

Governance Skills Manual for



Women



Politicians



TABLE OF CONTENT

Foreword	3
Acknowledgment	4
Women and Elections	5
Communications	14
Campaign Skills	24
Advocacy, Research, Coalition	46
Building and Negotiation	
Women and Government	61
Women and Political Parties	68
Leadership	79
Legislative Procedure	82
Gender and the Judiciary	85
Monitoring Government	86
References	91

FOREWORD

Governance Skills Manual for Women Politicians is a resource for women political candidates and leaders to help them advance their political campaign and leadership competence. The Manual focuses on programs and policies in the areas of women participation, elections, political parties and governance. It presents the case for increasing women's participation and provides information on best practices and strategies to move that goal forward. The manual also offers case studies, check lists and additional reading for each of the areas highlighted, as well as a general list of factors or tactics to consider when designing a program.

These materials draw heavily on resources internally generated by the Centre for Development Outreaches Africa (CEDOA) and external resources developed by like-minded organization and think-tanks. The Manual was developed and reviewed by Abas Ruhweza (Executive Director CEDOA), Kirungi Diana (Board Chairperson CEDOA) and Ruhweza Ismail (Executive Director MEDIA). It is part of the project *Advancing Women's Electoral Participation in Uganda*.

We are profoundly grateful to our project partners-the Uganda Grassroots Women Organization (UGWO) and Media and Democracy Initiative Africa (MEDIA) for their contributions to this publication. Our sincere appreciations go to the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) for the financial support to this project. We can't also forget to acknowledge the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (iKNOW Politics) whose resources partly informed this manual.

Application of the Manual: The manual is available both in hard and soft copy forms. To make it more useful to beneficiaries, the manual is also included on the CEDOA website. It contains a variety of resources that can be used in designing, implementing and evaluating activities that strengthen women's meaningful engagement in political campaigning and leadership.

Every attempt has been made to make this manual as universal as possible so it is applicable across political and social contexts. However, those using the manual must be aware that all content should be carefully reviewed and adapted to the local context.

Best reading.

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The views expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the position of GUIDE and the United Nations Democracy (UNDEF).

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CEDOA welcomes feedback on this manual. Please feel free to share information regarding the effective use of this manual for the collective benefit of CEDOA and its partners. Comments can be submitted through this [form](#).

WOMEN AND ELECTIONS

ELECTION OBSERVATION

Key Questions for Stakeholder Interviews

- What is the level of women’s involvement in previous elections as voters, election monitors, and election administrators?
- What are the similarities and differences between previous elections and this one?
- What percentages of women are registered and vote in comparison to men? Is there a difference? If so, why?
- What is the track record of how women have participated in the voting process? Have they voted in the same proportion as men?
- Are there unique barriers to women’s electoral participation? Have there been any threats unique to women?
- Have previous elections included voter education programs? Did any specifically target women voters? Have political parties reached their quotas (if they have them)?

GENDER QUOTAS¹

- *Rationale behind quotas*
 - *Types of quotas*
 - *Examples*

KEY TERMS

- *Gender quota*
- *Enabling environment*

Gender Quota: a special measure to enhance women’s representation, either through reserved seats or requirements for placement of women on candidate lists (this can be legally required or a voluntary practice by parties).

Enabling environment: “An enabling environment is a set of interrelated conditions – such as legal, organizational, fiscal, informational, political, and cultural – that impact on the capacity of development actors such as CSOs to engage in development processes in a sustained and effective manner” Thindwa, 2001 – so in our context it is the conditions for enhancing women’s effective political participation, including laws, policies, institutions, public perceptions, etc.

QUOTA RATIONALE

- *Ensures critical mass of women in decision-making positions*
- *Prescribes minimum level of women’s representation in political positions*
 - *Puts burden on those in control of recruitment process*

¹ <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?ul=en&country=229>

TYPES OF QUOTAS:

RESERVED SEATS

Reserved seats guarantee that women are elected to fill an exact number or percentage of seats and that those seats are reserved for them. There are three ways to implement:

- 1) Win a competitive election
- 2) Win a competitive election in which women only compete with other women
- 3) Appointed by the government

Example: Uganda

- Constitution mandates one woman representative per district
- 112 districts
- Other special groups must include 1 woman
- Women are 35% of parliament



It is stated in the Constitution that the parliament shall consist of one woman representative for every district, and such numbers of representatives of the army, youth, workers with disabilities and other groups as Parliament may determine.

The Parliament of Uganda is comprised as follows: District Women Representatives, 10 Uganda People's Defense Forces Representatives, of whom two must be women; 5 Youth Representatives, of whom one must be a woman; 5 Representatives of Persons with Disabilities, of whom one must be a woman; 5 Representatives of Workers, of whom one must be a woman.

CANDIDATE QUOTA

1. Man 1	1. Man 1	1. Man 1
2. Man 2	2. Man 2	2. Woman 1
3. Man 3	3. Woman 1	3. Man 2
4. Man 4	4. Man 3	4. Woman 2

5. Man 5	5. Man 4	5. Man 3
6. Man 6	6. Woman 2	6. Woman 3
7. Man 7	7. Man 5	7. Man 4
8. Man 8	8. Man 6	8. Woman 4
9. Man 9	9. Woman 3	9. Man 5
10. Man 10	10. Man 7	10. Woman 5

Another type is a candidate quota, which requires a minimum number of women candidates to appear on a candidate list. It may also specify the placement of candidates by gender on the list (for instance, every third position must be of the opposite gender). The slide shows sample lists-- the first is all men, the second shows a placement requirement of every third position on the list. The third list alternates genders, which is also known as a zippered list.

EXAMPLE: COSTA RICA

- 40% quota – zipper system in lists
- Women elected to 22 of 57 seats
- Women are 39% of parliament



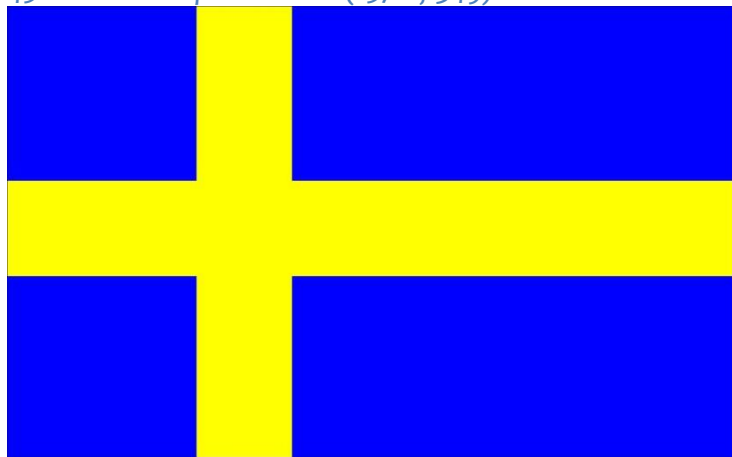
There is a 40 percent quota for women in all public elections. A new electoral law established in September 2009 affirms the principle of parity for all elections after 2010, including alternation on the list (the zipper-system): "All nominations to election will comply with the mechanism of alternating by sex (woman-man or man-women) in a way that two persons of the same sex cannot be subsequent on the nomination list." The law also demands that the statutes of the political parties include rules on gender equality for the party as a whole and for the electoral lists. The electoral authorities are to reject lists that do not comply with the rules. Women must be placed in 40% of the electable positions on party lists, where "electable position" is a seat the party won in the previous election (1999).

VOLUNTARY PARTY QUOTAS

In addition to legal mandates, political parties may voluntarily implement a gender quota in the number of candidates they nominate and how they are placed on the political party lists.

EXAMPLE: SWEDEN

- Voluntary party quotas in 4 main parties
- 45% women in parliament (157 of 349)



Sweden is an example of voluntary party quotas. Each party has instituted its own internal quota, many of which have been in place for a long time.

- Social Democratic Party Quota: Zipper system (one sex alternates the other on party lists) (1993). Internal quotas since 1978.
- Left Party Quota: A 50% minimum quota for women on party lists (1993). First party quota rule introduced in 1987. Internal quotas since 1978.
- Green Party Quota: A 50% gender quota on party lists, plus minus one person (1997). First party quota rule introduced in 1987. Internal quotas since 1981.
- Moderate Party Quota: Two women and two men shall be placed on the top four positions on the party list for the election to the European Parliament in 2009.

OTHER GENDER QUOTAS

- Parliament
- Government Ministers
- Commissions and Committee Membership
- Municipal Councils
- Electoral boards and commission
- Other decision making bodies at all levels of government
- Corporate Boards

WOMEN AS VOTERS

Why target women?

- *Historically low voter turnout*
- *Gendered barriers to participation*
- *In parties/candidates strategic interest*

Given historically low voter turnout and political participation among women, women may not vote unless asked specifically. Women may also face particular challenges and motivations to voting that should be considered in outreach efforts to effectively engage them in the process.

While women represent diverse perspectives, it is important to consider that they may prioritize different issues than men. They may also share common concerns with their male counterparts, but think about those issues in a different way. Furthermore, women may respond differently to messaging and to methods of message delivery.

It is also in parties' and candidates' strategic interest to target women in order to win over voters thus winning seats in the election.

BARRIERS FOR WOMEN PARTICIPATION AS VOTERS

Institutional Barriers

- Discriminatory citizenship laws that may hinder their political participation;
- Documentation requirements for voter registration may be difficult for women to provide due to various reasons, including living away from their families, conflict and/or internal displacement;
- Location and hours of registration centers and polling stations can also cause obstacles for women including transportation or limits on freedom of movement, domestic and childcare responsibilities as well as work schedules;
- Concerns about security at polling stations may dissuade women;
- Long lines at polling stations, which can be difficult for the elderly, pregnant women and women with children.

Social /Cultural Barriers

Social and cultural barriers also exist, and may include:

- Lack of voter awareness and civic education among women;
- Gender-based electoral violence against voters and candidates;
- Prevalence of family and proxy voting, pressure to vote along family/tribal/ethnic lines;
- Higher rates of illiteracy among women, lower levels of education;
- Traditions, social constraints and stereotypes may create a sense of disempowerment for women or restrict choices and/or restrict women's freedom of movement;

- Time constraints, domestic duties;
- Lack of awareness of ballot secrecy or fear that secrecy of vote may be compromised, and/or perception that they may face retaliation for independent choices;
- Intimidation/threats designed to make them vote a certain way or to reveal how they voted;
- Coercion and/or violence from husbands seeking to influence the vote of their wives.

VOTER OUTREACH TO WOMEN

- *Research targeted groups and tailor messages*
- *Develop/Target message to women voters*
- *Target efforts to specific constituencies*

Voter education plans should be developed based on the specific context. This could include an assessment of the barriers to women’s participation and/or public opinion research, to help identify the challenges and opportunities in the country.

Research targeted groups and tailor messaging: Begin with an assessment or community mapping exercise that at a minimum explores:

Who are the targets for this program? Women, in general, or a sub-set (younger, rural, etc.)?

What messages work with this group?

How can this group be reached?

What lists already exist? How can we reach the target audience?

What is the electoral system for candidates (districts, party lists, etc.)?

Develop and target a message to women voters: This may mean talking to women about traditional “women’s issues” such as health care, education and families, but also making sure that all issues in a campaign are addressed to women, because all issues are women’s issues.

Target Efforts to Specific Constituencies: If possible, narrow the total universe down to a manageable number of women to target (by location-town or region, by age, by ethnicity, etc.)

TYPES OF VOTER OUTREACH

- *Voter and civic education*
- *Voter registration*
- *Public service campaigns*

Voter outreach occurs throughout the electoral cycle. Different types include:

- Voter and Civic Education: particularly important in contexts where voter turnout among women has been low, or where the democratic process is relatively new. Education targeting women might address a range of issues, such as the importance of voting, who the candidates are, the secrecy of the vote, priority issues, and/or the registration and process itself.

- **Voter Registration:** efforts both to encourage women to register and to explain the process are important. In some countries a league of women voters has been created to help mobilize women to register. It can also be useful to have outreach around particular issues that may be a barrier for women, for instance the required documentation needed or the steps to obtain that documentation.
- **Public Service Campaigns :** These may help to inspire and motivate the public about why it's important that women vote.

OUTREACH TOOLS

- Posters
- Mobile messaging
- Social media
- Door-to-door
- Events
- Radio

Consider which types of tools may be most useful in reaching out to women voters. Social media is increasingly used, but other tools should be considered in places where internet penetration is not high. Bring women's groups/coalitions together so that they can share lists, research and sample materials and can even pool resources to buy advertising together. The following list is not exhaustive but gives examples of the diversity of outreach tools and how they can be useful:

- Posters/signs/visibility – raises name identification
- Mobile messaging – if you have a list of mobile phone numbers
- Social media – Facebook, Twitter – if your targeted community is online and they have been previously identified
- At the door – door to door is time consuming, but can be the most effective tool
- Events – bringing folks from close geographic areas together
- Radio – advertisements or interviews

GENDER-BASED ELECTORAL VIOLENCE

This refers to assault on physical and mental integrity directed against a person participating in an election because of that person's gender and affects persons of a particular gender disproportionately. It is mainly committed towards women and girls partaking in elections as voters, candidates, commentators and observers.

Figure 1: Physical Violence

Category of Violence	Form of Electoral violence	Examples and Gendered Impacts	Common Perpetrators
	State and/or Militia-sponsored Violence	Informal repression (Government covertly employs surrogate agencies, such as ethnic or religious militias, to attack supporters of opposition political parties)	Police, Military/Paramilitary, Covert Government Actors (ethnic, religious or militia), National Intelligence

Physical		or government critics), or direct state violence (killings, beatings, arbitrary arrests, use of torture and mistreatment by police and intelligence officials, destruction or appropriation of property, violent dispersion of protests, political manipulation and direct incitement and organization of ethnic violence). While both genders are victims of this, it presents particular barriers to women's engagement and political participation.	Agencies
	Sexual Violence	Includes politically motivated rape as a tool of terror and intimidation, marital rape as a tool of repression, sexual harassment, assault and abuse with the objective of controlling, intimidating, humiliating and disenfranchising.	Police, Military/Paramilitary, Family and Community Members, Political parties

Figure 2: Economic Violence

Category of Violence	Form of Electoral violence	Examples and Gendered Impacts	Common Perpetrators
Economic	Exploitation of Internally Displaced People (IDP) and Refugees	May include prolonging IDP status, artificially conferring status, forcing movement, preventing refugee return or forcing refugee return to influence voter geography and registration; misuse/misdirection of aid resources, extortion. 80 percent of refugees and IDPs worldwide are composed of women and children; hence abuse of this population takes a particular toll.	Political Parties, State actors, Military or Paramilitary, Local Strong-Men
	Criminality and Impunity	Increased social disorder resulting from electoral crises impacts women in particular by heightening levels of insecurity and increasing the risk/preventing women from partaking in regular activities that may make them vulnerable to criminal attacks such as working in isolated fields, protecting merchandise in market stalls, etc.	Criminal Elements
	Economic Coercion and Punishment	Economic harm, coercion or abuse comes in institutional as well as personal forms. It includes harm or threats to harm a business, termination or threat of termination of employment, or other threats or theft related to one's livelihood. In families or between spouses, it may include situations where one member or spouse partner intentionally denies access to financial resources to another to enforce dependency and coerce her or	Community, Family, State or Private Employers

		his electoral decisions and/or participation. May include theft, preventing a spouse from acquiring resources, forcibly limiting spouse's expenditure on essential goods, creating debts or spending a spouse's resources without her or his consent, preventing a spouse from seeking employment/education/assets, etc. Spousal economic harm disproportionately affects women.	
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Figure 3: Social- Psychological Violence

Category of Violence	Form of Electoral violence	Examples and Gendered Impacts	Common Perpetrators
Social- Psychological	Psychological Intimidation	A widespread tool of political manipulation, and often associated with situations of power imbalance and control in household settings. Psychological/emotional abuse includes rejecting, degrading, terrorizing, isolating, corrupting/exploiting and denying emotional responsiveness in a sustained or repetitive manner. Some forms are most prevalent in the domestic context and may be sub-sets of domestic violence while others (such as terrorizing or degrading) may take place publically by public political actors.	Family and Community Members, Religious Leaders, Political Parties, State-Sponsored, all levels
	Social Sanctions and Punishment	Can include informal means of control (systematic ridicule, ostracism, shame, sarcasm, criticism, disapproval, exclusion, discrimination) and formal means of control (laws, statutes, regulations against deviant behavior). This disproportionately affects women.	Community, Family, Religious Leaders
	Familial Pressure	A specific form of intimidation, control or forced disenfranchisement, this may include spousal or parental pressure on who to support, refusal of permission to leave house to vote, refusal of relatives to watch children for women to vote. This disproportionately affects women.	Family and Community Members
	Child Abuse	“Any act or series of acts of commission or omission by a parent or other caregiver that results in harm, potential for harm, or threat of harm to a child” (CIDC) including neglect, physical abuse, psychological/emotion abuse and child sexual abuse; can occur in private or public. Considered electoral violence when	Family and Community Members

		they are employed to intimidate, politically control or disenfranchise a voting-age family member.	
	Domestic Violence	Physical, emotional or sexual violence committed by an intimate partner in the home or in public; included as electoral violence when used for controlling electoral participation or disenfranchising. Forms include physical aggression (battering, hitting, kicking, biting, shoving, restraining, slapping, throwing objects), or threats thereof; sexual abuse; emotional abuse; controlling or domineering behavior; intimidation; stalking; passive/covert abuse (e.g., neglect); and economic deprivation. Nearly all cases of domestic violence cases worldwide are against women.	Family Members

Recommendations for Promoting GBV-Free Elections

Vertical entry points start with bottom-level grassroots interventions, through activities with mid-level community organizers, civil society activists, political parties, media and religious groups, to top-level actions with female parliamentarians, legal framework and coordination through international actors. The issue may also be approached horizontally, including civil society outreach and networking, learning between organizations and state-to-state activities.

COMMUNICATIONS²

TEN COMMANDMENTS OF COMMUNICATION

1. *Gain Agreement.* People cannot be persuaded – they will only agree with something they already believe. You must find language and activity that draws agreement with your target audience’s point of view.
2. *Stay on the Offense.* When you find yourself explaining, you’re losing the communications contest. The need to explain is usually the result of not controlling the message. You want to remain on the offensive or in control of the message.
3. *Communications First.* Once a government, ministry, or parliament decides on a program or initiatives, communications must be part of the planning from the beginning of each activity rather than only brought in at the end of a process.
4. *Appearance Matters.* When communicating, it is not only what you say, but how you say it that is important. People need to see sincerity in the face and eyes. People need to hear enthusiasm, energy, or honest intent.

² <https://www.ndi.org/dcc-communications>

5. *Actions Stronger than Words.* People need to see action. People do not respond to explanations of process. Rather than press conferences to announce initiatives or release information, find an action that demonstrates the point and have the media cover the action.
6. *Choose Messengers with Care.* The messenger is as important as the message. The right messenger can make all the difference in how people accept the message.
7. *Create a Unifying Theme.* While different parts of the government will have specific messages, the people will only understand success if they hear a single theme repeated over and over again.
8. *Become a Source and Resource.* Get others used to using you as a source and resource of information. Create communications tools that provide advance information or that offer damage control when necessary.
9. *Find New Ways to Use the Media.*
Use background conversations. Try giving exclusion. Review external conditions and prepare for press opportunities to take advantage of them or to soften a potential negative.
10. *The Actions and the Public Perception Must Match.* Be careful not to create cognitive dissonance – the public image and the real person must match the public’s perception.

MESSAGING

Messaging Tips:

The messages you develop must answer the questions: Why? Why care? Why act? A message must explain what's valued, what's at risk and it must align you with others who share your values and concerns. A message must be short, simple and repeated to be heard. To be effective, a message must be included in every communication - written and oral - and used in all your free and paid media. A message must clearly state the issue/organization/campaign's values and align itself with the concerns of the majority of citizens.

Effective Messages

- Messages come from campaign strategies and goals. Clearly define your goals and the audiences you want to engage.
- Messages have a firm foundation in the issues.
- Your messages are a road map, but you must know where you want to go. Begin messages where people are and then take them where you want them to go.
- Use your messages as the foundation of all campaigns or projects. They may have their own sub-messages, but they should support the main message.
- Your messages should not always be delivered by you. Different spokespeople may have more credibility and be more persuasive, depending on the audience.

Developing Your Message: 8 Rules for Success

Rule 1	Have one main message with a maximum of three underlying themes to support it.
Rule 2	All messages should support the campaign’s main goals.
Rule 3	Messages are the ideas you are trying to communicate to the public.

	Messages are reinforced by sound bites, phrases, statistics and anecdotes.
Rule 4	Messages don't change frequently. For messages to have impact they have to be repeated over and over and over again.
Rule 5	Messages should be tailored for specific audiences, while still remaining constant.
Rule 6	Consistent messages should permeate all of your communications efforts, not just contact with the media.
Rule 7	Messages must be simple. They are ideas that can be explained in a sentence or two – if it requires a paragraph or two, keep working to refine and simplify it.
Rule 8	Remember: messages take time to create. Don't rush the process.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

How to Manage Your Fear and Speak With Confidence

Speaking or giving a talk publicly can be very nerve-wracking. If you find it hard to speak in front of a crowd then doing so may make you panicky, break out in a sweat or just extremely nervous. Everyone who has spoken in front of a group has experienced stage fright at one time or another. The good news is that once you begin your talk and warm to your subject, the stage fright usually goes away. To avoid nervousness and to speak confidently, you must be prepared.

1. Unless it can't be helped, always try to speak on a subject you know well and are comfortable talking about. The better you know the topic and the more information you have on it, the easier it will be for you to talk about it.

2. Prepare your speech well ahead of time. Write out exactly what you are going to say at the beginning and end of your speech and the main points of the body of the speech. The more prepared you are, the more confident you will feel about giving your speech.

3. Try to look at your audience as you talk to them. If you find it hard to look them in the eye, try looking just above their heads or at their foreheads/noses and be sure to move your eyes around the room, so that everyone feels like you are talking to them.

4. Try to stand with good posture because this will make you look confident even if you are not. Relax your shoulders and arms. Balance your weight between both feet, being careful not to rock back and forth.

5. Try to pace yourself and not talk too quickly, and remember to pause at moments when a pause is needed, so that you can catch your breath and get your thoughts together. Don't be afraid of being silent for a few moments to remember what you were going to say next; the audience will wait with excitement for your next point.

6. If you are really anxious about speaking publicly, try to build confidence one step at a time. Try speaking in front of smaller groups first and gradually increase the size of your audience.

7. Confidence can be gained through practice. Once you have practiced something and feel safe in the knowledge that you can do it, in this case – when you know what you are talking about - you will feel more confident about doing it. Practice your speech prior to your speaking engagement. Get someone you trust to listen to you and ask them to give you their opinion and any suggestions that may help you. Although it may sound stupid, practicing in front of a mirror is another good way. This helps you to see what you look like as you give your speech. You can get your posture right and see how your hand movements look to the audience.

8. Don't worry too much about it. Just relax and try to enjoy it. The more relaxed you are, the easier you will find it and the better you will appear to your audience.

PREPARING FOR AN INTERVIEW

✓ **Prepare your material for the interview.**

- Gather all the necessary information and review it before the interview.
- Practice making your point in interesting ways using vivid language, unusual examples, illustrations or statistics.

✓ **Be clear about your goals.**

- Have a clear understanding of:
 - What you want to achieve through the interview
 - Who the audience is
- There are two main types of interviews:
 - A personality interview: the purpose is to ask questions about you.
 - An issue interview: the purpose is to ask questions about an issue or an event.

✓ **Be confident.**

- Do not let nervousness prevent you from participating in an interview. You will be talking about something that you are familiar with, so do not be shy or hesitant.

✓ **Stay calm.**

- Overcome nervousness by thinking of the interview as a conversation.
- Beware not to fall into traps laid by journalists. For example some will deliberately try to make you lose your temper to make you look bad.
- Tell the truth. Saying “I don't know” is better than telling one small lie.

✓ **Confirm details.**

- Prior to the interview, confirm the date, time and place for the interview
- Prepare yourself for the interview based on your knowledge of the interviewer's style and the format of the show:

- Will the interview be live or taped?
 - Will you be interviewed alone or as part of a panel?
 - How long will the interview be?
 - Will the interview be:
 - On the record? (Whatever is said may be published and attributed by name)
 - On background? (Whatever is said may be published with an agreed upon identification – “an official spokesperson” or “well-informed source”)
 - There is no such thing as “off the record”.
- ✓ **Clarify your message.** An interview may be a few seconds or five minutes.
- Limit yourself to the **three most important points** that you want to make.
- ✓ **Have examples ready.**
- Prepare a brief example to illustrate each point.
 - State the facts about your issue. However, avoid giving detailed statistics in an interview because they tend to be confusing to listeners.
- ✓ **Practice.**
- Practice with a colleague, friend or family member who will act as interviewer.
 - Try to be as natural as possible.
- ✓ **Maintain eye contact with the interviewer.**
- Always look directly at the interviewer. Do not worry about the camera.
- ✓ **Focus on all aspects of the interview.**
- Pay attention to the body language of your interviewer, and look for non-verbal cues.
- ✓ **Be relaxed and professional.**
- Consider clothing that allows you to be comfortable and relaxed and will also give you confidence and a professional look.

Handling Questions

The way we handle questions often determines whether we achieve our goal. Here are two basic types of questions and suggestions for how to deal with them.

Information Questions

These questions are designed to find out more about a particular topic or to clarify points. What do you do? How do you respond?

- **Check to make sure you understand the question.**
“Let me make sure I understand your question...”
- **Answer the question.**
- **Check back to make sure you have satisfied the concern.**

“Does that answer your question...?”

Trap Questions

They are designed to trick you and to make you look foolish. What do you do? How do you respond?

- **Listen to the question very carefully.**
- **Recognize the question for what it is: a trap.**
- **Defuse them:**
 - **Do not become defensive.**
 - **Acknowledge the concern.**
 - **Ask for more information about the comment.**

Example Question: “You aren’t interested in helping the elderly. Why aren’t you representing the elderly?”

Example Response: “It may seem that way to you. Why don’t you tell me about your concerns?”

Tips for Making an Effective Speech or Presentation

Know Your Topic

- ✓ If you can, choose a topic that you enjoy and know well. Your passion for the subject will come through in your delivery.
- ✓ The most important rule of public speaking is to become familiar and comfortable with what you are talking about – the subject of your presentation.

Know Your Audience

- ✓ Knowing who you will talk to can help you adjust what you will say. Consider their level of education, their interests, and their knowledge of your topic.

Know the Program

- ✓ Are you the only speaker? What is the order of appearance? Will you be the first or last speaker? Will there be a panel of speakers?
- ✓ Verify how long you will speak. It’s always a good idea to time a speech so that you know you will fill your allotted time slot.
- ✓ Be aware of how much time will be allotted for questions and answers, if any.

Prepare Your Speech

- ✓ Know what you want to achieve as a result of your presentation. Define the core purpose of the speech. Do you want to...Persuade the audience? Educate them? Encourage them to take a specific action?
- ✓ You need to know exactly what you want your audience to remember from your speech. In 25 words or less write down what you want the audience to know. Once you know what that is, reduce it to three or four points and elaborate on just those points. Illustrate each point with at least one example that will create a picture in the minds of

your audience. Too much information can be just as deadly as not enough while giving a speech.

- ✓ Outline the substance of your presentation using quotes, examples, facts and other interesting information.
- ✓ Write the opening or “attention getting” statement of your speech.
- ✓ Write the closing part of your speech. Aim for a strong finish. It should be a stirring statement in which you issue your call to action, make a declaration, refer to your opening comments and summarize your main goal.
- ✓ Don’t write out the rest of your speech in full. Instead, write out the main points. If you write it out in full sentences, you will worry about using exactly the same words that you have on the paper when you are giving your speech. You want to sound confident, not rehearsed.
- ✓ In any good presentation, you will tell the audience what you are going to tell them (the opening), tell them (the body of the speech), and tell them what you told them (the closing).

Practice, but Not TOO Much

- ✓ Practice your entire speech before the presentation. Be thoroughly familiar with it, but do not memorize it. If you practice too much, it may show. In other words, it may appear to your audience as if you’re doing this speech for the hundredth time, especially if you are! Practice with another person who can give you helpful comments. Practice in front of a mirror.

Other Preparations

- ✓ Try to visit the venue before the event. Check the room and equipment.
- ✓ Decide what you will wear ahead of time. Make sure it’s something you feel comfortable in and something that makes you feel confident. Deciding what you will wear ahead of time will make you less nervous the day of the speech.

Relax

- ✓ If you are feeling nervous, use some relaxation techniques before you start. If you can find a place to be alone, jump up and down or stomp each foot really hard. This exercise will ground you and release tension. Shake your hands and clench and unclench your fists. This action will keep your hands from shaking too much. If trembling is really a problem, hold onto the podium while you speak. Stick out your tongue, open your eyes and mouth as wide as you can, then scrunch your face into a tight ball. This will relax the muscles of your entire face. Breathe deeply and make a small humming sound to warm up your voice.
- ✓ Drink water (not coffee, tea, milk, or carbonated drinks) and have more close by, dry the palms of your hands with a tissue if they are sweaty, and you’re ready.

Deliver the Speech

- ✓ Observe proper protocol: recognize dignitaries at the beginning of your remarks.

- ✓ Do not read the speech – you want to be natural, enthusiastic and excited. Talk to your audience. Write an outline with key words or phrases on index cards that you can hold in the palm of your hand, and then practice giving the speech. Only look down at your notes every now and then when absolutely needed.
- ✓ Be precise; use simple words and short sentences. Avoid acronyms.
- ✓ Avoid the overuse of statistics. While important, statistics can be confusing. If there are important statistics, hand them out at the end of your presentation. Stories about real people are always more compelling than numbers.
- ✓ Maintain eye contact with the audience. This technique will help to hold their attention and emphasize main points. Make eye contact with one person at a time and hold it for about five seconds.
- ✓ Use hand gestures to explain yourself and your points. Gesturing too much distracts the audience. Not gesturing at all makes you seem stiff and unnatural.
- ✓ Stand up straight and stand still. Don't play with your hair.
- ✓ Use your nervousness to your advantage. Being nervous is normal. It gives us the adrenalin we need to focus on the immediate task. Try to channel this nervous energy into enthusiasm and excitement. Don't forget that the audience is there, usually, because they care about what you are saying and want to hear you say it. Find those individuals in the audience who are smiling and giving you positive feedback – they will help keep you confident.

Manage Questions

- ✓ Take questions from the entire audience rather than a select few. Listen carefully and treat each question equally. Repeat all positive questions so that the audience can hear them. Do not become drawn into a “one on one” with any one questioner, or allow one questioner to dominate the audience. Respond as simply and directly as possible.
- ✓ Do not be afraid to say “I don't know”, and either promise to get back to them with information or invite them to contact you at a later date.

Presentation Feedback Form

Use this guideline to assist in evaluating the presentation and style of a speaker. Rate each factor on a scale from 1 – 4. Be honest – receiving constructive criticism is the only way we can improve as speakers. But be sure to also compliment the speaker on things she did well.

	1 Needs work	2 OK	3 Good	4 Outstanding
Presentation Structure				
Clear purpose				
Main points highlighted in opening				
Core purpose restated in closing				
Other Comments				

Posture and Gestures				
Stood still with good posture				
Used gestures comfortably and naturally				
Avoided playing with hair and fidgeting				
Other comments:				
Eye Contact				
Looked at eyes and noses				
Looked at everyone in the room				
Held eye contact for 5 seconds each				
Avoided looking at visuals or notes while speaking				
Other comments:				
Other Suggestions:				

IMAGE AND PRESENTATION

Women candidates and political activists are subjected to a lot of scrutiny about their appearance (for mostly irrelevant reasons) by both their friends and strangers. Accept this as a reality and prepare yourself, even if it bothers you.

You will not get a second chance to make a first impression

First impressions are made quickly and a negative impression is difficult to overcome. In a split second, people will form opinions about you in terms of your economic and educational background, your social position, your experience, your trustworthiness, your moral character and your success at your current or previous work. Accept that your audience will form an impression of you based on their assumptions. Ensure that their assumptions give you an advantage.

The key is to develop sensitivity and awareness of the image you present. Wear what you must to have your audience accept you. The way to do this is to find the balance between comfort and creating an image that reflects your style of leadership. People can tell if someone feels uncomfortable or their appearance is unnatural.

Plan your wardrobe ahead of time

Your clothes reflect you. Because of this, plan your wardrobe with the same diligence you give to your other political activities.

How and Why

The colors you wear are very important. You want to wear colors that make you seem healthy and alive. Avoid colors that make you appear pale, show dark circles under your eyes or otherwise unhealthy. Colors are traditionally associated with different qualities. Black, dark gray, dark blue, dark green and deep red often mean “strong and dependable.” Think about the message you want to send. Use color to show yourself at your best.

Color for the media

The color of your clothes is very important if you go on television. For example, if they use a dark backdrop and you are wearing dark clothing, you will not be very visible. Color comes out differently on television and video. Too many dark colors, black in particular, will affect visibility. Black, white and red will appear very stark to the camera. Pale colors, like pink clothing, will appear faded. Patterns such as checks or lines will also appear stark. But sometimes larger patterns can be effective although solid colors are usually better.

Accessories

Accessories that are interesting and stylish can add to your appearance. Use them but sparingly. Dangling earrings and bangles can distract audience attention from what you want to say. You want the audience to pay attention to you, not your accessories.

PREPARING AN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL SPEECH

The following points are helpful in developing a persuasive political speech:

- ✓ Establish a connection with the audience by demonstrating a shared concern.
“Hello. My name is Mugume Habib and I am a candidate for the local council. I would like to talk to you about problems that I can solve if you elect me. One of the concerns I share with you is our village's financial problem. Every day I see my friends having a difficult time finding the money to buy oil or salt in the market...”
- ✓ State the problem, how it affects the audience, and support it with evidence.
“I have observed a great number of people who are having trouble raising enough money to survive. The people of this village do not have good opportunities for making money. Many voters have shared with me their frustrations about this important issue...”
- ✓ State your position on the issue.
“I believe that we must make small scale income generation our top priority. If I win this election, I promise to improve our village by bringing more income generating opportunities here. I will work to increase economic opportunities for villagers...”

- ✓ Give your solution and show how it benefits the voters.
“If I am elected I will work to involve more people in small income generating projects. As a result, their financial problems will improve...”

- ✓ Show the voters how the village would be if this problem were solved.
“In closing, I want you to imagine what our village could be like if I am elected. There will be effectively monitored income generation projects providing villagers the extra money they need to supplement their farming. People will not be struggling just to meet their basic needs. Please vote for me so that I can make this vision of a wealthier, happier village come true...”

- ✓ Ask for their support and their vote.
“Lastly, I would like to say that your valuable vote would provide me an opportunity to work for the development of our village. In order to help me improve our village’s economic situation, I request that you vote for me, Mugume Habib. Thank you.”

CAMPAIGN SKILLS

Developing a Campaign Plan ³

What is a Campaign plan?

It is a written document that outlines what you are going to achieve in your electoral campaign and how you are going to achieve it. It is a roadmap that will guide you and your team through the busy and challenging days of the campaign and election, help make sure you have all the resources you need and ensure you are conducting the types of activities that will get you to your goal.

Why you need a campaign plan:

- A plan is a management tool. This becomes even more important when you have a big team of paid staff and volunteers. It helps to keep everyone on the same page. It also diminishes demands on the campaign manager’s and candidate’s time. Instead of coming to them to ask what they should be doing, staff and volunteers can refer to the plan and keep things moving.
- A plan provides quantifiable means of measuring progress or lack thereof. If you regularly review your plan, you will quickly note if you have not met your fundraising goals or if you forgot to carry out an important activity.
- A plan keeps you organized, proactive and focused on the right priorities. It’s very easy to get distracted by and to simply react to everything that goes on around campaigns. A good plan helps you to ignore all the “noise” and focus on what is important in helping you to reach your goal.

³ <https://www.ndi.org/dcc-campaign101>

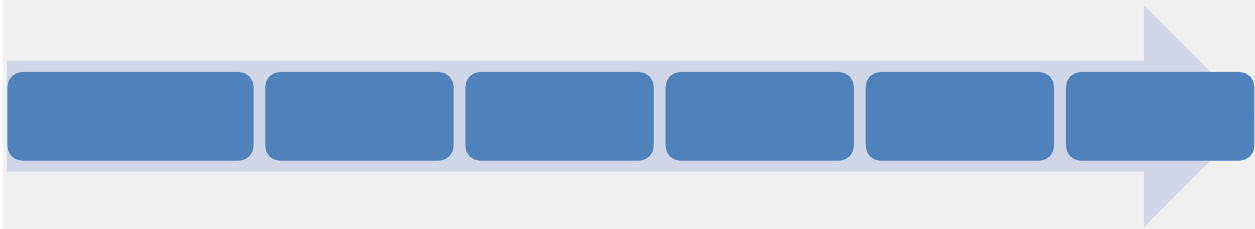
A plan gets your campaign back on track after a distraction. Every so often campaigns are forced to deal with unanticipated situations such as allegations, false or true, about the candidate. However, once these situations are addressed, you need to get right back to your plan.

Characteristics of an Effective Plan

- **Written**
- **Flexible**
- **Understandable**
- **Includes the obvious**
- **Research-based**
- **Has clear goals and objectives**

- **Written:** A plan is not a plan unless it is written down. Unless written, it cannot be shared with other team members, and it cannot be implemented.
- **Flexible:** A strong plan is one that is regularly reviewed and updated based on the challenges, opportunities, information and resources that arise in an electoral campaign.
- **Understandable:** The plan needs to be clear. Anyone on your campaign team should be able to pick it up and be able to understand its intent.
- **Includes the obvious:** Don't assume anything. Write down all of the details, even if they seem obvious to you. They may not be obvious to someone else.
- **Research-based:** Don't build a campaign around a set of assumptions you have about your electoral district, about your opponents, and about what the voters want. The more research you do, the better informed the plan, and the more likely you are to reach your goal.
- **Clear goals and objectives:** Your plan needs to identify objectives that will lead to that goal. This will be one of the first steps in developing your plan because you need to know where you are going if you are ever going to get there!

Campaign Steps



Research

- *Electoral context*
- *Self-research*
- *Opposition research*
- *Issue research*

There are several different areas of research that are key to developing a solid campaign plan:

- **Electoral context:** Understand the electoral laws as well as the political context in your area.
- **Self-research:** Carefully review your personal and professional background to identify strengths and accomplishments that can be used in your favor and any potential weaknesses and issues that may be used against you.
- **Opposition research:** Consider some of the issues that might be used against your opponents. What are their strengths? Their weaknesses? What are they likely to campaign on?
- **Issue research:** Gather background information on important issues that you will discuss on the campaign trail, such as education, unemployment, and health care.

Research: Electoral Context

- *Election system/rules*
- *Area characteristics*
- *Voter characteristics*
 - *Past elections*
- *Main factors affecting election*

To develop a successful campaign plan, you must have a solid understanding of the electoral rules and context in your constituency. Be sure to research the following:

1. **Election rules:** What electoral system is in place? What procedures must you follow to become a candidate? What are the campaign finance regulations? Are there any regulations on campaigning such as where you can hang posters or when the campaign period ends? Is there any public funding for elections in the form of cash payments or access to advertising time on radio or television?
2. **Characteristics of the area:** How big is your constituency? How many people live there? Is it rural or urban, or a combination? What is the political landscape of the constituency and who

are the main political players? Does your party have a lot of support? What are the main economic activities?

3. Characteristics of the voters: Can you get an accurate list of voters in your district and how? What is the demographic make-up of the voters (age, gender, education level, professions, income, religious or ethnic background, etc.)? Where do people live (rural or urban areas, apartment buildings or houses)? Where do they get their information on politics? Is the constituency generally politically conservative or liberal or is it mixed?

4. Past elections: What was the voter turnout? In general, who voted and who didn't (Youth? Elderly? Women?)? Who won and who lost and what was the difference in votes between them? Is the incumbent eligible to run again or will this be an open seat? How much money was spent on the last campaign? Have women been successful in electoral campaigns in this district?

5. Main factors affecting the election: What are the priority local issues? What regional or national issues are important for voters in your constituency? Are there other electoral races at the regional or national level that could influence the elections in your constituency either positively or negatively?

Opposition Research

- **Identify viable opponents**
 - **Research**
- **Personal and professional background**
 - **Previous statements/positions**
 - **Resources and support base**
 - **Weaknesses and strengths**

Once you have determined your strengths and weaknesses, the next logical step is to repeat the process for your opponents. If you are facing several opponents, you should determine which ones are your strongest competitors for the loyalty of voters you hope to attract and focus on them. Why is opposition research so important? Too often campaigns view opposition research as looking for the one scandal that will finish off their opponent's campaign. Researching your opponent and waging a negative campaign are two entirely different things. Opposition research helps you to identify patterns of behavior that you can use to persuade voters to either vote against your opponent or for you. You will use this to create a contrast between you and your opponent when you develop your message. You must be prepared for what your opponent will say and do.

Research their personal and professional background such as their family connections, education, previous jobs, policy positions and organizational affiliations. Find out what previous public statements or important votes/decisions the opponents have made, particularly around policy issues that you know will be important during this election. Explore what financial and human resources and support systems (individuals, organizations, etc.) the opponents bring to the campaign. Don't forget to identify weaknesses as well as strengths.

As you gather your opposition research, document your information sources and be sure that they are credible and fact-based.

Goal Setting

- **Goal is usually to win election**
- **How many votes do you need?**
 - **Example: Majoritarian**
 - **100,000 eligible voters**
 - **60,000 likely to vote**
 - **Need 30,001 votes**

Your campaign goal is a clear statement of what you want to achieve. In most but not all cases, your goal is to win the election. Alternately, do you want to increase your party's support in the area by 5%? Are you running for better name recognition in this race, with the goal of winning a seat in the next election? Your goal should be a short, well-defined declaration of what you realistically want to accomplish.

Assuming your goal is to win the election, you need to answer one key question based on your initial research. How many votes do you need?

Let's assume, for example, that your constituency has close to 100,000 eligible voters, and you are running under a majoritarian system that requires a runoff if no candidate gets an absolute majority. Based on your research, you estimate voter turnout to be around 60 percent which means that 60,000 votes will likely be cast. That means in order to win outright and avoid a runoff you would need a minimum of 30,001 votes. If you have strong opponents your goal might be to win enough votes to get into the runoff, but you still need to make a realistic estimation of how many votes you would need.

Targeting Voters

- **Can't please everyone**
- **Don't need 100% of voters**
- **Maximize time and resources**
- **Focus on "persuadables" not strong supporters or opponents**

So we know we need lots of support to reach our goal. You can never please everyone and will always have both support and opposition. This is because different people have different needs, priorities, and concerns. If you tried to convince everyone to vote for you, you would have to say different and even opposing things to get their support. In the end, you would lose everyone's trust – and their votes.

Voter targeting is a technique used to identify and focus on voters that can be persuaded to support you. A common campaign mistake is focusing on the wrong target audience, either your strong supporters or your enemies, who are unlikely to change their position. There will always be “true believers” who support you unconditionally and they make up your base. On the other hand, all other candidates have their own true believers and, by extension, these people will be firmly opposed to you. Targeting is about focusing your resources on people that you can convince to vote for you, the undecided and/or neutral people in the middle. These “persuadables” should be the target of your campaign, but keep in mind that you do not need to target all of them, just as many of them as you need to win!

Choosing the right target means aiming for the middle

Once you have determined the number of votes you need to win, you need to figure out approximately how many people fall into the five groups of voters. If we do not have enough votes within our True Believers group, we are going to search for the remaining votes within Soft Supporters or Undecided voters. If this is not enough, then we'll have to work for the support of our Soft Opponents.

So who are these people and how do we find them? Unfortunately there isn't a magic list that gives you the names of each individual in each group. But if you think creatively, you can get a general idea of who they are based on geographic and/or demographic trends and interests. For example, voters who live in rural areas where there are lots of farms would likely support a candidate who proposes to establish a minimum price for produce but urban voters who end up paying more for these products would not. You should also consider groups of voters based on demographic characteristics like age, sex, education, income, profession, religion, race, etc. Look at it from the opposite direction and consider who would support your opponents based on their policies and platforms. The research that you conducted as a first step in developing your campaign plan should provide you with most of the information you need to successfully identify your target voters.

Don't forget that not everyone you identify as a potential supporter will actually vote on Election Day. This means that you need to target more people than you need and that you need to focus some of your campaign resources on doing everything you can to make sure that as many of them as possible actually do.

Message

- *Single idea/theme*
- *Your values*
- *What you repeat over and over*
- *What you want people to remember*
- *How you connect with and persuade voters*

Why am I asking for your support?

After you have identified your goal and your target voters, you have to decide what you will tell them to attract their attention and inspire them to support you. Your message is your statement of purpose that communicates to voters who you are, what you stand for, and what makes you different from other candidates in the race. Your message cannot be about everything you ever wanted your constituency to learn about you and your political views, because people will only give you a limited amount of their time and attention.

So what exactly is a message? Your message should be:

- A single idea or theme
- What you care about (your values)
- What you repeat over and over
- What you want people to remember
- How you connect with and persuade voters to support you
- Able to answer the question “Why am I asking for your support?”

In summary, according to Paul Tully, the former Executive Director of the U.S. Democratic National Committee, “A message is a limited body of truthful information which is consistently conveyed by a candidate... in order to provide the persuasive reasons for an audience to choose him/her.”

Characteristics of an Effective Message



- **Concise**
- **Compelling**
- **Contrasting**
- **Connected**
- **Consistently delivered**
- **Credible**
- **Clear**

When it comes to the content of the message, what should we keep in mind? What are the characteristics of an effective message?

- **Concise:** It must be short and easy to remember.
- **Compelling:** It must be persuasive and speak to hearts, minds and values of voters.
- **Contrasting:** It must show contrast between you and your opponent.
- **Connected:** It must be closely related to the issues that voters care about – those that have an impact on their daily lives.
- **Consistently delivered:** It must be repeated over and over and in the same words no matter who on the campaign team delivers the message.
- **Credible:** It needs to be consistent with the values, background, and record of the candidate.
- **Clear:** It should be free of jargon and easy to understand, using every day language.

Message Example

“It’s time for a change: time to support our schools, time to address government corruption, time to bring jobs back to our town. As a teacher and community activist, I want to lead that change.”

Messengers

- Use real, relatable people
- Use credible people
- Trustworthiness and sincerity are key



Keep in mind that the messenger does not always have to be the candidate. Asking a “surrogate” to speak on your behalf can be very effective. This is someone who is outside of the process but can speak in support of the candidate. In the case of a candidate for mayor, a good messenger may be a former mayor – someone who knows the job and the candidate’s qualifications and is in a good position to know whether she would be good for the job. Here are some guidelines to consider when thinking about who to approach about helping you to deliver your message:

- Select real people – people who look, live, and are like the audience you want to address.
- Use people who have established credibility on an issue. If they don’t already know something about the issue, it will be harder for your audience to trust what they have to say.
- Remember that trustworthiness and sincerity are the most important traits of a messenger

Determining Issue Importance and Position

Issue Selection

- How important is the issue?
- Who has the better position?

As you consider what issues your campaign will address, there are two important questions to ask yourself. First, how important is this particular issue to your target voters? Hopefully you have some indication of which issues resonate with your target voters based on your initial research. Second, which candidate has the better position on this issue in the eyes of the voters? Too often, candidates either focus on issues that are not important to voters, ignoring more important issues, or they focus on issues where their opponents' can claim with a certain amount of credibility to have a better position on the issue. Instead, you should focus on the most important issues that you are best positioned to address.

Getting the Message Out

- *Media*
- *Print*
- *Electronic*
 - *Social*
- *Voter Contact*



Now that you’ve developed your message, the next step is to figure out how best to get it out to as many target voters as possible – as often as possible. Let’s first consider some of the more traditional methods such as harnessing print, electronic, and social media before we move on to methods that are more specific to voter contact during election campaigns.

Traditional Media

Print

- *Newspapers*
- *Magazines*

Electronic

- *Television*
- *Radio*

How can you use print and electronic media outlets to get your message out? What forms of media will you use? There is “earned media”, or free coverage from events, protests, or opinion pieces, as well as “paid media”, or advertising that you spend campaign funds on.

While it is relatively easy to “earn” media on the day you launch your campaign and on election day, itself, you will need a healthy budget for paid media.

There are several different ways to use print media such as newspapers and magazines to convey your message. You can write and send press releases in hopes that they will use it to prepare a story using what you have provided as the basis. Alternately, a press release can be used to advertise an event in the hopes that journalists will come and cover it. You could also write a letter to the editor. Depending on your budget, you can also pay for an advertisement.

There are a number of different ways that you can try to get coverage on radio and television programs.

-Send press releases to invite journalists to cover events.

-Send information to the producers of talk show programs and ask them to devote a show or a segment of a show to one of your campaign issues. Do some research first to identify the shows that tend to cover similar issues so you can target the ones that are most likely to welcome your idea.

-There are many TV and radio shows that have call-in segments. If they are focusing on an issue of interest to your campaign, use the opportunity to call in and air your views.

Common Social Media Sites

- Facebook
- Twitter
- YouTube
- Personal/organization website

These days there are countless social media platforms to get your message out. These can be an extremely cost-effective method of voter outreach during campaigns. How will you use social media in your campaign?

-Facebook is good for connecting with supporters, reaching new groups, and updating them about the latest developments and upcoming events.

-Twitter is good for providing the latest news and very short messages to your network.

-YouTube can be used to share videos that give your supporters the opportunity to hear from you directly or see your campaign messages. You can embed YouTube videos in other social media platforms.

-You may create a personal website as it allows you provide more detailed information. Use social media platforms to drive people to your website where they can find out more.

Voter Contact

- **Getting your message out**
- **Strategic and organized**
- **Many delivery methods**
- **Choose most convenient methods to target voters**
 - **Use resources wisely and efficiently**

Winning or losing an election depends on how successful you are in developing an effective message and getting it out to your target voters. On Election Day, voters evaluate candidates and their campaign efforts. They will assess many different aspects of each campaign such as the leadership qualities of the candidates, their political platforms and proposed policies, and their backgrounds and experience. But voters won't have anything to assess if you aren't successful in communicating with them regularly in the months and weeks before Election Day.

Communication with voters cannot be random and ad-hoc. On the contrary, it has to be strategic and organized, and building a voter contact plan is key to successful communication. Convincing people that you are the best candidate and that your policies will improve their lives and society in general is a process for which effective communication is crucial. Developing a good message is one part of it, but as we all know, there are many ways to deliver that message.

Choosing the most appropriate methods for message delivery will vary depending on the campaign resources and your target voters. There are two basic principles in developing effective voter contact plans. The first is choosing the most convenient communication channels for your target audiences. If most of your target voters are young people, using social media would be an effective approach but it wouldn't work so well if your support base was among elderly people. The second principle is using your resources wisely and efficiently.

Indirect vs. Direct Voter Contact

- **Direct requires more time and people**
- **Indirect requires more money**

Direct Voter Contact

Tactic	Cost	Manpower Needed	Time	Efficiency	Effectiveness
Door-to-door	1	5	5	1	5
Small personal events	1	4	4	2	4
Town meetings and other events	1-3	3	3	3	3
Candidate “meet and greets”	1	2	2	4	2
Distribution at gathering places	1	3	2	3	3
Phone banks	3	5	4	3	3

The following assessments analyze tactics based on five criteria: cost, manpower needed, time required, efficiency (average number of people reached at a time), and effectiveness (capacity to persuade an individual). We have graded each of the tactics on a scale from 1 to 5 with 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest. If a tactic receives a 5 for manpower, it means that it requires a lot of volunteers. If a tactic receives a 1 for cost, it means that it is inexpensive. Keep in mind that a 1 is the best score for cost, manpower, and time because you want to use as little of these resources as possible while a 5 is the best score for efficiency and effectiveness.

- Door-to-door is the most effective tactic and is inexpensive. The only disadvantage is that it does not reach many people at one time and it requires lots of volunteers and plenty of time.
- Small personal events are gatherings of 20-30 people and the candidate. They are time consuming and require human resources. Costs are relatively low and are often covered by the hosts.
- Town meetings usually focus on a particular issue and give the candidate access to 100 or more people at a time. It takes time and people to plan and execute. Costs can vary.
- Candidate “meet and greet” events strengthen your connection with supporters and include a few dozen voters at a time. These events are very inexpensive.
- Distributions of campaign literature at common gathering places are easy to organize. This tool allows direct communication with people and does not require much time, volunteers, or money.
- The purpose of a phone bank is to make a large volume of calls to the electorate. It requires updated contact lists of voters, trained volunteers, and money to cover the cost of the calls.

Indirect Voter Contact

Tactic	Cost	Manpower Needed	Time	Efficiency	Effectiveness
Literature distribution	3-5	1-3	1	4-5	1-2
TV, radio and newspaper ads	5	1	2	5	1
Letters to newspaper	1	1	1	4	2
TV, radio debates	1	1-2	2	5	2-3
Big events	4-5	3	3	3	3-4
Posters and billboards	2-3	1-3	2	2	1
Mail and e-mail	2-1	1	1	3	1-2
Social media	1	1	1	3	2

Let's go over some of the indirect voter contact techniques.

- Literature distribution includes having volunteers deliver leaflets to homes or paying a newspaper or magazine to include your literature. The approach will determine the volunteers needed.
- TV, radio and newspaper ads are expensive but strengthen your visibility. They do not require many people or much time. Efficiency is very high in contrast to effectiveness.
- Letters to newspapers can be prepared by a few volunteers. It is not time consuming. This tactic is very efficient if the readers of a particular newspaper are one of your target voter groups.
- Television/radio debates cost nothing assuming that is organized by a neutral organization, requires few people, does not take much time, and can be very effective and efficient.
- Visibility events are party conventions, rallies, and other types of gatherings of hundreds of supporters. They are costly and take lots of time to organize but can be both effective and efficient.
- Billboards are costly but do not require manpower. Posters are cheap but you need volunteers to put them up. These methods do not consume much time but are generally not very effective.

- Mail and e-mail messages are relatively cheap or free and do not require a lot of time. They can be efficient because you can reach a large number of people but they are not particularly effective.
- Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and My-Space are tools that have only recently been used in campaigns, but their efficiency and effectiveness among certain target groups such as young people is quite high. They are also inexpensive and require little time and manpower.

Every campaign has four main resources: people, money, time, and information. Campaign planning is about managing them effectively so that no matter how resource-rich or resource-poor your campaign is, you can maximize your impact and potential to win.

- **People:** How many people do you need? What will their roles be? Can you afford paid staff or will you have to recruit volunteers? You need to have the right mix of people and talent to be able to implement your strategy effectively.
- **Money:** You need to develop a detailed budget that outlines how much money you will need to implement your campaign and create a fundraising plan for how you will raise it and when.
- **Time:** You only have so much time. The best way to manage it carefully is to develop a timeline that details what you and other members of your team are going to do on a daily basis.
- **Information:** It's important to have a good database or other method to capture all of the information that your campaign will need to gather, particularly about voters.

Campaign Team Questions

- *What activities?*
- *What skills?*
- *What functions?*
- *Where can I find the right people?*
- *Who is responsible for what?*

Who will work with you on your campaign? How many people do you need and to do what? The following questions will help you identify the human resource that you will need to implement your campaign plan.

- What activities will be included in your campaign? Review your voter contact plan and other elements of your campaign plan to identify activities you need to conduct to reach your goal.
- What skills are required to implement these activities? If your campaign will rely heavily on social media, you will need to identify someone with strong ICT and communication skills.
- What functions will need to be carried out to ensure the success of the campaign? Functions include fundraising, communications, accounting, and research. Develop job descriptions that tie skills and functions to specific positions on the campaign team. Accurate job descriptions are important for any work situation, but they are particularly important in electoral campaigns. Campaigns can be chaotic environments and clear job descriptions help to keep everyone focused on what needs to be accomplished and make it clear who is responsible for what.
- Where can I find the right people for my team? Recruit staff and volunteers based on the skills and functions you need and the job descriptions you have written. Start with your family and friends. Check with your party to see what support they are willing to provide.
- Who is going to be responsible for what? Assign specific roles to team members and volunteers

Your campaign team can consist of both paid staff and unpaid volunteers, depending on what you can afford, what you want to achieve, the support you need to achieve it, and the political landscape. The size and composition of teams varies significantly from campaign to campaign. Rural districts, for example, often require a talented Field Organizer, dedicated Volunteer Coordinator, and numerous volunteers to reach voters spread out over a large

geographical area. Campaigns in urban areas are more likely to use electronic and print communications to contact voters and may therefore prioritize a Communications Officer.

Here are some common campaign team positions. Keep in mind that these roles are often combined on smaller campaign teams.

- Campaign manager oversees the implementation of the campaign plan, ensures that all activities run smoothly on a daily basis, and that the campaign is achieving its goals. The manager should be firm, a strong planner and strategist, a good listener, and in touch with the electorate. He or she should also promote a positive and productive work atmosphere.
- Field Organizer plans, organizes and implements the party's voter contact activities.
- Communications Officer oversees all external communications and may also be responsible for media relations and the media strategy if there is not a Press Officer.
- Volunteer Coordinator recruits and manages all volunteers and makes sure they have the information they need to do their job and feel like they are part of the team.
- Fundraiser raises money and secures in-kind contributions for the campaign such as donated office supplies, food, computer equipment, office space, etc.
- Press Officer writes the media strategy, handles all media relations, organizes press events and builds relationships with journalists to help boost press coverage.
- Researcher helps collect information that the party will use in its campaign materials and strategies, such as information on policy issues or data on priorities among the voters
- Technology Officer ensures that the campaign has access to whatever forms of technology is needed to implement the campaign plan, including mobile phones, computers, internet access, database software, and that they are functioning properly.
- New Media Officer handles outreach to newer forms of media, such as Twitter, Facebook, internet video messages, etc., as well as managing various forms of electronic communication, such as SMS, emails, designated websites, etc.
- Office Manager runs the campaign office, including answering phones, setting up meetings, ensuring there are adequate supplies, updating calendars, etc.
- Database Manager sets up and maintains the campaign's voter list, including regularly inputting the results of voter contact activities, working with the field organizer to target likely supporters, and pulling lists of targeted voters for campaign volunteers to contact.

- *Press clips*
- *Thank you letters and other correspondence*

There are certain tasks that should be handled by campaign staff but there are plenty of activities that volunteers can contribute to during the campaign. Let's think through a few of them.

- Making calls at phone banks
- Going door to door to canvass voters
- Conducting internet research on campaign issues or opponents
- Assembling mailings or hand delivering campaign materials
- Organizing discrete events such as house parties and "meet and greets" with the candidate
- Entering data into the voter database
- Reading newspapers and clipping/copying stories about the campaign
- Preparing thank you letters and other correspondence

Budget

- *Anticipate costs and timing*
- *Manage expenditures and revenues*
 - *Research costs*
 - *Track cash flow*
- *Ensures no debt on Election Day*

Some campaigns have an extraordinary amount of funding. Others manage on very little. First-time candidates and those challenging incumbents typically fall in the latter category. Regardless of your situation, your campaign needs a detailed budget. A budget will allow you to plan in advance how much the campaign is going to cost, anticipate when you are going to need the bulk of the resources, and provide you with a tool for managing funds.

Budgets don't have to be complex, but they do have to be accurate. It is important to put as much research into your budget as possible so that you're not simply guessing how much your printing costs will be, for example, only to discover that they are actually three times more than you expected. Research can be as simple as making a few calls to vendors to ask for quotes or going online to see what typical rates are for some of the services you'll need.

A large part of what you are trying to track in your budget is cash flow. You need to know how much money you are going to need and when you are going to need it. This will help guide your fundraising efforts. Campaigns typically need more cash at the beginning and then again at the end to finish strong and get out the vote. Use your budget to track when

you can expect to generate revenue to pay bills and when you will have to be particularly careful with spending.

You should refer back to your budget regularly. Carefully track ACTUAL expenditures and revenue and compare them to your estimates. If it appears that you are experiencing savings in one area, this will give you a chance to reallocate these funds. By contrast, if you notice something that is costing significantly more than you expected, you can consider other areas that may need to be cut to keep your budget on track. The objective is to ensure that you don't go into debt to win.

EXAMPLE: BUDGET

	Month 1	Month 2	Month 3	Month 4	Month 5
Office					
Phones/credit	400	300	400	800	1000
Supplies (paper, pens)	100	100	100	200	300
Equipment rental	150	150	150	150	150
Printing					
Flyers/Leaflets	150		150	250	500
Paraphernalia				500	
Fundraising					
Events	1500		800	200	1000
Meetings		200	200		500
Voter Contact					
Canvassing		250	250	500	1000
GOTV					2000
Media					
Radio Ads					1000
Website	200	200	200	200	200
TOTAL EXPENSES	2500	1200	2250	2800	7650

Consider the sample budget from a fairly simple local election campaign. As you will see, most of the money will be spent on getting the message out, communicating with voters

and getting them to support the candidate. How much money is needed will largely depend on the activities outlined in the voter contact plan.

- There are likely to be costs associated with opening and running a campaign office unless you intend to do this out of your home. Don't forget to include supplies and equipment which may be purchased or rented for the campaign. You will also have to cover the costs of utilities such as electricity and water.
- You are likely to spend a fair bit on printing and photocopying, particularly in the production of your campaign literature, posters, stickers, and other paraphernalia.
- Remember that it costs money to raise money. You will need to budget money to cover the costs of fundraising events and meetings.
- As we noted, voter contact activities will require a good deal of funding. Refer back to your plan and go through each activity to consider possible associated expenses.
- The costs of paid media can add up if you choose to record and run advertisements on radio and television stations. It will also cost you to develop and maintain a website.

FUNDRAISING

- *Who can give, when, how often, and how much?*
 - *Other fundraising tools such as events*
 - *In-kind contributions*
 - *Say thank you*

Once you have identified the different groups of people that might support you, identify individuals in each and consider when and how often you will ask them for assistance. Consider how much you should ask them for based on your assessment of their ability to give.

Outside of donations from this list of potential supporters, consider other tools that you could use to raise funds. For example, you might consider holding some sort of fundraising event but keep in mind that it costs money to raise money! If, for example, you organize a fancy dinner, be sure that the price of admission is higher than the per person costs of the food, beverages, waiters, entertainment, and venue. You need to make a profit and a significant one if the event is to be worth your time and effort. Other possible fundraising events include concerts, auctions, house parties, and receptions with honored guests or celebrities.

There may be people who can't give you money but they can provide you with an "in-kind" contribution. A friend who owns a copy shop may be able to provide you with free copies of your campaign materials.

Thank those who make a contribution, no matter how small. Experience shows that donors who are acknowledged are at least 25 percent more likely to give an additional contribution. You should also ask them for suggestions of other people who might be able to donate to your campaign.

EXAMPLE: FUNDRAISING PLAN

	Month 1	Month 2	Month 3	Month 4	Month 5
REVENUE					
Candidate contributions	1000		1000		500
Political Party contributions	5000			1550	
Donations	500	250	500	1000	2500
Fundraising events income	2000		600	300	
TOTAL EXPENSES	2500	1200	2250	2800	7650
TOTAL INCOME	8500	250	2100	2550	3000
CASH FLOW	6000	-950	-150	-250	-4650
CASH-ON-HAND	6000	5050	4900	4650	0

TIMELINE

- **Start from election day and work backwards**
 - Refer to campaign plan
 - What needs to happen?
 - By when?
 - By whom?
 - With what resources?
- **Include key dates and deadlines**

A well-run campaign requires a detailed timeline to help you think through everything that needs to happen and by when. A detailed timeline will ensure that you are maximizing time as a resource and not wasting precious moments engaging in activities that don't get you to your goal. It also helps to make sure you meet important deadlines.

The best way to write a timeline is to start from election day and work backwards, detailing all the steps you will have to take in order to win. You don't have to start from scratch. Look to your campaign plan. It already includes voter contact activities, new and traditional media outreach, and fundraising tasks, among others. Break down your larger goals in each of these areas into distinct projects, and then break each project down into action steps. When you are at the action step level, plot each action on the timeline. In order to ensure that the task will actually be implemented and that you have the resources you need to complete them, each activity on your timeline should be assigned a responsible person and the necessary resources (people, money, information, etc.).

Don't forget to include key dates and deadlines in your timeline such as:

- Filing deadlines for candidates – when do you need to register to get on the ballot?
- Financial reporting deadlines, if applicable

Other important dates such as political party events, holidays, and family events

DATA AND LIST MANAGEMENT

- *Lists of:*
 - **Supporters**
 - *Potential donors*
 - **Volunteers**
 - *Press contacts*
 - *Persuadable voter*
 - *Opinion leaders*
- *Sources of information:*
 - *Official voter list*
 - *Candidate contacts*
 - *Supporter's contacts*
 - *Party lists*

1. The official voter list should provide your campaign with the names and some demographic data and/or contact information for every registered voter. Most campaigns try to build their core database from the official voter list, if it is reliable, to guide their voter contact efforts.

2. Contact lists from the candidate: Every candidate has a network of family, friends and professional colleagues that should be incorporated into the campaign's outreach efforts. They have an interest in supporting the candidate and may be able to help in any number of ways.

3. Contact lists from supporters: Supporters of the party or candidate may also be able to provide lists of contacts from their personal and professional networks. Like-minded organizations may be able to provide lists of their members or professional contacts.

4. Contact lists from the party: Party headquarters may be able to offer a list of members and supporters in the local area, as well as lists of voters who have been previously identified.

In data and list management, the following particulars are important:

- Full name
- Gender
- Age range/date of birth
- Phone number(s)
- Mailing address
- Email
- Polling station
- Party affiliation
- Voting intention
- Voting history
- Donor history
- Volunteer history

ADVOCACY, COALITION BUILDING, RESEARCH AND NEGOTIATION

ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS

What is Advocacy?

Advocacy is a planned, deliberate and sustained effort to advance an agenda for change. Advocacy consists of a set of actions designed to draw a community's attention to an issue and to direct policy makers to a solution. (Definition from Women's Human Rights Step by Step: Women, Law and Development International).

Politicians advocate to change policies and programs that directly affect people's lives.

STEPS FOR ADVOCACY

Defining an Issue

- Conduct consultations
- SWOT analysis
- Define the specific issue for the advocacy campaign

Planning

- Steps to reach your goal
- Who is responsible for what
- How to monitor progress
- Timeline
- Budget

Community Mobilizing

- Who shares our goals?
- Who has influence on this issue?

Messaging

- Develop and test message
- Use it consistently!
- Design outreach strategy based on target group(s)

Choosing a strategy

Things to Consider:

- ✓ Context
- ✓ Capacity
- ✓ Risks

Advocacy Tools

- Public protest
- Lobbying
- Media campaign
- Social media
- Legal activities
- Research and documentation

“NINE QUESTIONS” A STRATEGY PLANNING TOOL FOR ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS ADAPTED FROM JIM SHULTZ OF THE DEMOCRACY CENTER

1. What do we want? (GOALS) Any advocacy effort must begin with a sense of its goals. Among these goals some distinctions are important. What are the long-term goals and what are the short-term goals? What are the content goals (e.g. policy change) and what are the process goals (e.g. building community among participants)? These goals need to be defined at the start, in a way that can launch an effort, draw people to it, and sustain it over time.
2. Who can give it to us? (AUDIENCES; KEY PLAYERS; or POWER-HOLDERS) Who are the people and institutions you need to move? This includes those who have the actual formal authority to deliver the goods (i.e., legislators). This also includes those who have the capacity to influence those with formal authority (i.e., the media and key constituencies, both allied and opposed). In both cases, an effective advocacy effort requires a clear sense of who these audiences are and what access or pressure points are available to move them.
3. What do they need to hear? (MESSAGES) Reaching these different audiences requires crafting and framing a set of messages that will be persuasive. Although these messages must always be rooted in the same basic truth, they also need to be tailored differently to different audiences depending on what they are ready to hear. In most cases, advocacy messages will have two basic components: an appeal to what is right and an appeal to the audience’s self-interest.
4. Who do they need to hear it from? (MESSENGERS) The same message has a very different impact depending on who communicates it. Who are the most credible messengers for different audiences? In some cases, these messengers are “experts” whose credibility is largely technical. In other cases, we need to engage the “authentic voices,” those who can

speak from personal experience. What do we need to do to equip these messengers, both in terms of information and to increase their comfort level as advocates?

5. How can we get them to hear it? (DELIVERY) There are many ways to deliver an advocacy message. These range from the genteel (e.g. lobbying) to the in-your-face (e.g. direct action). The most effective means vary from situation to situation. The key is to evaluate them and apply them appropriately, weaving them together in a winning mix.

6. What do we have? (RESOURCES) An effective advocacy effort takes careful stock of the advocacy resources that are already there to be built on. This includes past advocacy work that is related, alliances already in place, staff and other people's capacity, information and political intelligence. In short, you don't start from scratch, you start from building on what you've got. 7. What do we need to develop? (GAPS) After taking stock of the advocacy resources you have, the next step is to identify the advocacy resources you need that aren't there yet. This means looking at alliances that need to be built, and capacities such as outreach, media, and research, which are crucial to any effort.

8. How do we begin? (FIRST STEPS) What would be an effective way to begin to move the strategy forward? What are some potential short term goals or projects that would bring the right people together, symbolize the larger work ahead and create something achievable that lays the groundwork for the next step?

9. How do we tell if it's working? (EVALUATION) As with any long journey, the course needs to be checked along the way. Strategy needs to be evaluated by revisiting each of the questions above (i.e., are we aiming at the right audiences; are we reaching them, etc.) It is important to be able to make mid-course corrections and to discard those elements of a strategy that don't work once they are actually put into practice.

DRAFTING AN ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN

Define Issue: _____

What Research Needs to be Done?: _____

Step 1: _____

Date for Completion: _____

Step 2: _____

Date for Completion: _____

Step 3: _____

Date for Completion: _____

Outreach Strategy: _____

Messages in Advocacy Campaigns

Source: Advocacy Center at ISC. <http://www.advocacy.org/>

"Your message is your organizing theme. And no advocacy campaign can succeed without a powerful, coherent organizing theme, a theme that is at the same time logically persuasive, morally authoritative, and capable of evoking passion. A campaign message must speak at one and the same time to the brain and to the heart."

A well-formulated message can be the basis for a successful advocacy campaign. Messages bring clarity and focus to specific issues and campaigns and allow advocacy practitioners to frame public debate on their terms. Advocacy practitioners use their messages to raise attention around social justice issues and ensure that public discourse is focused and well-informed.

What is a Message?

A message is a brief, straightforward statement based on an analysis of what will persuade a particular audience.

A good message is:

- Simple
- To the point
- Easy to remember
- Repeated frequently

Here are some examples of messages that successfully took root in the Tobacco Control movement:

- Passive smoking is a serious health hazard.
- Smoking kills more people than heroin, cocaine, alcohol, AIDS, fires, homicide, suicide, and automobile accidents combined.
- Women are just as much at risk as men are for diseases caused by tobacco. Women who smoke like men, die like men

COALITION BUILDING

COALITION BEST PRACTICES

There are three main reasons political coalitions are formed: In government, to secure a governing majority; in opposition, to create a credible alternative to government; and during elections, to consolidate electoral support and maximize results.

There are several essential ingredients of a successful coalition:

- The coalition must be beneficial to all of its constituent parts; there must be something in it for everyone.
- There must be mutual respect and understanding. Each partner must demonstrate an ability to understand the others' point of view, even when there is disagreement.

- There must be a willingness to compromise.
- There must be a sense of partnership, even if member parties are different in size. Partnership does not mean that all responsibilities and positions are divided evenly within the coalition, but that each grouping is respected for the unique attributes it brings to the coalition and has an equitable and fair say in how decisions are made and benefits distributed.

An “equitable partnership” can depend on many factors, including the size of member parties. For example, the Rainbow Coalition in Ireland was composed of three parties: one large, one medium, and one small. As a result, positions in that coalition were divided on a 3:2:1 ratio.

BUILDING A COALITION

There are several key factors involved in building a successful coalition.

- In the first instance it is important to determine interest among parties. This can be done through informal soundings or direct contact. Time and credibility can be lost by approaching every possible combination of partners without first identifying parties that are inclined towards opening negotiations and those who are firmly set on a different course.
- In preparation for negotiations, each constituent party should develop a position paper that outlines party positions on key issues. This will help crystallize where member parties agree and disagree on different issues and will, in turn, facilitate the negotiation process.
- A negotiation process, and an appropriate negotiations team, should be agreed on before negotiations commence. It is important that party leaders not be involved in the negotiating process, but that negotiators are appointed by leaders and are given clear instructions to negotiate on the party’s behalf. In this way, party leaders can serve as a final “court of appeal” for negotiations if an impasse arises. In contrast, if party leaders are directly involved in the negotiation process, there is no higher authority to resolve disputes in the event of an impasse.
- Member parties must know what they want to achieve in coalition, but must also be realistic in evaluating what can be achieved in partnership.
- Member parties should establish, up front, their core principles that cannot be conceded or negotiated. Each party will have them and they must be dealt with in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. The final coalition agreement will include each party’s core policy principles that have been arrived at through “trade offs” between the parties. Others will have been set aside in the interest of reaching agreement. Parties should recognize that not everything can be achieved in a partnership.
- In order to hold the attention of all participants throughout the negotiating process, partners should adhere to an “all or nothing” negotiating strategy where “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.” This “package” strategy will ensure that all parties remain engaged through the duration of the process, and will prevent individual parties from disengaging when they get what they want.
- When a coalition agreement is finally reached, it can be beneficial to have it published as a formal document signed by all parties to demonstrate coalition unity, to promote transparency and to avoid different interpretations and misunderstandings. The publication

of the terms of the agreement can be done in a number of ways including a special booklet, press release, joint, party newspaper, etc.

- Member parties must recognize the importance of “selling” the agreement to the party’s grassroots, the most important constituency to have on board. Party leaders often take for granted, upon entering a coalition, that the party’s grassroots will simply “follow.” However, this is frequently where parties encounter the most resistance, as grassroots supporters tend to be the most polarized and partisan, and can perceive coalitions as compromising the party’s identity. Adequate time and resources must therefore be allocated to explain the coalition to grassroots supporters, and to ensure their “buy-in” to the coalition’s objectives.

Maintaining a Coalition

- It is essential to maintain constant communication and consultation between coalition partners at all leadership levels; there is no such thing as “too much communication” between parties in coalition.
- A dispute resolution mechanism should be established and agreed upon by all coalition partners at the outset. This mechanism can be an honest broker, someone well respected within the coalition or a person outside the coalition framework. It is much easier to agree to a dispute resolution framework before disputes arise, rather than afterwards.
- Internal disputes or disagreements must be kept confidential. When problems do arise, confidentiality is essential to maintain member parties’ confidence and to avoid weakening the coalition. Individual parties should not seek to gain advantage through “leaks” or the public airing of internal disputes.

Coalition Structure

- Coalition leadership must be readily identifiable, recognizable and decisive. They must give the coalition a clear sense of direction. This point is particularly relevant as there can sometimes be a conflict between a leader’s role in his/her party and in the coalition, and these roles need to be finely balanced.
- Decision-making within the coalition should be a clearly defined process. An effort should be made, however, to engage different groups in this process. When feasible, decision-making should be devolved to lower-level coalition bodies, both to empower these bodies and to ensure that top leaders are not constantly tied up in every coalition decision.
- There are three general options for defining and building coalition membership:
1) Party-based membership, where members of participating parties constitute the coalition’s membership; 2) Coalition-based membership, where both party members and non-party members become coalition members outside of the party framework; or 3) A mixture of both, where party members constitute membership and the coalition also recruits independents and others to join outside of the party framework.
- Strategies for membership recruitment are then decided by how membership is defined. For example, if the coalition has party-based membership, the individual parties will seek to increase their own membership and, in doing so, will increase the membership of the

coalition. If there is coalition-based membership, the coalition will reach out to both party members and others to create its own, separate membership list.

Communicating as a Coalition

- The coalition should speak with one voice. This does not mean that only one person speaks on behalf of the coalition, but that the coalition uses the same language, ideas, and positions in addressing the public. A single spokesperson, or several spokespeople, should be appointed to speak on behalf of the coalition. This will also help to develop the coalition's relationship with the media.
- The coalition should be “branded,” with a unique logo, message and set of slogans that can be easily identified and recognized by the public. “Branding” is particularly important for opposition or electoral coalitions. Individual logos of member parties can also be featured next to the coalition logo or message to increase public recognition of who is in the coalition.
- Internal communication between and within member parties and groups is critical in ensuring that the coalition communicates effectively with the public and grassroots members fully understand the reason for certain decisions.

Targeting/Outreach

- Members should agree in advance on what sectors of society comprise the coalition's main target audience: Who are the coalition's base and persuadable voters? What types of voters is the coalition looking to attract? Where do these voters live? Otherwise valuable time and resources will be wasted on voters who are not receptive to the coalition's message.
- Voter outreach and message development are particularly important for coalitions that are building their base and looking toward elections. Coalitions should reach out to citizens during the message development and policy-making processes to solicit their feedback, to acquaint them with the coalition and to ultimately ensure that a developed message resonates with base and persuadable voters. This can be done through formal research, public meetings, and door-to-door canvassing.

Managing Shared Resources

- Membership fees, party contributions and coalition-organized fundraising events are standard methods for coalition fundraising.
- A central fund can be established for shared expenses and activities. It is not necessary for parties to invest all of their resources in a “joint” account.
- The creation of parallel structures that duplicate efforts and waste limited resources should be avoided. Are there people in the coalition and the parties with redundant dual roles? Can these positions be consolidated? Rather than funding three offices in one area, can the coalition consolidate office space and fund only one?
- Member parties should also be open to sharing resources in different regions; efficient tradeoffs can often be made.

- The coalition should agree on a budget in advance, monitor it closely, and determine the funding priorities. This is much easier outside the pressure of an election cycle, when more rational calculations can be made without the political pressure of an election.

National cooperation implemented on the regional level can greatly increase the efficiency of a coalition. For instance, Party #1 might have many volunteers in a particular district, but no office space. Party #2, on the other hand, might have a large office in the same district, but few volunteers. Working in coalition, Party #1 volunteers can work in Party #2's office – thus maximizing efficiency, cooperation, and saving limited coalition and party resources.

Electoral Strategy in Coalition

- Like any political party, a coalition needs a strategic approach to elections: the goal is to maximize the number of seats that the coalition wins. This does not necessarily mean, however, maximizing the number of candidates the coalition runs. Electoral strategy is usually determined by the electoral system, though other factors should also be taken into account.
- There should be a division of responsibilities based on the strengths and weaknesses of member parties and groups in each area. To maximize effectiveness, the coalition should evaluate where each of its constituent parts is strongest and weakest and then formulate and implement election strategy accordingly.
- There should be mutual agreement on how coalition candidates are selected and put forward.
- Coalition members should agree in advance on election material, including logo, message and slogans.

WOMEN CAUCUSES FACT SHEET

Why form a Women's Caucus?

Women who are organized into a caucus can serve the same purpose as a “critical mass” of women, even where women do not make up a significant portion of the legislature⁴.

- Caucuses are able to extend influence over several realms simultaneously:
 - They impact the government and political process by helping to shape the agenda and by providing information and advocacy
 - They impact the constituency by raising awareness about an issue, by acting as catalyst for communication on certain issues between government and civil society, and by providing information and advocacy
 - They act as a watchdog for certain issues by ensuring that concerned individuals and groups are aware when relevant legislation is up for review
 - Members of caucuses often become the spokespeople for their issues, thereby streamlining information and raising awareness⁵. Many caucuses not only work to help women parliamentarians come together to enact policy. They have programs, lunches and workshops to help make women parliamentarians better legislators and members of parliament:

⁴ Sue Thomas, *How Women Legislate*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁵ Susan Webb Hammond, Daniel P. Mulholland and Arthur G. Stevens, Jr., “Informal Congressional Caucuses and Agenda Setting”, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 38 No. 4 (1985):583-605

- The Ugandan Women’s Caucus does workshops for women delegates on speech making, constituency building, coalition building, parliamentary procedures and other related topics⁶.
- In Finland, The Network of Women Deputies of the Finnish Parliament organizes informative luncheons intended to rouse debate in parliament on important current affairs. Often women state ministers are invited to these events.
- In Morocco, the Women’s Parliamentary Network organized a conflict resolution workshop that trained the women participants in conflict resolution and negotiation skills⁷.

How to structure a Women’s Caucus?

There are a number of different models and structures of women’s caucuses that can be used to best suit the local political context. A few are highlights are included below. The Rwandan Women Parliamentary Forum has five governing structures. The General Assembly is the highest body and its membership includes all members of the forum. The Executive Committee has nine members and is in charge of the management of the forum. The third governing structure is the Standing Committees. There are five committees: Women capacity-building and empowerment; Partnership and advocacy; Gender and legislation; Monitoring of policies, gender strategies and budgets; and Research, documentation and ICT. The fourth structure is the Audit Committee, composed of three members who are in charge of the forum’s accounts, ensuring that the General Assembly’s resolutions are implemented and the resolution of conflicts that may arise in the forum. The last governing structure is the Executive Secretary, which is in charge of the forum’s daily management. In Finland, while there has never been a formal women’s caucus in parliament, in 1991 women parliamentarians formed the Network of Women Deputies of the Finnish Parliament. Collaboration between women parliamentarians has always existed in Finland and this network made their collaboration more structured. The network organizes seminars and meetings as well as coordinates cooperation with deputies from other countries. The practical aspects of the network’s activities are handled by an executive committee elected each year by the general assembly. Each of the parliamentary caucuses is represented in the membership of the network by an incumbent and a new member. The president and the vice-president of the network are appointed for a year, chosen in turn from each of the different caucuses.

Do Women Caucuses Work?

Some noteworthy achievements of women’s caucuses around Africa include: The Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association formed in the 1990s and was instrumental to lobbying for gender equality clauses in the Ugandan Constitution including provisions on nondiscrimination on the basis of sex, equal opportunities for women, a quota for women of 1/3 for local government seats, and the establishment of an Equal Opportunities Commission.

In South Africa, the women’s caucus has worked together not only for gender sensitive policies but to make their experience as female MPs better. The South African Women’s Network established a daycare in parliament and made sure that parliament speeches are delivered in language that is gender sensitive. The caucus also worked to pass a bill to reduce the number of guns in society and a

⁶ Aili Mari Tripp, “The New Political Activism in Africa”, *Journal of Democracy*, 12.3 (2001): 150

⁷ NDI-Morocco, “Information Seminar on Women Parliamentarian’s Groups: Examples from Across the Globe” (support material for the information seminar on women parliamentarian groups, Rabat, Morocco, February 20-21, 2003) 5 NDI, “Women’s Caucus Report” (summary of the information seminar on women parliamentarian groups, Rabat, Morocco, February 20-21, 2003).

bill to make men legally responsible for the financial support of their children. Additionally, the caucus studies and observes department spending and monitor and hold executives accountable.

NEGOTIATION SKILLS

Tactics:

- Haggle for gains based on exaggerated starting points
- Don't tell them what you really want or need
- Wear a mask; show no empathy
- Seek to undermine the legitimacy of their claims
- Use dirty tricks to gain psychological advantages

Assumptions:

- Their gain is my loss
- Negotiation is a test of will
- Giving them information will put you at a disadvantage
- The toughest, sneakiest person wins

Problems with this Approach:

- It erodes trust: What you say you need isn't what you actually need
- It prevents information exchange that could lead to more valuable outcomes
- Agreements become less stable over time
- It harms relationships

RESEARCH

BUILDING A QUESTIONNAIRE

Think through how you plan to use the information gathered. This is critical to creating the questionnaire correctly. Having accurate survey data will strengthen your argument and leave fewer opportunities for your opponents to challenge your position.

- Ask questions as **neutrally** as possible. You want to work to not imply one response is more correct than another.
 - Example:** **Ask**, "Do you think we should increase taxes, decrease taxes, or leave taxes about where they are now?"
 - Do not Ask**, "Do you think we should increase taxes?"
- Keep questionnaires **short**. Try to use questionnaires that take not more than five minutes to complete.
- Use **multiple choice** questions rather than open-ended questions.
 - Example:** **Ask**, "On a scale of one to ten, how serious a problem do you believe domestic violence is for families in Ugnada? The number one means

you don't think the problem is very serious and ten means you think the problem is very serious,"

Do not Ask, "How serious do you think the problem of domestic violence is in Uganda?"

- When using anchors like most serious and least serious – use them only in the beginning and the end of the scale. Do **not** suggest other anchors such as

One – Not serious at all

Three – Only somewhat serious

Five – Moderately serious

Seven – Somewhat more serious

Ten – Very Serious

- **Don't taint later data** by foreshadowing intentions. In other words, when doing a study on creating jobs programs for women – don't ask questions soliciting opinions on the program specifics first and then ask questions on the respondents' opinions on the need for such programs. Ask the questions measuring opinions on need before the questions on program specifics.
- Be **clear** – ask only one question within a question.

Example: **Ask**, "What do you think the new DOS government is doing right?"

Followed by the question, "What do you think the new DOS government is doing wrong?"

Do not Ask, "What is the new DOS government doing that you think is right or wrong?"

- Avoid questions that allow for multiple responses. It is much more difficult to analyze.
- If planning to track trends over time – be sure to ask key questions **exactly the same** from questionnaire to questionnaire.
- Have a complete **demographic** section. The better your demographic data and the closer it is to the whole – the more powerful your information.
- When the questionnaire is written, have a group **review** it. Those who review it should be able to identify precisely how the data from each question can be used. If the review committee cannot identify the use of the answers – rethink the question.

COLLECTING DATA

How you collect the data is just as important as the questions you ask.

- To maximize the likelihood people will answer honestly; assure people that their **information will remain confidential**. The respondents need to understand that their answers will be evaluated statistically – not individually.
- **Train** the individuals you use to gather the information.
- **Make it easy** for the researchers to either take down the answers or to give the questionnaire to the respondent.

- Go to a range of places, homes or institutions to make sure you get a **broad sampling** of the population.
- Permit the respondent the **opportunity to provide name, address, and/or phone number**. Tell them why you are asking.
- Get **complete demographic data**. Well-trained researchers can give respondent's confidence enough to answer even the most sensitive questions.

Focus Group Script

Introduction

- ☞ Thanks for accepting and responding to our invitation.
- ☞ Explain the setting (microphone, mirror, etc...).
- ☞ Set the rules of the discussion
- ☞ The moderator introduces him/herself followed by each of the participants.

I. General Situation in Uganda

At the beginning I want to know your opinion about the general situation in Uganda.

- 1- How do you see Uganda today? Are things going mostly in the right direction or mostly in wrong direction?
- What are the things going in the right direction?
→ Probe: why? Who is responsible?
 - What are the things going in the wrong direction?
→ Probe: why? Who is responsible?
- 2- Talk to me about yourself and tell me how things are going in your family.

II. Issues and Actors

1. I would now like to discuss some important issues facing Uganda at this time. Please let me know which of these issues you think are the most important. Keep in mind your opinions about how things are going in Uganda and in your families, from the list of 12 different issues I'll propose to you, I would like you to select two (2) that are most important to you.

List: Issues

- Democracy
- Corruption
- Religion
- Terrorism
- Housing
- Traditional values
- Health
- Illegal immigration
- Education
- 'Sahara' issue
- Unemployment
- Crime and Safety

Probe **on each of the issues** that were mostly chosen. → What made you choose ...?

Always probe on the following issues: Corruption, Democracy, and Religion.

When probing on “Democracy” ask:

→ What are the first things that come to your mind when you hear the word “Democracy”
2. We have discussed the direction Morocco is heading and the some of the important issues the country is facing. I would now like to ask you about which actors in Morocco play an important role. Please choose two (2) from the following list:

List: Actors

- Media
- Political Parties
- Ugandan Women
- Non-Governmental Organizations
- Parliament
- Ugandan Men
- Prime Minister/Ministers
- Ugandan Youth
- Trade Unions

Probe on **the actor** that was most cited.

3. What are the first things that come to your mind spontaneously when you first hear the word ‘Woman’?

4. What are the different roles of the Ugandan woman in the society? What is her place in the Ugandan society?

Probe: What is the role of the man in the Ugandan household?

Section Three: The woman in Uganda

1. In general, according to the environment in which you are living, that you come from, what do you think about the conditions of women in Uganda? Do they improve or deteriorate?

Probe: → What are the things that are improving? (Urban environment /Rural environment)

→ What are the things that are deteriorating? (Urban environment /Rural environment)

→ Who is responsible for such a situation?

→ Do you think it is possible to change this situation? How ?

2. Now, tell me what you think about the insertion of the Ugandan woman in the work market?

Probe: → Good thing→ Why?

Bad thing→ Why?

Probe: → What about her insertion in the following sectors: Business, Arts and cultures, Journalism, Police/Army/Security?

3. What do you think about the insertion of the Ugandan woman in the field of politics?

Probe: → Good thing→ Why ?

Bad thing→ Why ?

Section Four: Woman MP

1. Do you know if there are any women in the Ugandan parliament?

Probes:

a) Do you know how many women are in the parliament in Uganda?

- b) Do you know since when there are women in the parliament in Uganda?
- c) What do you think about the current number of Ugandan women MPs?
- d) Have you ever heard of a political/parliamentary woman? Who?
- e) Where have you heard about her? Is it on TV, on the radio, in newspapers?
- f) What have you heard, read about her?
- g) Do you know how do these women have access to the parliament?

2. Do you think that the insertion of women in politics will improve the situation of the Ugandan woman?

Probe: → If 'yes', why? If 'no', why?

3. Do you think that the involvement of a woman in a particular political movement would affect her work in such a context?

4. In your opinion, is there a difference between a man MP and a woman MP?

Probe: → Which difference?

Probe on the following aspects: → Competence? Seriousness? Moral values?

Probe: → As far as the use of corruption, do you think there is a difference between a man MP and a woman MP?

5. According to you, is there a difference between a program proposed by a woman MP and another proposed by a man MP?

Probe: → What is it?

Section Five: Ugandan woman and elections

After having talked about the Ugandan woman within the parliament, I would like to know your opinion on the woman in the precise context of elections in Uganda.

1. Now, let's pretend that you are going to vote and you have the choice among the following candidates: a 54 year-old man member of parliament, a 45 year-old woman teacher, a 28 year-old unemployed man, and a 30 year-old woman lawyer. Which candidate would you vote for and why?

Probe: → Age, gender, job, experience

→ What are some other criteria that are important for you, that influence your choice of the candidate you vote for during the elections ?

Probe: → What are these criteria?

→ Does the involvement in a particular/specific political movement effects your choice? Does this variable play an important role in your choice?

Section Six: Conclusion

1. Knowing the importance that you ascribed to the different issues we have discussed, imagine now that a woman MP contacts you to ask you your most important hopes and expectations: that is, what you intend most on her part. She assures you that your request is very important since you represent the Ugandan citizen, and that therefore she will respond to your request. → *What will you say to her?* → *What would you ask her for?* → *What would be your most eminent expectation?* We want to thank you for the time you've granted us. We appreciate your help and support that are very precious to us.

WOMEN AND GOVERNMENT

GENDER INFORMED GOVERNANCE

STRENGTHENING WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Women can only be effective legislators if they actually manage to get elected to parliament. An increase in the number of women representatives doesn't automatically translate into more gender sensitive policy, but it's a step in the right direction to getting women's voices heard in national policymaking. The following are the ways to increase the number of elected women:

- Quotas, reserved seats or other temporary special measures are party policy or legal structures that set minimums for the number of women candidates in an election or the number of women legislators elected.
- Internal party reforms to make political parties more democratic and specifically to promote women are also an effective way to get more women elected. When women can advance to leadership positions and be placed high on party lists in winnable constituencies, it increases their chances of ultimately getting elected.
- Electoral system reform is another avenue that can increase the number of women elected. Women tend to be more successful in proportional representation systems (where voters choose from party lists and seats are awarded based on the party's share of the votes). Systems with higher thresholds (the percentage of votes a party needs to gain a seat in parliament) also benefit women. The fewer number of parties, the greater number of seats that each party will receive, which indirectly benefits women as they tend to be lower down on the party list. Larger district sizes benefit women for the same reason.

SUPPORTING WOMEN LEGISLATORS

- *Orientations*
- *Ongoing trainings*
- *Mentoring*

Once elected, women legislators may need support, training and advice on navigating the institution. Women can come to politics from all walks of life and sectors, but tend to advance to leadership through civil society and community work, whereas their male peers tend to be lawyers or businessmen. These factors mean that women are often less experienced in politics and may have skill gaps as compared to their male counterparts.

- For women to be effective parliamentarians, they must clearly understand the functions of the legislature and they must learn the rules of the game—both the written and unwritten codes. An orientation for newly elected legislators should cover the core responsibilities of legislators: constituent relations, legislative duties and executive oversight, including understanding national budgets.

- Training for women should address the gaps in women’s formal or political education, while seeking to “translate” their existing skill sets into the political realm. Offering these sessions on an ongoing basis will allow women to grow into their new roles and tackle more advanced topics over time.
- Mentoring, or pairing up new legislators with experienced (male or female) legislators that provide guidance and advice, is another way to help women gain skills, increase confidence and grow her network. Such connections provide quick access to rules and procedures, especially informal norms that enable effective legislating and invaluable support to new MPs entering the institution.

STRENGTHENING THE LEGISLATURE

- *Addressing institutional challenges:*
 - *Infrastructure*
 - *Culture*
- *Care facilities and services*
- *Work/Life balance*

When women enter a legislature, they often encounter an institution that does not accommodate their needs.

- Infrastructure, or the actual architecture or location of the legislative buildings, can be prohibitive for women. For example if the legislature is in a dangerous part of town where women cannot travel safely, or the location (and very often complete lack) of women’s restrooms. These challenges can be easily addressed once they are identified (more restrooms, providing safe transportation, etc.)
- The parliament very often (almost always) has an institutional culture that is dominated by men. This can include dress codes and the way legislators refer to each other. This is one of the biggest challenges women legislators will face, but it is important for them to speak up and seek change.
- Design and provide adequate care facilities and services to support men and women in office to fulfill family responsibilities. Most commonly this refers to child care services, which can benefit mothers and fathers alike, but it can also refer to lactation rooms, etc.
- Creating rules of procedure that promote working hours conducive to a work/life balance also benefits men and women equally.

CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN’S CAUCUSES:

- *Party loyalty*
- *Lack of resources*
- *Easily marginalized*

Although women’s caucuses can be an effective tool for strengthening women’s policy positions, they are not without challenges.

- Women that are elected indirectly or are elected through party lists can feel beholden to their party leadership and thus may believe that crossing party lines may jeopardize their seats in future elections.

- Often women’s caucuses receive no budgetary or staffing support from the parliament and have to seek donors and partners among the international community.
- Women’s caucuses can be easily marginalized. Caucus members can quickly become overwhelmed, particularly if they have greater capacity or commitment to analyzing and drafting gender-sensitive legislation than members of the parliament’s gender committee.

Although it can be tough, challenges to women working together can be overcome, depending on the context of your political environment.

Challenges can be overcome through:

- ✓ True leadership
- ✓ Networks and support
- ✓ Male allies
- ✓ Timing

COALITION BUILDING

- *Specific goals*
- *Clear organizational structure*
 - *Plan of action*
 - *Cross-sector*
 - *Engage men*
 - *Cross-party*

Coalition building is one of the most effective strategies for ensuring women’s rights, women’s political participation and gender sensitive policymaking. Because of their shared experience of gender discrimination, women can often build alliances with other women across the divides of other identity markers. Coalitions are key to advocacy because the wider the range of voices in support of a common objective, the more likely it is to find a broad base of support and be successful.

- Members must clearly define the mission and goals of the coalition at the beginning of their collaboration. Agreeing to focus only on your mission, where you agree, and leaving issues where you differ off the table.
- In order to perform tasks effectively, coalitions must have a clear organizational structure and each member must have a defined role.
- A plan of action identifies the small steps that contribute to the big picture. Starting small with projects likely to succeed will help the coalition gain momentum and support to tackle larger issues.
- Partnerships between civil society and government can be particularly effective because each sector can use its different capacities, types of authority and constituent relationships to advance a common agenda.
- Engaging men who are supportive of gender equality can help broaden your base and avoid the marginalization pitfall that women’s groups often face.
- Women’s inclusive leadership style tends to lend itself to reaching across the aisle to work with other parties on issues of importance to women.

GENDER DATA AND RESEARCH IN GOVERNANCE

- *Gender disaggregated statistics*
- *Info related to women's political participation at all levels*
- *Integrate gender considerations in policy research and formulation*

Data disaggregated by gender and research on gendered policy implications are the foundation of gender mainstreaming. Hard data can also be a valuable advocacy tool for “soft” issues. Here are some basics to start with:

- Gender-disaggregated statistics. All policies and programs have the potential to impact men and women differently. If statistics that are being collected do not include the sex of the respondent and are not analyzed based on sex, it is impossible to know how truly successful or flawed a policy or program actually is.
- Information related to women's political participation at all levels. It is critical to know how many women are on committees and how many women hold leadership positions. Data on elected women at the local level is often much more difficult to find, but it is critical to understanding the progress of gender equality.
- Integrate gender considerations in policy research and formulation. The most basic step, and general best practice, in incorporating gender in research is disaggregating by sex. Beyond that researchers should consider a gendered perspective when designing their research plans and tools.

GENDER RESPONSIVE BUDGETING

Benefits:

- *Raise awareness and understanding*
- *Make governments accountable for their budgetary and policy commitments*
- *Change government budgets and policies to better promote gender equality*

The national (or local) budget is the most important policy tool in government, because, without funding, no policy or program can actually be implemented. Responsibility for developing budgets usually rests with the executive branch, sometimes with the legislative branch having opportunities for drafting or debate. Openings exist with national gender machineries or women's caucuses to influence this process. GRB aims to analyze any form of public expenditure, method of revenue raising and public spending from a gender perspective, identifying the implications for women and girls as compared to men and boys. It is NOT a separate budget for women. There are many benefits to the GRB process, including:

- Raising awareness and understanding of gender issues and the gender impacts of budgets and policies

- Making governments accountable for their budgetary and policy commitments
- Changing government budgets and policies to better promote gender equality

WORKING WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- *Building capacity of local officials*
- *Improving responsiveness of local government*
 - *Enhancing citizen participation*
- *Links with national and local elected officials*

Decentralization efforts can present an opportunity for inclusive governance that is responsive to local needs.

- Too often at the local level both women and men lack the experience, access to information and capacity to govern effectively. Because of discriminatory attitudes and their relative lack of access to education and resources compared to men, women candidates and elected officials often benefit from training programs adapted to their specific needs. Effective capacity building can include technical issues of governance and building self-confidence and leadership.
- When women serve in local government, there is evidence that they prioritize the social welfare of constituents. Women elected officials have been known to focus more on quality of life issues, such as roads, clean water and education, than their male peers.
- Decentralization offers an opportunity to make government more accessible to constituents and supporting women in local government and local women's organizations to engage with these openings can increase efficacy of service delivery for women.
- Establishing networks between national, regional and local level women politicians can create a two-way flow of communication and promote of pipeline of women in politics advancing in leadership. Some evidence shows that women's participation in local governance can be a gateway to greater involvement at the national level.

TECHNOLOGY IN GOVERNANCE

Technology is playing an increasingly large role in connecting government bodies with constituents and opening up access to information. Even more importantly, technology such as websites, email, SMS and social media are allowing citizens to directly engage in dialogue and debate around policy issues. Using technology as a means to access and engage with governance can be an important tool for women, many of whom find that technology provides a less time consuming avenue to get their voices heard and can be done from the comfort and privacy of their own home.

- Opening Parliament.org is a forum intended to help connect civic organizations around the world engaged in monitoring, supporting and increasing transparency in their countries' parliaments and legislative institutions. At the heart of Opening Parliament.org is the The Declaration on Parliamentary Openness. The Declaration is a call to national parliaments, and sub-national and transnational legislative bodies, by civil society parliamentary monitoring organizations for an increased commitment to openness and to citizen engagement in parliamentary work.
- Government to You.org is an online platform that works to enhance the legislative process and its outcomes by promoting representative, transparent and accountable governance. By using technology to improve the interface between citizens and decision-makers, the website aims at increasing civil society's input in policy-making.

WOMEN'S CAUCUSES

Advancing Women's Caucuses in Legislatures

Caucuses are important for bringing together legislators outside the confines of political parties. Such bodies create bridges among representatives of different interests and ensure the cross-fertilization of ideas. In postconflict societies, caucuses help the legislative branch bridge social divisions and curb executive authority.

Women's caucuses are particularly useful for strengthening the voice of an under-heard constituency. They increase the confidence of female legislators, who often have less political experience than male colleagues, by providing a vehicle for mentoring new policymakers. Thus more broadly, women's caucuses enhance democratic processes and strengthen legislatures.

Findings and Recommendations

Finding: Legislatures gain legitimacy and credibility when they reflect the composition of society	Recommendation: Support the implementation of electoral law and constitutional quotas and reserved seats for marginalized groups, particularly women.
Finding: International support is indispensable to the creation of a strong legislative branch and inclusive lawmaking in post-conflict settings.	Recommendation: Fund programs that build the capacity of members of parliament to produce and promote legislation. Such efforts may involve providing professional staff for members or committees, training on legislation drafting, and educating both parliamentarians and citizens on the roles of the legislative and executive branches.
Finding: Cross-party caucuses moderate the influence of parties' agendas and	Recommendation: Support the creation of cross-party caucuses, emphasizing the value of

promote the cross-fertilization of ideas. For success, caucuses must allow any interested legislator to participate (i.e., they should not be limited to certain parties or to individuals named by political parties).	inclusive governing structures.
Finding: Having public consultations on legislative topics builds the legitimacy of government, connects parliamentarians with constituents, generates useful data for drafting legislation, and sensitizes the public on policy issues.	Recommendation: Encourage consultative policymaking, especially on socially sensitive issues. Recommendation: Allocate funds to pay for consultations with constituents in connection with pending legislation.
Finding: Women’s caucuses, and caucuses in general, are useful channels for programs and funds to strengthen legislatures.	Recommendation: Support cross-party women’s caucuses financially and technically
Finding: When parliamentarians purposefully engage across gender lines to pass legislation, the relevance of an issue is highlighted and collaborative policymaking is encouraged.	Recommendation: Ensure that all programming for legislators involves men and women. Recommendation: Ensure that training for members of parliament includes the value of and approaches to working with colleagues of the opposite sex.
Finding: Women can lead in promoting democratic governance.	Recommendation: Support programs to enable women to fulfill their potential as legislators. An emphasis on skills such as public speaking, law drafting, advocacy, coalition building, and proposal writing will pay particularly high dividends.

CAUCUS STRATEGIC PLANNING

If the Caucus is to be effective, it should formulate a strategic plan which sets out specific goals to be achieved in the lifetime of the legislative session, and ideally beyond that. The development of a strategic plan should be undertaken as a capacity-building exercise, with the active participation of all women members. It is important that the strategic planning process is carried out by the women themselves as an ongoing and iterative activity.

Some ideas/issues which could be considered in the strategic planning exercise include:

- How does the parliament and the Women’s Caucus work to ensure the rights of women are protected in fact as well as in law?
- What resources does the Women’s Caucus need in order to make fully informed decision in Parliament?
- Could the Caucus work with the gender machinery to develop a national gender policy?
- What specific tasks can individual members of the Caucus undertake between sessions to promote gender mainstreaming? What resources are needed? What are the constraints for women parliamentarians and how can the constraints be overcome?

WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL PARTIES

ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- *Competing in elections to gain influence*
- *Aggregating and representing social interests*
- *Providing a structure for political participation*
 - *Providing policy alternatives*
 - *Training political leaders*

Political parties are the cornerstone of democratic societies. They fulfill a number of interrelated functions central to the democratic process of governance.

The basic roles of political parties include:

- Competing in elections to gain influence over government institutions
- Aggregating and representing social interests
- Providing a structure for political participation
- Providing policy alternatives
- Vetting and training political leaders who will assume a role in governing society.

PARTIES AND CITIZENS

By competing in elections, mobilizing behind particular visions of society and through their performance in the legislature, parties offer citizens meaningful choices in governance, avenues for political participation and opportunities to shape their country’s future. Political parties bring together groups of people with common beliefs about the way society should be structured, the role that government should play and the way government and citizens should relate to each other. When functioning properly, political parties put local concerns in a national context in order to exert pressure upon the political system.

In democratic systems, political parties offer citizens opportunities to participate in political life and encourage active links between people and those who represent them. There are a number of ways that political parties can engage citizens:

- Actively recruiting new party members
- Encouraging members to participate in election campaigns and policy development
- Meeting and communicating regularly with members and voters

- Collecting the opinions of citizens through tools such as community meetings
- These activities help parties communicate more effectively with citizens and build a stronger and healthier political system. The more citizens feel involved, engaged and represented, the more stable and effective a country's systems of governance will be.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND PARTIES

- **CSOs: all groups outside government**
 - **Can play an active role in politics**
 - **Focus on fewer issues**
 - **Do not seek political office**
 - **Can work with a range of parties**

Civil society refers to all groups outside government such as community and issue-based groups, trade and labor unions, professional associations, and non-governmental, faith-based and charitable organizations. The global trend toward democratization has opened up political space for civil society organizations (CSOs) to play a more active role in influencing policy. Because they have first-hand experience of the impact of a policy or problem on the ground, CSOs often have information that governments and parties do not.

If CSOs are taking on a more active role in influencing politics, what makes them different from political parties?

- CSOs may choose whether or not to engage in politics. Parties are inherently political.
- CSOs are more likely to focus on a smaller number of specific issues. Parties are obliged to deal with all issues that have an impact on society.
- Political parties aspire to participate in government unlike CSOs.
- CSOs can be both non-partisan and multi-partisan. CSOs are able to negotiate with all political parties for support for their agenda, as well as to criticize parties in the context of their programs, promises (fulfilled or unfulfilled) and actions.

PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

- **Communicate competing policies**
 - **Provide candidates**
 - **Engage in debate**
 - **Foster citizen participation**
 - **Get out the vote**
 - **Set electoral rules**
 - **Promote electoral integrity**
 - **Abide by results**

The roles and functions of political parties vary somewhat depending on the stage of the political process, the forum in which they are operating and whether or not they are in government or in the opposition. Let's take a few minutes to discuss their roles in these different contexts.

In democratic elections, political parties play a key role by communicating and competing the policies they have developed, providing sound candidate choices, engaging in a healthy public debate, creating opportunities for individual citizens to get involved and encouraging people to vote on election day. Moreover, they play a role in leading debate on the electoral system, setting the rules for competition and ensuring the integrity of the voting process

through party poll watching. In these multi-faceted ways, political parties help to ensure that elections are true expressions of the will of the people. Political parties provide a means to compete peacefully for political power, both by accepting the responsibility of governance when they have won an election and by respecting the choice of the voters when they have lost.

PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT AND LOCAL BODIES

- *Implement legislative agenda*
- *Address citizens' concerns*
 - *Party discipline*
 - *Committee work*
 - *Coalitions*

By effectively promoting their policy positions and consistently reaching out to the public through their elected officials, political parties can demonstrate their relevance and their ability to address citizens' concerns. Party caucuses, as groups made up of all legislators from a particular party are known, develop and implement their legislative agendas, work to solve their constituents' problems and publicize their accomplishments in the legislature. While parliamentarians may have some independence to vote as they choose, most parties enforce a certain level of discipline, ensuring that their representatives generally respect the party's stance on key issues. Parties seek to promote their policies through the work of their legislators on relevant parliamentary committees. Parties can go about this business alone or through informal or formal coalitions. Parties can form coalitions around specific issues or pledge to work together on a more consistent basis to amplify their strength.

The work of parties represented in local bodies closely mirrors that of those represented in national parliaments. While remaining faithful to national party policies, representatives at a local level are geographically closer to their constituents and are thus in a position to tailor their responses and more directly address the concerns of citizens. That said, some local governments lack the financial resources – and the power – to exert a great deal of influence. Regardless, participation in local councils can prepare party leaders for elected office at the national level.

PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT

- *Run affairs of country*
- *Develop and implement policy*
- *Oversee government agencies*
 - *Account for funds*
- *Deliver on campaign promises*

Political parties promote healthy governing institutions by the work they do to deliver for the people and run effective agencies and departments when in government. If an election has been won, a political party (or parties) must take on the exciting and extremely

challenging task of governing. This means running the affairs of the country, further developing policy for implementation, overseeing the conduct and performance of government departments and agencies, taking responsibility for how money is spent and delivering on promises made during the electoral campaign.

If you don't think political parties are important, consider this. How well – and how – parties are developed, organized and managed will impact their readiness to take on the responsibility of running a country effectively. Without strong political parties, it is impossible to have a strong, effective government. Think of political parties as governments in training...

PARTIES IN OPPOSITION

- **Contribute to accountability**
- **Monitor government actions**
- **Propose policy alternatives**
- **Seek compromise and solutions**

However, it is not just the victorious parties that play a key role after an election. The parties that did not enter government now become the opposition which, when well-organized, makes a critical contribution to the accountability of government institutions. Opposition parties have both a direct interest and a responsibility to monitor the actions and check the power of ruling parties, including putting forward viable policy alternatives that challenge those put forward by the government and provide citizens with both a contrast and a choice. At times, rather than countering the government, the opposition may work constructively with it to find compromises and better solutions to pressing problems.

PARTY ELEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS

- **Constitution**
 - **Internal structure and communications**
 - **Branches**
 - **Subgroups**
 - **Leadership selection**
 - **Platform/policy development**
 - **Membership**
 - **Funding**
- **Constitution:** outlines the party's philosophy as well as its structures and regulations.
 - **Internal structure:** including local branches and subgroups such as women's wings.
 - **Leadership selection:** How the party selects its leaders and candidates for elected bodies.
 - **Policy development:** How does the party go about developing its platforms and policies and who is involved in the process?
 - **Membership recruitment and management**
 - **Funding:** private and/or public sources of financing

In most countries, parties are required to fulfill legal obligations for official registration and recognition, including a minimum level of membership, a written constitution and platform and the election of party leaders. Regardless of the requirements, parties must develop

internal structures and processes in order to address challenges that affect their ability to consolidate and represent social interests, compete for elected office and govern the country. First, leaders must build a management and communication infrastructure that allows the party to operate efficiently and effectively. Second, the party needs to develop a distinctive identity and persuasive solutions to the problems facing the country. Third, the party should be capable and willing to recruit members, train activists and raise funds.

PARTY STRUCTURE



A common political party structure looks something like the above pyramid. Many parties have a conference or convention that take place on a regular basis during which decisions are made about leadership and/or policies. Most parties have an executive or central committee that is responsible for making day-to-day decisions. Party officers may include a president, vice-president, treasurer, spokesperson, etc. Most parties have regional and local branches as well as subgroups that operate at all three levels – national, regional and local. At the bottom of the pyramid are the masses – in this case, individual party members.

Each sector of the political party is assigned its own roles and responsibilities. Because the internal structures of a political party affect its external behaviors, how each of these levels functions will have an impact on how successful the party can be.

LEADERSHIP SELECTION

- *Indirect or direct elections*
 - *Party conventions*
 - *Term limits*
- *Representation of women, youth, etc.*

Just as citizens of a nation are entitled to vote in elections, members of a political party should be entitled to select their leaders and candidates for public office freely and according to clear rules. Parties select candidates and leaders through some form of direct or indirect election. Parties often conduct conventions for this purpose. In some cases, the conventions are open to all members. In others, members may elect local or regional delegates to the national convention. Regardless, members should be given regular opportunities to take part in the selection of party leaders at all levels.

To help ensure that one individual or special interest does not dominate, some party constitutions limit the number of terms in office that party leaders can serve. Other party constitutions stipulate that leaders must be reflective of the party membership so as to make sure that a variety of perspectives are included. For example, a certain number of seats or positions may be reserved for women, youth and ethnic minorities. Rules and procedures for leadership selection should promote inclusiveness and accountability.

- While the need for internal democracy is almost universally accepted, the structure of a party's decision-making process is not always conducive to it. In some cases, the rules outlined in the constitution may be democratic, but they are not followed. Other parties are controlled by a few individuals who make all decisions without consultation.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Policy developed/informed by:

- *Party research staff*
- *Ad hoc group of experts and party members*
 - *Consultations and/or public forums*

Politics is a competition of ideas. Parties carry the challenging and critical task of translating these ideas into viable policy options. Before a party can hope to attract large numbers of supporters and, ultimately, win elections, it must develop an effective policy agenda and message. People will support a political party when the party can demonstrate that it cares about citizen problems and shares their hopes for the future and that it has a plan that is specific, immediate and feasible, for improving their lives.

The process of developing policy will vary according to the capacities of a political party. Well-organized parties institutionalize the capacity to develop and disseminate policy by creating a professional research staff, recruiting groups of experts in specific areas to inform policy options and engaging their own members to harvest their ideas and opinions. If a

party has a research office, its staff can initiate a planning process and be responsible for a first draft. For some parties, a small ad hoc group of experts, party members and others play a similar role. In all cases, widespread participation of party members, perhaps through consultations or public forums, should help inform policy positions.

By effectively communicating their policies, parties create an opportunity for the electorate to express their preferences on issues. Clear policy proposals also offer a mechanism through which parties can be held accountable based on their performance, i.e., whether they actually implemented the policy they promised to deliver.

MEMBERSHIP

Member rights

- **Elect the party leadership**
- **Participate in candidate selection**
- **Access party-only forums**
- **Receive special information**

Members are the lifeblood of any political party. A political party will be more successful in promoting its policy agenda and electing candidates if it can increase its membership. Members bring money, ideas, energy, expertise, skills and votes to a party. In short, members are a party's most significant resource. Many political parties enlist their supporters as enrolled members. A party may distinguish between sympathizers (who perhaps do not pay dues and cannot hold leadership positions, but attend party meetings) and members (who pay membership fees and can elect candidates and hold leadership positions).

Rights that party members commonly enjoy include:

- Electing the party leadership
- Participating in candidate selection procedures
- Access to party-only forums,
- Receive special information from the party.

Member Responsibilities

- **Contribute to and know policies and platform**
- **Understand constitution and organization**
 - **Ensure party reflects their interests**
 - **Hold leaders accountable**

While the party should be clear about its responsibilities to its members, the members in turn should understand what their responsibilities are to the party.

Typical responsibilities of members in a democratically structured party include:

- Contributing to the development of the party's platform and policies and knowing them well enough to be an advocate.
- Understanding the constitution and organization of the party so that he or she can be in the best position to participate in the work of the party.
- Ensuring that the party reflects the interest of the membership and that the party leadership is accountable and responsive to them. Questioning the party's leadership about party positions and procedures and expecting thoughtful, substantive replies.

PARTY FUNDING

- *Private*
 - *Membership fees*
- *Donations from members, organizations and businesses*
 - *Revenue generating projects/events*
 - *Public*
 - *Direct*
 - *Indirect*

Functioning parties in a democracy need funding to exist and succeed. There are many methods that a party uses to generate funds based on its need. The party must embark on fundraising if it has to succeed in the attainment of its mission and goals.

One source of funding is from private individuals or groups. They contribute to a party because they identify with its ideology, vision, mission, goals and objectives. Private funding comes from:

- Membership fees
- Donations from members and supporters
- Donations from like-minded organizations such as trade unions or environmental groups and businesses that stand to benefit from their policies
- Revenue-generating projects or events.

A number of countries provide public funding to political parties. Funding is typically either direct in the form of cash payments or indirect through the provision of resources or services such as access to spots on public television and radio and newspapers. Public funding can be split equally among parties or divided according to election results with parties receiving an amount proportional to the number of seats won.

WHY WOMEN?

- *Higher standards of living*
- *Concerns of marginalized voters represented*
 - *Collaborative leadership styles*
 - *Work across party lines*
 - *Peace building*
 - *Better decisions*

One of the hallmarks of a democratic political party is the degree to which it represents the diversity within society as a whole. A party can't be truly representative without engaging women – both as members and as leaders. Why is this so important? When women are empowered as political leaders:

- Countries experience higher standards of living. Positive developments can be seen in education, infrastructure and health.
- Women tend to represent the concerns of women and other marginalized voters and help improve the responsiveness of policy making and governance. There is strong evidence that as more women are elected to office, there is also an increase in policy making that emphasizes quality of life and reflects the priorities of families, women and minorities.

- Research shows that women’s leadership and conflict resolution styles embody democratic ideals and that women tend to work in a less hierarchical, more participatory and more collaborative way than male colleagues. Women are also more likely to work across party lines, even in highly partisan environments.
- Women are deeply committed to peace building and post-conflict reconstruction and have a unique and powerful perspective to bring to the negotiating table. Research and case studies suggest that peace agreements, post-conflict reconstruction and governance have a better chance of long-term success when women are involved.
- There is significant evidence from the private sector to show that a gender balance among decision makers significantly improves the outcomes of decision-making processes.

WOMEN’S WING STRUCTURE

- **National, regional, local branches**
 - **Linkage to “mother party”**
- **Representation on decision-making bodies**
 - **Funding and resources**
 - **Risk: can marginalize women**

One way for parties to promote the inclusion of women is through the establishment of a strong women’s wing. Like the “mother” party, the wing can have branches at the regional and local levels. It is critical that the wing has strong linkages to the mother party. Ideally the wing should have representation on central decision-making bodies within their parties. Wings should also receive funding from the party or be permitted to raise their own funding. Ideally mother parties would also provide wings with office space within their national and branch headquarters. At every level, there needs to be clarity about the exact roles, responsibilities and authority of the women’s wing. If wings are not linked to decision-making bodies and are not given real authority or resources, they risk becoming a way for parties to marginalize and sideline women.

WOMEN’S WINGS

- **Build awareness of gender frameworks**
- **Draft gender equality policies and lobby for and monitor their implementation**
 - **Network with women from other parties**
 - **Identify and engage male allies**
 - **Train women**
 - **Encourage and fund women candidates**
 - **Lobby leaders on women’s issues**

Women’s wings can engage in a wide variety of activities to promote gender equality and women’s political participation. For example, wings can:

- Gather and build awareness of local, regional and international gender equality frameworks such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Plan so that these documents are readily

available and so that party activists are aware of the commitments that their country has made.

- Gather positive examples of gender policies and organizational models from other parties in their country and internationally and draft a party gender equality policy and revisions that would engender the party's constitution and statutes. This could include pushing for the establishment of a quota or other affirmative action mechanism to ensure that women have access to leadership positions within the party and to candidate lists.
- Network and share experiences with women from local and international parties.
- Identify potential male allies within the party and seek their support.
- Organize training courses for women party activists on gender, leadership and political skills such as policy development, networking, advocacy and public speaking.
- Identify, train and fundraise for women candidates.
- Lobbying party leaders on women's policy issues.

WOMEN'S WING STRUCTURES AND PARTY RELATIONS

There are many different ways to organize a Women's Wing. See below for some of the main organizational issues and a variety of ways in which they can be addressed or structured.

1. PARTY PROGRAM – WOMEN'S/GENDER EQUALITY PROGRAM

- Party values and general political orientations are also the framework for the Party's women's group.
- General women's group's program is approved and accepted by the highest party program policy body.
- The Women's party organization sets its own program priorities and works for their acceptance as party majority priorities.
- When the executive party bodies do not accept proposals from the women's group, this group has the right and respective party executive bodies have the duty to organize a general party discussion on the women's organisation priority/policy/action/campaign proposals.

2. MEMBERSHIP IN THE WOMEN'S WING

- Automatic – all women party members are women's wing members.
- Membership in the party women's wing is a free choice for each female party member.
- Membership in the party women's wing is a free choice for each female AND male party member.
- Women can join the women's wing - either as full members or as auxiliary members - without necessarily also joining the party.

3. ORGANISATIONAL CHOICES

- Territorial principle – following party organisation (organized at national, provincial, and district levels).
- Project/specific issues based model of organisation.
- Combination of both principles.

4. DECISION MAKING PRINCIPLES

- High level of centralisation, strong hierarchy – majority decides what all the members of the group should do.
- High level of decentralisation, a lot of space for local and individual initiative, joint work only of the branches and individual members of the women’s party organisation who are interested in the issue at hand.
- Decisions or parts of decisions are taken on consensus – where a longer discussion is required and dissenting points of view are considered until everyone is comfortable with the final, negotiated outcome.

5. WHO ELECTS THE WOMEN’S WING LEADER?

- The leader of the women’s group is proposed by party leadership, elected by all party members at the general meeting of the party local branch.
- The leader of the women’s group is proposed and elected only by the members of this organisation.

6. PERSONAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN WOMEN’S WING AND KEY PARTY POWER STRUCTURES

- Women’s organisation leader is a member of the party’s central committee, automatically, through her position.
- Women’s organisation leadership has a direct working relationship with party parliamentary group and party-nominated ministers and other highly positioned party-nominated provincial officials.
- Women’s organisation delegates at least one representative to the party programmatic boards/committees.
- Women’s group delegates at least one member to the party electoral boards on all levels.
- Women’s group delegates one representative to the party finances monitoring board.

7. FINANCING OF THE WOMEN’S WING

Its budget consists of: office space costs, communication costs, meeting costs, travelling costs, training costs, activities, campaigns, projects costs, women’s electoral campaigns costs, etc.

- Fair sharing of all party facilities and technical staff.
- Fair sharing of the party members’ fees.
- Fair share of the party state-provided funding.
- Fairness in spending party electoral funds on male and female candidates.
- Private donations.

8. PUBLIC VISIBILITY AND MEDIA STRATEGY OF THE WOMEN’S GROUP

- Presence at all relevant regular party press conferences.
- Presence at the party parliamentary group/ local council group press conferences on gender equality issues.
- Development of special media contacts for the party women’s organisation.

- Special party women's group's press conferences/releases/media campaigns.
- Visible women's group presence in public party events and information bulletins.
- Special party women's group logo, leaflets, posters, web page, publications, section in party newspaper.

LEADERSHIP

The dictionary defines leadership as the function of commanding authority and influence. Generally we think of leaders as those who campaign to win our vote, who call a meeting to order, and who delegate tasks. But leading also includes initiating a conversation, inspiring a shared vision and enabling others to act.

TEN RULES OF LEADERSHIP

1. Character and Integrity

- Be as good as your word
- Actions must match your word
- Loyalty runs deep. Be true to subordinates, constituents, or colleagues.
- Create a safe environment for people to work and participate.

2. Create Vision

- Citizens will fight for what they believe in. Citizens will fight to defend what they create. Leaders need to show voters how to defend and build on what citizens created.

3. Keep the Vision in Sight for Everyone

- The original vision is a tool to keep everyone focused.
- The original goal should be used to keep everyone working together when there is a natural tendency to fight over specifics. Too often, the debate over the specifics will divide participants into factions. A leader uses the vision to keep everyone together. "A house divided will fall". Abraham Lincoln

4. Build New Leaders

- As a leader, it your job to mentor new leaders. The vision will never be complete until there are many individuals with the ability to lead at every level of a project.
- Leadership through encouragement rather than criticism is more successful.
- Leadership that focuses on problem solution rather than placement of blame or the award of credit will be more successful.
- Leadership is responsible for the placement of talent in the capacities best suited to each individual's skills and personalities.

5. Encourage Disagreement

- The leader must keep people focused on the overall goal when the debate becomes unproductive.

- The leader must set the tone to insure that the debate is over principles not personalities.
- The leader protects the vision from an "us versus them" debate or a discussion on "who is right and who is wrong".

6. Take Responsibility for the Final Decision

- To be open to other's ideas, to be open and encourage discussion and debate are critical elements of leadership.
- Another critical element is the ability to make the final decision and to assume final responsibility for the decision.
- A decision is better than no decision or a decision that is thrust upon the circumstance because research and debate never ended.
- A leader assumes the final responsibility for the decision regardless of outcome. A leader shares credit in a successful result. A leader accepts blame, solely, in the event of an unsuccessful result.

7. Stay Away From Personal Disputes Among Colleagues

- A leader who has all parties focused on the vision can allow room for people within the organization to disagree and to simply not like one another. But leadership that has the character and integrity to provide respect to all members of the organization, creates the vision for all to see and agree to, and maintains an environment where principle, not personalities are the issues of debate, need not participate or become involved in personal arguments or problems.

8. Have a Plan - But Be Flexible and Adapt to Change

- A leader creates a plan that states the objectives as well as the details so the plan can remain flexible when circumstances change.
- A leader permits personal flexibility to change based on circumstances. In some circumstances, a good leader must be prepared to step back and let others lead, other times a good leader has to be part of the "work crew" to motivate people forward.

9. The Ability to Communicate Clearly, Succinctly and Articulate

- Instructions to participants or subordinates and reports to superiors should be as clear, direct, and concise as possible.
- Where possible, make communications articulate with memorable words and phrases.
- Develop good habits of concentration and memory to focus on the task at hand.

- Listen carefully as others debate and challenge ideas and programs. In doing so, a leader is provided insight to the subtext of an individual’s arguments and sentiments. It also provides keen insight into how best communicate with each individual.
- Communications should motivate as well as instruct.

10. Use All Available Tools and Technology

- Make tools and technology available to those you ask to complete the task.
- Unfortunately, war is the best test of new technology for communications. Even the origins of the Internet are based on the military needs during the Cold War.
- Throughout history, the military commander who willingly used the newest communications technology and ensured that his lieutenants had access to it as well emerged the victor. Leaders have to know and understand communications tools and make them work for success. Just as important, leaders must provide the right tools to complete assignments delegated.
- Leaders adapt to the times rather than expect the times to adapt to them.
- Leaders must understand available resources and create the plan to accommodate those resources.

Developing Leadership Skills

No one is a born leader—everyone can develop leadership skills and everyone can benefit from using them. First, take time to honestly analyze yourself. Learn to understand yourself. It’s the first step to understanding others. Consider these important questions:

1. What kind of leader am I? One who helps solve problems? A leader who helps people get along? How do others see me as a leader?
2. What are my goals, purposes, and expectations in working with this particular group? Identify areas for improvement. Ask yourself these questions: 1. Do I try to be aware of how others think and feel? 2. Do I try to help others perform to the best of their abilities?
3. Am I willing to accept responsibility?
4. Am I willing to try new ideas and new ways of doing things?
5. Am I able to communicate with others effectively?
6. Am I a good problem solver?
7. Do I accept and appreciate other perspectives and opinions?
8. Am I aware of current issues and concerns in my community?

STRATEGIES FOR BUILDING LEADERSHIP CAPACITY

Developing Your Leadership Skills

- ✓ *Ask for and use constructive feedback*

- ❑ Evaluate yourself regularly and honestly
- ❑ Seek out new roles and new challenges
- ❑ Start practicing leadership skills in your family
- ❑ Join community organizations and volunteer for committee work
- ❑ Never pass up training opportunities
- ✓ Remember that “to teach is to learn twice’
- ❑ Work with and learn from strong, skilled, and upright leaders
- ❑ Set personal leadership development goals and work on them

LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE

ROLE	DUTIES	OVERVIEW OF ACTIVITIES
Member of Parliament and Committee Member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attending sittings of the parliament and meetings of its committees • Participating in debates and asking questions in plenary and committees • Studying proposed legislation • Taking part in committee hearings • Voting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scheduling of daily activities • Anticipating future time demands • Researching issues and preparing questions, interventions and speech notes • Developing Private Members’ Bills • Reviewing proposed legislation • Reviewing reports of committees
Member of Parliamentary Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attending caucus meetings • Attending party meetings • Meeting the media to comment on events or policies • Representing your party at openings and other events in your constituency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scheduling daily/weekly activities • Researching issues and preparing reports • Maintaining contact with your civic associations • Checking with key individuals in your constituency about local reaction to government policy and about local issues • Maintaining contact with local and

		national media <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparing press releases and arranging press conferences
Constituency Representative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intervening on behalf of the caucus, committees and the parliament as well as with Ministers and departments • Meeting with individuals and groups from your constituency • Participating in official openings and ceremonies • Responding to letter and telephone calls from constituents and intervening on their behalf • Sending special greetings • Meeting with local media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring issues of concern to the constituency and the region • Researching issues • Preparing speeches • Scheduling of daily and weekly activities • Maintaining contact with local groups and associations • Developing specialized mailing lists • Preparing weekly newspaper columns • Participating in local TV shows/radio broadcasts • Preparing responses to letters and telephone calls

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATION

▮ **Political and Legal Questions**

▮ **1. What is the object and scope of this legislation?**

- ▮ _ What does the legislation say? Why does it say this? What else should it say?
- ▮ _ Who is targeted by the Bill? Who benefits from the Bill? Who is hurt by the Bill? Are there exceptions?
- ▮ _ What rights, duties and/or obligations are defined in the Bill?
- ▮ _ Is the procedure prescribed in the Bill fair and reasonable?

▮ **2. Are political goals achieved by this proposed law?**

▮

▮ **3. What position has your party taken in the past that may support or conflict with this legislation?**

▮ **4. How will the law be implemented?**

- ▮ _ Who will implement the legislation? What agency, department or ministry will administer the product, program or activity resulting from the Bill?
- ▮ _ What will be the rights and obligations of political and administrative officials in the ministry/ies?
- ▮ _ Does the Minister and relevant public officials have enough power to implement the law? Is the degree of discretionary power granted to the government or an administrative official appropriate?
- ▮ _ What is the political, economic and social impact of that legislation? Does the government have the financial and administrative means to control and enforce this legislation?

- _ What is the enforcement process? What penalties and sanctions (civic and criminal) should be included in the Bill to promote compliance with the Bill?
- _ Can citizens appeal against the decision made by the government (e.g. is a tribunal established)?
- **5. What is the funding mechanism for service, activities or programs created by the Bill?**
- _ Are specific financial expenditures and allocations identified in the legislation?
- _ Where will financial resources for the activities called for by the Bill come from?
- _ How are financial resources to be obtained to cover the expense of enacting the legislation?
- **6. Will there be public consultation before the adoption of the Bill?**
- _ Who has been consulted so far? Who have you consulted individually?
- _ What are they saying that could impact on whether or not you can support, amend, or try to defeat this legislation?
- _ Who else should be offered an opportunity to express an opinion (other Ministries, the business community, NGOs, the general public, policy experts)?
- _ What can be done to make sure the law will reflect the views of the majority?
- _ Does the Bill achieve the best compromise between a variety of potential solutions?
- **7. What is the period of application of the law?**
- _ When will the law come into operation? What is the effective date of enactment? Can anything delay the effective dates of the Bill? Is the Bill effective retroactively (meaning that its effective date is prior to the date that the Bill was enacted)?
- _ What considerations should be taken into account before the law is enacted? Is there a period when the law gradually comes into effect? Are there any transitional dates clearly spelled out in the Bill?
- _ Is there an expiration date for the application of the law? If so, does this date make sense?
- **8. Can this Bill pass all tests of legality?**
- _ Do experts consider all aspects of this Bill to be consistent with the Constitution?
- _ Is it consistent with other existing legislation?
- _ Is it consistent with existing case law from the courts and administrative tribunals (national and international) and common law?
- **9. Does the Bill promote equality of opportunity and improve provisions for disadvantaged groups?**
- **10. Does the Bill use discriminatory language?**
- **11. Is the Bill gender sensitive?**
- **Semantic Issues**
- **12. Is the Bill understandable? Is it precise?**
- **13. Is it consistent in its use of language?**
- _ If words are not used accurately and consistently, then the result is confusion regarding their interpretation. Consistency is one of the most important characteristics of a well-written Bill.
- **14. Is every word selected carefully?**

- ▮ Always check what the choice of a specific word implies. Each word is meant to have a specific meaning. If the definition of a term used in the Bill is clearly defined, then the meaning of the term may be strictly limited to that definition of the term.

GENDER AND THE JUDICIARY

Women’s lack of access to the judicial system

Globally, when their rights are violated, women have much less access to the courts and legal protection than men do. The obstacles include:

- Lack of information about existing laws.
- Discriminatory family, penal, and personal status laws.
- Discriminatory social, customary, or religious practices.
- Lack of access to resources and economic dependence on men.
- Discriminatory or abusive police.

STRATEGIES FOR PROGRAMMING

Consult

- ▮ Talk with women lawyers and judges to determine what is needed in order to recruit more women into the justice system.
- ▮ Choose partners that have a track record of working on women’s rights and consulting with grassroots women about their legal problems.
- ▮ Conduct local sensitization campaigns to inform women of their rights before the law and solicit information on the major legal problems they face.

Analyze

- ▮ Conduct a “gender audit” of existing laws and policies to identify discriminatory provisions that should be revised.
- ▮ Determine what barriers women face in trying to access the justice system, and design programs *and budgets* to address these barriers.
- ▮ Seek to understand how gender roles will affect (limit, enhance) the program’s intended outcomes, outputs.

Balance

- ▮ Seek to ensure that women make up half of all participants in training programs.
- ▮ Provide training in gender analysis to both male and female judges.

- ▮ Provide training to police and legal professionals in how to work with female crime victims.
- ▮ Support programs that provide female paralegal support to female victims of crimes.
- ▮ Count the women in the room – at all stages. How many staff are women? How many participants are women? How actively are they participating? During a training program, how many technical experts, guest speakers, and panelists are women?

Measure

- ▮ Work with monitoring and evaluation specialists in the program design phase. Determine from the outset what is going to be measured and how.
- ▮ Establish a sex- and age-disaggregated baseline before the program starts and collect sex- and age-disaggregated data throughout the project.
- ▮ Make sure that monitoring and evaluation specialists have gender expertise so that gender-sensitive indicators can be identified.
- ▮ Evaluate programs on the basis of whether or not they promote gender equality.
- ▮ Ensure that gender differences are reflected in the objectives, methodology, expected outputs and anticipated impact of the project.
- ▮ Track the number of female lawyers and judges.

MONITORING GOVERNMENT

IMPORTANCE OF MONITORING GOVERNMENT

- *Citizen awareness*
- *Citizen involvement*
- *Information to support advocacy*
- *Government transparency and accountability*

Research and data collection

In order to monitor government policy implementation and practices, you have to know what to look for. Research and data collection is the foundation of ALL monitoring efforts. Conducting background research and baseline data collection will provide you with the information you need to demonstrate whether or not the government is doing what they said they would do.

- You can collect your own research using stakeholder analysis, surveys and polling, focus groups and interviews. These research tools are likely to give you a glimpse of how people are impacted by government policies. Keep in mind that unless a strong and consistent research methodology is used, it won't be more than anecdotal evidence. This is still powerful data, but be careful about drawing broader conclusions from this type of more qualitative input.
- Documentation is a huge part of oversight and monitoring. Using the research methods we discussed you can compile data on whether or not the government is doing its job.

Having documentation of cases where things are not being accomplished as promised is a very powerful advocacy tool.

- You don't have to collect all data yourself. You can work with other stakeholders such as civil society and like-minded political leaders to share data and information that can help both of your causes. You can also find data from government sources, but be aware that it might reflect a different picture than what is really going on.
- However you choose to collect your information, it is critical that you maintain credibility through a transparent research process. Let people know how you are getting your information (not naming names to protect individuals' privacy). Otherwise you will be open to attacks that your data is false or incomplete.

Shadow Reporting

One monitoring strategy is shadow reporting. Shadow reporting is a major tool both to hold governments accountable. The approach involves developing and submitting reports – often called “shadow” reports – to expose discrepancies between a country's obligation under a treaty or agreement and actual practices. This report acts as a “shadow” to the official state report. It encourages coalition building, exercises monitoring and evaluation of government activities, presents a united program of action to steer government performance, transparency and accountability.

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presents big picture • International forum for advocacy • Civil society perspective • Ongoing advocacy tool • Opportunity for coalition building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very labor intensive • Requires a lot of resources

Shadow Reporting



So how does the process of shadow reporting work?

1. Read the report the state submits to the official watchdog bodies such as parliament.
2. Convene a planning meeting with as many like-minded stakeholders as possible to review report.
3. After a thorough review of the state’s report, determine discrepancies. Make this priority list the focus of the shadow report.
4. Once you have identified your priority issues, you need to gather the evidence. Use the research tools we discussed before. Seek collaborators to bolster the legitimacy and credibility of your report.
5. Once you have all your evidence, submit your report to legislature for consideration.

Government Score Cards

A government score card is a tactic that you can use to target more specific policies, agencies or legislators. Tools used for legislative monitoring include performance scorecards, legislators’ voting records, as well as candidate surveys and questionnaires. Evaluation of a legislator’s performance should address whether or not and to what extent the policymaker is authoring, supporting and resourcing legislation that promotes good governance.

- You will need to decide what you want to monitor and establish the criteria that will signify “passing” or “failing” and the metrics to measure how well the person or agency is fulfilling the criteria. For example, you might score each parliamentarian for how they support gender equality provisions: 3 points for introducing legislation, 2 points for signing on to support it, 1 point for voting for it, and zero for not voting for it (abstaining or voting against).
- The scorecard should be used as an advocacy tool. Let the person or agency know that you are watching carefully what they do in regards to the issue. Use the scorecard as a media tool to publicize action or inaction and push for improvement.

Gender Responsive Budgeting

- *Analysis of budget from a gender perspective*
- *Disaggregation of budget in terms of its impact on women and men*
- *Highlights the gaps between policy and resources committed*

The budget is another tool to monitor the government, possibly the most powerful one. So what is gender responsive budgeting? It refers to a variety of processes and tools for a gender impact assessment of government budgets. It’s an analysis of budgets, both expenditures and revenues, from a gender perspective, that identifies the implications for women and girls as compared to men and boys. GRB is an effort to disaggregate the general government budget in terms of its impact on men and women and its impact on different groups of men and women, while taking into account the gender relations underlying society. If done effectively, gender responsive budget initiatives highlight the gaps between

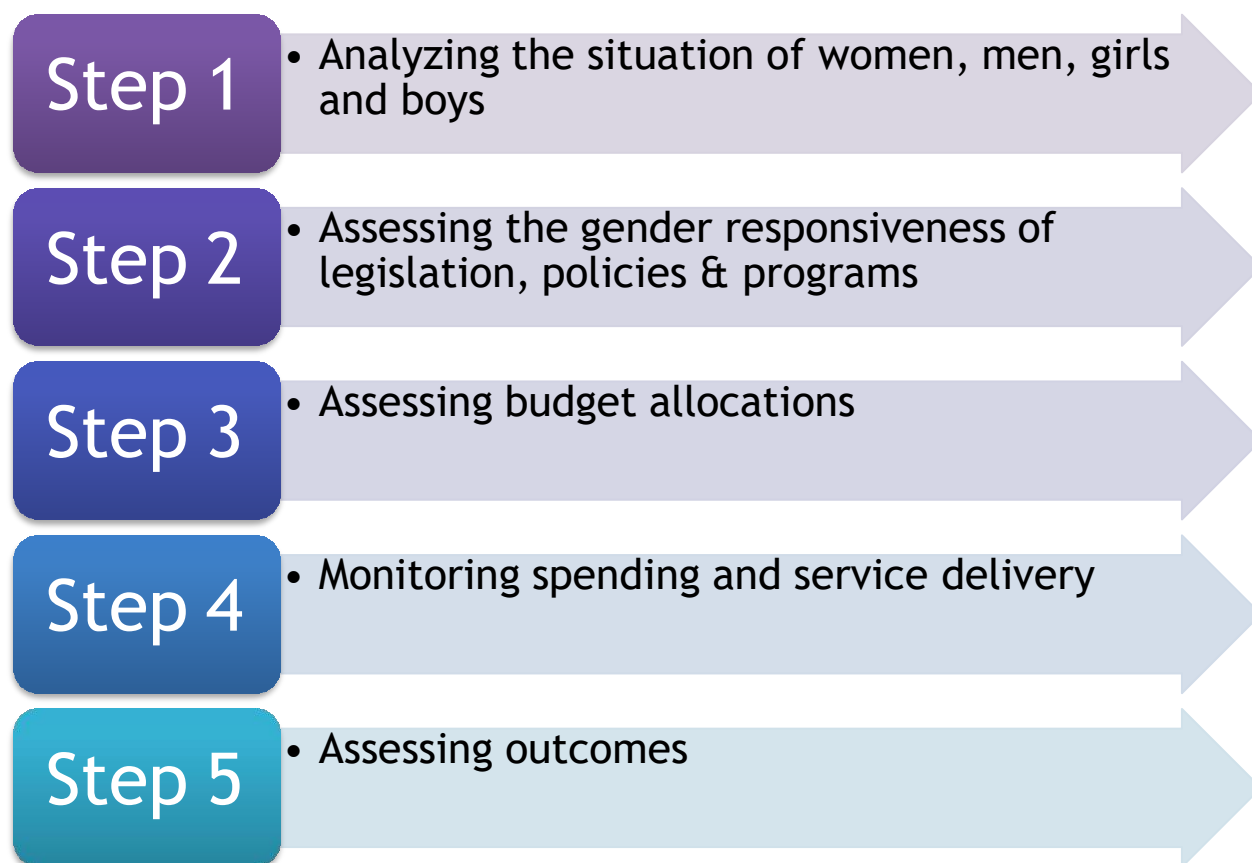
policy statements and the resources committed to their implementation, ensuring that public money is raised and spent in more gender equitable ways. GRB can be conducted at the national, regional or local levels, according to the levels of government in a given country.

GRB and the Budget Process

- *Budget cycle: planning, execution, evaluation/auditing*
- *Timing of GRB is critical*
- *Different budgeting models require different GRB approaches*

To be effective, GRB must take into account and be responsive to the realities of the budget process. For example, the possibility of making relevant changes varies depending on the phases of the budget cycle - planning, execution, and evaluation/auditing. The best opportunity for influencing the process is during the planning phase, however, input during the evaluation phase can also be useful in terms of helping to formulate the budget for the following year. Timing of GRB initiatives is critical.

GRB FIVE STEP APPROACH



Step 1: Analyzing the situation of women, men, girls and boys. Conduct an analysis of the situation for women and men and girls and boys (and the different sub-groups) within a given sector.

Step 2: Assessing the gender responsiveness of policies. Conduct an assessment of the extent to which the sector's policies address the gender issues and gaps identified in the first step. This should include an assessment of relevant legislation, policies and programs to determine the extent to which they meet the needs and respect the rights of girls and women.

Step 3: Assessing budget allocations. Conduct an assessment of the adequacy of budget allocations to implement the gender sensitive policies and programs identified in step 2. Compare the proposed or current budget allocation for your sector and determine whether it will be sufficient to implement policies and programs that promote gender equality.

Step 4: Monitoring spending and service delivery. Monitoring whether the money was spent as planned, what was delivered and to whom. This involves checking both the financial and the physical deliverables disaggregated by sex.

Step 5: Assessing outcomes. Conduct an assessment of the impact of the policy or program and the extent to which the situation described in step 1 has changed. In short, have the policies and programs resulted in increased or decreased gender equality or has there been no measurable change? Be sure to identify any lessons learned from the process to feed into the following year's budget.

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