

NDI Regional Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe

**Delivering Democracy:
Organizing Resources to Create Secure Societies**

**National Democratic Institute Program for
Women Political Leaders from Central and Eastern Europe**

**March 1-4, 2002
Warsaw, Poland**

Final Report

I. Summary and Introduction

In the second of two pilot seminars in the Central and Eastern European Regional Initiative, NDI conducted a seminar entitled “Delivering Democracy: Organizing Resources to Create Secure Societies.” Held in Warsaw, Poland, the seminar brought together 22 women political activists from Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, and Montenegro with the following aims:

- Assist participants in building and refining their political leadership skills, particularly in organizing and conducting issue-based campaigns and in public speaking, in conjunction with training on combating human trafficking – an issue that represents a challenge to democratic development across the region;
- Encourage leaders to think about broader cooperation on anti-trafficking – with other countries in the region and with European and North American organizations/donors.
- Provide a networking opportunity for emerging women leaders to build cross-border professional bonds and share lessons learned.

Trainers and speakers for the seminar included:

- **Jyothi Kanics and Gabriele Reiter**, OSCE/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) officers on anti-trafficking issues.
- **Helga Konrad**, OSCE Regional Coordinator and Chair of the Stability Pact Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings for South Eastern Europe.
- **Barbara Limanowska**, a consultant on the issue of trafficking in women and children for a joint UNICEF, UNOHCR and OSCE/ODIHR project for the Balkan region.

- **Shannon O'Connell**, currently Senior Resident Program Manager for NDI/Serbia, where she manages the Institute's political party programs.
- **Vicki Robinson**, an NDI trainer who has worked with the Institute on a number of occasions, serving as advisor to NDI's local civic partner in Bosnia in 2000 and as director of political party programs in the Federation of Bosnia in 2001.

II. Activities

Friday, March 1

Orientation: Welcome and Introductions

Friday evening's session offered participants the opportunity to get to know each other and the trainers. Ms. O'Connell moderated the session, with help from Vicki Robinson and Lisa Tepper, NDI Senior Program Officer for the CEE Regional Initiative. Ms. O'Connell opened the session by asking participants to introduce themselves and identify a woman leader who has been an inspiration to them. After this exercise, Ms. O'Connell introduced the trainers for the weekend: Vicki Robinson, Barbara Limanowska, Gabriele Reiter, and Jyothi Kanics.

Ms. Kanics and Ms. Reiter gave a brief overview of the anti-trafficking work underway at the OSCE/ODIHR; Ms. O'Connell split the women into four groups for a team building exercise in which participants had to design, build and test a paper airplane. In the process of building their aircraft, the women participated in their first networking session on the weekend.

Opening Reception

Following the orientation session, participants attended an opening reception for participants and outside guests co-hosted by NDI and OSCE/ODIHR. Ambassadors from Bulgaria, Macedonia, and the United States attended, as well as representatives from the Croatian Embassy and the Embassy of Yugoslavia. The United States' Ambassador to Poland, Christopher Hill, addressed the crowd, stressing the importance of the human trafficking issue and thanking the women for taking the time out of their schedules to travel to Warsaw for the seminar. He noted that human trafficking is a serious regional problem that cannot be solved by individual states alone, and that the seminar would serve as an excellent opportunity for women to begin a regional dialogue on the subject. NDI's Regional Director for Central and Eastern Europe programs, Robert Benjamin, also spoke, expressing his gratitude to attendees for their dedication to improving the status of women in their home countries. OSCE/ODIHR Deputy Director Steven Wagenseil noted that the countries represented, all OSCE members, had an important opportunity to work together and through the OSCE to combat the problem of trafficking.

Saturday, March 2

Opening Plenary Session

Ms. O'Connell opened the first full day of training by explaining the seminar's structure and objectives. The first objective, to be addressed on both mornings, was to enhance participant's knowledge and understanding of the human trafficking issue. Participants would learn about their governments' actions to combat human trafficking; at the same time, they would hear of their neighboring countries' efforts and begin to develop ideas for combating the problem on a regional level.

Second, participants would work on honing their political and professional skills. Training sessions in the afternoon would focus on enhancing the leaders' skills for application in combating human trafficking and in managing other issues, as well. Specific skill areas for development during the seminar were: conducting an issue-based campaign, strengthening public speaking skills, and improving time management.

The final objective for the seminar was to build cross-border network of relationships between participating leaders. Ms. O'Connell pointed out that this network would aid the leaders not only in their endeavors to eliminate human trafficking, but would help them to support each other on other issues as well. As an incentive to get the women to begin building bridges during the seminar, Ms. O'Connell promised a prize to the participant who collected the most new business cards by the end of the weekend.

Ms. O'Connell then explained that the weekend's seminars would be conducted, with two different training tracks. The entire group would spend the mornings discussing human trafficking. Afternoon sessions would be devoted to skills training, namely public speaking and conducting issue-based campaigns. For those sessions, the participants would be broken up into two multi-national, multi-party groups. On Saturday, one group would attend Ms. Robinson's public speaking seminar, and the other would work with Ms. O'Connell on issue-based campaigns. On Sunday, the groups would switch.

Ms. Robinson and Ms. O'Connell began their next group-building exercise, in which participants wrote down their hopes, fears, and expectations for the seminar on note cards and shared them with others in the room. Participants discovered that they had much in common: they hoped to be able to go home and make changes in their countries' governments, they worried that there wouldn't be enough time during the weekend to have all of their questions answered, and they expected to improve their political skills and their understanding of the human trafficking problem. After concluding the discussion, participants had a short break before beginning their first session on human trafficking.

Trafficking: Its Sources and Impact

Barbara Limanowksa began an introductory lesson into trafficking by asking participants about their concerns and questions on the topic. The exercise encouraged an array of

questions regarding the extent and scope of trafficking in Southeastern Europe, the causes of the problem, the institutions that are engaged on the issue, and the cooperative mechanisms that could be employed to limit the number of trafficking victims and provide support for those who have been trafficked. Furthermore, participants asked about the relationship between public awareness of human trafficking and efforts to prevent it. They expressed skepticism regarding whether public awareness campaigns have succeeded in creating pressure that effectively encourages politicians and civic organizations to take steps to solve the problem. One participant asked about the relationship between migration and trafficking.

Ms. Limanowska then briefed the women on what trafficking is, what current regional efforts were underway, and what regional and national plans of action had been adopted in conjunction with Stability Pact efforts in this area. She distributed specific information to each country and territory represented. After encouraging participants to write down words associated with trafficking, Ms. Limanowska noted that most terms coming to mind dealt with those who have been trafficked. Because of the lack of information, society tends to focus more on trafficking victims who end up as prostitutes or in other situations -- as opposed to addressing the issue of the actual perpetrators of trafficking activities.

After providing a technical definition of human trafficking, Ms. Limanowska distinguished between trafficking and smuggling, demonstrating that smuggling was a violation of the state while trafficking violated the individual. Ms. Limanowska provided factual information on trafficking around the world. While the primary reason for trafficking in the Balkans is for prostitution, Ms. Limanowska pointed out that the issue is not solely one of organized crime. Small-scale trafficking poses a significant risk for women, though the success of trafficking depends on structures within society; both in terms of structures that are willing to cooperate (for example, corruption among law enforcement officials) and structures that lack preventative/punitive measures (for example, lack of legislative provisions that explicitly criminalize human trafficking). Trafficking is generally financially motivated, and driven in European destination countries by the interest of local men in foreign women, and by the fact that it is often easier for men in destination countries to control women who do not speak the local language. Ms. Limanowska noted that unless there is evidence to the contrary, minors under the age of 18 working as prostitutes in foreign countries must be assumed to have been trafficked.

With participants sharing the same set of background information, participants broke into working groups based on their country or territory to look at the relationships between their national plans of action and the Stability Pact's regional plan of action on anti-trafficking. Participants were asked to identify major stakeholders and actors involved in implementation of the plan of action, as well as specific priorities that were identified in each country or territory.

Macedonia's delegation noted the priority of public awareness campaigns, as 66 percent of the population could not distinguish between trafficking and prostitution. They mentioned government and non-governmental actors, including international

organizations. Participants from Bulgaria included regional institutions and psychiatric clinics, as the latter would provide support in psycho-social treatment of victims upon their return to their native countries. In coordination with immersion back into society for trafficking victims and efforts to prevent trafficking, the Bulgarians recommended training numerous sectors of society as a priority: police officers and social workers needed training in handling victims of trafficking, while border control officers and other organizations would focus on preventive aspects.

Montenegrin participants noted that in Montenegro, phone hotlines had been created to give victims access to help as well as to provide a channel for anonymous tips on cases of trafficking. They noted a gap in the regional plan of action and their own, as legislation in Montenegro had not clearly defined trafficking as a crime. Similar to the Bulgarians, the participants from Montenegro highlighted training for police and border control officials as a top priority, but also noted the need to train judges and to assist NGO's at the local level press for preventive measures and responses to victims.

The Croatian delegation worked from a draft national plan of action, as the Croatian government has yet to finalize the plan. They prioritized activities such as awareness campaigns and legislation that could work as hindrances to trafficking. The draft plan of action calls for severe sentences for those convicted of trafficking, acting as a deterrent for such behavior. The Croatians emphasized the need for further partnership between the government, NGO sectors, and police in order to create a coordinated effort. The Bosnian delegation noted the importance of prioritizing several previously mentioned areas, including training for border control officials, pursuing legislative reform, and enhancing assistance to victims. Key actors in Bosnia included government ministers, state border services, NGO's, international organizations, and the Office of Human Rights. In particular, the Bosnians identified the need to address the 415 illegal crossings that were uncontrolled on the Bosnia-Herzegovina border, allowing traffickers easy access in and out of the country.

Ms. Limanowska concluded the preliminary discussion on trafficking by citing three areas of potential improvement that were identified at the regional level. First, research was not identified as a priority need in any of the national plans of action, but is an essential part of the process to provide the information needed to fight trafficking and cope with its effects. Second, awareness raising, possibly by using information gathered during the research process, would be a vital area of improvement for all national plans. Polls have indicated that much of the population does not consider trafficking a serious problem, so any grassroots efforts to mobilize politicians on the issue would require further awareness among the electorate. Third, improvement of the basic socio-economic conditions for women in their country of origin would work as a significant tactic in deterring trafficking efforts, as women would be less likely to comply with initial efforts by traffickers who prey, in particular, on women in destitute economic situations.

Workshop A: Tackling Tough Topics: Organizing Issue-Based Initiatives

This workshop, led by Ms. O’Connell, focused on developing and conducting issue-based campaigns. Specific topics included defining issue based campaigns, developing strategies and messages for the campaigns, and building coalitions.

After conducting a decision-making exercise with the participants, Ms. O’Connell began by defining an issue-based campaign as “an attempt to move public opinion or influence public behavior.” She emphasized the importance of developing an effective, detailed strategy and sticking to it, and she also stressed that staying on message at all times is the key to a successful campaign.

Ms. O’Connell noted that political leaders commonly mistake tactics for strategies, when there is, in fact, an essential distinction between the two: strategy is the vision; tactics are the tools used to achieve that vision. The keys to a good strategy are: developing a well-defined plan with clear goals, identifying activities that will help one reach the set goals, and organizing a schedule for these activities.

Ms. O’Connell outlined the steps for creating realistic goals in an issue-based campaign. First, the focus must be relatively narrow. It is not a good idea to promise to deliver something as lofty as peace; it is better to start by promising to deliver jobs to a community. Campaign organizers must identify exactly what they want to accomplish and in what timeframe. Only after those goals are established should they look at which tactics to employ.

Second, campaign planners must keep goals specific, realistic, and attainable. They must clearly define what success would look like for their campaign. As an example, Ms. O’Connell used the popular “Got Milk” campaign that the U.S. Dairy Farmers employed to increase milk consumption among women. After conducting research, dairy farmers realized that the number of women drinking milk had declined sharply. Their goal was not to get all women to drink milk; rather, they chose the more realistic goal of stopping the decline. Because their goal was clearly defined and realistic, they were better able to design a successful campaign.

Ms. O’Connell then moved on to the third area of planning: determining the target of a campaign. The ability to move public opinion to public action depends on understanding the political audience, and knowing who to target. Leaders must identify, first of all the campaign’s “base” of support – those citizens who are ready to support action on the issue. Next, leaders must identify citizens groups who can be convinced to join the base once they understand the aim of action on the issue. This group is known as the “persuadables”. Lastly, campaign organizers must have an understanding of who will work in opposition to the idea or action -- no matter what. An effective campaign must include a strategy to contend with each of these categories.

For the base, strategists must ask how they will solidify and activate these supporters. Ms. O’Connell stressed that members of the base should never be taken for granted.

The persuadables are perhaps the most ambiguous group, but winning their support is critical to the eventual success of the campaign. Planners must dedicate time to figuring out who composes this group and how they can be convinced to support the campaign, and motivated to become part of the base.

Finally, strategists must determine who the opposition will be, and how to neutralize opposition activities. An important tool in planning for how to manage this audience segment is for the campaign planners to consider how the opposition would run a campaign against the issue at stake. Ms. O'Connell advised that participants be ready for anything that the opposition could throw against them.

In developing an issue-based campaign strategy, it is crucial to remember that values are the cornerstone of any good strategy. Planners must look at values first when defining a strategy and decide which values they intend to represent. Without a strong foundation in values, an issue-based campaign will not succeed. Ms. O'Connell also stressed the importance of staying on message; the most successful campaigns can withstand strong, organized opposition but still get their message across. This is achieved through constant public communication efforts that entail repeating the message consistently and avoiding straying from the topic at hand.

Ms. O'Connell then had the larger group break up into 4 multi-national, multi-party groups and asked each to develop a strategy for an issue-based campaign topic of their choice, such as human trafficking, corruption, or drug abuse. A majority of the groups opted to work on unemployment, an issue that is prevalent in their communities but that is difficult in an issue-based campaign because of its complexities. Because of time constraints, they were unable to delve into the specifics of the issue, but Ms. O'Connell asked them at least to determine which values are involved and to decide how their group would present the issue and their proposed solutions to the public.

After working in groups for twenty minutes, the women reconvened to discuss their proposed campaigns. Elements of their plans included improving education systems, creating a flexible labor market with small/medium labor enterprises, granting low-interest loans to entrepreneurs, and using natural resources more effectively to promote sustainable development.

Ms. O'Connell's next training segment involved message development and delivery. Drawing on American examples of issue-based campaigns, including American TV ads promoting awareness of child hunger in the United States and a post-September 11 ad promoting ethnic tolerance, Ms. O'Connell engaged participants in discussion of the qualities that constitute a solid, clear, and memorable means to deliver a message.

Participants once again split into their groups to develop a message for their issue-based campaign. When they reconvened, they had come up with some creative ideas, including "Honest Money for Honest Work," as a message for an anti-corruption campaign. One group was able to develop their message, but they found it difficult to determine who would compose their base. An interesting conversation followed on

defining the base, persuadables, and opposition in which Ms. O’Connell emphasized that an effective campaign targets a specific demographic. Leaders cannot target “hard-workers” or “honest people”; rather, the target group must be well-defined and tangible – for example, “mothers”, “employed people”, or “youth” – so the leaders do not have to spend time and waste resources determining who belongs to the target group.

The final training topic for the afternoon was coalition building and management. Almost every politician must work in a coalition, whether it is in government, a political party, or a campaign; therefore, it is important to learn how coalitions form and grow in order to keep one running effectively. Ms. O’Connell explained the difference between networking and organizing, and noted that forming coalitions involves both. She also emphasized the importance of understanding people’s motivations for joining coalition and the need for creativity and flexibility in all stages of a coalition’s existence.

Workshop B: Public Speaking and Communication Strategies

Vicki Robinson led the workshop on public speaking. To have participants begin thinking critically about their own public speaking abilities, each listed their greatest fear when having to speak publicly, most noting that not knowing the subject or having their mind go blank was the greatest concern. Ms. Robinson then recounted the basics of the topic, noting that leaders generally speak too much and say more than is necessary. An ideal speech will reflect the same message several times throughout, and would contain at the most three main points. Sending numerous messages to an audience often confuses them, as the major concepts can easily be lost in the chaos of trying to deliver too many messages.

Ms. Robinson identified three types of speeches that one could deliver; gray, red, and blue. A gray speech falls within the basic safe zone, delivering a basic message clearly, but not in a particularly exciting fashion. A red speech is emotional, using the same info as a gray speech, but in a manner that may resonate with the audience for a significant amount of time if the message is delivered concisely and clearly. A blue speech, similar to gray, is also limited in its emotional appeal, as it tries to provide even more information as a substitute for being emotionally evocative for the audience. Ms. Robinson recommended making the effort to move from a gray to either a blue or red speech.

Each participant gave a five-minute, previously prepared speech in their language of choice. The women recorded one speech in front of the camera, and then a few free minutes allowed for interaction and recommendation from Ms. Robinson, Rob Benjamin, and other participants. After taking a few moments to absorb the suggestions, the participants gave the same speech, again on the same tape. The participants were given the tape to take home with instructions on how to view it critically with an eye to enhancing their own message delivery. They also received evaluations from their peers. Several areas of concern were common to participants, including issues of

volume modulation, eye contact, body language, and speed of delivery. Ms. Robinson made recommendations to help participants address their general problem areas.

Dinner with Keynote speaker Helga Konrad

Helga Konrad began her keynote speech by addressing the key aims of the Stability Pact, including the encouraging political initiative, facilitating regional collaboration, and streamlining existing efforts to help states prepare for future integration into the European Union. The Stability Pact is based on pragmatic, mutual interests, as peace and freedom are necessary for the interests of the whole world. Human trafficking has implications for the stability of the entire region and the rule of law of each nation, as it reflects the influence of organized crime and corruption within society. As a “big business”, human trafficking has become increasingly problematic; the Stability Pact offers a vehicle to bring together expertise on the issue in an efforts to combat the problem. Dr. Konrad noted that Western European governments could encourage action by Southeastern European states to fight human trafficking by pressuring encouraging states to take such action as a necessary step to enhance prospects for EU accession.

Dr. Konrad noted that women are often affected more severely than men by economic hardship, and coerced or forced into trafficking situations in their search for jobs that can adequately support their families. Once transported abroad – either involuntarily or under false pretenses – they are often forced to repay huge “debts” before they are allowed to return to their home countries. Dr. Konrad noted a significant point in the debate on human trafficking: “we are not fighting prostitution, but rather those putting women into prostitution.”

The overemphasis on prostitution instead of the true issue of trafficking sometimes allows police to forget that trafficked women themselves are victims – not criminals. Furthermore, adequate responses to trafficked victims are lacking; simply sending victims home is only a temporary solution to a greater problem. Structures must be put in place that provide physical and psycho-social support and allow for a humane repatriation process once victims of trafficking have been identified by government authorities. Further, mechanisms must be established to enable victims of trafficking to stay in the destination countries in which they find themselves long enough to cooperate with law enforcement authorities in prosecution of traffickers. Dr. Konrad cited an Italian law that allows victims to remain in Italy at least temporarily, and often for more than a few weeks. Human trafficking is a complex problem that necessitates comprehensive answers that deal with human beings through victim assistance and protection, and laws such as the one in Italy help to facilitate that process. Dr. Konrad also called for a national referral mechanism whereby NGO’s, the Red Cross, the government, and other actors involved create a plan of action to address the needs of victims when human trafficking occurs.

Dr. Konrad called for an approach that addresses short and long term solutions, including legislative reform and cooperation between state and non-state actors and

between governments. Closing borders – even if feasible – would not be enough, Dr. Konrad noted that acknowledgement of shared responsibility and real efforts to harmonize policies are necessary in order to mount an effective fight against trafficking.

Asked about what citizens can do if they witness activities that appear to be related to human trafficking, Dr. Konrad said that most often, a local NGO is the best resource available to address the issue. (She noted her hope that “the police” would be the best answer to this question in the near future.) Dr. Konrad also noted that traffickers are a variety of people, not just those involved in organized crime. It is not rare for otherwise average citizens, including women, who generally obey laws to be involved in trafficking as the business grows even larger.

Sunday, March 3

Creating Secure Societies: Solutions to/Tools for Ending Trafficking

Barbara Limanowska convened Sunday’s plenary session with the goal of discussing possible solutions to combat trafficking. She explained the elements of an awareness system: identification and referral, assistance to victims, reintegration of victims (both in countries of destination and origin), and prosecution of traffickers. She used examples from around the region to illustrate these steps in the process.

She noted that there is much to do to resolve the problem, but there are governments in the region that are enacting laws and policies to more effectively combat trafficking. For example, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Albania’s Ministries of the Interior have signed memorandums of understanding with international organizations agreeing to refer all trafficking victims to assistance organizations.

Of all the elements, the least progress has been made prosecuting the traffickers, but in Albania, the prime minister has instructed judges to follow through with trials and to ensure witness safety, and in Kosovo there are plans to enact witness protection laws. While most governments have made some progress on enhancing public awareness, all have yet to address such issues as creating a minimum standard for treatment of victims, offering special protection for children under 18, and promoting HIV/AIDS prevention/education.

After concluding her presentation, Ms. Limanowska distributed country-specific materials and had the participants split into their country groups to review them. She asked them to discuss the situation in their countries and determine which parts of the counter-trafficking plans work and which don’t. They were asked to think about what kind of programs should be developed in the future, and to think of specific projects that they would find particularly useful. Upon reconvening, the country groups presented their findings. After each team spoke, Ms. Limanowska pointed out that there were several similarities between the plans, and she suggested that there might be several opportunities in the near future for the countries to work together to combat the problem. She encouraged participants to remember their new regional network when they

returned home, reminding them that there were concrete steps they could take to make a difference within their own communities and throughout the region.

Time Management and Goal Setting

Ms. O’Connell began the time management training by reminding participants that campaigns have three resources: money, time, and people. Though people and money differ by campaign and candidate, an equal amount of time is shared by all. The problem of making the best use of limited time is a common issue – regardless of the other resources that might be available to a campaign or an individual leader.

Participants were asked to identify the demands on their time, both personal and professional, over the course of a week and to estimate the length of time needed to complete individual tasks. The exercise encouraged participants to think about effective time management, including ways to incorporate transition time between activities and understanding the balance of time spent professionally and personally. For many participants, the number of hours needed to complete mandatory tasks sometimes added up to more than the number of hours in a week: Ms. O’Connell conveyed the importance of multitasking when possible. Time management is not only about being prepared for a task but also about having skills and tools to deal with the surprises of life. Major obstacles to efficient time management include technical errors, external realities, personal habits, and perception of time. Technical errors might involve a miscalculation of how long tasks take; external realities incorporate the challenges of working in an environment that may be full of interruptions. Furthermore, unrealistic workloads, under-funded jobs, and working with poor time managers can, similarly, lead to inefficient time management. Finally, personal habits such as unclear priorities or the need to work in an environment that is more chaotic than orderly can negatively impact a working schedule. Other interferences into efficient time management include the need for perfection and being uncomfortable working in “down time.”

Several exercises on decision-making and energy cycles helped participants evaluate their current time management techniques and understand their best work schedules. Ms. O’Connell then proposed that participants design and define a schedule, based on their “big picture” or life goals; activities that help them achieve those goals; and definition of the daily tasks that make up these activities and must thus be accorded priority on a leader’s schedule.

Ms. O’Connell encouraged participants to use time mapping, noting that they should remember to schedule open time because they do not work in an environment without interruption. Furthermore, to ensure that important tasks are finished, the women should schedule quiet work time at home where they can also ensure an atmosphere conducive to maintaining a high caliber of work. Ms. O’Connell noted the significance of prioritizing tasks, asking participants to question whether the task is directly related to reaching a goal, as well as what negative consequences will be suffered for not completing it. By asking these pertinent questions, one can limit the amount of futile or unimportant tasks that may take up valuable time in a day. Finally, Ms. O’Connell

related other time-saving measures, such as keys to the art of delegating and secrets to time management in the world of politics.

Closing Reception, Awarding of Certificates

The closing reception offered a final opportunity for participants to gather together and network before their departure on Monday morning. Lisa Tepper and Robert Benjamin thanked the attendees for their hard work throughout the weekend and Ms. O'Connell awarded certificates of achievement to each participant.