

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION TRAINING REPORT

November 21 – December 20, 2012



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Introduction

The underrepresentation of women in politics remains a serious impediment to an open democracy in Cambodia. Although women comprise the largest segment of the population, women hold only 22 percent of seats in the National Assembly, two ministerial-level positions, and 17 percent of seats in the commune councils. According to the World Economic Forum's 2012 Gender Gap Index, Cambodia ranks worst in the Asia region and stands at 103 out of 135 countries worldwide for gender equality. Cambodia is also far behind on meeting its United Nations Millennium Development Goals, and ranks 99 out of 109 countries globally for gender equity.

It is widely recognized that women's voices are indispensable for democracy to embrace the plurality of needs and interests in the society as a whole. Women are often more successful negotiators and are more capable of managing development plans and resources in a manner that benefits the entire society. Placing women in positions of leadership often decreases corruption and improves capacity for consensus building. Elected women also contribute to the social recognition that women can be confident and capable leaders, thereby directly combating cultural stereotypes that prevent women from influencing policy.

As the 2013 National Assembly elections approach, Cambodia has an opportunity to improve women's political participation. To this end, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), in collaboration with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), organized a training program for women in elected office and civil society to effectively advance policies for women's interests and representation. Four three-day training workshops were held in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Sihanoukville, and Kampong Cham provinces, with a total of 196 participants, half from elected office (commune councils) and half from civil society.

To address participants' differing needs, NDI and IFES trained the elected women and the women in civil society separately for the first two days and then brought them together in a joint workshop for the third day. IFES worked with a total of 100 women from civil society to increase their capacity to advocate for solutions to issues that affect women's interests. IFES's trainer, Ms. Sim Noreth from Vicheastan Bamreu Neaksamrabsamroul Karngea Akphivat (VBNK), led the sessions for civil society women leaders. For the first two days, she covered message development and effective communication with an emphasis on strategies for working with elected officials.

NDI's international trainer, Ms. Jasenka Duff, led the sessions for elected women leaders on party advancement, advocacy, message development, outreach, and public speaking. Some sessions were held with the ruling and opposition parties together and others, on more sensitive political matters, were held separately. The last day of the workshop brought all of the participants from civil society and elected office together to focus on building networks and advocacy skills.

NDI invited all of the parties with seats in the National Assembly to participate in the workshops and allocated the number of participants per party based on the percentage of women within each party holding elected office. Three parties chose to participate, including

the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), and the Human Rights Party (HRP). The latter two chose to participate jointly as representatives from the Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP).¹ A total of 47 women commune councilors from CPP, 41 from SRP, and eight from HRP participated.

The objectives of NDI's training were as follows:

1. Elected women increase their capacity to advocate for women's interests within their own parties.
2. Elected women learn how to develop a political message and deliver that message through constituency outreach.
3. Elected and civil society women leaders develop networking skills and discuss policy issues together.
4. Elected and civil society women leaders increase their capacity to jointly advocate for policies that advance women's interests.

| Workshop Location | Date | Provinces | Participants | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|---|--------------|---------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| | | | CSO | Elected Women | | | Total | |
| | | | | CPP | SRP | HRP | | |
| Phnom Penh | Nov 21-23 | Phnom Penh, Kampong Chhnang, Kandal, Prey Veng, Pursat, Svay Rieng | 25 | 12 | 10 | 3 | 25 | 50 |
| Siem Reap | Nov 30 - Dec 2 | Siem Reap, Banteay Meanchey, Battambang, Oddor Meanchey, Pailin, Preah Vihear | 25 | 12 | 11 | 0 | 23 | 48 |
| Sihanoukville | Dec 12-14 | Sihanoukville, Kampong Speu, Kampot, Kep, Koh Kong, Takeo, | 25 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 24 | 49 |
| Kampong Cham | Dec 18-20 | Kampong Cham, Mondolkiri, Ratanakkiri, Kampong Thom, Kratie, Steung Treng | 25 | 11 | 9 | 4 | 24 | 49 |
| Total | | | 100 | 47 | 41 | 8 | 96 | 196 |

Proceedings

Introduction

NDI's country director, Ms. Laura Thornton, opened the workshops with a brief introduction of the role of women in politics and the necessity of women's participation. She emphasized the value of women in the commune councils, as the councils were often the first point of contact citizens have with government, dealing directly with the issues that matter to people most, such as land ownership, environmental policy, and setting development goals. Women,

¹ The Sam Rainsy Party and Human Rights Party merged in 2012 to form the Cambodian National Rescue Party. While members of the commune council must retain their former party affiliations through 2017 in order to maintain their seats in office, the two parties have merged their platforms and structures and will compete as one in the 2013 elections.

she said, often were more aware and directly sensitive to community priorities, such as education, healthcare, and the environment.

Ms. Thornton shared that studies showed that women were often more willing to work across party lines and negotiate across sectors, and women's participation in politics often reduced corruption and poverty. Women comprised 51.5 percent of the Cambodian population, she said, so adequate representation of women's voices was indispensable for effective democracy, as women often viewed politics differently than men and had different priorities. She explained that as the majority of the population, women were also the margin of victory in an election, and thus indispensable to political parties.

Ms. Thornton explained that due to these advantages of including women in politics, there was therefore a need for Cambodia to address the wide gender gap. She argued that parties must start valuing women, and their advancement in the party was essential. Women in parties needed, she said, to negotiate for a greater number of women candidates on the lists for 2013. She also argued that the presence of women in leadership positions, like the commune council, was critical in normalizing the concept of women in public life, knocking down barriers for younger women.

Ms. Thornton closed by reviewing the objectives of the training, explaining that the training would build the capacity of women officials in their parties by enhancing their visibility, exposure, and networks. The training would help women to serve as advocates for their communities and within their parties and would impart skills on community organizing, outreach, message development, and public speaking. Finally, she hoped that the training would encourage networks between elected women leaders and representatives from civil society to jointly serve the people.

Party Advancement

Ms. Jasenka Duff introduced herself by describing her own experience in local politics in Serbia. She explained that she understood first-hand the difficulties that women face in gaining decision-making positions within political parties. She asked the participants at each workshop why it was important to involve more women in politics and why the participants themselves joined politics. Common answers included promoting women's rights, protecting women and children, acting as a role model for women in their community, and reducing discrimination against women. One participant in Siem Reap explained that she ran for office to reduce corruption and combat poverty. Several women also argued that only women could understand the needs of other women; therefore, women in elected office were necessary to solve problems faced by all members of society and thus create an adequately representative government.

Ms. Duff continued by asking the participants what difficulties they faced within their own political parties with regard to advancement. Discrimination was the most common response. Several women explained that the men in their parties did not disclose information to their female counterparts, and women were left out of important decision-making. Other women reported that men viewed them as weak and poorly educated. Another common obstacle for

women in parties was the difficulty balancing family and work lives due to expectations of household duties. Some women shared that their families did not support their political work, while others complained that the salaries were too low.

Ms. Duff used these responses to lead into a presentation on party projects and how women's involvement in their parties could serve to advance women in politics more broadly. She explained that women's participation was essential to any electoral victory, so the parties benefited from the work of women. A party project, she said, was something that benefited the party while building recognition of the role women play in advancing the party, increasing their visibility and skills. Ms. Duff provided an example of a party project from her own experience as a young party member of 22 years old. The local party leaders often asked her to distribute posters around her town, but she wanted to do something more that would raise her profile within the party. She suggested and implemented a database project that listed new party volunteers' skills and preferred work so the party could more effectively utilize its volunteer network.

Ms. Duff briefly explained different types of party projects, emphasizing that a party project must be an activity undertaken to benefit the party outside of the expected work of elected office. In the Phnom Penh workshop, participants broke into groups according to their parties to discuss projects that they could undertake. Examples included building the capacity of local political activists, mapping supporters within the commune, creating election strategies, and building local networks for women and youth.

In general, it was difficult for participants to grasp the concept of a party project, or come up with an idea, as it was an unfamiliar process for them. In many cases, the participants emphasized that it was impossible for women to undertake party projects because of the strict hierarchical structures of the parties. Many women were uncomfortable with pursuing a party project outside of the tasks directly assigned to them by their superiors, such as registering voters and organizing women's networks. Some participants explained that they did not have the capacity to make major changes within the party and at times became testy, emphasizing their requirement to "follow party guidelines and orders." Due to this reluctance, Ms. Duff shortened the party project module to a simple presentation and did not ask the women to break into groups in the Siem Reap, Sihanoukville, and Kampong Cham trainings.

Advocacy

Ms. Duff began the next session on advocacy by emphasizing that advocacy must lead to a permanent and sustainable change in policy. The first step, she said, was identifying what one wanted to change -- what the problem was and its causes, and who cared about it. The second step was to address how to solve the problem and identify what specific activities would lead to the sought change. She emphasized that advocacy required them to be clear, specific, and well-informed.

She provided a list of activities and issues and asked participants to identify which were advocacy issues, thus distinguishing between advocacy and other activities such as

fundraising, training, or awareness campaigns. She added that those activities might be *part* of an advocacy campaign but were not in and of themselves advocacy.

| Issue | Advocacy? |
|--|-----------|
| Training party members | No |
| Allocation of budget to women's wing | Yes |
| Changes to party's platform | Yes |
| Awareness campaign on domestic violence | No |
| Meeting with public officials to ask for support | No |
| Public survey on local issues | No |
| Introducing women's quotas in the party | Yes |
| Buying hospital equipment | No |
| Fundraising for local orphanage | No |

Ms. Duff reviewed six steps in advocacy: choosing an issue, identifying a goal, identifying the target audience, developing a message, networking and fundraising, and implementing an action plan. She explained that the participants would concentrate on the first four of the six steps to complete the advocacy group work.

First, she explained that an advocacy issue was what needed to be changed. She explained that an issue required data and research on who was involved, the existing law, and statistics on the issue. For example, the lack of women's participation in parties would require research on party structure and decision-making, experiences of other parties, performance and value of women in leadership positions, benefits to parties, and lessons from other countries.

Ms. Duff explained that an advocacy goal answered questions such as what one wanted to change, who would make the change, and by how much and when. It involved an analysis of the political climate and probability of success, research and data on the issue, and a resource review. An advocacy goal, she stressed, must be specific and address specifically what



Commune Councilors design an advocacy campaign on discrimination against women.

would improve and how. As an example, she said that “improving health issues” was not an advocacy goal as it did not answer the question “how” – e.g. by building a hospital, or buying equipment, or implementing new legislation on nurse recruitment.

In the example of women's participation in parties, the goal could be: establishing a 30 percent quota on the candidate lists. The goal also had to pass

the SMART test, meaning it must be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound.

She explained that the target audience was the person, body, or institution that could deliver the change. In the example of the women’s quota, the target would be the party’s executive board, as they had the authority to implement it. They needed to identify exactly how many people were on the board, their names, experience, background, and interests. They needed to figure out who were allies and opponents, and how what they were advocating would benefit those people. Ms. Duff then described that after identifying the issue, goal, and audience, one must build an advocacy campaign. She said that the campaign involved developing a message, choosing the networks and secondary target audiences to deliver, determining a budget and existing resources, and writing down the plan for implementation.

| Training Example | |
|--|--|
| Issue/Problem: | Lack of women’s participation in political parties |
| Goal: | Implementation of 30% quota in parties within 6 months |
| Research: What do you need to know in order to make an argument? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how many women are in decision-making positions in the government, in the party • experiences of other parties • research on women in leadership positions and their performance • how quotas have benefited parties |
| Targets: Who are the decision-makers? How can your goal benefit them? | <p>Primary: People who can make it happen: executive board of the party, 11 people (1 woman) Need to know everything – names, previous experience, background, likelihood of support. In our experience, young men more difficult than married men.</p> <p>Secondary: People who can help it happen: Need to do research on them as well. NGOs (helped with research, surveys)</p> |

Following the presentation on advocacy, the participants broke into party specific groups in separate rooms to create their own advocacy projects, with Ms. Thornton leading the group in one room while Ms. Duff led the group in the other. Each group was required to identify an issue, goal, and a target audience. The groups chose different issues for their advocacy campaigns, including reducing maternal and child mortality rates, preventing domestic violence, reducing drop-out rates for girls, migration, and discrimination.

Participants had varying levels of understanding of the concept of advocacy and defining a goal. Almost everyone had difficulties understanding that an advocacy campaign must cause a specific change in policy rather than simply raise awareness on an issue. Many working

groups were unable to form a specific goal that included a method and a time-frame, or answered the question “how.” Participants came up with would very broad advocacy goals, such as “eradicate domestic violence” or “eliminate corruption,” and a lot of participants needed constant reminders that their goal must be realistic and within the scope of their work as a commune councilor. There were some exceptions, however, for example a group in Kampong Cham clearly differentiated between issue and goal, providing concrete and specific plans.

In order to overcome these challenges, Ms. Thornton and Ms. Duff reviewed each group’s advocacy campaign carefully, encouraging them to be more specific through questions, and walked participants through the SMART process. For example, one group reported that their goal was “stop domestic violence.” The trainer first asked them to go through the various forms of the problem (sexual violence, emotional, economic, and physical) and then identify different causes, such as alcohol, poor education, poverty, gambling, power relations, and culture. Participants then began to recognize that all the different causes required different mechanisms to address and forced them to think about what realistically could be addressed in a specific timeframe.

The trainers would then encourage participants to discuss the question “how?” – protecting women through the law, institutions (police, hospitals), enforcement, reporting, or education. Participants would then answer the question, “I want to reduce domestic violence by...”

Identifying a target audience, or understanding the term, was also a struggle. Many participants would answer that the target audience was “the government.” The trainers had to help participants pinpoint specifically which body had the authority to make that decision, and this was a challenge. Trainers would get the participants to think about how to get the

Advocacy Group Work

| <i>Example 1</i> | |
|------------------|--|
| Issue | Improve quality of the health services |
| Research | Statistics on poverty and healthcare focusing on staffing issues and deficiency of knowledge and professionalism of the medical staff |
| Goal | District authorities will introduce the staff evaluation form for the health care centers. The form would evaluate workers in periods of time, based on trainings and support that’s provided for them through local NGOs. |
| Target Audience | The commune councilors and the commune chief, district authorities. Secondary audience: local NGOs, health care staff |

| <i>Example 2</i> | |
|------------------|--|
| Issue | Reduce drop-out rates for female students |
| Research | Poverty rates, causes of drop-out rate |
| Goal | Reduce drop-out rates by providing scholarships to 30 students in 2013 |
| Target Audience | Primary audience: Commune Committee for Women and Children, commune councilors Secondary: government and relevant institutions |

decision-maker to take the decision, through what action and whose involvement. As a result, the sessions on advocacy were time-consuming and adjustments were made in subsequent workshops to accommodate. Trainers allocated more time to the session as well as focused the training more on developing an advocacy goal and identifying decision-makers than going into detailed advocacy campaign plans and activities.

Message

The participants from all parties came together again for the second day of the training, beginning with a session on message development. Ms. Duff explained that a message expressed a vision that would motivate existing supporters and persuade others to support a cause. It represented the heart of a party's communications strategy and must therefore be understandable and relatable for the general public that may not be well-informed on the issue. Ms. Duff said that a message must identify the correct audience, describing the need to focus on citizens, using real terms and simple words.



Participants create a message box on economic land concessions

Ms. Duff said that a message must identify the correct audience, describing the need to focus on citizens, using real terms and simple words.

She explained that a good message was clear and concise, demonstrated contrast with opponents, connected with the needs of the voters, and was delivered consistently. She further explained that a good message would define the campaign, define the opposing view, control the debate, and build support for a campaign.

The participants split into groups according to their parties to complete a message box exercise. After the Phnom Penh training, it became clear that the participants first needed the trainer to walk them through an example before undertaking the exercise. With the assistance of Ms. Duff and Ms. Thornton, the party groups completed a message box on economic land concessions to serve as an example for the exercise. The groups then chose their own issues to complete. For the opposition parties, common issues for message boxes included service delivery and infrastructure development. The ruling party focused on healthcare services, infrastructure development, job creation, and electricity.

| <i>Message Box</i> | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| What we say about us | What we say about them |
| What they say about us | What they say about themselves |

Following the completion of the exercise, the groups were asked to simulate a conversation with a voter to practice using the message box to form a clear and coherent message. The participants often had difficulties connecting the message box with a political message, requiring the facilitators to frequently remind them to use the message box to develop a strong argument and anticipate, and preempt, criticisms.

Outreach

Following the message box exercise, the separate party groups studied different tactics for delivering that message. The trainers described the various purposes of outreach: to inform, to persuade, to gather supporters, to find volunteers, to get informed, and to know and be known.

The trainers asked participants to provide examples of tactics that their party had used in the past to communicate with voters; answers included distributing materials, door-to-door canvassing, radio broadcasts, and party meetings. The groups were asked to identify whether certain activities were “hot” or “cold” based on how interactive and personal the activity was. They were informed that hot activities, such as a one-on-one meeting, would create a more lasting impression than “cold” activities, such as a leaflet. The participants also learned that a good messenger could build the credibility of the message by showing how the messenger could relate to the target, such as a young person delivering a message related to youth.

Participants were asked to develop an outreach strategy, being specific and creative, and thinking through the available resources and access issues. Although the majority of participants were involved in different outreach activities in their political parties and recognized different ways of communicating with voters, they demonstrated little to no understanding of how to plan an outreach campaign. It appeared that the reason was the lack of personal initiative in their parties and never having been allowed to initiate a campaign by party leaders. Participants repeatedly stated that they were simply told what to do by party leaders and were never involved in planning.

Coming up with new, creative outreach methods – using music, art, or performances – was nearly impossible for participants. The trainers provided examples from other countries, particularly in places with limited resources and access to media. For example, Ms. Duff described how one party in Serbia did not have money to print many posters, so they had volunteers travel around town holding a poster and chatting with people. Ms. Thornton described how a party in Thailand could not afford to buy time on television, so instead drafted lyrics with their party message, hired local music bands, and organized small concerts. Participants were extremely interested in these methods but struggled to think of ones on their own.

Public Speaking

Following the outreach session, participants came together again in the plenary for a brief presentation on public speaking. Ms. Duff explained how to effectively communicate a message by using visuals, stories to humanize the point, and simple language. She then gave several helpful hints on how to effectively deliver a speech, including speaking clearly, maintaining good posture, making eye contact, and smiling. She discussed stage fright and mechanisms to overcome it. Ms. Duff emphasized the need to be prepared and to practice repeatedly. She suggested that they should focus on their message, repeating it several times, and demonstrate why their solutions were different and better than their opponent's. She encouraged participants to provide personal examples to connect with listeners.

During the Phnom Penh training, participants were asked to plan a two minute speech on a topic of their choice and deliver the speech in front of all of the participants in a mixed-party setting. This proved to be ineffective, as the women were often uncomfortable speaking in front of the opposing party, so the groups were separated by party for the other three trainings. Each woman planned a short speech that communicated the message identified in the morning session, and a few volunteers practiced their speech in front of the participants from their party, receiving feedback and constructive criticism from their peers. While some speakers were unable to incorporate a coherent message into their speech, others were able to vaguely communicate a policy.

Networking

The final day of the training brought together the participants from civil society, who had completed two days of training with VBNK, and the commune councilors to improve networking skills across different sectors. Ms. Sim Noreth from VBNK began by reviewing the importance of democracy and the role of elections in a democracy. She described the concept of “free and fair” elections and led a brainstorming session with participants on this concept. She then had participants discuss the role of women in a democracy and why women's participation was important. Participants also debated why women's experiences were different from men's.



Women from civil society and from elected office complete a networking activity

Ms. Sim then focused on networking, dividing the participants into mixed groups (both civil society and party participants) to list the different activities that women from civil society and women commune councilors could undertake respectively on a common goal. The participants came up with examples of issues on which women elected officials and civil society leaders

could work together, such as advocating quotas on candidate lists, encouraging women to register and vote, conducting

training for women candidates, and implementing awareness campaigns. They then outlined the various roles each sector could play.

Ms. Duff led the training on advocacy for the second half of the day, dividing the participants into groups that mixed members of both parties and civil society based on provinces. She asked the participants to decide on an issue for an advocacy campaign, determine what research they would need to complete, create a specific goal for the campaign, and determine the target audience for the campaign. Common topics included low political participation for women, domestic violence, maternal and child mortality rates, gang violence, school drop-out rates for girls, and civil registration.

Networking and Advocacy Group Work

Example 1: Low participation of women in politics

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Issue | Increase the number of women by 30% through party policies |
| Research | Research on different causes of low participation in politics and practices from other parties and countries |
| Goal | Increase the number of women by 30% by creating party policies that decides on order in candidates lists; every third person on the list has to be a female candidate |
| Target Audience | Primary: provincial, district, and commune level party leaders; national party leaders Secondary: NGOs |

Example 2: Gangs

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Issue | Reducing gang membership by strengthening the commune/Sangkat safety policy |
| Research | Causes of gang membership |
| Goal | By 2015, gang membership will be reduced by 15-25% through the enforcement of the commune/sangkat safety policy |
| Target Audience | Commune/village authorities |

Conclusion

Cambodian women face numerous serious obstacles to equitable participation in politics. Poverty, illiteracy, and gender stereotypes all prevent women from becoming involved in politics, and even elected women rarely enjoy the same opportunities to gain skills, experience, and visibility as their male counterparts. The NDI training workshops sought to encourage women's political leadership and normalize women's participation by strengthening the capacity of women commune councilors to negotiate within their parties and to advocate for women's interests.

At the conclusion of the training, each participant had:

- drafted basic strategies for pursuing projects within their own parties to improve women's representation in the internal party structure and affect party policy;
- practiced the skills needed to develop a clear political message and to deliver that message;
- discussed the importance of networking across political and civic sectors and collaborated on workshop exercises with women from civil society; and
- developed an example of an advocacy issue and goal.

Over the course of the three-day workshops, participants demonstrated improvement in understanding the basic concepts and strategies on the issues and goals of advocacy campaigning and what constitutes a political message. Ultimately, participants were able to understand what an advocacy issue was (as opposed to an awareness campaign or other activity) and generally what advocacy campaign targets were. However, when asked to plan an advocacy initiative or do any long-term goal setting, participants were unable to do so. Message development was successful, and participants understood the concept of developing a message box, outlining what they would say about a given issue and what their opponent would say about the issue.

Participants were particularly successful in developing their networking skills between the political and civic sectors, one of the target objectives for the activity. It is not common in Cambodia for elected women officials and civil society representatives to come together to discuss common goals and concerns. Furthermore, the party environment is polarized, and there is limited meaningful interaction between officials from different parties. On the third day of the training, women from different parties and women from civil society sat down in teams and developed an advocacy plan together. They demonstrated good cooperation and managed to put partisan politics aside. They also indicated their desire to continue networking and coordinating. NDI will bring these sectors together again in the next phase of the program through a series of public dialogues for the women.

Participants were less successful in grasping the concept of "party projects," for example introducing a program or activity in the party with the aim to raise the visibility of women members. Exercises testing participants' creative thinking or their comprehension of new concepts were generally unsuccessful. This may be due to the fact that the party structures can be top-down, and officials are used to following orders and direction from above, rather than initiating their own projects or ideas. It would be valuable for political parties to start

involving women officials in more decision-making roles, instilling them with greater responsibility and thereby benefiting from their input.

Similarly, the session on outreach was also difficult, as participants had not been a part of internal party discussions on outreach strategies but instead had implemented what they had been instructed to do by party superiors. When asked what new outreach methods (e.g. music performances, art shows, etc.) could be used to increase public awareness, participants were unable to respond. Participants had little, if any experience with planning and strategizing, but after the training, the seed was at least planted, and participants were eager to learn of innovative techniques used by parties in other countries.

As in previous trainings with elected and party officials, NDI was struck by the extremely low capacity of participants. As such, NDI had to simplify and revise the trainings from one day to the next and after each workshop. NDI trainers ultimately abandoned most of the PowerPoint presentations and written materials, as they were too complicated and the literacy levels of participants were too low. Trainers also had to modify the outcomes for each activity and instead offer a basic introduction of the over-arching themes. There is clearly a need for party leadership to invest more in the education and training of their officials, building their capacity to absorb important political skills, which will ultimately benefit the party.

NDI conducted four quantitative evaluations following NDI's component of each of the four women's training workshops. Women councilors were asked to evaluate their experiences, and NDI conducted a test in order to assess whether participants would be able to use the skills gained from the leadership training in the planned public forums and national roundtable. Overall the quantitative data indicated that women elected officials recognized the importance of political training. However, the test results showed participants found the topics covered confusing and were not able to respond to some of the questions correctly. The correct response rate varied by province: Siem Reap participants achieved the highest scores, followed by Kampong Cham and then Sihanoukville. There was no direct correlation between higher educational attainment and an increase in knowledge. The results also did not show a clear correlation between length of time served in the commune council and the number of correct responses to the test questions. Furthermore, there was no evidence that party rank, or party membership correlated with respondents' answers.

NDI will continue to support the training participants in their efforts to become effective advocates for their communities through a series of meetings and public forums that will bring together women leaders to discuss issues in their communities. NDI will ask CPP, SRP, and HRP to invite training participants to participate in six public forums in six provinces. The commune councilors will address issues raised by members of the audience alongside members of the National Assembly and representatives of civil society. The forums will give the commune councilors the opportunity to practice the skills that they learned in the training workshops, to continue networking across parties and sectors, and to demonstrate their capacity to lead.

However, the need is great and NDI's program is limited. More has to be done on a continuous basis to build the capacity of women leaders. Political parties must start investing in their women elected officials, providing support, training, mentoring, and enhanced responsibilities. Elected women's poor understanding of basic political concepts and inability to strategize, take initiative, or advance new ideas are holding the parties back from reaching their full potential and electoral success. The training participants complained that their parties were not providing the support they needed and expressed their eagerness to learn. Furthermore, the women participants demonstrated commitment, ideology, and enthusiasm, as well as a strong desire to serve their communities, revealing a valuable and untapped resource for parties. The party that first recognizes the potential of its women officials, and invests in them, will unquestionably benefit in the polls.

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APPENDIX I

Women's Political Participation Training Agenda

Women's Political Participation Training
Organized by:
The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
21 November – 20 December 2012
Agenda

The workshop aims to achieve the following objectives:

- Elected women increase their capacity to advocate for women's interests within their own parties;
- Elected women learn how to develop a political message and deliver that message through constituency outreach;
- Elected and civil society women leaders develop networking skills and discuss policy issues together;
- Elected and civil society women leaders increase their capacity to jointly advocate for policies that advance women's interests.

DAY ONE

- 8:00am Welcoming Remarks
-Laura Thornton, Director
- 8:10am Program Introduction
-Jasenska Duff, Program Manager
- 8:30am Presentation: Women in Politics - Importance of women's political participation
-Jasenska Duff, Program Manager
- 9:00am Presentation: Party Advancement
-Jasenska Duff, Program Manager
- Dealing with the challenges Cambodian women are facing in politics; what are Party Projects and how can they help us overcome challenges?*
- 10:00am Break
- 10:20am Group Exercise: *Participants will divide into 4 randomly selected groups and develop a Party Project of their own choice.*
- 11:00am Presentation: Advocacy
-Jasenska Duff, Program Manager; Laura Thornton, Country Director
- What is Advocacy? Steps for a successful advocacy campaign, choosing an issue for an advocacy campaign*
- Participants will be divided into 4 party groups. (Participants will stay divided in party groups until 16.00) Facilitated by Jasenska Duff and Laura Thornton*

- 12:00pm Working Lunch:
- Group exercise on advocacy one: *during lunch, participants will decide on the issue and goals of the chosen advocacy campaign for the group.*
- 13:30pm Group Presentations: *participants will present on the working group results*
- 2:00pm Group exercise on advocacy two: *SMART goals and Target Audience*
- 3:00pm Break
- 3:20pm Group exercise on advocacy three: *“Circles of Power” is a simple exercise in which participants will use a visual aid (flip chart and markers) to “map” the audience they want to reach.*
- 4:00pm Advocacy Summary
-Jasenka Duff
- Participants will reassemble in the main room, and the session will summarize the subjects covered during day one. Participants will have a chance to ask questions or comments related to the first day of the workshop.*

DAY TWO

- 8.00am Introductory remarks, review of the program
-Jasenka Duff
- 8:15am Presentation: Political Message
-Jasenka Duff, Laura Thornton
- What is a Political Message? What makes a good message? Strategies in developing a message – introduction to the Message Box*
- Participants will again break into 4 party groups to work on developing a message box.*
- 10:00am Working Break
- Group Exercise on message box continued
- 10:30am Presentation of working group results
- 11:00am Presentation: Message Delivery
-Jasenka Duff
- What are different ways of sending a message and who is your target audience? Introduction to Public Outreach.*
- 11:30am Presentation: Public Outreach
-Jasenka Duff, Laura Thornton
- Importance of outreach for political parties
-What can be achieved through outreach?
-Planning the best outreach campaign*

- 12:00pm Lunch
- 1:30pm Group Exercise on outreach: *Participants will break into 4 party groups to develop a list of effective outreach strategies*
- 3:00pm Break
- 3:15pm Presentation: Public Speaking
-Jasenka Duff
- How to write a good speech*
-Non-verbal communication
- 4:00pm Group Exercise: *Four groups of randomly selected participants will do a simulation of the public dialogue by preparing a short speech with a developed message and answering questions raised by the audience*
- 5:00pm Summary of day two

DAY THREE

Day three will be conducted together with the participants from civil society organizations (IFES participants) and political party organizations (NDI participants). The aims of the day are developing networks and working on common issues. All the sessions and group work will be conducted in one room dedicated to this joined session.

- 8.00am Introductory remarks, review program
-IFES
- Session on elections, rules and regulations*
- 9.50am Break
- 10.10am Networking
-NDI/IFES
- Importance and benefits of networking*
-Building networks and alliances to work on the common goal
- 11.30am Group exercise task 1 – finding a common issue
- Participants will break into six groups; each group will include members of political parties and members of civil society. The groups will discuss and decide on 3 issues for an advocacy campaign. Issues have to be chosen in the way that all group members feel comfortable discussing all of the issues.*
- 12.00pm Lunch break
- 1.30pm Wrap-up the group work
- 1.45pm Group Presentations: *participants will present on working group results and decide on one issue for the advocacy campaign*
- 2.15pm Group exercise task 2 – drafting the advocacy campaign

Remaining in the same groups, participants will draft an advocacy campaign strategy including: goals, target audience, responsibilities and time-frame

3.00pm Break

3.15pm Group Presentations: *participants will present on working group results*

4.00pm Evaluation of the training

APPENDIX II

Women's Political Participation Training Terms of Reference

Women's Political Participation Training Workshop

Organized by:

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

November 21 – December 20, 2012

Terms of Reference (TOR) for Participants

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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is pleased that you will be participating in the women's political participation training workshop.

Program Background and Rationale

Although women make up 51.5 percent of the Cambodian population, they remain underrepresented in politics. On the national level, women comprise only 22 percent of the National Assembly and hold two ministerial positions. On the local level, women make up only 17 percent of commune councilors. In many cases, women in Cambodia do not feel comfortable expressing their ideas and opinions in a political arena that is dominated by men.

It is widely recognized that women's voices are indispensable for democracy to embrace the plurality of needs and interests in the society as a whole. Women are often more successful negotiators and are more capable of managing development plans and resources in a manner that benefits the entire society. Placing women in positions of leadership often decreases corruption and improves capacity for consensus building. Elected women also contribute to the social recognition that women can be confident and capable leaders, thereby directly combating cultural stereotypes that prevent women from influencing policy.

In advance of the 2013 National Assembly elections, there is an opportunity to improve women's political representation. NDI, in collaboration with IFES, plan to organize four, three-day leadership training workshops for women in elected office and civil society to train women leaders how to effectively advance policies for women's interests and representation. A total of 50 women will attend each workshop, 25 women from elected office and 25 women from civil society. NDI invited all parties with seats in the National Assembly to participate in the training, and three parties chose to participate – the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) jointly with the Human Rights Party (HRP) will attend the training. These trainings will provide concrete skills, such as effective communication, networking, advocacy, message development and delivery, and constituency outreach.

Three parties have selected their participants for the workshop. The number of participants from each party was determined based on the percentage of their elected leaders who are women. Those parties with over 10% in both national and local offices will send 12 participants per workshop. Parties with less than a percentage point are entitled to one participant per training.

NDI has selected an international trainer, Ms. Jasenka Duff, to lead the workshops with elected women leaders. Ms. Duff has created materials, presentations, and exercises that will prepare workshop participants to use their leadership roles to advocate for positive policy changes.

Workshop Objectives for Women in Elected Office

The workshop aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. Elected women increase their capacity to advocate for women's interests within their own parties.
2. Elected women learn how to develop a political message and deliver that message through constituency outreach.
3. Elected and civil society women leaders develop networking skills and discuss policy issues together.
4. Elected and civil society women leaders increase their capacity to jointly advocate for policies that advance women's interests.

Format

To address participants' differing needs, NDI and IFES will train elected women and women in civil society women separately for the first two days and then bring them together in a joint workshop for the third day.

IFES will work with 25 women from civil society organizations to increase their capacity to advocate for solutions to issues that affect women's interests. IFES's trainer, Ms. Sim Noreth from VBNK, will lead the sessions for the civil society women leaders. For the first two days, she will cover message development and effective communication with an emphasis on strategies for working with elected officials.

NDI's international trainer, Ms. Jasenka Duff, will lead the sessions for elected women leaders. Some sessions will be held with the parties together and others, on more sensitive political matters, will be held separately. The last day of the workshop will bring all of the participants from civil society and elected office together to focus on building networks and advocacy skills.

Day 1: Women in Politics, Party Advancement, and Advocacy

Ms. Jasenka Duff will begin by explaining the purpose and objectives of the training and reviewing the importance of women's political participation. Participants will brainstorm the benefits of women's political participation to highlight the role of women within political parties and tactics for increasing their influence and representation. Following this introduction, the morning of the first day will focus on tactics that can be utilized within a political party to improve party structure and influence party policy. Ms. Duff will explain how party members can design specific and detailed party projects that can realistically target problems within the party.

During the afternoon session, Ms. Jasenka Duff will focus on building advocacy skills. She will begin by defining advocacy and outlining the steps towards creating an advocacy action plan. Participants will learn to focus on S.M.A.R.T. goals that are specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound in order to create effective advocacy campaigns.

Day 2: Message Development and Public Outreach

On the second day of the workshop, participants will build constituency outreach skills by learning how to develop a message and how to deliver that message to the public. After explaining the definition and purpose of a political message, Ms. Duff will explain the elements of a good message. The participants will split into two groups according to their political alignment to complete a group exercise on message development. Participants will then brainstorm methods for delivering a message that targets specific audiences.

The afternoon session will cover constituency outreach and verbal and non-verbal communication. Participants will work together to plan outreach tactics based on the goals and target audiences of specific advocacy campaigns. Participants will practice communication and public speaking skills through role-play exercises that mimic public dialogues.

Day 3: Networking

The final day of the workshop will bring together elected women and civil society

women leaders to improve networking skills across different sectors. IFES's trainer, Ms. Sim Noreth from VBNK, will begin by reviewing the importance of women in politics and elections. Ms. Sim and Ms. Duff will then explain the importance of networking across sectors by encouraging participants to find common issues that could be effectively addressed by jointly utilizing the skills and resources of elected women and women in civil society.

In the afternoon session, participants will divide into mixed groups with both elected women and women in civil society to complete group exercises that will utilize the skills attained during the workshop to build detailed advocacy strategies on issues chosen by each group. The written plans will include specific goals and will divide tasks and responsibilities according to the unique strengths of commune councils and civil society organizations.

Outcomes

At the conclusion of the training, each participant will:

- have strategies for pursuing projects within their own parties to improve women's representation in the internal party structure and affect party policy;
- understand how to develop a clear political message and how to deliver that message through constituency outreach tactics;
- have stronger networks with women from civil society and understand the importance of networking across sectors;
- have a completed example of a detailed advocacy campaign that utilizes the different strengths of elected women and women in civil society.

Role of NDI

- NDI will develop the agenda, terms of reference for participants, logistics memo, and all materials for the workshop.
- NDI will invite the political parties to select elected women to participate in the training.
- NDI will be responsible for organizing the venue, meals, and all logistical aspects of the workshop.

Role of Participants

- Participants will be elected women leaders either from a commune councils or the National Assembly.
- Participants are expected to arrive on time every day. The training will begin each morning at 8:00am and will end at 5:00pm.
- Participants are expected to participate actively in all training sessions, read all materials provided, and complete the exercises provided by the trainers.
- Participants should expect to be called upon to participate in games, interactive exercises, and role play.

APPENDIX III

Women's Political Participation Training Post-Test Evaluation

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Training province.....

Questionnaire for Women's Political Party Training

General and Demographics questions

Please circle the number that is the correct answer for you.

Q1. What is your age group?

- 1 Between 18 – 25
- 2 Between 26 – 33
- 3 Between 34 – 40
- 4 Between 41- 49
- 5 50 or over

Q2. What is your level of education?

- 1 No schooling
- 2 Completed primary level
- 3 Completed secondary level
- 4 Under graduate
- 5 Graduate (masters or PhD)

Q3. Which Political Party do you belong to?

- 1 CPP
- 2 SRP
- 3 HRP

Q4. What is your current Party Rank?

- 1 Chief of commune
- 2 First Deputy chief of commune
- 3 Second Deputy chief of commune

- 4 Member of the Commune Council

Q5. How long have you been a member of the commune council?

- 1 Less than one year
- 2 For two years
- 3 For four years
- 4 More than four years

Please circle your responses:

1 = poor; 2=below average; 3=average; 4=good; 5=very good

Q6. Were the training objectives clear?

1 2 3 4 5

Q7. Overall quality of the training

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| • Jasenka Duff | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| • Laura Thornton | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q8. Which topic will help your work in the commune council?

Q9. Which of the topics were confusing for you?

Q10. Can you suggest any other topics for future training?

Knowledge questions

Please circle the letter that you think best answers the question.

Q11. Which of the following are party projects?

- a Holding a meeting between the commune council and the department of agriculture on a local concern

- b. Organizing a training for the party's district women's wing
- c Organizing training for commune councilors on children's rights
- d None of the above

Q12. Which of the following is an advocacy issue?

- a Advocating for women's rights
- b Advocating against domestic violence
- c Advocating for maternal health
- d Advocating for a 30% increase in the women's quota in political parties

Q13. Which of the following activities is an example of advocacy?

- a Allocation of the budget for the women's wing
- b Introducing committees for women's affairs within commune councils
- c Introducing women's quotas within the Party
- d All of the above

Q14. Who is your target audience?

- a A person/ people who have the authority to make the change happen
- b The people you are trying to help
- c None of the above
- d All of the above

Q15. How can you test your political message?

- a It should be non specific
- b It should be long
- c It should be short, truthful and credible
- d It doesn't matter if it is truthful as long as people believe it

Q16. How can a political message box help you in your advocacy campaign?

- a It can help you respond to criticism
- b It can help you be better prepared
- c A message box demonstrates contrast
- d All of the above

Q17. Which of the following is an example of outreach?

- a Using the media to communicate with potential supporters
- b Handing out leaflets
- c Door to door canvassing
- d All of the above

Q18. Who is the best person to deliver a message?

- a A student who talks to students
- b An old man who talks to young pregnant mothers
- c A young women who talks to old men
- d A student who talks to old men

Q19. Before public speaking, what should you do?

- a Read your speech out loud to your friends
- b Practice in front of the mirror
- c Write down the format of what you plan to say
- d All of the above