everyone wants to meet Bono—but the amazing thing about Bono is that they want to meet him again and again because he's not only a celebrity but knows far more about the subject under discussion than the politicians do."¹⁷

Sociologists Meyer and Gamson discuss issue-knowledge or expertise as it relates to celebrity activism in social movements, but instead use the term *standing*, which derives from legal theory and "allows that only certain agents have recognized interest in making claims before a court." Meyer and Gamson apply *standing* in defining celebrities who claim "a recognizable

legitimate interest in the outcome of a political question or movement.”¹⁸ When applied to social movements, they note that standing is a “socially constructed legitimacy to engage publicly in a particular issue.”¹⁹ In addition, they note that gaining standing is “especially tricky” for celebrities because their elite “status is especially tenuous as it is based on consumption rather than votes, and on ‘personality’ rather than action.”

Bono did not have the required standing with politicians on international political issues, especially regarding Africa, until after his 1999 involvement with the Jubilee 2000 Campaign, his subsequent going “back to school” with Professor Jeffery Sachs, and his commitment to continual learning about the issues, which includes study with academics, and development and policy experts from around the world.

Bono built ideological bridges and pursued bi-partisanship. Bono has consistently sought to learn from and potentially convert those who might oppose his political aspirations for the continent of Africa. It began when he deliberately met with conservative academics and politicians such as Robert Barro and Jesse Helms. It continued with his engagement of Christian Evangelicals, a powerful political block, and in his involvement with the conservative Bush Administration.

Bono and his advocacy organization DATA have purposely pursued bipartisan strategies, demonstrated by Bono’s meetings with both Democrats and Republicans, and exemplified by bipartisan dinner parties hosted by Bobby Shriver and DATA lobbyists Tom Sheridan and Scott Hatch, which were organized to “cement relationships and encourage the sense that, at least on one issue, everyone could break bread.”²⁰ This is a remarkable strategy in an era where interest group politics are more partisan-focused, and feature tightly linked groups aligned across and in the two major parties.²¹

The idea that this bipartisanship and coalition building has lent to the successes of Bono and DATA is supported by political scientist Andrew Rich, who found that think tanks of no identifiable ideology have an advantage in gaining congressional and media visibility and are slightly favored by congressional staff members and journalists to provide guidance on issues and news.²² In addition, a 2004 *Foreign Affairs* article credited “recent activism by conservative political and religious groups” for AIDS “finally [gaining] foreign policy attention commensurate with its substantive importance,” which will be discussed further in the discussion of the PEPFAR HIV/AIDS bill discussed in this work.²³

Bono’s efforts were not isolated, but part of a larger international coalition. Bono’s role as a coalition broker was not limited to the political structures in the United States. His work is also part of a larger transnational network that has coalesced with the enormous Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP), which includes hundreds of organizations and millions of supporters.

Bono’s efforts occurred during a unique historical time that saw massive structural changes. These changes included the increasing role of transnational NGOs and civil society in the midst of hyper-globalization spurred by rapid changes in communication technologies such as the Internet. Political Scientists Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink discuss the increase in transnational advocacy during the last two decades, and purport that international nongovernmental organizations and transnational social movements are “emerging as a powerful new force in international politics and are transforming global norms and practices.”²⁴ They see a phenomenon that includes an “increase in new non-state actors, new arenas for action, and the blurring of the distinctions between domestic and global levels of politics.”

Political Scientist Michael Edwards has seen the pragmatic effects of this radical change in international relations noting, “Ten years ago, there was little talk of civil society in the corridors of power, but now the walls reverberate with at least the rhetoric of partnership, participation, and the role of citizens’ groups in promoting sustainable development.”²⁵

Jubilee 2000: A Coalition in Need of a Champion

In the late 1990s dozens of poor countries found themselves in a debt crisis, resulting from billions in loans from the IMF, the World Bank, and numerous private creditors. Sixty percent of this debt was considered odious or unjust.²⁶ A coalition dedicated to eliminating this debt gradually emerged and by the late nineties large there were coordinating debt relief bodies in virtually every region of the world. The transformation from loose-knit debt networks to the transnational coalition Jubilee 2000 began in 1993 when Bill Peters, a debt campaigner and former British High Commissioner to Malawi as a member of Her Majesty’s (HM) Diplomatic Service, had formed what was then just a small charity. Jubilee’s name referenced the biblical injunctions about debt forgiveness, as suggested by Michael Schluter of the Cambridge (UK) Jubilee Centre.

By 1996, the Jubilee concept had resonated throughout the debt relief network, and the Jubilee 2000 UK campaign was launched. It was led by the overseas relief agencies of the Anglican and Catholic churches, and headed by Ann Pettifor, a seasoned and astute political organizer. The Jubilee 2000 US network was formed by leaders of the Religious Working Group and the Multilateral Debt Coalition in 1997, and was launched at the June 1997 G7 summit in Denver, Colorado. A Washington, D.C. office with two staff members was opened in spring 1998. By the end of 2000, there were fifty-seven national Jubilee 2000 networks around the world.

Jubilee 2000 strategy partner Jamie Drummond (who later became Executive Director of DATA and ONE), proposed using celebrity musicians to publicize the young campaign. Bono was one of the first people that came to his mind, specifically noting his communication abilities and spiritual conviction. Bono’s involvement would eventually take various guises, but really took off in late 1998.

There must have been a point when Bono realized his past activist tactics would be insufficient to achieve the goals of the Jubilee 2000 campaign. Bono explained that Jubilee 2000 was slower to catch on in the US as opposed to the UK, and as a result he “had to go straight to the decision-makers, or at the very least the people who knew those decision makers.”²⁷ Following the advice of friend Eunice Shriver Kennedy, Bono called her son Bobby Shriver, whom Bono explained, “immediately put the family filofax to work for me.” Shriver provided more than just contacts, as he often accompanied Bono to the appointments. Through Shriver Bono also met Arnold Schwarzenegger, Shriver’s brother-in-law, Governor of California, and celebrity actor, who in-turn provided the connection to Ohio Republican Representative John Kasich. Kasich would become “an important guide through the Republican side of Congress.”²⁸

It was at this point that Bono also “went back to school” and began heavily studying the issues. Bono realized the importance of this education for lobbying purposes: “[I needed to] know what I was talking about before I went up to Capitol Hill to lobby on behalf of Jubilee 2000 for the cancellation of the LDC’s debt to the rich countries of the OECD as a part of the millennium celebrations.”²⁹ Bono also penned op-eds, spoke publicly on behalf of Jubilee 2000 at key moments, and engaged a whole cadre of celebrities, power brokers, politicians, and moral agents that included the Pope. He immersed himself in the political process, lobbying and strategizing at the highest levels of power.

Jubilee 2000 had significant victories, including millions appropriated for debt relief by the United States Congress, as well as billions dedicated to the enhanced HIPC initiative at the 1999 G7 Summit –Victories that were by no means small or assured from the beginning. Pundits, academics and politicians agreed that the diverse coalition was responsible for the victory, yet they overwhelmingly acknowledged Bono’s pivotal role.³⁰ Ann Florini summed it up by noting that “Bono is the famous face, but it has taken the combined efforts of thousands of people in many countries, working through Jubilee 2000, to force the rich countries and the international financial institutions to pay serious attention to the world’s highly indebted poor countries.”³¹ Ciara Gaynor, Co-Chair of the GCAP Media Group explained how in her view how the transnational campaign and its associated celebrity involvement have affected the campaign’s political and public standing.³²

DATA and the ONE Campaign: The Champion Creates a Coalition

Soon after Bono’s success in Jubilee 2000, he began to investigate other policy areas in which he could get involved. The global HIV/AIDS crisis was brimming over, and the global community was starting to wake up to the scale of the situation. Prompted by mentor and teacher Jeffrey Sachs, Bono plunged headfirst in to the situation and began where he left off with Jubilee 2000 – Procuring meetings with politicians.

It was a new era in Washington and Republican George Bush had just been elected to the Presidency, and the prospects looked dim for African commitments from the Administration. Bono’s first targets were White House and Treasury Department staffers. The payoff with staffers is potentially big, as they can secure meetings with their bosses, continually press the cause, and they are much easier to access. Bono next targeted US Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, who uncharacteristically refused Bono’s initial meeting request. Bono was undeterred and eventually secured the meeting, which was wildly successful. The pragmatic O’Neill challenged Bono to “take him to the green hills” and show him what worked.³³ Bono accepted the invitation and the unlikely pair, dubbed “the odd couple” by the press, toured Africa in a highly publicized May 2002 trip.

Bono soon secured meetings with higher-level officials including then National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, as well as old Congressional allies from the Jubilee 2000 campaign including noted conservative Republican Jesse Helms, whom Bono had famously brought to tears during a 2000 meeting. Helms delivered again and would later publicly repent for having not done more to combat the global HIV/AIDS epidemic, and even admitted to drawing religious inspiration from Bono.³⁴ The Helms reversal was monumental for Bono, as Helms’ influence eventually afforded him White House access. After Helms’ change of heart about HIV/AIDS, the Senator contacted Vice-President Dick Cheney, who then persuaded President Bush to meet Bono. President Bush later remembered: “Dick Cheney walked into the Oval Office; he said, ‘Jesse Helms wants us to listen to Bono’s ideas.’”³⁵

The early months of 2002 also saw Bono busily forming his advocacy organization DATA. He had secured donations from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, international financier George Soros, Silicon Valley mogul Ed Scott, the Entertainment Industry Foundation; and Bono himself helped fund the new advocacy group.³⁶ DATA opened London and Washington D.C offices, and had over twenty staffers. DATA’s two-part mission consisted of raising public awareness and lobbying governments in the world’s wealthy nations (The United States, Europe, Canada, and Japan) about Africa’s unsustainable debts, the HIV/AIDS crisis, and unfair trade.

DATA's inception created an indistinguishable line between the actions of Bono and his political organization. Bono's political lobbying presumably represented DATA, but in actuality represents minimal divergence from his past lobbying actions. It is at this point he fully evolved from being a rock star with a cause to an institutionally legitimate lobbyist within the Washington machine.

The policy wonks at DATA began by developing a new aid proposal that would reflect Paul O'Neill's call for imagination while considering the Administration's insistence that money was tight.³⁷ DATA eventually proposed a scheme to nurture good governance with major funding increases for AIDS, TB and Malaria.³⁸ The Administration soon announced the new Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) program (later renamed the Millennium Challenge Corporation). The MCA was designed as a three-year program that would provide up to \$5 billion per year in additional monies for poor countries that were committed to reforming their economies and stamping out corruption.³⁹

DATA's first public entrée on to the American landscape was the December 2002 *Heart of America Tour*, where Bono, actress Ashley Judd, comedian/actor Chris Tucker, and bicyclist Lance Armstrong visited a host of public and private institutions including churches, colleges, and truck stops to spread awareness of the HIV/AIDS emergency.⁴⁰ The tour hit towns from Nebraska to Tennessee, and featured financial guru Warren Buffett at its December kickoff in Lincoln, Nebraska, who offered his support to DATA. During the tour, DATA activists distributed a total of 10,000 action cards that could be sent to Congress or President Bush, and demanded that the crisis in Africa be answered with an historic HIV/AIDS initiative.⁴¹

Bono and DATA also continued outreach efforts to American Evangelicals. Bono felt it was imperative to gather ground support from the Christian contingent to win his African policy battle in America – no matter the denomination. Bono and DATA hit St. Paul's United Methodist Church in Nebraska, the "Evangelical Mecca" Wheaton College outside Chicago, Northeast Christian Church in Louisville, Kentucky, and several others. Bono spoke to numerous churches and repeatedly told their congregations that the African HIV/AIDS crisis is the defining moral issue of our time. It was now obvious that DATA would utilize Bono's strategies of nonpartisanship and coalition building, which was exemplified by DATA's goal of uniting liberals and social conservatives.

In early 2003, Bono's and DATA's efforts to increase US assistance for the African HIV/AIDS epidemic were unexpectedly addressed during the President's January 28 State of the Union speech. Africa received top billing as Bush unveiled his new and unprecedented plan to combat African HIV/AIDS – the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). Bush asked Congress to triple current HIV/AIDS funding for Africa, or \$15 billion over five years. *Foreign Affairs* called the president's dramatically increased foreign aid "One of the greatest surprises of George W. Bush's presidency," citing both the Millennium Challenge Accounts and PEPFAR, and called the new HIV/AIDS bill "a huge step forward for an Administration in which several top officials had publicly questioned whether Africans have the capacity to implement treatment programs effectively."⁴²

Bono's involvement was imperative to the PEPFAR announcement, as evidenced through many lobbying meetings and through ideological converts in the Administration, and included Condoleezza Rice's promise for a historic HIV/AIDS initiative. In addition, the Bush Administration's summoning of key DATA personnel for the MCA bill exhibited their reliance on Bono's policy wonks for the development of legislation.

In 2004 DATA announced the formation of the ONE Campaign, a new American-based coalition of aid and religious groups that back an “effort to rally Americans – one by one – to fight the emergency of global AIDS and extreme poverty.” The campaign was founded with a \$3 million grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and could be considered the US-based grassroots version of DATA, focusing its lobbying efforts on the American public instead of the D.C. power brokers. As Bono explained, The ONE Campaign was envisioned to help build an American movement “so that in the future if a politician fails to keep their promises, there is a political price to pay.”⁴³ He added, “If they do the right thing they deserve to get the applause.”

The ONE Campaign pursued the same political issues as DATA including African poverty and AIDS, government corruption, trade, and debt cancellation. Drawing on its moniker, the ONE Campaign also seeks an additional 1% of the US federal budget for international aid. The campaign uses celebrity power to highlight the issues and attract public support, which has been led by high-profiled actors such as Brad Pitt, George Clooney, Jamie Foxx and Angelina Jolie, who have been featured in televised public-service announcements. The ONE Campaign is mirrored by the UK’s *Make Poverty History* campaign, both of which are national affiliates of *Global Call to Action Against Poverty*.

The international symbol of GCAP is the white wristband, which is distributed to supporters by each of the campaign’s respective national affiliates such as the ONE Campaign. In 2005 GCAP organized three worldwide white band mobilization days to coincide with the G8 Summit, the UN World Summit, and the WTO meetings. Ciara Gaynor, Co-Chair of the GCAP Media Group, attested that Bono was not involved in GCAP’s initial creation, but did note that he has lent his support, and added that the ONE Campaign is “very much a part of the media side of things.” Gaynor mentioned that a DATA representative, Oliver Buston, was present at the first international GCAP strategy meeting in 2004 where the alliance was first named and the white band symbol was enacted.

Bono and his organizations have also focused significant advocacy efforts on the G8 as a whole, generally through targeting the leaders of individual nations including Germany, Canada and United Kingdom. These efforts culminated at the 2005 G8 Summit chaired by British Prime Minister Tony Blair and held at the Gleneagles Hotel and golf course in Perthshire, Scotland. The 25th anniversary of Live Aid was being remembered with a last minute July 2 African-awareness concert dubbed Live 8 that would coincide with the G8 summit. Bono’s challenge to the G8 leadership was honored by the G7 finance ministers in a June 11 \$40 billion debt relief deal for 18 poor countries – most of which were in Africa – and covered monies owed to the World Bank, the IMF, and the African Development Bank; and offered the potential to include 27 countries and \$55 billion within 18 months. The G8 leaders also committed to an additional \$25 billion in African aid, and universal access to HIV medications, both by 2010. As of July 2010, universal access to HIV medications was still not a reality, and exemplifies the glaring gap between policy promises and policy reality, as many times politicians are more interested in the short-term pat on the back from a champion, and have little incentive to follow through on delivery.

The Live 8 concerts were announced only one month before on May 31, but were quickly organized and easily rivaled its predecessor 20 years earlier. The July 2 concerts were held in 10 cities including Philadelphia, London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Johannesburg, Tokyo, and Moscow; and featured a July 6 finale in Edinburg, Scotland to coincide with the G8. Dozens of acts performed at the various venues including U2, Paul McCartney, Elton John, R.E.M., Sting, Madonna, the Dave Matthews Band, Stevie Wonder, Jay-Z, Andrea Bocelli, Brian Wilson, and

the highly-anticipated Pink Floyd reunion – who played together for the first time in 24 years. The concerts were free, and instead of raising dollars for Africa they sought to raise political awareness and pressure G8 leadership in the run-up to the Gleneagles summit. Nelson Mandela spoke via video to the 60,000 concertgoers at the Live 8's Final Push Gig in Edinburgh, and asked the crowd to “work together to make poverty history this year.”

It must also be noted that Live 8 received considerable criticism for its lack of representation from the Global South, namely African performers. This caused considerable tension between many of the organizers and Bob Geldof, who argued that he only called the acts he knew in the rush to organize the Live 8 events at the last minute. There were hasty concessions made that included adding one more Live 8 concert in Johannesburg, South Africa, and by upgrading Youssou N'Dour's role. These concessions were seen by some as “more salt in the wounds,” as the Johannesburg event “had all the trappings of a last minute event; with small crowds in an improvised setting.”⁴⁴ Some of the African performers also felt like B-list stars, and “out of step with Geldof's desire to pack main events with the best selling artists of the rock star world.”

Nonetheless, Live 8 was broadcast worldwide on more than 140 TV channels to an audience of several hundred million, was heard on nearly 400 radio stations, and watched by more than 5 million viewers through live Internet streams on America Online – which was an Internet record. The Philadelphia show attracted more than 800,000 fans, and the London, Berlin, and Rome shows all drew 200,000 each. Live 8 also received a record 26.4 million text messages in support of the campaign. The concerts also unintentionally provided \$12 million in surplus earnings generated from sponsors, merchandising, TV and DVD rights, and was subsequently slated for relief projects in Africa.

The Live 8 experience illustrates what is one the biggest issues facing champion advocacy today – The tension that exists between forming a globally diverse champion alliance, and the ultimate purpose of champion advocacy – media attention. Organizations that figure out how to do both well will ultimately prosper in the long run.

John Kirton of the University of Toronto G8 Research Group said that the 2005 G8 summit “was the single most successful in the 30-year history of the event and claimed that strong public support was not accidental – a claim also cited by German and Japanese officials.”⁴⁵ Kirton explained that a key part of the summit was the involvement of civil society during central deliberations, which he called an “unprecedented opportunity.” He specifically cited the *Make Poverty History* and Live 8 campaigns that showed “how civil society can exert real pressure and influence the agenda and outcome.” British Diplomat Sir Michael Jay credited Live 8 for the African initiatives, and admitted there could have been no deal without the concerts.⁴⁶ Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin credited Bono: “It's difficult to imagine much of it would have been done without him.”⁴⁷

The ONE Campaign ballooned to 2.4 million members in the United States, and in late 2007 DATA and the ONE Campaign merged into a single organization “dedicated to dramatically reducing extreme poverty around the globe, particularly in Africa.” The new organization was simply called ONE, and was still headquartered in Washington, D.C., with a major office in London and smaller offices in Los Angeles, Abuja and Berlin.

Bono's Emulators

As with most successful ventures, Bono's advocacy efforts did not go unnoticed. Several celebrities consciously studied Bono's efforts, including George Clooney, Brad Pitt, Matt

Damon, Angelina Jolie, and Alicia Keys. Wyclef John's foundation, Yéle Haiti, was organized to emulate DATA and ONE. Bono has reciprocated the interest and has acted as a mentor to these celebrities, using ONE as a kind of "champion university." As the advocacy efforts of ONE expanded, several of these burgeoning celebrity champions were brought in as spokespeople, where there were able to learn from and collaborate with Bono firsthand.

While being mentored by Bono, Angelina Jolie introduced partner Brad Pitt to the rock star advocate. Pitt's work with DATA was intended to "prime him for a ratcheted-up program" of advocacy.⁴⁸ This led to Pitt's further involvement with Jolie's UN Goodwill Ambassador efforts, as well as the creation of his own organization, Make it Right, which is dedicated to rebuilding New Orleans after its destruction from Hurricane Katrina.

Current State of Celebrity Advocacy

Celebrity advocacy has in many ways laid a framework by which other types of well-known advocates are recruited, engaged and utilized. As the RHSC considers how it might integrate advocates of the non-celebrity types, there is value in considering what research indicates about the current status of celebrity advocacy, as it remains a substantial force in the NGO sector. Additionally, as non-celebrity advocates such as elder statesmen and high-profile CEO-philanthropists increasingly find their private and public lives in the media thanks to the 24-hour news cycle, public response to the celebrity persona will be relevant in designing any champion campaign.

A 2009 academic study interviewed the Irish public about their awareness and views of celebrity involvement in international development work.⁴⁹ The study found:

- Most respondents were more likely to be influenced by their perceptions of the character of the celebrity rather than the causes he or she was supporting.
- They respected celebrities they felt were genuinely committed to the causes they espoused, but paradoxically, they felt such commitment was best demonstrated by the celebrity keeping a low profile and not actively seeking publicity.
- Long-term commitment to a given cause was also highly regarded.
- The personal actions of celebrities will not always garner support from those who are in favor of addressing income inequalities. For example, the study cited Bono's band U2 moving its tax liabilities from Ireland to the Netherlands, a particularly contentious issue with the Irish public that cost Bono considerable credibility in his home country.

A July 2010 Rasmussen Reports survey reported that 87% of Americans feel the media pays too much attention to celebrities.⁵⁰

- 84% of respondents also admitted, "Americans pay too much attention to celebrity news and not enough attention to news that has real impact on their lives."
- Asked about their own habits, only 30% said they follow celebrity news either "Very Closely" or "Somewhat Closely." The poll also revealed that women respondents followed celebrity news more closely than men.

A 22 February 2007 FOX News/Opinion Dynamics poll asked the following question: “Who do you think has better ideas for solving America’s problems—the average Hollywood celebrity or the average Washington politician?”⁵¹

- While only 9% of the respondents chose “Hollywood celebrity,” 28% chose “Neither,” 5% chose “Both,” and 7% did not know. When asked about the political viewpoint of Hollywood movies, 42% felt they portrayed a “Liberal” point of view.

A 17 September 2007 CBS News/New York Times poll compared questions about celebrity political involvement to results of the same poll in 2003:

- The results showed some signs of celebrity fatigue from the United States public. 46% think celebrities should get involved in politics, compared to 54% in 2003. It was also apparent that the left-leaning Democrats (61%) were much more tolerant of celebrity involvement in politics than conservative Republicans (27%). Independents mirrored the general population, splitting down the middle. Men and women also exhibited marked differences, with women (56%) being much more tolerant of celebrity involvement than men (36%). The same downward trend of support correlated with increased age.

A July 2006 Rasmussen Reports survey asked specifically about Angelina Jolie and her work as a UN Goodwill Ambassador:

- 46% had a favorable opinion of the actress, which was split almost equally among gender and political affiliation. 37% thought Jolie is “a suitable goodwill ambassador for the United States,” while 35% disagreed and the rest were undecided. Men and women were similar to the general population, but only 26% of Republicans thought she was a suitable ambassador compared to 41% of Democrats and 46% of Independents.
- The poll also asked if it is “good for celebrities to use their influence and draw attention to social causes.” 52% of respondents said “Yes,” 31% said “No,” and the rest were undecided. 56% of women agreed to 48% of men. 65% of Democrats agreed compared to only 35% of Republicans, and 56% of Independents.
- When asked more specifically about celebrities using their influence “to help political causes and candidates,” respondents of all types were less agreeable. Only 33% of all respondents thought, “it is good” for celebrities to engage in such activities, with the about the same margins across gender.

What We Have Learned: Celebrity Advocacy Findings Applicable to RHSC

Celebrity champions bring high costs in recruitment, education and nurturing, and even then they risk engendering skepticism. We do not anticipate that RHSC has particular need for a global celebrity at this time, and in any event would need to build capacity to support such engagement. Instead, RHSC can systematically leverage the renown of an elder or expert to achieve its goals with a more narrowly defined target audience.

Expert as Advocate

As development issues have gone mainstream, the role of experts has increased dramatically. Academics, authors, NGO leaders, community leaders, and experts in the field all contribute to the global development discussion, and are taken seriously by policy makers and the public. Many experts have small circles of fame within communities that care about the issues. For example, Professor Jeffrey Sachs, Columbia University macroeconomist, health policy expert and Earth Institute founder has advised and educated Bono, Angelina Jolie and Madonna on development issues, and has become something of a work celebrity in his own right. His bestselling 2005 book *The End of Poverty* featured a forward by Bono and was critically acclaimed by the media. He has also advised the UN, the World Health Organization, and countries across the world.

Norman Borlaug, Prototype of an Expert Advocate

Norman Borlaug, the agricultural scientist and 1970 Nobel Peace Prize Winner who was a central figure in the “green revolution,” is a one of the first examples of the expert as advocate. Borlaug, who was born on a farm in Iowa and received his doctorate in plant pathology after working for the U.S. Forestry Service, began his career as a microbiologist at the du Pont de Nemours Foundation. In 1944, he took on a post directing the Cooperative Wheat Research Program in Mexico, a joint venture of Mexico and the Rockefeller Foundation, where his work led to the development of a high-yielding disease resistant wheat. His work on wheat, maize, rice, and other food products is credited with saving millions of lives in the developing world.

Out of Borlaug’s scientific career, a humanitarian passion developed. Stemming from applying his scientific work to feed the world’s hungry people, Borlaug partnered with the UN Food and Agriculture Organization to bring his work to the Middle East and South Asia. Perhaps his most lasting legacy is the World Food Prize to honor those who have made significant contributions to improving the quality and availability of food. Years after his death, hundreds of people from around the world are still sharing ideas and rewarding innovation for the cause for which Borlaug chose to advocate.

Recent Expert Advocates: Mortenson, Maathai, and Farmer

Greg Mortenson, education and literacy advocate, and co-founder of the Central Asia Institute, has become an important advisor to the US military in Afghanistan. Mortenson, the author of bestselling book *Three Cups of Tea: One Man’s Mission to Promote Peace... One School at a Time*, unexpectedly found a fan in military leaders including US Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and former Afghanistan commander General Stanley A. McChrystal. His book is now on the required reading list of senior military commanders in Afghanistan. Paradoxically, Mortenson believes there is no military solution in Afghanistan and instead believes the only long-term solution is through education, specifically the education of girls, which he promotes by constructing girls’ schools across the country. Mortenson’s approach—including the imperative to avoid civilian casualties—has been integrated with the US military’s counterinsurgency strategy, in what is one of the few examples of an advocate significantly influencing security policy.

Wangari Maathai is a classic example of expert as advocate. Maathai is a Kenyan environmental expert, political activist, author, and founder of the Green Belt Movement, an

indigenous grassroots NGO that utilizes a holistic approach to development. She was also the first East and Central African woman to receive a PhD, and the first African woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. She is known for promoting the planting of trees as a response to the environmental degradation that afflicts the rural poor in Africa, as well as promoting democracy in Kenya. The Green Belt Movement has planted more than 40 million trees, and has trained thousands of women in agricultural-related trades. Maathai was also part of the Jubilee 2000 global campaign, serving as co-chair of the Jubilee 2000 Africa Campaign. She was elected to Kenya's parliament in 2002 and was later appointed Assistant Minister for Environment and Natural Resources. She is also a UN Goodwill Ambassador to the Congo Basin Forest Ecosystem, as an advocate for the region's conservation and protection.

Dr. Paul Farmer is yet another example of the expert-turned-advocate. He is a physician with an active clinical practice, working both as an attending physician in infectious diseases and the Chief of the Division of Global Health Equity at the at the Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston, and as medical director of a small hospital, the Clinique Bon Sauveur in rural Haiti. He is also a passionate advocate for the health of those living in poverty, having founded Partners in Health to make inroads with policymakers to affect the delivery of services in resource-poor areas. In Haiti alone, PiH saw more than 2.6 million patients in 2009, with more than 800 staff and 2,000 community workers on the ground. Such substantial long-term resource investment proved invaluable in aiding the response to the devastating earthquake in December 2009.

"Mr. Condom," Mechai Viravaidya

Thai Mechai Viravaidya is an example of a highly effective, charismatic and creative expert advocate whose efforts to advocate in the family planning community have been credited by the World Bank with saving more than 7 million lives in his native Thailand.⁵² The son of two doctors, Mechai was born in Thailand in 1941, to a Thai father and Scottish mother. Educated in Australia, he returned to Thailand in the mid-1960s and began working inside government in areas of family planning.

In 1973, he founded a non-profit service organization called the Population and Community Development Association (PDA). PDA's stated objective was—and remains—to "empower Thailand's rural communities to eradicate poverty"⁵³, it was clear from the beginning that the means to achieve this end was rooted in family planning education and communication. It is a small indication of his success that Mechai is known throughout Thailand and the global family planning community as "Mr. Condom"—in fact, condoms are known in Thailand as "mechais."

Mechai's brilliance as an expert advocate lay in his ability to do anything and everything to get the message across to his audience, the rural poor. He held condom-blowing contests, founded a restaurant chain called "Cabbages and Condoms" where prophylactics replaced the standard after-dinner mint, and had monks bless contraceptives with holy water to convince rural women that the pill would have no negative side effects. Clearly a compelling personality, he understood from the start that information was only part of the equation. To successfully incorporate the use of contraceptives amongst the rural poor, "edu-tainment" was a key strategy.

Understanding that grassroots programs have limits and that some levels of change can only be made at the policy level, Mechai employed his trademark brash and straightforward communication style to do far more than distribute condoms around Thai villages. In 1991, he showed up at the annual meeting of the World Bank with handfuls of condoms, handing them out to the surprised bankers and finance ministers in attendance. There's little doubt this

captured the attention of the attendees; it also was still garnering him international media attention the following year, cementing his place among the key policy players in the family planning field⁵⁴.

Mechai, of course, was no stranger to high-powered governmental and policy-making for a, having served as Thailand's deputy minister of industry from 1985 to 1986 and as a senator from 1987 to 1991. In 1991, as AIDS appeared in Thailand and made the need for safe sex all the more pressing, Mechai was appointed as his country's minister for tourism, information and AIDS. Thanks to Mechai's advocacy, Thailand became a leader in fighting the disease, and was one of the first countries to see a decline in infection rates.⁵⁵ His prevention program led to a staggering 87 percent decrease in new HIV infections nationwide in the 1990s.⁵⁶

His role as a standout expert advocate lies not just in the fact he has made significant accomplishments on one key issue in his own country, but that he continues to have a global impact on a variety of issues. In addition to the Thailand-based PDA, Mechai has also founded the Population and Development International NGO whose docket of active issues includes not only HIV-AIDS prevention, but also tsunami relief, environmental protection, water supply, and young democracy. Mechai has not just utilized his celebrity, gained in the first place as an expert advocate, but he has successfully expanded upon its influence to bring his influence to bear on a variety of issues to serve his overall meta-goal of eradicating poverty.

The Gates Foundation recognized Mechai and the effectiveness of PDA by awarding its Gates Award for Global Health in 2007, making a \$1 million grant to the organization.⁵⁷ Currently, Mechai is focusing his considerable energies to fight, among other things, political corruption⁵⁸.

What We Have Learned: Expert Advocacy Findings Applicable to RHSC

As seen from the examples, the challenge for the champion expert is rarely credibility. However, organizations seeking their support should not assume champion experts' credibility, and efforts to ensure their mastery of the nuances of policy should be implemented. More often, the problem lies with the expert's lack of recognition outside of their professional networks, developing an expert takes time, and sometimes, a bit of luck. But organizations wishing to develop their own champion expert can take steps to increase the odds.

It will also be evident from the examples included here that the expert advocate must be truly passionate about the cause for which he or she is enlisted as a champion. A strength of expert advocates is their single-minded focus on the cause to which they have dedicated not just their advocacy initiatives, but indeed, their entire career. The expert advocate will typically have a very strong and specific perspective on the cause and therefore care must be given to ensure that the objectives of even the most seemingly similar NGO are in line with the expert's agenda—before the investment of time or money has been made to further the relationship.

The precondition for success with this type of champion falls on the common ground of the champion expert and the champion celebrity—exceptional communication abilities, or at the very least, the capacity to learn. This means they must be able to articulate what they seek in the clear and plain-spoken language of advocacy, suited for the 30 seconds of active listening from a policymaker, or the quotes and sound bites of a print or television interview, for their own Tweets and blogs to fans or donors. Once established, visibility should be sought through a media plan that includes interviews, op-eds, a marquee book, blogs, social media and so forth. Networking among targeted groups is also essential, through attending high-profile international events such as TED, the World Economic Forum and the Clinton Global Initiative.

CEOs/Philanthropists as Advocate

The high profile CEO/Philanthropist is a business leader whose financial resources and corporate success have given them both the public profile to advocate for good and the financial means to execute their good ideas. The classic examples in this category are Bill Gates, George Soros and Warren Buffett—extremely wealthy individuals who have not only donated significant portions of their income to causes like global health, but have created foundations and lent their time, energy and persona to advance their causes.

Traditional CEOs Turned Philanthropists: Gates, Soros and Buffett

When one thinks of business leaders doing good in the world, three names are bound to immediately come to the top of the mind: Bill Gates, George Soros, and Warren Buffett, capitalists whose business achievements need no introduction and whose philanthropic efforts have become nearly as well known. In fact, their approach of applying the resources of their corporate world to bear on the society's most entrenched problems has even been described by a new term, "philanthrocapitalism," the idea that the innovation of business leaders and nonprofits will solve problems where governments have failed.⁵⁹

Though their achievements are universally well-known, it is worth listing the stunning range of achievements of each of these leaders of not only business but also philanthropy. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, with its focus on enhancing healthcare and reducing extreme poverty globally, gives approximately \$800 million each year to address global health issues. With an endowment of more than \$33.5 billion, the Gates Foundation is currently tackling the failure of the American education system, increasing college completion, eliminating world hunger, and the eradication of polio.⁶⁰

Warren Buffett, primary shareholder, chairman and CEO of Berkshire Hathaway, pledged 10 million shares of Berkshire Hathaway Class B to the Gates Foundation in 2006, representing the largest single charitable donation in history, worth more than \$31 billion at the time of the gift.⁶¹ He also made headlines this year in his efforts to persuade his fellow billionaires to join his commitment to the cause: after announcing in June that he would give more than 99% of his wealth to philanthropy either during his life or after his death⁶², he then issued, with compatriot Gates, the Giving Pledge in August. The Giving Pledge invites America's wealthiest individuals to follow in Buffett's footsteps, committing the majority of their wealth to philanthropy during their lifetime or through planned charitable giving after death. In encouraging wealthy persons to give generously, the Giving Pledge states that it draws its information from "everyday folks":

While the Giving Pledge is specifically focused on billionaires, the idea takes its inspiration from efforts in the past and at present that encourage and recognize givers of all financial means and backgrounds. We are inspired by the example set by millions of Americans who give generously (and often at great personal sacrifice) to make the world a better place.⁶³

George Soros, hedge fund billionaire and founder and chairman of the Open Society Institute, has focused his philanthropic efforts and considerable resource on fighting poverty by shaping public policy. The Open Society Foundations encompass programs that are active in more than 60 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Through the Open Society, Soros also recently made an \$11 million gift to support New York City arts organizations and educational arts initiatives hard hit by the financial crisis.⁶⁴

CEO Leader: Muhtar Kent

The traditional CEO/Philanthropist has one obvious advantage: he or she brings tremendous resource, both in terms of money and manpower, and, one hopes, a good deal of leadership ability to rally said resource. However, when considering utilization of Celebrity CEO advocates, it is also vital to take into account less traditional examples and how the business leader's industry expertise might advance the cause.

For example, Muhtar Kent, Coca-Cola Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, The Coca-Cola Company, has declared his support of advancing the cause of women, but not simply by stamping his signature on a supportive letter or the Coca-Cola log on a related initiative. Kent has outlined a list of specific ways in which business and the "cause" must reciprocally work together, proposing that doing good should also make good business sense. As he stated in a recent *Huffington Post* article: "We in business have to think differently about the way we work with and view governments and NGOs. Governments and NGOs, in turn, need to think differently about the way they work with and view business."⁶⁵

Kent has also held Coca-Cola up as a leader in sustainability, dubbing himself the company's "chief sustainability officer," and establishing goals for the company that require extreme innovation to achieve the complementary goals of achieving cost savings for the business and reducing the company's carbon footprint⁶⁶. In this case, it seems, what's good for Coke is also good for the world.

It is also particularly important to note for the purposes of the RHSC that Coca-Cola and its partners produce more than 3,000 products around the world—in addition to his commitment to dovetailing business innovation with social justice, Kent also is a wealth of information about how to effectively manage a multi-national supply chain to move products around the world.

Ted Turner, Path-breaking CEO/Philanthropist

Ted Turner is a crucial early example of the "celebrity CEO" and philanthropist acting not only as donor but as champion. Turner typifies the successful CEO champion that he is not merely rich, but as a media mogul and the founder of CNN and TBS, also quite famous. His high-profile role as an innovator in the cable industry's history is also complemented by the fact that having created much of the era's most widely consumed media, Turner also bears a great influence on its content and usage, another tremendous resource he brings to the table as a champion advocate.

Some of Turner's early philanthropic efforts were focused on sustainability and the environment, to which he continues to be committed. He founded The Turner Foundation in 1990 to support these aims. He is also the largest private landowner in the United States, dedicating much of the land to ranches raising bison to be served up at his Ted's Montana Grill chain of restaurants. Turner's long-term commitment to habitat and sustainability, as well as his multi-channel approach to the issue, are typical of his style—applying business ingenuity to the causes that are important to him, while creating business opportunities along the way, the same sort of savvy approach evidenced by Coca-Cola's Kent.

Turner broke the mold and issued a challenge both direct and indirect to the billionaire community with his historic gift of \$1 billion, given over 10 years, to create the United Nations Foundation in 1997. Turner was quoted as saying he initially wanted to give the gift directly to the United Nations to support their humanitarian work, but was informed that the UN cannot

legally accept donations from individuals⁶⁷. Hence, the Foundation was created as a public charity. The UN Foundation's energies are focused on the global health initiatives that will help advance the Millennium Development Goals.

In 1997, Turner's \$1 billion gift was considered absolutely staggering, called by the *New York Times* "probably" one of the largest charitable gifts ever made. In light of Warren Buffett's recent \$31 billion gift to the Gates Foundation, it is easy to forget the significance of Turner's contribution at its own moment in time.

Though Gates and Buffett's Giving Pledge dominates headlines today, it is significant to note that Turner led the way on challenging what he termed the country's biggest "getters" to become its most significant "givers."⁶⁸ *Slate* magazine responded to Turner's 1996 lament that the rich of the nation were more interested in getting on the *Forbes 400* list than making philanthropic gifts by creating the *Slate 60*, an annual ranking of the country's top 60 donors. At the time, as *Slate* points out, the publication was owned by Bill Gates who had not yet had his revelation of giving and was indeed notorious for not making philanthropic contributions in proportion to his enormous wealth.⁶⁹

What We Have Learned: CEO/Philanthropist Advocacy Findings Applicable to RHSC

CEO Philanthropist advocates are beneficial for several obvious reasons: they have extensive financial resource, intellectual capacity, and oftentimes energy to commit to a cause. However, the strengths that go along with having the likes of Ted Turner attached to an organization's initiative also have the potential to create challenges. The CEO/Philanthropist is a leader who is often used to getting his or her own way. Defining the terms of the involvement clearly, as well as having a realistic understanding of the personality with whom you are working, is a first step to success and the happy engagement of a CEO champion.

In selecting a CEO/philanthropist champion, we learn from successful examples that simply having money does not make someone by default a good choice for champion. Turner, Gates, Soros and Buffett were all famous well before they started giving away their money. Raising to high profile position due to innovation in their respective industries gave them a unique platform from which to influence as a philanthropist.

Kent provides a new model that is of particular interest to Coca-Cola. Rather than donating out of his personal wealth, he is leveraging the resources of his company and designing business strategies that advance important causes along the way. This type of advocate is of particular interest to RHSC's technical and supply-related initiatives.

Developing Country Champions

Champions from the developing world are compelling for a number of reasons. First, they are typically live in or come from the countries in which the issues for which they advocate are most pressing. Developing country champions have a tremendous amount of inherent credibility as well as grassroots influence as they advocate at home. As the examples below will illustrate, however, much of the advocacy work of champions from the South is focused on NGOs that have originated in the South. It is a rarer scenario, but certainly not unheard of, that developing country champions invest their time and support in Northern NGOs even when the issues are focused on the developing world.

Advocating for and at Home: Mo Ibrahim and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf

One model of the developing country champion is the advocate who has experienced great success and applies that success to invest time, resources, and support for the issues that need addressing in his or her home.

Mobile communications magnate and Sudanese-born Dr. Mohamed Ibrahim is known for his efforts to advance good governance across sub-Saharan Africa through the initiatives of his Mo Ibrahim Foundation. The Foundation cleverly created its own measurement of a country's governance, dubbed the "Ibrahim Index," which has garnered substantial press for both the organization and its cause. The Index uses indicators across four main categories: safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity; and human development.

Ibrahim has exerted his stature and the platform provided by the foundation to shed light on the injustices in African governments, garnering much press when he opted to not award the Ibrahim Prize for excellence in African leadership because no one leader's achievements fit the organization's bill. The Foundation instead invested in a leadership fellowship program.⁷⁰

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is another example of a champion advocate who is advancing causes in her native country. Sirleaf is a unique example because she is not a recruited celebrity advocate who is tied to a cause, but rather the sitting president of Liberia. She was serving as Liberia's Minister of Finance until the 1980 political coup which forced her to flee the country. After spending years working for the UN, Sirleaf returned to Liberia and was elected president in 2005. She has been a powerful advocate for maternal health, named as the Honorary President for Commission on Women's Health, World Health Organization.

The Overcoming Champion: Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Archbishop Tutu is a classic example of the developing country advocate. Currently serving as Chairman of the Elders, he was born in 1931 in South Africa and was ordained as a priest in 1960. A leading voice in the fight against apartheid, Tutu became the first black General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches in 1979. He became a global figure for his commitment to non-violence and outspoken support for the sanctions against South Africa due to its apartheid policies.

Archbishop Tutu is a tremendous champion advocate in his own right, but his seat on the front lines of apartheid, as a black man, give him additional credibility in the Southern causes for which he advocates. Certainly to the public, and one might assert in the policy community, there

is something compelling about a brilliant compassionate voice for change coming out of someone who has experienced much hardship. Tutu's story of how he became a priest lends perspective on the humble beginnings to his extensive global accomplishments:

Tutu's family moved to Johannesburg when he was twelve. His father was a teacher and his mother a cleaner and cook at a school for the blind.[3] Here he met Trevor Huddleston who was a parish priest in the black slum of Sophiatown. "One day," said Tutu, "I was standing in the street with my mother when a white man in a priest's clothing walked past. As he passed us he took off his hat to my mother. I couldn't believe my eyes – a white man who greeted a black working class woman!"

What We Have Learned: Developing Country Advocate Findings Applicable to RHSC

A champion from a developing country is “two advocates in one,” a high-profile personality and a Voice from the South. The concept of ‘Voices from the South’ in advocacy communications aims at furthering credibility for a cause and organization by giving voice to a concerned person or representative of a concerned group, such as climate change victims or people living with HIV. The credibility is based on the fact the advocate is speaking about his or her own experience and is therefore perceived as being more reliable and—from a donor’s perspective—closer to the development aid’s target group.

With regard to media relations, “Voices from the South” oftentimes help in pitching otherwise ‘unsellable’ stories by giving them a personal angle.

A representative from the South can possess high credibility with the donor community and EU and US politicians, simply by virtue of being from a developing country. For example, for a maternal health campaign Lyia Kebede, the Ethiopian supermodel and advocate obviously “feels” more credible than the Irish male Bono.

If the target group of the advocacy effort for which the champion has been chosen is Southern, be it part of a developing country’s government or one of its citizens, a champion from a developing country can carry a lot of weight. Star football players or musicians can be hugely influential with their governments as these governments rely generally even more on popular support than EU or US politicians. To communicate a message to a wider audience in a developing country, champions from that region are oftentimes the most listened-to and therefore influential voices. While this holds true in the Northern hemisphere as well (many campaigns against HIV or drunk-driving for example feature national celebrities), the voices of celebrities hold added weight in the African context thanks to the ‘elders concept,” meaning that those in positions of authority (whether older or not) are given great respect.

The Champions for an HIV-free Generation initiative, founded by former President Festus Mogae of Botswana is based on that assumption, featuring some of the South’s best-known leaders and celebrities providing what they term as “stronger, more visionary leadership from the continent most affected by this epidemic.”⁷¹ The initiative features Mogae as well as former President Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Former President Benjamin Mkapa (Tanzania), Former President Joaquim Chissano (Mozambique), Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Justice Edwin Cameron (Constitutional Court of South Africa), Professor Miriam Were (former chair of the Kenyan National Aids Control Council), Speciosa Wandira (former Vice-President of Uganda), Joyce Mhaviile (Chair of the Steering Committee of the African Broadcast Media Partnership Against HIV/AIDS) and Liya Kebede (Ethiopian supermodel and activist).

While the influence a champion from a developing country can provide is partly derived from their nationality, they also need to advocate and be ready for hard talk with policymakers, and therefore should have professional expertise and leadership experience, as the cases of former Presidents or an NGO leader such as Wangari Maathai demonstrate.

If chosen well, advocates from developing countries can be among the most credible and powerful influencers, especially as a voice for a call to action. Unfortunately, the number of suitable high-profile candidates outside the celebrity advocates realm (e.g. musicians Youssou N'Dour and Angelique Kidjo) is low.

A champion from the South also has the potential to balance oftentimes too “white” boards or secretariats. However, in this type of case, an organization must employ a very smart communications strategy and outreach to ensure that the champion is not seen as—or used as, for that matter—a token.

Elder Statesmen as Advocates

The champion category known as “elder statesman” goes to prove that the world’s most influential people exert a different kind of leadership when they no longer hold public office. For the political leaders who rightly wear the title of leader, the role of champion advocate provides an opportunity to continue doing the good they have attempted to do while in office—often freed by many of the challenges that the constant negotiations of politics requires.

The power of this type of advocate, functioning both as awareness-driving champion and experienced policy-making genius, has been harnessed famously by The Elders, an independent group of eminent global leaders, brought together by Nelson Mandela, who offer their collective influence and experience to support peace building, help address major causes of human suffering and promote the shared interests of humanity.⁷²

Early Efforts: President Jimmy Carter

President Jimmy Carter is a prime example of the “elder statesman” using his post-office years to advance strategic initiatives which he did not have the opportunity to achieve in office. During his term, Carter said he wanted to make government “competent and compassionate.” Since leaving office, he has continued that work, through his involvement in a variety of national and international public policy, conflict resolution, human rights and charitable causes.

Carter and his wife Rosalynn founded the Carter Center shortly after he left office, in 1982. The Carter Center’s motto—“Waging Peace. Fighting Disease. Building Hope”—summarizes its work focused on strengthening democracy and eradicating disease. In addition to his work via his own Foundation, Carter is famously involved with Habitat for Humanity as its face and champion advocate. Though Habitat for Humanity was founded in 1976, the organization experienced phenomenal growth after President and Mrs. Carter took their first work trip to New York City in 1984.⁷³ The Carters involvement continues as a classic example of the visibility and growth that a famous champion can offer an organization.

Carter continues his efforts as a diplomat and policy advocate through his involvement with The Elders and was recognized with the Nobel Peace Prize in December 2002 for “his decades of untiring effort to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts, to advance democracy and human rights, and to promote economic and social development.”⁷⁴

The Enduring and Extensive Influence of the Elder Statesman: Nelson Mandela

President Carter may have paved the way as a leading example in modern times of the elder statesman as champion advocate, but it might be argued that his efforts have been surpassed by the incredible contributions of former South African President Nelson Mandela. To recount the causes for which Mandela has advocated—to great and world-altering success—would be far beyond the scope of this report, but suffice to say, his work as an advocate for reconciliation and peace through The Nelson Mandela Foundation and his role in bringing together The Elders show that his influence today is no less significant than it was during his historic presidency.

Perhaps the most powerful way to sum up the influence that the elder statesman can bring to bear on issues of social justice and global health is a story told by President Bill Clinton about Mandela:

He recalled Mr Mandela asking him to help the peace process in Burundi. "In 2000, I was sitting in the White House, minding my own business, America's business, that is ...", when Mr Mandela called. "His first words were 'My president'. Some people talk in code," President Clinton said with a laugh. "Whenever he started a sentence with 'my president', what that meant was, 'I'm about to ask you to do something you do not want to do but you might as well say yes before we argue about it.'" He recalled that Mr Mandela had persuaded him to fly to Arusha in Tanzania, because the leaders "would be too embarrassed to not sign the peace agreement in front of the president of the United States." He laughed, saying Mr Mandela had pointed out to him, "Normally, I'm the saint and you're the sinner, but this time it's the other way around!"⁷⁵

President Clinton, of course, is quite the elder statesman himself: the Clinton Global Initiative meeting this fall attracted more than 64 heads of state as well as some of the world's most influential business leaders, nonprofit directors and government officials—many of the champions mentioned in this report. Because of the commitments made by its members, the Initiative reports, nearly 20 million people have increased access to safe drinking water, more than \$1.75 billion in capital has been invested or loaned to small enterprises, and more than 90 million acres of forest have been protected or restored.⁷⁶

Mary Robinson, A Lifetime of Advocacy

For an organization seeking to enlist the support of an elder statesman as champion, there are few better examples than Mary Robinson. In addition to her own accomplishments, she has also been generous with her support of organizations that are in line with her goals, rather than simply founding organizations to achieve them (though, she has done that as well).

Robinson, the first female president of Ireland, went on to serve as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Her honorary presidencies and board memberships read like a who's who of the international human rights community: she is the honorary president of Oxfam, the chair of the International Institute for Environment and Development, the chair of the GAVI Alliance, and has recently founded her own NGO, Realizing Rights: the Ethical Globalization Initiative.

Besides being ambitious and widely involved, Robinson is of course, well-connected. She is one of The Elders, serves on the board of the Mo Ibrahim foundation, and is a founding member and Chair of the Council of Women World Leaders. One would imagine there are few doors that Mary Robinson is unable to open for a cause for which she is a champion.

What We Have Learned: Elder Statesman Advocate Findings Applicable to RHSC

Elders are by definition freed from the politics, partisanship and conflicts of the day. Although former national leaders are less likely to wed themselves to one particular effort, they bring many of the benefits applicable to RHSC: appropriate visibility, potential entrée to policymakers, and the potential for media attention.

Elder statesmen are effective champions in that they have tremendous attention, power, fame and experience they can leverage for causes of interest. Second, they tend to be tremendously committed to causes they championed in office, taking the opportunity as an advocate to achieve goals things they were never able to complete in office.

Mary Robinson is every organization's dream champion, given her extensive involvement in the human rights community and support of several organizations. Of note to the RHSC is one of the global challenges her NGO hopes to tackle: realizing the right to health. Robinson is also an advocate for the rights of women, which also is applicable to the family planning discussion.

Ampersand Global Research on Champion Advocacy

Ampersand Global Interview Results

Perhaps the most beneficial information that can inform RHSC's decision regarding if and how to use a champion advocate will come from those who have engaged in similar campaigns. Leveraging our extensive network and experience in the champions arena, Ampersand Global interviewed people familiar with the champions process, people with direct experience of RHSC, policymakers, and journalists who frequently engage with champions. The findings below provide a variety of perspectives on the nature of and effective implementation of a champion campaign.

Interviews include:

- Anonymous, external relations staff at global environmental group
- Julia Bunting, DFID, Member RHSC Board
- Joshua Busby, Assistant Professor of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin; and author of *Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in International Politics*; and *Moral Movements and Foreign Policy*.
- Erika Dimmler, White House producer, CNN
- Lieve Fransen, European Commission, Director DG COMM
- Orly Isaacson, Legislative Director, U.S. Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney, Chair, Joint Economic Committee
- Angelique Kidjo, singer, Ambassador for two UN agencies, founder, Batonga Foundation
- Orin Levine, Executive Director, International Vaccine Access Center, preventpneumo.org
- Jon Liden, Director of Communications, Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria
- Susan Rich, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
- Taylor Royle, Communications Director, Make it Right Foundation, formerly with DATA and ONE
- Karen Sichinga, Executive Director, Churches Health Association of Zambia. Ms. Sichinga, a nurse, has lobbied US Congress to support PEPFAR and Global Fund money.
- Jagdish Upadhyay, UNFPA, member, RHSC Board

On working with a champion from an internal logistical perspective:

“In the work with [the champion] it’s crucial to minimize the number of asks and be cognizant of [the champion’s] own brand.”

“Instead of wasting [the champion’s] commitment on small stuff, we always try to create ‘perfect storms’ - right location, right timing etc, like at [high-level international event].”

“[The champion’s] prime role is as a door-opener; having [the champion’s] name enables us to develop strategic relationships.”

“Our executive director is the contact to [the champion]. They have quite a close relationship and [the executive director] handles all relationships including briefings.”

“On top of using a celebrity and establishing close, trusted relationships, the asks need to be linked to something like MDGs, gender issues, etc.”

“The most important aspect in developing spokespeople is that one needs to be prepared to invest a significant amount of time, and continuously feed them info.”

“The leader of the organization needs to understand that they have to have a lot of face-time with champion.”

“Use a two-pronged approach: dynamic leader who can communicate the vision within the community and champion/celebrity to market it beyond the community.”

On champion credibility:

“They can be briefed; as long as you have a convincing narrative for the celebrity.”

“When we do hear from heads of organizations—well, offices tend to rely on the usual suspects, people who we know are good on these issues, for expediency and for comfort level, we trust what they have to say. That’s not to say you can’t break in to the circle.”

“The people with credibility have real understanding of issues, they’re not just in it for good press.”

“I still use my training for the Global Fund when I do an interview. For example, avoiding the jargon, making sure people know what I mean, and focus on the results of the work we are doing. [You] need training in how to communicate effectively to get your message through. So often after an interview, I feel a sense of emptiness and failure. Train, constantly refresh your training, make sure you have accurate information.”

“Local champions have more credibility on local issues. For example, if someone from the West spoke about female genital mutilation, it would fall on deaf ears.”

On champion impact:

"[The champion] went on [international] trips with invited top-tier reporters to visit projects and we used these trips to produce a range of audiovisual material, which we plan to use throughout the year for PR."

"Thanks to [the champion] we receive a lot of coverage, including cover stories in national magazines we otherwise would never have gotten."

"With [the champion's] help we are able to reach great numbers of grassroots supporters; not entirely new groups but it increases greatly the number of people who will hear of [the NGO]."

"People give because of the cause, not the celebrity; but without the celebrity they might have never heard of us."

"A politician, like the European Commission President Barosso, would be influenced by a celebrity, as top politicians are very sensitive to have photo-ops."

"The impact of celebrity advocacy depends a lot on which kind of celebrity one chooses and to which purpose."

"Generally, if you want big money from an organization that hasn't given anything before, a celebrity can serve as a door-opener."

"For better or for worse, members of Congress and staff get excited over celebrities, so a celebrity doesn't necessarily lend credibility, but certainly raises the profile of an issue."

"If [a celebrity appearance] is written up in Roll Call (newspaper), if it makes the Washington Post, it's always a good thing for the issue. It just raises the profile of an issue. People are interested in what celebs have to say, what they're interested in. Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt give millions of dollars to UNHCR, and people pay more attention to UNHCR. Members of Congress like to get press, like to get their photos taken with celebrities, which gets them more press. And they may focus more on an issue if they know people are listening, if they're paying attention."

"In the end, policy happens as a result of people's personal interest, both the celebrity and the member of Congress can expedite."

"Media attention is politically attractive, so it's easy to hug Bono and his cause."

Organizational costs associated with a utilizing champion:

"It is extremely time-consuming to deal with requests by other organizations who ask for [the champion's] appearance at their events; everything that we receive in that sense we forward once a week to [the champion's] publicist."

"[The] hardest part is getting a response from [the champion's] publicist and getting events organized given [the champion's] busy schedule"

"For the politician's staff however, dealing with a celebrity is just annoying."

Biggest challenges and risks when utilizing a champion:

"[One] lesson [we've] learned is don't plan events around [the champion] since [the champion's] schedule can change."

"It's important not to be too dependent on a celebrity, but remain an independent organization where the celebrity is only one part of it."

"Don't make the celebrity the focus; it's about the cause, not the champion."

"In a nutshell, [the champion] is important for [the NGO], but [the champion] is not [the NGO]."

"Celebrity is the door-opener, BUT the organization's staff has to build relations with donor at a sufficiently high-level."

"The necessary trust that will lead to political action comes from established working relationships between organization and donor, not thanks to a celebrity. In other words, a celebrity is not sufficient, especially if staff is not convinced"

"When the public hasn't been educated on an issue or cause you may have an opening. New issues are easier to mobilize. However, some issues can be remarkably harder when there are fixed attitudes attached."

"Are we at the saturation moment for using celebrities?"

On the ideal champion:

"Carla Bruni [wife of French President Nicolas Sarkozy and Global Fund ambassador] makes for an excellent champion; she is not only widely known and good-looking, but can also directly influence the French President, a major donor in Global Health."

"Someone like Christy Turlington, who has demonstrated a clear interest in maternal mortality and maternal health by getting her Masters in Public Health, demonstrates commitment and real knowledge of issues."

"Natalie Portman. She comes off as a smarter person. I guess even though beauty is valued, knowledge is helpful."

"Princess Diana's campaign to ban landmines is generally viewed as one of the most successful celebrity campaigns."

On champions to avoid:

"It's unclear whether it's because she's an idiot, but [former Spice Girl] Gerri Halliwell has done things for UNFPA and is just a disaster; she doesn't understand the issues. But Gerri Halliwell did get attention for UNFPA, she was effective at that."

“Christina Ricci. You can see she's just dumb, she's more interested in how she looks than what she's saying.”

On Coalitions:

“When there is a controversial issue we are working on with government, I do not want to hear CHAZ [the coalition] commenting about that in the paper, because we have a direct channel of communications. One church [coalition member] may choose to speak out but [must be] very clear [they are] not [speaking] for CHAZ.”

“We have clear agreement on issues, what is part of our agenda, and what is not. If there is an issue that affects our joint agenda, we will also approach our members.”

On political strategies when using a champion:

“In what areas will policy makers allow their reputation to suffer—what do they care about?”

“Focus efforts on blockages to policy.”

“The real challenge is governments are slashing their budgets and campaigns are competing against each other.”

“One needs technical community on one's side [because they endorse your new strategy/solution], but it's not sufficient for a policy change. To make politicians act, direct lobbying, media and grassroots advocacy is needed. With all three aspects, a celebrity can help.”

On RHSC:

“RHSC lacks public affairs experience, strategic communications and advocacy – without [those three elements] a celebrity campaign makes no sense”

“RHSC doesn't have numbers, which are needed for successful advocacy and to set targets”

“RHSC should talk about access (empowerment, choice) instead of supply”

Academic Perspective

The serious academic study of the celebrity advocacy is relatively new, as is the phenomenon itself. It could be said that there are two eras: before and after Jubilee 2000. Bono's involvement with the campaign and its related success was a turning point not only in how the enterprise of celebrity advocacy is performed, but also in how it is studied. Before this time, studying celebrity advocacy was usually an atomized venture that looked at various pieces of the puzzle, but generally ignored the bigger picture—partially because the bigger picture was still being formed. But a primary reason for academia's dearth of early material about celebrity advocacy is the Ivory Tower mentality that has historically relegated the social sciences to lesser status, especially when delving in to subjects related to popular culture.

The rare times celebrity advocacy was first studied by academia, it was found in the social movements or communications literature. The subset surrounding politicized music and performers has been analyzed seriously since at least the 1980s. Early exceptions that viewed celebrity advocacy more broadly include sociologist C. Wright Mills' 1957 classic *The Power Elite*, communications professor David Marshall's 1997 book *Celebrity and Power*, and David Meyer and Joshua Gamson's 1995 article in the academic journal *Sociological Inquiry*, *The Challenge of Cultural Elites: Celebrities and Social Movements*.

Early on, Meyer and Gamson recognized the resources celebrities can bring to social movements, and cited their chief asset as (1) "the visibility that comes along with their participation."⁷⁷ Also noted were the celebrity's abilities to (2) draw in other participants and potential supporters, (3) make attendance more attractive to potential supporters, (4) provide critical fundraising support to help social movement organizations, and (5) the lure of celebrity contact, which is powerful for politicians and policymakers. Meyer and Gamson further note that "celebrities can open doors for movement activists," and demonstrate how celebrities have special political access that eclipses that of the general public.⁷⁸ These were important insights in 1995 that still matter today.

In 2003, *Celebrity Politics* by Darrell M. West and John M. Orman was released, an important contribution in that it helped ignite the academic conversation on this area of advocacy. Political scientist and diplomacy expert Andrew F. Cooper's *Celebrity Diplomacy* was released in 2008, providing what may be the best overview on the current state of celebrity advocacy. Public affairs professor Joshua W. Busby has also recently added to the conversation, and his 2007 article in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in International Politics* has been included as a chapter in his forthcoming book, *Moral Movements and Foreign Policy*.

When looking to current issues and the future of celebrity advocacy, academics have varying opinions along with some astute observations worth considering. Darrell West has recently commented on what could be viewed as the doppelganger of celebrity advocacy—celebrity politicians. West believes that the same forces that are providing celebrities political space are forcing politicians to become celebrities, which is reducing the entire political enterprise to the lowest common denominator; a kind of political reality show. West then presciently concludes, "As politics becomes mere entertainment, the danger is that society loses its ability to solve pressing social problems."⁷⁹

Joshua Busby believes that organizations and campaigns must be careful about relying too heavily upon celebrity advocates. He also mentions the tendency of politicians, when faced with pressure from celebrities, to engage in "competitive promise making, in an effort to placate advocacy campaigns."⁸⁰ We previously mentioned the unfulfilled 2005 G8 promise of universal HIV medications access by 2010.

Busby also notes the danger of getting tied to a particular party and mentions the strange instance when HIV/AIDS funding was almost cut by the new US Democratic Congress in 2006 because the cause had become associated with Republican President George W. Bush and his party. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, development is strongly associated with the Labour Party and Gordon Brown. Now that the Labour Party is no longer in power, development advocates may find it harder to advance related issues in the UK.

Busby also notes that placing too much of the communications burden upon celebrities when they become "the de facto interlocutors between citizen advocates as well as between the

campaign and decision makers,” can lead to oversimplified messages. Busby illustrates, “Instead of a complex message about additional resources and new ways of delivering foreign assistance, all policymakers may hear is ‘More foreign aid, please.’”⁸¹ Busby further notes, “No matter how you dress up that policy (as a moral obligation, as a national security obligation), that prescription is likely to be a nonstarter.”

Perhaps the biggest issues facing the future of celebrity activism is related to the saturation of Western/Global North celebrities, which itself is related to cultural context both in regards to the issues and the celebrities. Academics and pundits agree that these cultural considerations are imperative. Busby discussed the lack of success the Jubilee 2000 campaign had in Japan, where it lacked the “local cultural foundations.” While the Japanese public was generally supportive of foreign aid, the Finance Ministry was the “dominant gatekeeper” and “found debt relief inimical.” This goes back to Japan’s view that their loans to East Asia were valuable development tools, as well as concern that debt relief would “cut developing countries off from access to capital markets.”⁸² This fits with what many scholars have found in the social movements literature: “Advocates are more likely to be successful when their goals are perceived to fit with the deeply held preferences (over ends) the *public and policymakers already have*.”⁸³

Practically, this would hold that based on the geographical needs of a coalition, a suite of champions representing each targeted area would be most beneficial.

Andrew F. Cooper is most concerned about the “tight grip of the model of celebrity diplomacy found in the Anglo-Sphere.” He notes the corresponding concentration of soft power that also resides with “the dominant states of the North.”⁸⁴ Cooper worries about “celebrity colonialism” and a backlash toward the legitimacy of northern-based celebrity advocates if they do not “embrace their emerging counterparts from the South.” Cooper rightly notes that “Universalism in intent must be matched by universalism in personnel, as any prolonged disconnect between object and subject undermines the fundamental value and sustainability of [celebrity advocacy] as a viable project.”

A hopeful take on the future of the enterprise lies within changing global structures that have seen cracks open in the traditional foreign policy apparatus (due to technology), indirectly lending more power to global civil society. Cooper notes that celebrities are uniquely suited to operate within this new structure, as they can “effectively break down the barriers between domestic and international politics.”⁸⁵ As the public continues to care more about issues that were previously limited to the halls of diplomats and small subsets of experts, new leaders will be needed to bridge these gaps. Champions, whether celebrities, or experts with exceptional communications skills, provide a natural option to fill this gap.

What Makes a Successful Advocate? Summary of Lessons Learned

When looking solely at a model of the exceptional champion, Bono has written the book. Any organization attempting to utilize champions, especially when the cause is in the sphere of global development, should study Bono very closely, especially his work in the late 1990s to mid-2000s with Jubilee 2000, DATA and ONE. However, there is only one Bono, and at this point he has probably already spent most of his celebrity currency. His recent forays into the world of high finance (through his investment house) and U2's tax dodging have eroded much of his credibility with an already skeptical public, especially in Europe. This situation exemplifies one of the prime risks of champion advocacy—namely, champions are human. They do silly things, miscalculate, and just plain screw up, like the rest of us. And even if their future actions feel relatively safe, their past is not to be overlooked. Just look at the recent release of photos from Angelina Jolie's substance abusing past—what effect these photos have on her work with the UN remains to be seen.

This leads to an important point about champion advocacy—public and political saturation. The public, and in corollary, policymakers, will only listen to a champion for so long until they move on the next thing. And as some public opinion polls have shown, the public, especially conservatives, are highly suspicious of champions pushing causes. By the same token, the public is also very untrusting of politicians in general, yet these same politicians continually win elections and make laws. Champions are just operating within a new political space opened by a changing world, and they are not going away.

The keys to moving forward for any organization interested in utilizing committed champion advocates are the campaign's context and creativity. This will differentiate the highly successful ventures from the rest. Yet there is a set of clearly identified lessons learned that an organization should consider before engaging in specific strategy. While these lessons might not guarantee success, they will lead to a much lower probability of failure when taken seriously. Of course, these lessons learned assume that an organizational communications and marketing plan is in place and operational, and that these goals are intimately connected with the champion's role.

Champion Interest in the Cause

First and foremost, champions must be interested in the cause and capable intellectually. Ideally there will be a natural fit, such as a prior interest in the cause, an introduction by a professional acquaintance, or a meeting at an event. Sustained champion interest will most likely correlate with seriousness or intellectual capacity, but an intentional effort to assess the reality is imperative. A champion should have mentors for educational purposes, such as academics and policy experts, as well as field training with staff on the ground in local populations. It is also highly recommended that the champion have another champion mentor, exemplified by Bono's tutelage of Brad Pitt, George Clooney and Matt Damon.

Development of Relationship

Go slow. Champion advocates, unless of the expert variety, need time to study the issues, and develop relationships with the organization and related communities. This benefits the champion and the organization, in that the champion has time to become knowledgeable about the issues and develop credibility, while the organization has time to assess how the relationship is

working. This gives both parties time to opt out should an ideal partnership fail to develop. This also allows the campaign to marinate with the public and offers an opportunity to experiment with strategy and asks. Going slow also means initially targeting gatekeepers before going straight to the decision-makers.

It may be helpful to use the metaphors associated with a romantic relationship when assessing initial progress: from *first date* to *dating* to *engagement* to *partnership/marriage*. The UN Goodwill Ambassador program uses a “period of engagement” before an offer is made to the champion. It is also essential to understand and communicate goals for the relationship *up front*. Each situation is unique and requires different levels of champion engagement. See the *Champion Ladder of Engagement* (below) for more details on increasing levels of engagement.

Communication Process

Sufficient internal communications capacity is a must, with significant resources devoted to the champion campaign. Our interviews show that organizations that work with champions experience significant increases in workload, especially the leader of the organization. Organizations must also respect the champion’s time and always utilize advance planning in order to maximize this valuable resource. High-impact media events that offer multiple messaging and production opportunities such as country visits with reporters and high-profile international events are ideal opportunities. It is also important to consult and involve the grassroots supporters, and member organizations for coalitions such as RHSC.

Credibility

Credibility is imperative—a champion’s fame can open doors, but credibility keeps them open. Credibility is a natural outflow from lesson one, champion interest and capability, yet it is only earned over time. If the champion is a celebrity, the barrier to credibility is even higher. The best way to earn credibility is through a consistent commitment to advocacy; credibility is further cemented when the issues themselves are consistent. For instance, Matt Damon is building a credible brand around water advocacy and development.

Further, credibility is becoming increasingly tied to champion lifestyle. In the past this was related to superficial (but valid) concerns about a champion’s wardrobe in the field, for instance, Princess Diana’s early penchant for extravagance. While wardrobe is still important, these types of blunders are generally avoided with a good communications staff.

Yet because of the 24-hour media cycle, champion lifestyle concerns have evolved. In Angelina Jolie’s case, she has not only put her time and money on the line, but her family as well. Her adoptions of children from developing countries with partner Brad Pitt, and their part-time living arrangements in some of these same locations, have lent a credibility that was previously only available to experts. This integration of message and lifestyle is a powerful combination that will become a more frequent champion posture.

Conversely, care must be taken not engage with champions who are overly controversial, erratic or unreliable. This may seem like a given, but there is a whole group of celebrities that seek out cause opportunities for image rehabilitation purposes. In these cases its best to avoid the temptation all together.

For an expert such as Jeffrey Sachs or Greg Mortenson, when credibility is already high, the goal is clearly communicating that credibility to the public or policy makers. Experts also need time to build a constituency that cares, and to forge relationships. Mortenson worked in Afghanistan for nearly 15 years before his platform was expanded, his long-term commitment being a large reason for his credibility.

Cultural and Political Considerations

Avoid affiliating the champion or the issue with political parties. Leaders and ruling parties come and go, so care should be given to rise above the temptation to walk hand-in-hand with any politician or party, as it can damage the issue as well as the campaign in the long run. Messaging should explicitly attempt to transcend these divides and unite the public and policymakers around the issue's common themes. Coalition building is important among policymakers and the public alike. However, it is important to thoroughly understand the political climate and be aware of potential messaging or policy roadblocks, in an attempt to preempt opposition.

Champion campaign strategy must be contextually and culturally appropriate. Just as Bono understood the US Christian right was a significant factor in garnering public and political support for Jubilee 2000 and HIV/AIDS, campaigns should assess each goal through the maximum number of lenses—global, national, political, regional, local, etc. Consider both the cause and the champion at each relevant level. This is especially important for coalitions such as RHSC who have diverse members both organizationally and globally.

Be inclusive and broad in choosing champions, careful to avoid “celebrity colonialism.” While celebrity champions from Hollywood or Paris may have more broad-based appeal in the West, campaigns should aim to cultivate a group of champions representative not only of target donor countries, but of the countries they claim to represent. This “champion diversity” will more and more become tied to the campaign’s credibility. This lesson, like contextual and cultural context, is also one that is particularly applicable to coalitions. The UN Goodwill Ambassador program is currently the exemplary model.

Other Considerations

Of equal importance is choosing from a broad base of champions, and to not only include celebrities, but entrepreneurial advocates, experts, moral entrepreneurs, and so forth. Champions from different fields allow organizations to tweak campaign strategies to suit various purposes, whether they be related to publicity, public mobilization, intra-professional visibility, or policy asks.

Believe in deeds, not words. Politicians are as susceptible to the lure of champions as anyone else, if not more so. It has been speculated that this is rooted in a “psychological exchange,” with politicians wanting the glamour that comes with a connection to popular culture, and the champions wanting to be seen as “serious thinkers and doers.”⁸⁶ Given this level of psychological interplay, not to mention that inherent difficulty that is associated with implementation versus promises, organizations must expect and prepare for unfulfilled promises. How they handle this reality will vary depending on the situation.

Be Prepared for Success

Be prepared for success. Ideally the champion campaign succeeds. First, anticipate the associated responsibilities that come with success, and second, be prepared for them. The policy advocates at DATA were summoned by the Bush Administration with little notice, and were relied upon to write the backbone of the Millennium Challenge Account legislation. Greg Mortenson was reportedly shocked that the US Military approached him for advice on Afghanistan, but when contacted, he was well prepared to not only advise but also build more schools.

Creative and unique campaigns will be most effective as the public and policymakers become more saturated by champions. Polling shows that the public is becoming increasingly skeptical of celebrities with causes, particularly among conservatives. While our polling data was limited to the United States and Ireland, this sentiment may even be greater in continental Europe. Developing nations are still in the infancy stages of celebrity advocacy, where massive potential remains.

This skepticism may also stem from the grim portrayal of some causes that pushes the victim mentality. While this can be effective in the situations that require immediacy, such as natural disasters, in general the public reaction is indifference or even resentment. More recently development issues have been communicated more positively; presented as opportunities and investments to more closely match the cultural sensitivities of the West. Organizations must decide for themselves how to best communicate their cause, but positive messages are encouraged.

Champions and organizations must also utilize their collective creativity when implementing campaigns. New media offers infinite possibilities to deliver messaging, and to specifically target them as never before. Matt Damon's integration of the nonprofit ONEXONE in the script of Hollywood-themed *Entourage*, which has an ideal target audience of young influentials, was a brilliant maneuver not only in idea, but also in implementation. The episode featured Matt Damon as himself, going off in an uncharacteristic rage on a co-star, Vince, because he did not donate enough to ONEXONE. Intimidated by Damon, Vince agrees to give more. There was also a considerable amount of buzz before the episode, as takes were intentionally leaked, leading to speculation that the encounter between Damon and Vince was real. ONEXONE received inordinate amounts of publicity as a result. This is just one example of the possibility that exists in today's media environment. It will be up to creative champions and communications staffs to continually break new ground.

"It's about the cause, not the champion." As one interviewee noted, it is easy to get caught up in the champion and lose focus on the cause. Organizations should be intentionally cognizant of this fact, and intentionally pursue balance. Furthermore, the staff should be consulted and involved in the champion campaign. In addition, staff should never disengage from messaging, in mistaken belief that the champion is the only face of the organization. The champion should always respect the staff.

The Future

In the new digital environment, advocacy organizations which previously would have reached a wide audience solely through established media, have now, in effect, become content producers. Their digital media presence strives to attract eyeballs in exactly the same way the

Guardian or the New York Times does. While this potential for direct, unmediated contact with target audiences, is enormously empowering, it in no way reduces the role of champions. The same retired statesman who might have just given a speech or hosted an event 10 years ago, may now have millions of twitter followers, a blog on the Huffington Post cross-posted on her own website, or his own global conference competing with the UN.

The phenomenon of champion advocacy is not going away. The political space champions inhabit has been permanently opened, and will only grow with globalization and improving technologies. The future holds a rich array of global champions, with influence equal to or greater than politicians and policymakers. Similarly, politicians are being forced to become more like celebrities, reducing the complexity of the policy discourse among the public.

The scope of champion influence, and the need for external validation, has only increased in the fragmented media environment..

RHSC Needs

Advocacy Strategy

Up to this point in its history, RHSC has been acting as a technical advisory coalition, rather than as an advocate. However, it is important to note that a champion is by definition an advocacy tool. If the Coalition decides they want to make use of a champion, they must transition into an advocacy role to effectively utilize the champion resource. Clarity surrounding this strategic decision about RHSC's future role and direction is crucial before any next steps can be taken.

Without anticipating the Board's discussion on this topic, we believe that transition to an advocacy role will open doors to achievement of many of the changes and development RHSC believes in and works for, e.g. making the case that reproductive health supply and access to health systems is essential for achieving the MDGs. Functioning as an advocacy group, instead of a technical coalition, gives RHSC the ability to rally support behind their cause from all over the global health and development community and to become heard by policy makers, from Members of Parliament, via European Commissioners to Heads of State. However, achieving the advantages of becoming an advocate requires dedicated and substantial long-term strategy and investment.

Growing into an advocacy group does not in any way imply the Coalition leaving its core as a technical organization. Numerous global health initiatives (e.g. CREATE and PneumoADIP) have proven the strength of growing from the technical foundation into an advocacy-focused organization. Quite the contrary, keeping technical expertise front and center positions RHSC as an independent source of credible information – which will increase interest in and respect for its advocacy positions. That expertise, will remain RHSC's greatest strength and unique selling proposition.

However, becoming more outspoken and more political will challenge the current organizational dynamics, both with regard to the membership—who have become accustomed to consensus due to the technical, non-controversial nature of its issues—and to the broader family planning world. Should the RHSC shift into an advocacy role, the Coalition can expect a new level of discussion and discourse among members around policy and campaign issues and will inevitably face wariness in the community vis-à-vis the new player. Such are the costs of entering into an arena with such potential for high rewards in achieving objectives. Reaching detailed agreement on the public policy agenda, while time-consuming, is essential. From that process comes agreement on messages for the coalition, and with different nuances, its members and champions.

A planned and managed process can help smooth the transition, minimizing potential conflicts. Such a process would aim for understanding among members that RHSC's more outspoken and visible role also strengthens each Coalition member and their own efforts. This buy-in among Coalition members is a crucial first step to moving into the advocacy space. Once this foundation is established, RHSC can focus on its messaging to the external family planning community with an emphasis on building trust and presenting RHSC as a partner in their efforts, rather than as a competitor.

For this transition process, as well as for the introduction of a champion program, systematic internal communication to staff, members is needed from the outset to give everyone a common understanding and a voice in order to maximize buy-in.

Definition of Communications Goals: HANDtoHAND

The HANDtoHAND campaign has lifted the Coalition to a new level of visibility and influence within the global Health world. It is a clear proof of concept for the coalition's potential. The campaign will, if properly executed, be able to further raise awareness for the Coalition's goals and profile within the reproductive health and global health community. However, the goal of access and influence to the highest levels of policy-making (and funding) will in our estimation require a change from how the campaign is laid out now. Furthermore, sustaining a campaign and the campaign's appeal over years is challenging without investing additional resources.

In the light of the success of HANDtoHAND and its impact on advocacy and communications strategy, a champions program should be firmly embedded in an expanded effort. It should not become a parallel effort or structure, but an essential part of the future campaign (if the campaign is RHSC's main advocacy and communications effort). That coordination is both demanded and eased by the Clarion Call, which constitutes the campaign's centerpiece. A champion's first and foremost task is to give voice to a very clear and concise message.

A champion would be able to further strengthen HANDtoHAND where the campaign is already successful (raising awareness for the supply issue among RHSC member organizations, and in the family planning and global health communities) and chip in where the campaign is less well placed to succeed, namely with the greater development community, access to policymakers and funders, and awareness-raising among the general public.

Such a two-pronged campaign, with Clarion Call (pledge) and champion as main elements, would sustain RHSC's overall advocacy efforts. Successful, effective and efficient communications need a concise and thought-through communications and advocacy strategy with clear goals and messages. The HANDtoHAND campaign provides proof of concept and a strong foundation for this going forward.

A future comprehensive RHSC communications and advocacy strategy, probably involving HANDtoHAND and possibly a champion's program, will have to define and clarify among others the following topics:

- The role of the Secretariat in communication and advocacy:
 - A service provider for members or an advocate in its own right
 - Division of labor with members taking into account their own efforts
- RHSC's goals and focus (supply or family planning).
- Further message development and testing to support those goals
- Comprehensive communications and advocacy strategy; champion can only be as effective as the overall strategy. For the strategy build on and further develop the supply angle, as in HANDtoHAND, rather than becoming another family planning advocate.
- Positioning of reproductive health supply (e.g. as critical to achieving the MDGs)
- Willingness and ability of funders to support additional capacity for advocacy and communications.
- Hiring a communications director, advocacy/policy staff and a program assistant

To this end Ampersand Global would recommend a whiteboard strategy workshop for the board, and a communications workshop including senior external affairs and communications staff from key coalition members' communications directors.

The first workshop would have to decide on overall future direction, and provide a mandate to the second meeting, which would focus on the development of a concrete strategy and implementation. These groups could be merged into a steering committee guiding the process. A consultation process would then engage the broader membership, and later the broader family planning community

Based on the outcome (as appropriate) a champion selection process can begin:

- Approach chosen candidates and develop a trusted relationship with one or more of them.
- Have the champion candidates properly briefed.
- Present them at the Coalition's 10th anniversary at Istanbul+10.

Organizational Culture

RHSC has taken great pride in the close personalized nature of member interaction and in the degree to which the Coalition itself has remained largely technical and hands-on. Hence, it is a valid question to ask if the personalized, hands-on style of the Coalition can co-exist with a high-profile champion. The answer is twofold:

- First, the vetting process to identify the best champion needs to take the organizational culture as much into account as the public image the organization has (or wants to convey).
- Second, the decision for a champion program needs to be preceded by a decision to become a more active, political advocate. This change will potentially challenge the current culture of internal cohesion to a much greater extent than the addition of a champion.

A focus on internal communications during the period of introducing a champion and running an advocacy campaign will be crucial to secure transparency, trust and a multidimensional information flow and get the necessary buy-ins from staff, members and stakeholders.

Relationships with Coalition Members

Depending on the type of champion program and engagement RHSC chooses, the integration in the organizational set-up would be different – from a rather independent outsider, linked to the Coalition through a staff member, to a seat on the board.

Aside from the latter case, the handling of the champion would be a task for the Secretariat's Director supported by a Communication Director and assistant. To ensure information flow and the Board's backing the Secretariat's Director would report to a champion program group encompassing representatives of the leading members, knowledgeable in communications but also high-level enough to be able to make decisions.


With a champion-driven advocacy program the Secretariat would need to redefine its relationship with members. Running an advocacy campaign and champions program would underline the Secretariat's position as an advocate in its own right and therewith strengthening a development, which has begun with the HANDtoHAND campaign. While the Secretariat would need a full-time Communications Director to run the campaign and the champion's program

coordinating advocacy efforts with members and leveraging their advocacy expertise would be critical to success.

The Board would have to clearly define the advocacy area (and goal e.g. HANDtoHAND campaign) in which the Secretariat should be active to anticipate wasteful competition with the members' efforts.

Expectations from a Partnership with a Champion Advocate

The RHSC needs to clearly define not only their overall communications objectives but also the expectations they would have in a relationship with an advocate in support of these objectives. The following table gives an example of some possible engagement levels in a champion advocate campaign.

Engagement level	Engagement
High 	Become an essential part of the organization, e.g. Brad Pitt with the 'Make it Right Foundation'
	Represent the organization at high-level political meetings, e.g. Bono at G8 or in parliamentary committees
	Star in advocacy videos
	Give key note speeches at conferences
	Hold press conferences and give interviews
	Do 'Meet 'n Greet's' with politicians to serve as door-opener
	Attend events and rallies by the organization
	Lend face to social media campaigns, e.g. in the highly successful Ashton Kutcher twitter campaign on Malaria
	Lend name for op-eds
	Lend face for ads
	Lend name for letters to supporters
Low	Lend name for list of supporters

Possible Courses of Action

Stay the Course – Core Decisions Before Choosing a Champion

Based on our experience with coalitions and advocacy groups, we can make some “degree zero” recommendations:

RHSC can become a more impactful organization by taking initial steps which do not involve champions: agreeing upon advocacy and resource mobilization goals, building a plan to achieve them, and developing key messages to support that plan. Those messages would be utilized by spokespeople and adapted for coalition members. Champions are not a substitute for this process, and can be a distraction—although soliciting the input of potential champions can be an effective tactic in eventually engaging them.

RHSC should have a consistent organizational voice conveying organizational perspective backed by technical expertise. In a typical organization, this role is primarily borne by a CEO, with technical experts as appropriate, and this capacity should be developed before any external validator is engaged.

Resource implications: We recommend some increase in communications capacity, whether hired internally, distributed among or seconded from coalition members, or external, and determined by the ambition of the goals chosen.

Move Forward—Pursue a Champion

With goals and clear, consistent messages in place, RHSC is positioned to recruit and benefit from external champions. Choice is determined by RHSC's mission and ambition.

Benefits

With clear goals and messages set, RHSC is positioned to recruit—and benefit from—external champions. There are a wide variety of benefits from external champions, the specifics of which will be determined in the Core Decision making process. Once selected, champions can:

- Raise visibility of the issue to create a more favorable policy environment.
- Raise visibility of RHSC to move resources to the coalition
- Impact public policy

Champions can work with multiple audiences, depending on the goals:

- For a goal of internal validation, champions can encourage member organizations to allocate resources and priority toward coalition goals and engage senior leadership of member organizations.
- When the goal is external validation, champions can help by attracting the attention of specialists and advocates; policymakers; and the global public.

As a caution, however maximal ambitions and funding of the plan, best practice is to follow a ladder of engagement, the beginning of which should be more modest as the relationship between RHSC and the champion develops.

Risks

Engaging a champion, it must be stressed, is not an end in itself. Interaction with charismatic, credible individuals can become a massive distraction for an organization's time and resources. "Celebrity wranglers" can charge upwards of \$25,000 to arrange a single appearance at a single event, and while this is steep, the cost in staff time and distraction can easily exceed that. Success of a champion recruitment effort should not be confused with the success of RHSC's mission.

A major risk in a champion-based advocacy campaign is to become too dependent as an organization or advocacy effort on that person. To avoid such a dependency trap the advocacy and communications strategy needs to be developed in a way where it involves the champion to the cause's greatest benefit while allowing the organization and campaign to remain independent. In other words the campaign should also work without the Champion, who could have time constraints, second thoughts about their involvement, or have changed their image. A case in point is Matt Damon's NGO water.org, which, while using him for high-visibility advocacy, has remained independent from their founder and most influential advocate, instead of following the ONE example and becoming a one-man show (Bono). The strategic approach is to use the strengths of an advocate while also cultivating strengths of the organization and therefore maintaining the ability to act independently.

While a champion is excellent at marketing a clearly defined goal in preferably easy-to-digest language (in order to be heard and understood), the specific 'champion's lingo' bears the risk of over-simplification (or at least the risk that the message is perceived as over-simplified but an organization that is used to technical jargon).

A champion is a high-profile person, usually with leadership experience, conviction and assertiveness. This person's involvement can lead to competition issues and jealousy on the Board. Moreover issues might occur when the champion and the Board disagree on campaign or policy efforts. The best safeguard is to establish a close and trusted relationship with very clear rules from the beginning.

In any advocacy campaign speaking with one voice is fundamental and adding further speakers heightens the risk of creating a cacophony. A clear strategy and precise, established procedures secure a concise and efficient message delivery.

Another risk in engaging an external champion is that there is seldom clarity about costs at the outset of the campaign. A more thorough discussion of the costs involved in a champion campaign is presented below.

By choosing a champion and linking the own reputation to the champion's image an organization is always taking a risk. A thorough vetting process is therefore indispensable.

Costs

The diversity of models of champion programs applied by NGOs, foundations and international organizations makes a cost estimation difficult.

However, a basic principle is that an external champion (as opposed to an internal, employed champion or high-profile spokesperson such as a CEO) volunteers for this advocacy role, since a payment would jeopardize the credibility of both the recruiting organization and the champion.

Another prevailing principle is that the engagement does not entail costs for the champion. (This differs in cases where champions are actually the organization's founder as in cases from Bill Gates or Mo Ibrahim to Matt Damon or Angelina Jolie). Therefore the use of a champion can mean significant costs for the recruiting organization, especially for the champion's expenses, such as for transport and accommodation on a level suitable for the champion (hotel suites, limousine service, at least business class flights).

A champion program featuring a celebrity, a former politician or a high-level representative of an international or non-for-profit organization always requires a considerable time investment by the organization. The exact amount depends on high/low maintenance of champion, the champion's preexisting knowledge of the cause, preexisting media and advocacy savvy-ness and the frequency and character of engagements.

Usually one full-time employee serves as the champion's contact person, 'personal assistant' and champion program assistant.

Moreover, to make the most out of the champion's commitment proper preparation, e.g. media and policy briefings, of the champion well ahead of their engagements is crucial and requires considerable time investments from policy and communications staff. In case of RHSC these expert briefings could possibly be provided by member organizations.

Adding glamour, gravitas, credibility or clout to an organization and cause, a champion is a 'super volunteer' and expect special treatment and acknowledgment of their services, which can include plenty of face-time with and easy access to the organization's superiors. Therefore, time for personal meetings or on the phone with the RHSC Secretariat's director and board members needs to be factored in.

Action Plan for Choosing a Champion Advocate

Determining the target audiences to accomplish the strategy is the key element here. A campaign to sway developing country governments looks different from one to increase public sector research budgets, or a broad public awareness campaign. These will determine the type of champion needed, and within that category, a mix of the criteria set out below and availability and interest will yield the appropriate champion.

1. Define Goals for Campaign

- Sync Campaign Goals with RHSC Goals
- Target Audiences

Possible goals and audiences for a RHSC champion program	
Goal	Target audience
Mobilize resources	Donor country governments and policy-makers
Shifting funds to reproductive health supply; policy focus on supply angle	Recipient country governments and policy-makers
Rally behind cause; get buy-ins	Family planning and reproductive health community
Get acceptance for 'supply' as a crucial global health issue	Global health community
Positioning reproductive health supply as crucial for MDGs	Development community
Rally support for reproductive health (to pressure donors)	Wider public in donor countries
Raise awareness of reproductive health products (and right to access)	Wider public in development countries
Overall awareness raising and above-mentioned goals	Media

2. RHSC Board and Management Buy-in

3. Choose an Appropriate Celebrity Advocate

4. Start with Small Steps

- Get on agenda of other people's events
- Serve on an advisory board
- Sign op-eds
- Outreach to others who speak in global health/women's space

Considerations

Think through core attributes, all things being equal, our recommendation for a coalition working in reproductive health is to choose a mother—whether a former head of state or agency, or celebrity. In the case of selecting an expert as a champion, this is less critical, but the additional role of “mother” will still be helpful in the champion’s ability to communicate to a wider audience.

When making a target list, ultimately several factors come into play:

- Who and where is their target audience? International? Regional?
- How relevant is he/she? Established or Up-and-Coming?
- Has he/she been involved as an activist or non-commercial champion before?
- How much media will they attract?
- Can he/she be a reputable champion on global health issues, and willing?
- Does he/she already have an active interest in global health issues, specifically reproductive health?
- Is he/she capable and receptive to continually learning about the issue?
- Does he/she have a good overall reputation in/and out of work?
- Can he/she work effectively with media, do interviews, etc.?
- Is he/she reliable? Backed by a good team of managers and agents?
- Is he/she committed for the long-term?
- Define level of champion involvement in shaping the campaign.

All of these factors should be taken into consideration when deciding whom to work with, however with the understanding that getting any champion to do anything for anyone can be a difficult and arduous task. Getting what you want, and whom you want, where you want is not always possible and sometimes we must make adjustments or re-think strategies. For example, the top A-list champions are constantly being bombarded with asks for help from a never-ending line of activists, political groups and non-profits and getting their attention can be tough.

It is important to note: While having an A-list champion spokesperson is on the wish list of most non-profits, not every A-list champion can be counted upon to be an effective campaigner or media darling. Strong egos, busy work schedules, difficult managers and agents and lack of focus are all elements that can come into play when working with an A-list champion. It is also important to note that a backlash has recently begun against champions who appear to be using advocacy work for their own gain or to rehab their image, and, in most cases, these champions should be avoided entirely.

Personal experience has also taught us that in some cases it is more effective to work with a “B” list or up-and-coming champion who is not as well-known, but may already be (or can be) substantially more engaged on the issues and grow as a “champion” for the organization over a few years as their star power rises.

Developing List of Candidates

Given the considerations above, and conversations with the RHSC, our best recommendation is for RHSC to strongly consider beginning its experience with champions by recruiting an elder with relevant experience, either from the UN system or a national government. We recommend against recruiting a celebrity champion unless and until the RHSC builds up its internal capacity and has advocacy goals require engaging a broad public audience.

Pursuing the Champion: Ladder of Engagement

The following example is provided as reference only:

Ladder of Engagement for Champion

Who: Celebrity JANE DOE

What: Movie actor, A-List, mid 40's

Past work: HIV/AIDS, PETA

Needed: African Media Trip w RHSC

When: Spring 2011

- November 2010—Send books, policy papers, relevant materials about Country and issues. Decide country of visit.
- December 2010—Follow-up discussion about health policy, partner groups working on ground, educational materials.
- January 2011—Media training and discussion, One pagers provided on issues, Q&A practice sessions
- February/March, 2011—Meet w RHSC Secretariat, prepare for trip, media training advanced prep.
- April 2011—Celebrity trip to African country w local and international media for one week. Site visits, photo and statement released.
- April/May, 2011—Finish interviews from trip, television appearances.
- Summer/Fall, 2011—Visit to Washington, DC, Brussels, or other world capital to meet behind doors with key policy maker.
- 2012—Return trip to African country to do follow-up with local and international media.

While the ladder of engagement is unique to each champion, many of the same methodical steps are taken each time to insure the proper fit. After a few months and a few rungs of the ladder, determinations should be made about whether the champion is working out as an advocate for the organization, is engaging as needed, is preparing for media properly, etc... If the champion is performing unsatisfactorily, the organization should rethink its effort and take any necessary steps to do damage control if necessary and end or pacify relationship amicably.

However, if the champion is successfully going up the ladder and the organization is happy with the relationship and its progress, then great care must be taken to insure his or her tenure. The organization should treat a champion supporter as someone of respect who will be around for the foreseeable future and prepare and plan for his or her continued involvement in the long-term. If the organization has chosen correctly, then the champion is a smart, easily adaptable and amicable individual who wants to be genuinely helpful and appreciated for their time and effort.

Briefing/Nurturing the Champion Advocate

The following tips are meant to help nurture the champion along:

- Ask and plan for the champion's time wisely. Too many organizations burn up asks of the champion's time and image for a small, short-term gain. Think long-term strategies.
- Build a strong, working relationship with the champion's team of publicists and agents and be as helpful as possible to them.
- Don't just dictate, ask the champion for their opinion on key issues.
- Involve the champion creatively.
- Keep the lines of communication open and forward important emails, policy briefs and news items as warranted.
- Be honest to champion about everything, everywhere, all the time. Trust is the cornerstone of every good relationship.

Metrics of Measuring Success

The temptation is to judge success of a champions program by the ease of interaction, the champion's disposition and patience for glad-handing, and factors like champion expectations, whether it be a security detail, luxe accommodations, and their perceived neediness. These are all manageable on the front end through clear communication.

The benchmarks of success should be more rigorous: does the champion deliver the results called for at the expense budgeted? The results may be access to senior officials, influence on policymakers, media impressions, resources mobilized, and more qualitatively, contribution to a sense of momentum and buzz.

Or in short, have they contributed to the success of RHSC's overall mission?

¹ For convenience sake, this report uses the word “champion” as a generic term to refer to any individual whose “persona” can, for whatever reason (technical expertise, celebrity, etc.), substantially contribute to the advocacy efforts of a sponsoring institution. The term encompasses individuals who might otherwise be described as “spokespersons” or “ambassadors”.

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⁶ Taken from the Creative Coalition Website:

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⁷ Stan Rijken, “Rock for Ethiopia,” in *World Music, Politics and Social Change*, ed. Simon Frith. New York: Manchester University Press, 1989, 199.

⁸ Mick Wall, *Bono: In the Name of Love*. New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 2005, 12.

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¹³ John Soeder, “Rocker with a Cause Has Leaders’ Ears,” *The Plain Dealer*, 10 December 2005.

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