



# **EAPN Minimum Income campaign guide**

**November 2007**

EUROPEAN ANTI POVERTY NETWORK – RESEAU EUROPEEN DES ASSOCIATIONS DE LUTTE CONTRE LA PAUVRETE ET L'EXCLUSION SOCIALE  
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## Introduction

**T**he Minimum Income campaign due to be launched in December 2007 will be the first real campaign the European Anti Poverty Network has ever organized.

The campaign will be organized around two phases. The first one will last until the end of February 2008, which marks the end of the consultation period on the Communication on Active Inclusion / Minimum Income the Commission launched on 17<sup>th</sup> October 2007. A second phase will be organized during 2008 after an evaluation of the first phase.

This Campaign guide was designed to help the EAPN National Networks organizing activities around the campaign at their national level.

The first part of this guide will give you an overview of the EAPN campaign on Minimum Income (who, why, when, where, how) while the second part will give you tips about the kind of activities you can organize, depending on your staff and financial resources.

Keep in mind that limited staff and financial resources don't necessarily mean you cannot run an effective campaign. Some communications tools are cheap if not free of charge. The success of your campaign will lie upon a good campaign planning and a clever combination of communications tools.

We hope this campaign will be successful. An evaluation of the campaign at both National and European levels will be carried out at the end of the process and lessons on what worked and what didn't will be drawn for our future campaigns.

With this first EAPN campaign we also want to raise the profile and build the capacity of EAPN Europe and EAPN national networks as campaigning organizations in the long run.

If you have any question about the EAPN campaign on Minimum Income, please contact Claire Champeix ([Claire.champeix@eapn.skynet.be](mailto:Claire.champeix@eapn.skynet.be))

## Introducing the EAPN campaign on minimum income

### 1) What is the EAPN Minimum income campaign about?

#### What is at stake?

In line with EAPN commitment to fundamental rights, we are convinced that:

- Adequate Minimum Income for a dignified life is essential to allow everyone to participate fully in society.
- Adequate Minimum Income for a dignified life is the sound basis on which a society delivering quality of life is to be built

But the reality is that the various systems in place supposed to guarantee minimum level of living in our society (including Minimum Income, benefits, and also services) still present huge weaknesses in terms of level, accessibility.

In some countries there are even no Minimum Income schemes. And we witness a clear tendency to increasingly tough conditions attached to eligibility for benefits in the context of Active Labour Market Policies.

Despite a 1992 European Union recommendation, there is a lack of political recognition of this, and a lack of political willingness to seriously ensure the adequate Minimum Income schemes, likely to guarantee a decent life for all.

#### Why an EAPN campaign now?

In February 2006, the European Commission published a Communication touching upon the question of minimum income in the form of a consultation “on action at EU level to promote the active inclusion of the people furthest from the labour market”.

The consultation was focused around 3 questions related to the need for action at EU level. Its primary focus was on ensuring that minimum income schemes do not act as a disincentive to labour market insertion. It also set out a new comprehensive policy concept called Active Inclusion for supporting those furthest from the labour market based on 3 pillars: “a link to the labour market through job opportunities or vocational training; income support at a level that is sufficient for people to have a dignified life; better access to services that may help some individuals and their families in entering mainstream society”.

The consultation led to a synthesis report of the responses, stressing that “there is a shared view that more needs to be done at EU level”. Number of social partners and NGOs took part in this consultation, but not all Member States (only 14 Member States contributed to the consultation).

We are now entering the second phase of the process: The Commission has launched a new communication initiating a second phase of consultation to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on possible actions at EU

level on the 17 October, entitled “Modernising social protection for greater social justice and economic cohesion: taking forward the active inclusion of people furthest from the labour market”.

This communication proposes to deepen the Open Method of Coordination through the adoption of Common principles on:

- income support sufficient to avoid social inclusion (restating the principles of the 92 recommendation)
- link to the labour market
- link to a better access to quality services

A Recommendation, which would constitute the basis for Council conclusions and a European Parliament resolution, would support the identification and the promotion of these principles. This new communication opens a consultation phase till 28 February 2008. The French Presidency (second half of 2008) could then take further action.

See official documents on

[http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/social\\_inclusion/active\\_inclusion\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/active_inclusion_en.htm)

## Objectives of the campaign

In this context, EAPN thinks it is the perfect time to launch its campaign on minimum income. We have three objectives:

- Objective related to the policy processes

In the short term, we want Member States to get involved and respond positively in the ongoing consultation process. We want to see the current Commission consultation process on ‘Active Inclusion’ paving the way towards more Member States action for insuring access to all to adequate minimum income, as well as debate at European Level on more bindings EU instruments.

- Objective related to awareness raising

We want to counter negative representations associated with poverty. People do not believe poverty is happening in our societies, often those experiencing poverty are seen as people who do not want to work, and the solution is to place more conditions on the receipt of benefits in order to force them to take up work. There is no understanding of what their reality is, and that other issues need to be addressed in order that they can fully participate in society they must have help first! We want to break through that perception.

- Objective related to the EAPN development

Through this campaign we try to elaborate a strong message that EAPN will use on a longer term. This campaign is also the start of a process of developing the capacity of campaigning of EAPN national networks and raise the profile of EAPN national networks as campaigning organizations.

## Target audience

In the long term, EAPN's aim is to reach the public opinion.

For this first phase, taking into account the constraints we have, we have made an effort to be realistic: the target group that we primarily expect to touch and mobilize are **members of organisations in membership of EAPN national networks** (ie a wide variety of organisations that place the fight against poverty and social exclusion at the core of their concerns, ranging from self organized grass-root groups to big social service providers) as well as **other people in contact with these organizations** (social workers, local authorities, public concerned by poverty issues, other civil society organizations...).

We expect this first audience to relay the campaign message towards their political decision makers (National governments, Members of Parliament...)

## Outcomes expected

**Short term (within the following months after the launch of the campaign)**

-Mobilization of National Networks (NN):

- Taking up of the campaign (events, degree of adaptation to national realities)
- Number of National Networks active (evaluation sheet)

Mobilization of members of networks and wider public:

- Number of letters sent to National policy makers

Impact on the Active Inclusion process:

- Number of Member States and other key stakeholders responding to the 2nd stage consultation

**Medium term (2008)**

Sustainable EAPN message:

- Use of the concept and message in the next years

- Raised profile of EAPN National Networks:

- Number of events they are involved in, intensity of contacts with decision makers

- Impact on the active inclusion process:

- Quick and satisfying follow up by EU institutions

**Long term**

- Sustainable EAPN message:

- Use of the concept in the next years

- National Networks capacity building:

- Supporting the National Networks to organize other campaigns in the future

## 2) Organisation of the campaign

- The campaign has been shaped by the Minimum Income campaign Group established at the beginning of 2007. It is coordinated at European level by the EAPN Secretariat with the support of this group.
- The EAPN Secretariat will deal with the campaign at the EU level.
- The National Networks are expected to organize activities around the campaign at their national level. The EXCO members will be responsible for coordinating their network around the campaign and its active involvement.
- EAPN Secretariat will make available:
  - campaign material on paper (leaflets, postcards...) in English and French
  - campaign material on electronic support that National Network can adapt (translation of the slogan, adaptation to national realities/ specific national network campaign...)

### IMPORTANT:

An EAPN Europe budget line is available to reimburse translation of material that National Network will have organized: use it!

If your IT skills and software do not allow you to do it yourself, the Secretariat is offering support for inserting your changes in the image of the campaign. Send all the changes you want – slogan translated, additional wording, logo of your organization...- and you will receive your personalized version a few days later.

There is no budget available from the Secretariat for printing material in your national version. National Networks have to find funding for this or run an 'electronic campaign'.

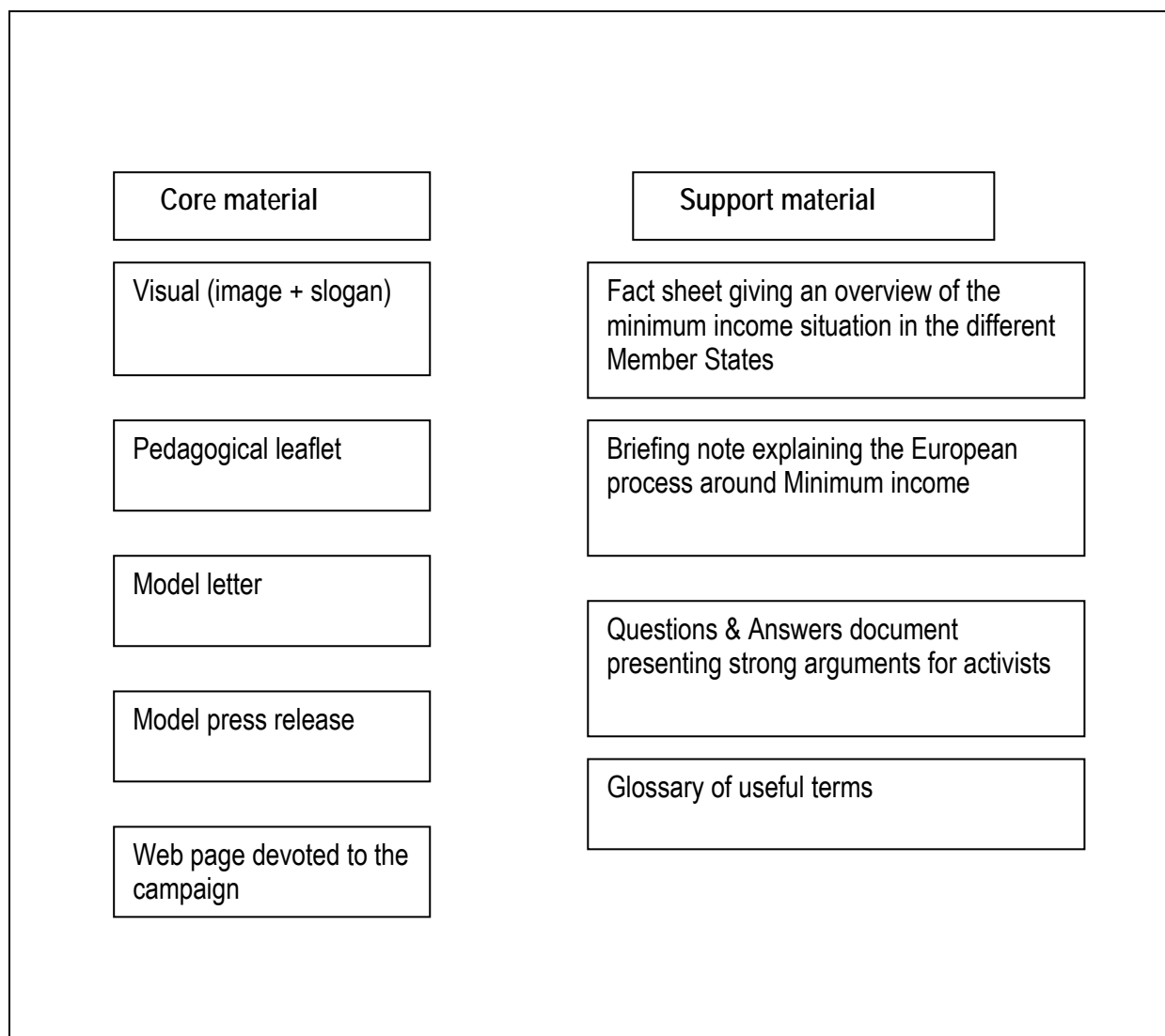
## 3) What is the time line?

Time line	Actions	Who
9 November 2007	Discussion around the campaign in an "awareness raising" workshop (General Assembly – Budapest)	Participants to the 2007 General assembly
November – Mid December 2007	Preparation of the National Networks (drawing of a campaign strategy at national level, adapting material)	National Networks
Mid December 2007	Launching of the campaign (launching events, press release, etc...)	The EAPN secretariat + National Networks

Mid December 2007 – End of February 2008 (end of the Commission consultation's period)	Activities around the campaign (broad mailings to decision makers, getting media coverage, etc.)	The EAPN secretariat + National Networks
March	Evaluation of the first stage of the campaign (a one day Minimum Income and campaigning reflection meeting will be organized)	The EAPN secretariat + National Networks
March 2008 – Onwards	To be decided at a later stage	The EAPN secretariat + National Networks

#### 4) What is the campaign material available?

The EAPN Secretariat has been working on a wide range of campaign materials to be used at both EU and national levels.



➤ [A visual \(image and a slogan\)](#)

The visual will be available in English and in French, in electronic version as well as in paper version although the number of printed versions will be rather limited and mainly for use at the European level.

The visual has been done in such a way that the EAPN National networks will be able to translate the slogan in their own language and integrate it easily in the visual.

The visual also offers a blank space in order to allow the National Networks to add an additional slogan adapted to their national realities if necessary (see example in annex 2). What we seek through this campaign is not only to communicate a pan European message but also to allow our National Networks to put forward their own agenda on minimum income at their national level.

How could the visual be used? The visual can be used in a wide range of applications:

In printed version, the visual can take the form of a poster or a postcard. It can be displayed or handed out in any kind of events your network plans to organize or to attend (seminars, press conferences,

conferences, national meetings of people experiencing poverty, fairs, etc.). It could also be displayed or handed out in key places such as government buildings, social services buildings, NGO members' offices, etc.)

In electronic version, the use of the visual is even broader. It can be:

- Displayed in all the member NGOs websites
- Attached to or incorporated in the letters you are going to send to the decision makers
- Attached to or incorporated in the press releases you might send to the media
- Used as a signature in all the member NGOs e-mail exchanges
- Etc.

➤ [A short pedagogical leaflet](#)

A short pedagogical leaflet explaining our position on Minimum income will be available in English and French, both in paper and electronic versions.

Each National Network will be responsible to translate it in its own language and have it printed if possible.

➤ [A model letter to be sent to decision makers](#)

A model letter to call on political leaders to take action for adequate minimum income for all will be available in English and in French.

Each National Network will be responsible to translate it into their own language. You can use it as it is or if necessary, it can be adapted to your national reality and then sent to your political leaders.

You are also advised to call on your members to do the same.

➤ [A model press release for the launch of the campaign](#)

A model press release announcing the launch of the Minimum Income campaign will be available in English and in French.

Each National Network will be responsible to translate it into their own language. You can use it as it is or if necessary, it can be adapted to your national reality, and then sent to your media contacts.

You are also advised to call on your members to do the same.

➤ [A web page accessible from the EAPN website devoted to the campaign](#)

A whole section will be devoted to the Minimum Income campaign on the EAPN website ([www.eapn.org](http://www.eapn.org)).

This section will gather news from the campaign at EU and National levels and will also include information on projects, events, studies, fact sheets etc, as well as the campaign material.

The National Networks are strongly advised to do the same on their own website and encourage their own members to do so.

- [A briefing note giving an overview of the minimum income situation in the different Member States](#) (official data plus feed back from the realities on the ground from the Social inclusion Review Group)

A briefing note giving an overview of the situation of Minimum income in the different Member States will help you to compare the situation in your country with the situations in the rest of the EU Member States. This might give you additional arguments to persuade your political leaders to take action for an adequate minimum income for all.

National Networks are invited to pick in this reference documents elements they want to use.

- [A briefing note explaining the European process around Minimum income](#)

This briefing note will help you understand the European process around Minimum income.

- [A Questions & Answers paper](#)

A Question & Answer document will present strong arguments for activists in favour of an adequate minimum income for all.

Each National Network will be responsible to translate it into their own language if necessary.

- [Glossary of useful terms](#)

A glossary will present the definition of the most used terms.

## 5) What is EAPN planning to do at the EU level?

In the first phase of the campaign, the EAPN Secretariat will:

- Send broad mailings to decision makers
- Send a press release for the launch of the campaign (+others at key moments of the campaign)
- Organise an official launch event in December 2007, possibly in the European Parliament or in the French Permanent Representation in Brussels (as France will hold the EU presidency during the 2<sup>nd</sup> semester of 2008).
- Disseminate the campaign visual and the information leaflet as broadly as possible
- The January/March 2008 issue of the Network News may be devoted to the EAPN campaign on Minimum income
- Announce regular news of the campaign both at national and EU levels in a special section of the EAPN Flash

A day of reflection on the campaign and on communication will be organized around March.  
Activities to be organized at the second stage of the campaign will be decided at a later stage.

## Organising for action at national level

### 1) Planning your campaign

Each National Network will be responsible for choosing and elaborating its own campaign strategy according to its own national reality as well as financial and staff resources, while taking into account the overall campaign time line as well as the European agenda on Minimum income.

Keep in mind that limited staff and financial resources don't necessarily mean you cannot run an effective campaign. Some communications tools are cheap if not free of charge. The success of your campaign will lie upon a good campaign plan and a clever combination of communications tools.

Good campaign preparation means being clear in advance about the nature of the challenge, the institutions and individuals who will decide the outcome, the people and resources available to you and the prospects of success.

Here is a checklist where you can pick advises for developing your campaign plan:

- **Create campaign roles**

Assign a campaign coordinator as well as staff or volunteers who will take part in the campaign.

- **Identify opportunities and obstacles**

What will work in your favour and what will be the potential obstacles to success? Will your proposals help or hinder the decision-makers in terms of meeting their own objectives?

- **Who are the targets of the campaign?**

You need to identify and influence the people who will actually take the key decisions. This may be opinion-formers, journalists or other interested parties. Some of these might be potential allies who you can involve at an early stage.

- **Choose your campaigning tools**

Tactics could be meetings, publicity stunts, letter-writing campaigns, e-mails, presentations, publications, etc. (see following section).

- **Timing**

You need to take account of relevant external events alongside your own events. What is the best timing and are there events in the calendar (policy, media, print schedules etc) you should be aware of? Are there any events that will overshadow the results of your campaign? Are there any media opportunities that will really boost your messages?

- **Costs**

What are the likely campaign costs (printing, venues, volunteer expenses)? Budget accordingly. Where can you get funding from for this campaign? (your government, local authorities, foundations....)

- **Monitoring your campaign**

Use key milestones and progress indicators linked to your campaign objectives. Hold review meetings and use agreed criteria. Acknowledge what you are doing/did well and identify what you could change during the campaign or do differently next time.

From the start you can use the EAPN evaluation form to help up shape your monitoring.

## 2) Campaigning tools

Choosing tools – National knowledge will best determine what is appropriate in different contexts.

### Advocacy and lobbying the decision-makers

The success of your campaign may depend on the extent to which you can influence decision-makers. You will need to make yourself known to them and then keep in touch on a regular basis. You want your campaign group to become one of the groups involved in future consultations on the issue. In this way, a successful campaign can slowly become part of the decision making process one of the decision-makers.

Start by identifying the decision-makers involved in the Minimum Income discussion, both at national and EU level. Think about policy decision makers (Ministry for employment and social affairs, cabinet) but also of civil servants, key stakeholder like trade unions... At the EU level, you might want for instance to send the EAPN model letter to your [national Members of the European Parliament](#) or members of your national permanent representation in Brussels.

There are many ways of lobbying. You can use:

- The EAPN model letter
- Individual meetings with specific decision-makers
- Seminars devoted to the issue of Minimum income where you invite key decision makers
- Phone calls
- Petitions (see frame below + [How do I set up a petition?](#))

## Petitions: Example



### European Disability Forum gathers more than 1 million signatures

In only 9 months, the European Disability Forum has met the ambitious challenge launched on January 2007 : to collect one million signatures across the European Union in favour of comprehensive EU disability legislation.

The European Union must respond to a call of at least 1 million once the new treaty is in force. The European Disability Forum's campaign is probably the first one to actually gather more than a million signatures.

Read more about it: <http://www.1million4disability.eu/>

## Getting media coverage and publicity

Getting positive media coverage is one of the keys for many successful campaigns. Raising profile at local and national level is a great way of increasing influence on policy decisions towards attracting public interest in what you are campaigning on.

Decision makers are generally responsive to public attitudes, so build support for your case through the local/national newspaper or radio. You can get your message across in the following ways:



- Press releases (they might lead to articles and interviews in local/regional/national newspapers)
- Interviews on TV and radio
- Letters published on the letters page of newspapers or magazines
- Photo stories - usually an attention-grabbing picture with a short caption
- Columns, features and event listings
- Media events or conferences
- Website
- Goodwill ambassadors
- Events or protests demonstrating the level of your support are also useful publicity tools

## How to get good coverage

Journalists rely on being told about a story and being supplied information. If the story captures their imagination and if the information is accurate, timely and factual, it is likely to be covered.

Identify 'hooks' on which to hang media coverage:

- Human interest stories, usually a big hit with local journalists. Be careful with this though
- Key dates and decisions
- Your successes
- Threats or opportunities with national facts and figures

## Tips for using the media

- Journalists work under pressure to meet tight deadlines.
- Ring the news desk for copy deadlines and deadlines for letters, articles and press releases, so you can work around them.
- Give as much notice as possible - you can provide an early tip-off by phone, post or email.
- Keep an up-to-date list of contacts for every newspaper, magazine, TV and radio station in your area/country.
- Building rapport with journalists will increase chances of success with the media.
- Don't be afraid to call and introduce yourself and your group and don't forget to be friendly!
- You may find it helpful to prepare a press pack, with some of the material EAPN has produced, press releases and contact details, etc.
- Regular, interesting and concise press releases will help establish your reputation as well as flag up your story
- Say what you feel as well as what you know, illustrate points with examples where possible.
- Make the most of the letters page, which is said to be the second most widely read part of a newspaper or magazine. You can initiate and also respond to letters.

## How to write a press release

A press release is a way of communicating your message/issue to journalists through a newsworthy story and, in effect, writes their story for them. A good press release should:

- Be concise, punchy, quotable and factually correct
- Set out your story clearly and grab attention in as few words as possible, and without jargon

- Be as well timed as possible, especially if you are launching an event or initiative. Make use of any hooks, for example other events or current issues that are of local media interest

Before writing a press release, study the publication you are writing to, to see what kind of stories they are interested in. That way, you can create a press release with a slant that the newspaper will be interested in.

## Press release contents

### Dates

Always date your press release and provide an embargo date, if required, which gives journalists time to research a story and requires them to not publish information until the date specified.

### Title

You need an attention-grabbing headline that will give an accurate summary of the story

### First two paragraphs

These should answer the questions: Who? What? Where? When? Why? and aim to include all the highlights of the story, with the remaining information in later paragraphs.

The first paragraph should contain the essence of the main story, and the first sentence should be eye-catching, punchy and possibly include a quote.

### Quotes

Most press releases should contain quotes from your spokesperson. They can be in more direct and heartfelt language than the rest of the text. This makes the press release more personal and interesting.

### Notes for editors

Include notes for editors at the end of the press release text, including background information to the issue and any details, facts and figures that are too technical to be included in the body of the press release.

### Contact names and phone numbers

At the very end, give the names and telephone numbers - both daytime and early evening - of your press contacts.

## Tips for radio and TV interviews

Radio and TV interviews can reach a large audience, so are always worthwhile. You may find your first radio or TV interview to be nerve-wracking, especially if the interview is live rather than pre-recorded. But practice and preparation will make you more effective and less nervous. Find out beforehand:

- How long the interview will be
- Whether it will be live or recorded
- If anyone else will be interviewed
- The line of questioning, or the first question at least
- Exactly where you're going, if the interview is external, so you won't be late

The following steps will help you:

- Decide on and stick to three key points you want to make
- Think of likely questions, including the worst or most challenging you might be asked, and prepare for them
- Be sure of your facts, but don't be afraid to say what you feel about something
- Keep things simple, stick to your agenda and be enthusiastic
- Try to give local examples, names and places to illustrate your points

### Getting media coverage: Example

#### **EAPN Austria: Decision makers asked to buy food with minimum income money**

A few years ago, EAPN Austria invited key Austrian decision makers to go to a supermarket and buy the food they would need for a whole day respecting the budget a person living on minimum income could afford for food. The press was also invited to this event. The result was...striking, most of the decision makers having no idea how hard it is to live on minimum income. The event attracted big media coverage.

#### **EI Salvador media strategy for the Millenium Development Goals campaign**

In EI Salvador the Millennium Development Goals Campaign group has developed a multi-pronged media strategy to reach and address all the various target audiences identified. All the messages fall under one banner – “Broken promises – no excuses”.

Coverage was secured through working with a sympathetic studio for independent TV, and radio adverts for stations targeting the youth and the poor. The message from these two advertorial slots was reinforced through a partnership with various newspapers which carried stories that strengthened the message and widened the information given the TV and radio adverts.

These mass media events were complemented with some folk media. The Campaign worked with the National University to prepare choreography of the song “No excuses” to be presented at different events being organised by Social Watch, the leading NGO. This was complemented by a competition organised to encourage youth to generate MDG “No excuses” songs.

Finally the campaign reinforced all the public media with posters, information kits, stickers and brochures for those interested in finding out more.

## Direct action

Direct action around a campaign goal may take many forms, including demonstrations and stunts.

The demonstration is the most visible expression of people power. It is the muscle flexing of those who have neither money nor authority. In many developing countries, mass-scale demonstrations, protests, marches, strikes and boycotts have played a powerful role in bringing about political and socio-economic change. In some countries, however, the influence of the mass media has changed today's art of demonstrations. Small-scale, high impact stunts are used to reach the huge audiences that a few column inches or broadcast seconds can bring.

Below are a few of the more popular direct actions:

- Marches or processions
- Mass demonstrations
- Picketing
- Stunts

### Obstacles and challenges

- Mass events can be high-risk for a campaign, as they require extensive planning and preparation, considerable investment in the form of equipment and publicity costs, and the recruitment of a sizeable workforce, yet there is no way of guaranteeing a good turnout.
- Each country has its own laws and many municipalities have by-laws governing demonstrations and you need to familiarise yourself with these. It is important to consider the role of the police and how you wish to interact with them. Civil disobedience can result in criminal charges and this should be anticipated and prepared for.

### Benefits

- Direct action provides an opportunity to mobilise grassroots support for an idea or issue. Where issues cut deep into the fabric of society this is often the only way that communities can demonstrate their disapproval or support for an issue or a policy.
- Media coverage is usually good and it gives a chance for the voice of ordinary people to be heard in a spontaneous and unrehearsed manner.
- Mass demonstrations often put local politicians in a difficult position, by forcing them to take a stand either for or against a particular issue. Both support and opposition by politicians provide good campaigning and lobbying opportunities for example union action against free trade zones.
- Demonstrations and stunts can be an effective way of bringing an issue to the attention of the general public for example the actions of Greenpeace.

## Direct actions: Examples

### Indonesian NGOs raise laugh

Frustrated by the lack of decision-makers' responses to the needs of the poor, NGOs in Indonesia captured the media's attention at the opening of parliament by presenting each representative with a gift – an ear bud to help them clean their ears so they could hear the cries of the poor. The publicity and fun generated by this action raised the public's attention to the issues in an effective way.

### British: Peanuts4Benefits

A coalition of British NGOs launched a campaign in 2003 to protest over “miserly” benefit rises for single working-age adults. “Peanuts4Benefits” campaigners at 19 venues handed out peanuts to people to reflect what they said was the smallest rise for at least 30 years



See the Peanuts4Benefits' website:

<http://www.peanuts4benefits.co.uk/index.html>

See also articles published in the press after the “peanuts” action:

<http://www.peanuts4benefits.co.uk/media.html>

## Gathering public and members support

The support of the public as well as your members will be invaluable.

A popular cause is more likely to be successful as politicians and businesses would prefer not to upset people.



You can gather public and members support in the following ways:

- Inform regularly about the campaign (through your website, your newsletter, etc.)
- Disseminate as much as possible the campaign material
- Gather signatures on a petition (see [How do I set up a petition?](#))
- Organise information seminars / debates, etc.

## Campaigning in a coalition

Campaigning in a coalition is joining together with other groups who are campaigning on a similar issue. You'll be able to work together to build a coalition of both support and knowledge. Joining forces with another campaign group can help to achieve far more than you can on your own.

Make an assessment of what has been done so far or what is being done around Minimum Income in your country and contact the relevant people to see if they are willing to joint efforts.

### 3) Monitoring and evaluating your campaign

As soon as possible after your campaign plan is put into action, the process of evaluation should begin. Since, without evaluation an organisation or campaign cannot tell whether a plan is working and what factors are contributing to success or failure.

Evaluation logically follows planning and implementation and, evaluation in turn informs future plans - in a circular relationship.

Use key milestones and progress indicators linked to your campaign objectives. Hold review meetings and use agreed criteria. Acknowledge what you are doing/did well and identify what you could change during the campaign or do differently next time.