المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

**CAMPAIGN
SCHOOLS**

National Democratic Institute

Campaign Skills
Handbook

Shannon O'Connell
Samantha Smoot
Sally Abi Khalil

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Introduction and Context

This manual is about change. It was constructed at a time of significant political change worldwide, when millions of people began to ask for a different way of running their countries and for systems of government that would be more responsive to the needs of citizens. The contents were designed to offer information and resources for those seeking to compete in elections for the first time, to grow and develop political alternatives, and to amplify the voices and concerns of citizens.

But political change is not always dramatic. Participatory systems of government require constant renewal and the relentless participation of those they are designed to serve. The regular introduction of new ideas, new people, and new ways of doing things is what keeps healthy political and governing systems vibrant and relevant. Indeed, the authors of this manual, many of whom (but not all) came from long-standing democracies, began their individual careers as activists out of a desire to see change in their own countries.

As such, the authors hope that the information and exercises contained in this manual are useful to people seeking representative and responsive government across a range of political systems and changing environments.

Purpose of this Manual

This manual is intended to be a resource for a number of audiences, including:

- Individual political and civil society activists looking to improve their skills as organizers and agents of change;
- Prospective candidates wanting a step-by-step program for planning and executing an electoral campaign;
- Electoral campaign staff looking for tools to manage resources and target voters wisely; and
- Political party activists and leaders who understand that well-run campaigns result in stronger and more successful parties.

The 11 thematic modules offer a progressive guide to preparing for, executing and excelling at electoral competition and the leadership challenges that are innately part of these endeavors.

New Opportunities for Women and Young People

For many years, the case has been made that women, young people and other less-represented groups should be given a greater say and more opportunities in politics and decision-making. Extensive research and evidence now confirms that this is more than the right thing to do; diversity and balance in decision-making delivers a real difference in the quality of government that citizen's experience.

Women and young people have been drivers of much of the presentpolitical change. Additionally, the current generation of young people is one of the largest in history.

Despite this, women and young people still face additional challenges in winning a real seat at the table where decisions are made and authority is recognized. This manual has been designed for these and other under-represented groups in particular and offers specific guidance and exercises on how to overcome obstacles to achieving political goals.

How to Use this Workbook

This manual has been designed to offer as much flexibility as possible. The 11 thematic modules contained in the manual can be:

- used separately and individually, one topic at a time;
- put together in whatever combination of topics is suitable and desirable; or
- Used as an entire package in a comprehensive strategic planning exercise around an election.

Each module begins with a brief description of the topics covered to help users identify which will be most relevant. Additionally, separate Training Guides have been developed which provide political activists with the materials they will need to train party or campaign colleagues on the content and help design a strategic campaign plan or develop stronger internal capacity and electoral skills. These can be found on NDI's website at www.ndi.org.

The topics have been organized progressively, so that those wishing to develop an overall strategic plan can start at module 1 and work their way to module 11. However, users of this manual should also feel free to pick and choose the topics they think are most relevant to their own situation or that of their organization.   The materials have been designed to work in partnership with each other, and also to stand alone, with the exception of Modules 3 and 4, which focus on strategy, voter targeting, and voter contact. These two modules should be completed together as their content is inextricably linked.

A note on language: This workbook is intended for use by politically active men and women. However, as masculine pronouns are usually used in Arabic to include both males and females, the text uses "he," except when certain termsthat clearly refer to both genders, such as "trainer," "participant," "leader," etc. can be used instead.

Acknowledgements

The call to political leadership is an exciting and important one. It requires strength, vision, commitment and the ability to learn from both success and failure. Good luck!

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights.

Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to support and strengthen democratic institutions and practices by strengthening political parties, civic organizations and parliaments, safeguarding elections, and promoting citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

The Institute's work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communications among citizens, political institutions and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens.
For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

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Module 1
Political Parties and Elections
Key Institutions in a Democratic State

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

**CAMPAIGN
SCHOOLS**

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

Democracy is a form of government in which final authority lies with the people. In this system, citizens have the right and the opportunity to participate in decision-making either directly themselves or through elected representatives.

The principles of and requirements for democratic systems have emerged over hundreds of years. Many countries which today are considered model democracies took time to develop their systems of government and their standards and rules for governance. Critically, the core principles and key aspects of democracy are accessible, available and applicable to any society, regardless of where it may be in its state of political transition.

This module outlines some of these core principles, as well as the main features of contemporary democracies. It also describes how key players function in democratic systems and outlines best practices for political parties in a democracy.

Topics include:

1. Key Institutions in a Democratic State
2. Democratic Actors
3. Best Practices for Political Parties
4. Elements of Democratic Elections

Key Institutions in a Democratic State _____

Democracy is a system of government in which political leaders are chosen through regular, free and fair elections. People are given a choice of candidates and political parties who compete for the authority to govern and to serve the citizens they represent.

In this system, the political parties and politicians who are elected are accountable to the people, who are the highest authority. The legitimacy of a government is based upon the consent of the people. If political leaders do not perform well, they can be removed from office through the mechanism of elections.

There is no "one size fits all" system of democratic government. Most contemporary democracies have developed their systems of governance over time and with a fair amount of trial and error. There is a large diversity of democracies functioning today. However, even though the fabric of democracy is colorful and varied, there are a number of common themes and principles that are present in almost all democratic systems which are high-functioning and enduring. Some of these are described below.

The Constitution

In a democracy, political power is exercised within a framework of laws that are enforceable. This is known as the rule of law. The concept of the rule of law emerged in a number of societies over time, primarily out of frustration among the people that rulers were making arbitrary decisions about what was right and wrong, and that different people were facing different punishments or consequences for the same acts.

At the core of a democratic legal system is a constitution. A constitution is a written document that outlines the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and defines and limits the use of power by government institutions.[1] Because it is considered the supreme law of the land, no other laws may contradict a country's constitution.

The concept of supreme law is based on the assumption that there are fundamental principles that do not change over time. One such principle is that government should be limited in certain ways so that it cannot unnecessarily interfere in the lives of its citizens. The constitution serves as a force more powerful than the government in office, and successive governments must adhere to the rules within the constitution and operate within its framework.

_____

1   Some countries do not have a written constitution. The United Kingdom, for example, has a set of laws passed over centuries which it considers supreme, such as the Magna Carta, but does not have an official written constitution. The situation is similar in New Zealand.

Another fundamental principle is that all citizens are guaranteed certain essential rights and freedoms which cannot be taken away by the state. These often include an individual's right to hold their own beliefs and to express these, the right to associate with other people, and the right to assemble and protest government actions. Citizens are obligated to exercise these rights peacefully with respect for the law and for the rights of others. Every country has its own approach to how it defines basic rights. However, constitutions limit the powers of governmental institutions to prevent them from denying citizens these rights and to ensure that, if there are conflicts or disputes, all citizens will be treated equally before the law.

Branches of Government

Constitutions also serve a highly functional purpose. They typically outline the basic framework for how a country's government will be structured and how it will operate. Each division, or branch, of government is designated its own authority and assigned specific areas of responsibility.

There are three main branches of government:

- **The Executive,** which executes laws
- **The Legislature,** which makes laws
- **The Judiciary,** which interprets laws

The exact authorities and responsibilities given to each branch vary worldwide, but a country's constitution and supporting laws define which branch deals with different key functions, such as:

- How the government can raise money
- How the national budget is decided and how money is spent
- How legislation is made
- How legislation is implemented
- How the constitution is protected
- How foreign affairs can be conducted
- How a military can be formed and who has authority over the military
- How conflicts among the branches of government are handled

The powers of each branch of government must be defined and limited so that no one branch can interfere in the work of the other. Some democracies use a system referred to as separation of powers to achieve this. The executive, legislature and judiciary are each provided with independent authority and areas of responsibility to ensure that no branch has more power than the other branches. This structure is

applied in India, Chile, Japan, Poland and the United States of America, for example. Indonesia uses a limited separation of powers model.

Other democracies do not define a strict separation among the branches of government and some, such as the United Kingdom, have a fusion of powers system in which the judiciary is separate but the executive and legislature operate jointly. In this example, all members of the executive cabinet must also be members of parliament, which means they have the authority to both make and execute legislation. Australia and Canada also use a fusion of powers system.

To prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful, and to ensure that that the rule of law and the will of the people are protected in the exercise of political power, democracies employ a system of checks and balances. This is an arrangement that allows each branch of a government to amend, veto or challenge the acts of another branch.

There are a number of examples of how this works in practice, and they are often different in presidential democracies (where the president is head of state and leader of the government) and parliamentary democracies (where the head of state and prime minister are two different people chosen by separate selection mechanisms).

In presidential democracies, the executive is often given the power to reject or amend laws passed by the legislature. The legislature is given the authority to override the president's decision under certain criteria, and the judiciary can challenge decisions made by both bodies.

In parliamentary democracies, where the functions of the executive and legislature frequently overlap, executive ministers may be subject to the scrutiny of other members of parliament (MPs), particularly if opposition parties are strong. If there is a bicameral parliament, the executive may not control both houses. In this situation, whichever body is controlled by opposition parties frequently takes on the critical role of challenging and scrutinizing the party or parties in government.

Many newer democracies are choosing mixed systems in which a prime minister and his or her cabinet are responsible for the day-to-day administration of government through ministries, but there is also a president who holds the position of head of state and has the power to nominate the prime minister, to veto legislation, and to make or approve certain judicial and governmental appointments.[2] This creates a form of checks and balances between the two offices.

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2 Stanford University, "Democracy Education for Iraq – Nine Key Themes,"
http://www.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/DemocracyEducation0204.htm.

Other examples of checks and balances in practice include:

- The authority to authorize or veto legislation
- The power to remove a president or prime minister from office
- Votes of no confidence, to demonstrate that the majority of representatives do not support the actions of the ruling party
- Judicial review, which allows citizens to appeal to the judiciary to review a decision made by government
- Judiciary selection processes, which require approval from other branches of government
- Selection processes for cabinet members and senior government officials, which require approval from other branches of government
- Mechanisms to protect the independence of the judiciary
- Regulations on how taxes and revenue can be collected by the government
- Restrictions on who controls the security forces and how war can be declared

The diagram below illustrates how separation of powers and checks and balances works on a basic level.

Executive

Can reject or significantly amend laws passed by the legislature

Can appoint members of the judiciary

Legislature

Can override or pass legislation to challenge decisions of the executive

Can have final approval over who sits on the judiciary

Judiciary

Can challenge decisions made by the executive

Can challenge laws passed by the legislature
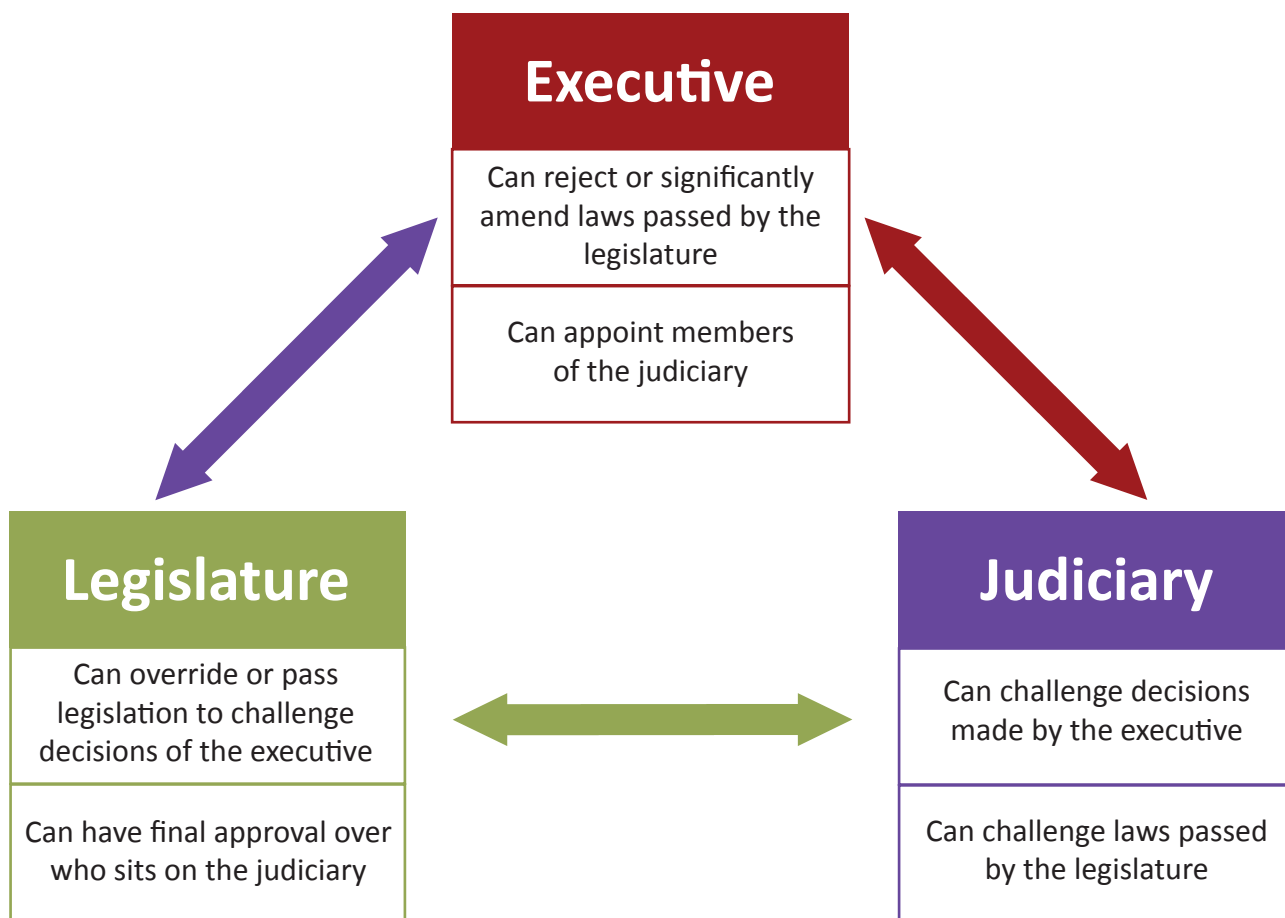
Branches of Government and Separation of Powers

Activity 1: Discussion on Democratic Structures

1. What are your impressions of the democratic structures discussed in this section, i.e., the rule of law, the constitution as supreme law, distinct branches of government and separation of powers? Are any employed in your country's system of government? What is your opinion about how well they work in established and transitional democracies?

_____

Can dissolve the house of Representatives
Can convene Diet sessions
Collectively responsible to the Diet

Rules on constitutionality of enacted laws

Diet (Legislative Branch)

Designates the Prime Minister
Can submit a no confidence motion against the cabinet

Can impeach a judge

Elected

Votes to confirm Supreme Court Justices

Public Opinion

Citizenry

Appoints judges and Supreme Court justices

Cabinet (Executive Branch)

Judiciary (Judicial Branch)

Rules on constitutionality of executive orders and measures, etc.
Rules on administrative litigation

Diagram of separation of powers in Japan, from the House of Councillors legislature (National Diet)[3].

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3 http://www.sangiin.go.jp/eng/guide/relation/index.htm

2. Consider the image above, which illustrates the manner in which the branches of government are organized in Japan and outlines how separation of powers is applied in this system. In this arrangement, the citizens maintain checks on the legislature through elections, on the judiciary by voting to retain Supreme Court justices, and on the executive or cabinet through public opinion.

    What are your impressions of how this would work in practice? What would citizens need to know or do to play their role in this system? In your opinion, are these checks and balances strong or weak, insufficient or sufficient?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

Public Opinion Surveyor:
TRANSLATE PUBLIC
OPINION SURVEYOR
COMMENTS HERE.

Citizens:
TRANSLATE CITIZEN'S
COMMENTS HERE

3. The political cartoon above was published in newspapers after a scandal in the parliament of the United Kingdom in which it was revealed that some Members of Parliament were using the expenses system to increase their personal wealth. Several MPs submitted falsified accounts, collecting thousands of pounds for expenses they never incurred. Six MPs received prison sentences.

    The cartoon illustrates that even in long-established democracies with checks and balances there can be abuses of power. What are your thoughts on how this should be handled in a democracy?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

Democratic Actors

A healthy democratic society is composed of much more than branches of government. A number of actors play vital roles in a country's social, economic and governing systems, and shape the manner in which policy is made and how the government conducts itself. Several of these serve as conduits and systems of organization for the ideas and opinions of individual citizens.

This section explores the functions and influence of a number of these non-state actors, including:

- Political parties
- Civil society
- The media

These various sectors play critical roles in democratic systems, filtering and developing ideas, providing information, delivering services and shaping public policy and spending. As the tangle of arrows in the diagram below illustrates, the relationship among these actors is dynamic and can be defined by both tension and codependence at the same time. Each makes a qualitative difference in the functioning of the other organizations even when there is a conflict of ideas or thinking about how the country should be run.
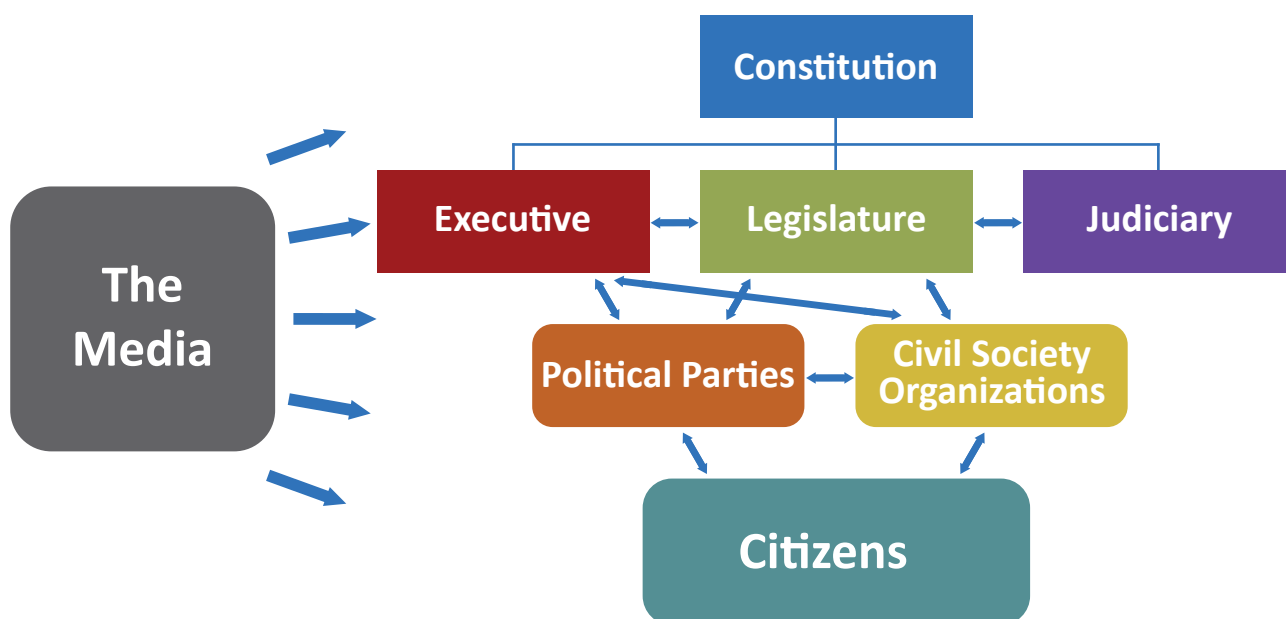
Political Parties

Political parties are organizations that 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. Political parties provide a conduit for the ideas and opinions of citizens, and compete for the power and authority to implement their vision for the country as the legitimate elected government.

Through their choice of candidates and policies, political parties provide citizens with options for governance. They can strengthen national political institutions when they present these choices at elections and seek to mobilize citizens behind their vision and ideas. Political parties are a cornerstone of democracy and play a key role in the quality of government offered to citizens.

Political parties have functions in four primary areas:

Citizen Participation	Political parties create mechanisms and means for **individual citizens to become directly involved** in how a country is governed and run through their campaign structures during elections and outreach efforts outside of elections.
Policy Development	Political parties are **factories of ideas, policies and plans** for how the country should be run and how challenges facing the country should be addressed.
Electoral Competition	Political parties provide a means to **compete peacefully for political power** through elections, 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.
Governing Institutions	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; they also advance higher levels of accountability by the scrutiny they provide when in opposition.

To fulfill these functions, political parties must be strong, efficient and effective organizations, capable of delivering for the people in challenging circumstances, adapting to a constantly changing environment and managing both creativity and risk.

Political Parties and Citizen Participation

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
- Training existing party members in political skills
- Encouraging membership participation in election campaigns
- Encouraging membership participation in policy development
- Building strong party branches and internal structures
- Meeting and communicating regularly with members and voters
- Creating mechanisms to collect the opinion of voters and members, such as
- survey canvasses and community meetings

The value of these very simple activities should not be underestimated. Each of these helps political parties communicate more effectively with voters, and builds 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.

Political Parties and Policy Development

At its heart, politics is meant to be a competition of ideas. Political parties carry the challenging and critical task of translating these ideas into viable policy options which can actually be implemented and evaluated.

Well-organized political 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. There have also been occasions when political parties attempt to engage the entire electorate in their policy development processes.

The flow of policy development within a political party often looks something like this:

The party research staff	**Develop an effective policy agenda message** →	**Party supporters and activists feel that the party:**
Ad hoc groups of experts and party members		Cares about citizens' problems and share their concerns and hopes for the country
Party members through consultation networks and/or public fora		Has a specific, immediate and feasible plan for improving the lives of citizens

Not only do parties develop policy options and ideas, but they frequently also take on the function of educating and mobilizing the public on these issues. By effectively communicating their policy programs, political 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.

Political Parties and Elections

In democratic elections, political parties play a key role by 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, critically, abiding by the outcome of these contests. 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. In these multi-faceted ways, political parties help to ensure that elections are true expressions of the will of the people.

Political Parties and Governing

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.

Being in government is an extraordinary time for a political party, and how well these parties are developed as organizations and institutions will impact their readiness to take on the responsibility of running a country effectively.

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 the 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.

Another way of interpreting the functions of political parties is illustrated below:

Contesting and winning elections, to control government agencies and institutions

Aggregating and representing social intesrests

Basic functions of political parties

Providing Policy alternatives

Training political leaders who will assume a role in governing society
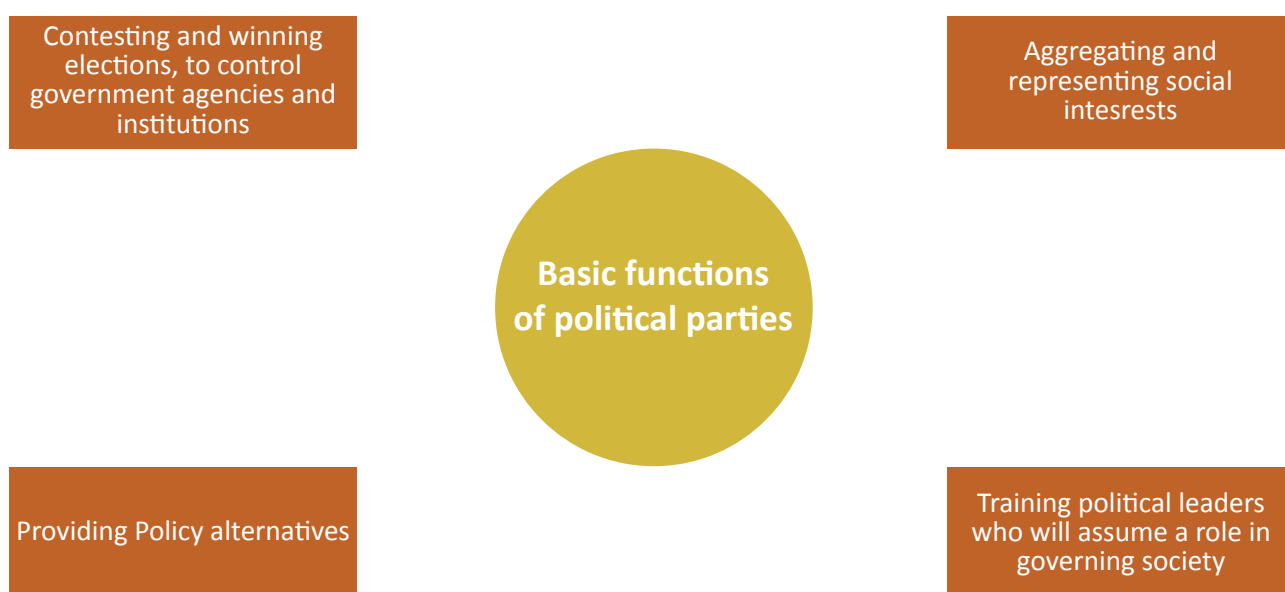
Civil Society

Civil society refers to all groups outside government such as community groups, trade and labor unions, non-governmental organizations, issue-based groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, and professional associations. Civil society expresses the interests of social groups and raises awareness of key issues in order to influence policy and decision-making. In recent decades, civil society organizations (CSOs) have been successful in shaping global policy through advocacy campaigns and mobilization of people and resources.

NDI

The increasing global trend toward democratization has opened up the political space for CSOs to play a more active role in influencing policy. Additionally, because they are frontline organizations with first-hand experience of the impact of a policy or a problem on the ground, CSOs often have information that government or political party experts do not. In this way, CSOs provide critical evidence and knowledge to the development of policy and legislation, which means that these are more likely to be effective when implemented.

According to a World Bank report (2002), "CSOs have become significant players in global development, are increasingly influencing the shape of global and national public policy [...] The growing focus among policy makers and citizens on the need for good governance and greater transparency has also opened doors for CSOs as players in the development business. Parliamentarians, media and other opinion leaders increasingly rely on CSOs for information and policy advice."

If civil society organizations are taking on a more active role in influencing politics, what makes them different from political parties? Some of the key distinctions are outlined below:

- Civil society organizations may choose whether or not they engage with the political process. Some CSOs choose not to get involved; others actively try to influence the political and public agenda. Regardless, CSOs should not be excluded from politics.
- Civil society organizations are more likely to focus on a smaller number of specific issue areas. Political parties are obliged to deal with all issues that have an impact on society.
- Political parties aspire to participate in government unlike CSOs, whose purpose is to see their agenda fulfilled by political parties in government.
- Civil society organizations can be both non-partisan and multi-partisan. When CSOs are independent, they are able to discuss and 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.

The Media

For government to be accountable, the people must be aware of what is happening in the country. This is referred to as transparency in government. The media plays a big role in providing people with information on governmental performance, what decisions are being made that affect them, how they are being made, by whom, and why. No democracy can thrive unless citizens have the information they need to make

free and informed choices. When it is fulfilling this role, the media is often referred to as the fourth branch of government.

The media – newspapers, television, radio, billboards, Internet, social media platforms, etc. – play a critical role in providing information and a space for political dialogue in a democratic state. While media takes many different forms and has a range of audiences, there are some clear roles these outlets can play to support democratic development.

- A forum for discussion of important social, economic and political questions facing a society;
- A source of information on which citizens can base the decisions they make about these questions and issues;
- A mediator between citizens and their elected representatives which provides both with platforms to express concerns, actions and positions on issues of common concern; and,
- A tool to create awareness among a diverse and geographically dispersed society.

As the paragraphs above illustrate, the degree to which media outlets are wholly independent – i.e., not controlled or used as a mechanism for political or individual agendas – can impact the quality of the political engagement in a country. The emergence of more autonomous channels, such as video uploads sites on the internet, individual blogs, and social media forums, has created important mechanisms to challenge biased media where it exists. But balancing private agendas with the vital information that citizens need to make informed choices remains an important task in many democracies.

Activity 2: Discussion on Democratic Actors

1. From the section on political parties above, review the four main functions of a political party. Think about the political parties in your own country. To what extent are they able to fulfill these functions? Think about your own political party. To what extent is it able to fulfill these functions?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. In many transitional democracies, there is already a healthy and vibrant civil society. In others, civil society is in its nascent stages, still emerging and developing. What is the situation of civil society in your country? To what extent does your political party regularly engage with civil society organizations?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. The professionalism and independence of the media can be key factors in developing an informed electorate. How do you rate the media in your country? Do you feel the media is playing a positive or negative role in the political development of your country?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

4. Which do you feel currently has more influence in your country: traditional media outlets such as television and newspapers, or newer platforms such as online blogs, social media forums, and video upload sites? Why?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Best Practices for Political Parties in a Democracy

As the discussion points in this module illustrate, the expectations for what political parties will deliver to democratic societies are pretty high. Parties are expected to organize ideas, mobilize citizens, govern effectively, raise their own resources, communicate consistently, compete in elections, solve copious societal problems and, while doing all this, consistently behave in a manner which is accountable, transparent, ethical and legal. This is a substantial list of demands for any organization.

The manner in which a political party organizes itself has a direct impact on its ability to deliver in all of these areas. The political parties which experience the most consistent level of electoral success and highest degree of public approval are those that are structured in an open manner which invites participation, and which can embrace self-reflection, constructive criticism and change.

High-functioning political parties are characterized by:

- Clearly defined roles and responsibilities, rights and powers among all levels of the party;
- Clear and transparent decision-making processes and procedures inside the party; and,
- Regular and accessible communications, both within the party and with external audiences.

A common political party structure looks something like this:

Party Convention

Central or Executive Committee

Each sector of the political party is assigned its own roles and responsibilities. Critically, each will have a role to play in how key decisions are made within the party.

Party Officers

Regional and Local Branches
Internal Groupings and Caucuses
(Youth, Women, Students, etc.)

Individual Party Members
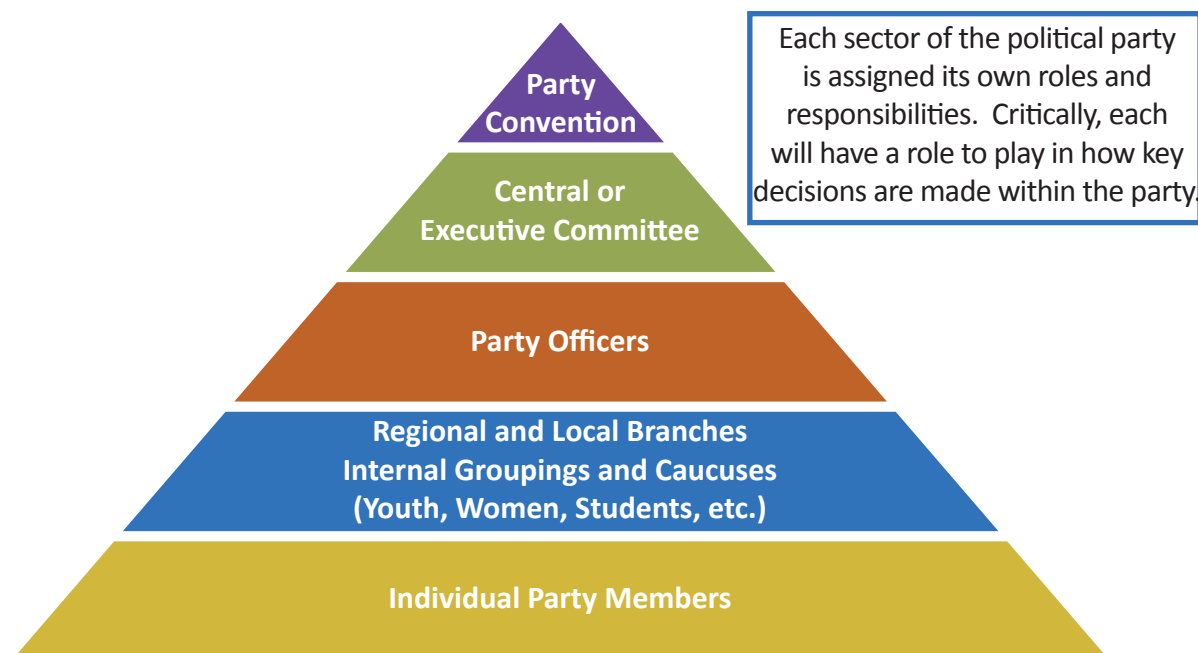
Because the internal structures of a political party affect its external behaviors, how each of these levels functions will have an impact on how successful the party can be. The organizational structures in which political leaders function impact their ability to be effective, to be creative, to be consultative and to take calculated risks.

To play a critical role in a democracy, and especially in transitional democracies, political parties must be democratic themselves. If parties do not practice and honor democratic values in their internal affairs, they are less likely to do so when they are contesting elections and governing.

Internal democracy in a political party is characterized by transparent, accountable and inclusive rules, organizational structures and processes. When applied in practice, these abstract ideals bring very real benefits to parties on the ground. Parties structured around these principles typically attract a broader base of talent in staff and volunteers and are positioned to run more effective and dynamic campaigns.

A party's commitment to democratic principles should be reflected in its written constitution, day-to-day interactions with members, and among the party's leadership and party members. Some examples of such democratic principles in action include:

- Abiding by agreed upon written rules of procedure
- Holding leaders accountable to members, for example, by creating finite terms of office and allowing members to select leaders
- Creating regular opportunities, such as membership forums and policy consultations, for members to express their views, and to do so openly and freely
- Encouraging the participation of all members
- Seeking to be fully representative of society by actively recruiting and promoting young people, women, and other less-represented groups
- Being tolerant of different political ideas and opinions among party members

How would you rate the current level of democratic practice among political parties in your country? (0% means completely undemocratic; 100% means democratic in all functions)

0%   25%   50%   75%   100%
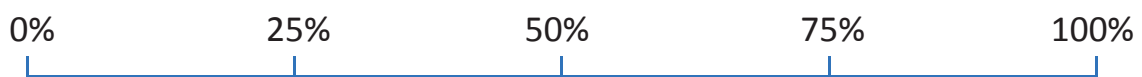
How would you rate the current level of democratic practice among your own political party? (0% means completely undemocratic; 100% means democratic in all functions)

0%   25%   50%   75%   100%
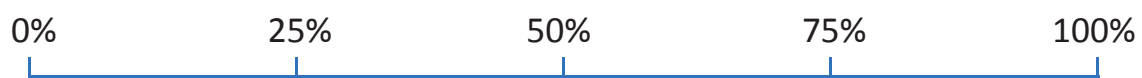
Activity 3: Triangle of Political Party Best Practices

1. Below is the Triangle of Political Party Best Practices,[4] which is a framework to help you examine how your party functions in three key areas: internal democracy, outreach and transparency. These themes are extracted from extensive observations of the characteristics that contribute to effective political parties. They are areas that provide foundations for political parties to operate sustainably over the long-term, while still maintaining the ability to achieve short-term political gains, primarily winning elections.

Party discloses and trains leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values
1   2   3   4

Party operates in distinct geographic and functional units
1   2   3   4

Members and leaders work together to develop and refine platforms and policies
1   2   3   4

Leaders and candidates are selected freely, fairly and according to party rules
1   2   3   4

Party uses open vertical and horizontal internal communication effectively
1   2   3   4

Internal Democracy

Outreach

Transparency

Party recruits members from new sectors based on solid research
1   2   3   4

Party develops targeted outreach messages and communicates them to all levels of the party
1   2   3   4

Party develops outreach communication strategies with specific tasks and responsibilities for staff and volunteers
1   2   3   4

Party uses interactive methodology to train members on recruiting new sectors
1   2   3   4

Party reports financial contributions, expenses, assets and funding sources to party members and the public
1   2   3   4

Party develops and implements monitoring strategies to ensure accountability to party members, voters and society
1   2   3   4

Independent disciplinary committees conduct investigations and sanction party members who do not follow party rules, regulations and values
1   2   3   4

Please rate your political party in each of the practices outlined in the three legs of the triangle.

1. The party does not do this
2. The party does this sometimes
3. The party does this regularly and systematically
4. The party does this regularly, systematically and with consistent improvemen

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4   National Democratic Institute (2003), *Best Practices of Effective Political Parties.*

2. How did you rate your party in Internal Democracy? _____

3. How did you rate your party in Transparency? _____

4. How did you rate your party in Outreach? _____

5. In which areas do you believe your party has demonstrated relatively good practice?
_____
_____

6. In which areas do you think there is room for improvement?
_____
_____

7. Were you surprised by any of your findings? If so, in what way?
_____
_____

Women's Participation

Creating gender balance in decision-making is a key development issue for many countries, including both long-established and newer democracies, and even in non-democratic systems. Gender balance refers to the degree to which both women and men are represented in different sectors, particularly in senior positions where power and authority are exercised and where decisions are made which impact society. Because in most cultures men vastly outnumber women in these posts, achieving gender balance focuses on actively promoting women's participation.

In politics, women's participation is more than a matter of fairness or equality; gender balance in decision-making has a direct impact on a country's stability and its ability to develop. When women share decision-making power with men at meaningful levels, countries experience a higher standard of living.[5] Positive developments can be seen in key areas, particularly education, health and infrastructure – all of which fuel economic development.

5 The tendency of women policy-makers to prioritize education, health and infrastructure in particular leads to better outcomes for citizens and a higher quality of life. This has been documented in a number of studies. See: Chen, Li-Ju (2008) "Female Policymaker and Educational Expenditure: Cross- Country Evidence." Research Papers in Economics 2008: 1 Stockholm University, department of Economics, revised, Feb 27, 2008, http://ideas.repec.org/p/hhs/sunrpe/2008_0001.html; and, UNICEF (2007) "Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality," http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/report/report.php. See also the background papers for the UNICEF report, including Beaman, L. et al. (2007) "Women Politicians, Gender Bias, and Policy-making in Rural India;" and Schwindt-Bayer, L. (2006) "Female legislators and the promotion of women, children, and family policies in Latin America," http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/schwindt_bayer.pdf.

Women are force multipliers when it comes to economic growth. Programming and services that deliver better outcomes for women, e.g., higher levels of education and literacy or lower levels of poverty, also increase the well-being of their family members, in part because women reinvest 90 percent of their wealth in their families and communities.[6]

Women's participation also results in tangible gains for democratic governance and higher levels of satisfaction among the electorate regarding how the government is performing. When there is greater gender balance in government, voters experience:

- Greater responsiveness to citizen needs;
- Increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines; and,
- In conflict situations, more sustainable peace.[7]

Women are more likely to work across party lines and strive for consensus, even in partisan and polarized environments. Peace agreements and post-conflict reconstruction have a better chance of long-term success when women are involved.[8]

There is also substantial evidence that gender-balanced decision-making bodies, including boards of governors, executive committees and judicial bodies, function better. Boards with better gender balance pay more attention to auditing their work and to controlling risk, which suggests that they may be better able to minimize corruption and financial mismanagement.[9]

Political parties that take women's participation seriously stand to gain on a number of fronts. Most significantly, women voters outnumber men voters in most countries simply because women tend to live longer than men. As such, women voters have the potential to deliver the margin of victory in many elections for parties that take their issues seriously.

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6 By contrast, research suggests that men reinvest 30-40% of their wealth in their families and communities. See Half the Sky Movement, www.halftheskymovement.org

7 Strickland, R. and N. Duvvury (2003), "Gender Equity and Peacebuilding: From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way." International Center for Research on Women, http://www.icrw.org/docs/gender_peace_report_0303.pdf; Powley, E. (2003) "Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition," Women Waging Peace and The Policy Institute, Hunt Alternatives Fund, http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/10_strengthening_governance_ the_role_of_women_in_rwanda_s_transition.pdf; International Crisis Group (2006), "Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peacebuilding in Sudan, Congo and Uganda" in *Crisis Group Africa Report N°112*; Women for Women International (2007), "Stronger Women, Stronger Nations 2007 Kosovo Report," http://www.womenforwomen.org/news-women-for-women/files/8254_Kosovo_Report_Spreads.FINAL_000.pdf.

8 Ibid.

9 There is substantial evidence on this point, primarily from the private sector. See coverage of the Association of British Insurer's report on effective boards, http://www.ivis.co.uk/PDF/ABI_1684_v6_CS4.pdf and the European Union report (2012), *Women in Economic Decision Making in the EU*, pg. 7, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/women-on-boards_en.pdf

To achieve these gains, political parties must look for women's participation to be both quantitative (in sufficient numbers around 50 percent) and qualitative (women must be given genuine power and authority, not just be there to fill a quota or make the party look like it's sympathetic to issues affecting women).

In most countries there are no legal barriers to women standing for election. Women's under-representation is a result of other obstacles such as candidate selection processes and the dominant political environment, which is less likely to value their contribution or accommodate their needs. Women are less likely to be selected as candidates or to have access to the resources necessary to run a competitive campaign.

For most political parties, genuinely committing to women's participation requires a fair amount of self-reflection, internal review and significant change.

Activity 4: Internal Audit on Women's Participation

1. Think about your own political party. How many women are in the party's senior leadership? Do they play a significant role in decision-making? Do they have the same level of power and authority as their male peers?

    _____
    _____

2. What is your party's candidate selection process? Do you consider it gender blind? Are specific mechanisms used to recruit women as candidates? Are women given viable positions on party lists or selected in constituencies where the party has a chance of winning?

    _____
    _____

3. How many elected women parliamentarians do you have, and what percentage of your party's MPs are women? How many of them hold senior posts within the party's parliamentary caucus or the legislature itself?

    _____
    _____

4. How many women elected officials does the party have at the regional or local level, and what percentage of the party's elected officials are women?

    _____
    _____

5. Does your party have recruitment and advancement mechanisms for women, such as training programs or outreach campaigns focused on bringing women into the party?

_____
_____

6. Does your party have a mechanism for policy development focused specifically on issues affecting women?

_____
_____

7. Does your party have a women's wing? If so, does it have its own budget? Does it have the authority and autonomy to make its own decisions?

_____
_____

8. The six most common barriers to women's participation are listed below. Review them and consider whether your political party has any specific mechanisms or programs to address these barriers.

Childcare/Caring Responsibilities – Women are much more likely to be the primary caregivers of children and to carry most of the household responsibilities. This may mean that they simply don't have time for politics. When women are able to enter politics and take on those additional duties, their workload at home often stays the same, creating overwhelming demands on their time.

Cash – The cost of a viable campaign can be prohibitive for many women. Worldwide, women's financial earnings do not match those of men. In situations where women are also expected to be the primary caregivers, women candidates may have the additional cost of childcare or household support, making time away from families to campaign even more expensive or unaffordable.

Confidence – Women are less likely to perceive themselves as qualified for political office, even though they may have the same abilities as male peers, and are also less likely to receive encouragement to pursue positions of political leadership.

Culture – Cultural barriers to women's political participation exist both in society and within political parties. There may be societal expectations for women that make it difficult for them to be perceived as political leaders. Additionally, the culture within political parties and the accepted norms of behavior can make them uncomfortable places for women. Political meetings may be held in locations where women feel – or are – excluded, or they may be held at times that are unsuitable for those with caring responsibilities, or unsafe times for women to travel.

Class – Social and economic class can be a barrier to women's political participation. There is often an expectation that politicians will have a degree of formal education and social status; less value can be placed on life experience and practical skills. These expectations can impede the ascent of women, particularly those with fewer official educational qualifications, those from a poorer or economically deprived background, and those from rural areas.

Candidate Selection Processes – Candidate selection processes have the single greatest impact on a woman's ability to stand for office and be elected. Confidence and childcare become irrelevant for campaigning and holding office if a woman cannot make it through a candidate selection process with any chance of being elected.

Youth Participation

Today's generation of young people is the largest in history. By 2015, nearly half the world's population – more than three billion people – will be under the age of 25.[10] Young people are the fastest growing segment of the population in countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), with children and young people under the age of 25 comprising about 60 percent of the current population. The median age of the total population in the region is 22 years, compared with the global average of 28.[11]

These numbers are a serious call to action for political parties worldwide, particularly in the MENA region:

- Political parties must view young people as an asset who can make significant contributions to the growth, development and stability of their countries. However, they require the appropriate support and investment to achieve their potential.
- The policy needs of children and young people must be taken seriously by political parties and lawmakers. For example, it is projected that the MENA region will require more than 51 million new jobs by 2020 to employ these young people, whose current rate of unemployment is more than twice that of the rest of the adult population.[12] This will be a particular challenge as more than 100 million of these young people currently do not attend school.
- This large population of young people must be perceived as representing new ideas, new energy and new opportunities, and not as a problem to be contained or controlled.

Political parties that seize the opportunity offered by this large population of young people stand to gain substantially in the coming years, in terms of electoral support and increased membership. Acting on the issues which affect young people is also likely to lead to more success in governing.

Maximizing the potential of young people starts with recruiting them as political party members. From there, the opportunities that parties offer to young people will have a direct impact on whether or not they become active members, or chose to stay as members. The more a party implements an internal merit-based system for promotion within the party – rather than expecting young people to quietly wait their turn for leadership opportunities behind older members who have been their longer, regardless of ability – the more likely it is that the party will retain young people as members and supporters, and benefit from their energies and talents.

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10 UK Department for International Development (2010), Youth Participation in Development, pg. 7, see http://www. ygproject.org/

11 George Mason University, Children and Youth in History website, http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/primary-sources/424

12 Ibid.

Activity 5: Opportunities for Young People

1. Consider the situation of young people in your country. What do you think political parties, and especially your own party, should be doing to get young people more actively involved? Write down your ideas below.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Check the list you have made with some of the options listed here. Political parties can help young people become more actively involved in politics by:

    - Developing an outreach message specifically for young people, based on surveys and research about what young people say is important to them
    - Initiating a membership recruitment campaign focused specifically on young people
    - Building the skills of younger members through training and educational opportunities
    - Creating opportunities for young people to learn and practice leadership skills
    - Creating a merit-based system of promotion and advancement within the party, so that young people are not simply expected to "wait their turn in line"
    - Creating policy mechanisms which survey the needs of children and young people and develop specific program options for addressing these
    - Building wings or networks within the party for young people to support one another and develop their own ideas and proposals
    - Recruiting and preparing young people as candidates, campaign managers, heads of party branches and spokespeople

Activity 6: Internal Audit on Youth Participation

Ask yourself the following questions about your party's current approach to working with young people.

1. Does your party have a youth wing and/or a student wing? If so, does it have its own budget? Does it have the authority and autonomy to make its own decisions? Is it represented in the executive of the party?

    _____
    _____
    _____

2. How does your party define youth? What is the cut off age to belong to the youth wing? Is it applied to the leadership of the youth wing? Does this genuinely represent a youthful age, or are people well beyond their youth involved?

    _____
    _____
    _____

3. What are some of the priorities for youth in your party?

    _____
    _____
    _____

4. What are the barriers or obstacles to youth participation in your party?

    _____
    _____
    _____

Elections in a Democracy

An election is a decision made by voting. In political elections, the eligible population of voters makes important decisions about what should happen in their country. All of the political parties, political leaders, and authority figures in the country are expected to respect those decisions.

In an election that is considered free and fair, there are no barriers to people expressing their political opinions at the ballot box. Voters can choose whichever candidates or political parties they trust most to speak on their behalf and to deliver for the country, without fear of reprisal or retribution.

The foundation for democratic elections is based in international standards. Article 21 of the Declaration of Human Rights states:[13]

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will (of the people) shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

For an election to be democratic, represent the true wishes of the people, and be viewed as legitimate, certain conditions must be met which include:

- A real choice of and competition among political parties and candidates;
- Freedom for parties and candidates to campaign in the election and communicate their ideas and platforms;
- The existence of rules that govern the election, which are known and respected by all participants and available to everyone;
- The presence of an individual or institution that administers the rules, supervised by an independent judicial body to ensure that complaints are handled fairly;
- Strong legal procedures to protect against corruption or violence that may occur when people register to vote, attend a political meeting, or cast their vote; and,
- Efforts to educate citizens on why it is important for them to vote, as well as to know the choice of candidates and how to vote.

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13   http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html

Therefore, the guiding principles of elections are the following:

The Guiding Principles of Elections	
Representation	When citizens cast their vote for a candidate, they are giving that person the right to represent their interests in government. This right is not given without responsibilities; it is given under the assumption that the individual in government will act responsibly and will to the best of his/her abilities truly represent the constituent's interest.
Transparency	It is important that the mechanisms of the electoral system be as transparent as possible and known to both voters and political parties and candidates well in advance in order to avoid confusion and distrust in the results they produce at elections.
Inclusiveness	The electoral system will have a greater chance of being accepted as fair and legitimate if it is considered to be inclusive of all groups in society. This means not only that the electoral law allows as many citizens as possible to vote (this includes universal suffrage, making sure that the system is easily understandable, and assuring access for all to the polling station), but also that the mechanisms of the electoral system do not overtly discriminate against any one group in society, minority or otherwise.

To ensure that these principles are met, the state has an obligation to pass, implement and enforce legislation which guarantees a number of conditions. These include that:

- Each and every citizen of legal age has the right to participate as a voter and as a candidate no matter what his or her class, caste, tribe, gender, or religion;
- Elections take place at regular intervals, so that people can review or change their choice of governing party;
- The voting procedure gives everyone the right to a vote, maintains the secrecy of the ballot and ensures all cast ballots are accurately counted; and,
- An election management body, which is recognized as neutral and free of political influence, controls the operation of elections. This may be a stand-alone commission or part of a government agency as long as it functions independently and without prejudice. Members of the body should be trustworthy members of the community. Anyone should be able to complain to the body about election irregularities. The body should act quickly and fairly and everyone should respect its decisions.

Once the conditions and standards for democratic elections are met, there is still the important matter of who actually competes in the election! Political parties and candidates, and the ideas and proposals they bring to the debate, play a crucial role in the vitality of a democratic system. They're frequently organized in the following manner:

Elements of an Election	
Competitors	The types of competitors in an election will depend on the electoral system, but include either political parties, individual candidates, or independent candidates, or a combination of these. **Political Parties –** Political parties are groupings of individuals who share similar ideas on how the country should be run. Whether voters cast votes for a political party or individual candidates depends on the system of election. **Candidates –** Candidates are those people who stand for election either as individuals or on a party list, depending on the system of election. **Independent Candidates –** Independent candidates are those individuals who stand for election without the backing of a political party.
Issues and Ideas	The issues and ideas surrounding an election are addressed in the proposals, platforms or manifestos offered to the electorate by the political parties and candidates.
Registration and Voting Processes	It is vital that all eligible voters know how to register to vote in advance of an election, and how to cast their ballot on election day.
Electoral Rules	The rules governing an election can address a number of areas, including: the length of the official campaign; how the election will be administered and monitored, and who will take on these tasks; how votes will be counted; how much money parties can spend on their campaigns; the role of the media; the role of the police and security forces; and, rules on advertising and media coverage.
Voters	Voters are the citizens who select the officials who will represent them. Voters must meet the legal requirements for voting in terms of age, residency or citizenship, and be registered to vote in time for the election.

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 2
Leadership Styles and Skills
What Makes a Good Leader?

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

**CAMPAIGN
SCHOOLS**

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

Researchers have identified more than 350 definitions of leadership in academic literature. What makes or defines a leader remains a subject of debate, even after years of study.

A common working definition is that leaders are those who establish direction for a working group of individuals, who gain commitment from group members to this direction, and who then motivate these members to achieve the direction's outcomes.

However, we know that in politics, there is much more to it than that, particularly in countries undergoing a political transition. What does it take to manage this type of change? If a party or movement is new, what type of leadership is needed? If a party is more established but has been kept out of power or been unable to win an election, what will be needed to show that it is ready to govern and lead? If a party has been in power for awhile but is now facing very different expectations from citizens, what skills do candidates and party leaders need to demonstrate?

This module explores the common traits of leaders operating in political environments and looks at the skills that contemporary leaders need to strengthen and develop in order to create stable, competitive political parties. Topics include:

1. What is Leadership?
2. The Leadership Spectrum
3. Leadership and Politics
4. Leadership Selection
5. Leadership vs. Management
6. Emotional Intelligence

What is Leadership? _____

Activity 1: Traits of Effective Leaders

1. Think of someone, living or dead, who you think is or was a good leader. They can be from any aspect of life – sports, business, politics, your own family or friends, etc. What do you think are the skills, abilities or character traits which make this person a good leader? Why?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. Do you think leaders are simply born that way or do they become good leaders as a result of their experiences and opportunities?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

Activity 2: Effective Leaders

Effective leaders are those who can clearly define goals that their teams need to achieve, and actually reach or obtain those goals in a reasonable amount of time.

1. What do you think are the characteristics of an effective leader? Write down 3.

    _____
    _____
    _____

2. What do you think are the characteristics of an effective team? Write down 3.

    _____
    _____
    _____

3. What are your strengths as a leader? Write down at least 3.

    _____
    _____
    _____

4.   What are your strengths as a member of a team? Write down at least 3.

_____

_____

_____

Activity 3: Leadership Inventory

Review your answers to the questions in the previous activities. How many of the characteristics listed below appeared in your list of either great leaders (Activity 1) or your own strengths as a leader (Activity 2)? Tick the box next to any of the characteristics you would add to your lists.

☐   Charismatic   ☐   Good communicator
☐   Visionary   ☐   Trusted
☐   Persuasive   ☐   Influential
☐   Instills or inspires loyalty   ☐   Honest
☐   Decisive   ☐   Ethical
☐   Intelligent   ☐   Strong
☐   Independent   ☐   Likeable
☐   Good networker   ☐   Passionate
☐   Motivates others   ☐   Purposeful or focused
☐   Flexible

Research on leadership indicates that successful leaders in politics tend to have several common traits, although the manner in which these are applied in practice depends on the local context and environment. For example, strength (which takes the form of dominance and self-confidence in the list below) is present in all successful political leaders, but is manifested in different ways depending on cultural norms.

Common traits among successful political leaders include:

Dominance	Naturally able to assert power or control, or command the attention of others
Self-Confidence	Strong belief in oneself
High energy	Capable of achieving a higher number of tasks and working long hours than the average person
High level of task relevant knowledge	Knows and understands a lot about the areas he or she must manage

Intelligent and naturally curious	Always eager to know or learn something new Political leaders are often particularly good at abstract thinking, which involves seeing multiple possibilities and options for any idea or concept, and have strong analytical abilities
Effective communicator	There are many ways to be a good communicator, but in politics this frequently involves delivering messages in such a way that they are easily understood by the target audience
Comfortable in his or her own company	Many good political leaders are comfortable being alone, which gives them time to reflect and learn
Purpose or focus	Knows why she or he is in politics and has a sense of what she or he wants to achieve

Activity 4: Traits of Political Leaders

1. Consider the list of common traits of political leaders above. Do you think this is a list that accurately reflects what is required in the political environment in which you operate? Are there changes you would make to this list?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. Consider the last trait on the list above, "purpose or focus." What calls you to serve as a political leader? What do you think are the most important principlesfor political leaders to uphold?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

The Leadership Spectrum

Leadership is something we engage in throughout our lives. Even though when we are asked to name a great leader we may think of someone who led a nation or changed the course of history, leadership is not always exercised on such a grand scale.

We lead when we coach a football team or teach a classroom of children. We lead our own children when we are parents. We lead when we organize a family wedding or mediate a conflict in our community. We lead when we vote.

Despite its constant presence in our lives, leadership can be difficult to define. The simplest interpretation that there are essentially two kinds of leaders: those who are controlling and those who are laisser-faire. Controlling leaders are individuals who seek to hold power and control as tightly as possible, to make all the decisions themselves and send commands for others to follow. Laissez-faire leaders are more consultative, seeking to give everyone a say in the best course of action and 'figure it out for themselves.'

Such limited options would leave leaders with very few choices of how to handle the multitude of complex situations they encounter on a regular basis. Consider leaders in politics for a moment. What if, for example, he or she had to manage a significant change within the political party? What if he or she had to deal with a natural disaster that profoundly affected the country? What if he or she had to completely overhaul the health care system? What if he or she had to deal with conflict or instability within the legislature, or divisions within the party, or a strike among public sector workers? Consider moments in your own life where you have exercised leadership. Would either of these leadership styles be a good match for these situations, or are both insufficient?

What if, instead, there were actually many more options along the spectrum of leadership styles from which to choose? Consider the following:

Controlling — Directing · Coaching · Supporting · Delegating — **Laisser-faire**

Transformational Leadership

This modified spectrum merges traditional understandings of leadership, with two more contemporary models of how leaders can approach their work: situational leadership and transformational leadership.

Situational leadership suggests that effective leaders should have the skills and abilities which permit him or her to adopt a different style or approach, depending on the situation she or he is facing.[1] This creates more options for leaders and supports the need for strong leaders to be both flexible and self-aware.

Flexibility means that a leader can read a situation and respond to the particular needs of that situation, whatever dynamics are at play, and not remain rigid or unresponsive. *Self-awareness* requires a leader to know what his or her strengths are, so that if a situation calls for skills they do not possess, they can call in others to help or support them. Both of these abilities require a high level of emotional intelligence, which is discussed later in this module.

Transformational leaders are those who work closely with those whom they lead to achieve a higher level of morale, motivation and performance. This interaction starts off with the leader being very closely involved in the work of his or her team, then gradually pulling away as systems start to work and team members become more autonomous and capable.

A transformative leader inspires subordinates to work for something more than just self-gain. This type of leader encourages team members to use innovation and initiative to challenge the status quo and achieve new types of success, and builds consensus and support for the team's goals and vision.

Effective leaders can use various degrees of the four approaches, which are mapped out on the spectrum, for achieving this transformation and growth within a team. From the left to the right side of the diagram above, these methods start with the leader being highly involved in the team's work, then gradually less so as capacity and confidence grow.

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1   Based on the work of Ken Blanchard and Paul Hersey.

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Directing   Leaders define the roles and tasks of team members, and supervise them closely. Decisions are made by the leader and announced, so communication is largely one-way.

Coaching   Leaders still define roles and tasks, but seek ideas and suggestions from team members. Decisions remain the leader's prerogative, but communication is much more two-way.

Supporting   Leaders pass day-to-day decisions, such as task allocation and processes, to team members. The leader facilitates and takes part in decisions, but control is now largely with the team itself.

Delegating   Leaders are still involved in decisions and problem-solving, but control is with the team. The team decides when and how the leader will be involved.

Focus On: Gender Balance in Leadership

The evidence supporting gender balance in decision-making is compelling. Countries simply do better when men and women share power. In order to benefit from this, more women need to be supported to enter leadership positions.

Female leaders have many of the same qualities as their male colleagues, especially an ability to set high goals and inspire others to fulfill them. But women are different in some particular ways that make them valuable additions to decision-making teams.

In a two-year study conducted by the Alabama Women's Initiative Inc., researchers examined the impact a female voice can have on leadership. Findings included:

- Women tend to lead in an all-encompassing manner emphasizing teamwork and involving others, while being thorough, and making decisions based on principle

- Women tended to score higher on their abilities in producing work and attaining results

- Women tended to score higher on people-oriented leadership skills, such as increasing self-confidence among team members, creating a supportive work environment and generating higher levels of work satisfaction within teams

- For general leadership effectiveness, bosses rated men and women as equally effective, while peers and direct reports rated women slightly higher than men

Management Research Group study of 900 male & female managers

Activity 5: Situational Leadership

Review the descriptions below. Then, think back to the Leadership Spectrum in this section, as well as your own experiences with leadership. What do you think the best leadership approach would be to address each situation? What would you do?

1. You are the leader of the party in government. The head of the budget office has just been to see you. She informed you that in two month's time there will not be enough money in the public accounts to pay salaries for government employees,

including teachers, civil servants, health workers and civil police. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

2. You are the head of the youth wing of a newly-formed political party that is facing its first ever elections. There are more than 20 political parties competing in the elections in six weeks and the voters are already confused. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

3. You are a member of the executive board of a political party. The party's leader has just been forced to resign after a newspaper reporter revealed that he used illegal donations to the party from foreign businessmen to buy a boat for himself. The paper printed pictures of him on the boat with a woman who was not his wife. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

4. You are one of 10 women in a parliament with almost 200 men. You are not being given any leadership positions within the party or within the parliament. You are struggling to get your voice heard during plenary sessions. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

5. You are the leader of a political party in opposition. There has been a disaster: 300 factory workers were killed when the building in which they were working caught fire. All the doors were chained shut so they could not escape. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

Leadership and Politics

There are many types of leaders in society, including community leaders, religious leaders, and business leaders. Leaders emerge in sports, medicine, academia, science, and the arts and in all social and cultural aspects of life. Like political leaders, these individuals can exercise power and influence over large groups, and often do so for longer periods of time than political leaders.

However, in practice, political leadership is broader than any other field. A political leader is expected to be able to manage vast issue areas from foreign affairs to public health, from economic development to social well-being, from culture, art and sports to education and training. Political leaders are expected to run organizations that can compete in elections (political parties) and deliver key services to citizens effectively (through government departments and agencies); to meet the immediate collective needs of society and paint a vision for the future; and to build a strong economy and manage public funds. The demands and expectations placed on political leaders, therefore, frequently exceed those for leaders in any other domain of society.

The process of political leadership is circular and constant. Political leaders continuously move in a cycle of problem-solving and motivation, and endeavor to pull the support and participation of citizens into that energy.

The Circular Process of Political Leadership

Solutions for Collective Problems

Motivation

Change and Transition

Identity and Purpose

Vision

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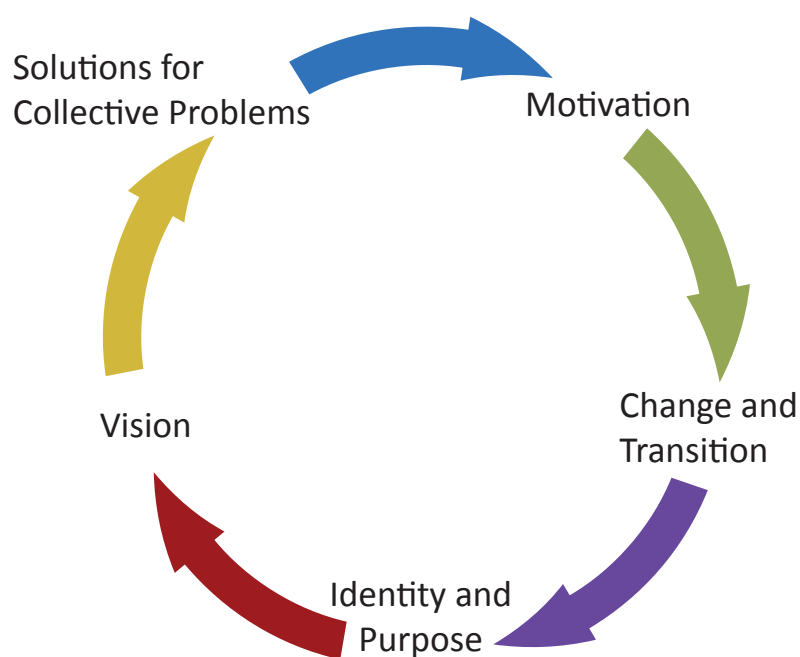
There are three ways that political leaders can attempt to influence groups or individuals to participate in or support what they are trying to achieve throughout this cycle. These are: power, payment or persuasion.[2]

Power → to exert one's authority over another, sometimes by force
Payment → to offer material or financial goods in exchange for support
Persuasion → to induce someone to undertake a course of action or embrace a point of view by means of argument, reasoning, or entreaty

All three of these choices are options for leaders, but the one that is most sustainable and has the most enduring positive impact on an individual's leadership is persuasion. Power and payment can work, but they are typically only effective for short periods of time. Money runs out; power can too. When a leader is able to convince people to embrace an opinion or course of action using persuasion, the support is more enduring, more sincere and less costly. For individuals and movements newer to political life, power and payment may not be options, but persuasion is available to all.

Managing Change

The ubiquitous challenge for political party leaders is to balance sustainability and power. Like any organization or institution, political parties require a certain amount of stability in order to strengthen and grow. Ironically, in the case of political parties, this stability actually comes from a form of constant change: parties are renewed and strengthened by continuously bringing in new people and new ideas which energize the party and make it more competitive. This dynamic clearly also generates a continual degree of disruption.

The same is equally true when political parties take on the role of legislating either as party in government or opposition. The objective in these positions is to introduce a policy agenda that will advance a specific vision for the country. These ideas will unavoidably generate a degree of debate and disruption to the status quo.

In order to handle this cycle of persistent disruption and nurture a vibrant political party, leaders need power, authority and the ability to effectively manage change. Managing change is one of the most challenging tasks for any leader.

It is estimated that in a typical workplace, when significant change is introduced 30 percent of workers will be prepared to participate in the change without question, 40 percent can be persuaded to participate with the right type of engagement, and 30 percent will have to be pressured to comply. In every situation where society is

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2 Taken from Gary Orren's work on Persuasion, JFK School of Government, Harvard University.

undergoing a political change, there will be a certain amount of acceptance and a certain amount of resistance, and some of that resistance will be strong.

Resistance comes from four very human reactions to change:

1. **Fear**
   Fear that something of value may be lost: jobs, income, status, personal power or freedom, relationships, etc.

   Fear of not being able to cope with the new situation

2. **Feelings of threat, uncertainty or insecurity**
   This stems from suspicions about whose interests are really being served by the changes

3. **Different assessments or opinions of what the changes will mean**
   There may be conflicting opinions or information of the costs, benefits, losses or dangers from the changes

4. **Low tolerance for change**
   Some people will be comfortable with or prefer the present arrangements; other people simply don't like change and don't want to shift to different jobs, behaviours, relationships, etc.

If change is significant, representing a completely different way of doing things, some people will react as if responding to a serious loss. Reactions to major changes can follow a pattern similar to the one mapped on the graph below:

The curve labeled "Self-Esteem" (vertical axis) against "Time" (horizontal axis), with stages: Shock, Denial, Blaming Others, Self-Doubt, Confusion, Acceptance, Problem-Solving.
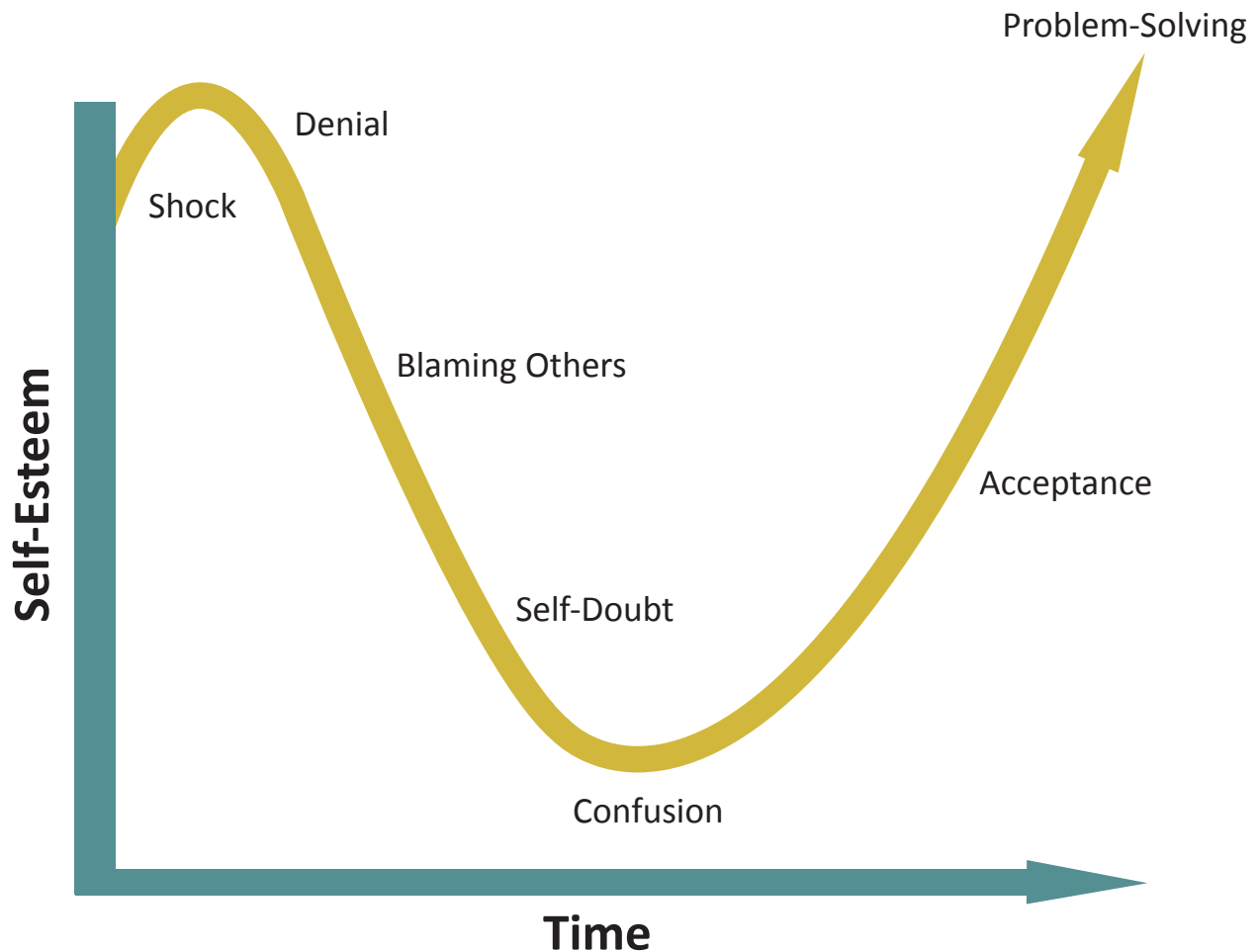
Successful leaders manage the fear and reactions caused by change by using two key tools: communication and participation.

Communication   Clear and regular communication about what the change is, why it is being introduced, how it will be implemented and what the final results will look like should help mitigate concerns and address the rumors and misinformation that can flourish in such a situation--particularly when leaders are not providing enough information.

Participation   Those most affected by the proposed change should have an opportunity to provide their views and, if appropriate, help shape the final proposal or product. This type of consultation allows stakeholders to have their opinions heard and gives them a degree of control over the outcomes, which can help to create a higher degree of comfort with the change and lower levels of resistance.

Activity 6: Managing Change

1.   Think of a change that has recently been implemented in your country. How do you think the relevant leaders handled or are handling the introduction of this change?

_____
_____
_____
_____

2.   Think of a specific change related to politics or policy that you think needs to be introduced in your country. This could be anything from the manner in which your political party raises money, to the way the school system operates, to the mechanism for calculating votes. How do you think this change should be managed? If you were in charge of the change, what would you do? How would you rate your own abilities as a manager of change?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Leadership Selection within Political Parties

How leadership is selected is a sensitive issue for many political parties. Leadership contests can create divisions within a party, more so if the rules for selection are not clear or favor one faction more than another.

Leadership in this discussion includes the selection of the single head of a political party, as well as other senior officials such as the party chair, executive committee members, leader of the parliamentary caucus, and any other positions which impact how the party makes decisions and exercises power.

The graph below summarizes the ways in which political parties frequently select their leaders. As the arrow moves from left to right, the processes become more democratic.

The leader selects who the leader will be

An executive committee selects who the leader will be

Some members are included in the leadership selection process

All members are involved in the leadership selection process

Less democratic

More democratic
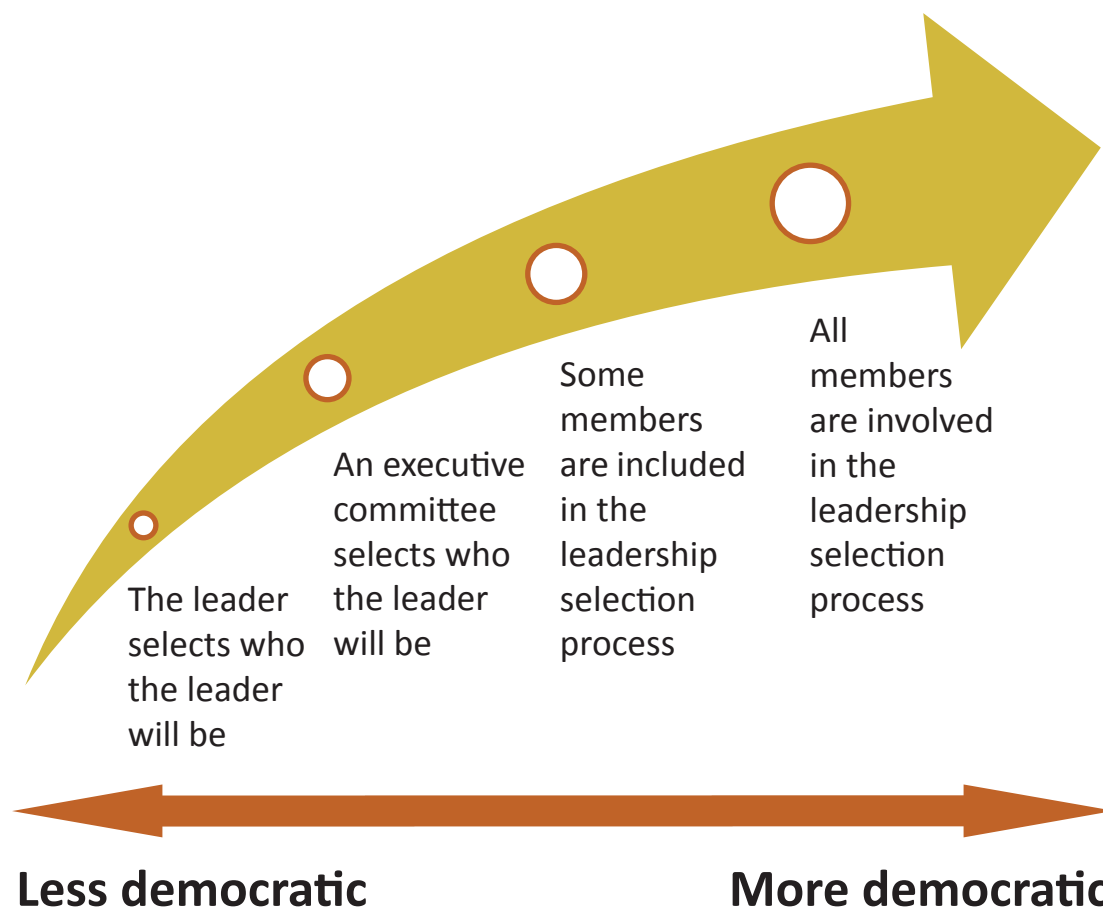
In practice, there are multiple methods which political parties use to select leaders. In some parties, whoever the leader is simply chooses his own successor with little discussion or debate. Other parties form ad hoc committees or set up special elections in which only the party's parliamentarians, senior party members or members who

meet specific criteria have the right to vote. Several parties filter candidates for the leadership internally, and then allow members to make the final decision either in a general ballot or at party conference.

Each approach to leadership selection has its potential benefits, as well as potential to do damage to the party as an organization. These are summarized in the table below:

	Potential Benefits	Potential Damage
Less democratic leadership selection processes	Tend to be faster, so there are shorter periods of uncertainty and transition Less likely to create internal rifts or divisions within the party over succession Less expensive	Create a perceptions of a less democratic and potentially more corrupt organization Over time, members can become frustrated and express annoyance over their lack of involvement, and potentially abandon the party
More democratic leadership selection processes	Can create greater sense of member involvement, and build interest in the party and loyalty to the party Can deliver more sustainable leadership with stronger internal support Can create a positive image for the party	If leadership contests are drawn-out or divisive, can create a negative image for the party and lead to divisions within the party Tend to take more time, creating longer periods of uncertainty and transition Can be more expensive
No leadership selection process (current leader stays until he or she decides to leave)	Longer periods of certainty over who's in charge	No individual, family or faction can hold power forever; when challenge and change does come, it tends to be highly traumatic and weaken the party Contributes to strong perceptions of corruption and power for personal gain

NDI

However he or she is selected, the leader of a political party has a direct impact on how attractive the party is to voters, so parties seeking to win elections typically look for a leader with broad appeal. Although it can be difficult for some leaders to let go of power, if the party can no longer win elections (assuming there are elections), or if the party as an organization is beginning to fail, these may serve as compelling arguments for leaders who are no longer successful to step down, or for others within the party to challenge their leadership.

Generally speaking, if a political party's leadership selection processes are transparent, changes in leadership tend to be smoother and create less trauma for the party as an organization. Transparency means operating in such a way that is easy for others to see what the party is doing, what choices are being made, and how the party is operating. Because there is a higher level of oversight, information sharing and awareness, transparent practices typically lead to more ethical behaviors within organizations.

There are a number of standards for transparency for political parties, but in reality the most powerful standard is public perception. If voters believe that a political party is corrupt and operating in an unethical manner, then the impression will stick until the party actively seeks to change it.

So, even though less democratic leadership selection processes tend to be faster and less likely to foster internal battles for power within the party, over time they create frustration for members and citizens, and an enduring public perception that the party has something to hide or problems it needs to control.

Activity 7: Leadership Selection

Consider the following questions:

1. How are leaders chosen in your political party?
   _____
   _____

2. Does any party document describe these rules? If so, which one? Who has access to it?
   _____
   _____

3. Who is eligible to hold leadership positions?
   _____
   _____

4. Are there any restrictions on running for a leadership position? If money is required, where does this money come from and where does it go?

_____
_____

5. Are youth, women or members of other less-represented groups actively encouraged to stand for leadership positions?

_____
_____

6. Are internal elections independently monitored?

_____
_____

7. What recommendations would you suggest to party leaders to make leadership selection more democratic in your party?

_____
_____

Leadership vs. Management

As noted earlier, political leaders are expected to have a vast portfolio of talents. Not only do they need to be capable of providing vision and direction for a country, region or locality, they must also be able to run and manage agencies and organizations.

The tasks of leading and of managing are distinct yet complementary.[3] Leaders lead people; managers manage tasks. Managers have subordinates; leaders have followers or supporters. Many people are both a leader and manager at the same time, especially in politics.

Whereas aspects of leadership may come naturally to some, management skills are more likely to be learned. It is therefore important to distinguish the skills associated with leadership from those of management.

☐ Management is about coping with complexity or bringing order to a situation. It involves:
  - Planning, budgeting, organizing, staffing, controlling processes and developments, creating systems for communication and solving problems.
  - Management deals with ongoing day-to-day complexities in an organization.
  - Managers must create a positive, supportive climate which is conducive to creative and productive work

☐ Leadership is about setting direction, supporting people, coping with change, and providing motivation. It involves:
  - Motivating, coaching, empowering, building relationships, creating a shared vision and communicating that vision.
  - Leadership includes effectively orchestrating important change, as well as envisioning and creating a positive future.
  - Leaders must create motivation and loyalty among team members and an aspiration to achieve a shared vision.

Activity 8: Leadership vs. Management

1. Consider each of the statements below. Put an L or an M on the line after each statement to indicate whether you think the statement best describes the role of a leader (L) or a manager (M).[4] When you are finished, discuss your answers with the group and explain your choices.

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3   John P. Kotter, What Leaders Really do, Harvard University Press, 1990
4   Eureka! Leadership Program, the InfoPeople Project,
http://infopeople.org/sites/all/files/past/2007/eureka/Ex1_Leadership_vs_Management.pdf

a. Provides structure _____
b. Uses imagination _____
c. Asks what and why _____
d. Administers _____
e. Inspires trust _____
f. Gives answers _____
g. Keeps an eye on the budget (income and expenses)_____
h. Does the right thing _____
i. Uses common sense _____
j. Creates vision and meaning for the organization _____
k. Asks how and when _____
l. Provides support _____
m. Has an eye on the future _____
n. Does things right _____
o. Formulates long-term objectives for change _____
p. Acts within the established culture of the organization _____
q. Asks questions _____
r. Innovates _____
s. Relies on control _____

2. Try to come up with three statements that describe a leader and three statements that describe a manager.

A leader . . .

a. _____
b. _____
c. _____

A manager…

a. _____
b. _____
c. _____

Emotional Intelligence

What makes a good leader is a question often asked in business and politics alike. As the previous sections of this module have illustrated, there are different styles and types of leadership, yet recent research has shown that the most effective leaders have one similarity: they have a high level of what is called *emotional intelligence* (EI).[5]

The case for emotional intelligence argues that conventional intelligence (often referred to as IQ, or *intelligence quotient*), formal education and technical skills are important, but that they offer too limited a menu for what is needed for real, effective leadership.

The essential premise of emotional intelligence is that to be successful, a leader must be fully aware of and able to control and manage his or her own emotions, and must have the effective empathy skills that allow him or her to read and respond to the emotions of others. The five skills associated with emotional intelligence are:[6]

- *Self-awareness:* knowing your strengths, weaknesses, values, moods, emotions and impact on others
- *Self-regulation:* controlling or managing emotions and thinking before acting
- *Motivating yourself:* appreciating achievement for what it is – a passion to work that goes beyond money or status
- *Empathy:* understanding other people's emotional nature and responding to people according to their emotional reactions
- *Managing relationships:* building connections with others, networking, and finding common ground to move them in specific directions

The first three components of EI are self-management skills, while the last two are concerned with a person's ability to manage relationships with others.

Emotional intelligence can be thought of as the extent to which individuals actively use emotions such as trust, confidence and inspiration to produce better performance, both from themselves, and importantly for a leader, from those around them.

Emotional intelligence is about knowing yourself better so that you can relate better to others personally and professionally. It's about building and understanding the key relationships which are vital for success.

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5. Daniel Goleman, *What Makes a Leader?* Harvard University Press, June 1996
6. Ibid.

The recipe for a strong leader therefore is combination of intellectual ability, technical skills, and emotional intelligence. We are all born with certain levels of EI skills, but can strengthen them through constant practice, feedback, and coaching. The hallmarks of strong EI skills in practice include:

- Integrity
- Strong drive to achieve
- Effectiveness in leading change
- Persuasiveness
- Self-confidence
- Openness to change
- Cross-cultural sensitivity
- Expertise in building and retaining talent
- Comfort with ambiguity
- Trustworthiness and integrity
- Service to others
- Expertise in building and leading teams

Activity 9: **Emotional Intelligence**

Additional materials from a trainer or facilitator will be provided to further explore the topic of emotional intelligence and begin the discovery of your own emotional intelligence quotient (EQ).

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 3
Research, Strategy and Targeting
Preparing the Strategic Foundation for Your Campaign

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

**CAMPAIGN
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Introduction

Election campaigns are exciting opportunities for candidates and political parties to evaluate what it is they are truly offering the people of their country, and to strengthen their relationships with voters. The better a campaign team or political party plans and prepares for an election, the more it will gain and the stronger it will become.

This module focuses on the tools needed to answer the core questions of any campaign: how many votes will it take to win, and exactly where will the campaign find this support? Answers to these questions can be determined through certain types of research and strategic analysis. Candidates, campaign managers, and political parties must conduct research and analysis in advance of an election in order to manage resources effectively and maximize voter support.

The content of this module includes techniques to calculate the number of votes that a candidate or party will need in order to win on election day, as well as systems to determine where to go to find those votes. This workbook also covers how to research and understand voting trends, and how to assess the percentage of eligible voters who will actually vote on Election Day.

All of this information is used to inform and shape a campaign's strategy, which is a statement that defines how it will win the election.

The following topics are covered:

1. What is Strategy?
2. Research and Preparation: Systems of Election
3. Research and Analysis: Voting Trends and Electoral Environment
4. Setting a Vote Goal
5. Voter Targeting: Geographic and Demographic
6. Voter Analysis
7. Defining Your Strategy

What is Strategy?

In 1858, Abraham Lincoln ran for a seat in the United States Senate from the state of Illinois against Stephen A. Douglas. The two candidates engaged in a series of heated debates, attempting to appeal to voters all across the state. At the core of these debates was the fiercely divisive issue of slavery, which was legal in parts of the United States at the time. Lincoln was opposed to slavery; Douglas thought it should be up to each state to decide whether or not it would permit slavery.

The electoral system meant that Lincoln and Douglas had to win as many seats in the state legislature for their respective parties as possible in order to be elected to the Senate (the state legislature selected the senator). In the end, Lincoln's party received more votes but Douglas won the election because his party, the Democratic Party, won more seats in the state legislature. Douglas and the Democratic Party had the better campaign strategy.

Two years later in 1860, Lincoln ran for the presidency of the United States – an even bigger office – and won. What had changed? Did Lincoln alter his position on slavery? No, not at all. What Lincoln changed was his strategy.
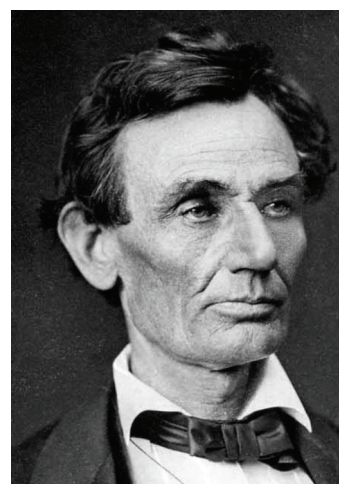
Abraham Lincoln in 1960, as photographed by Alexander Hesler
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In 1860, the United States was at a crossroads. There was a great deal of instability and uncertainty as political leaders talked of whether there would be a war over the fundamental values of the country, how it should be run, and what its guiding principles should be. Lincoln recognized that in this environment, voters needed to hear directly from candidates in order to have confidence in their plans and ideas for the way forward.

Instead of relying on the debates and speeches which candidates typically used to talk at voters, Lincoln and his supporters looked for ways to talk with voters. They focused on communicating directly and more personally. They created new forms of personal communication for the time and sent activists into local communities to speak and meet with as many targeted voters as possible.

Additionally, with four candidates in the race and a contentious electoral environment, Lincoln and his campaign team recognized that all 4,000,000 likely voters were not going to vote for Lincoln. They identified the areas in which there were larger numbers

of voters who were either going to vote for Lincoln or who would be likely to vote for Lincoln if they knew more about him, figured out how many votes they could gain if they concentrated their efforts almost entirely in these areas, and shifted resources to winning the support of anti-slavery voters who had not yet picked a candidate.

Lincoln's strategy paid off. On November 6, 1860, he was elected the 16th president of the United States, defeating three other candidates, including his former rival Stephen Douglas.

A strategy is the formula for how a campaign will win an election. It explains how many votes you are going to get, from which voters you will get these votes, the activities you will use to engage these voters, the messages you will deliver to connect with these voters, and how you will distinguish yourself from your strongest opponents. Above all, a strategy outlines how a campaign will gain and sustain an advantage over opponents.

<u>Activity 1:</u> Strategy Assessment

Thinking about your next election, what would you say your strategy is? How many votes are you going to get? From which voters? What activities will you use to engage voters? What will your message be? What makes you different from other political parties and candidates?*

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

The purpose of this exercise is to reflect on how you would describe your strategy. At this stage, your answers do not have to be precise. We will return to these questions again at the end of the module.

Many factors affect how a political party or campaign should approach an election campaign, including its available resources, how voters get their information, the electoral system, the number of voters who are likely to vote, the key issues that are important to voters, and so on. Most of these factors change from one election to another. As such, there is no single "best" campaign strategy.

However, a strong strategy starts with research: asking the right questions to help identify your existing advantages, as well as ones your campaign team can create. This module and Module 4, Voter Contact, will help you ask those questions and identify the best strategic options for your campaign.

Research and Preparation: Systems of Election

Elections and electoral campaigns are different all over the world. However, some factors tend to be the same, no matter where the election is being held. For example, every election campaign has four main resources. These are:
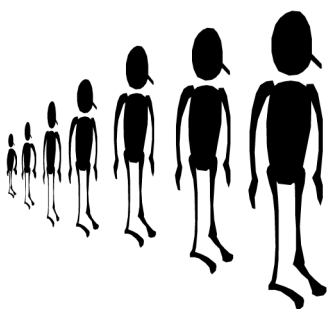
People

Money
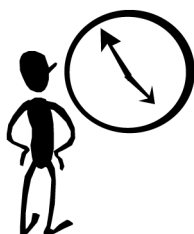
Time

Information

In an election, each political party or candidate has different amounts of money and people available to them. However, all campaigns have the same amount of time and generally the same access to information. For your campaign to be successful, you must find the resources you need and be smart about how you use the resources you have.

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The Rule of Effective Resource Management states that an electoral campaign must target its limited resources only to those voters who are mostly likely to support it.

Some of a campaign's most important and challenging strategic decisions involve which voters and areas to concentrate on, and which ones to ignore.

No campaign has unlimited resources. And while there may be a temptation to try to communicate with every eligible voter, a smart and successful campaign will maximize the impact and effectiveness of its efforts by focusing its time, money, people and information only on the voters who are likely to support it on election day. Some of a campaign's most important and challenging strategic decisions involve which voters and areas to concentrate on, and which ones to ignore.

This module and the ones that follow will walk you through the steps of maximizing each of these resource areas. The place to start is with an assessment of where you are now. This is the foundation upon which you can build your base of information. The first step is to look at the systems and structures for the election in which you are competing, as these will directly affect the type of campaign you will be able to organize. The activity below will help you begin to conduct your analysis.

Please note that the version of Activity 2 below focuses on a limited set of questions that a political party, candidate or electoral campaign must be able to answer when preparing for an election. Appendix 1 of this module contains a more comprehensive list of the issues a campaign is likely to face in an election. Parties, candidates and campaigns are encouraged to discuss the questions contained in this appendix to ensure they are fully prepared.

Activity 2: Electoral System and Legal Requirements

Answer the questions below to begin the research and analysis phase of preparing for an election.

1. What is the type of election or level of office that is being voted on? Is it local, district, regional or national?

_____
_____
_____

2.   What is the system of voting? How are votes calculated?

_____
_____
_____

3.   What are the rules for political parties and candidates? What do you have to do to be eligible to stand in this election? What are the legal requirements and deadlines?

_____
_____
_____

4.   What are the rules for voter registration? Will these have an impact on your supporters?

_____
_____
_____

5.   What are the restrictions on campaigning? When can you communicate with voters and when can you not? Are any forms of voter contact restricted or prohibited? Are there restrictions on what language, colors or images your campaign can use?

_____
_____
_____

6.   What are the rules about fundraising? Are there restrictions on the amount of money you can raise or spend? Can you raise money from abroad or from non-citizens?

_____
_____
_____

7.   Every system of elections creates advantages for some parties and disadvantages for others. What advantages does the current system create for your party? What disadvantages or challenges does it create?

_____
_____
_____

Research and Analysis: Voting Trends and Electoral Environment

One of the key strategic questions for every campaign is who will be voting in this election. Who is actually eligible to vote under the rule or regulations governing the election? Among those who are eligible, who is registered and therefore able to cast a ballot on Election Day? Among those who are registered, who is actually coming out and voting on Election Day? As a campaign begins to look at the answers to these questions, the population with whom it is trying to communicate can become increasingly smaller and more precise, which makes a very real difference in how a campaign is run.

It is important to think through what is happening among the voters, how they feel about voting, about the election and about politics in general, all of which will have a directly impact on how you conduct your campaign. This is done by looking for trends among voters and examining the electoral environment.

Voting Trends

Over time, even over a short period of elections, trends can begin to emerge among the electorate. Voting trends provide indications about voters' behavior, and particularly what types of voters are more likely to vote, and what types of voters are less likely to vote.

There is an important difference between the number of people who are **eligible** to vote in an election, and the number of people **who will actually go out and vote**, i.e., the rate of voter turnout. It is critical that political parties and candidates calculate what these figures are, what types of people are more likely to vote, and how the electoral environment will affect both voter turnout and support for your party.

Eligible Voters

The number of people who have the legal right to vote

Registered Voters

The number of people legally registered to vote whose names appear on the voter list

Voter Turnout

The number of registered voters who will actually go out and vote on election day
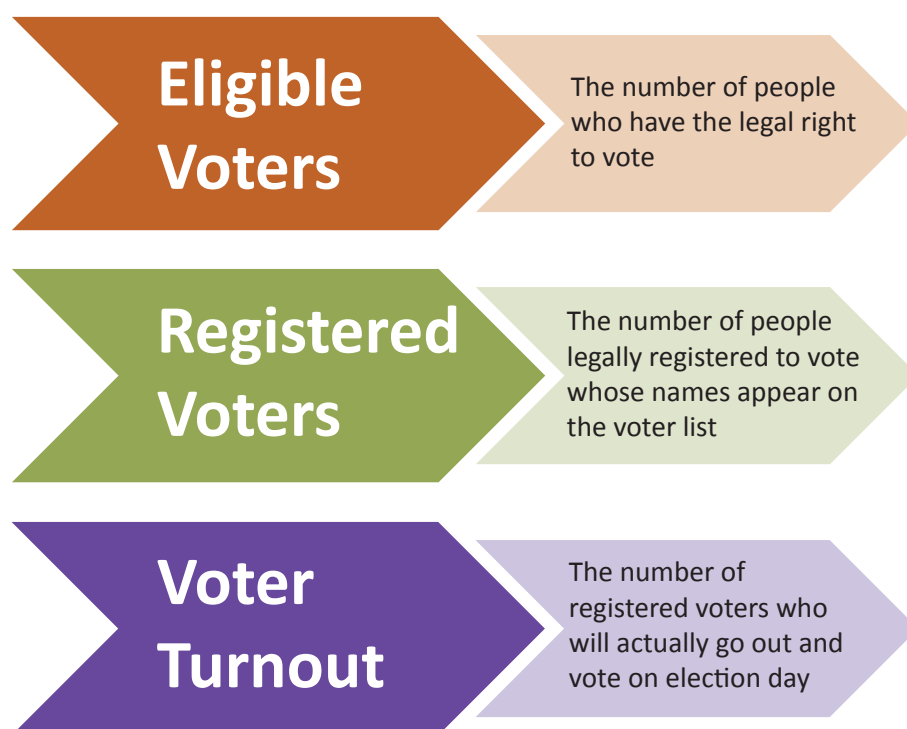
To identify voter trends:

1. Examine the results from past elections.

It is best to use turnout figures for similar elections. For example, look at the figures for parliamentary elections to estimate turnout for a parliamentary election, local for local elections, etc.

Turnout figures are typically maintained by the country's official election regulatory body or government department tasked with overseeing elections and should be publically available. If the election body is unreliable, unable or unwilling to share data, this information may be available from domestic or international election monitoring groups or may have been tracked by national or international media covering the election.

2. Track overall voter turnout

Ideally, it is best to have several examples of the same types of elections, e.g., several parliamentary, presidential, local or regional elections from different years. However, if there have not been very many elections or if there has been a significant change in the political environment or system of elections, then use whatever information is available.

If there is no information on turnout or if the information you have access to is unreliable, skip to the next section on Electoral Environment.

If you have several years of elections to work with, track trends in voter turnout for the most recent years. For example:

Year	Type of Election	Turnout
1998	Parliamentary	89%
2003	Parliamentary	73%
2005	Parliamentary	62%
2010	Parliamentary	58%
	Total	282
	Divided by 4 elections	282/4
	Average Turnout	**70.5%**

The average turnout from the last four parliamentary elections is 70.5%. However, what is more interesting is the trend in voter turnout. In this example, is turnout going up, down, or staying the same? Over the past four elections, it has gone down significantly. The trend is for a decline in the level of voter turnout. What does this mean for all political parties competing for elections in this environment?

3.   Assess turnout among key groups

Demographics are the statistical characteristics of a population. In other words, if you were to paint a picture of a society, what would it look like? Would the faces in the painting be more of older people, younger, or a mix? If people were at work in the painting, what would they be doing? Would many be holding the tools of a farmer, doing the work of a vendor, or carrying the books of a professor? Would there be more female faces or more male faces?

Every society can be broken down into different groups based on similar characteristics, such as age, gender, religion, education, profession, background, etc. These are called **demographic groups.** When it comes to politics, people from similar groups sometimes behave in a similar way, or make similar choices.

Populations can also be examined based on where they live or where they come from. These are called **geographic groups.** Again, people from similar areas can sometimes make similar choices.

Campaigns look at demographic and geographic information to explore what is happening among specific groups in society, and what the trends in their voting behavior might be (i.e., are they going to vote and how are they likely to vote for?). Some groups will carry more strategic importance for your campaign than others.

For example, young people under the age of 25 make up the majority of the population in the Middle East and North Africa. This makes them strategically important to every political party in the region. Other key groups for your party might include women, first-time voters, certain families or clans, people from a certain professional background or trade, rural voters or urban voters, etc. Campaigns look for trends in voter turnout among these groups to ensure they are voting in high enough numbers to help the campaign win.

Conversely, campaigns may also need to consider whether turnout is higher in areas where your opponents are strong, and possibly lower in areas where your campaign is strong.

Think carefully about the demographic and geographic groups that are of most strategic interest your party or campaign. Consider whether you can identify trends in voter turnout:

- By age
- By gender
- By neighborhood, district or region
- Among first-time or new voters
- Among absentee, proxy or diaspora voters

Information about trends in voter turnout can come from a number of sources, including the official election commission, exit polls from previous elections, research or surveys, and the campaign's own communications with voters.

This information can come from a number of sources, including the official election commission, exit polls from previous elections, research or surveys, and the campaign's own communications with voters. If you are not able to access reliable data from outside sources, think through which groups are most important for your campaign to track and integrate this into your voter contact strategy, which is discussed in the next module.

Activity 3: Estimating Trends in Voter Turnout

1. Take the returns from past elections and examine the figures on voter turnout. Use the systems outlined in Step 2 above to track overall turnout. What trends can you identify, if any?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. How are these figures likely to affect your campaign?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

3. Think through what demographic and/or geographic groups are most strategically important to your campaign. List them below.

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

4. If you can access information on turnout among certain groups or in certain areas, consider the questions below. Do the results have any impact on the list of strategically important groups you made in Question 3?

    a. What has happened in past elections? What groups are voting in higher numbers and what groups are voting in lower numbers?

        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____

    b. What do you think are the main factors influencing why turnout is higher among some groups and lower among others?

        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____

c.   Are any groups of voters being left behind, i.e., are there larger populations, such as older people, women, first-time voters, etc., who are voting in significantly lower numbers? Could any of these voters represent an opportunity for your party to try to pick up new supporters during the election campaign?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Electoral Environment

The electoral environment can influence voter turnout and is different for almost every election. The electoral environment is the general mood or atmosphere surrounding an election.

> **The electoral environment
> is the general mood or atmosphere surrounding an election.**

Are voters excited or motivated by the current election? Are voters experiencing a high level of disappointment or disillusion? Are voters angry or frustrated? Are there security concerns? These feelings can influence how voters feel about the parties competing in an election and their desire to actually cast a ballot.

The general mood of the electorate is similar to the pendulum on a clock. Depending on what is going well or going badly in their own lives, in their communities or in the country, the electoral environment will tend to favor either maintaining the status quo (returning the governing parties to power) or making a change (supporting parties in the opposition). These trends impact the level of motivation that voters experience to actually go out and vote on Election Day.

Before an election, gauge where the overall mood of the electorate sits on the pendulum. Are voters angry or frustrated? Are they calling for change? Are some voters more mobilized to vote for change than others?

Conversely, are voters jubilant, enthusiastic or simply content? Are they happy with the way things are, or afraid of what the alternative might bring? Will they be more likely to come out and vote in their excitement, or will their sense of contentment keep them at home on Election Day?
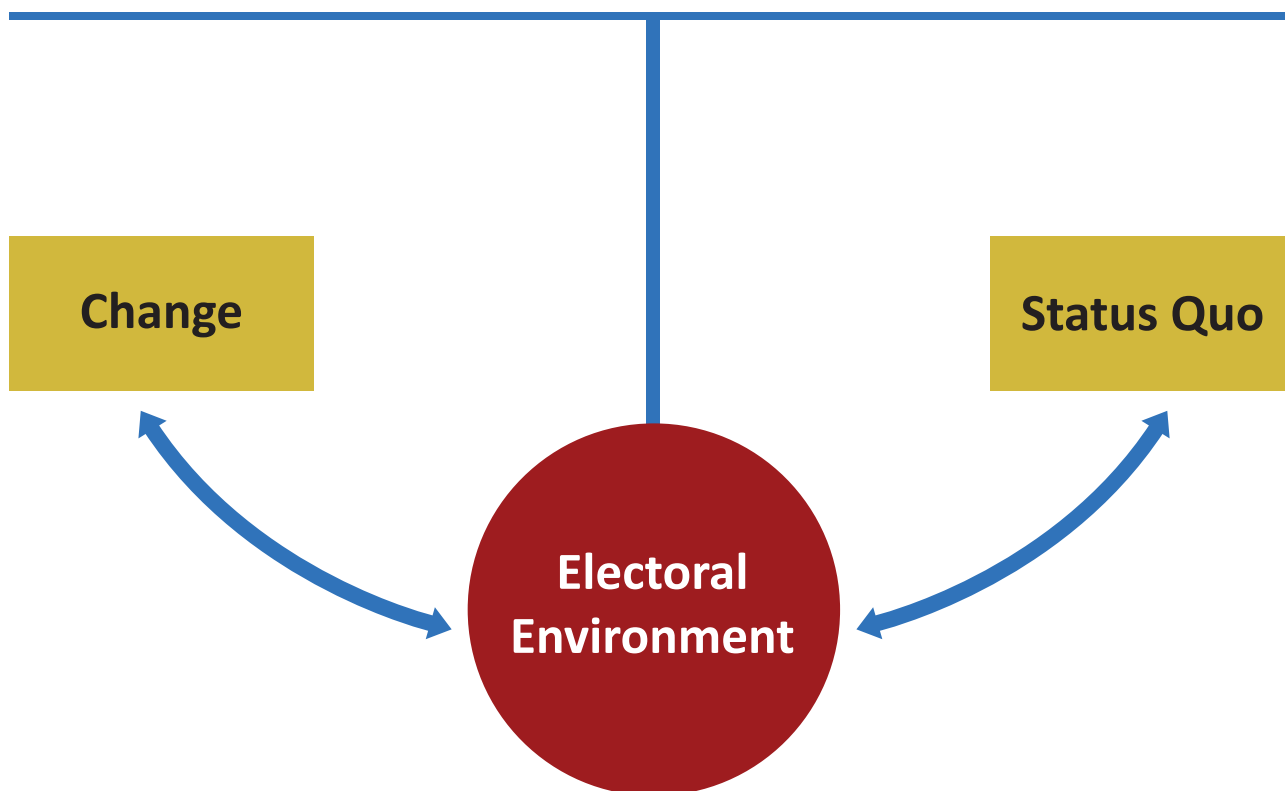
```
          Change                                      Status Quo

                         Electoral
                        Environment
```

The further the pendulum swings towards either extreme – either in favor of change or the status quo – the higher turnout is likely to be. It is the strength of the feeling that tends to mobilize voters rather than what the feeling is, whether it is in support of change or the status quo.

The electoral environment can have a direct impact on voter turnout and, as a consequence, on the electoral fortunes of the parties and candidates standing in the election. The further the pendulum swings towards either extreme – either in favor of change or the status quo – the higher turnout is likely to be. It is the strength of the feeling that tends to mobilize voters rather than what the feeling is, whether it is in support of change or the status quo.

These dynamics can change for every election, and may also have a distinct impact on different types of voters. For example, during times of change young people may be more motivated to vote than they would be when it appears as if an election will simply return the same parties to power. Similarly, women and men may feel differently about voting, depending on the atmosphere surrounding an election. It is therefore important for your campaign to analyze the electoral environment with particular consideration for the impact it will have on turnout among the voters who are key to your victory.

If you don't have access to the results from the last similar election to estimate voter turnout, gauging the electoral environment can help you predict turnout levels. Even

if you have years of election figures to work with, it is still important to consider the current mood of the electorate and how this will affect your campaign.

To measure the electoral environment, look for indications of the general mood of the electorate in a number of areas, such as:

- What are reliable polls or surveys saying? Are they showing a high number of undecided or disappointed voters? Or are they indicating there is excitement about the election?

- If voters need to register themselves for the election, is the level of registration higher, lower or about the same for this election? (Registration cannot be used as an indicator if voters are automatically registered.)

- Is there any reliable information about the trend among first-time or new voters? Are they interested or engaged in the election? First-time and younger voters are among the hardest to mobilize and their level of engagement in an election can be an indicator for whether the overall electorate is feeling energized, disenfranchised or frustrated.

- What has been happening at public events around the election? Are they well-attended or poorly attended? What are voters saying and doing at these events?

- Have there been street rallies, protests or demonstrations? What types of voters are participating in these? Or, is the situation relatively calm?

Activity 4: Analyzing the Electoral Environment

1. Consider the electoral environment in your area. Where would you map the current mood of the voters? Are they more likely to favor change or the status quo? How strong do you think this trend is?

   Map the electoral environment below and describe what the implications are for your campaign.

| Change | | Status Quo |

_____
_____
_____
_____
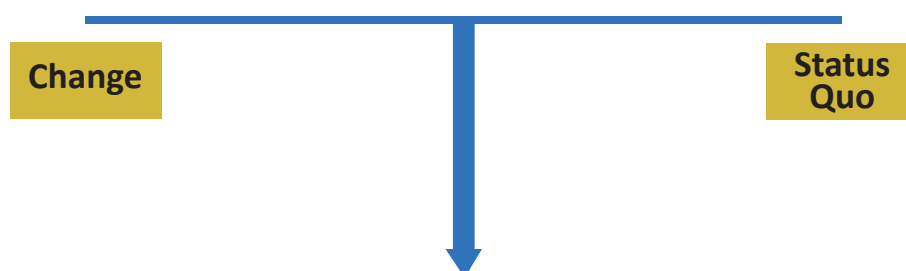
Assessing Opportunities and Identifying Weaknesses

There are a number of other factors which affect both voter turnout and the way voters feel about your candidate, campaign or political party. Consider the following:

- What base of support do you start with? What are the past elections results in the area for your party? (If you or your party has never stood in this area or in this type of election before, look at the results for similar parties or candidates in past elections.)

- What are the results for other parties which are competing? Who is/are your strongest opponent(s)? Opponents are parties or candidates that are competing for the same voters you are trying to persuade and mobilize. If a party can prevent you from picking up the seats you are seeking to win, even if they're not strong enough to win the seats themselves but can undermine your efforts by splitting your vote or pulling away your supporters, then they are an opponent.

- Are there any emerging social, political or economic developments that offer opportunities or challenges for you?

- What is your track record on policy, legal and financial issues? Compare what you have said you would do to what you have actually done.

- What do the voters like about you? What issues have you delivered on that are important to voters?

- What is your opponent's track record on policy, legal and financial issues? Compare what they have said they would do to what they have actually done.

- What do the voters like about your opponent(s)? What issues have they delivered on that are important to voters?

- Consider the electoral area in which you will be competing. What does it look like? What are the geographic size and characteristics? How many voters live there? What is the best way to communicate with voters in this area?

- What have past, similar campaigns cost? Do you have the resources in place or can you raise the resources you will need to meet the financial challenge?

Strong campaigns start with an honest assessment of the challenges ahead. One way of capturing these important strategic issues in a structural framework is by conducting a simple SWOT analysis. SWOT is an abbreviation that stands for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Consider the following:

SWOT Analysis	
Strengths	**Weaknesses**
Strengths are internal assets. What advantages do you have? What do you do well? What resources do you have access to? What do the voters like about you?	Weaknesses are internal vulnerabilities. What have you done badly? How could you improve? What do the voters not like about you? What should you avoid talking about?
Opportunities	**Threats**
Opportunities are external factors. Are there events, trends or issues that are creating natural advantages for you? Are there any emerging social, political or economic developments that offer opportunities for you? Are there allies or coalitions you should consider joining forces with?	Threats are external factors. What obstacles do you face? What is your opponent(s) doing? Could any of your internal weaknesses be used by external players (your opponents, the media) to seriously threaten your party's success in the election?

In order to be useful, any SWOT analysis must be candid and based in reality. To guarantee that the SWOT analysis will be objective and successful, the group that charged with producing it should be carefully selected, so that it can be representative of the whole party and its affiliated organizations.

Check your assumptions by distinguishing between your aspirations (what you want) and your capabilities (what you have). The gap between what you want and what you have is where your strategic planning comes in, to help you assess whether and how a solid bridge can be built to connect the two.

Aspirations *What I Want*	**Capabilities** *What I Have (or Don't Have)*
I want dinner in a fancy restaurant	I have enough money for a coffee
We want to organize a large rally	We only have a few supporters motivated enough to attend
We want to attract more women voters	We don't have any policies that speak directly to women's interests
We want to win two more seats in this district	We have just enough supporters to hold the one seat we have

Keep in mind that your SWOT is a starting point for your analysis. To make a genuine contribution to your campaign strategy, the conclusions and judgments made in your matrix should be compared against independent research, survey results or even a simple review of what voters are telling you as part of your outreach efforts.

Activity 5: SWOT Analysis

Use the questions and example above to conduct a SWOT analysis for your campaign. Be direct and honest in your assessments of what is going well and what will be a challenge.

SWOT Analysis	
Strengths	**Weaknesses**
Opportunities	**Threats**

Setting a Vote Goal

A campaign's vote goal is the number of votes it will need to win an election. This information is vital for campaign planning, as well as managing resources and strategy.

Vote goals must be determined for each electoral area separately. So, if your party is competing in legislative elections in which the country is divided into constituencies or districts, then a vote goal must be set for each constituency or district. If this is a national election with a single ballot, then the vote goal must be set nationally. Parties or campaigns that have collected sufficient data may even be able to set vote goals by polling station or neighborhood.

The way in which a vote goal is calculated depends on the electoral system. For example, a vote goal is set differently for a proportional representation (PR) system with closed party lists than it is for a first-past-the-post system, or even a PR system with open lists. In general, however, the steps are the following:

1. Identify the **Number of Seats** in the electoral area. Is it a single-member constituency, multi-member shared constituency, or national PR system? How many seats is the party competing for?

2. Determine the number of eligible **Registered Voters** in the electoral area. Look at the voter list or register to get this figure. Sometimes you can discover who the registered voters are by looking at lists for distribution of food aid or social benefits. If this information is not readily available, look at levels of voter turnout in previous elections for the area.

3. Estimate what **Voter Turnout** is likely to be for the area. Voter Turnout is the percentage of eligible, registered voters who turn up to vote on Election Day. Base your estimate on an assessment of recent similar elections in terms of level of office (look at results from local elections to assess turnout for local elections, regional elections to assess turnout for regional elections, parliamentary elections to assess turnout for parliamentary elections, etc.). You can also base your estimate on reliable, objective and recent polls, conducted by professional non-partisan polling agencies. Consider the current electoral environment

    Voter turnout tends to be different for every level of office, so you cannot make assumptions about one type of election based on another type. For example, in some areas, voters are much more interested in local elections; in other areas, voters are more likely to turnout if it's a national election.

Also, consider the degree of competitiveness for the election: e.g., number of candidates or parties standing, number of incumbents standing for reelection, level of public interest in the election, etc. These factors will affect voter interest and turnout.

Finally, think about the overall electoral environment, whether it trends towards change or the status quo, how strong voter sentiment is, and how you think this will affect turnout.

4.   Based on estimated voter turnout, calculate how many votes it will take to Win One Seat.   This will be different depending on the electoral system.

a.   In First Past the Post (FPP) or plurality systems, the safest way to calculate a winnable seat is to divide the number of estimated voters (projected turnout) by 2 and then add 1 (50% +1).   Although there may be more than two candidates in the race, 50% +1 is the only figure that guarantees a win. If, for example, voter turnout is likely to be 100,000 voters, the seat will be won with 50,001 votes (100,000/50,000 + 1 = 50,001).

b.   In PR systems with closed party lists, divide the number of seats in the district by the projected number of voters.   This gives you the threshold for one seat.   If, for example, there are likely to be 100,000 valid votes cast and there are 5 seats in the district, then you will need 20,000 votes to win one seat.   In calculating a vote goal for PR systems, it is best to estimate these raw figures first before considering any possible remainders.

c.   Block voting systems are calculated in a manner similar to FPP.   If a majority of votes must be won in order to carry the district (i.e., if there is a run-off system in place), the only safe vote goal is 50% of the likely votes cast + 1.   If it is a plurality system, the winning party will not have to reach this threshold. In this case, the vote goal could be calculated based on the number of likely voters, the number of party tickets in the election, and an assessment of what you will have to do to beat the vote of all the other parties.

d.   In Single Transferable Vote systems, look at how many votes it will likely take to make quota.   Quota is typically calculated by dividing the number of votes cast by the number of seats, then adding 1.   If it is unlikely your candidate will make quota, consider which candidates will be disqualified first and whether their votes will transfer to your party.

e.   In PR systems with open lists, calculating a vote goal is directly tied to how votes will be calculated. Projecting a vote goal for this type of system requires a fair amount of research and analysis, looking at past voting trends for your party and the level of popularity and name recognition of individual candidates.

5.   The number of votes a campaign will need to capture the number of seats they want to win is the **Vote Goal**.

6.   Once you have calculated your vote goal, it is important to compare this figure with your party or candidate's past performance in the area. Based on past election results, do you currently have the level of support you need to reach this figure? Is there a significant **Deficit** or even a **Surplus** of votes? If there is a deficit, how many voters will you have to persuade or mobilize to reach your goal? If there is a surplus, will the electoral system allow you to use this success to help get additional candidates from your party elected, as with the PR closed list system for example.

Below are examples of vote goal calculations:

	Number of Seats in the District	Registered Voters in the district	Likely Turnout	Votes Needed for 1 Seat	Number of Seats we Want to Win	Vote Goal
FPP system	1	600,000	58% (348,000 voters)	174,001 (348,000 / 2 + 1)	1	174,001
PR closed lists	6	300,000	73% (219,000 voters)	36,500 (219,000 / 6)	3	109,500 (36,500 x 3)

After calculating these figures, the next step is to compare them with the party or candidate's past performance in the area to assess whether the vote goal is realistic and gauge just how hard the campaign will have to work to achieve its goals.

If the candidate is new or the party has not stood in this area before, it is still important to look at past performance for similar political parties or candidates to place your campaign goals into some form of context.

Activity 6: Vote Goal Case Study

In the fictitious country of Dromora, the parliament is elected proportionately in a single national constituency with closed party lists. There are 83 seats in the parliament. The number of registered voters over the age of 18 is 2,500,000. Based on past elections, voter turnout is project to be about 80% of registered voters for the next general election.

Party	Seats in Parliament
Dromoran People's Party (DPP)	42
Revolutionary Peace and Development Party (RPDP)	24
New Democracy Party (NDP)	11
Green Party (GP)	5

Using these figures, calculate a vote goal for each party in Dromora. You can assume that the DPP wants to win a clear majority, the RPDP wants to take over as the majority party, and the NDP and Greens want to double their seats.

Party	Seats in Parliament	Goal # of Seats	Vote Goal
Dromoran People's Party (DPP)	42		
Revolutionary Peace and Development Party (RPDP)	24		
New Democracy Party (NDP)	11		
Green Party (GP)	5		

Geographic Targeting

Geographic targeting is an excellent tool for every campaign. This technique helps a campaign clearly identify where, amongst the hundreds of thousands or millions of voters in the country, its supporters and potential supporters live. This provides the campaign with key strategic information about where to spend precious resources, how you are going to reach your vote goal, and what voters are going to get you there.

With additional analysis, geographic targeting can also help a campaign learn more about the types of people who support the campaign or who are likely to support the campaign. This is called demographic targeting and it is covered in the next section.

To conduct geographic targeting, you will need the results from the last similar election by the smallest geographical unit possible, such as electoral ward or polling station. (See the note below on what to do if you cannot get the election returns.) The smaller the unit, the more accurate your targeting will be.

Examine these results and compare how well your party or candidate did in each area compared to its strongest opponents. You are making an assessment of how competitive the area is for your campaign. In other words, how hard are you going to have to work to win in this area? Based on these past results, categorize each area as one of the following for your campaign:

 A areas = core supporters

These are the areas of the campaign's strongest support. In past elections, your party or candidate earned more votes than any other party by a sizable margin. These are areas that your party or candidate won easily, and will likely win again.

You must be clearly and safely ahead for an electoral area to be an A for your campaign. If you won the most votes in an area but the party or candidate which took second place is close behind or could potentially close the gap, then it is not an A area for you; it is a B. The more you have to compete to hold the lead, the less an area is an A.

 B areas = highly persuadable voters

B areas are more competitive areas for your campaign, and can also be areas of potential growth. In B areas, your party or candidate has done very well in past elections. You may have even come in first. However, you do not have a significant

advantage over other parties or candidates and must work hard to maintain your lead or grow your vote.

Your campaign is strong in B areas and there is potential for expanding your support, but hard work and an investment of resources will be required.

C areas = somewhat persuadable voters

C areas are exploratory areas for your campaign. In previous elections, there was some support for your party or campaign, but not enough to win seats. You will have to do a lot of work to grow your vote in these areas.

D areas = your opponent's base of support

Your D areas are your strongest opponent's A areas. You do not have very much support here, and it is highly likely that you will never have enough votes in these areas to win a seat. <u>The Rule of Effective Resource Management – which states that an electoral campaign must target its limited resources only to those voters who are mostly likely to support it – means that you leave these areas alone and do not waste time, money, people and other precious resources campaigning here.</u>

<u>If you cannot access the returns from past elections</u>

If you cannot access the returns from past elections or if the data is unclear or unreliable, there are a couple options to help put together the information you will need for geographic targeting:

1.   Contact an NGO that observed the last elections. They may have conducted parallel vote tabulation and would therefore have the type of information you need for geographic targeting.

2.   Work with your party's local branches or supporters to conduct an assessment of support by neighborhood or polling station. Veteran party activists at the local level often have exactly the type of information you need to break down the party's support locally. This can be particularly useful if there have not been recent, legitimate elections.

Activity 7: Geographic Targeting in Practice

Below are the returns from recent parliamentary elections for four political parties. This chart tells you the exact number of votes each party received at each polling station in the town. Review these results and, in the shaded column to the right of each party's votes (labeled "Target"), write whether you think this is an A, B, C or D area for that party. Base your answer on the number of votes the party received in comparison to the other parties. Review the descriptions for A, B, C and D areas on the previous page if this is helpful.

Town	Polling Station	Party 1	Target	Party 2	Target	Party 3	Target	Party 4	Target
Megochi	T1001	1004	_____	543	_____	1086	_____	54	_____
Megochi	T1002	911	_____	492	_____	985	_____	49	_____
		1915		**1035**		**2071**		**104**	
Megochi	T2001	489	_____	529	_____	264	_____	26	_____
Megochi	T2002	724	_____	783	_____	392	_____	39	_____
Megochi	T2003	538	_____	582	_____	291	_____	29	_____
Megochi	T2004	743	_____	803	_____	402	_____	40	_____
Megochi	T2005	256	_____	277	_____	139	_____	14	_____
		2751		**2974**		**1487**		**149**	
Megochi	T3001	275	_____	288	_____	188	_____	388	_____
Megochi	T3002	223	_____	233	_____	152	_____	314	_____
Megochi	T3004	292	_____	305	_____	199	_____	411	_____
Megochi	T3005	306	_____	320	_____	209	_____	431	_____
Megochi	T3006	236	_____	247	_____	161	_____	333	_____
Megochi	T3007	140	_____	146	_____	95	_____	197	_____
Megochi	T3008	195	_____	204	_____	133	_____	275	_____
		1667		**1743**		**1137**		**2349**	

Compare your answers to the ones in the table below. Was your assessment of how competitive the environment was for each party similar or different to the analysis offered in this table?

If you were the campaign manager for Party 1 in this town, where would you focus

your efforts and your resources? What about for Parties 2, 3 and 4? Would your strategy be different for each party? Why or why not?

Town	Polling Station	Party 1	Target	Party 2	Target	Party 3	Target	Party 4	Target
Megochi	T1001	1004	B	543	C	1086	B	54	D
Megochi	T1002	911	B	492	C	985	B	49	D
		1915		*1035*		*2071*		*104*	
Megochi	T2001	489	B	529	B	264	C	26	D
Megochi	T2002	724	B	783	B	392	C	39	D
Megochi	T2003	538	B	582	B	291	C	29	D
Megochi	T2004	743	B	803	B	402	C	40	D
Megochi	T2005	256	B	277	B	139	C	14	D
		2751		*2974*		*1487*		*149*	
Megochi	T3001	275	B	288	B	188	C	388	B
Megochi	T3002	223	B	233	B	152	C	314	B
Megochi	T3004	292	C	305	B	199	C	411	B
Megochi	T3005	306	B	320	B	209	C	431	B
Megochi	T3006	236	B	247	B	161	C	333	B
Megochi	T3007	140	B	146	B	95	C	197	B
Megochi	T3008	195	B	204	B	133	C	275	B
		1667		*1743*		*1137*		*2349*	

Demographic Targeting

Demographic targeting is the process through which a political party and its candidates assess what types of people are likely to support them. For example, are men more likely to vote for the party than women? Do younger people feel a stronger connection to the party than older people? Are people in rural or urban areas more attracted to the party? How do street vendors, taxi drivers, farm workers, teachers, unemployed young people, business people, students, shop owners, factory workers, mothers, etc., feel about the party or its candidates?

The point of breaking the population down like this is that similar people are likely to have similar concerns and, therefore, be attracted to similar political parties or candidates. This helps political campaigns figure out who they should be talking to and what they should be talking about.

Demographic targeting also ensures that a campaign is aware of existing or emerging trends among the population so that it can incorporate these into its strategy. For example, the large youth population in the Middle East and North Africa is a demographic trend to which all political parties should be responding, in part because this sector of society will ultimately dominate the voting populace. The fact that unemployment is a major characteristic of this demographic group also requires a strategic political response.

Therefore, demographic targeting generally answers three questions for a campaign:

1.   What types of people are already supporting us?

2.   What types of people would be more likely to support us (if they knew more about us or if we had a stronger relationship with them)?

3.   What are the existing or emerging trends or opportunities within the population of which our campaign needs to be aware? For example, is there are large number of young people, an ageing population, a sizable immigrant community, do women of voting age significantly outnumber men of voting age, and so on?

There are several ways to conduct demographic targeting, but it is important to first identify the specific geographic areas in which you would like to know more about the population. One of the most accurate ways to do this is by first conducting geographic targeting, but if this is not possible simply mark the areas on a map where your party or candidate either already has support or has the potential to gain more support and begin to seek out demographic information about these areas.

To conduct demographic targeting:

1. <u>Make a lists of your priority areas</u>, or mark them on a map. These are the areas in which you need to know more about the voters. If you have conducted geographic targeting, your priority areas are those you have identified as either A, B or C areas for your party or candidate, places where you currently have support or the potential to grow your support.

2. <u>Collect demographic information</u> for each of these areas. Frequently, the easiest information to use is <u>census data</u>, because voting districts and census data are often organized using the same geographic boundaries. If reliable census information is not available, seek out other sources of useful information about the population in your priority areas. See the note at the end of this handout for ways to do this.

3. Review the demographic information and consider what it can tell you about voters and issues in that area. You are looking for <u>dominant trends</u> among voters – characteristics which are statistically significant and provide insights into the type of people who live in these areas.

Figuring this out is a bit like putting together a puzzle: you have to be able to connect information with people. Answers come by asking lots of questions, such as:

- How do people in this area make a living?[1] Are they considered "economically active," i.e., do they have a job or some form or income? Do they have enough to live on?
- What is the level of paid employment in the area? Compare this to figures of young women and men who may be looking for work.
- What are the levels of education and literacy? Do people in these areas have access to decent schools, for example, or do children travel long distances to get an education?
- What is the sanitation like? Is there access to clean water, a functioning sewerage system or adequate toilets? If there is poor sanitation, what does this mean for the residents?
- Is there a reliable source of electricity? If not, what does this mean for things like food storage and general health? What does it mean for access to television or the internet as sources of information?
- Are there large numbers of households headed by women? This is often an indicator of poverty.

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1   The section below, "Demographic Targeting in Practice," explains some of the terminology which is useful to understand when working with census information.

- How are people in this area likely to get their information? To determine this, look at levels of literacy (can they read newspapers or magazines), sources of electricity (will they have access to television or the internet), and whether they are in geographic areas where radio broadcasts can reach.

Conducting this type of analysis can provide your campaign with very useful information about the lives of groups of voters who are important for your work. While you should always check your conclusions about what's important to local communities through direct communication such as a survey canvass or community meetings, very basic information about the state and conditions of life can give you strong indications about what the priorities for these citizens might be.

Ultimately, demographic targeting helps a campaign focus its policies and message, so it is talking about the issues its supporters and potential supports care about, and so it can target its communication efforts more effectively.

Activity 8: Demographic Targeting in Practice

Review the excerpts from sample census information below. Assume that this data is from B areas for your party or campaign – an area where you have significant potential to grow your support but you are in tight competition with other parties or candidates. Think through what this type of data could mean for your campaign's strategy, communication and voter outreach.

Age and Gender

The table below contains census information about the age and gender of the people who live in the local area. Review the data and think through the questions that follow.

Table 1: Age and Gender

Age	Total	Males	Females	% of Males to Female
0-5	1,166	595	571	104.2
5-10	1,750	893	857	104.2
11-17	2,208	1,668	1,540	108.3
18-24	3,624	1,838	1,786	104.4
25-35	2,374	1,168	1,206	96.1
36-45	1,791	882	909	96.1
46-55	1,020	495	525	94.2
56-65	829	402	427	94.1
66-75	477	229	248	92.3
75+	299	141	158	89.2
Total	**14,580**	**7,333**	**7,902**	**92.7**

Are there more adult men or more adult women? What does this mean for who the majority of voters are likely to be? If this is an area where your campaign has the potential to grow its support, how should your campaign incorporate this information into your communication and voter outreach strategies?

What is the dominant age group? What does this mean for your campaign? How will it affect what issues you should talk about? How will you incorporate this information into how you communicate with voters?

Consider the size of the population under the age of 17. Within the next three election cycles almost 4,000 new voters will enter the voting age population. That figure is almost 40% of the current number of eligible voters. Is there anything your party or campaign should do to prepare for this growth?

Make a note of your thoughts below:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Household Status

Consider the following census data about households in the area:

Table 2: Household Status

Proportion Heads of Households	Male 70.4%	Female 29.6%	
Occupancy Status	Owner 1,083	Rented 1,867	Vacant 86

The term "Heads of Households" is census terminology to indicate who takes primary responsibility for the welfare of a family or those who live within the same dwelling. Because of the way social and economic systems are structured, in many countries a female head of household can be an indicator of poverty because it can be more difficult for women to bring in enough income to support a family. What does it mean that almost 30% of households are headed by women in this area?

Connect this finding to the observation made earlier about the majority of voters being women. Could there be an important connection for your campaign to make about women and their families living in poverty? How would this affect what issues you talk about or what policies you present as priorities?

Census information will also frequently provide some information about housing in the area. This example provides this under the heading of "Occupancy Status," which specifies whether people own their home or rent it.

These figures can provide you with insights into whether people have the means to afford to own their homes. They can also tell you whether there is affordable or appropriate housing is the area, depending on how competitive the rental market is. Low levels of vacant properties indicate a high demand for housing, which may mean that it is expensive or difficult for people on lower incomes to access.

What does this example tell you about the voters in the area? Are they more likely to own or rent their homes? Could housing be an important issue for them? If this were an area where you could grow your vote, what would this information tell you about potential supporters?

Make a note of your thoughts below:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Occupation and Employment

Another important question is how people make a living and the quality of life that can be afforded by the amount of money they earn or their ability to support themselves and their families through other means, such as farming or some form of barter. Consider the table below with census information from the same area.

Table 3: Occupation and Employment

		Total	Male	Female
Total Population		14,580	7,333	7,902
Crude Economic Activity Rate (%)		44	51	38
Employed Persons by Sector (%)	Primary	.52	.63	.40
	Secondary	20	19	20
	Tertiary	76	80	79

The crude economic activity rate refers to the number of employed persons divided by the total population, including young children and the elderly. (The other measurement of employment often used is the refined economic activity rate, which compares the proportion of employed persons to the working age population only.)[2]

The category "Employed Persons by Sector" gives a sense of what people do for a living. Consider the following definitions:[3]

Primary economic activities ⟶ People in this category are engaged in occupations that extract or harvest things from the land, such as farming, fishing, mining, forestry and hunting. The packaging and processing of related raw materials associated with these occupations is also considered to be part of this sector.

Secondary economic activities ⟶ This includes occupations which manufacture finished goods, such as construction, engineering,

---

2 The economic activity rate typically only refers to individuals who receive some form of payment or other compensation for their work. Therefore, it can overlook those who provide labor that is does not receive an income but which makes a significant contribution to the well-being of the population and the economic health of a country. This includes the goods and services provided by those who work in the home, who are most likely to be women.
3 Some censuses may also include a forth or quaternary sector which includes what are considered to be intellectual activities, such as government, cultural activities, libraries, scientific research, and information technology.

textile and clothing manufacturing, computer and technology production, metal working and other forms of manufacturing.

Tertiary economic activities → These are occupations involved in delivering services, such as running a school or a restaurant, tourism and entertainment, retail and wholesale sales, media, clerical services, insurance, healthcare, banking and legal services.

In this example above, what does the crude economic activity rate say about the local population? The vast majority of employed persons in this area work in the tertiary sector. Can you make any connections to what their quality of life might be like and what issues might be most important to them politically? What conclusions can you draw about levels of education or literacy, and how people here are likely to get their information?

Compare the chart above to the one below. Both of these charts are from the same governorate, but different towns. What are the differences in employment and economic activity between the two towns? Would this affect what issues are more important to local voters? If both of these areas were priorities for your campaign, how would this affect your strategy?

Table 4: Occupation and Employment

		Total	Male	Female
Total Population		13,394	6,544	6,850
Crude Economic Activity Rate (%)		53	60	46
Employed Persons by Sector (%)	Primary	88	86	92
	Secondary	11	13	8
	Tertiary	2	2	.50

Make a note of your thoughts below:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Education and Literacy

Figures on literacy and access to education provide vital information for campaigns. Education and literacy are key development factors. The ability to read and write and to access quality education have a direct impact on the quality of life of individuals and their communities, including the type of work they are able to do, the level of income they can expect to earn, and the degree of financial stability they are likely to experience over a lifetime.

Additionally, higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of poverty. This is connection is particularly significant for women and any children they may have. Therefore, information on education frequently provides campaigns with insights into what key issues in the local area might be, and how voters are likely to access information.

Data on education and literacy also provide strategic guidance on how campaigns should communicate with local residents. For example, regions with lower levels of literacy will struggle with campaign communications with large sections of printed word, such as leaflets and manifestos. Areas with higher levels of literacy are likely to have access to multiple types of media, and campaigns will have to identify which are most likely to be used by their target voters.

The two tables below are both connected to the same city. Table 5 is from a neighborhood in the city largely populated by urban professionals. Table 6 is from a neighborhood on the edges of the city where workers who commute to and from the manufacturing district live.

Review the data from both of the tables and consider the questions which follow.

Table 5: Education and Literacy

		Total*	Male	Female
Adult Literacy Rate		90	97	83
Percentage aged 6 and above attending school		81	85	77
Educational level**	None	4	.8	8
	Some primary	8	.7	14
	Completed primary	3	2	3
	Lower secondary	21	13	28
	Secondary/Tech diploma	21	18	24
	Beyond secondary	27	30	24
*All figures in percent. **Refers to all literate persons aged 25 and over.				

Table 6: Education and Literacy

		Total*	Male	Female
Adult Literacy Rate		70	79	55
Percentage aged 6 and above attending school		32	35	29
Educational level**	None	10	6	15
	Some primary	19	2	40
	Completed primary	1	1	2
	Lower secondary	15	7	23
	Secondary/Tech diploma	15	12	18
	Beyond secondary	3	4	2
*All figures in percent. **Refers to all literate persons aged 25 and over.				

Consider the data in Table 5. What does this tell you about likely access to education and levels of literacy in this area? How do you think these voters are likely to get their information? Can you draw any theories about what issues might be most important to voters in the area, or what types of voters might live in the area?

Review Table 6 and think through the same questions. What does this tell you about likely access to education and levels of literacy in this area? How do you think these

voters are likely to get their information? Can you draw any theories about what issues might be most important to voters in the area, or what types of voters might live in the area?

Now compare Table 5 and Table 6. Where are there differences between the two areas? Does this provide your campaign with any important strategic information? Finally, compare levels of education and literacy for males and females in the two areas. Are there differences? Are they significant? Remembering that women outnumber men in this governorate, is this likely to impact what issues your campaign talks about and how you communicate with voters in the area?

Make a note of your thoughts below:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Conclusions

Based on your review of the census information provided in this section on demographic targeting, what conclusions could you draw about the types of voters in these areas? What do you think are the most important issues to them? Could there be a difference between the issues that are priorities for men and those that are priorities for women? Could there be differences between what older and younger voters think are important?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Below, list at least three things that you have learned about voters in these areas from this census information:

- _____
- _____
- _____

> Your task now is to find reliable demographic information for the areas that are priorities for your campaign and conduct the same type of analysis as you did in Activity 8. Extract as much strategic information as you can about voters in these areas.

What to do if you cannot get reliable census information

There are a number of other good sources of demographic information if reliable census data is not available. Locally, look to the research departments of universities, as well as survey and marketing firms. They often have dependable and recent demographic data. Private firms may charge a fee for the information, but universities may have already put some of it into the public domain by publishing their research.

International organizations can provide some of this information as well. Countries with Millennium Development Goals projects should have extensive data on which program reports are built. The United Nations Statistical Division and the United Nations Development Program also maintain a number of data systems on demographic and social figures for countries worldwide. The World Bank builds detailed demographic information into their programs and planning. Much of this information is freely published on these organization's websites and in reports.

Another option is to work with your party's local branches to think through what you already know about the makeup of the areas you have identified as important for your campaign. Party activists at the branch or regional level may have a lot of the information you need on hand from their work in the local community.

Think about the party's history in these areas, its origins and its key policy initiatives, the profile and characteristics of prominent party officials and candidates, and assess what types of people these features are likely to attract. If your party is newer, think through where parties with similar characteristics have historically gotten their support.

Finally, consider which government departments need to maintain demographic information for their work, and whether they may make this information available. Agencies which frequently use this type of data include local taxation systems, housing registries, social welfare and assistance programs, driver or vehicle registration systems, job banks or employment assistance programs, and civil or family registries. The information used by these offices can often provide a sense of the general age of a local population, as well as offer insights into quality of life and social and economic well-being.

> An important note when using demographic data: International standards on data protection require that any personal information acquired about individuals must be used only for lawful purposes and that those managing the data must ensure it is kept safe and that personal or private information is not distributed without the consent of the individual or individuals involved.

Voter Analysis _____

Voter Analysis helps a political party and its candidates think through the key areas where their priorities match with the priorities of the voters it is attempting to persuade and mobilize in an election. This information will help guide and direct the party's campaign message, inform the voter contact and communication strategies, and identify the key issues and characteristics the party needs to highlight during the election campaign.

The relationship between political parties and voters often starts at the level of basic needs, when parties see themselves as service delivery organizations doing things like delivering food or supplies to communities, or setting up their own schools or health clinics. They may offer trainings or courses in local areas to build capacity and skills among citizens.

Over time, the expectations of voters start to change and the reasons why they support a party tend to move away from more material-based motivations towards more aspirational reasons: they want to see things get better for themselves and their children. Voters tire of ad hoc responses to problems – like mobile health clinics and training courses which appear whenever an election is near – and seek longer-term solutions.

Therefore, political parties need to consider how to connect with voters on a more aspirational level. This often includes looking at areas such as values, attitudes, issues and leadership qualities which a political party shares with its supporters. Examining where parties and voters connect in these areas is called voter analysis.

Activity 9: Voter Analysis

Think through your candidate or your party's relationship with its supporters and review the categories below. Identify the values, attitudes, issues and leadership qualities which the candidate or party and its supporters both think are important. These areas are the bridges between the political party or candidate and its supporters, and are the foundations for how the campaign will communicate with these voters.

Values are beliefs about what is right, what is wrong, and what is important. Members of the campaign's target audiences (A, B and/or C voters) share the following values with the party or candidate:

_____

_____

Attitudes are opinions or dispositions about how certain issues should be handled. Members of the campaign's target audiences (A, B and/or C voters) share the following attitudes with the party or candidate:

_____
_____

Issues are topics or problems which a society is facing. Members of the campaign's target audiences (A, B and/or C voters) share concerns with the party or candidate about the following issues:

_____
_____

Leadership Qualities are the traits and characteristics that define a leader. Members of the campaign's target audiences (A, B and/or C voters) share the same desire for the following leadership qualities:

_____
_____

Defining Your Strategy

At this point, you have done substantial research about the electoral environment in which you are running and the voters with whom you will have to communicate in order to win the election. It is time to put this information together into a clear strategy.

A campaign strategy is a statement of how you are going to win the election. At this stage, you have defined key elements of your strategy statement, including how many votes you will get and from which voters. In Module 4, you will add the activities that you are going to use to engage voters to your strategy statement. In Module 6, you will further clarify what makes your campaign different from that of your competitors and construct the messages that will be used to communicate and connect with these voters.

Return to Activity 1, which you completed in the first section of this workbook. Now that you have conducted some of the research that will inform your strategy, revisit your answers and see if there are any you would revise or alter.

Activity 10: Defining Your Strategy

1. Thinking about your next election, what would you say your strategy is?
    _____
    _____

2. How many votes do you need to win (your vote goal)?
    _____
    _____

3. How many votes are you going to get? From which voters?
    _____
    _____

4. What types of activities do you think will be most effective to engage these voters in your campaign?
    _____
    _____

5. What is your biggest advantage going into this election? How will you maximize this advantage?
    _____
    _____

_____
_____

6. Summarize your answers to the questions above into a strategy statement. This is a single sentence that explains how you are going to win the election by defining how many votes you will need, what types of voters will support you, and how you will appeal to them for their support.

"We will win this election by _____
_____
_____
_____."

Appendix 1

<u>Activity 1:</u> **Electoral System and Legal Requirements**

This version of Activity 2 provides a more comprehensive discussion of some of the issues a political party, candidate or electoral campaign is likely to face in an election. Campaign staff and party strategist should think through and be able to answer the questions below when preparing for an election.

Review and discuss each of these questions with the members of your campaign team who will have responsibility for preparing for the election. If you are not able to answer one or more of the questions, assign a specific member of your team to research the information you need and make arrangements for how and when that individual will report back to the team.

a)   Electoral system

1.   What is the type of election or level of office that is being voted on? Is it local, district, regional, national or mixed (multiple levels of office being voted on at one time)?

2.   How is the distribution of seats determined: What is the system of voting? How are votes counted and calculated?

3.   If this is a proportional representation election, is it a closed list system, a semi-closed list system, or an open list system? In other words, will the voter be able to select which party he/she prefers and which candidate within the party list he/she would like to see elected?

4.   Every system of elections creates advantages for some parties and disadvantages for others. What are the implications for your party in this election?

b)   Legal requirements

1.   Does the law layout specific requirements for the composition of the lists of candidates that the parties will have to present for registration, such as a minimum number of women candidates, their placement on the list, a youth quota, age limits or other prerequisites?

2. What will the ballot paper look like? Will your campaign have access to sample ballot papers in advance of the election so you can direct your voters to where you are on the list? If not, can you create a sample or mock ballot paper to help your voters?

3. What do you have to do to be eligible to stand in this election? What are the legal requirements and deadlines for candidates?

4. Who in your party is in charge of managing the registration process for candidates or parties, and of liaising whatever body is in charge of conducting the elections?

5. What does a citizen living in your electoral district need to do in order to be able to vote on election day? Is there a voter registration process (as opposed to automatic registration through the civil registry) and, if so, what are the rules for voter registration? Will these regulations make it easier or harder for your supporters to register and vote?

6. Generally speaking, would you feel comfortable contacting the election authorities to ask them for clarification on a particular issue that you might be unsure about? If you feel that this is OK, do you have the names and contact information of the persons in the body in charge of the election process in your electoral district?

7. What are the rules about fundraising? Are there restrictions on the amount of money you can raise or spend? Is there a limit on the amount an individual citizen can give to your campaign?   Can private companies give? Can you raise money from abroad or from non-citizens?

c)   Candidates and campaign

1. What is the officially defined election campaign period? On what date and at what hour does it begin and end? Are there restrictions on campaigning outside of this timeframe, or communicating with voters before the official campaign begins? If so, which laws prohibit this?

2. What are the rules restrictions on for campaigning? When can you communicate with voters and when can you not? Are any forms of voter contact restricted or prohibited? Are there restrictions on what language, colors or images your campaign can use? If yes, where is this information officially published and does your campaign have a copy of it?

3. How, when and by whom will your candidates be nominated and selected to be included on the election list? Does your party have a specific mechanism for the selection of candidates? Does your party have clear criteria for who is eligible to represent the party as a candidate, such as length of party membership, status as a citizen, demonstrated commitment to their local community, etc.? If so, are these criteria published and accessible to all party activists and staff, and to anyone who might like to be a candidate?

d) Management and organization

1. How many polling stations are there within the administrative boundaries of your electoral district? Do you have a full list (a map) of the polling stations with their precise address or location?

2. How many party agents (polling station observers) will your campaign team need for the elections? Is the number of the party agents equal to the number of the polling stations? Have your party agents been trained on the rules of procedure that apply for these elections?

3. Will the party agents be allowed to have physical access to the polling stations on Election Day and during the counting of ballot papers?

4. What are the rules for party agent registration? Who in your party is in charge of having your party agents registered, so that they can do their job on Election Day?

5. What are the mechanisms for filing complaints on Election Day and who in your party is in charge of that? Have the party agents been trained on how to file a complaint?

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 4
Voter Contact
Communicating Directly with Voters

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

CAMPAIGN SCHOOLS

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

One of the most important things that candidates, political parties and party activists do is communicate directly with voters. In political organizing terms, this is known as voter contact.

An active and well-organized voter contact effort can build stronger relationships between candidates or political parties and the voters they want to support them. Voter contact programs also provide political leaders with key information about what issues are most important to voters, insights for policy development, and a basis for communication efforts in order to grow the party's base of support for the long-term.

This module focuses on how to prepare for, organize and implement an effective voter contact effort. Campaigns typically communicate with voters in the months and weeks leading up to the election. Political parties should be prepared to engage in voter contact activities year-round, whether or not there is an election on the horizon. But there are important strategic considerations for planning voter contact in the context of an election.

The following topics are covered:

1. Calculating Your Voter Contact Universe
2. Voter Contact Methods
3. Impact vs. Effort: Assessing Voter Contact Methods
4. Canvassing
5. Tracking Voter Contact Results
6. Get Out the Vote
7. Building a Voter Contact Plan

Calculating Your Voter Contact Universe

In the broadest terms, the electorate can be divided into three main categories.

Your Supporters	Persuadable or Undecided Voters	Your Opponents' Supporters
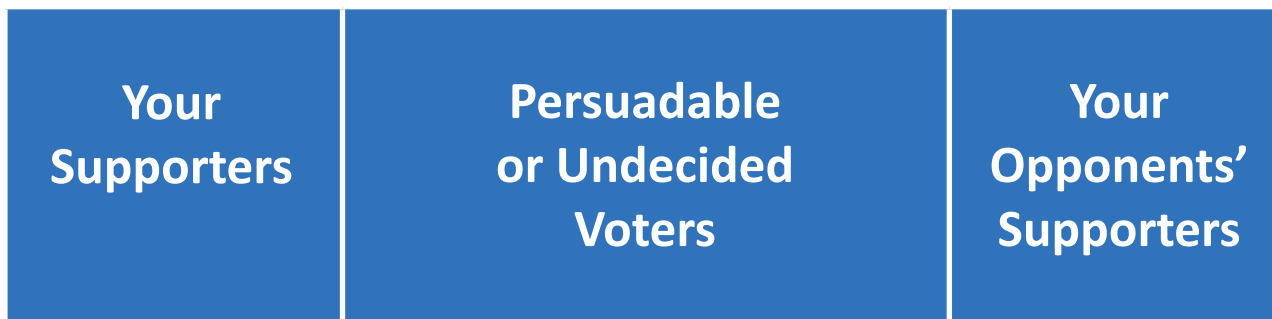
Voter contact has two goals:

- Persuading undecided or persuadable voters to support your party
- Mobilizing your supporters

In the previous module, you used Geographic and Demographic Targeting to identify which voters fall into each of these general areas for your party:

Your supporters are typically those who live in A areas of support for your party, or are part of demographic groups that show strong support for your party. They are going to vote for your party and they are not going to change their minds before election day.

Persuadable voters are typically those who live in B and C areas of support for your party or are part of demographic groups that show an interest in your party. They have not yet made up their minds to support your party and will be more likely to do so as a result of effective voter contact.

Your opponents' supporters are typically those who live in D areas of support for your party or are part of demographic groups that show strong support for your opponent(s). They are going to vote for your opponent(s) and they will not change their minds before election day.

Voter contact, and all forms of political communication, is focused entirely on the voters who live in A, B, and C areas and the demographic groups you have identified as supportive. All of your efforts should be focused solely on these voters. This module will provide you with tools and methods to determine how you prioritize each of these groups and how you engage them.

NDI

But what about the voters who live in D areas or belong to D groups? What do we do with them?

Nothing. The fact is that in a democracy, there will always be voters who do not support your party. You can feel sorry for them, but you should not waste your precious resources on voters who will never support you.

Activity 1: Calculate Your Voter Contact Universe

Return to the targeting exercises you conducted in the previous module.

1. How many voters are in your A areas? _____

2. How many voters are in your B areas? _____

3. How many voters are in your C areas? _____

4. Add the numbers in lines 1, 2 and 3 together. _____

This is the total number of voters you will have to contact over the course of the campaign. This should give you a sense of the size of the task ahead.

Activity 2: Number of Contacts

The next matter to consider is how many times you are going to have to contact each of these types of voters.

- For example, is your universe of B and C voters very large? How sympathetic are they likely to be? Will they have to hear from you more than once to be persuaded to support your party?
- How mobilized are your A voters? Will they have to be reminded more than once to get out and vote on election day?
- What is the electoral environment like? How will this influence voter turnout? Does this mean you'll have to spend more time and resources contacting your target voters to remind them to vote?

Based on your assessment of these dynamics:

How many times should your party contact A voters? _____
How many times should your party contact B voters? _____
How many times should your party contact C voters? _____

5. Multiply the number of contacts for A voters x the number of A voters

6. Multiply the number of contacts for B voters x the number of B voters

7. Multiply the number of contacts for C voters x the number of C voters

Activity 3: Voter Contact Daily Count

8. Add up the numbers from lines 5, 6 and 7 above

9. Divide the total from line 8 (above) by the total number of days between now and the election, or by the total number of official campaign days

10. The total number you got in line 9 is the number of voters you will have to contact everyday between now and election day (or during the official campaign). Ask yourself if this is a realistic number.

- Do you have enough volunteers to reach this many voters?
- Do you have the necessary transportation and communication resources if these voters are spread over a large geographic area?
- Do you have the resources for this level of activity?
- What do you think will be the most efficient way to communicate with this many voters?

11. We will conduct more detailed planning later in this module, but at this stage what is your assessment of how well prepared your campaign is to contact this many voters during the official campaign period?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Voter Contact Methods

Voter contact describes the techniques and activities campaigns use to communicate with the electorate, to persuade undecided voters to vote for them, and to mobilize their base voters. Worldwide, political parties and campaigns use a vast variety of voter contact methods: everything from mobile constituent help centers or clinics, to tents at festivals, to organizing events where candidates wash voters' cars!

The type of voter outreach methods your campaign uses in an election will depend on a number of factors:

- what types of activities are legal and culturally acceptable
- the size of the total targeted voting population your campaign is trying to reach
- the number of voters your campaign is trying to persuade to support it
- whether the landscape is more urban or rural, and how closely people live to one another
- local feelings about politicians and political leaders
- the campaign's financial and human resources
- the security environment
- what is likely to have the greatest impact

This section will walk you through how to determine which voter contact methods are best for your campaign and how to deliver an effective voter contact program. One of the best places to start is to consider what the options are.

Activity 4: Voter Contact Techniques

1. What does your campaign or party do now to communicate with voters? How often does it conduct these activities?

_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Can these methods be used year-round, even when there isn't an election?

_____
_____
_____
_____

3. Among these voter contact methods, which are most effective? Why?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Activity 5: Activities List

1. Review the list of voter contact techniques you made in Activity 4 and see if there are other methods listed below that your campaign or party can use. Circle or make note of any on the list below that you would adopt. Common voter outreach techniques include:

    - Posters and Banners
    - Public or Community Meetings
    - Festivals and Rallies
    - Billboards
    - Leaflets and Brochures
    - Phone calls to voters
    - Newspaper Advertisements
    - Discussions with Community Leaders
    - Social Media Campaigns (e.g., Facebook fan page)
    - Policy Manifestos
    - Press Releases
    - Radio Advertisements or Paid Air Time
    - Door-to-Door Canvassing
    - T-shirts, Hats and Party Merchandise
    - Plays, Shows and Local Theatre
    - Party Website
    - Television Advertisements or Party Political Broadcasts
    - Internet Videos
    - Email and SMS

2. Considering the additional voter contact methods you have chosen from the list above, why do you think these would work for your campaign?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Impact vs. Effort: Assessing Voter Contact Techniques

Like every aspect of campaign planning, voter contact must be approached strategically. The voter contact methods your campaign chooses will be influenced by the number of voters you need to reach and how much work you need to do to persuade or mobilize target voters. Your choice of methods will also be shaped by the amount of work involved in each and the resources your campaign has available for voter contact. This section will help you analyze which voter contact techniques are the best fit for your campaign.

Assessing Impact: Hot or Cold

Every voter outreach technique is either Hot or Cold. Hot and cold are terms used to measure the effectiveness of an outreach technique.

Hot techniques have a lasting impact on the voter.

They may be thinking about it even hours later. They might discuss it with their spouse over dinner. They may call a family member to tell them about it.

Cold techniques have a fleeting impact on the voter.

They are forgotten about quickly. Voters quickly move back to their busy lives after this type of engagement.

The impact of a voter contact technique depends on the local political and cultural environment and the target audience you are trying to reach. For example, a social media campaign is more likely to be "hot" if the target audience is younger voters rather than pensioners because younger voters are more likely to get their information this way. Television advertisements by campaigns may be "hot" if they are a newer way for parties to communicate or if the electorate is extremely interested in the campaign, but they are more likely to be "cold" in a campaign environment where there are so many advertisements that the voters are overwhelmed.

Use your best judgment to assess which voter contact methods are likely to deliver the strongest impact for your campaign in the existing political and cultural environment. You should also consider how your target voters are most likely to get their information.

Hot vs. Cold

1. Review the list of voter contact techniques below. Add any techniques your party also uses which are not on listed. Label each technique as either "hot" or "cold" and be prepared to explain why you have chosen this answer.

    ☐   Posters and Banners
    ☐   Public or Community Meetings
    ☐   Festivals and Rallies
    ☐   Leaflets and Brochures
    ☐   Radio Advertisements
    ☐   Discussions with Community Leaders
    ☐   Policy Manifestos
    ☐   Social Media Campaigns
    ☐   Press Releases
    ☐   Television Advertisements
    ☐   Newspaper Advertisements
    ☐   Door-to-Door Canvassing
    ☐   T-shirts, Hats and Party Merchandise
    ☐   Plays, Shows and Local Theatre
    ☐   Party Website
    ☐   Internet Videos
    ☐   Email and SMS
    ☐   _____
    ☐   _____
    ☐   _____
    ☐   _____
    ☐   _____
    ☐   _____

Assessing Impact: the Bottom Line

It is important to keep in mind that what is hot and what is cold may, in some circumstances, change from one election to another and certainly from one country to another. Therefore, it is important for purposes of strategy, planning and resource management to keep in mind the following:

● **The more personal the technique, the more persuasive, or hot, it tends to be.** Hot techniques are largely more personal and more direct forms of communication in which the target voters and candidates (or campaign volunteers) are physically present in the same space. These techniques also give the voter an opportunity

to talk back so it is a two-way conversation or dialogue, rather than just a monologue with only the party or candidate getting a chance to speak. If your B and C voters vastly outnumber your A voters or if you're facing a tight election, more personal techniques may be the best choice.

- **The more targeted a technique is, the bigger the return for the campaign.** It can be important for the campaign to host a hospitality tent or give out sweets at a local festival, for example. But if it is unclear whether the voters at the festival are the campaign's targeted voters, then the impact and return for the campaign's work will be lower. The more voter contact can be designed around communicating directly with target voters, the more effective it is going to be.

- **Hot techniques are less expensive than cold techniques.** Community meetings, for example, cost very little to put together. However, they require more time and more people to organize and implement and so planning and recruitment for these has to start earlier.

- **Worldwide, door-to-door canvassing is the technique that tends to have the highest impact.** Because it is extremely personal and can be conducted directly with target voters, canvassing by meeting voters in their homes tends to be the hottest form of voter contact. Community meetings are a good second choice, especially in areas where there is conflict or security concerns or where voters are less comfortable being visited in their homes.

- This does not mean your campaign should abandon all cold techniques. **Almost every electoral campaign will be made up of a combination of hot and cold techniques.** If every political party in the election puts up posters, it may make sense for your campaign to do the same, even if they are cold. Good strategy is about tying your voter contact plan to your vote goal and choosing the activities that will get you there.

Assessing Effort: Resources vs. Return

Every form of voter contact requires hard work and resources from the campaign. Some techniques require more time and volunteers; others require more money. All require a certain amount of research, information and strategic planning.

Think through the voter contact methods you listed in Activities 4 and 5, the ones typically used by your political party or campaign, or ones you are thinking of using in the next election (or even in between elections to help build your base of support). Consider the amount of resources they require in comparison to the impact they will

have. The chart below uses a scale of 1-5, **with 1 being lowest and 5 being highest,** to rate some common voter contact techniques according to five criteria:

Financial Cost ➡ How much money will be required?
Volunteers Needed ➡ How many volunteers will be needed to help?
Time and Planning Needed ➡ How much time will be needed to plan and execute the activity?
Impact ➡ How hot or cold is the activity for the voters my campaign is trying to reach? What will the impact be?
Efficiency ➡ How many voters can the activity reach at one time?

Method	Financial Cost	Volunteers	Time and Planning	Impact on Target Voters	Efficiency
Canvassing	1	5	4	5	1
Community Meetings	1	3	5	5	4
Posters	4	3	3	1	5
Phone calls to voters	3	3	4	3	3
Television advertisements	5	1	3	2	5
Social media	2	1	3	2	2

This chart offers a general assessment of the impact and efficiency of these methods in a particular campaign environment. This may differ according to the local environment or circumstances and the size of the population you need to reach.

Assessing Effort: the Bottom Line

The question for every campaign is whether they can afford, in terms of time, money and volunteers, to implement the voter contact methods that would best suit their goals. And, if they don't have sufficient resources on hand, whether they are in a position to raise or recruit these resources.

Remember that every campaign will employ voter contact techniques that demand a lot of resources, as well as those that require lower levels of resources. The key is to concentrate your efforts on voter contact techniques that will deliver targeted results for the campaign and that you can implement effectively with sufficient resources.

Activity 7: Resources vs. Return

1. Review the lists you made in Activities 4 and 5 of voter contact methods your political party or campaign currently uses or those you think they should adopt. Based on the political and cultural environment you will face in the next election, consider the amount of resources each of these methods requires in comparison to the impact they will have according to the five criteria listed in the chart below. Use a scale of 1-5, with 1 being lowest and 5 being highest. In the final column, indicate whether you think this method is still worth using by marking the box with a √ to keep it or an X to drop it from your plan.

Method	Financial Cost	Volunteers	Time and Planning	Impact on Target Voters	Efficiency	Keep or Drop?

Based on the hot vs. cold and resources vs. return analyses you have conducted in this section, write the final list of voter contact methods your campaign or political party will use in the next election, and which of your target voters you will communicate with using each method (A, B or C, or demographic categories). Be prepared to explain why you have chosen these.

Voter Contact Method   **Target Voters**

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

Canvassing

Canvassing is a form of systematic and personal communication between an electoral campaign and target voters. It is typically practiced by candidates, political party representatives and volunteers going from home to home in a priority area and talking with voters about the election.

Among every form of voter outreach, canvassing is the activity with the highest impact and highest return. It is far more personal than most forms of voter contact and is more likely to be a rewarding and valuable experience for both the campaign and the voter. Canvassing allows the campaign or party to:

✓ Identify more precisely where its areas of support are and make sure these voters are registered to vote and likely to vote on election day
✓ Build or strengthen the relationship with base (A) and persuadable (B and C) voters
✓ Demonstrate to voters that the campaign or party is active, engaged and concerned about the citizens
✓ Test its message and get a better sense of what issues are important to voters

There are two types of canvassing:

1. **Survey Canvassing –** In a survey canvass, a political party or candidate goes directly to voters to find out what issues are most important to them and to learn about their impressions of the party. A survey canvass is typically conducted well in advance of an election or in between elections.

2. **Persuasion or Electoral Canvassing –** In a persuasion or electoral canvass, a political party or its candidate visits local voters to communicate a campaign message and persuade voters to vote for them.

Although it can be extremely effective (hot and high impact), it is also an activity which requires a lot of planning and a fair amount of resources (high effort). In order to conduct canvassing activities, a campaign team will need:

● Plenty of volunteers (in many countries, especially in areas where there has been conflict, voters are more comfortable, and therefore more responsive, if at least one of the members of a canvassing team is female)
● A copy of the voters list for the area that is being canvassed (a list of registered voters in the area)
● A street map or boundary map of the area to be canvassed

- Briefing materials to prepare canvassers for common or difficult questions
- Party or campaign literature with contact information
- Feedback forms or some mechanism to collect information about voters' political support and issues of priority, as well as details of voters who wish to volunteer or donate to the campaign
- A script for canvassers so they know what to say to voters and what information to collect
- Badges, hats, t-shirts or other campaign paraphernalia that make it clear who volunteers are with and support the campaign's branding efforts (if this is safe to wear in public)

A good canvassing script helps prepare campaign volunteers to engage with voters and ensures that all party activists are delivering the same message. Canvassing scripts:

- Should take a small amount of time
- Use simple language or even pictures in order to communicate effectively with voters
- Should allow for a two-way conversation to demonstrate that the party or candidates are not there just to talk, but also to listen
- Begin and end with the name of the party or candidate being said aloud by canvassers so they are more likely to remember you were there
- Canvassing is best if done in pairs so that one person can engage the voter and one person can write down the voter's response; depending on local sensitivities, it is usually best if at least one of the canvassers is female as voters tend to find this less intimidating
- Should be polite; canvassers should be instructed not to engage in arguments with voters, to treat all voters with respect and to walk away politely if a discussion gets heated

Activity 8: Canvassing Script

Working with your team members, use the space below to write a script for a persuasion or electoral canvass for the upcoming election. Before you being to write, think through the questions below.

After you have finished your draft, select two people from your group to be canvassers. You will test your script with a voter.

- Will voters have any concerns about being directly approached by representatives from a campaign? If so, what do you need to say or do to put them at ease?

- How do you think the voters would like to be greeted? What should you say to them?
- What do you need to ask voters? What information do you need most (e.g., key issues, voting intention, whether or not they're registered) to build an effective campaign strategy and make sure you're communicating effectively with target voters?
- How will you incorporate your message or slogan?

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Tracking Voter Contact Results

Throughout all of this challenging and energizing work communicating directly with voters, it is vital that you keep track of what voters are saying to you. The beauty of direct voter contact is that it often provides the opportunity to engage in two-way communication so that not only can you deliver your message to voters but they can tell you what they think of that message, of you as a candidate, of your party and of the issues that are important to them.

This information is invaluable to electoral campaigns. But to benefit from it, you have to keep track of it and pay attention to what it is telling you.

Consider the sample voter contact card below. This can be used to collect information about what campaign activists, candidates and volunteers are hearing from voters. It can also be used to gather demographic data that will be extremely useful to the campaign in the long-term. This information is then brought back to the campaign headquarters where it is entered and tracked in a database of voter information. If the campaign is collecting and monitoring this information effectively, it should provide a fairly clear map of where the party or candidate should expect support on election day and where the campaign should be focusing its efforts.

Sample Voter Contact Card

Voter's Name: _____

Address: _____

Polling District: _____

Contact Phone: _____

Contact Email: _____

Party Affiliation: _____

Registered to Vote?	Yes	No	Doesn't Know
Planning to Vote:	Yes	No	Doesn't Know

Voting Intention: 1   2   3   4   5   R   X

Needs:

More Information
Absentee Ballot
Ride to the Polls
Election Day Child Care

Will support the campaign by:

Volunteering
Canvassing
Working to Get Out The Vote
Making a Donation
Phoning

Additional Information/Issues: _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Voting Intention Key:

1 = Supporter, 2 = Leaning toward Candidate, 3 = Undecided, 4 = Leaning toward Opponent, 5 = Supporting Opponent, R = Refused to Answer, X = Not at Home

Consider other types of information you may need to build a relationship with voters in your area and to accommodate the local political environment. Data files can also be used to identify potential volunteers or to determine who might be able to provide financial or material support to the campaign. They can also be used to track certain issues along geographic and demographic lines.

Sometimes, however, voters can be hesitant to share this type of information if they feel the questions are too personal or if there has been violence or political conflict. Think carefully about what you really need to know and find ways to ask about these

things without making voters feel uncomfortable. For example, if voters do not want to say who they are planning to vote for, you can ask them what issues are most important to them and which party or candidates they think are doing the best job on these issues. This also means that you must be very careful with the information you collect to ensure that the data is accurately protected and not used for any purposes other than voter outreach.

Building a Voter Database

The simplest way to track voter contact results is to tie them directly to the voter list in a database. If you are able to get the voter list (official list of registered voters for the area) in electronic form, you can create additional fields in a simple spreadsheet that allow you to code and input feedback from voters.

If you cannot get the voter list in electronic form, with the right staffing and volunteers you can build your own voter database. Depending on how large the geographic area is and the size of the population, this can take a considerable amount of time but is worth the investment. If done well, the final product will provide you with core information about the electorate that will be useful for years to come. Building your own data system also has the advantage of being able to identify and include voters who are not registered and thus not be on the official voter list.

There are also desktop-based or internet-based voter list management software packages available. A number of companies offer these but they can be expensive. Ensure that any you purchase are appropriate for the local political environment and include the type of information you will be using. For example, avoid software that relies heavily on using residential addresses if that's not the way the local area is organized.

Whether you are working with the voter list, building your own voter database or using ready-made software, try to think long-term and construct a data system that allows you to track information over a number of years so that you can begin to identify trends. You will also need a system that is flexible enough to allow you to run a number of different types of reports so that you can pull up the names of all the voters who have not registered, for example. Or, you can pull up the names of all the voters in a specific polling district.

If none of these electronic formats are options for your campaign, there is nothing wrong with working with a written list or ledger. Good data management is about the quality of the information that is maintained, not how fancy or expensive the format is. Electronic options simply offer more flexibility.

The type of information you might want to track in your voter file includes:

Family Name	
First Name	
Salutation/How to Address Them	What should your candidate, party officials or anyone from the campaign call this person when contacting them?
Gender	Male or Female?
Contact Phone	If people are likely to have several phone numbers (e.g., a home, work and mobile phone, or several mobile phones) create separate fields for each ranking them according to which is the best or most appropriate one to reach them on.
Contact Email	Collect this information even if email is relatively new or only used by a small population. It is likely to grow in the future.
Contact Address	Collect this information so you know where to visit them for direct voter contact, and so you can contact them by mail if there is a postal system. If there is no system of addresses in the area, describe how to find their residence or place of work so that volunteers could find it.
Postal Code	If there is a functioning postal system, collecting postal codes can be very useful for organizing voters into manageable geographical areas.
Polling District or Station	This is very important information for organizing voter contact and Get Out the Vote efforts.
Party Affiliation	Are they a member or active supporters of a political party?
Voting Intention	Who are they planning to vote for in the upcoming election? Review the grading system in the voter contact card below.
Voting History	For longer-term purposes, it can be very useful to track whether or not this person actually voted in an election. This will help make sure your future efforts focus on likely voters.
Priority Issues	What issues are they saying are important?
Date of Birth or Age Range	

Activity 9: Tracking Voter Contact Results

Use the space below to design your own voter contact card. What information do you need to track and what form should that take?

Get Out the Vote

The feeling of winning an election can be very exciting. There is a real sense of energy and enthusiasm in the days before an election if the polls suggest that your party will do well or if you're getting a lot of feedback from your voter contact activities that the voters are saying they support your party or your candidate in this election.

It can be extremely validating when the voters say they love you. However, if they love you from home, the love is lost. In other words, it does not matter how well you are doing in the polls or how great the voters say you are if they don't actually go out on election day and cast a ballot for you.

This is why Get Out the Vote (GOTV) is a key component of your voter contact plan. GOTV is all the activities that you will conduct towards the end of the campaign period and on election day to ensure that your supporters actually show up at their polling place and cast their ballot.

The types of activities typically used for GOTV are exactly the same or similar to those used for voter contact to persuade and mobilize targeted voters during the election campaign. However, the methods selected for GOTV have the ability to communicate directly and immediately with voters in order to convey a sense of urgency, check whether or not they have voted and gently persuade them in a personal way to get out and vote if they have not already done so.

The actual techniques used for GOTV will depend on the local environment, election law and campaign culture, but typical methods include:

☐ Door-to-door canvass
☐ Phone banks
☐ SMS and mobile phone messaging
☐ Persuasion literature drops

GOTV is about polite pushing: mobilizing and persuading supporters that it is essential that they go to the trouble (and sometimes hassle) of actually casting a ballot once voting has begun. The more difficult or unpleasant voting is in your area, the harder you may have to work to convince voters this is a good idea.

Think about obstacles some voters are likely to encounter and how you might be able to address them in your GOTV efforts.

- Will your supporters need transportation or assistance getting to the polling station?
- Will they need help finding their polling stations?
- Do you need to remind them what type of identification they should bring?
- Will they need someone to help mind children while they vote?
- Are they likely to experience any form of intimidation at the polls? Or could they find the voting process itself intimidating or bothersome if there are long lines or large crowds?

The more you have been able to track your voter contact activities, the more targeted your GOTV efforts will be. If you have kept good records of voting intentions in key areas for your campaign, you should be able to mobilize supporters according to geographic area, street, family, clan or even individual name.

Activity 10: **GOTV Planning**

Consider the next election in which you will be campaigning and think through what your GOTV strategy should be.

1. What GOTV techniques are likely to be most effective with your supporters?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. What obstacles or problems are your supporters likely to encounter that would make it difficult for them to vote? How can you help them address these?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

3. When does voting start? Is any voting permitted in advance of election day? When will you need to begin your GOTV efforts?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

4. What information do you need to track during the campaign to inform your GOTV
    efforts?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

Voter Contact Planning

Throughout this model, you have analyzed and constructed all of the elements that you will need for effective voter contact. It is time to bring them all together in a centralized plan.

A simple grid system, like the one used on the following page, allows you to collect and merge all of the research and strategic planning you have done as you have worked through the voter contact elements of your campaign. This provides you with a holistic view of the challenge ahead and can be inserted into the campaign's overall timeline (discussed in Module 9) to ensure the campaign remains on track on a daily basis.

There is a fair amount of math to be done to figure out your voter contact plan as accurately as possible, but these are fairly simple calculations and completing these will make a very real difference in tracking the progress and impact of your campaign and managing resources effectively.

Review the table below. This grid system was used to calculate what the voter contact plan would look like for a campaign with the following goals and challenges:

- 14,000 A voters to be contacted through community meetings, a leaflet drop and a billboard
- 23,000 B voters to be contacted through canvassing, community meetings and a billboard
- 12,000 C voters to be contacted through canvassing
- The campaign is also targeting the 80,000 first-time voters in the country; 40,000 are estimated to be actively engaged in social media websites
- The official campaign period is 120 days. This campaign will not have to take any breaks or days off for holidays.

Voter Contact Plan

Method	Target Audience	Size of Audience	Total Number of Contacts to be Made	Daily Contact Count (120 day election period)	When	Financial Costs	Volunteers Needed
Canvassing	B	23,000	2 per voter (23,000 x 2 = 46,000)	384 (46,000 ÷120 = 384)	1st contact in 1st 60 days of campaign; 2nd contact in last 60 days of campaign	Voters List, production of canvassing materials, refreshments for volunteers	50 per day (working in teams of 2)
Canvassing	C	12,000	2 per voter (12,000 x 2 = 24,000)	200 (24,000 ÷120 = 200)	1st contact in 1st 60 days of campaign; 2nd contact in last 60 days of campaign	Voters List, production of canvassing materials, refreshments for volunteers	22 per day (working in teams of 2)
Community Meetings	A and B (opinion leaders from A and B communities)	100	1	20 per meeting (100 ÷ a total of 5 meetings = 20 per meeting)	1 meeting per week in last 5 weeks of campaign	Meeting invitation and promotional materials, banners, microphone, campaign materials and refreshments	2 per meeting

Activity	Target audience	Number		Rate per day	Timing	Resources needed	
Billboards in target areas	A and B	11,000	1	0	Last 2 weeks of campaign	Billboard hire, design and production of billboard sign	0
Social Media Campaign	First time voters	40,000	1	334 per day (average) (40,000 ÷ 120 = 334)	Throughout campaign	Internet time, computer costs	0
Personalized Letter	First time voters	80,000	1	n/a	Send 14 days before election day	List of first-time voters and contact information, design and printing of letter, envelopes, paper and stamps	100 to stuff envelopes with letters
Leaflet drop	A	14,000	1	466 (14,000 ÷ 30 = 466)	Last 4 weeks of campaign	Design and printing of leaflet, production of maps for leaflet drop	30 per day
Phone calls to voters	B and C	25,000	1	417 (25,000 ÷ 60 = 417)	Last 60 days of campaign	Phones and calling time, production of lists of voters to be called	15-20 per day

It is important to note that in this example, the items associated with each activity that will cost money are listed, but no figures are given. It is vital that in your own planning, accurate figures are included so that the campaign is fully aware of the level of resources it will have to obtain and manage.

Also, a complete voter contact plan will contain a separate planning section for GOTV so that the campaign can adequately prepare for its GOTV activities and begin to shift towards these as the campaign period draws to a close.

What are your impressions of this example? Does it make the campaign's voter contact strategy clear? Do you think it would help a campaign plan better for their voter contact efforts?

Activity 11: Voter Contact Planning

Review the voter contact analysis and calculations you have conducted in this module and your targeting figures from the previous module. It might be helpful to reproduce some of those figures below to help you put together your voter contact plan.

From Activity 1 of this module:

1.   How many voters are in your A areas? _____
2.   How many voters are in your B areas? _____
3.   How many voters are in your C areas? _____

From Activity 7 of this module:

4.   What voter contact techniques have you selected for A voters? How many will you reach with each technique? How many times will you contact them using each technique?

Voter Contact Technique	Number of Voters	Number of Contacts

5. What voter contact techniques have you selected for B voters? How many will you reach with each technique?

Voter Contact Technique   **Number of Voters**   **Number of Contacts**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. What voter contact techniques have you selected for C voters? How many will you reach with each technique?

Voter Contact Technique   **Number of Voters**   **Number of Contacts**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

7. Are there any demographic groups that you are targeting as well? What voter contact techniques have you selected for each of these groups? How many will you reach with each technique? How many contacts will you make with each?

Voter Contact Technique   **Number of Voters**   **Number of Contacts**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

From Activity 10 in this module:

8. What GOTV techniques are likely to be most effective with your supporters?
_____
_____
_____
_____

Use all of this information (as well as the calculator on your mobile phone) to put together your own voter contact plan in the blank grid below. Use the first sheet to plan the voter contact techniques you will use during the electoral campaign and the second sheet to plan those you will use to Get Out the Vote on election day.

Method	Target Audience	Size of Audience	Total Number of Contacts to be Made	Daily Contact Count (120 day election period)	When	Financial Costs	Volunteers Needed
Campaign Period							

Method	Target Audience	Size of Audience	Total Number of Contacts to be Made	Daily Contact Count (120 day election period)	When	Financial Costs	Volunteers Needed
GOTV Period							

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 5
Issue Identification
and Policy Development
Identifying and Addressing

Important Issues

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

**CAMPAIGN
SCHOOLS**

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

Developing policy proposals that address societal problems, challenges and opportunities is a critical part of what political parties and candidates do. It is a core component of leadership and of governing.

It is also one of the most challenging functions that elected officials, candidates and political parties perform. Developing policies and programs informed by evidence can be difficult enough on its own. In countries undergoing significant political transitions, there is even more pressure on government leaders to generate policies that quickly deliver change and improve people's daily lives. As such, the process of policy development creates genuine trials for political parties and candidates for elected office, but it also offers opportunities to connect with citizens and understand their needs, and to take action to effectively address these needs and to shape the future of the country.

This module looks at options for approaching policy development, institutionalizing the capacity to formulate policy on a regular basis, and effectively disseminating messages on policy issues. Because policy development is most often undertaken by political parties, this module focuses largely on how a party as an organization would approach the topic. However, candidates also need to be able to articulate and promote specific policy solutions to show what they stand for and care about, what they would do if elected, and the difference between themselves and their opponents.

Topics include in this module include:

1. What is Policy?
2. Tools for Issue Identification
3. Tools for Developing Policy Options
4. Communicating Policy
5. Developing Internal Capacity

What is Policy?

At its core, politics is meant to be a competition of ideas: how the country should be run, how the economy should be developed, how relations with neighboring countries should be managed, how the country should educate its young people, how public health should be managed, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and so on.

In order for political ideas to come to life, they must be translated into policy. Policies are clear plans about how a political vision will be achieved and how ideas will be implemented as actions.

Consider the following example:

Political Idea/Vision	To eradicate illiteracy in our country, especially among women and girls
Policy	Build 800 new state-funded secondary schools in target areas Establish 30% of secondary schools as single-sex in the areas with the most need and demand Offer material incentives (food or money) for families to keep young people in school until the age of 16, especially girls
Indicators	Within 5 years: All construction of new schools completed All transitions to single-sex schools completed Material incentives program in place nationally
Costs	Restructure how current the current education budget is allocated to shift money towards capital investment Reassign .8% of the national health and social services budget to cover additional costs

In this example, the problem of high levels of illiteracy is addressed by making it easier for families to keep their children in school for longer, particularly girls who may be

more likely to leave school at an earlier age. This is a long-term solution, attempting to address an issue at its source.

The most effective policies are those informed by evidence. This can mean, for example, that those who are most affected by the problem or most likely to be affected by the proposed solutions are offered opportunities to be consulted and to express their opinion. It can also mean that independent research has been commissioned (or simply gathered if it already existed) to offer a broader view of the issue and its root causes and an examination of what solutions may and may not work.

Political parties and elected officials develop policy for two main purposes:

1. In the context of an election: to present their ideas to the electorate and to contrast themselves with the proposals of the other parties; and,

2. In the context of governing: the governing party or parties must put forward a clear legislative and policy agenda for the country, and the opposition party or parties must advance their own ideas to challenge those of the government, while also holding the government accountable by monitoring the results of the its policies and expenditures.

Although elections and governance are very different, the process for developing policy in each situation is generally the same. However, as we shall see later in this manual, the pace at which a party develops policy tends to be faster in the context of governing than it generally is when preparing for an election.

The stages of policy development look something like this:
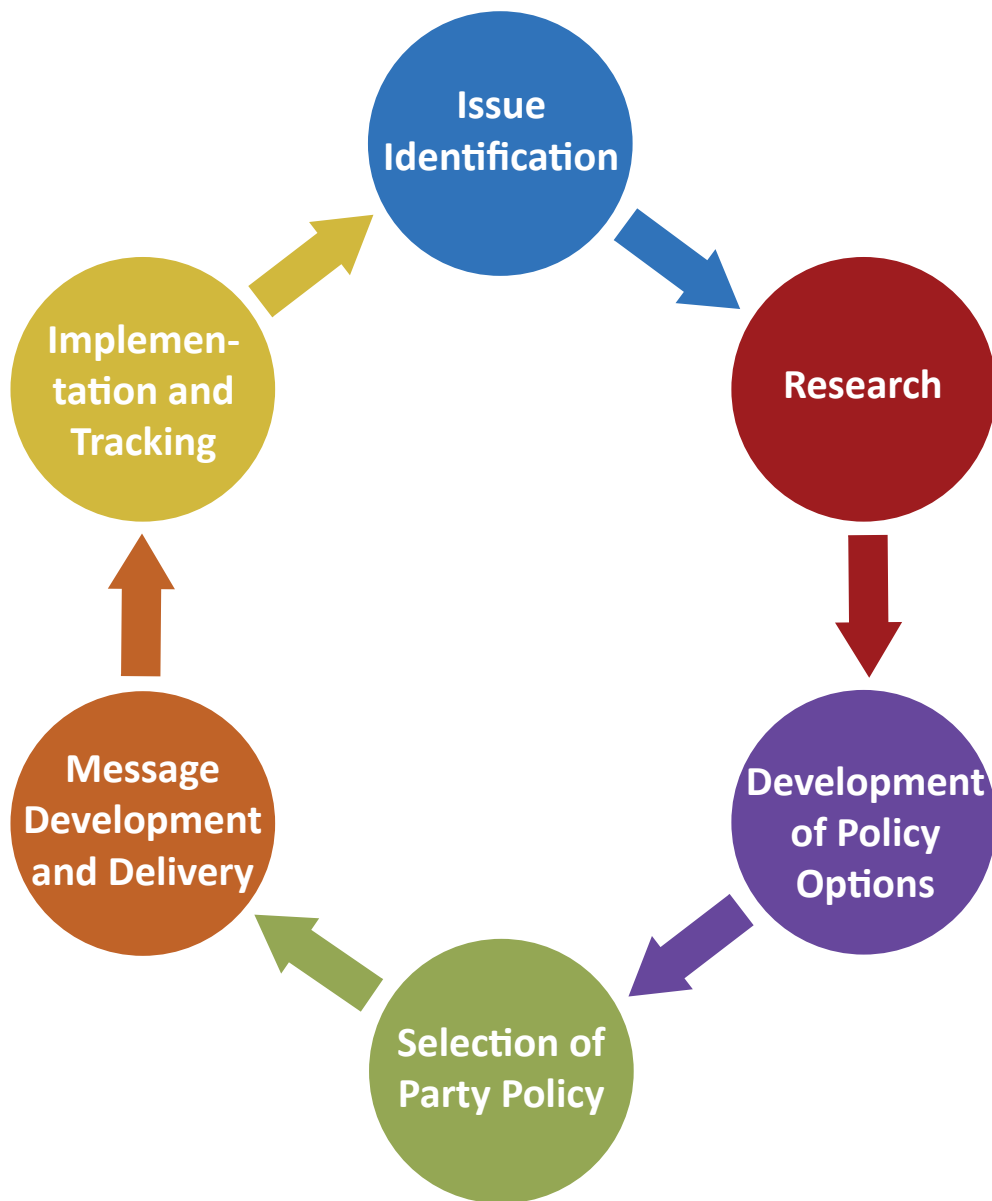
1. **Issue Identification**
   Issue identification helps a political party recognize and target the specific social problems or policy areas on which it can and should act.

2. **Research**
   Research involves gathering as much reliable information as possible to inform the party's understanding of and response to an issue. Good research focuses on outcomes: what do I need to achieve and how can I achieve this?

3. Development of Policy Options

There is rarely only one option available to address an issue or problem. The spectrum of choices typically starts with doing nothing and moves all the way to a large state-drive initiative to address a problem. A good response starts with assessing all of these, asking: what is likely to be most effective option given the available resources, and does this response address the problem as defined by the community that will be affected?

4. Selection of Party Policy

A political party must choose what its official position is based on the options available and what it is going to implement if elected to government.

5. Message Development and Delivery

At this stage, a party must effectively communicate with target audiences and stakeholders the specifics of its policy, why it has chosen this policy, what the benefits are to society, and what will happen when it is implemented.

If policy is being developed in the context of an electoral campaign, an election typically takes place at this point, between steps 5 and 6.

6. Implementation and Results Tracking

If a party is elected to government, the next stage is to implement the policies and document its achievements, evaluate the results, and ensure public funds are not being wasted. Opposition movements shift at this stage to monitoring the governing party's policies and results, and continuing to offer their own ideas as a contrast.

At times, the stages of policy development occur as distinct phases and the process moves step by step. However, when the political environment is more heated or energized or if an issue requires a rapid response, several of these stages can overlap or run consecutively. Some of them merge naturally. For example, issue identification and research often blend into one another as a party learns more about the causes of complex problems through building a base of evidence.

This manual will walk through some of the key stages of this process: issue identification and research, developing policy options and communicating policy. It will also focus on how a political party can develop the internal capacity to fulfill all of the functions outlined above.

Issue Identification and Research

How a problem or issue is understood affects the ideas that are put forward to solve it. Therefore, it is important to properly diagnose a problem before attempting to develop policy options.

Identifying a problem or issue starts with observation.
> What are you seeing or hearing that looks like a problem or an opportunity?
> Where are there crises in society now?
> Where are there likely to be serious problems or crises in the future?
> What are the assets or opportunities that are being under-utilized to address identified issues?

Identifying an issue can also begin by reflecting on a party or candidate's values or ideology.
> What is most important to us that requires more attention or more investment?
> What does the vision that we have promised to deliver look like and how can we achieve this?
> What commitments have we made?

In order to verify or validate theories or ideas about where societal problems lie, the next part of issue identification involves building a base of evidence. This requires gathering as many reports, surveys, research projects, etc. as possible that examine the issue you are seeking to address. Exploring the evidence before developing policy is critical because:

- Many issues are more complex than they may appear at first;
- An independent voice on an issue can bring a new or vital perspective that may otherwise have been missed;
- Policy is informed by first-hand or front-line experience of an issue is more likely to be successful at the implementation stage;
- It is important that stakeholders affected by a policy or issue have the opportunity to be consulted, as this also has a direct impact on the success of any proposed solutions;
- Proposals not informed by evidence risk wasting public funds; and,
- Evidence helps to distinguish between symptoms and causes of a problem.

This last point is particularly crucial. When engaging in policy development, it is very important to ensure that you understand and have identified the causes of a problem and not simply its symptoms. Consider the example below:

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Symptoms/Effects describe **WHAT**	Petty crime, car theft, vandalism to public property on the increase Use of drugs on the rise; availability of drugs increasing Rising public disorder problems
Causes describe **WHY**	Young men between the ages of 18-30 are not able to find work
Policy addresses **WHY**	The causes and not the symptoms

This example distinguishes what is happening as a result of a problem (the symptoms) from what is the source of a problem (the cause). It is important to try to break down the cause as specifically as possible. For example, note that this analysis looks specifically at young men of a specific age, rather than young people, or men of any age. Identifying the cause of a problem too broadly makes it more difficult to address effectively.

Focus On: Gender Analysis

Consider the example in the box above about unemployment among young men. It is important that this analysis focuses specifically on young men, and not just young people. It is fairly safe to assume that if unemployment is high among young men, it is also likely to be high among young women living in the same economy.

The questions for policy-makers are whether the causes of unemployment for women and men are the same, and whether the symptoms would be the same, i.e., if there are also tens of thousands of young women without paid employment, would the outcomes be the same in terms of increased petty crime, drug use and public disorder? Or, would there be other effects? What could those be?

Many public policy issues are likely to affect women and men differently because of their different roles in society. It is therefore important that policymakers apply a gender lens to policy and legislation to assess what the outcomes would be for women and for men. This tool is called gender analysis. It is a critical device for contemporary policy development which, when properly applied, ensures more effective public policy and better use of public funds.

Gender analysis includes identifying:

- Gender differences in the division of labor (who does the work, and what kinds of work do they do) and access to and control over resources;
- Both the practical needs and the strategic interests of women and men;

- Power differentials and dynamics between men and women;
- Social, economic and political constraints and opportunities facing women and men; and,
- Lifetime opportunities and outcomes for male and female members of society.

There are a number of options for gathering the necessary evidence and information needed to fully understand and isolate the cause of a problem or the source of an opportunity, and begin to build a strong base of evidence at the same time. These include:

Academic Research	Professional research from local universities and non-partisan think tanks can provide an independent analysis of a problem's causes, symptoms and possible solutions.
Asset Inventories	Asset inventories are great way to identify opportunities, so that policies are not focused solely on problems. To conduct an asset inventory, small teams of researchers observe a community or survey an issue, making note of strengths, skills, abilities, or chances for growth, rather than weaknesses or difficulties.
Audit Reports	Countries with a professional and independent audit capacity – whether based in a government agency or provided by civil society organizations – can use assessments of government spending and responses to problems to evaluate how effectively issues are currently being dealt with and how public funds are best used to address societal issues.
Community Cafés	A community café creates the atmosphere of a restaurant or café in which small groups of people from a local area or community discuss issues or questions asked by facilitators. These often help to create the relaxed environment necessary for some communities to discuss difficult or contentious issues. It is important that these consultations are organized in a way in which all members of the community can participate. For example, if young people or women do not go to such venues and they are also affected by the issue, then the model needs to be adjusted to accommodate their participation.
Committee Reports	If they have fully developed their capacity, legislative committees at the national, regional or local level will frequently compile reports that examine societal issues or problems and make recommendations on how they might be addressed.

Community Mapping	Community mapping involves getting to know the social, economic and demographic characteristics of a community in order to map out services that are already being provided, to assess how well these are being used or serving the population, to identify essential services that are not being provided, and to get a clearer idea of all resources available to the community. Community mapping can include demographic studies of the relevant population, economic assessments – including poverty and employment levels—and an inventory of civil society organizations and local service-providers. Community mapping is always a more valuable process when the relevant community is engaged and consulted directly, rather than simply observed externally.
NGO and IO Reports	Some larger international organizations, such as UNICEF, UNESCO, the World Bank, UNDP, and others, address a number of common societal problems worldwide, particularly those connected to development, increasing standards of living, reducing poverty, protecting the environment and advancing Millennium Development Goals. In the course of this work, these organizations produce reports that are often based on extensive research on specific problems, their causes, and recommended policy responses. Local NGO's and policy research organizations can also be a source of this information.
Focus Groups	Focus groups are a form of facilitated discussion in which groups of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a particular issue. It is helpful if the individuals recruited for the group are from a similar background, as this typically leads to a more comfortable environment for sharing ideas and feelings.
Gender Analysis	Many public policy issues affect women and men differently because of their different roles in society. Gender analysis of problems and issues involves assessing how women and men, girls and boys are each affected by a problem, to what degree and with what results.
Media Coverage	Media Coverage Monitoring media coverage of an issue can sometimes lead to good sources of information, such as newly-released data or experts on the issue.
Official Statistics	Official statistics are figures published by government agencies or other public bodies which provide quantitative information on major areas of citizens' lives, such as employment, education, access to sanitation, electricity and clean water, relative age of the population and the male/female ratio. A country's census is an example of official statistics.

Public Consultation Public consultation on issues and policy involves engaging a large population – sometimes the entire electorate – in discussions around a problem and in the development of solutions by gathering their thoughts on the origins of the issue and how it should be handled. Good consultation helps to improve the quality of the policy outcome and gets interested parties involved and invested in the issue.

Stakeholder Interviews Stakeholder interviews are structured discussions or surveys held with any group or individual affected by an issue, problem or proposed solutions.

Surveys A survey is one of the best known and most popular methods of identifying problems and evaluating public opinion about symptoms and solutions. Surveys can be very simple, targeting only a small audience, or quite complex, sampling large segments of a population. If there are insufficient resources or time to conduct a standalone survey on an issue, consider adding a few questions to a larger survey (often referred to as an omnibus survey) which a government agency or private sector research or marketing firm may already conduct on a regular basis.

The choice of mechanism or mechanisms depends on the amount of time available, what you need to know and how complex the issue is. Typically, more complex issues require more consultative forms of research to engage the communities or groups most impacted by an issue, or who are more likely to be affected by proposed solutions.
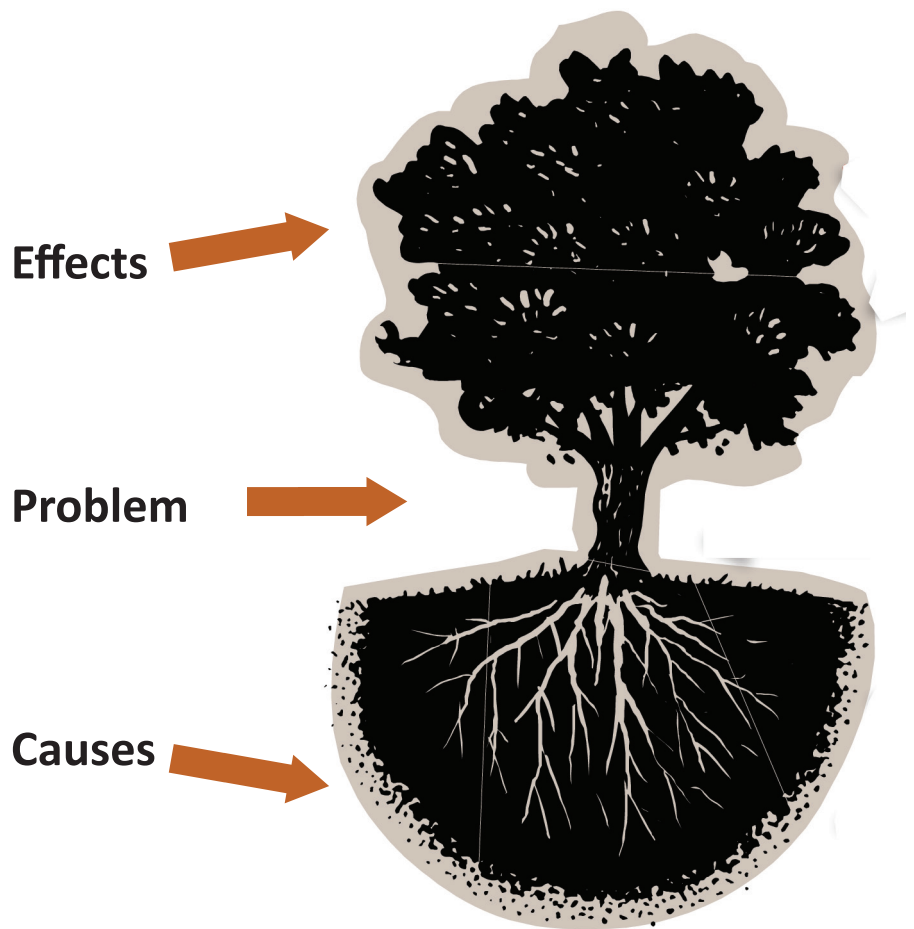
Problem Tree Analysis

Another tool for identifying and understanding issues is the Problem Tree Analysis. This structure maps out the anatomy of cause and effect around a particular issue or problem and allows larger problems to be broken down into management and definable pieces.

Dissecting a problem through this type of analysis can be particularly helpful because many societal problems have more than one cause. These are sometimes interconnected and sometimes contradictory. Additionally, it is not uncommon for different populations to have different understandings of the same issue. And, as noted earlier, the symptoms or effects of a problem can sometimes appear to be causes.

The Problem Tree Analysis helps untangle varied perspectives and isolates root causes. It is a simple tool that is easily accessible to any political party. Its simplicity also helps to make it extremely effective.

In the Problem Tree Analysis model:
- the problem to be addressed is the trunk of the tree;
- the effects, results or symptoms of the problem are the branches as leaves (the part that is most visible); and,
- The causes or sources of the problem are the roots (the part that is most difficult to see or most deeply embedded).

Effects

Problem

Causes

To conduct the Problem Tree Analysis, start from the trunk of the tree, move down and then up:

1. Write down the problem or issue to be analyzed, as you currently understand it.
2. Write down what you consider the causes or sources of the focal problem to be.
3. Write down the consequences, effects or outcomes.

Now, review what you have written. Is the problem as you have currently defined it really at the core of the causes and effects you have identified? Do you need to refine the problem more, break it down into smaller pieces or use more specific language? What research or evidence do you need to bring in to help you understand the issue better?

Consider the example below from a country just coming out of a long civil conflict, struggling with high levels of poverty and unemployment. A political party in this country worked with several civil society organizations to formulate a policy to deal with high unemployment among young men, and the subsequent social problems this created.

However, when they conducted their problem tree analysis, they found that the problems for these young men actually occurred much earlier in their lives, that these were the result of the effects of poverty and poor government investment in education at an early age, and that the core problem was that they were not completing secondary education and therefore were far less likely to be employed for the rest of their lives, even in a healthier economy.

Figure 1: Example of a Problem Tree Analysis

Activity 1: Issue Identification and Research

Reflect on the situation in your country and identify a problem affecting young people. Use the space below (or a separate piece of paper, or flipchart paper if you need more room) to construct a Problem Tree Analysis of the issue, bringing in your own understanding and as much research or evidence as you can access.

Clearly identify the problem, causes and effects connected to the issue. You can begin to think about what the solutions might be to address this matter, but you do not have to list them at this stage.

Activity 2: Gender Analysis

Review the Problem Tree Analysis you conducted in Activity 1. Consider whether the issue you identified as a problem is one that affects women and men (or boys and girls) differently. If you have identified a problem as it pertains to just one gender (males or females), consider what its impact might be on the other gender.

Use the space below to conduct a gender analysis of the issue by applying the following questions:

1. How are women affected by this issue? How are men affected by this issue?
2. What are the causes of this problem for women? What are the causes of this problem for men?
3. What are the effects of this problem for women? What are the effects of this problem for men?

Be sure to consider things like workloads inside and outside the home, access to resources (financial and material support, education, health care, etc.), basic survival needs (food, water, clothing, housing, etc.), freedom of or restrictions on movement, security and safety issues – all of these variables will intermingle and impact how an issue affects men and women differently.

When you have finished, discuss what you have learned by conducting this type of analysis, and whether or not you see this problem differently as a result.

Effects:

_____
_____
_____

Problem:

_____
_____
_____

Causes:

_____
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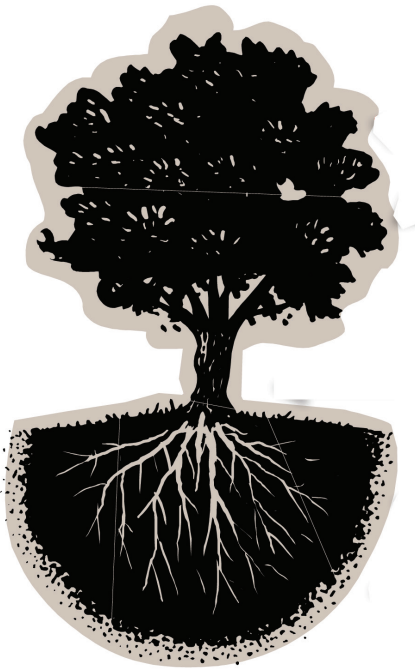
Tools for Developing Policy Options

In policy development as in life, it is often easier to identify problems than it is to identify solutions. Developing effective policy solutions requires innovation, sound financial skills, and a solid base of evidence and issue identification.

The research, evidence and findings from any consultation that has been conducted all start to play a bigger role in this stage. However, so does the political environment in which any policy options will have to be implemented.

Successful policy options depend on three key elements:

- developing and using a sound evidence base, that comes from solid issue identification and research
- understanding and managing the political context, including public opinion and political leaders
- planning from the outset for how the policy will be delivered by setting SMART (Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic, Timely) objectives

Successful Policy Options

Issue Identification & Research

Political Context

Delivery Plans
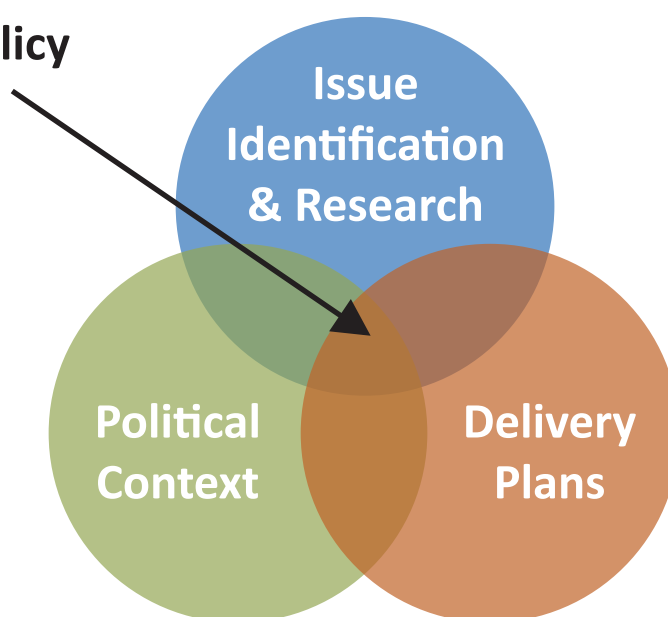
This section of the manual will walk you through how to manage each of these dynamics. One of the best ways to do this is to approach the development of policy options in four steps:

1. Clearly define the outcome or outcomes you need or want to achieve
2. Identify the routes for reaching or achieving these outcomes

3.   Check the viability of options, including their cost
4.   Check the clarity of options

1. Clearly define the outcome or outcomes you need or want to achieve

Outcomes are results. The best policy options are formulated by starting with intended outcomes and working backwards from there. In other words, what do you need to happen as a result of your policy? For example:

- What should be the minimum level of education reached for children and young people?
- What should the quality of life be like for pensioners?
- How easy should it be for small and medium businesses to start and grow?
- What should the maternal mortality rate be?
- What should life expectancy be?
- What should the rate of employment be?

Write down, using as many specifics as possible, what it would look like if the policy you are seeking to develop were successfully applied and implemented.

Another way of looking at it is to consider how you would reverse the terms of the problem you clarified in the issue identification stage. If the problem, for example, is that 51% of boys from poorer families are not completing secondary education, what is the opposite of this in realistic terms?

2. Identify all possible options for reaching or achieving these outcomes

This is where your base of evidence will be most useful. What have you learned from the work you have done on issue identification and research? What are the most efficient and effective routes to the outcomes you have defined in step one? Apply the following questions to the information you have gathered:

- If nothing is done about this issue, what is likely to happen? Does it get worse, in terms of human or financial costs? Does it get better? Does nothing happen? It is too difficult to tell?
- Is current policy dealing with the issue effectively? Does anything have to change?
- Where would change be most desirable?
- What are other policy areas with similar issues? How have these been addressed? Has this been successful or not?
- What are other countries with similar issues? How have they addressed these? Has this been successful or not?
- If we were to address this issue innovatively and creatively, what would solutions look like?

- What are those groups which are most affected by the problem asking for?
- What actions can be taken to address or neutralize the causes of a problem?
- What actions can be taken to mitigate some of the symptoms or effects of a problem?
- What approach(es) would best meet the needs of women? Men? Girls? Boys? Different minority groups?

These questions serve as a filter mechanism. As they are applied to the information that has been gathered during issue identification and research, policy options for responding to an issue or problem begin to emerge.

3. Isolate the most viable options

Successful policy applies the principles of good governance to the realities of the political environment.

Good Governance

Standards for good governance require that all policy options are checked for risk, value for money and gender mainstreaming.

There is always an element of risk involved in doing something differently. Check your policy options for the degree and type of risk, i.e., financial, physical, material, environmental or social. Is the amount of risk reasonable and manageable; does it justify the potential rewards?

Any policy option that requires the use of public funds must also be assessed for its value for money – whether the benefits to society justify the costs. Consider which options represent a smart investment for the country and sound use of public funds. Ask whether spending money in this manner represents good financial management, and also whether it reflects the values of society as well as those of your political party.

Contemporary standards for good governance also require a sound gender analysis of policy proposals to ensure there is no inherent bias. Check your emerging proposals against the following criteria:

- In terms of gender, what groups are most likely to be affected by the proposed policy and any required legislation to implement it?
- What is the estimated impact of the policy and/or proposed legislation on these groups?
- Does the policy change the activity patterns of men or women, and how?
- Does the policy increase or decrease women or men's workload (reproductive or

productive)?

- Who (men or women) would make the decisions and who would do the groundwork to implement the policy?
- Would women and men have equal access to program events, benefits or services?
- Who would benefit the most from the policy?

In some cases, you'll want to evaluate the impact of emerging proposals not only with regard to gender, but also on other groups, including: youth, elderly, urban or rural populations, people living in poverty and people with jobs, etc.

Political Environment

There are also the realities of politics to consider. When policy proposals move from the development phase and enter the world of possibilities, they immediately confront the reactions and opinions of others. It is important to anticipate, understand and plan for a range of likely responses to any policy proposals, as these will significantly impact their viability.

Environment	What is current public opinion on this issue? What is current public opinion of major political actors on this issue?
Supporters	Who is likely to support the policy? Why? Will their support be strong or weak? How can I maximize their support?
Opponents	Who is likely to oppose the policy? Will their opposition be strong or weak? What will their arguments be against the policy? How can I neutralize these arguments?
Stakeholders	Who is most likely to be affected by this policy? What degree of change will they have to adjust to? What is their initial reaction likely to be? What information or interaction do they need to support the policy?

There is substantial debate about whether policy options should be compromised to meet the realities of politics. If, for example, the best policy on education is to advance mandatory, universal, state-funded secondary education until the age of 18, but the financial situation means that the country could never really afford this, and

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the agricultural lobby would actively oppose this because it affects their access to an affordable workforce, is it worth insisting on implementing the policy in its purest form? Or, is it better to accept an incremental change, with the understanding that winning a short-term goal is a step towards achieving your long-term goal?

In most situations, whether there is compromise, when it occurs and to what degree depends on a number of factors, such as power relationships, the financial or economic situation, or whether an issue has reached crisis stage. Regardless, the political environment needs to be mapped out before advancing any policy options to ensure they have some degree of viability.

4. Check the clarity of options

Finally, check how well your policy has been formulated and devised, whether your objectives are clear, your action points are compelling and the language is lucid, even for complex issues. Clear and compelling policies are much easier to communicate and therefore more likely to be successfully implemented. Clear benchmarks help to measure the effectiveness and progress of the policy.

It might be useful to apply the criteria for SMART objectives to this stage. Check that the policy proposals you have created meet the following standards. Are they:

Specific

- described in precise or detailed terms

Measurable

- progress and achievement can be assessed and quantified

Achievable

- it can actually be accomplished with the time and resources available

Realistic

- it is a sensible and practical goal

Time-bound

- a specific time has been set to achieve the objective

Consider again Figure 1, the example of the Problem Tree Analysis from the previous section concerning education and young men. The research conducted in this case tells us a number of things:

- 10 – 30% of academic achievement (young people doing well in school) is connected to the classroom itself; 70-90% of academic achievement is connected to the home environment and the mother's level of education
- Academic disadvantage (children not doing well in school) is embedded by the age of 5 – if young people are already behind in school by this age, it is very difficult for them to catch up
- Success in education is lower for children and young people whose housing situation is overcrowded or unstable (i.e., homelessness), especially for boys

The political party championing this issue came up with three policy options to address the problem. Two of these involve changing the way the government spends money, and the third involves working directly with local communities.

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Figure 2: Developing Policy Options
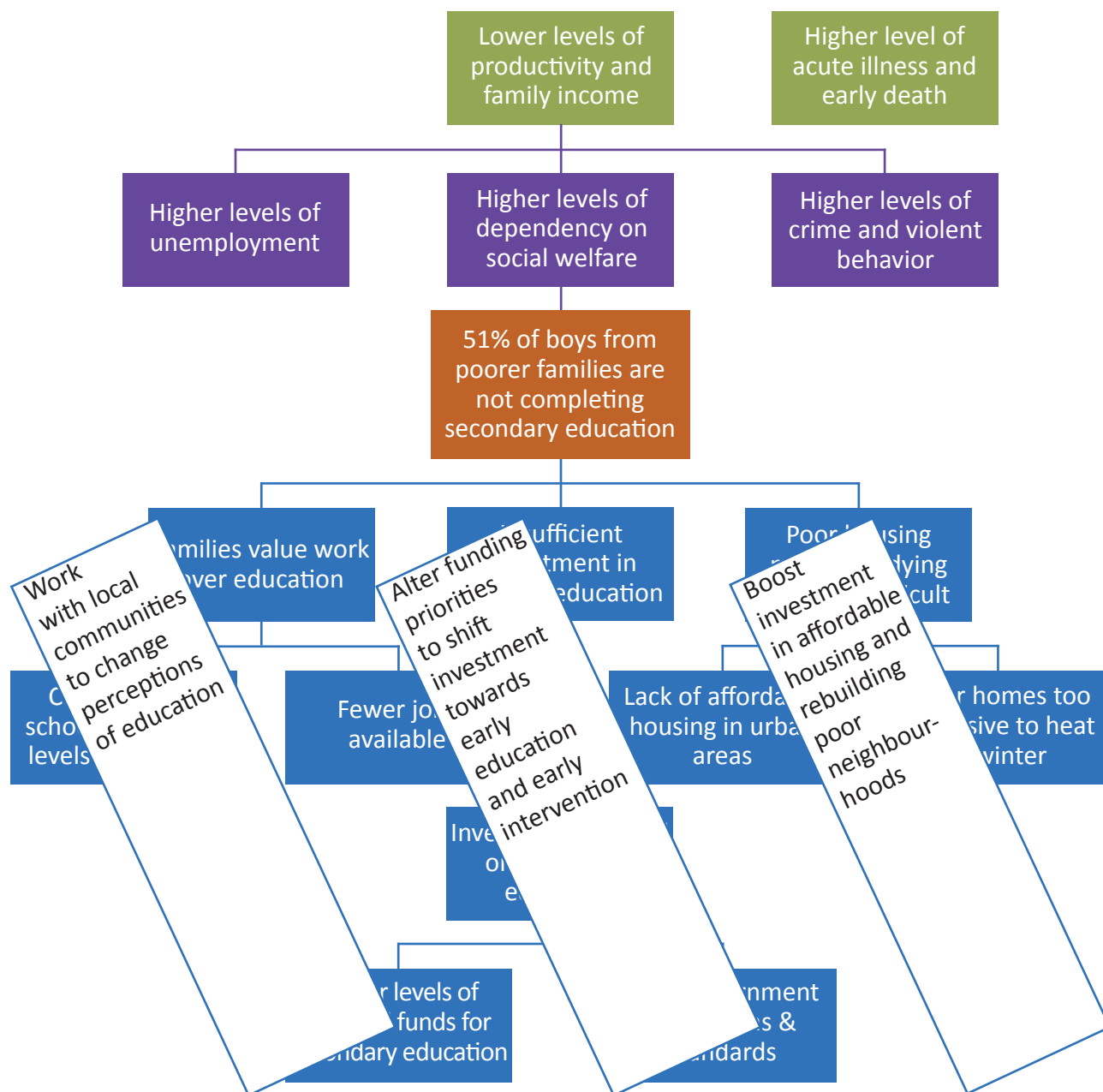
Because the political party working on this issue was in opposition, it was not in a position to make the changes to public spending and investment on its own. After assessing the political environment, the party decided that public support for the policy changes was stronger than political support for them, so the party created a partnership with civil society organizations who worked together to mobilize citizens on the issue and used public pressure to change the positions of the parties in government.

Activity 3: Developing Policy Options

Below you will find briefing information on a critical issue for the fictitious country of Dromora. Based on the information and evidence you have, come up with as many policy options as you can to address this issue.[1]

> Dromora is a medium-sized country in the Middle East, on the Arabian Peninsula with access to the Arabian Sea. Dromora is one of the poorest countries in the region, with a rapidly growing population currently estimated at 25,000,000.
>
> The country of Dromora is running out of water. Forecasts suggest that the aquifers feeding major cities will dry up within the next 15-30 years. Currently, 68% of the urban population has access to safe water. In rural areas, only 30% have access to adequate sanitation. In many mountainous areas, the available drinking water, usually drawn from a spring or a cistern, is down to less than one quart per person per day. Aquifers are being mined at such a rate that groundwater levels have been falling by 2-3 meters annually.
>
> Three quarters of the population live in rural areas, in small, scattered settlements. In addition to scarcity, the dispersal of settlements and villages throughout rough terrain, and limited infrastructure create added challenges to water access.
>
> Farming constitutes the single largest demand on water resources at 90%. Until the early 1970s, traditional irrigation practices ensured a balance between supply and demand. Then the introduction of deep tube wells led to a drastic expansion of land under cultivation. By 2004, 40% of irrigated areas were supplied by deep groundwater aquifers. Farmers began growing less of the local, drought-resistant varieties of wheat and more water-intensive cash crops such as citrus and bananas.
>
> The emerging cash economy also led to a dramatic increase in the cultivation of *qat* – a mild stimulant whose leaves are chewed in Dromora. It is estimated that *qat* production now accounts for 37% of all water used in irrigation. Groundwater levels in some areas have fallen so precipitously that only the lucrative returns from *qat* justify the cost of operating and maintaining a well.
>
> *Qat* is a major factor in the national economy, with about 15% of the population directly or indirectly benefiting from its production, transport and trade. One

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1   Large parts of this case study have been extracted from the Middle East Research and Information Project's review of water conflict and cooperation in Yemen, http://www.merip.org/mer/mer254/water-conflict-cooperation-yemen. Other elements have been adapted from NDI's gender analysis of the Water Law in Yemen.

third of the agricultural gross domestic product and 6% of the overall GDP come from the plant, which also composes 10% of family expenditures. For these reasons, *qat* is a very politically sensitive topic. Even members of parliament have meeting rooms designed specifically for the chewing of *qat*.

There is also the contentious issue of water rights. Although Islam teaches that water is a gift from God and cannot be owned, land can be owned. Under the current law, when a person digs or drills a well on his or her own land, he or she obtains the right to extract and use as much water as can be drawn. Well owners are trying to capture what remains of this valuable resource before the neighbors do.

You are a policy advisor for the party in government in Dromora. What policy options can you come up with to address the issues described in the case study? Use the four steps to develop policy options outlined in this section and ensure that they meet the SMART criteria. You will have to make some assumptions about the political environment, but be as creative as you can with the information you have.

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Activity 4: Gender Analysis

The Beijing Platform for Action from the 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women compels policy makers to conduct gender analysis of proposals throughout the policy development process to ensure that any outcomes do not disadvantage one gender over the other. Gender analysis starts with collecting evidence about how draft policies might affect women and men or girls and boys different.

Review the additional research below about the water situation in Dromora and its impact on women and girls. Consider whether you would amend or add to your policy recommendations from Activity 3 based on this information.

Women in Dromora, particularly in rural areas, spend a considerable amount of time collecting water. In highland and mountain areas, women and girls often spend up to seven hours a day collecting water. Women who must spend a significant amount of time collecting water are less free to engage in other

activities that might bring in income, increase their own levels of education, or improve the health and education of their children.

The same factors affect opportunities for children, particularly girls. In a recent interview, the Dromoran Minister of Water stated: "…water shortages keep children, especially girls, out of school because long, daily treks to collect water prevent them from attending classes. When girls grow up with little or no education, they generally have more children. And because groundwater in Dromora is a finite resource, the more the population grows, the harder it is to find water. The next generation of girls is thus even less likely to get an adequate education as they will be collecting water for their families to survive."

The female illiteracy rate in Dromora is greater than 60%. Girls are also less likely to complete education. The national enrollment rate for girls in basic education is 75% to that of boys, and 60% in secondary education. Almost 40% of the population lives below the national poverty line.

Recent research found that a one-hour reduction in the time to water could increase school enrollment rates for girls and boys by 8-9%.

As the primary household collectors and managers of water, women and girls are also key consumers of this resource. Additionally, the great majority of agricultural work is done by women. More than 80% of employed women work in agriculture. Farming constitutes the single largest demand on water resources in Dromora at 90%, followed by domestic consumption.

Based on this evidence, would you make any adjustments to the policy options you came up with in Activity 3? If so, what would they be?

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Communicating Policy

Effectively communicating a policy and its purpose can be just as important as the policy itself. Consider the example of a public health policy enacted by a party in government. A policy decision was made to provide free vaccinations for children under the age of 16. However, it was not effectively communicated either to the public or to health care workers. As a result, the number of families choosing to take advantage of the free vaccines was relatively low, and many families who did want the vaccines were met by confusion and misinformation from health care workers when they asked for them. An evaluation of the program was highly critical.

Communicating policy is different during the campaign season. Parties and candidates who can articulate clear ideas, specific plans, and realistic outcomes around proposed policies have an advantage over those who over-promise, with no plan for delivering. Further, a well-researched policy agenda can support and strengthen a candidate or party's overall message, adding overall credibility and appeal to specific groups of voters.

Outside of the campaign season, effectively communicating policy has a number of objectives:

- Inform the general public, and particularly those who will be affected, about the policy
- Mobilize stakeholders who will be involved in implementing the policy
- Help change attitudes or behavior targeted by the policy
- Simplify complex issues so that they are better understood
- Prepare relevant government departments and agencies to respond

Use the framework below to work through how you would describe each aspect of a policy proposal.

Policy Communication Framework

Problem	One or two sentences defining or describing the problem
Reason for Bringing the Problem Forward	Explain why the problem is being brought forward
Symptoms	List how the problem manifests itself
Elaborate on the Symptoms	For each symptom listed, explain what is happening and the impact of the symptom (why it matters)
Context	Explain the history of the problem: • What are the trends that contributed to the problem? • Are other geographic locations facing the same situation?
Desired Change (outcome)	Describe the change that the policy response is expected the achieve (the outcomes) Outline the benefits of implementing the policy
Policy Recommendation	Recommend a course of action including chosen policy instruments. Describe your policy framed as a solution to the problem.

The language that emerges from walking through this framework can be broken down into a message designed for target audiences.

There are two communication tools that can also be helpful when attempting to create a discourse on policy. One is distinguishing benefits from features. The other is storytelling.

Features vs. Benefits

Features vs. Benefits is a tool which helps policy makers focus communication efforts specifically on what a society will get out of a new policy or program. There can be tendency among policymakers to focus on what a program contains (its features) rather than on what it will do or deliver (its benefits). This is in part because working out the features of sound policy can take so long and require so much hard work that we're eager to talk about them!

But what stakeholders generally need to know is what they will get out of a policy or program. Consider the chart below. It lists a number of common products and policies, their features and benefits. Is the difference between a feature and a benefit clear?

Policy or Product	Feature	Benefit
Toyota Corolla	1.8-Liter 4-Cylinder DOHC 16-valve engine with dual variable valve timing with intelligence	Reliable
Tetley's Teabags	A multi-layered cloth bag with hundreds more perforations and a round shape to encourage centrifugal movement of the contents	Delicious and refreshing tea
Micro Economic Policy	Targeted investment in key areas that promote economic growth	Jobs and a better future for young people
Youth Mentoring Program	Direct intervention strategy to deter youth people from engaging in high risk behaviors by offering positive alternatives in training and employment	Safer streets and less crime
Reducing Gender Inequalities in Education	Incentive program to persuade younger women and their families to remain in school until the completion of secondary education	Families will have more money and fewer financial burdens for the rest of their lives

Storytelling

There is an adage in policy communication, "Never a statistic without a story, never a story without a statistic."

Much of the political discourse on policy can seem boring or irrelevant to voters. This is particularly true if the discussion is highly technical or involves measurements or statistics without context. Stories, which explain the relevance and the background of these figures, are a critical tool to help target audiences understand the importance of a policy issue.

Consider the case of a political party arguing for more investment in infrastructure. A party representative delivers the message, "There has been insufficient investment in the infrastructure in this country, particularly the roads and bridges. Twenty-five percent of the bridges are structurally unsound."

Now, consider whether the same information feels different when it is injected into a personal situation or story, "There has been insufficient investment in the infrastructure in this country, particularly the roads and bridges. One out of every four bridges that you drive over with your children in the car is structurally unsound."

The target audience, the voters, has been pulled into the issue and the policy by creating a situation or story in which they can see themselves and how they are affected by the issue.

This is a simple example, but stories can be used to communicate even complex policy proposals effectively. A good story on policy:

- Enables a leap in understanding by the target audience so that they can grasp the problem and what the proposed solution would look like in practice
- Is short: (no longer than two minutes); the impact is not through transferring large amounts of information, but by catalyzing understanding
- Is generally true; they can come from research or experience on the issue, which describe its impact on individuals
- Contains at least one statistic that validates the key point

Activity 5: Policy Communication Framework

1. Return to the policy options you developed in Activities 3 and 4. Walk through each step of the Policy Communication Framework, using the briefing information and your proposed policies from these exercises.

Problem	
Reason for Bringing the Problem Forward	
Symptoms	
Elaborate on the Symptoms	
Context	
Desired Change (outcome)	
Policy Recommendation	

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2.   Who is your primary audience for this policy? Boil down the information you have outlined into a message that you can communicate to your target audience in less than one minute or less.

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Activity 6: **Feature vs. Benefit**

Return to the policy options you developed in Activities 3 and 4. Use the structure below to separate the features of the policy with its benefits.

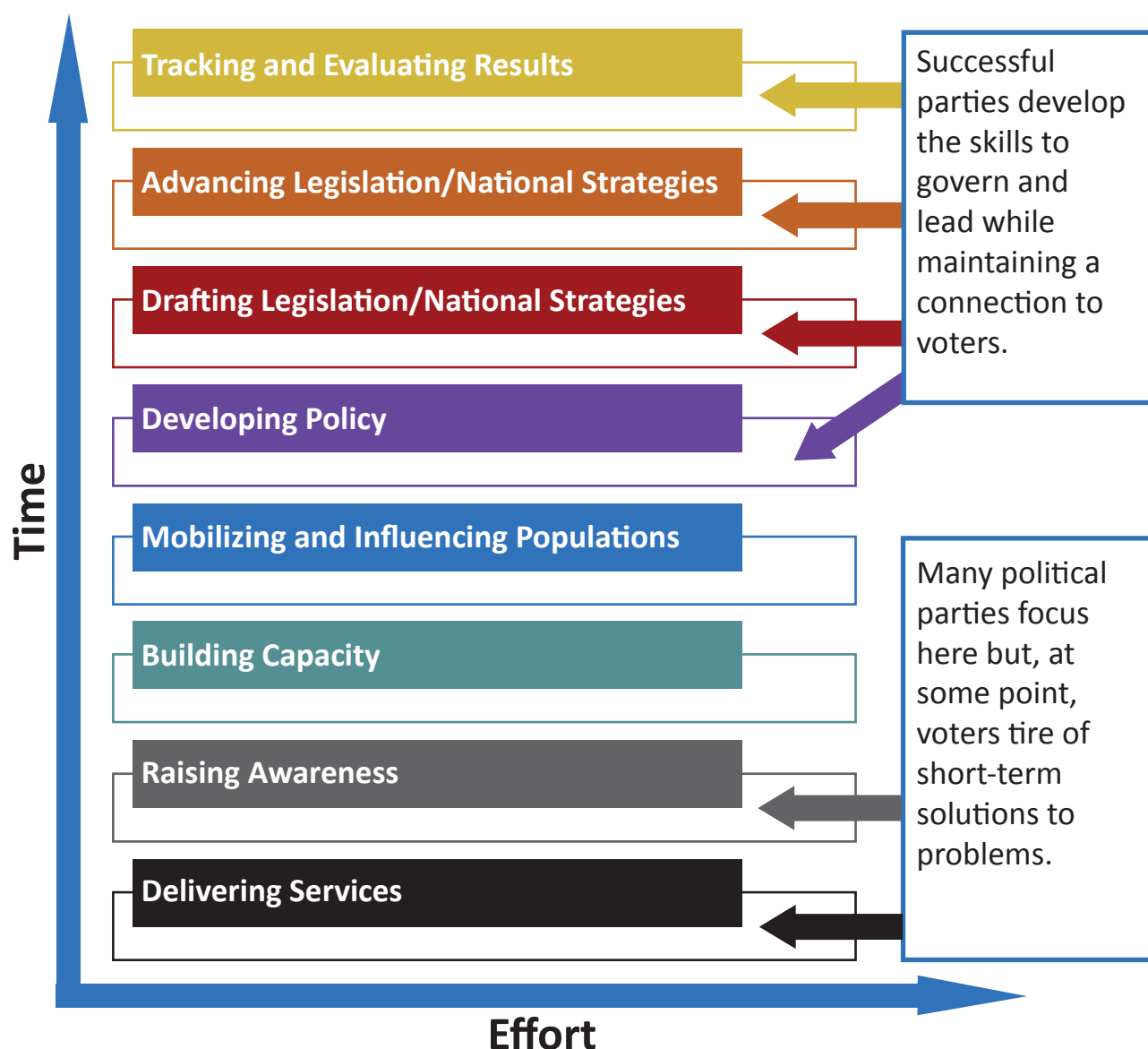| Policy or Product	Feature	Benefit

Activity 7: Storytelling

Return to the policy options you developed in Activities 3 and 4. Write a story that explains the context behind your policies and describes what the benefits might be to target audiences.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Developing Internal Capacity

Building the internal capacity to develop viable policy options takes time. There is no single way of conducting policy development and each political party or campaign must come up with a model to suit its needs, circumstances and ideology.

Consider the Functions of Political Parties chart below and the capacities parties need to develop in order to become healthy and competitive organizations in a democratic system. While there is always a degree of trial and error as a political party builds new strengths and abilities, the electorate begins to expect competent policy formulation skills from its political parties fairly quickly.

Functions of Political Parties

Time (vertical axis)

- Tracking and Evaluating Results
- Advancing Legislation/National Strategies
- Drafting Legislation/National Strategies
- Developing Policy
- Mobilizing and Influencing Populations
- Building Capacity
- Raising Awareness
- Delivering Services

Effort (horizontal axis)

Successful parties develop the skills to govern and lead while maintaining a connection to voters.

Many political parties focus here but, at some point, voters tire of short-term solutions to problems.

Most political parties begin to expand their policy development capacity by bringing in assistance from three different types of resources: internal party researchers and policy specialists, external experts, and general party members.
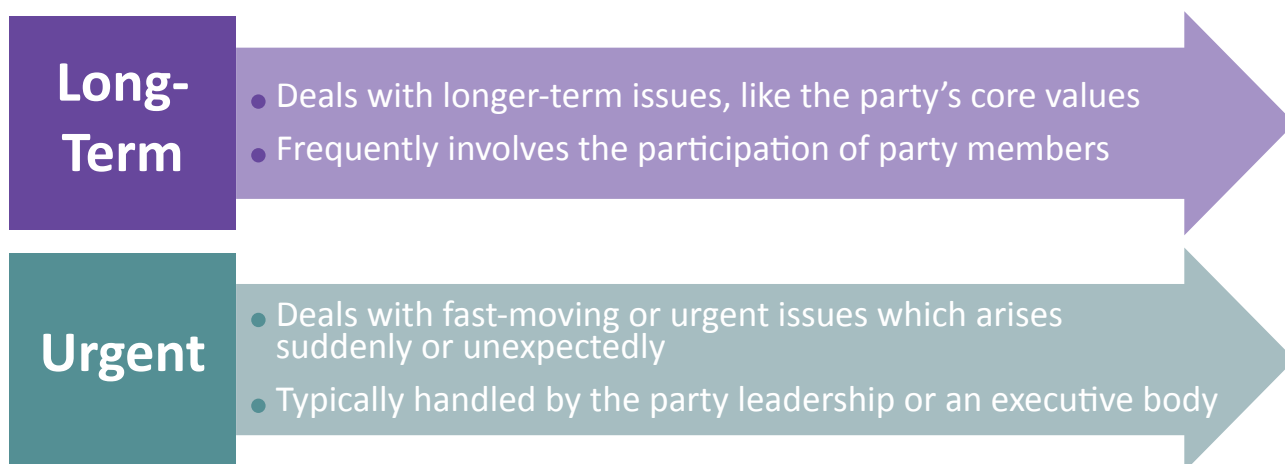
Internal Researchers and Policy Specialists	Work directly for the party Policy and research professionals who support the party politically
External Experts	Recruited by parties because of specific issue expertise Frequently volunteer to serve in this capacity Academics, researchers, journalists, practitioners, professionals, etc. May be supporters of the party or may be independent Can work through permanent issue-based committees or as ad hoc groups
General Party Members	Depending on the party's structure, regular party members can make contributions to policy ideas either as individuals or through party branches or party committees Many parties use their conferences or congresses as a means to gather the ideas and opinions of members on policy issues Members tend to be engaged more on longer-term or permanent issues, such as the party's ideology, values and vision for the country

Parties will recruit and engage each of these groups differently depending on the issue and the amount of time available to respond to an issue. However, the pace at which policy issues require a sound response has sped up to such an extent in recent years that some parties are struggling to keep up. Additionally, many issues have become much more technical, exceeding the internal capacity of many parties. To deal with this, many political parties have established a dual-track system for developing policy. In this system, a rapid response team is put in place to deal with emerging, unforeseen and urgent issues. This team typically includes the party leadership, executive

members and members of the parliamentary caucus, and can pull in technical experts to contribute to policy ideas if necessary.

At the same time, a permanent mechanism is created for the review and revision of longer-term policies. These are enduring issues, such as the party's ideology and core values, and how these can and should be reflected in the issues and policies it promotes while in government or opposition. Because this involves a more deliberate process and moderate pace, it is easier for a party to engage its general membership on these issues through the party congress, branch, or committee structure. Some parties will develop their electoral manifesto in this manner, with party members involved in building the policies that make up the party's offering to the electorate.

Political Party Policy Development Structures
Dual-Track System

Long-Term
- Deals with longer-term issues, like the party's core values
- Frequently involves the participation of party members

Urgent
- Deals with fast-moving or urgent issues which arises suddenly or unexpectedly
- Typically handled by the party leadership or an executive body

Focus On: Policy Development Through Consultation

Worldwide, political parties are shifting towards more participatory models of policy development. Participatory models of policy development are those in which a broad population, such as party officials, members, supporters and even external groups, has a say in the policies proposed and advocated by a particular party. These can include a wide range of topics, from the national budget and economic development to education and health care; from infrastructure and transportation to childcare and parental leave; from private sector development and jobs programs to even a party's core values and beliefs.

In some systems the move towards participatory or consultative policy development is driven by party leaders trying to keep members more engaged

in crafting and articulating policy options that are more meaningful to voters. In other cases, the movement towards participatory policy development comes from the members themselves, or even from external organizations with a special interest in policy who are demanding that political parties become more open and inclusive in their policy development processes.

Whether the shift to participatory policy development comes from a party's leadership, its members or even external pressures, the outcomes for parties themselves are almost universally positive. Participatory and inclusive policy development processes have direct, long-term benefits to political parties and to systems of government. These include more sustainable policies and stronger, more competitive political organizations.

Activity 8: Developing Internal Capacity

Consider the manner in which your party currently approaches policy development. Does it have the capacity to deal with highly technical or urgent issues? How does it deal with more enduring issues, like ensuring that policy development reflects the party's core values? If you had to make any changes to the party's structure in order to improve its capacity to develop policy, what would those changes be?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 6
Message Development
Creating Powerful and Persuasive Messages

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

CAMPAIGN SCHOOLS
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

As a candidate or political party competing in an election one of your challenges will be communicating with your targeted voters in a way that is meaningful, memorable and persuasive.

Because you'll have limited time, money and volunteer support, when you get the opportunity to communicate with a voter – whether in person, through the news media or online – you will want to make the most of it. You want voters to remember who you are and to understand the difference it would make if they voted for you.

Making every communication opportunity work for you is the main goal of having a clear, succinct and powerful message. A message is a short, truthful statement that lays out for voters why they should vote for you, and provides a contrast between you and your opponent(s). Crafting and consistently using a compelling message is essential to persuading targeted voters to vote for you.

This module covers the fundamentals of political communications: what is a political message, why having one is important, and how to come up with an authentic and compelling message for an electoral campaign. Topics covered include:

1. What is a Message?
2. Know Your Audience
3. The Challenge: Getting Heard
4. Criteria for Effective Messages
5. Developing Your Message
6. Framing Policy Issues
7. Using the Message

What is a Message?

In its simplest form a message is a statement of why someone should vote for a party or a candidate on election day.

Once you have decided who your target audience is, you need to decide what you will say to persuade them to vote for you. This is your campaign message. It tells the voters why you are running for office and why they should choose you over your opponents for the same position.

What is a Message?

A message is a short, truthful statement that lays out for voters why they should vote for you, and provides a contrast between you and your opponent(s).

The test of a good message comes when a supporter can give a concise, persuasive reply to the question, "Why should I support candidate A or their party?" The answer to that question should be your message.

Political messages are used to inform the public about what political candidates and parties stand for and to convince people to support their approach to public policy. Political messages should be backed up with a policy of how the candidate or party is going to achieve what it stands for or how it is going to prevent what it is against, e.g., if you are for job creation, how do you intend to create more jobs?

However, your message is not your policy program, nor is it a list of the issues you will address if elected. It is not a catchy phrase or slogan. All of these things can be part of an overall campaign message, depending on whether or not they will persuade voters, but they should not be confused with the message. A message is a simple statement that will be repeated over and over throughout the campaign to persuade your target voters.

The differences between a slogan, message and platform are outlined below:

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Slogan	**Message**	**Platform**
• Very short • Limited information • Seen by all voters	• Short • Substantive • Tailored to target voters	• Long • Comprehensive • Not many people read it

Activity 1: **Message**

What do you think makes up a good message? Write down 2-3 political, or even commercial, messages that you find especially compelling. What do you think makes these messages effective?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Know Your Audience

In most countries, there are millions of eligible voters, all of whom come from a wide variety of backgrounds. There are older people and younger people, people from rural areas and from urban areas, and people who work as teachers, farmers, police officers, factory workers, lawyers, students, homemakers, business owners, military officers, and street vendors. There is a vast assortment of people with a variety of life experiences and political perspectives. No matter how hard you campaign, you will not be able to campaign to all of these different types of people. In fact, if that's what you try to do – to offer a campaign message that speaks to everyone – it's likely that you will not connect with anyone.

To be successful, your campaign needs to reach out to specific subsets of the general public, not to everyone. By focusing your efforts, you'll be able to connect with voters who are most likely to support you, and reflect their particular needs and values.

So if you aren't communicating with the general public, with whom are you trying to communicate? Your campaign is reaching out to specific groups of people that you have identified as supporters or potential supporters. Before you embark on any communications planning or designing your message, it's vital to understand the wants, habits, preferences and perspectives of these voters. In this way, you can connect your goals to what's important to them.

In Module 3 of this program, you conducted geographic and demographic targeting to determine who your supporters and potential supporters are, and where they live. In Module 4 you looked at how to communicate with voters and how to track what voters are saying to your campaign, and in Module 5 you looked at how to identify and assess policy issues important to your voters. All of this information will help you answer the two key questions you'll need the answers to before you can begin to craft your message:

1. Who are my targeted voters?
2. What are the issues and problems they care most about?

Once you've identified your key audiences, creating audience personas will help your campaign develop powerful messages and effective strategies. Personas are hypothetical "stand-ins" for your actual audiences; they are characters you create to help you tell your story and convey your message. Personas are a communication tool that helps to make numbers and figures more human, and to apply a human element to policy issues. You'll find far greater success writing a communications

plan, message or speech that works for a specific person rather than trying to plan or write for a faceless demographic audience.

Although personas are fictional, they must be defined with rigor and exactness. The more information you have about your targeted voters, the easier it is to create accurate personas. When you base personas on research, you'll ensure that the personas truly represent your audience.

Once you have created personas to represent your target audiences, the campaign team should keep them in mind when designing voter contact materials such as posters, signs, advertisements, and flyers.

Activity 2: Creating Audience Personas

1.   Return to the targeting exercises you conducted in Module 3. Below, write down the groups of individuals that you identified as your target voters in this election.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2.   Review the answer you have given to the previous question (question 1 of this activity). In your mind, begin to draw a mental picture of what a typical person from each of these groups looks like. How old are they? Are they male or female? What is their level of education? What do they do to earn a living? What clothes do they wear? What cars do they drive? What do they do for leisure or pleasure? What TV programs do they watch?

In the space below, give a name or title to each category of voters you are targeting. Then, create a persona for each. You can either draw a picture of what a typical voter from each category looks like, or use the table to write down as many descriptive words about them as you can.

Persona 1:	Persona 2:	Persona 3:

Draw a picture of Persona 1:
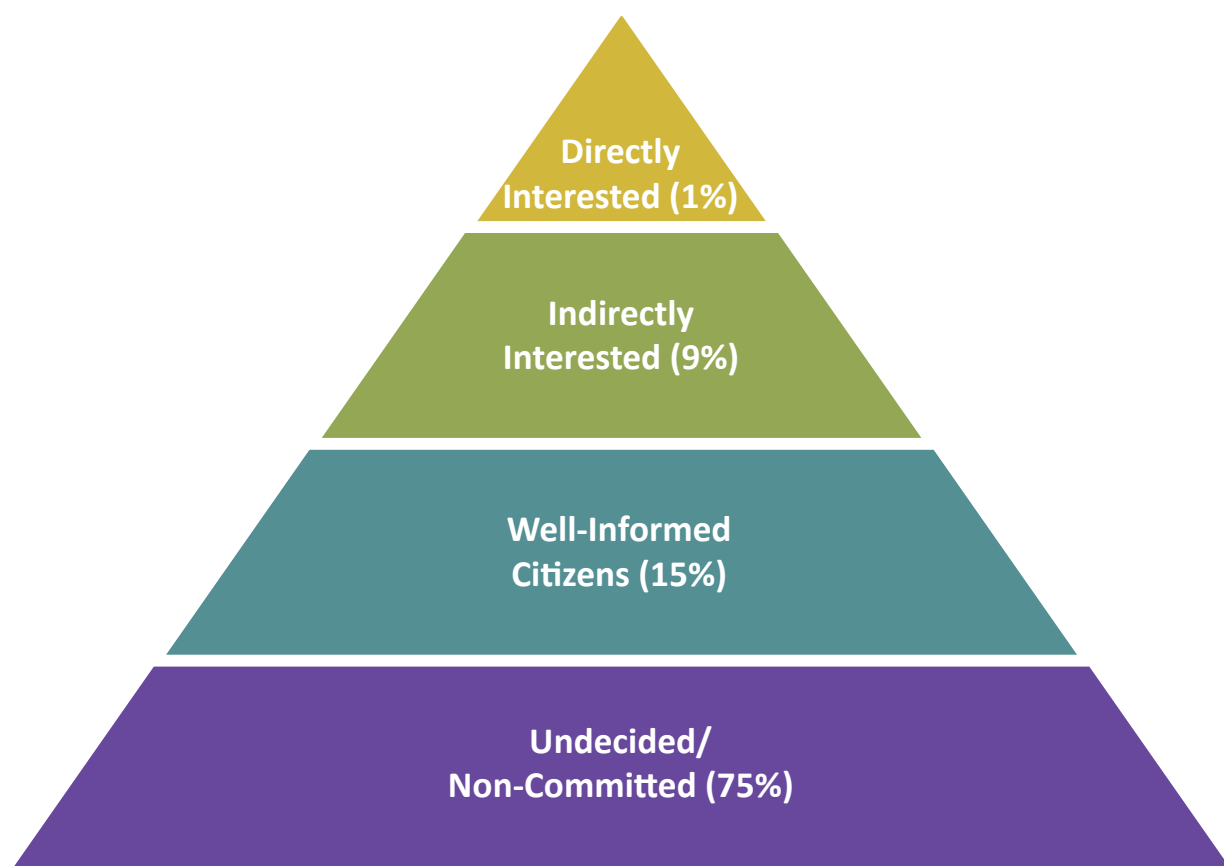
Draw a picture of Persona 2:

Draw a picture of Persona 3:

The Challenge: Getting Heard

Your targeted voters receive thousands of messages every day – from the news, entertainment media, family, friends and neighbors, billboards, posters, television advertisements, radio, etc. You are not just competing with your opponents; you are competing with all of the other messages out there just to be heard.

The fact that most voters are not very interested in politics makes things even more challenging. The pyramid below gives a general breakdown of the level of interest in politics in most societies around the globe.

At the top of the pyramid are the people who are eagerly interested in politics. This makes up about 1% of the population. These are people who have a direct interest in the outcome of the elections, as it might affect their jobs or way of life. It includes political leaders and activists that spend a huge amount of their time and financial resources campaigning, or political analysts who make a living by commenting on what's going on in politics.

Directly
Interested (1%)

Indirectly
Interested (9%)

Well-Informed
Citizens (15%)

Undecided/
Non-Committed (75%)

These people are going to listen to every word your campaign says, no matter how complicated you make it sound.

The next segment on the pyramid is composed of people who are indirectly interested in politics. They make up about 9% of the population. This is a wider group that includes members of political parties, civil society organizations, trade unions, some employees of state-owned companies and public institutions, and professional organizations that could be affected by a change of state policies. The results of the elections might affect them, but won't necessarily change their lives.   This group will also be very interested in what you have to say.

The next group is well-informed citizens, making up about 15% of the population. This segment of society includes all of those who like to read beyond the catchy headlines and who like to know what is going on in their societies. It frequently includes lawyers, journalists and school teachers, but it is not limited to these professions as you can find well-informed citizens in just about any social group. They are interested in what parties are saying in their campaigns and they will make sure they learn about you no matter how you craft your message.

These first three groups usually already know who they are voting for. They understand the environment, follow politics and usually already have a political stance that is unlikely to change. Together, these three groups comprise 25% of the population.

It is the next and largest group on the pyramid that often has the biggest impact on politics. These are the people who can decide whether you win or lose the election. This group is 75% strong and includes ordinary citizens who live ordinary lives. They go to work if they have jobs, they spend time with their families and neighbors, and they watch popular shows on television.

A big portion of this group doesn't vote and may never vote, but those who do make all the difference. Sometimes, as in the illustration below, they are simply busy with their own lives and don't have a lot of time to think or worry about politics. Keep in mind as well that at the same time your campaign is trying to communicate with them, they are also receiving multiple messages from other campaigns and other media. This can mean that they don't have a lot of information when it's time to vote, and can support a candidate or party based on information that's easily accessible to them, such as affiliation, appearance or who is likely to win.

These voters typically don't have the time or the interest to pay much attention to political campaigns, and give volunteers little opportunity to actually talk to them.

This is why, if you have a chance to talk to these voters, you need to make sure that your message is clear and relevant.

It is for this reason that research and preparation are such important parts of your campaign. Voters in the base of the pyramid are not going to listen to you if you are not talking about issues that matter to them, which means they will not remember your message or recognize you on the ballot when and if they come out to vote.


Who has time for politics? . . .

What can you do to increase your chances of being heard by voters who are not very interested in politics and are overwhelmed by the number of advertising and political messages they are receiving? The best way to communicate effectively with these voters is to develop a message that is short, simple and speaks directly to the hearts and minds of voters.

Criteria for Effective Messages

A campaign will spend the majority of its resources getting the candidate or party's message out to targeted voters. To ensure your message will reach the voters with whom you need to communicate, make certain it meets the following criteria:
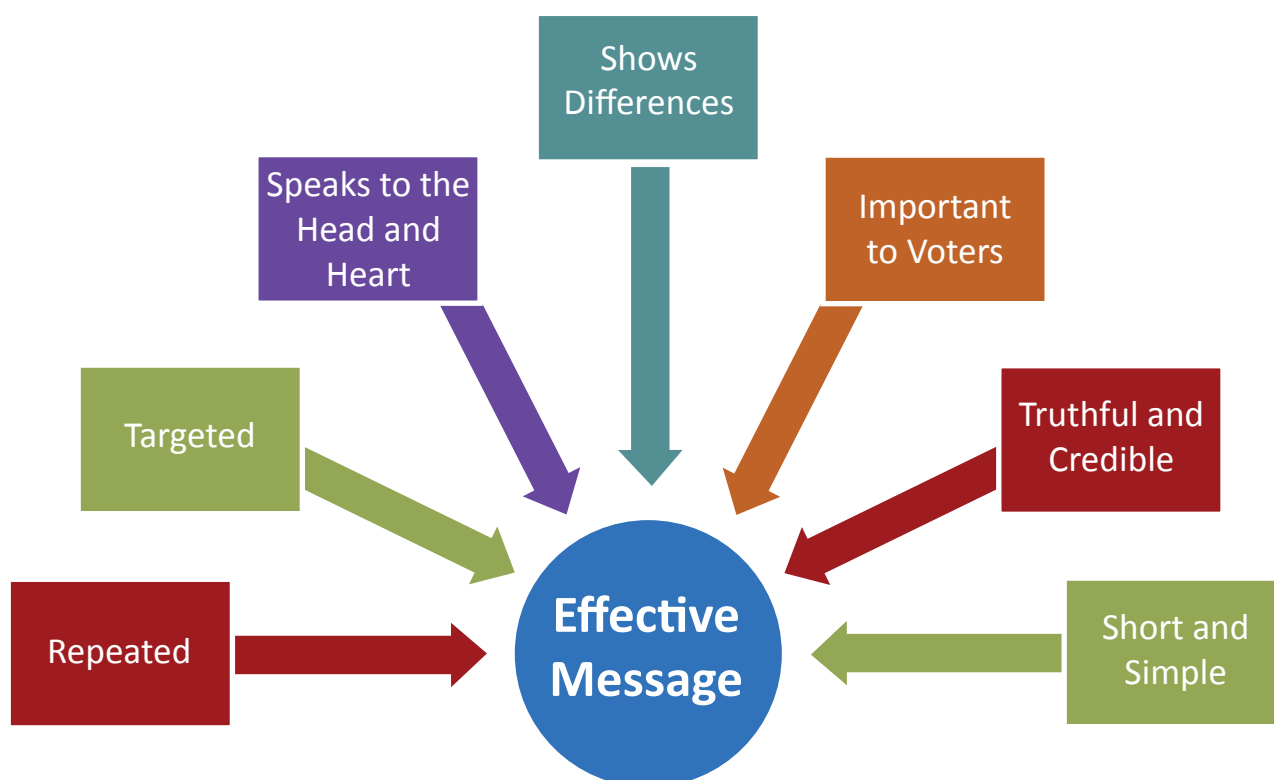
Criteria for Effective Messages

Make it Short and Simple

Messages must be concise. If you cannot effectively deliver your message to a voter in less than one minute, then you are likely to lose that voter's attention and possibly their vote.

Your message must also be delivered in language the voters use and understand easily. Don't use technical words that the voters do not understand or have no real meaning to them. Creating a visual image in the minds of voters is much better than talking about abstract ideas. For example, talk about people, things and real-life situations to validate or illustrate your message.

Must be Truthful and Credible

The message needs to authentically reflect the values, practices, policies and history of the candidate or political party. It must be consistent with what has happened in fact. In addition, your message should be believable; candidates and political parties that make unrealistic promises simply add to voter apathy.

Voters must believe that what you say, both about yourself and what you will do, is true. One way to establish trust is to back up your statements with validators such as proof of past experience and knowledge or know-how on issues relevant to your message.

Important to Voters

An effective message reflects the values and concerns of your target audience — the voters. Keep in mind the problems that voters face everyday in their lives, not issues that politicians think are important to public policy. For example, voters are more likely to support candidates that talk to them about their jobs, their children's education or their safety, than a candidate that talks about the budget, even though the budget may deal with all of these things.

Show Differences

Voters must make a choice between you and other candidates, or your party and other political parties. You need to make it clear to the voters how you are different from the others in the race by contrasting yourself with them. If every candidate stands for economic development and more jobs, then voters will have no way of making a clear choice. If, on the other hand, you support visible electoral reforms or ending corruption and your opponents do not, then the voters will have a very clear choice.

Speak to the Head and the Heart

Politics is an emotional business and politicians who appeal to the hearts of voters generally defeat those who appeal to their heads. This does not mean that you should abandon the intellectual basis of your party or candidacy, or that you should underestimate the intelligence of the voter. This means that you must find a way to tie your campaign message to the concerns of your voters and make it clear that you understand the problems they face everyday.

Target Your Message

If your campaign message speaks to everyone, then in reality, it speaks to no one. The people who will vote for you are different from those who will not vote for you and both groups have different concerns. Your campaign must determine what these differences are and address your message to your likely supporters. In many cases, voters just need clear information about who really represents their interests. If they have that information, they will vote for that person or that party. Don't fail to provide it.

Repeat the Message

Once your campaign determines what message will persuade your target voters to vote for your candidate, then you must repeat that same message at every opportunity. While you will be living and breathing your campaign and may get tired of repeating the same message, most voters are not paying very much attention to politics and will only hear your message a few times. For your message to register with the voters, they have to hear the same message many times in many different ways. So, if you change your message, you are only confusing the voters and missing an opportunity to communicate a message that will be remembered.

Developing your Message

Now, it's time to start constructing your own message. This section will walk you through three developmental steps to do this: 1) answering essential questions; 2) developing a key word list; and, 3) using the message box. Each of these tools can be used on its own, or they can be used together as complimentary steps to build and test an effective message.

Essential Questions

A vital place to start developing your message is to answer a number of essential questions about why you are in this election. These may appear very basic, but many senior and experienced politicians have stumbled on the campaign trail when they couldn't provide meaningful answers to these essential questions:

A. Why are you running for office? What problems are you running to solve?
B. How will you solve these problems?
C. What makes you a better choice than your opponents?

When answering question A, make sure that the problems you want to solve match the problems that your targeted voters want to solve as well. If you are running to improve your country's system of higher education, but the voters whose support you need are concerned primarily with security and sanitation issues, then you have a problem. Think about solutions for the problems you identified. Many politicians stay on the problems, without offering solutions. People will vote for those who offer solutions.

When answering question B, help voters see that you have a realistic solution to these problems by explaining how you plan to make these solutions a reality. Elections are a time of promises; your task is to distinguish yourself or your party from other candidates and parties by offering realistic plans and a clear strategy that clarifies how you will reach your objectives.

Answering question C is not about talking negatively about your opponents. It is about making contrasts between your values, plans and priorities, and theirs.

Activity 3: Answering Essential Questions

1. In the spaces below, answer each of the essential questions to begin to develop your message.

    A. Why are you running for office? What problems are you running to solve?

_____
_____
_____

    B.   How will you solve these problems?

_____
_____
_____

    C.   What makes you a better choice than your opponents?

_____
_____
_____

2.   Let's look now at an example of two competing messages.

Two presidential candidates are running for election in a country that struggles with unemployment. In the final stage of the campaign period, they were both given a minute to give their final words. Imagine that you are a voter, and you will vote for one of the candidates.

Review their final remarks in the boxes below:

Candidate 1, Mohamed:	Candidate 2, Ahmed:
"I am a man of action and I will bring financial success to our great nation. I plan to provide employment to every citizen and to get our country to be the economic power in the world. I know exactly what to do, and with me our great nation is going to be rich and successful again. Vote for me if you wish your country to be rich and your family to be employed!"	"I am running for office because we've had too many empty promises that leave families hurting because the government failed to secure jobs for our citizens. My plan is to tackle this issue by providing tax benefits to new employers, reorganizing the National Development Bank to fund the business ideas of our citizens, and prioritizing job creation in the national budget. My opponent is full of promises, but I'm the only one who cares about people and can deliver solutions."

Which candidate would you vote for? Why?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Which of the candidates does a better job answering the essential questions discussed earlier in this section? When a candidate does a better job answering these questions, have they delivered a better message?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Consider the following analysis. Do you agree or disagree? Why or why not?

Ahmed told you what he plans to do and how. Mohamed is a typical politician who says a lot, but doesn't provide clear plans and solutions. His words are empty clichés that you have heard many times.

Ahmed's message is different. It provides a lot of information, but remains fresh and simple. His message stays realistic, concrete and creates a mental picture of an efficient society where people are employed in new companies. It also appeals to values such as opportunity, hard work, fairness, responsibility, community, democracy, and efficiency.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Key Word List

A key word list is a list of words that describe you, your priorities or what's at stake in the election. These are typically descriptive or action words that help paint a picture in a voter's mind of the type of person a candidate is, what principles a party is committed to, and what type of leadership a party or a candidate would bring to elected office.

Here are some examples:

change	future	trust	effective
leader	traditional	skills	committed
cares	jobs	people first	hard-working
independent	progressive	fighter	new
devout	forward	peacemaker	honest
one of us	rights	respect	transparent
represent			

A simple brainstorming session with members of the campaign team and key supporters can help a candidate or party come up with a short list of values-based words that communicate what your party, your candidacy or your campaign is fundamentally about.

Activity 4: Using a Key Word List

Below are a number of questions to help you develop a message by using the key word list method. Answer each question and consider what types of words you should be using to communicate with voters.

1. Review the list of descriptive and action words above. Are there other powerful words you could add that apply to your situation and your campaign?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. List 5 words that describe you, your priorities or what's at stake in the election.

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

3. What do these words say about you? Do they reflect the concerns of your targeted voters? Do they draw a contrast with your opponents? Do they give people a reason to support you?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

4. Considering the key words you've chosen, come up with a simple statement that answers the three questions: why you are running, what you will do, and why you are the better choice in this election. This is your message.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Message Box

The message box helps you determine what you will say when you talk about who you are and what you stand for in a way that distinguishes you from your opponents. The message box is a tool designed to help candidates and political parties design their messages and think through their election strategies thoroughly and methodically. Using the message box, you can determine what you will say during the campaign and how you will respond to your opponents' attacks.

The message box is a simple square with four separate quadrants, each of which covers a specific aspect of electoral communication between a candidate or political party and their strongest opponent: what we say about us, what we say about them, what they say about us, and what they say about themselves.

The two quadrants at the top of the box are about what we are going to say in our campaign. The first box is what we are going to say about ourselves: our strengths, values, and agenda. Next to it is what we might choose to say about our opponents: their weaknesses and vulnerabilities. The bottom half is what our opponent is saying. On the left is what they say about us: our weaknesses and vulnerabilities, and on the right is what they say about themselves: their strengths, values, and agenda.

What We Say About Us *The reasons people should vote for you*	**What We Say About Them** *The reasons people should vote against your opponent*
What They Say About Us *The reasons people should vote against you*	**What They Say About Them** *The reasons people should vote for your opponent*

When working with the message box, it is important to include all factors that may play a role in the election campaign including things that may go unsaid or charges that can be made by implication. For example, if you say that you are the more experienced

candidate, by implication you are saying that your opponents lack experience. By saying you are honest, you can imply that your opponents are dishonest, untrustworthy or corrupt.

Keep in mind that your opponents can do this to you as well. For example, your opponents may say that they have the best plan for jobs and education, suggesting that you don't care about these things or don't have a good plan to address them. A message box helps you anticipate these types of contrasts and think through how you will respond to both stated and implied charges.

The message box also helps you see your campaign or your party from the perspective of your opponent, which is not always easy to do. We're not used to seeing our opponents positively and ourselves negatively. However, being able to think through these dynamics clearly will make a significant difference in how effective your communications are during the campaign. Unfortunately, not everything said by the political parties and candidates during an election campaign is true. The real question is what information voters will believe to be true. Seeing your campaign from the point of view of your opponent helps you anticipate what they might say about you that could be confusing or even incorrect – but that voters might believe – and help you figure out how to respond to or prevent such situations.

Finally, the message box helps you figure out how to maximize your strengths, anticipate where you might expect attacks from opponents based on your weaknesses and how you might respond.

In the context of a campaign with multiple candidates and parties, you will create message boxes for all of your significant opponents.

Here is an example of a message box in an imaginary campaign between Fatima and Mohammed. As you can see, Fatima wants to present herself as someone who tirelessly works for the benefit of the community. This example shows you a great feature of the message box – the four boxes actually correspond with each other. When Fatima talks about the opponent, she says he will not be there when you need him. Then, she goes back to the box about herself and says, "You can count on me to fight for you."

However, she anticipates that the opponent might attack that statement by saying that she fights with everyone and that she doesn't get the job done. This can be addressed in her speeches, where she can point out examples of the fights she won and jobs she has already achieved. This is the point of the message box – to give you an awareness of what your message needs to address.

NDI

Fatima's Message Box

Fatima → Fatima	Fatima → Mohammed
"You can count on Fatima to fight for you."	"Mohammed won't be on your side when it matters."
Mohammed → Fatima	**Mohammed → Mohammed**
"Fatima fights with everybody and doesn't get the job done."	"Mohammed brings people together to get things done."

Activity 5: Using the Message Box

1. Fill out the chart below, using your messages and those of your main opposition party or candidate. In the first quadrant, write out the three main things you say about yourself (these should come from your message). Next to that, write out the three main things your opponent says about him or herself. Now, in the third quadrant, write what you say about your opponent. Finally, in the last box, write the three main things your opponent says about you.

   The complete message box should outline all of the important messages that could possibly be said during the election campaign by you and all of your major opponents.

What we say about us	What we say about them
What they say about us	**What they say about them**

2. Review all of the statements in your message box, both those that could be attributed to you and to your opponent. Based on the strength of the statements, assess whose message is more likely to dominate in the campaign – yours or your opponent's? Why do you think this is the case? If you think your opponent currently has the stronger message, what can you do to bolster your message?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Framing Policy Issues

Developing a message to communicate about policy issues is based on the same principles that you used to develop a powerful campaign message about who you are and what you stand for. The purposes of constructing messages around policy are to help inform and inspire voters on key issues and to help create an even stronger contrast with your opponent on these issues.

Crafting messages for policy issues is often referred to as "framing." This is a useful term because it describes exactly what you are trying to do with subjects that can be complex and overwhelming. Framing issues puts borders around them, so you can talk about them solely in terms that connect your message, your targeted voters' concerns and your proposed solutions.

Take the matter of the economy, for example. This is a massive issue with many different parts and pieces, some of them very difficult for voters to understand. But if you are the job-creation candidate, then you put a frame around the aspects of the economy that can help create good jobs and focus your communication in these areas.

Effective policy messages contain one or more brief, straightforward statements that reflect:

- How the problem is affecting your community
- What is causing the problem
- Whom you hold responsible for the problem
- Your proposed solution
- The actions you ask others to take in support of the solution

Consider the following examples from the case study of Fatima in her race against Mohammed:

Issue 1: Affordable housing

On the issue of affordable housing, Fatima uses her own experience of fighting for her house and creates a message where she promises to fight just as hard for people to get their own homes.

Issue by Itself	**Issue with Message**
"Egyptians who work hard deserve affordable housing for their families."	"It took me 20 years of work and saving to build a house for my children and family. You can count on me to fight for every Egyptian's right to affordable housing when they put in a hard day's work."

The values she's sharing here are fairness, compassion, generosity, respect and hard work. The mental picture she's creating in people's minds is a happy family at home.

Issue 2: Care for the elderly

This time the issue is retirement benefits for the elderly and families having the resources to care for older members. Here, she uses her experience with her own parents to assure us that she cares about the issue.

Issue by Itself	**Issue with Message**
"The government should protect retirement benefits for the elderly."	"I learned how difficult it is for families when I took care of my parents as they got older. You can count on me to protect our older citizens."

The values she is sharing here are again compassion, love, generosity, and the mental picture she is trying to create is ensuring our parents and grandparents are taken care of.

Issue 3: Schools and education

The next example is about the issue of overcrowded schools and poor quality of education.

Issue by Itself	**Issue with Message**
"Our schools are overcrowded. Our kids need a good place to learn and good teachers."	"Mohammed won't fight for our children when he votes on the budget. I have supported our libraries and teachers for years and you can count on me in the future."

In this example, she uses the fact that she was active in a related field – supporting libraries and teachers – and at the same time she uses the "What we say about them" section in the message box to talk about Mohammed's weakness.

Activity 6: Framing Policy Issues

1. What issues do you think matter most to your voters? List at least 3 below.
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Of the issues you have listed, which would you focus on if you were elected? What policies would you fight for to address these issues?
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. Now that you have identified the key issues to your electorate, and the policy solutions you will advocate in your campaign, go back to the message you drafted in Activity 4. Using your message, write 3 short sentences describing how you would approach issues important to voters in this election. Refer to the case study of Fatima above for examples.
_____
_____
_____
_____

Using the Message (Repeat, Repeat, Repeat) _____

Every time the candidate or the campaign communicates is an opportunity to repeat and reinforce the message. In fact, your campaign's message should be the foundation of all communications, whether it's training volunteers, meeting voters, giving news media interviews, posting on social media networks, designing signs and banners, advocating for policy proposals, or debating other candidates.

Voters today get a great deal of information from many sources: people they trust, television, signs, newspapers, radio, and the internet. Because people are exposed to so many different messages, they often only remember messages after they have seen or heard them many times. Think of how often you see most advertisements on television – it's probably dozens of times, because professional advertising agencies know that's what it takes for people to remember their advertising campaign messages.

> **A campaign only has a limited number of opportunities to communicate with voters. If the campaign message is repeated, the chances of it being remembered are better.**

A campaign only has a limited number of opportunities to communicate with voters. If the campaign message is repeated, the chances of it being remembered are better. If, on the other hand, the candidate talks about different issues during every speech and the campaign's signs and radio ads say different things, voters will be confused and the campaign's message will not get through.

Sticking to your campaign's message, even when other campaigns or reporters are trying to change the subject, is called "staying on message." Keeping your campaign on message is the best way to reach your audience in a manner over which you have control. Those who stay on message control the message.

Remember, it's your campaign. You are campaigning for a reason and the people deserve to hear what that reason is.

Activity 7: Using the Message

1. Consider each of the situations below. Write down how you would adapt your campaign's message in each of the following circumstances:

    Recruiting volunteers _____
    _____

Meeting potential supporters _____
_____

Posting on the campaign's Facebook page _____
_____

Designing a campaign poster _____
_____

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 7
Becoming a Powerful Communicator
Techniques and Tips for Effective Interviews and Speeches

Introduction

Whether it's meeting voters on the campaign trail, articulating your opinion in party meetings, talking to journalists or giving a speech, effective communication makes a difference. This module covers how to prepare for different types of communication events focusing in particular on speeches and interviews.

Preparation is the key to overcoming many major communications challenges, including managing stage fright and making sure you are actually connecting with your audience. It is always a good idea to know your audience, understand their perspectives and define what you want to achieve in advance of actually delivering your speech or message.

The other secret is practice – the best public speakers honed their communication skills through a lot of practice. Using a mirror or enlisting the help of a friend to rehearse speeches, work on your body language or even assess what messages your physical image is sending to an audience can help build your confidence and abilities as a communicator.

Whether standing in front of hundreds at an event, talking to a reporter one-on-one, meeting with donors or giving a television interview, the tips included in this module will help you become a powerful, effective communicator for your candidacy and your political party. Topics include:

1. The Stump Speech
2. Non-Verbal Communications
3. Delivering Great Speeches
4. Media Interviews

The Stump Speech

The "stump speech" is a term that describes the core speech that a candidate or party leader gives on almost every occasion with appropriate modifications for different audiences and situations. Your stump speech is an elaboration of your campaign message. It introduces you to voters, lets them know what you are running for and what you plan to do if elected, and tells them about the kind of person you are.

Like all other campaign communications, your stump speech should be based on your message and written to reach the potential supporters the campaign has identified as target audiences.

Make your stump speech a true reflection of you and your candidacy. Use language that is comfortable for you and memorize the stump speech so you are prepared to deliver it with confidence any time.

The following outline of a stump speech structure can help you get started. You can use this basic outline to write a speech that is 90 seconds, 5 minutes or 10 minutes long.

Opening	Connection	Problem	Solution	Vision	Call to Action	Closing
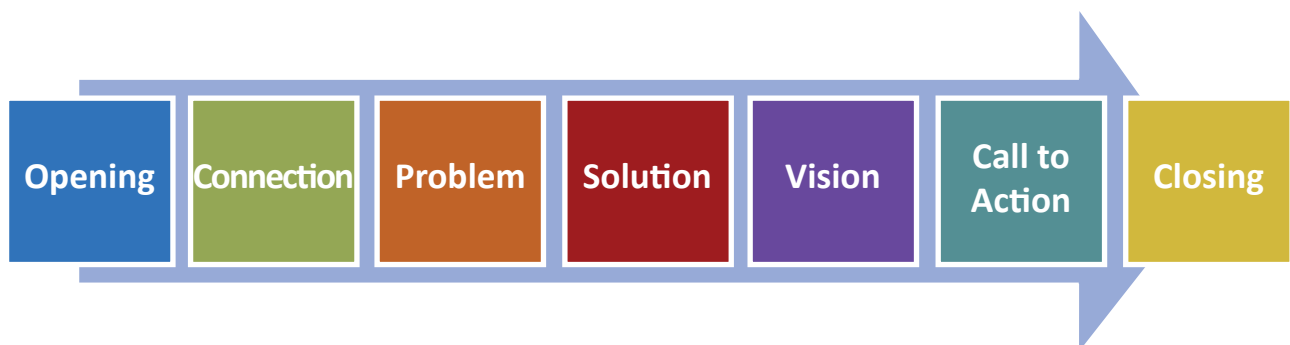
Each element of a speech has its own particular characteristics and purpose. When these are tied together, they create a structure that allows your speech to flow with ease and logic, making it easier for your audience to follow.

Opening   Say your name, what you are running for, and why.

Connection   Establish a connection with the audience by demonstrating a shared concern.

Problem   What problem are you running for office to solve? How does it affect the audience? Describe the problem and say why you care about it.

Solution   Describe your solution and how it benefits voters. What specifically will you do or fight for if elected?

Vision   Describe how things could be better and what kind of future you will work for.   How would the community be different if this problem were solved?

Call to Action   Ask your audience to make a difference by voting for you and supporting your campaign.

Closing   Summarize why you are running, restate your call to action and thank the audience.

Here's an example of how Samia Habib used the stump speech formula in her campaign:

1. **Opening → Say your name, what you are running for, and why.**
    "Hello. My name is Samia Habib and I am a candidate for the local council. I am running to make a difference in the lives of the people I grew up with in this village."

2. **Connection → Establish a connection with the audience by demonstrating a shared concern.**
    "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. Everyday, I see my brothers and sisters having a difficult time finding the money to buy oil or salt in the market…"

3. **Problem → What problem are you running to solve? How does it affect the audience? Describe the problem and say why you care about it.**
    "I have seen a great number of people who are having many difficulties raising enough money to survive.   The people of this village do not have enough opportunities for making a living. Many voters have shared with me their frustrations about this important issue."

4. **Solution → Describe your solution and how it benefits voters.**
    "I believe that we must make small scale income generation our top priority. If I win this election, I promise to improve ouræ… village by bringing more income-generating opportunities here. If I am elected, I will work to involve more people in small income-generating projects. As a result, their financial problems will improve."

5. **Vision → Describe how things could be better and what kind of future you will work for. How would the community be different if this problem were solved?**
    "I want you to imagine what our village could be like if I am elected. I will bring

in new investment to support local businesses and income-generating 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 prosperous, happier village come true."

6. **Call to Action → Ask your audience to make a difference by voting for you and supporting your campaign.**
   "Lastly, I would like to say that there is something you can do to make a difference. Your vote would allow me to work every day for the development of our village."

7. **Conclusion → Summarize why you are running, restate your call to action and thank the audience.**
   "In order to help me improve our village's economic situation, I request that you vote for me, Samia Habib. Thank you."

Activity 1: The Stump Speech

Following the formula for effective speeches outlined above, write your own three-minute stump speech. You can write it for yourself if you are a candidate or hope to be one soon, or on behalf of another candidate if you are a member of a campaign team or political party staff.

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Non-Verbal Communication: Voice, Image and Body Language

Becoming a powerful communicator is about more than writing a great speech or having a strong message; it's also about how you use your image, voice and body language to connect with your audience. Studies have shown that an audience connects more easily with a speaker based on his or her tone of voice and physical gestures, rather than on the words the speaker says.

Non-verbal communication incorporates everything you convey to an audience outside of the actual words you say. Your voice is the sound that you make as you deliver the spoken word. Your image is your physical appearance and how you present yourself. Your body language is how you use gestures and how you hold your body when you are engaging in communication.

There are plentiful options for how you use all of these tools, and a number of guidelines for ensuring you are using them effectively. When used well, the instruments of non-verbal communication can provide music, dance, rhythm and energy to what would otherwise be just plain words.

Voice

Your voice says a lot about who you are. Are you confident, authoritative or in command? Are you friendly, approachable or trustworthy? Does the tone of your voice give the impression that you have something interesting to say?

Your voice is a tool that adds music to the words that you are communicating. Use your voice to let your listeners know when you are about to make one of your main points. You can speed up or slow down your speech, make your voice quieter or louder, or pause at a key point. To hold an audience's attention, a good speaker uses variety in her voice and pacing to create drama and interest.

Generally, for electronic media such as television, video or radio, it's a good idea to make your voice a bit lower in tone with an even pace. For public speaking it's more effective to speak louder than normal (without shouting), and to speak more slowly than you usually do so that you can be easily understood. Use inflection and rhythm to keep your audience engaged.

To make sure your audience can hear you, try projecting your voice. Projecting your voice is something theater actors do to make their voices carry to the back of the

room. Practice sending your voice to the back of the room so that you can be louder and convey more energy, but do this without shouting.

Activity 2: Using Your Voice

1. Practice saying the phrase, "Turn out the light," out loud. The first time, say it with a voice that conveys anger. The second time, say it with a voice that conveys boredom. The third time, say it with a voice that conveys romance. Can you hear and feel the difference that tone of voice can make in communication? Record your impressions below.

_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Using your phone or another type of recorder, record yourself saying your campaign message several times. Practice speaking lower, slower and louder. Try changing your volume and the speed of your speech to emphasize key points or words. Play back your recording. What did you notice? Record your impressions below.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Image and Presentation

Your image is the type of person and personality you portray through your physical appearance. This includes how you carry yourself physically, the type of self-image you convey to others and even the manner in which you dress and groom yourself.

In politics and campaigns, first impressions are made quickly and a negative impression can be difficult to overcome. In a split second, an audience 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 based on their interpretations of the visual image you project. Use this type of personal judgment to your advantage by presenting yourself in a way that conveys a positive and engaging image.

Be sensitive to and aware of the image you present. Wear clothing that is appropriate for your audience and the occasion. Find a balance between being comfortable in your clothing and creating an image that reflects your style of leadership.

Candidates and political activists who are younger or female are often subject to higher levels of scrutiny about their appearance than older and male politicians. Criticism comes from both friends and strangers. Although the vast majority of critiques about clothing, hair styles and other elements of physical appearance are entirely irrelevant to the job of running for or serving in public office, they can be unavoidable. The best strategy is to be proactive: envision the image you want to project, then put together the wardrobe and other tools you need to make that vision a reality.

Activity 3: Image and Presentation

Think about the image you want to project. Does your personal presentation currently reflect that image or would you like to make some changes? List anything you'd like to change below.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Body Language

Before we open our mouths to speak, our body language is already sending messages to our audience. Body language is the gestures, postures, and facial expressions that we use to communicate feelings or opinions, even when we're not fully aware that we're doing this.

What kinds of gestures tell an audience that you are confident? That they can trust you? That you are humble? That you are friendly and open to engaging with them, or that you are aloof and don't want to connect with them?

What kinds of gestures tell an audience that you are a formal or an informal person? That you are not sure about what you are saying, or that you have authority and know what you are talking about?

With some thought and practice, we can make sure that our body language reinforces, not undermines, the messages we are trying to send.

Take a few minutes to think about the following types of non-verbal communication, and what they are really 'saying' to the audience.

Activity 4: Interpreting Non-Verbal Communication

1. Not making eye contact can be interpreted as:

2. Moving closer to you can signify:

3. Someone who touches you lightly but deliberately on the arm could be saying:

4. Taking off or throwing down eyeglasses may mean:

5. Walking into a meeting and sitting at the back may be saying:

6. Tilting the head and smiling may be indicating:

7. Covering your mouth or looking down when you speak could suggest:

Delivering Great Speeches

Preparing and delivering great speeches is within anyone's reach. The keys are simple: consider the audience and define your goal, carefully write your speech with the audience in mind, practice it until you are comfortable and connect with the audience at the event.

Research the event and set your goal

• Know your audience. Knowing who you will talk to can help you adjust what you will say. Consider the audience's level of awareness and interest in your topic. More importantly, which of your campaign's targeted voters will be represented in the audience? Will any individuals your campaign hopes to cultivate for support be present? Will the media cover the event?

• Know the program or agenda. 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? Exactly how long should your speech be? If there is going to be a question and answer session, who will moderate this and who will close the program?

• 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 be familiar and comfortable with what you are talking about.

- Set a goal. 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? Deliver information about a new or elusive topic? Mobilize your audience to take a specific action?

- Plan the day. Make sure you will be well-rested and have someone with you to help and support you. Plan something to wear that makes you feel comfortable and confident. Deciding what you will wear ahead of time will make you less nervous the day of the speech.

- Try to visit the venue before the event. Check the room and equipment so that you are comfortable and familiar with the set up.

Prepare your speech

- Define your key messages. What do you want to make sure the audience remembers?

- 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. Outline the substance of your presentation using human stories, quotes, examples, facts and other interesting information.

- Keep in mind the structure of a basic stump speech: Opening-Connection-Problem-Solution-Vision-Call to Action-Closing.

- 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.

- Do not 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.

- Be precise; use simple words and short sentences. Avoid acronyms. Avoid the overuse of statistics. While important, too many statistics can be confusing.

- 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 and prepare

- Practice your entire speech before the presentation until you are comfortable delivering it. Practice with another person who can give you helpful comments. Practice in front of a mirror.

- Time your speech and adjust the length if it is too long or short. When in doubt, opt for a shorter speech.

- Remember to practice not just saying the words, but also using your voice and hand gestures to emphasize your message.

- Arrive early so that you can meet and speak with members of the audience. The more you learn about them, the better you will be able to connect with them during your speech.

- Make sure you meet the person who will introduce you and understand when you will be introduced to speak.

- 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.

- Turn off cellphones, spit out gum and give your bag or any materials you have to a friend or campaign volunteer to hold.

- Drink water (not coffee, tea, milk or fizzy drinks) and have more close by, dry the palms of your hands with a tissue if they are sweaty and you're ready.

- Deliver your speech and connect with the audience

- Connect with your audience. Mention concerns you share with them and tell a personal story to show them why you care. Consider illustrating your point with a story about someone present, or someone they can relate to.

- Make audiences aware of a human need. Before being moved to act, people must care, so paint them a picture of the human impact of your topic. Stories about real people can illustrate a complex problem and solution in understandable, human terms—and show that change is possible.

- Speak in terms of problems and solutions. Alternating between problems and solutions creates a dramatic tension in your speech. Your audience will experience concern and hope.

- Create a sense of urgency. Every communication intended to motivate behavior must moves people to act immediately. A sense of urgency may be evoked through negative and positive emotional appeals. People may respond in reaction to anger or fear, or to hope and belief that positive change is possible.

- End with a "Call to Action." When asking people to take an action, such as voting or volunteering, make sure that the request is simple and that the audience knows that their action matters.

Keep in mind general rules for delivering speeches

- Be yourself. Be natural. Smile!

- Observe proper protocol: recognize dignitaries at the beginning of your remarks and thank the event organizers.

- 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.

- 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 several seconds.

- Use hand gestures to express 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 or adjust your clothes.

- 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.

- Remember to vary your voice's speed and volume to emphasize key points, and to speak a bit lower, slower, and louder than normal.

- 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 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.

If all else fails, remember that your best public speaking coach was your mother. She told you to:

- Stand up straight
- Look people in the eye
- Smile
- Comb your hair
- Don't slouch
- Don't fidget
- Speak clearly
- Tell the truth

Media Interviews

Although it can be intimidating to speak to a reporter, media interviews can be one of the most effective tools in your campaign. With preparation and practice, you can make sure that media coverage reflects your campaign's message and helps your candidacy.

Before the Interview

- *Research.* Try to find out what the reporter wants to know in advance, what their bias may be, and who else the reporter will be interviewing. This will help you frame your responses. How do you find out? Ask, and read previous articles the reporter has written on the subject.

- *Prepare.* Prepare for the interview by writing down all the difficult or potentially sticky questions a reporter may ask, and determine how you will answer them in a positive way. Don't distribute this or bring it with you; it's just to help you practice. Have a friend role play with you so you can practice answering the questions with confidence.

- *Simplify.* Hone your messages to a few key points. Very little of what you say will be used, so make sure your comments will be targeted by creating a simplified, quotable version of your key message.

- *Confirm.* Prior to the interview, make a quick phone call to the reporter to verify the meeting, and offer to send directions to your office or event. These additional steps can save you both from an embarrassing situation that might start your relationship off on the wrong foot.

At the Interview

- *Stay "on message."* Staying on message means making sure that every answer you give expresses your message. Those who stay on message control the message. The media can only report what it sees and hears. If you provide nothing but your message, it will repeat only your message. The worst communications mistakes nearly always result from an undisciplined speaker. Staying on message is the best way to reach your audience in a manner over which you have control.

- *Flag key points.* When you're speaking, use "flags" to signal key points. Let the reporter know you're about to make a main point by flagging it with a phrase such as, "the key point is ..." or "the important thing to remember is ..." This

helps ensure that reporters won't miss your key points while making notes about something less important you just said.

- *Use bridges to take control of the interview.* If a reporter asks you a potentially sticky question, answer it, but bridge it to a message you want to convey. "Yes, but have you considered ..." or "No, but we've solved that problem through ..."

- *Make it visual.* Use metaphors, stories and anecdotes to illustrate and simplify your points. These help audiences visualize what you're talking about.

- *Avoid jargon.* When speaking with reporters or the lay public, avoid the use of jargon and acronyms. Your mission is to convey information. If your listeners have to decipher jargon, you'll lose their attention.

- *Be interesting.* If you are passionate about your subject, it will help make a better story. Remember that the reporter is the pipeline to your audience. Help the reporter tell the best story possible.

- *Watch casual remarks.* Understand that nothing is really off the record, even if the reporter says it is. You should never say anything you wouldn't want to be quoted on to a reporter because those are usually just the juicy tidbits that will end up in print.

- *Answer every question.* Never use the phrase "no comment." You must answer every question or you will seem evasive. If there is a legitimate reason for not answering a question, simply state that you cannot answer it and give the reason.

- *Be prepared for the reporter to go off-topic.* During the interview, don't be surprised if a reporter asks something totally unrelated to the subject at hand. If a reporter asks something you can't answer immediately, say you'll get back to him or her later, and do so promptly.

After the Interview

- *Follow up.* After the interview, send a note or email of thanks to the reporter. In it, reiterate any points you want to make. Ask the reporter if the interview provided him or her with enough information, and offer to assist further. The reporter may not respond before the article is printed, but will appreciate being asked, and it will open the door for follow-up articles.

Activity 5: Preparing for Interviews

Imagine you are on your way to an interview with a reporter from a local newspaper. The reporter is covering the election and is doing a story about new candidates running for the first time. Write down five questions you think you are likely to get, and come up with answers that are on your message and meet the criteria laid out above.

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Campaign Skills
Handbook

Module 8
Building a Communications Strategy
Tactics, Tools and Techniques for Reaching your Audiences

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

CAMPAIGN SCHOOLS

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

Communicating to voters and potential supporters through the media is a challenge for every campaign, especially in areas where the media might be controlled by other parties or interests. But working strategically with the media can really pay off for your campaign, allowing you to reach more voters and persuade them with your message.

A strategic communications plan will help ensure that you are maximizing every opportunity to inform, inspire and motivate your supporters through the media. This module covers the tools and skills needed to build this communications plan, which will attract attention to your campaign from both traditional (television, radio and newspaper) and new (Internet, blogs and social media) media. Topics covered include:

1. Developing a Strategic Communications Plan
2. Working with the Media
3. Organizing Effective Media Events
4. The Media Toolkit
5. New Media Communications

Developing a Strategic Communications Plan

A strategic communications plan, or media strategy, is your plan for getting positive coverage of your campaign through the media that your target voters use the most, in order to communicate your message to these voters. Political campaigns benefit greatly from a well-run media outreach program.

There are a number of important distinctions to make as you begin to define your strategic communications plan. A list of terms frequently used in media planning is outlined below:

Media
- Any means of communication designed to deliver information and influence large audiences. This includes newspapers, television, radio, social networking sites, etc.

Print Media
- Media that uses the written word on paper, such as newspapers and magazines.

Broadcast Media
- Media that broadcasts sounds or images, such as radio and television.

Traditional Media
- Means of mass communication introduced and used before the advent of the Internet, including television, radio, newspapers and magazines.

New Media
- A general term used to describe forms of electronic communication made possible through computer and digital technology, including websites, social networking, video and audio streaming, online communities and chat rooms, blogs, etc.

Earned Media
- Media coverage your campaign or political party gets for free when the media cover your events or other efforts.

Paid Media
- Media coverage your campaign or political party has to pay for by purchasing advertising time or space.

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The media represents a campaign's best opportunity to be in touch with its intended audience on a large scale. Each of the various aspects of media outlined in the table above will play a role in your strategic communications plan to a different degree depending on the local environment and what you want to achieve.

However, most campaigns have to rely more on earned media than paid media for financial reasons. In this situation, your campaign is in less control of how much coverage it will get as well as how it is represented in the media. One of the main purposes of constructing a media strategy is to ensure that the message that appears in the newspapers, on the news or in a blog is the one that you want your target audience to see and hear.

Your strategy should seek to maximize your media opportunities, but it should also support your campaign's overall goals and work in partnership with all other parts of your campaign, such as voter contact and fundraising. For example, your efforts to connect with voters and grow grassroots support for your campaign are good news stories, so your communications strategy should operate in collaboration with these efforts rather than in isolation.

The steps involved in developing a strategic communications plan are similar to those for other aspects of campaign planning. They are to:

1. Determine your objective(s);
2. define your key audiences;
3. Identify the most important media outlets for your campaign; and,
4. Create a tactical outreach plan of events and activities designed to generate the coverage you want and on the platforms you need in order to reach your key audiences.

Throughout this discussion of communication strategies, it is vital to keep in mind that *none of these efforts will be effective until you have defined your campaign's core messages for your target audiences.* Unless you know what you are going to say to your voters and which voters you need to reach, there is no point trying to get media coverage. Media coverage without a clear message risks confusing voters, representing your campaign poorly or even alienating voters. Module 6 of this program offers a number of tools for developing messages for target audiences.

To complete each of the steps for developing an effective communication strategy, think through the questions below. Many of these build on the work done in previous modules on targeting, research and analysis.

1. **What is our objective? What do we want to achieve?**

    Like all aspects of your campaign, putting together a solid media strategy starts with thinking through what it is you want or need to achieve. What is the size of the audience you are trying to persuade? Is it large, manageable or small? Is media the best way to reach them, or is direct voter contact going to be more effective?

    What about the image or profile of the political party or any candidates? Do the voters know enough about your party or candidates? Do the voters like your party or candidates? Are there any policy ideas or issues you need to advance to change the terms of the debate around an election? What do you need the voters to know about your campaign and is the media the best way of helping to communicate this information?

    Define clearly what it is you need to achieve through your media strategy. Return to your SWOT analysis from Module 3 of this program to review your challenges and opportunities in this campaign.

2. **Who is the campaign's target audience?**

    Defining your media strategy requires an assessment of your targeted voters and the media landscape in the area. Who are the people with whom your campaign is trying to communicate?

    To answer this question, return to the voter targeting you conducted earlier in your campaign planning from Module 3 of this program. Your research should have given you information about who your core supporters are, and who the undecided or persuadable voters are, that you need to communicate with in order to achieve your goals. Think through the types of people you need to reach and what their access to information must be like.   Use the persona profiles you constructed in Module 6 of this program to help you visualize this.

3. **Which media outlets do our target audience(s) rely on for information? What are the most important media outlets to the campaign?**

    Think about how each group of your campaign's targeted voters get their information. What media outlets do they rely on and use regularly? Consider all forms of media, both traditional and new, and whether infrastructure (for example, regular electricity or Internet service) will affect their access to various outlets.

There are a number of ways you can research this if the answer it not readily apparent. Ask a local advertising agency or the sales departments of the media outlets themselves. Public opinion polls also frequently ask voters where they get their information. You can also ask targeted voters directly as part of a campaign survey canvass about what issues they care about most.

In the Middle East and North Africa, most voters get most of their information from watching television. But it's not always easy to get television coverage for campaign events, so consider what other media outlets your targeted voters rely on for information. Are there special media outlets that reach certain groups of voters, such as minority groups, students, or people living in certain neighborhoods or remote areas? Do groups such as young people or women consume media differently?

Once you know how your target audiences get their information, single out the ones on which your campaign can actually get coverage. These outlets become priorities for your media outreach strategy.

As an example, one campaign might target the large, commercial television stations in the area, because most voters in their target groups watch a lot of television and these companies are likely to give some form of coverage to all parties. Another campaign may recognize that they are unlikely to get television coverage because the station's owners support a different party, or because these stations are unlikely to consider the campaign a priority. In this situation, the campaign might focus on a combination of newspapers, radio, and new media instead.

Make a list of your priority media outlets, and then add secondary outlets. Your secondary outlets are those you can access more easily or less expensively, and typically include new media such as video streaming or social media sites. While your focus will be on your priority outlets, it is important to include secondary outlets in your strategy as well. Many reporters working with larger media sources pay attention to news coverage on a wide variety of outlets, including local blogs, social media sites and stories reported through other media, and may pick up your message this way.

Finally, consider the relationships you have with the media outlets you have identified as a priority. What specific steps can you take to improve your communication with these media and build your professional networks with key journalists and news editors?

4. **What strategies and tactics will your campaign use to get your priority media outlets to deliver your message to your targeted voters?**

Strategies and tactics are the specific actions your campaign takes to actually gain media coverage, particularly earned media. What are some possible campaign events that your campaign could organize that would advance your message, keep your supporters engaged, and be interesting enough to appeal to the news media?

First, consider the type of media you have prioritized. Newspaper, radio and blogs are less visual and will require events that focus more on storytelling. Most other media are much more visual and will require good backdrops and settings or engaging images for broadcast. On almost every occasion, party leaders or candidates simply sitting at a table talking will not fulfill your objectives of engaging your target voters and keeping them interested. It's too dull.

There are number of ways to come up with ideas for campaign events that are newsworthy:

a. Write down the stories your campaign is trying to tell voters in order to convey your message. Are there ways to tell these stories through events? For example, if your campaign message focuses on jobs, can you organize events that highlight both the human impact of this problem and your campaign's proposed solutions?

b. Conceptualize the visual images tied to your message. If it's about education or the future of young people, can you create an event with children and young people at a school that would create a great visual for the media to cover? If it's about the economy, can you create an event with street vendors, factory workers, young people who are out of work, or enlist a successful local enterprise to help paint a picture associated with your message?

c. Think about how your campaign can look bigger. Are there endorsements, debates, rallies or large public events that would help create the image of large amounts of growing support for your campaign?

d. Come up with ideal headlines. If you were writing the headlines for the press coverage of your campaign, what would you want them to say about your policies, your relationship with voters, your integrity, your commitment to public service, or your vision for the country? Write down these headlines and then construct communication events that could get you there.

e.   Take advantage of campaign milestones to attract coverage. Milestones are events that receive special attention because they are connected to key occurrences during the campaign or to something that measures your success. For example, filing candidate registration papers with lots of signatures of support or receiving endorsements from important community leaders show that your campaign is competitive and newsworthy.

Typical milestone events include:

- Announcing your candidacy
- Receiving endorsements from opinion leaders, organizations or news outlets
- Reaching fundraising goals
- Meeting party registration deadlines
- Initiating advertising or social media activities
- Launching policies, platforms or manifestos
- Canvassing and other major campaign volunteer activities
- Hosting voter registration drives
- Plot these events on a calendar and use them as occasions to get coverage from both traditional and new media.

Activity 1: Strategic Communications Planning

1.   Establish the goal for your communications plan. What is it you need to achieve? If it is helpful, return to your SWOT analysis from Module 3 of this program to review your challenges and opportunities in this campaign and to help you think through what you need to accomplish through your media communications.

_____
_____
_____
_____

2.   Think about your target audiences and where they get their information. In the table below, identify each group you will have to communicate with and list the media outlets they rely on for information.

Targeted Voter Group	Key Media Outlets for This Group

3. From the list above, write down your priority media outlets that your campaign will target for coverage. These are the media outlets your target voters use the most. Then, see if you can come up with secondary media outlets. These are outlets you can access more easily or less expensively which might not be at the top of the list for your target audiences, but can help you get your message out in a way that might get picked up by bigger media.

Priority Outlets

_____
_____
_____
_____

Secondary Outlets

_____
_____
_____
_____

4. Think about the visual images that you want to be associated with your campaign and its message. What are the possible campaign events that you could organize that would deliver these images and advance your message? Come up with at least 2 events and describe them below.

Event 1

_____
_____
_____
_____

Event 2

_____
_____
_____
_____

5. Brainstorm a list of milestone events for your campaign. For each activity, list the ideal headline you would want the media to use for their coverage of the event.

Milestone Event	Headline

6. Assign each of your media events a specific day by writing them on the calendar below.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Election Day							
1 week out							
2 weeks out							
3 weeks out							
4 weeks out							
5 weeks out							
6 weeks out							
7 weeks out							

Working with the Media

Developing good working relationships with the media will result in more, and better, coverage of your campaign. By understanding reporters' needs and making sure you are prepared to respond to them, you will provide the media with what they need to cover your story. Below are guidelines for working productively with the media:

1. Develop relationships with key editors, reports and bloggers
2. Stay in touch
3. Understand what is newsworthy
4. Always be truthful and accurate
5. Don't be afraid to say "I'm not sure" and find out the answer
6. Understand their limits and needs
7. Respond quickly to calls
8. Provide reporters with information in a format they can use
9. Anticipate their need for content and pitch stories
10. Stay on top of the story
11. Address problems and move on

Develop relationships with key editors, reporters, and bloggers

Reporters, bloggers and editors will be more likely to make the decision to cover your campaign if they know you or a member of your team, and if they are convinced that your candidacy is viable and has a real base of support. First impressions make a big impact, so make sure that when you meet with reporters the first time, you convey to them your campaign's message and the kind of support you have.

Stay in touch

Call reporters regularly, not just to pitch stories or campaign events, but also just to stay in touch and discuss current events. Be available for calls from reporters at any time and become a helpful resource to journalists.

Understand what is newsworthy

Certain types of stories and angles are considered newsworthy; understanding these gives you an advantage when suggesting stories to reporters or planning media events. Consider tying your campaign's story to a major national news

story, an anniversary or commemorative date, broader trends in politics or campaigns, the release of a new report or data, or a human interest story. Campaign milestones, such as candidate filing, reaching a voter contact goal, or opening a headquarters, also make good news stories.

Always be truthful and accurate

Always tell the truth. Reporters rely on their sources for accurate information. Once a source proves unreliable, they won't use that person again. Whenever possible provide a citation for a point that can be backed up so that reporters can use it in their story. This helps your credibility and theirs too.

Don't be afraid to say "I'm not sure" and find out the answer

If you get a question and are not completely sure of the answer, it's best to say, "I'm not certain; let me check on that and get back to you." Make sure you research the question and call them back promptly. Reporters will appreciate your honesty.

Understand their limits and needs

Reporters work under tight deadlines and high pressure. Expect, and insist on, fair coverage but don't expect reporters to go out of their way to cover your campaign. Make it easy for them to incorporate information into a story by providing research sources and suggesting other people to interview when you can.

Respond quickly to calls

Most political stories are on daily deadlines, so respond as quickly as possible when a reporter calls you. If you want to have time to consider your responses, it's fine to ask the reporter what they are working on, what questions they have, and what their deadline is. Take a short time to prepare your responses, and then call them back as far advance of their deadline as possible.

Provide reporters with information in a format they can use

You can make a reporter's job easier by providing elements they need to put together their story. A clear, concise press release, along with the other elements in your press kit, will make their job easier. See the section on building a press kit in this module for further guidance.

Anticipate their need for content and pitch stories

Think about what types of stories reporters might like to work on that could focus on your campaign. For example, your campaign could be featured in a story about campaigns doing online outreach to voters, or in a story about efforts to register new voters in your area. Don't be shy about calling reporters you know and 'pitching' or suggesting story ideas to them.

Stay on top of the story

Make yourself a good source of information for your candidate or party, as well as for reporters. Monitor news coverage from a variety of sources. Learn what types of stories different media outlets cover and what types of stories individual reporters like to write. Pay close attention to all types of news, not just political news that could affect your country or voters. Always stay on top of what your campaign's message and activities are, as well as the message and activities of your opponents.

Address problems and move on

If you encounter a situation where you are misquoted or a story comes out about you that are inaccurate, address the situation immediately. Call and arrange for an in-person meeting with the reporter and their editor, and insist on either a retraction or that they print a response from your campaign without edits. With online coverage (including comments posted on stories or posts), be vigilant about responding quickly to unfavorable or biased coverage with your campaign's perspective.

Organizing Effective Media Events

Organizing your own media events is a great way to influence the kind of coverage your campaign gets in the press. A media event is any campaign activity designed to generate press coverage. Media events can be site visits to locations (schools, health centers, factories, parks) to highlight certain issues, campaign activities (rallies, meetings, door-to-door canvassing), speeches, and debates. Media events are more interesting for the press to cover than press conferences because there is an activity to report on and usually a visual image to show.

> **A media event is any campaign activity designed to generate press coverage.**

Media events are the most powerful way to tell your campaign's story and bring your message to life because you control the message, the speakers, and the visual picture. A good media event meets the following criteria:

- It's newsworthy
- It reinforces the campaign's message
- There is a clear, interesting visual for television and photographs
- Campaign supporters are numerous and enthusiastic
- The candidate's comments are concise and on message
- The time and place are convenient for the press to attend
- Media, those who attend and those who can't make it, receive a succinct press release and photograph immediately following the event

Below is a checklist of activities for planning, executing and following up on a media event:

1. Planning the event:

   ☐ Think through: What news are you making? What headline do you want?
   ☐ Consider how you will tell your story visually (for example through a location, actions, people, or signs).
   ☐ Select a location that is convenient to reporters, with parking if needed.
   ☐ Select a time that is convenient for reporters, usually late morning or early afternoon.
   ☐ Make sure you have permission to hold the event if it's at a special location.
   ☐ Prepare your media advisory (explained below) and press release during the planning phase. This will help you clarify your message and ensure that the event you organize will generate the story you seek.
   ☐ Select and invite any additional guest speakers. Brief each speaker with a

memo describing the message and agenda of the event, and provide them with suggested talking points.

☐ Think about what materials and equipment your event will require. Will you need a banner? A podium? A sound system? Special lighting? Signs? A generator?

2. Before the event:

☐ Send a media advisory to all reporters and news outlets.
☐ Invite campaign supporters.
☐ Secure permits if needed.
☐ Arrange for special equipment such as sound, lighting, podium, etc.
☐ Write out and practice the candidate's press statement.
☐ Finalize and make copies of the press release, and prepare copies of the press kit.
☐ Confirm other speakers or special guests.
☐ Call reporters to pitch the event and ask if they plan to attend.
☐ Designate one person as "stage manager," responsible for working with the candidate and any other speakers at the event to ensure a smooth flow.
☐ Hang banners and do anything else you need to set up the location at least an hour before the event starts.

3. During the event:

☐ Thank media, supporters and guests for attending.
☐ Greet all reporters at a registration table; ask them to present credentials and sign in.
☐ Make sure all event speakers understand the order of speakers and who the stage manager is.
☐ Distribute press releases to reporters.
☐ Make sure all reporters and camera operators have access to electricity and anything else they need.
☐ Take plenty of photos during the event from different angles and perspectives.
☐ Post and tweet live from the event to the campaign's social media networks.

4. After the event:

☐ Immediately send the press release and photo to all news outlets including bloggers.
☐ Post coverage of the event on social media networks and send it to key supporters.
☐ Thank reporters who covered the event.

Activity 2: Planning a Media Event

Fill in the grid below to visualize and plan one of the media events you identified in Activity 1.

Headline	Identify the news item of your story and frame it in a headline. *What's the headline of this story?*
Lead	Write a succinct paragraph in journalistic style to frame the story. What's new? Why would the news media cover this story?
Photo or Visual Image	Visualize the photo or image you want to represent the event. *What will people do at the media event that is visually interesting?*
Candidate or Party Leader Quote	Know what your sound bite is going to be and ensure everyone delivers it. *How do we state our message in 15 seconds or less?*
Supporting Facts	Provide local angles, facts and figures from objective sources. *What information do we have to support the claims we're making and provide interesting angles?*
Validator Quote	Pick speakers who reinforce your position. *What issue experts or constituency leaders will talk to the press for us?*
Question and Answers or Likely Responses	Prepare for media questions and opponents' attacks. *What will the reporters ask? What will our opponents say?*

The Media Toolkit

No matter what type of campaign you are running, being prepared to work with the media will save you time and help you get more favorable coverage. Take some time early in the campaign to put together your media toolkit, which is an assembly of all the basic documents and pieces of information that you will need whenever you engage with the media throughout the campaign. Here are the elements that make up a complete media toolkit:
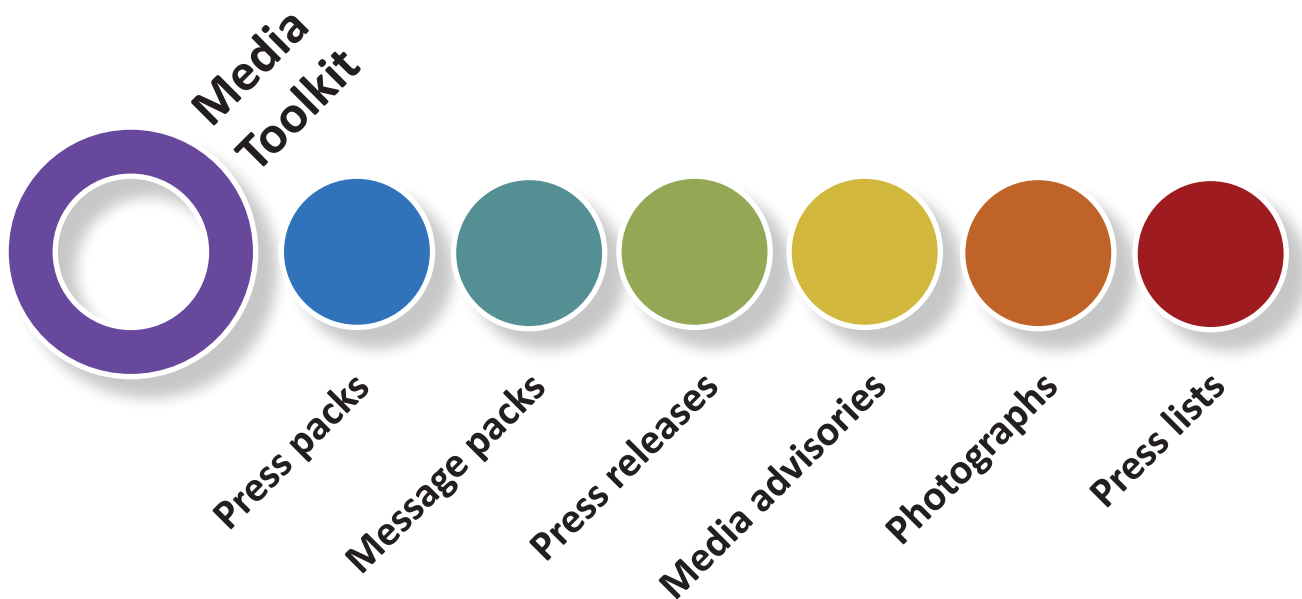
Press Packs

There are a few items your campaign can prepare and put together as press packs that will be useful for all media outlets. Press packs include core information about the campaign, political party and/or candidates, which members of the press can refer to throughout the election no matter what the issue or event is that they are covering. Common elements of a press pack include:

- A biography of the candidate or party leader, whoever is leading the campaign in the area
- A one-page statement that lays out the basic message of why the candidate or party is running and what they plan to do if elected
- A photo of the candidate or party leader
- A campaign brochure or leaflet

Together, these items make up a press pack that can be sent to bloggers, reporters and editors when the campaign launches. Press packs should also be available at

all of the campaign's events where the media is invited. They are also great to leave behind when meeting with party leaders, prominent potential supporters and other community leaders. If the campaign has a website, post links to the documents in the press pack so that journalists can access this information at any time.

Message Packs

The campaign's message, explored in detail in Module 6, will be the basis for all of your communications. Having your message already written in different formats will give you a convenient reference point for drafting press releases, speeches and statements throughout the campaign and ensure the language and tone you use is consistent.

Unlike the press pack, which the campaign distributes to reporters and potential supporters, **the message pack is a private, internal set of documents designed only for the campaign team's use.** Your message pack should include:

- The campaign's basic message written out → one to four sentences long
- The campaign or candidate's basic stump speech → one-minute version
- The campaign or candidate's basic stump speech → five-minute version
- Campaign talking points or prepared "Questions and Answers," which are the answers that everyone on the campaign should give to typical questions you expect to be asked by the media

Refer to your message pack when drafting speeches, preparing for interviews, writing press releases and designing campaign literature and online communications.

Press Release

A press release is a short document that communicates news from the campaign quickly to many news outlets. A press release always answers the following questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why?

> **A press release answers the following questions:**
>
> **Who** is the subject of the story? **What** is happening? **Where** is it happening?
> **When** is it happening? **Why** is this so important?

A press release follows the same format as a news story and describes a news event. The first sentence, or lead, encapsulates the entire story followed by short simple sentences that give more information and context.

The standard elements of a press release include:

- Contact information for a campaign spokesperson
- A catchy headline
- A lead sentence that briefly summarizes the story
- A short paragraph with more details about the story
- A short paragraph including a quote or two
- A short paragraph explaining the context or importance of the event
- A final paragraph with basic information about the campaign

A press release should usually fit onto one page. If you have additional information for reporters, such as research data or background information, consider creating a separate fact sheet to accompany the press release.

See the sample press release below for a campaign that is opening its headquarters:

PRESS RELEASE

(DATE)

Contact:
  Mona Chanine (PHONE NUMBER)
  Ahmed Abdullah (PHONE NUMBER)

AHMED ABDULLAH CAMPAIGN LAUNCHES HEADQUARTERS IN XXX NEIGHBORHOOD

Ramallah—Ahmed Abdullah, who is running for parliament in the upcoming election, opened a campaign headquarters in the XXX neighborhood today.

About two hundred supporters attended the opening, which Abdullah says indicates that his campaign has a great deal of support.

"Since I grew up in XXX, I know these people. I care about them. When I am elected, I will fight for them," he said. "This headquarters will help us connect with voters and tell them about what's at stake for the future of education and economic development, which are my priorities."

The headquarters, located on XXX Street, will serve as a base for campaign activities including community meetings, festivals, and door-to-door canvassing. So far, the Abdullah campaign is the only one to open a headquarters in this part of the district.

"Ahmed Abdullah really will fight for us and for more jobs. That's why his headquarters is here," said Ibrahim Nasrallah, a 76-year-old neighborhood resident and Abdullah campaign supporter who attended the event with his entire extended family.

Abdullah is one of eight candidates who have announced their intention to run for parliament in this district. The election is expected to take place sometime next summer, according to the schedule set by the Ministry of the Interior.

###

Media Advisory

A media advisory is a very short message to the news media, usually informing them of an upcoming event or the candidate's schedule. An advisory should highlight what the event is and clearly list details such as time, location, and speakers.

Include any additional information that may be useful to the media in your advisories, such as how long the event will last, where to park, and whether there will be a sound system that they can use to record audio. Contact information for a campaign spokesperson should also be listed prominently in case they need to contact you with questions.

Photographs

A photograph gives voters a great deal of information about the candidate. The old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words rings particularly true in politics. Voters will look at a picture to decipher what kind of person a candidate or political party leader is, what kind of job they would do or whether they are trustworthy. Because visual communications are much more powerful than verbal communications, the photos your campaign uses are very important.

Consider what you want your campaign photos to say. Should the photo of the candidate emphasize that he or she is serious, respectful and formal? Or, should the photo convey that the candidate is warm, approachable and caring? Should the campaign use only a basic headshot of just the candidate? Or, could the campaign use shots of the candidate with their family at work or interacting with voters? What kinds of poses, activities, or backgrounds for a photo could reinforce the campaign's message?

Campaigns use photographs for brochures, leaflets, posters, and banners. Because of the extent to which these photos are reproduced, it's worth finding a photographer who can take high-quality images of the candidate.

Once you have taken and selected the photos you will use for the campaign, use them in the following ways:

- Make them the focal point of your campaign literature and voter contact materials
- Make them the basis of your campaign website and social media accounts
- Deliver prints and email electronic copies of the photo to the news media so they will use the photo of you that you, not they, have selected

Press Lists

A press list includes all of the contact information of the reporters, editors and bloggers you hope will cover the campaign. This includes mobile and office phone numbers, email addresses, Skype or VOIP addresses, fax numbers and physical or mailing addresses. Having this information on hand will make the job of media outreach much simpler and allow you to "blast" communications from your campaign to members of the press quickly and easily.

You or your party's press office may have some of this information already, but it's often the case that the press list will be different for each campaign as new outlets may emerge or local media needs to be added. Do your researches to ensure you have contact details for all of the outlets you have listed as priority or secondary at the very least?

Once you have the information assembled, think of the different ways you will use it according to your communications strategy (who you have identified as priority and secondary media outlets) and how key media outlets prefer to be contacted. Options for organizing contact details include:

- *Create a master list.* Organize contact information for individual reporters and editors by media outlet (specific newspaper, TV station), grouped by type of media (radio, TV, online, print).

- *Create phone lists.* Create a written list of phone numbers for key reporters and TV stations for the campaign headquarters, the candidate and the campaign manager. Program these numbers into the mobile phones of the candidate, press secretary and campaign manager.

- *Create SMS groups.* Consider creating an SMS group on the press secretary or campaign manager's mobile phone or digital device so the campaign can communicate major news updates rapidly to the press.

- *Create email lists.* Compile email addresses for reporters, bloggers and assignment editors. Consider setting up an email group in order to communicate rapidly by blind copying the group on press releases and press statements when there is breaking news.

- *Create Skype, VoIP or IM lists.* Instant messaging and Skype or other VOIP systems can be good ways of staying in touch with journalists and editors informally.

- *Don't forget the fax.* Some media outlets (particularly traditional media) still prefer to receive press releases via fax. Keep a list of those contacts and their fax numbers by your fax machine.

Activity 3: **Write a Press Release**

Write the press release for the media event you planned in Activity 2. Make sure your press release covers the Who, What, When, Where, and Why of your event, and includes a candidate quote that is concise and on message.

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New Media Communications

New media platforms, such as social networks and video hosting sites, are an inexpensive and efficient way to get your message to a large number of supporters and potential supporters who are online and use new media. However, they also take considerable time and effort to manage consistently and effectively.

New media can be an effective way to maximize a number of campaign objectives, including:

- Spreading the message and information about campaign activities
- Recruiting volunteers or helpers
- Finding large groups of people who are open to your message
- Reaching out to potential donors
- Motivating base voters or existing supporters
- Creating momentum around events

The costs for setting up your campaign's presence on these platforms are relatively low, and the platforms have the potential to reach a wide audience and distribute your message quickly to supporters. Most of these media are interactive and offer new opportunities to listen to and engage with the public.

New media is any newer technology that people use to consume information or interact with each other.

Examples are listed below:
Social Networking sites →
Facebook, LinkedIn

Blogs and Micro-blogs →
Twitter, Blogger, Tumblr, WordPress

Video Hosting →
YouTube, Blip.tv

Instant Messaging →
Pidgin, Skype

SMS and Text Messaging →
Blackberry groups, SMS sites

Photo and Image Sharing →
Flickr, Instagram, Smilebox

Social Bookmarking →
Digg, Reddit, Pinterest

However, there are disadvantages and challenges to using new media as well. These include:

- It is harder to control your message and the behavior of activists online
- Supporters you recruit through social networking do not go into your database, so you don't have their contact information to further build the relationship
- There is no exact template on where to find supporters and potential supporters online

- Voters can be outside target areas
- These platforms were built for socializing, not campaigning
- They require consistent and regular management and maintenance
- Nothing is private and mistakes have a long shelf life

It takes time and attention to build and maintain authentic relationships with online groups and interested individuals. Also, keep in mind that like all technology, new media is constantly changing and evolving. You will need to keep re-evaluating the way you use these platforms to make sure that you are maximizing your reach and meaningfully engaging your audience.

It is also important to remember that outreach to online communities is not a replacement for direct voter contact and face-to-face organizing. A campaign's objective in using electronic communications should be to mobilize online communities to engage in offline actions, such as volunteering with your campaign, donating money, voting for you and encouraging their family and friends to vote for you.

The following section offers guidelines for planning and using new media for your campaign.

Using New Media for Campaigns

Digital advocacy is the term used to describe efforts to organize people using new media to take social or political action. New media refers to any

> *Digital advocacy is the term used to describe efforts to organize people using new media to take social or political action.*

technology which people use to consume information or interact with each other. These platforms are accessed through digital devices such as mobile phones, tablets and computers.

New media tools have become an essential component of many movements and campaigns. Some of the most-used digital advocacy tools include websites, blogs, social networking sites (such as Facebook and Twitter), email, video streaming and image sharing sites, instant messaging and text messaging. Hundreds of social media applications exist that could be used for digital advocacy, but rather than trying to create a presence on all of them, it is best to spend your time and resources where your supporters already spend their time.

Anyone can use new media. The perception is that social media reaches young people primarily, but its growth is explosive and far-reaching. Remember that new media includes things like email, text message and instant messaging. People of all ages around the world are increasingly using some form of new media.

1.   Getting Started - Conduct a Brief Strategic Review

The first thing to do when deciding whether or how to use new media is to clarify your campaign's main goals and how digital advocacy helps you achieve them. What do you want to achieve? Do any digital media platforms help you reach your goals? If so, which ones?

Often, you will want to use new media to find and persuade targeted voters and mobilizing supporters. Clarify what you want to achieve and whether this is possible using digital advocacy. Otherwise, you risk getting caught up in work that doesn't make a contribution to your campaign's success.

Ask yourself:

- Where do my supporters or potential supporters gather online? Where do they go for information and news? Where do they go for entertainment and socializing?
- Is my campaign's digital advocacy about reaching as many people as possible or about controlling my message?
- Do I need the people with whom I am communicating to take action on behalf of my campaign? What do I want them to do?
- What kind of information do I want to share? Will it be written word, video or still images? Which platform would carry this information best?
- What can the local infrastructure support? How strong and reliable are internet connections and electricity?
- Are my target groups more likely to access information on computers or handheld devices such as mobile phones? How should this affect the platforms I use and the type of content my campaign puts out?

Research and evaluate where your supporters and potential supporters are most likely to be online. Because digital media can reach very broad audiences, you want to do whatever you can to ensure the medium you are using is also used by your target audiences.

Determine how you will measure success at the start of the project. Begin by envisioning "the big picture" outcomes of how you'd like your social media efforts to turn out. Then, develop specific success metrics that will help you evaluate each platform you

plan to use. Fortunately, it is easy to track such data through many free analytic and social marketing tools that are often built into the platform itself.

For example, if you are using a Facebook page in your campaign, the "insights" panel lets you track how many people have seen your content, how many people have shared your content, and the demographic breakdown of the people who follow your page. It also shows you the most popular content based on who likes it, shares it or comments on it. These metrics let you know if you are reaching your target audience and what kind of content they like the most so you can give them more of it.

If you are using Twitter, services such as Twitalyzer or Klout measure your influence on Twitter, the users you are most likely to influence and the topics you are perceived to have expertise on. You can adjust your content accordingly to ensure you are influencing your target audience with the topics you want them to learn about.

Most blast email programs track analytics on open rates and click through rates. Using these, you can see which emails are opened the most often and then adjust your subject lines and content accordingly. You can also see which appeals to donate or volunteer are clicked on more often and adjust your content accordingly. Consider breaking up your email list into two or three groups and using different subject lines or content to see which ones people respond to better.

Google Analytics is free to use for any website and provides you with data on your site's visitors and how they use the site. You can use analytics to be sure your visitors are coming from the geographic or demographic areas you are targeting and watch their pathways through your site.

2.   Evaluate the Time and Resources You Have

An effective online presence requires daily maintenance and management. Once you start, you have to continue to communicate in order for the outreach to be useful to your campaign. Be realistic about whether you have the time and human resources to fully engage in digital advocacy.

If time and other resources are limited, choose one or two platforms for digital advocacy and limit your presence to these. Use the platforms you have chosen to direct people towards your primary means of communication, such as community meetings, hospitality tents or your website.

3. <u>Become Familiar with the Intricacies of Each Platform</u>

As you are creating accounts, familiarize yourself with the typical behavior of users and the requirements for effective use. Learn the customs of the platform. For example, Twitter uses hash tags and hat tips; Pinterest users must credit original sources for anything they add to their pin boards and must keep any comments they post positive; and, Facebook and You Tube rely on users to "like" a page or to post comments in order to make a page more prominent.

Because different social media platforms have specific audiences and distinct formats for posting, each should be used for distinct purposes. The following chart shows what current research indicates about the audiences, reach and strategic considerations campaigns should consider when choosing among widely-used online platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Google+. However, it is important to keep in mind that these things change over time and sometimes the change is significant. A short piece of online research about what demographic groups are using which platform will help keep your new media efforts as targeted as possible.

Platform	Character Limit	Audience	Reach	Strategic Considerations
Twitter	140	Opinion leaders	Over 100 million active users worldwide	Focused on news and rapid flow of information Fewer people use Twitter, but the audience is considered more influential Easy to share information with a wide variety of people you may not know

Facebook	240, plus photos and notes	Broad audience Average age is 13-34, but older audience is growing Women use Facebook much more than men	More than 800 million active users worldwide	Social focus Information is more likely to be shared with people you already know or who already know you
Google +	12,000	University aged males Social media leaders	90 million users but growing worldwide by 625,000 new users per day Potential to reach 400 million users by the end of 2012	Growing network Easily integrates with other Google options such as email Heavily used by those who have already adopted it

4. <u>Develop Systems for Managing Your Digital Advocacy Efforts</u>

To start your new media campaign, create a short list or calendar of topics that your campaign will post about online, a schedule for when the campaign will make requests of its supporters (ask them to do something), and a list of key dates for desired outcomes. The plan must be flexible enough to allow your campaign to react to current events and emerging topics that the social community cares about. Your ratio of non-self-interested material (not about your campaign) to self-interested material (about your campaign) should be roughly 3 to 1. Build time into your plan to respond to individuals who ask questions or post comments to the campaign on these platforms. For example, do not just send a tweet and walk away – retweet reactions you like, respond to any questions that arise, and mention any users who took action.

Be explicit about who is authorized to post material and whether there is any review process. If there is a review process, detail who can sign off on content. Remember

that with many of these platforms, speed and timeliness are important. Do not make the review process overly-arduous or unrealistic.

As part of your planning process, spend some time listening to and monitoring the activity of other users on the platforms you have chosen just as you would do if you were walking into a room and speaking to people in person. Develop a sense of the types of conversations that are going on and the way in which other users engage with one another.

As you begin to interact with others, develop a tone of voice that is authentically your own. In using new media, authenticity takes priority over all else. You don't want to come across as promotional, robotic or bureaucratic. Share your point of view in a way that is open, positive and enthusiastic. Resist the urge to solely promote your cause and engage on issues about which the online community is concerned. Be sure to credit others when repeating information. When you are ready to ask something of the community, do so in a clear and direct manner.

Social media lessons from successful campaigns

1.   Start early
2.   Make it easy for your supporters to find your message or information, forward it to friends and contacts, and act on your requests or calls to action
3.   Channel online enthusiasm into specific, targeted activities that further the campaign's goals
4.   Integrate online advocacy into every element of the campaign

From "The Social Pulpit"
Edelman Digital Public Affairs
January 2009

Integrate and streamline social media efforts while retaining an authentic presence on each platform. In other words, don't "spam" your users with the exact same content, but do consider opportunities to share key information across platforms easily. For example, you might post an article to your website and automatically tweet that new content is there.

You'll also want to integrate any online efforts with your offline efforts (printed materials, public relations, media outreach) to maximize success. Make sure you include social media reference points on printed materials and promote content from printed materials online. Make sure all materials – on and offline – are on message.

Assign the task of managing the campaign's social media presence to one person who should work closely with the volunteer coordinator and the person in charge of all media and communications.

5. <u>Monitor your Efforts and Tweak as Needed</u>

On a weekly or monthly basis, stop and evaluate your progress to see whether you are moving toward your goals and whether the platforms you are using are the making the best possible contributions to your digital advocacy efforts.

As you gain competence in new media, review other media tools that support your cause and consider adding them to your campaign. If at any point you stop using an online tool, take the content down or redirect supporters to an area where there is active engagement.

Activity 4: Using New Media

Use the questions below to think through how your campaign can use new media.

1. What new media tools are most used by your campaign's supporters?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. What new media tools are most used by your targeted voters (the voters you need to persuade)?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

3. What new media tools are most used by opinion leaders in your community?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

4. Which new media tools will your campaign use? Why have you chosen these?
    _____
    _____

_____
_____

5. For the media event you planned earlier in this module, pick one social media platform (Facebook, Twitter, etc.), and answer the following questions:

How will you use that social media platform to help meet the goals of the event (e.g., publicize the event, get supporters to attend, and communicate the event's message to supporters)?

_____
_____
_____
_____

What will you ask your supporters to do via the social networking platform (e.g., ask supporters to help with planning or set up, engage supporters in coming up with ideas for signs for the event, post photos showing community members at the event)?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Draft 3 messages regarding the event you could use on the platform.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 9
Campaign Planning
Setting Goals, Outlining Strategies and Defining Tasks

Introduction

As soon as you make the decision to run for office, the campaign planning phase begins. The campaign plan is a strategic document that details each step of the campaign and how it will be implemented.

In an electoral campaign, the planning process is as important as the plan itself. A strong process allows you to think through each element of the campaign, what resources you will need, what obstacles you will face, and what activities you will engage in on a daily basis to achieve your goals. Anticipating each of these elements in advance creates a strategic advantage and means that your campaign will be in a better position to maximize available resources and manage any surprises that come up along the way.

Topics covered in this module include:

1. Campaign Planning
2. Setting a Goal
3. Budgets and Financial Resource Management
4. Timeline and Time Management
5. Data and List Management
6. Staffing and Human Resource Management
7. Volunteer Recruitment and Management

Campaign Planning

A campaign plan is a written document that charts what you are going to achieve in your electoral campaign and how you are going 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.

No plan is set in stone; a strong plan is one that is regularly updated, assessed and redrawn based on the factors, challenges, opportunities, information and resources that arise in an electoral campaign, often unforeseen.

A plan is therefore a flexible document and can take on any shape or format that best fits your campaign. However, there is one rule that cannot be broken when it comes to developing a campaign plan: *a plan is not a plan unless it is <u>written down</u>.*

If a plan exists only in your head as ideas or thoughts, then it doesn't really exist. If it has not been written down on a page somewhere, then it cannot come to life. If it cannot be shared with other team members, then it cannot be implemented. If it cannot be referred to in times of crisis, then it cannot guide your efforts.

Remember, every campaign essentially has four main resources. These are:

People
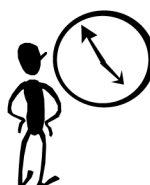
Time

Money

Information

Campaign planning is about managing all of these effectively so that no matter how resource-rich or resource-poor your campaign is, you can maximize your impact and potential to win.

There are many ways to construct a campaign plan, and how you do this in practice should reflect your own needs and assets, the type of election you are facing and what the election law allows. However, the following elements should be considered and

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included within this context, and should work together as the building blocks that get you to your goal:

- Goal: Your campaign goal is a clear statement of what you want to achieve. Do you need to "top the poll," i.e., receive more votes than any other candidate on the ballot? 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.

- Timeline and Action Plan: The timeline and action plan outline what you are going to do on a daily basis and measure out how much time you will need to implement all your activities and the components of your campaign.

- Budget and Fundraising: Your budget clearly outlines how much money or other material resources you will need to implement the campaign. The fundraising component maps out how you are going to find them.

- Message: 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. The message elements of your plan define this statement and lay out how and when you will communicate your message.

- Media and Communication: This is your external communication strategy that defines how you will use conventional and newer media to communicate with voters and raise your profile.

- Campaign Team: How many people do you need? What will their roles be? Can you afford paid staff or will you have to recruit volunteers? How big will your team need to be? The campaign team element of your plan answers these questions so that you have the right human resources to implement your strategy effectively.

- Voter Contact: Your voter contact strategy calculates how many votes you will need to win or reach your goal, where you can find those votes and how you will communicate directly with supporters and potential supporters, and ensure they will cast their ballots on election day.

A number of these elements are fully developed in other modules from NDI's MENA Campaign Schools Curriculum including message, media and communication, voter contact and fundraising. This module focuses on the remaining elements of the planning process, including timelines and action plans, budgeting, and staffing.

Setting a Goal _____

Every election is different, every candidate is unique and every electoral campaign has distinctive opportunities and challenges. Whatever the obstacles to victory might be, each candidate should enter the race with the intention to do their very best, to communicate effectively with voters and to win.

Sometimes, however, there is more to an election than simply winning. Sometimes, you need to think about building up your party's base of support in an area. Sometimes, you need to work towards enhancing your own name recognition or contacts within the community. Sometimes, you need to solidify support from new or first-time voters to the party. And sometimes, you are running to put forward a specific issue or set of issues.

Your campaign goal outlines what the days after the election will look like for you and your campaign team, once all the votes have been counted. After all your hard work, what specifically will you have achieved?

Consider the following examples of campaign goals:

✓ To win two more parliamentary seats in this district by picking up the largest percentage of first-time and swing voters

✓ To obtain the highest number of individual votes as a candidate on my party's list (in the open list system) in this district

✓ To increase my party's support in the area by 3%, enough to be one of the parties in government in the regional assembly

✓ To get elected to the local council this year and to raise my profile enough that I will be selected as mayor within the next four years

Activity 1: Setting a Goal

Imagine the days shortly after the next election. The results are in and have been announced. What does it look like for you as a candidate and your campaign team?

Use this mental image to write down your goal for the next election and define what it is that you want to achieve.

_____
_____
_____

Budgets and Financial Resource Management _____

Some campaigns have an extraordinary amount of resources. Others manage on very little. First-time or challenger (as opposed to incumbent) candidates typically fall in the latter category.

Whatever your situation is, your campaign needs a budget. A budget will allow you to plan in advance how much the campaign is going to cost, and anticipate when you are going to need the most resources and how you are going to manage 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 expensive than you estimated. Research can be as simple as making a few calls to vendors to ask for early quotes or, if local businesses operate this way, 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. Campaigns typically need more cash at the beginning to get started and then again at the end of the campaign period to finish strong and get out their vote. Use your budget to track when you can expect to get income in to pay bills and when you will have to be particularly careful with spending to preserve resources.

Consider the sample campaign budget below from a fairly simple local election campaign. Follow the flow of cash in and out of the campaign and note when large bills and expenditures are expected.

Sample Campaign Budget

	Month 1	Month 2	Month 3	Month 4	Month 5 (Election)
EXPENSES (MONEY OUT)					
Office					
Phones	400	300	400	800	1000
Phone deposit	2000				
Supplies (paper, pens, etc.)	100	100	100	200	300
Postage	50	50	50	150	350
Volunteer expenses	100	100	200	300	500
Printing/Photocopying					
Flyers/Leaflets	150		150	250	500
Paraphernalia (buttons, stickers, signs, etc.)				500	
Fundraising					
Events	1500		800	200	1000
Meetings		200	200		500
Voter Contact					
Voter List	400				
Canvassing		250	250	500	1000
Community Meetings	200	200	200		
GOTV					2000
Media & Communication					
Radio Ads					1000
Billboards					1000
Website	250	250	250	250	250
Press Events	200	200	200	400	1000
REVENUE (MONEY IN)					
Contributions					
Candidates	1000	1000			1000
Political Party	5000				2500

High Donors				2000	4500
Medium Donors				1000	1000
Low Donors	500	500	250	500	500
Total Expenses	**5350**	**1650**	**2800**	**3550**	**10400**
Total Income	**6500**	**1500**	**250**	**5500**	**10500**
Cash Flow	**1150**	**(-150)**	**(-2550)**	**1950**	**100**
Cash-On-Hand	**1150**	**1000**	**(-1550)**	**400**	**500**

Activity 2: Building a Budget

The sample budget on the next page outlines basic budget line items for a six month campaign. Review the categories covered and consider what you will need for your own campaign based on the strategic planning you have conducted already as part of the Regional Campaign Schools program and your own experience. Edit the document to remove items which will not be relevant to your campaign and to add items that you will need to pay for which are not already listed.

Please note that in budgeting, some costs will fall into more than one line item. For example, the costs of phones and phone cards will affect all activities including fundraising, communication and voter contact. Purchasing and formatting the voter list, or building a voter database, will impact all voter contact and GOTV expenses. Use specific line items (such as phones or voter list) to estimate the exact cost of these expenses, and use broader categories (such as canvassing and GOTV) to estimate the additional costs of conducting these activities.

Sample Campaign Budget

	Month 1	Month 2	Month 3	Month 4	Month 5	Month 6 (Election Day)
EXPENSES – INCOME OUT						
Office						
Phones						
Phone cards						
Supplies (paper, pens, etc.)						
Computers						
Printers						
Toner						
Internet Access						
Coffee/Tea						
Printing/Photocopying						
Flyers/Leaflets						
Paraphernalia (buttons, stickers, signs, etc.)						
Invitations						
Photocopies						
Fundraising						
Events						
Meetings						
Voter Contact						
Voter List						
Canvassing						
Community Meetings						
GOTV						
Media & Communication						
Radio Ads						
Billboards						
Website						

Press Events						
REVENUE – INCOME IN						
Contributions						
Candidates						
Political Party						
High Donors						
Medium Donors						
Low Donors						
Total Expenses						
Total Income						
Cash Flow						
Cash On-Hand						

Timeline and Time Management

Electoral campaigns are exciting, energizing and extremely demanding. A well-run campaign requires a detailed timeline to help you think through everything the campaign needs to complete during the official campaign and pre-campaign periods, and when it needs to be accomplished. A strong 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.

The best way to write a timeline is to start from the goal you defined for election day in the first section of this module and work backwards, detailing all the steps you will have to take in order to make it to this goal.

In order to actually be implemented and to ensure you have the resources you need to complete each task, each activity on your timeline should be assigned a responsible person and the necessary human resources (volunteers) and material resources.

On the next page is the timeline from the final days of an election campaign for parliament with open party lists, so the effort focused not only on the party but on raising the profile of an individual candidate as well. Review the timeline and consider your impression of how useful it might have been in organizing the campaign's last week of activities.

Date	Activity	Responsible Person(s)	Resources Needed
After Election Day	Finalize all administrative tasks, pay workers	Campaign Manager, Office Manager, Finance Director	Money
	Appreciation party for workers, volunteers and supporters	Campaign Team	Venue, food, small gifts
Election Day	GOTV – door-to-door	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify target areas	GOTV leaflet
			Script for volunteers
		Database Manager – produce lists of target voters	Lists of target voters or areas
			Maps of areas to be covered
		Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to prepare GOTV materials and conduct GOTV	Badges or stickers with campaign logo
			200 Volunteers
	GOTV – phone calls and SMS	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify target calls and write script	Script for phone calls
			Call lists
		Database Manager – produce lists of target voters	80 Volunteers (on a rotation)
		Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to make calls	

Timeline	Activity	Responsible	Materials
	Observation at polls and vote count	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify key polls and counting centers Volunteer Coordinator – recruit and train volunteers in observation skills	Observation check list 50 Volunteers
	Candidate Press Events	Campaign Manager and Press Officer – define press strategy for the day and arrange press events Candidate	Press packets Election day speech for candidate
Election Day minus 1	Voter Contact – door-to-door in last 1/3 of B and C areas	Field Director and Volunteer Coordinator	Persuasion leaflet 150 Volunteers
	Candidate Visits – candidate visits key community leaders to solidify their endorsements and ask them to mobilize their supporters to vote	Candidate and Campaign Manager	Small thank you gifts for community leaders
	Candidate Press Events	Candidate and Press Officer	Press packets Speech or talking points for candidate

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	Activity	Responsible	Resources
Election Day minus 2	Voter Contact – door-to-door in middle 1/3 of B and C areas	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify target areas Database Manager – produce lists of target voters Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to conduct door-to-door	Door-to-door leaflet Script for volunteers Lists of target voters or areas Maps of areas to be canvassed Voter contact cards Badges or stickers with campaign logo 100 Volunteers
	Rally in town center – large event to mobilize A voters and supporters and raise candidate profile coming up to election day	Campaign Manager Field Director Volunteer Coordinator Press Officer Candidate	Notices/invitations to supporters to attend (send out 10 days before) Banner and podium sign for stage Balloons, bunting, decorations Band or music Speech for candidate (focus on message and motivating supporters)

Timeline	Activity	Responsibility	Resources
	Outreach Tents – set up tents in key areas and invite local residents to come and meet the candidate; offer refreshments/hospitality	Field Director Volunteer Coordinator Candidate	Mobile tent Campaign literature Voter contact cards Sweets and drinks 10 Volunteers
Election Day minus 3	Voter Contact – door-to-door in first 1/3 of B and C areas	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify target areas Database Manager – produce lists of target voters Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to conduct door-to-door	Door-to-door leaflet Script for volunteers Lists of target voters or areas Maps of areas to be canvassed Voter contact cards Badges or stickers with campaign logo 100 Volunteers

Timeline	Activity	Who's Responsible	Resources Needed
	Outreach Tents – set up tents in key areas and invite local residents to come and meet the candidate; offer refreshments/hospitality	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify key areas to set up outreach tents; Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to assist; Candidate	Mobile tent; Campaign literature; Voter contact cards; Sweets and drinks; 10 Volunteers
	Candidate Press Events	Press Officer – organize all press events; Candidate	Press packets; Speech or talking points for candidate
Election Day minus 4	Newspaper Ads – print final newspaper ads before election day targeting B and C voters	Campaign Manager and Candidate – shape message for advertisements; Press Officer – help shape message and organizes the ads	Money
	Facebook Campaign – use Facebook and other social media to begin to mobilize supporters to vote	New Media Officer and Press Officer	Computers

Timeline	Activity	Responsible	Materials
	Outreach Tents – set up tents in key areas and invite local residents to come and meet the candidate; offer refreshments/hospitality	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify key areas to set up outreach tents; Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to assist; Candidate	Mobile tent; Campaign literature; Voter contact cards; Sweets and drinks; 10 Volunteers
	Candidate Press Events – focus on contrast with competitor	Press Officer; Candidate	Press packets; Speech or talking points for candidate
Election Day minus 5	Voter Contact – mailing to B and C voters (use door-to-door literature drop if mail system not functioning this week)	Campaign Manager and Field Director – identify target areas or voters; Database Manager – produce contact lists of target voters or areas; Volunteer Coordinator – recruit volunteers to prepare mailing	Letter, leaflet or materials to be mailed; Contact lists; Envelopes and stamps; 50 Volunteers
	Fundraising Event – gala evening at home of strong supporter	Fundraiser – organize fundraising event and recruit potential donors; Candidate	Campaign literature; Forms for legally registering political donations; Small thank you gift for host

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Candidate Press Events		
Press Officer – organize all press events	Press packets	
Candidate	Speech or talking points for candidate	

The sample timeline lays out a very busy final few days for this campaign, but organizing activities in a central plan like this helps the campaign manager and other campaign team members make sure that everything is getting done well and on time.

A blank timeline is included on the next pages for a 15 day electoral campaign and a 10 week pre-campaign period. Use this model to work through activity planning for your own campaign. You will have to adjust it to accommodate the precise legal campaign period for the election on which you are working, and the appropriate pre-campaign period. If this is your first election, for example, you may want to write a timeline for a much longer pre-campaign period to fully prepare, even up to a year.

Activity 3: Timeline

Use the sample campaign timeline on the next pages to think through everything you will have to accomplish during the next electoral campaign, and to fully prepare for the campaign. Adjust the timing to accommodate the legal campaign period for the election on which you are working. Add more time for the pre-campaign period if you need longer to prepare.

In the sample timeline, the amount of space for each period of time is relatively limited for the ease of fitting it into this manual. Please do not hesitate to add more space on separate pages so that you can add more detail and more activities. The more detail you add, the more prepared you and your campaign team will be.

Sample Campaign Timeline

Date	Activity	Who's Responsible?	Volunteers Needed? How Many?	Other Resources? Money, Leaflets, Banners, Food, etc.
Election Day				
Official Campaign Day 15				
Official Campaign Day 14				
Official Campaign Day 13				
Official Campaign Day 12				

Official Campaign **Day 11**				
Official Campaign **Day 10**				
Official Campaign **Day 9**				
Official Campaign **Day 8**				
Official Campaign **Day 7**				
Official Campaign **Day 6**				

Official Campaign **Day 5**			
Official Campaign **Day 4**			
Official Campaign **Day 3**			
Official Campaign **Day 2**			
Official Campaign **Day 1**			
One Week Before Campaign			

Two Weeks Before Campaign				
Three Weeks Before Campaign				
Four Weeks Before Campaign				
Five Weeks Before Campaign				
Six Weeks Before Campaign				
Seven Weeks Before Campaign				

Eight Weeks Before Campaign				23
Nine Weeks Before Campaign				
Ten Weeks Before Campaign				

Data and List Management

One of the most commonly used tools in every campaign's toolbox is lists: lists of supporters, lists of potential donors, lists of volunteers, lists of community leaders, lists of press contacts, lists of persuadable voters, lists of opinion leaders, etc.

Lists are the lifeblood of every campaign, providing vital information of where and how to grow support. While long and abundant lists can make a campaign feel rich with information, a list is only as good as the quality of the data it includes. If half of the people on your list of persuadable voters are deceased and there is no contact information for the other half, then that list is of little value to your campaign.

Lists come from a number of sources:

1. **The official voter list**
    The official voter list should provide your campaign with the names and some form of demographic data (general age, gender, etc.) 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 and if they can get it in electronic form. Even campaigns that can't get an electronic version of the list will use a hard copy to guide their voter contact efforts.

2. **Contact lists from candidates**
    Every candidate for public office has a network of family, friends and professional colleagues. These are important to add to a campaign's outreach efforts because these people typically have an interest in the candidate or campaign doing well and may be able to help in any number of ways from offering public endorsements, to hosting fundraising events, to canvassing support in their local area.

3. **Contact lists from supporters**
    Supporters of the political party or candidate may also be able to provide lists of contacts from their personal and professional networks, which the campaign can use for fundraising, voter contact and press events. These supporters can either be individuals who provide their personal lists or organizations which provide lists of their members or professional contacts.

4. **Contact management companies or software packages**
    There are a number of companies which provide data and contact management systems and software. Some of these are based on voter lists, while others are sourced from commercial enterprises such as marketing campaigns. These

products and services can be extremely useful to campaigns, but they can also be expensive. If your campaign is going to invest in one of these, do plenty of research on whether the company can provide you with exactly the type of product you need for the type of campaign you are going to conduct, and what type of assistance or support they will offer throughout the campaign to ensure the product is performing well.

5.   Campaigns build their own

Some campaigns – particularly those with sufficient time and volunteers – build their own database systems from the ground up, collecting information through their voter contact efforts. Campaigns that do this typically arrange highly systematic and well-organized efforts to gather voter details, often through door-to-door canvassing.

These types of efforts require careful planning and thinking through the types of data that need to be collected and the best way to gather this information, particularly if there is a chance that asking for personal details could make some voters uncomfortable. One campaign in a country undergoing a significant political transition, for example, organized a large prize draw and asked people to share their contact information in exchange for putting their names in the competition to win.

However you build your lists, how you manage your data is vital to protect the quality of the information. Every year, thousands of people die, move home, marry and even change political allegiances. Your data management system has to keep up with this.

The ultimate objective is to come up with a system that allows you to query your data by a variety of criteria: family name, polling station, voting history, gender, donor history, etc. As such, you will need to separate your data into a variety of fields so that each can be queried separately. Typical fields in a campaign database include:

Family Name	
First Name	
Salutation/How to Address Them	What should your candidate, party officials or anyone from the campaign call this person when contacting them?
Gender	Male or Female?
Contact Phone	If people are likely to have several phone numbers (e.g., a home, work and mobile phone, or several mobile phones) create separate fields for each, ranking them according to which is the best or most appropriate one to reach them on.
Contact Email	Collect this information even if email is relatively new or only used by a small population. It is likely to grow in the future.
Contact Address	Collect this information so you know where to visit them for direct voter contact, and so you can contact them by mail if there is a postal system. If there is no system of addresses in the area, describe how to find their residence or place of work so that volunteers could find it.
Postal Code	If there is a functioning postal system, collecting postal codes can be very useful for organizing voters into manageable geographical areas.
Polling District or Station	Where do they actually vote? This is very important information for organizing voter contact and Get Out the Vote (GOTV) efforts.
Party Affiliation	Are they a member or active supporters of a political party?
Voting Intention	Who are they planning to vote for in the upcoming election? Use a grading system to mark who they are likely to support (see the Voter Contact Card in Module 4 for an example).
Voting History	For longer-term purposes, it can be very useful to track whether or not this person actually voted in an election. This will help make sure your future efforts focus on likely voters.
Donor History	Have they contributed financial or material resources to your campaign or other campaigns? Do they have the potential to become a donor?
Volunteer History	Have they helped out in your campaign or other campaigns, or are they likely to volunteer for you if asked?
Priority Issues	What issues are they saying are important?
Date of Birth or Age Range	

If you're going to go to all the trouble to create a strong database for your campaign, it is very important that you take good care of it. Remember, a database is only as good as the quality of data it contains. Rules for good database management include:

1. **Keep it in one place**

    If your database is kept on more than one computer and more than one person can access it at a time, there's a pretty good chance that you'll end up with a jumble of mixed-up data in no time. Keep the database in one place, password protected, and only let specific people add or change data so that the manner in which it is entered remains consistent.

2. **Keep it clean**

    As mentioned earlier, change is a common occurrence in life and the data in your system will have to keep up with the changes in peoples' lives. Ensure that whenever your campaign talks to voters or communicates with them directly, volunteers have a mechanism to bring back information on changes in voters' contact details (see sample Voter Contact Card in Module 4, for example). If the mail or public records systems are reliable, use updates from these agencies on changes of address or residents who have been registered as deceased. Make updates to the database regularly.

3. **Build for flexibility**

    At the beginning of a campaign, you may think that you'll only need one type of list: voters to contact for persuasion and GOTV. As the campaign progresses, suddenly you discover that you need to know more about people's voting history, or the issues they identify as important. It is essential to construct your database in a way that is highly flexible so you can run any number of different reports. This typically means separating data into as many separate fields as possible so that you can view the information in a lot of ways.

4. **Back it up**

    Campaigns are busy places and sometimes amidst the chaos we forget to complete obvious tasks – like backing up our databases. Backing up a database essentially means making a copy of it on compact disc, on an external hard drive or on an internet server in case the campaign's computer system fails. Campaigns should aim to back up their data daily so that vital information is not lost. If the file is massive and backups are cumbersome, look to back up files weekly or every other day.

Staffing and Human Resource Management

As important as how you manage your time and material resources are the people you recruit to bring energy, ability and focus to your campaign. This is your campaign team, which can consist of both paid (staff) and unpaid (volunteers) members, depending on what you can afford and what you want to achieve.

Every campaign team is different, depending on the party's electoral ambitions and the local political landscape. Rural districts, for example, often require a talented Field Organizer, dedicated Volunteer Coordinator, and numerous volunteers to reach voters in a large geographical area. Campaigns in more urban areas are more likely to use electronic and print communications to contact voters and may therefore bring in a Communications Officer first.

Whatever your campaign team looks like, it is important that all key roles are filled, that they are filled by individuals who will take responsibility for their work, and that everyone has a clear job description and knows what his or her responsibilities are.

Below are the general steps for organizing campaign teams:

Identify Activities → Identify Functions and Skills → Write Job Descriptions → Recruit → Assign Roles

Use the questions and instructions below to help you walk through each of the steps to organizing a campaign team.

Ask yourself. . .	Do this. . .
What are the activities and programs included in the campaign?	Review your communication plan, voter contact plan and timeline to identify all the activities you need to accomplish.
What are the skills required to implement these activities?	Identify the skills required to achieve what you have set out in your planning.
What are functions necessary for the success of the campaign?	Write job descriptions that tie skills and responsibilities to specific positions within the campaign.
Where can I find the right people for my team?	Recruit staff and volunteers, based on the skills you need and the job descriptions you have written.
Who is going to be responsible for what?	Assign specific roles to team members and volunteers

Campaign Team Job Descriptions

Accurate job descriptions are important for any work situation, but they are particularly important in electoral campaigns. Campaigns can be chaotic environments and good job descriptions help to keep everyone focused on what needs to be accomplished and makes it clear who is responsible for what.

Who you need on your team will depend on what you need to achieve and what resources you have to pay staff. Below is a list of typical roles and responsibilities within a campaign team. Review this list and consider what team members you would need for your campaign based on the planning you have already done. Keep in mind that any of these positions can be either paid or unpaid, depending on your resources.

Campaign Manager   the 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 Campaign Manager also makes sure the candidate or candidates are holding up under the strain and demands of the campaign

Field Organizer   the Field Organizer plans, organizes and implements the party's voter outreach activities, including everything from rallies to canvassing

Communications Officer   the 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	the Volunteer Coordinator recruits and manages all volunteers, as well as makes sure they have all the information they need to do a good job and feel like they are part of the team
Fundraiser	the Fundraiser raises financial and other material resources for the campaign (such as donated office supplies, food, computer equipment, office space, etc.) within the limits of campaign and political finance and spending regulations
Press Officer	the Press Officer writes the media strategy for the campaign (often in collaboration with the Campaign Manager and the party's central press office), handles all media relations, organizes press events and builds relationships with journalists to help boost the party's local press coverage
Researcher	Researchers help 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	the Technology Officers 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, etc.
New Media Officer	the 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	the Office Manager runs the campaign office, including answering phones, setting up meetings, ensuring there are adequate supplies, updating calendars, etc.
Database Manager	the 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.

Activity 4: Staffing

1. Review the timeline you constructed in the previous section of this module. If you have also completed the communications and voter contact plans in previous modules, review these as well. Based on the activities you have outlined in your planning, what are the skills that you will need members of your campaign team to have?

_____
_____
_____

2. Review the Campaign Team Job Descriptions above. How many of these functions will you need to fill on your campaign team? What changes, if any, would you make to these job descriptions to fit your campaign environment? What job descriptions would you add? Consider these questions, then write down below all of the jobs that you will need to fill on your campaign team.

_____
_____
_____

Volunteer Recruitment and Management

Volunteers are amazing. They provide resources a political party or campaign could never afford to pay for on its own. They can bring vitality and energy and a renewed sense of dedication to a political party's work. They also bring legitimacy to a campaign by demonstrating genuine grassroots support and provide it with momentum. The more volunteers a campaign attracts, the more attractive it is to voters.

Volunteerism can be defined as an activity to:
- Benefit the community and others
- Participate in activities within one's community

Volunteerism is:
- Done of one's own free will and is not forced
- Done without any financial compensation

Although they bring in free labor, volunteers also create demands on a campaign's administration and management structures. Volunteers need direction, support, meaningful tasks, and motivation and reward structures. Parties and campaigns which rely heavily on the contribution of volunteers should be prepared to treat them as a complex and important asset.

People volunteer for a variety of reasons, including:

- They believe in or are somehow connected to the issues or ideas the party or candidate represents.
- They are motivated by a desire to learn new skills or get work experience.
- They hope they will get a paid job from volunteering.
- Social reasons – to meet new people, to feel more connected to the community
- or to do something meaningful and enjoyable.
- They are seeking recognition and acknowledgement for their abilities.

It is important that campaigns keep these reasons in mind when seeking to maximize the opportunities that volunteers bring. As the reasons outlined above illustrate, this is a two-way relationship – volunteers may offer their labor and their energy without being paid, but that does not mean they do not want to be rewarded in other ways. Volunteers are typically seeking to get something out of the experience as well.

Where to Find the Best Volunteers

The best volunteers are those who can make a long-term and consistent commitment to your party or campaign. Although you will need some volunteers on a strictly ad hoc basis to help out with specific projects, the more consistently a volunteer works with your campaign the stronger their skill set will become and the more valuable the relationship becomes for you both.

Look for volunteers among:

1. Family and friends
2. Local schools and universities
3. Local civic or religious organizations
4. Supporters who can't give money

Use the voter contact efforts and events that the campaign is organizing as opportunities to recruit volunteers as well. Develop a small card where you can collect people's contact information, and bring those wherever you go. When you encounter someone who wants to get involved, use these to get their contact information and follow-up quickly. You can also use your campaign's website or Facebook page to recruit potential volunteers.

If it is appropriate, consider developing partnerships with local academic, civic or religious institutions. They may have members who are interested in politics and may be willing to commit to a fixed-term placement in exchange for learning a specific skill or having a certain professional experience.

Even if the campaign has one person dedicated to coordinating volunteers, every member of the campaign should use opportunities to recruit volunteers, and pass information about potential volunteers to the coordinator.

Managing Volunteers

Volunteers can be an important asset and should be approached as such. The more dedicated a campaign or political party is to the care and management of volunteers, the better the relationship will be and the more both the party and the volunteer will benefit. Consider the following guidelines:

1. **Establish standards for volunteering.** Ask for a minimum commitment in terms of number of hours or days of the week a volunteer will work for the organization.

Establish a work agreement based on mutual needs and expect both parties to stick to this agreement.

2. **Create structures within the party or campaign to support volunteers.** Ensure volunteers know to whom they are reporting and to whom they are responsible, who to go to get their next assignment and who to speak with if there is a problem. This can be done either by assigning a Volunteer Coordinator within the organization or assigning each volunteer to a specific manager.

3. **Monitor progress and reassign if necessary.** If a volunteer is enthusiastic but not thriving at the tasks she or he has been assigned, consider moving them to another project where they may have more interests or a better skills match.

4. **Keep standards high.** Don't accept subpar work simply because it came from a volunteer. Let them know your professional standards for the entire team and expect them to meet those as well. They'll benefit from learning new skills and the organization will get more from their participation.

5. **Provide training and support.** Ensure that you are not asking a volunteer to do something for which they have no background or training. Provide opportunities to learn new skills and to help them achieve the qualifications and experience they are seeking.

6. **Show appreciation.** In addition to thanking volunteers on a regular basis, there should be specific opportunities to show gratitude and publicly recognize their contribution. Take the time to get to know volunteers and find out why they have gotten involved.

7. Depending on the time commitment made, **volunteers can handle just about any project,** including:

Short-term projects	- Phone banks - Internet research - Mailings or leaflet drops - Updating website - Fundraising - Event organizing - Data entry - Providing food or refreshments to campaign workers

Regular or weekly projects	• Scheduling candidates or party officials • Press clips and blog monitoring • Updating social networking sites • Coordinating neighborhood meetings, canvasses or other voter contact activities • Event organizing • Thank you letters and other correspondence • Data entry
Permanent tasks	• Playing a key role as a member of the campaign team • Producing external communication pieces, such as newsletters or email updates • Research projects • Database management • Supporting the party board or executive committee

Why Volunteers Don't Join or Don't Stay

When volunteers fully commit and make an enthusiastic contribution to a campaign, it's largely because they are getting something that they value in return for their hard work. When volunteers leave or don't come back to a campaign or political party, this exchange of interests in not taking place. If a campaign is going to establish standards for volunteer participation, it also has to set standards for what it is offering volunteers. Some of the reasons volunteers don't stay are outlined below:

1. **Dirty facilities or no facilities.** One of the main reasons that volunteers quit is that basic human needs are not provided for. The toilets may be filthy, or there may be no toilets to use in the party or campaign headquarters. Simple things like facilities to make a decent cup of tea or have a break, make a difference to the willingness of volunteers to commit to longer spells of work.

2. **Lack of follow-up.** Someone offers to volunteer, comes in for a day and then they never hear from your campaign again. In addition to not coming back, they may not say very nice things about your party to friends and family. Following up and staying in touch with volunteers is very important.

3. **Insufficient appreciation or acknowledgement of their work.** No one likes to be taken for granted, especially when they're not getting paid. Make sure you say thank you and acknowledge the good things volunteers are delivering.

4. **They feel they are set up to fail.** Volunteers who are asked to do tasks for which they are not equipped, like maintain a website when they have never been on a computer before, feel that they are being set up to fail and often leave if they think they are being put in this position.

5. **No fun.** Who wants to go to work if it is never any fun, especially if you are not being paid? Working with your campaign doesn't have to be a festival, but it shouldn't be unpleasant either.

Activity 5: Recruiting Volunteers

1. Review the campaign timeline you constructed in the previous section. Based on your planned activities, how many volunteers will you need to recruit for the campaign?

    _____
    _____
    _____

2. What activities will your volunteers be working on? What skills will you need your volunteers to have?

    _____
    _____
    _____

3. Thinking about your local community and personal network, where do you think you will be able to recruit the best volunteers?

    _____
    _____
    _____

4. What is your message to potential volunteers? Why do you think they should make a commitment to your campaign?

    _____
    _____
    _____

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 10
Mobilizing Resources
Support, Donations, Volunteers

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

CAMPAIGN SCHOOLS

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

Finding the financial, material and human resources your political party or electoral campaign needs can be a challenge. Most parties and candidates struggle to pull together all of the assets they require, especially in an election year when there are strong demands on resources.

For candidates, political fundraising is a skill that makes them valuable to party leaders and enables them to run a strong campaign, impress opinion leaders and connect with more voters. For political parties, fundraising is an important skill, not only for fielding strong elections but also for investing in its development and growth in the years in between elections.

Successful candidates and political parties know not only how to raise money, but how to bring in and manage other types of resources. This means finding supporters who can provide services or material goods in lieu of funds, and also recruiting volunteers who can offer free skills and labor.

This module explores the skills and techniques involved in resource recruitment and management. Topics include:
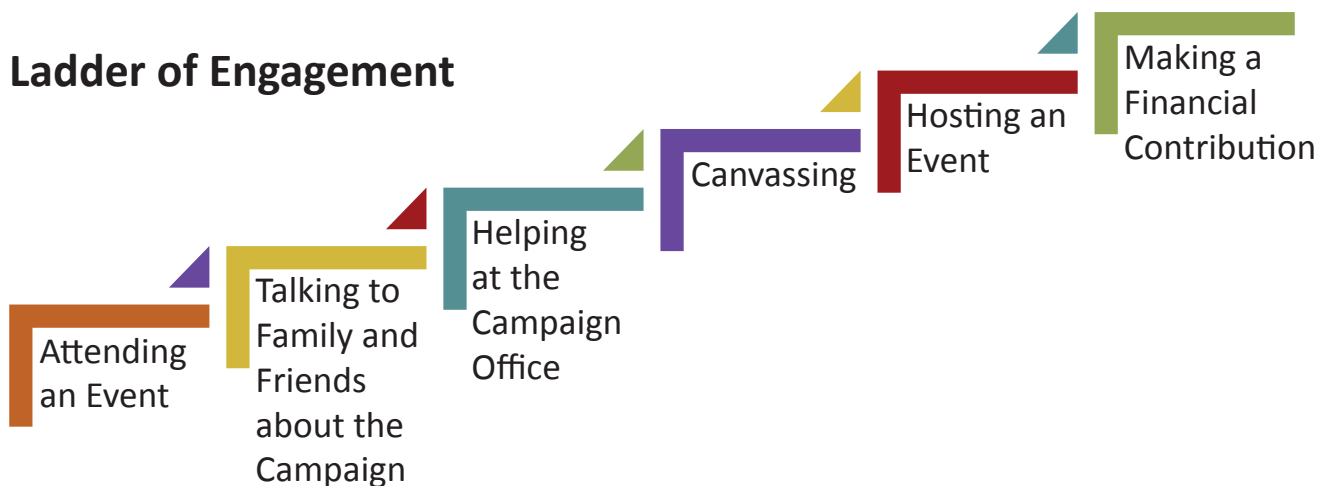
1. The Spectrum of Support
2. Rules for Political Fundraising
3. The Role of the Fundraiser
4. Identifying Potential Donors
5. Fundraising Tools and Techniques
6. Resources vs. Return
7. The Art of the Ask

The Spectrum of Support _____

In democratic systems, the candidates and political parties that win elections are those with the most support from voters in the form of their votes.

However, votes are just one kind of support that campaigns need. What are some ways you can think of that people support campaigns or parties?   Write down as many forms of support you can think of:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Building support can start with something that seems very small – often it's simply attending an event for the party or the candidate – and then grows into something bigger. Consider the progression below:

Ladder of Engagement

Making a Financial Contribution

Hosting an Event

Canvassing

Helping at the Campaign Office

Talking to Family and Friends about the Campaign

Attending an Event

The supporter in this case got involved with a political party or campaign with the simple act of voting and then became progressively more engaged. This is how many political party and campaign activists begin and expand their commitment to politics.

People give support in any form to political parties, campaigns and candidates for two main reasons:
1.   People give support because they want to
2.   People give support because someone asked them to

The job of the campaign team is to identify people who support, or will vote for, the candidate—and then to move those people up the ladder of engagement, increasing their level of support and commitment so that the campaign has the volunteer, material and financial resources it needs.

Rules for Political Fundraising

There are several common misunderstandings about how political fundraising works. It is important to dispel these misunderstandings – or "myths of political fundraising" – before we explore how fundraising is actually done.

Below is a puzzle about myths of political fundraising. On the right side of the page are statements about fundraising that are not true. On the left side of the page are pictures that illustrate these statements. Match each picture with the fundraising myth that it represents by drawing a line from the statements on the right to the related picture on the left.

Only people with a lot of money donate to political candidates.

If I ask someone for money, I will make them angry.

Fundraising is only about money.

It doesn't matter what the law says; no one will ever find out.

Fundraising is begging or shameful.

We don't need to go out and find donors; they will find us!

If these myths of political fundraising are not true, then what is? There are some important rules and realities to abide when figuring out how to acquire new resources for your party.

Myth	Truth
Only people with a lot of money donate to political parties.	- It is not just the wealthy who are willing to be political donors. - In many countries, the people who earn the least amount of money give the largest percentage of their income away. - It is possible to raise large sums of money in small amounts.
If I ask someone for money, I will make them angry.	- Sometimes, we are concerned that we will insult someone if we ask them to contribute to our political party or campaign, or we think we will have to offer them something in return for their contribution. - The truth is that when you are asking someone to contribute to your party, you are asking them to take *leadership* and to support your party's or campaign's vision for the country and the future. People are often honored to be asked to play such a role.
Fundraising is only about money.	- Money is important, but it's not everything. - If a supporter is not able to give money, they might be able to provide office space, office supplies, computers, printing, air conditioning, internet access, transportation, bathroom supplies, food and refreshments, etc., or to host an event for the party or candidates.
It doesn't matter what the law says; no one will ever find out.	- Voters are skeptical about the relationship between money and politics and, frankly, they should be. - Everything that you do as a political fundraiser must be legal, moral and ethical. - Know the law: who can give, how much, when and what has to be publicly declared. If the law does not exist or is unclear, set your own standards, make them honorable and stick by them. - Always ask yourself: how would I feel if this appeared in the newspaper (or if my mother found out)?

Fundraising is begging or shameful.	• Political fundraising is not begging and should not be considered shameful or embarrass ing. • Political fundraising is a form of ***specialized marketing***, connecting the vision of the party to individuals who want to see that vision become a reality. • Raising money for politics is about getting people involved in political events that affect all of society. Asking people to become more invested in their country's political future should be perceived as an honorable request rather than an embarrassing or awkward one.
We don't need to go out and find donors; they will find us!	• Money rarely finds its way to your campaign all by itself. • This type of specialized marketing requires research and outreach to identify and communicate directly with prospective donors. • The only way to raise money is to ask for it!

The Role of the Fundraiser

Fundraising is about much more than money. Fundraisers play a key role in helping identify where potential support can be found for a campaign or party, and how to communicate with supporters about how important and valuable their involvement is. This type of outreach helps the campaign or party to grow from the grassroots.

Fundraisers, therefore, do more than find money and in-kind contributions (although this is an important part of their job as well). Fundraisers can help political parties, candidates and their campaigns develop the capacity to ask for support.

Without the capacity to ask, a political party or campaign limits is potential for support. A fundraiser plays a number of important roles in a campaign. A fundraiser is:

→ A Broker who connects the interests of donors with the needs of the campaign
→ An Ambassador who serves as the public face of the campaign or party
→ A Marketer who acts as a salesperson and promotes the benefits to supporting the party or campaign
→ An Organizer who finds a way for all levels of supporters to invest in the campaign
→ A Researcher who investigates where to find supporters and investors
→ A Planner who lays out a detailed plan of how much money the campaign or party can expect to raise, how it should go about raising that money (strategy), how much it's going to cost to raise that money (budget) and when the campaign can expect to have it (timeline)
→ A Financial Manager who helps the campaign balance what it wants to do against what it can actually afford

A fundraiser can be a trusted volunteer or helper, or a paid member of staff. Either way, they are a critical part of the campaign team.

While the fundraiser's job is to research and cultivate potential supporters, set up events and other vehicles for mobilizing donations, and follow up with donors, the candidate or party leader is almost always the best person to make the in-person ask for support.

Identifying Potential Donors

Political fundraising is communicating to potential donors in a clear and precise way how they can participate in your campaign's or party's vision and how they can support what you are trying to achieve. When donors share the same vision and want to see the same achievements realized for the country or their community, it is easier for them to connect their own needs to the financial health of the campaign or party. So where do you find such people?
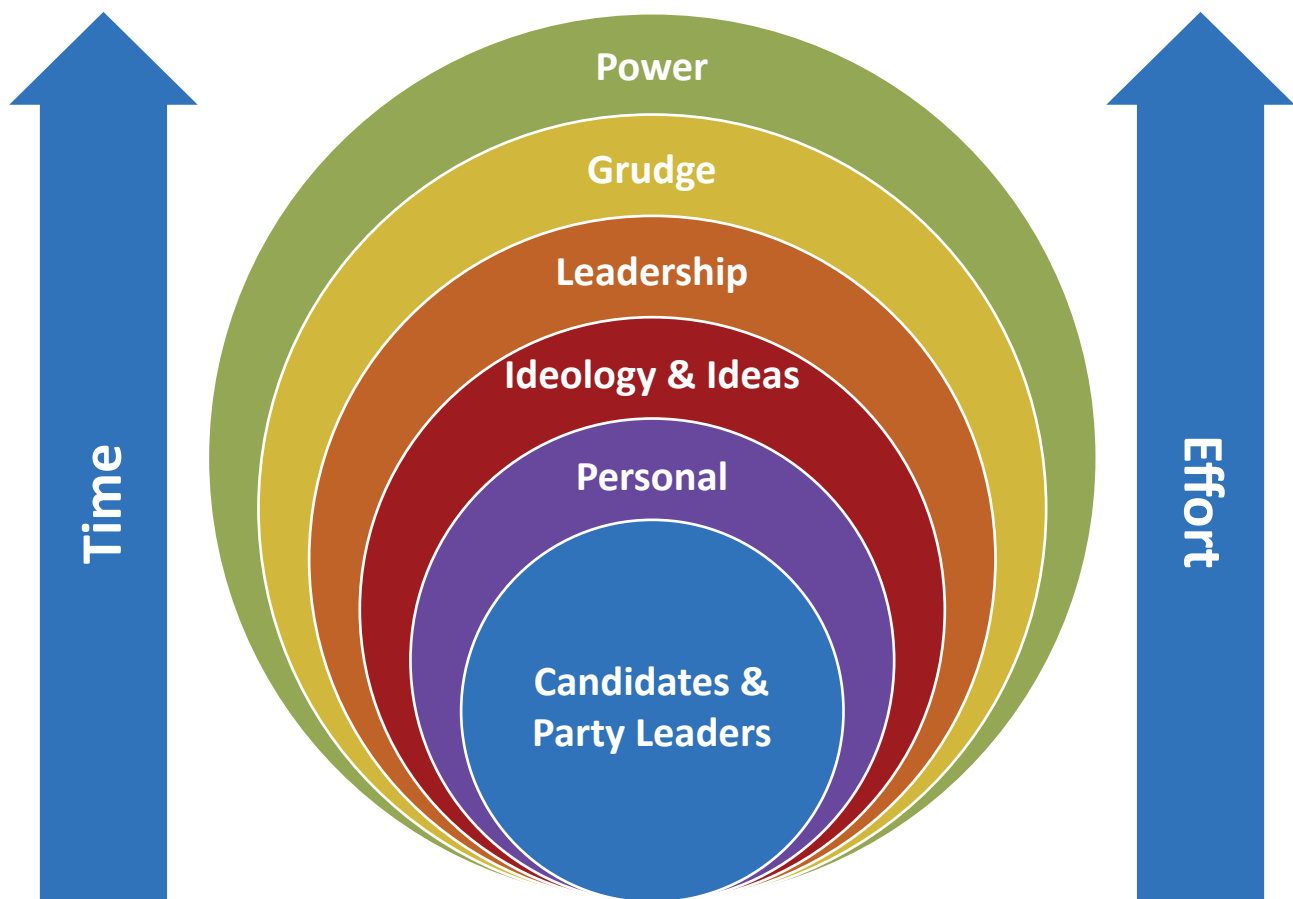
Step One: **Brainstorm**

Finding potential donors starts with identifying individuals and organizations with whom the party or its candidates have shared values, ideals, visions or attitudes. It is surprisingly easy to do this, and it all starts with brainstorming – amassing information by thinking through some of the same questions and clues as to who donors might be.

Ask candidates and party officials the questions listed below.

- **Who knows you? Who likes you?**
- **What issues have you championed? Who else thinks these issues are important?**
- **What are your professional achievements that interest or impact others?**
- **What are your personal achievements that interest or impact others?**
- **Who are your political allies?**
- **What organizations do you belong to?**
- **What community leaders support your work?**
- **What family ties will help fundraising?**

Add to these questions the brainstorming tool outlined in the diagram below. This diagram[1] outlines the typical categories into which most donors fall:

---

1 Based on the Circles of Benefit developed by Dee Ertukel for EMILY's List.

As the diagram illustrates, there are six major categories of donors:

Candidates and Party Leaders	• Candidates and party leaders should make a personal financial contribution to their campaign or party, respectively. • It is difficult to make the case that other people should give if they are not doing so themselves.
Personal	• Candidates and party leaders should look at their personal connections, including family members, friends, and close professional colleagues, to identify potential donors. • Because of their personal relationship with the party leader or candidate, these people want to see the candidate succeed. • *Fundraising Message:* "This is important to me."

Ideology and Ideas	• Donors in this category are those who share the same causes or who advocate for the same ideas as your party or candidates. • People who share the same heritage, background or community group may also fall into this category. • *Fundraising Message:* "We share the same values and vision."
Leadership	• Local community leaders, even those who are largely non-political, will often take a stand for you if they feel you will do a good job representing the needs of the community. • Think about local leaders in the civic, academic, religious or business communities who may want to support good political leadership for the area as well. • *Fundraising Message:* "We want the same things for this community."
Grudge	• Some donors may not like your party or your candidate very much. But, they dislike the party or the candidate that you are challenging even more and they want to ensure that you are in a position of strength to defeat your opponent. • *Fundraising Message:* "We are strong; we can challenge them."
Power	• There are many donors who like to have a relationship with whoever is going to be in power, largely to protect their own interests. • Connect their interests with the public commitments you are making as a campaign or party. • People or organizations in this circle generally give late in an electoral campaign, because they want to see who is likely to win. • *Fundraising Message:* "We are going to win and we understand your issues."

As the blue arrows on the side of the diagram illustrate, as you move from the core to the outside of the circle, it takes more time and more effort to cultivate a relationship with each type of donor.

Step Two: Make Lists

As you are conducting your brainstorming exercises to identify potential donors, begin to create lists by writing down the names and contact information of individuals or organizations that come up as you discuss and answer these questions. It can be extremely helpful to ask party leaders and candidates to come to brainstorming or planning sessions with relevant data files and contact lists, including:

- **Current and past schedules, diaries or day planners**
- **Mobile phone contact lists**
- **Membership lists from professional organizations**
- **Employee or staff lists from work**
- **Rolodex or address books**
- **Club memberships**
- **Email lists**
- **Names of family members**

Compile all of this information as clearly and comprehensively as possible. Get the spelling of names correct; identify the right way to address people and the best way to contact each person on the list.

Step Three: Identify the Right Amount to Ask

Once you have a central list of potential donors, the next question is what (or how much) should you ask each person to contribute and how is the best way to ask them. Donors typically fall into three general categories, based on the general amount you feel you can ask from them:

Low donors   These are donors you can ask for a small amount of money or material resources.

Medium donors These are donors you can ask for a moderate amount of money or material resources.

High donors   These are donors you can ask for a large amount of money or material resources.

The amount of money you can ask for from each category of donors will depend on the local economic situation, what earnings are like and whether or not there is already a culture of political giving, which can take time to develop. Consider each of these factors and assign a specific figure to each category of donors, or a specific amount that you are going to ask each individual on your list to contribute.

Don't overlook the power of small donations. People who give even a very small amount to your campaign have invested in your success; they will vote for you and are likely to bring others with them. Small donations add up, and they also demonstrate grassroots support in a way that big donations do not. For example, Candidate A raised $5000 from 2 donors, while Candidate B raised $3500 from 200 donors. Candidate A may have more money, but Candidate B clearly has more support.

Activity 1: **Identifying Potential Donors**

Use the information you have been given to create a list of potential donors. Categorize each as low, medium or high based on the information you have.

Name   **Likely level of giving**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Fundraising Tools and Techniques _____

Fundraising tools and techniques are the activities, methods and means that political parties and candidates use to raise money. Examples include membership dues, raffles and auctions, awards dinners, conferences, sponsored walks, etc.

There is an endless number of fundraising tools. Some parties and candidates get very creative with their approach to raising money. However, the methods you use should be selected according to efficiency (how much work you are going to have to do versus how much money you are going to raise) and what will work best with your potential donors.

Think about organizations that you know that need to raise money on a regular basis. This might include local NGOs, charitable organizations, religious organizations, schools, other political organizations, etc. How do they go about raising their money? What methods do they use? If you have had to raise money for a specific effort in the past, how have you done this?

Make a list below of all the fundraising techniques you can think of:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Fundraising Techniques

Common fundraising techniques include:

Auctions At auctions, organizers get a number of nice items donated, such as pieces of art, clothing, dinner at a nice restaurant, hotel stays, etc., and invite potential donors to bid on these items at a reception or dinner.

Raffles or tombola For a raffle or tombola, get items of any value donated to the party or campaign and sell tickets to as many people as possible. Draw tickets to determine who wins the prizes. This can be done as part of another event or as a stand-alone fundraiser.

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Membership dues and fees	Collect fees from party members at regular intervals (e.g., monthly, quarterly, annually). Offer different levels of membership depending on income and ability to pay. If your party is going to charge membership fees, it must collect these on a regular basis.
Grassroots fundraising	Grassroots fundraising is when you raise large to moderate sums of money in small amounts. This can include selling campaign or party merchandise such as shirts, bags, posters and buttons; selling food at a community event; or organizing a coffee or tea gathering. The internet is now being actively used in many countries (where the necessary infrastructure exists) as a highly successful medium for grassroots fundraising.
Coffees or house parties	Coffees or house parties are informal events in which party members or supporters host small gatherings of their friends, family, neighbors and/or colleagues either at their home or another comfortable venue. The host uses the event to introduce a candidate or party to their guests.
Potluck dinner or picnic	At a potluck event, the campaign or candidate sells tickets to raise money and everyone attending brings a dish or something to eat so that the costs of the food are covered.
Awards event	Awards events are typically more expensive gatherings in which the party sells tickets or tables of tickets to high donors. The party uses the event to deliver an award or to acknowledge some member of the community whose work or values matches the party's vision.
Concert or dance	Concerts, dances or any form of social event can be fun ways to raise moderate amounts of money and reach out to new or young donors.
Community festival	Some political parties host community festivals to mark a special occasion or anniversary and make money by renting out booths or tables to businesses and organizations, selling food and merchandise, recruiting new members and perhaps including other forms of fundraising such as a raffle.
Personal solicitation	Personal solicitation is simply asking someone for money in a face-to-face meeting.

Re-solicitation	Re-solicitation is asking someone who has given money to the party or to a candidate in the past to give again.
Call time/ Phones	Many candidates and party leaders set aside a specific amount of time every week to make phone calls to prospective donors to ask for contributions. This time can also be used to build relationships with individuals who may contribute over time, but not at the first point of contact.
Letters	In countries with reliable postal and banking systems, candidates or parties can send out letters either requesting donations or inviting prospective donors to attend a fundraising event.
Email and the Internet	Email and the internet are being used more and more as a successful form of grassroots fundraising in countries where the necessary infrastructure exists to support online donations.
Finance Committee	Finance committees are made up of individuals who commit to both donating and raising a specific amount of money each year for the party or specific candidates. Committee members are typically well-connected or high-profile supporters who receive special recognition for their work.
Conferences and Forums	Many parties organize conferences or forums of speakers in which prominent party officials and supporters speak on issues of public interest. There can be a ticket price or registration fee for these events, and parties can add additional fundraising events onto the conference, such as a networking coffee, higher-priced dinner or a raffle.
Selling Advertisements	Some parties sell ads on promotional items such as an annual calendar. The calendar, for example, gives the party the opportunity to sell at least 12 advertisements. Selling ads is a way of offering donors something tangible in return for their support.

Activity 2: **Resources vs. Return**

Review the list above and the list of fundraising techniques you made in the previous section.

Of these, which do you think typically yield the highest return (generate the most money)?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Of these, which do you think typically require the greatest number of resources (take the most work to organize)?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Resources vs. Return

Just because you can put on a massive concert with the greatest pop stars in the country and lots of flashy stage lights and a giant sound system does not mean you should. Fundraising is about exactly that – raising funds. If an event that you are planning is going to take a lot of work and probably not make a whole lot of money, should you actually do it?

This is an important question. All good political fundraisers need to continually compare the resources that each fundraising effort requires (e.g., the time, people, money, etc.) to the return that it will generate (e.g., the actual money or net income coming to the party).

Below is a comparison of the resources versus return ratio from some common fundraising techniques. How does this compare with the analysis you made on resources and return in the previous section?

Does this match the situation in your country?

What other kinds of fundraising techniques are possible?

High Resources / High Return	Low Resources / High Return
Auction	Personal solicitation
Awards dinner	Re-solicitation
Membership: monthly direct fees or high dues	Hosted event (all costs covered by hosts)
Higher-priced events	Call time
Finance committee	Email and internet (situational)

Low Resources / Low Return	High Resources / Low Return
Coffees or House Parties	Potluck dinner
Letters	Concert or dance
	Membership with small dues
	Merchandise – shirts, bags, buttons, books, etc.

The Art of the Ask

Being able to ask for things is a negotiation skill. In politics, asking for support – whether it is financial, material or political – is an important proficiency to develop. Remember that engaging supporters can start with something very small, and then grow into larger commitments. Being able to ask a supporter to take that slight step up from voter to volunteer is just as important as being able to ask a major donor for large amounts of money.

When it comes to asking for things, your specific approach will depend on the nature of your relationship with the person you are asking and the types of language and communication styles with which you are comfortable. However, the process generally requires the following steps:

1. **Prepare.** Know in advance how much you are going to ask and think through why this individual would be motivated to support the party or campaign. In order to explore where there might be personal connections with the candidate, gather as much information as possible on the person's professional background and connections, family relationships, schooling, and interests. If you are asking for financial support, consider what ring of the fundraising diagram this person might be on.

2. **Establish Rapport.** Use language, gestures and an appropriate setting to make a connection so that both you and the person with whom you are meeting feel at ease. Make it clear from your body language and approach that this is a two-way communication; you are not just going to blurt out the request for money or other forms of support.

3. **Connect.** Clearly connect what is important to the donor with what you are trying to achieve as a party or a candidate, and explain how you can make a difference. Keep your message compelling but concise; do not talk for too long.

4. **Be Specific.** Ask for something specific. If you are asking for money, tell the potential donor exactly how much you would like them to contribute. It is not sufficient to ask for "something" or "anything." This is a negotiation – you have to give them something to work with.

5. **Stop Talking.** Once you've asked for something specific, stop talking and wait for the supporter or donor to consider the request and listen for the response. Do not worry if there is a moment or two of silence; that is perfectly normal. If you try to fill the silence with words, you may find you are talking yourself down from

what you have just asked for and undermining your own ask. If it is difficult to be quiet, reach for your glass of water or tea and take a long sip!

6. **Listen and Respond.** There are four potential answers from the donor or supporter and four potential replies from you.

If the donor says:		You say:
Yes	→	Great! Thank you!
Maybe	→	Do you need more information?
No	→	Is there another amount you would be comfortable giving? Or, is there another way of supporting the party that you would feel more comfortable with?
Yes, but less	→	Would a contribution of (slightly lower figure) be more appropriate?

7. **Take Care of Details.** If the person has made a financial commitment, make arrangements to collect it including where and when. If they need to consider the proposal further, determine how you will get them the information they need and make a date for a follow-up meeting. If the supporter has agreed to get more involved in the campaign, make arrangements for when and how this can happen.

8. **Show Appreciation.** Regardless of the response, make sure you thank them for their time and consideration. Be sure to send a formal and appropriate thank you to all supporters, no matter what they have contributed.

9. **Ask Again.** Once you have shown appreciation for your donors, do not be afraid to ask them for an additional contribution. Donors who have already invested are highly likely to contribute again. If a supporter has agreed to volunteer at campaign headquarters or to canvass, ask if they would be interested in getting more involved by hosting an event for the campaign for example.

10. **Stay in touch.** Keep good relations with donors, potential donors and supporters who are making a real contribution to the campaign. Do not call only when you want to ask for something, but also during special occasions, holidays or to communicate about significant political events or happenings within the political party.
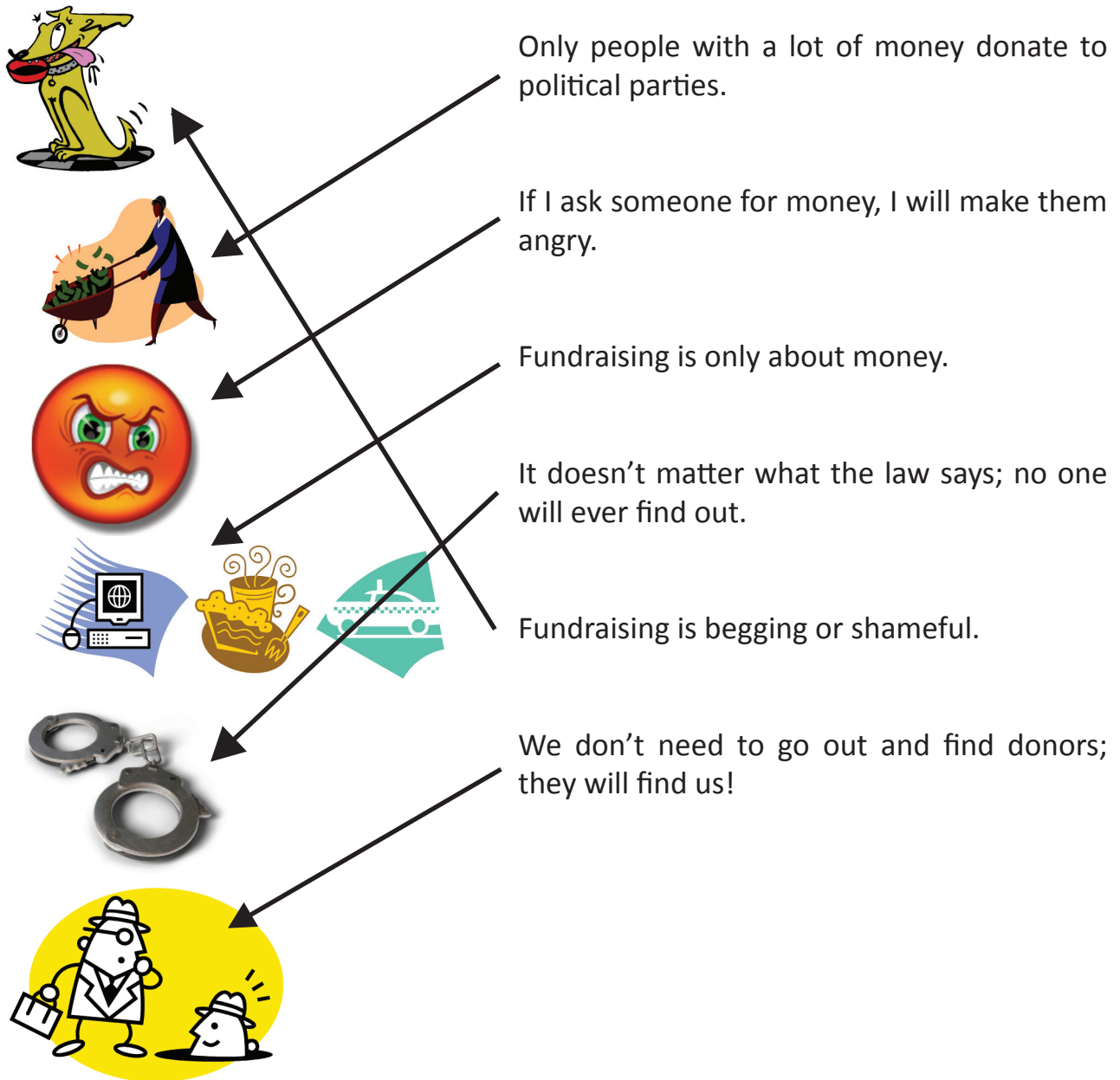
NDI

Activity 3: The Art of the Ask

1. Review the list of potential donors you made in Activity 1. Choose someone on your list who you think would respond well to being asked in person to contribute. Prepare to ask them for a contribution by constructing a message and identifying a specific amount of money or resources for which to ask.   Write down any key points you would like to make below.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Think about someone who is a supporter of the party or candidate who has the potential to get more involved in the campaign's work. Prepare to ask them to make a bigger investment in terms or time, commitment or support. Write down any key points you would like to make below.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix 1

Answers to Rules for Political Fundraising puzzle.

Only people with a lot of money donate to political parties.

If I ask someone for money, I will make them angry.

Fundraising is only about money.

It doesn't matter what the law says; no one will ever find out.

Fundraising is begging or shameful.

We don't need to go out and find donors; they will find us!

Campaign Skills Handbook

Module 11
Getting on a List
Setting Personal Political Goals

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

CAMPAIGN SCHOOLS

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

The quality of any democratic system of government is directly tied to the abilities and commitment of those elected to public office. Because societies, economies and demographics are always shifting, representative forms of government constantly require innovative ideas, different perspectives and renewed energies. These come from bringing in new people to participate in elections and governance as candidates and elected officials.

Sometimes, the political climate calls for renewal, change, or a fresh start, often personified by new individuals moving into political leadership. In these situations, political parties revive their legitimacy by putting forward candidates and leaders who are perceived as offering a new beginning, or who simply don't carry the burden and responsibility of past decisions which may have failed.

But getting onto a political party's candidate list, or officially being selected as a candidate in a winnable position, is easier said than done. There are only so many viable seats in every country and there can be a lot of competition for them, and those currently holding the seats aren't usually keen to leave them.

Additionally, those who have the power and authority to decide who gets to be a candidate on behalf of a political party may be more inclined to make selections based on loyalty rather than ability. And, for many parties, the selection process for candidates is far from transparent, making it especially difficult for a new candidate to strategize and campaign for support.

It is important, therefore, that any potential candidate prepare herself or himself strategically, both for the experience and process of being a candidate, and for the challenge of marshaling enough support to be selected by the party in a winnable position (e.g., high enough on the list in a proportional representation system, or in a district where the party can win in a constituency-based system).

This module will walk you through these preparation steps. Topics include:

1. Self-Assessment – Are You Ready to Run?
2. Situational Analysis – What Challenges Do You Face?
3. Power Mapping – Identifying Barriers and Opportunities
4. Personal Action Plans – Planning for Success

Self-Assessment

So you want to be a candidate for elected office? Fantastic! Participating in your country's elections and system of governance is an exciting opportunity and a great contribution to make to the future and well-being of its citizens.

Running for office is an important and demanding task. It requires deep conviction, motivation, and courage. Though campaigns can be exciting and energizing, they can also be confrontational and divisive.

To be successful, it is vital that you fully prepare for the challenges ahead. Start by conducting the self-assessment below to evaluate where you are now and to think through some of the work you will have to do to get the support you need to organize an electoral campaign.
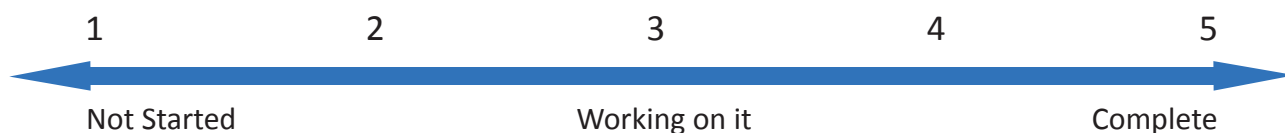
Below is a list of tasks you will have to complete in order to run for office. Rate your level of preparedness for each task on a scale of 1 (have not yet started task) to 5 (task is complete).
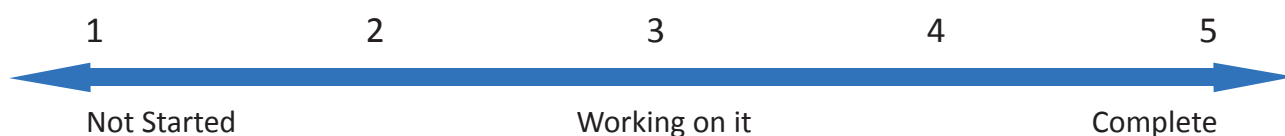
Step 1: **Quantitative Assessment**

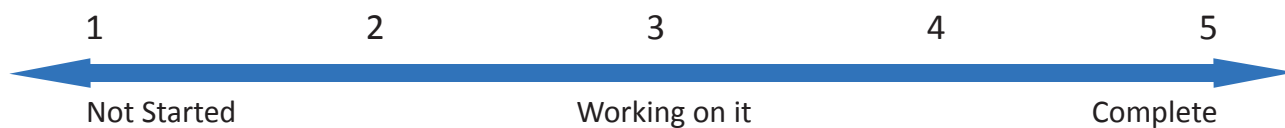1. **I know why I want to run for office.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started — Working on it — Complete
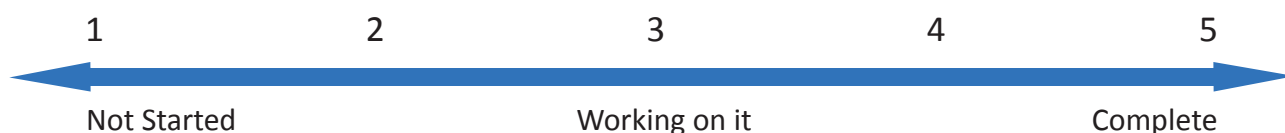
2. **I know what I want to accomplish while in elected office.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started — Working on it — Complete

3. **I can accurately describe the social, economic and demographic breakdown of the area I hope to represent.**

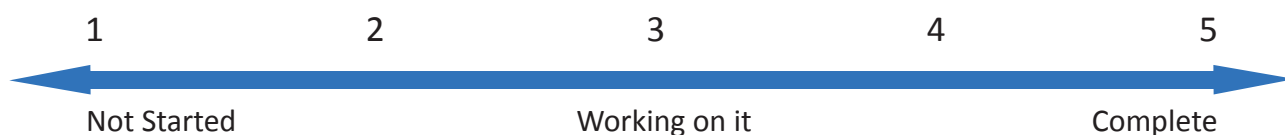| 1	2	3	4	5

Not Started — Working on it — Complete

4. **I have a list of at least 10 people I can contact for financial support.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

5. **I have estimated the costs of running for office in a draft budget.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
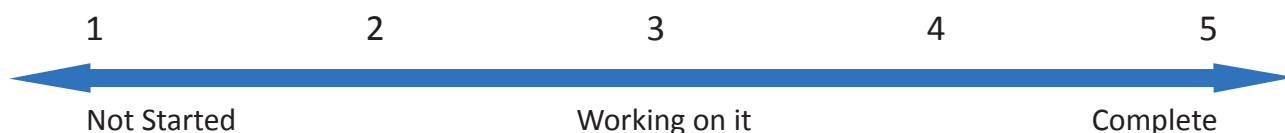
6. **I have developed contacts with the relevant print, broadcast and social media.**

| 1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

7. **I have conducted an assessment of my likely opponent(s) in terms of how many votes they will get and their financial resources.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
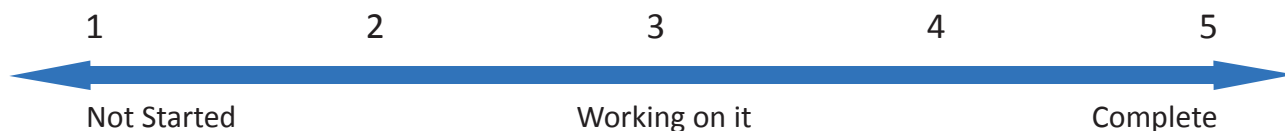
8. **I have conducted a voter analysis of the area.**

| 1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
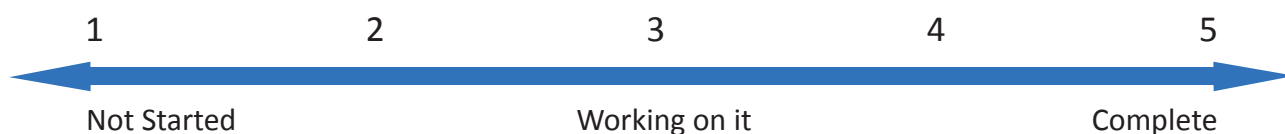
9. **I have conducted a vote count for the area and determined that there will be sufficient votes for me to be elected.**

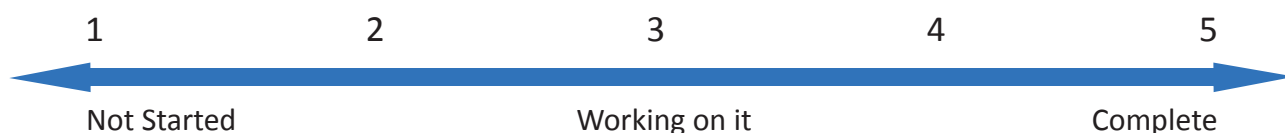| 1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
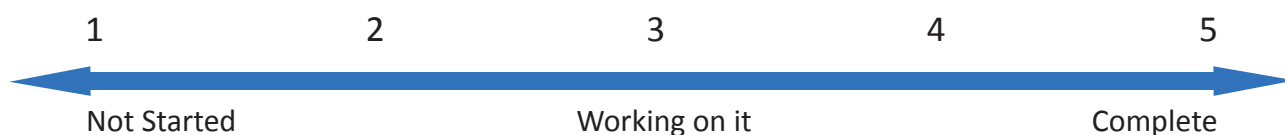
10. I have addressed all financial, personal or legal issues (problems) which would make it difficult for me to be a candidate.

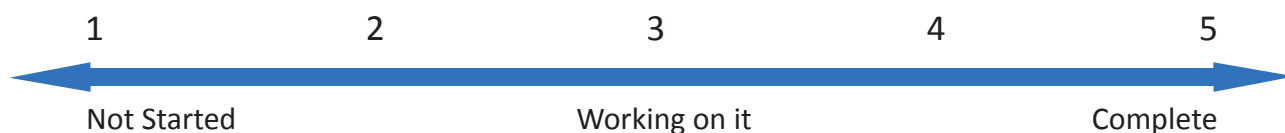| 1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
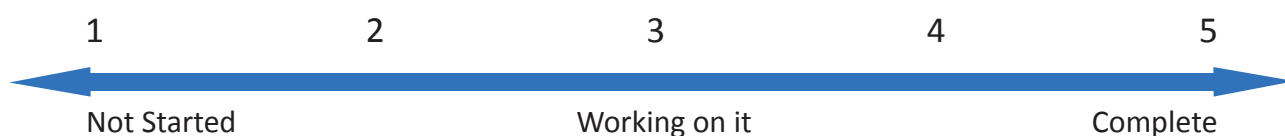
11. I have written down my biography (description of personal and professional experience, and qualifications) and it is accurate.

| 1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
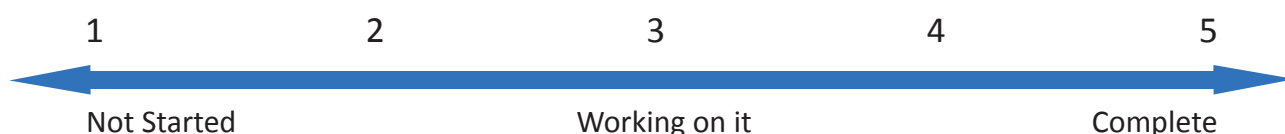
12. I have made the time to take on a demanding communication and voter contact schedule.

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

13. I know the rules and regulations affecting this election.

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

14. I have strong appeal in the area, and am well-known in and well-connected to the local community.

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
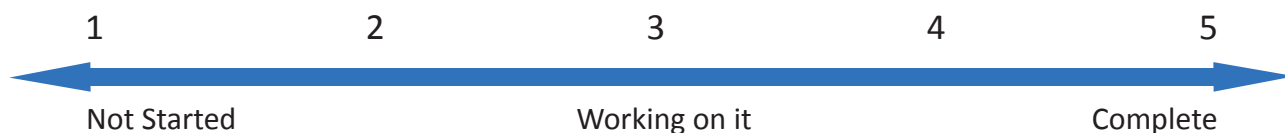
15. I have a message which is relevant and appealing to voters in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

16. **I have developed close working relationships with key decision-makers in my political party.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
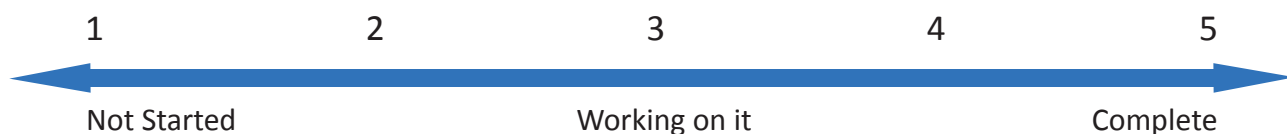
17. **I have a constituency of grassroots party activists and well-known leaders in my party who support me.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
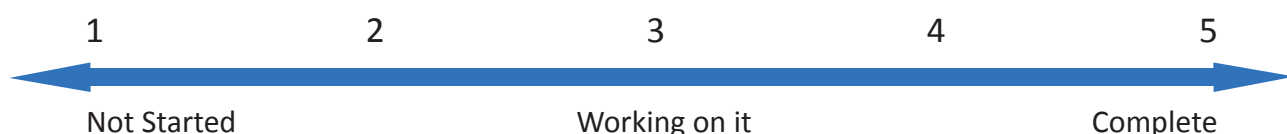
18. **I have had discussions with my family so that they understand the time commitment and incursions on privacy and family life that my running for office will require, and they are supportive of my running.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
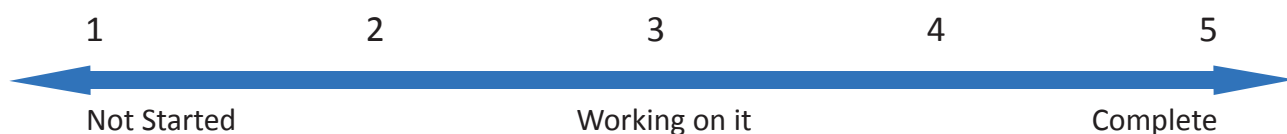
19. **I am adequately prepared and trained on public speaking and voter contact.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
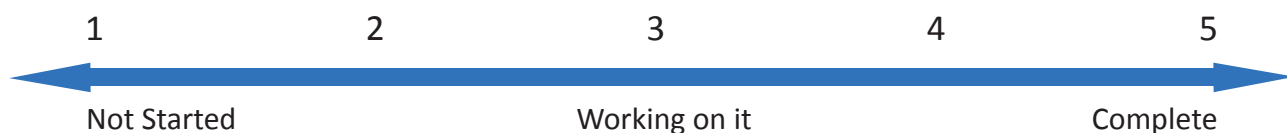
20. **I have a group of trusted advisors.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete
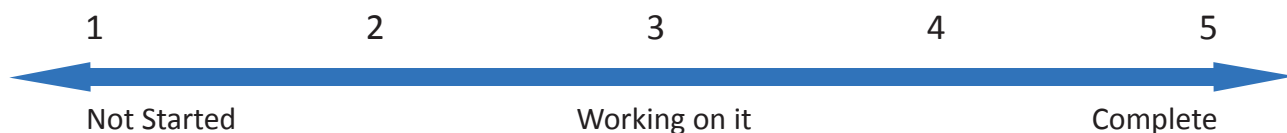
Step 2: Qualitative Assessment

Answer the following questions, in your own words:

1.   Why do you want to run for office?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2.   What ideas or experience would you bring to elected office that is new, different or better?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3.   Can you name three things that you want to work on or accomplish while in elected office?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Step 3: Qualitative Analysis

Review your answers to the questions above. Is the language you have chosen more about you, or more about the people you hope to serve while in office and/or the benefits you hope to bring to them?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

If you had only 30 seconds or less:

Could you use these words to explain clearly to a friend why you are running for office? If not, what changes would you make?

_____
_____

Could you use these words to make a case to a party leader why you should be selected as a candidate in a winnable position? If not, what changes would you make?

_____
_____

Could you use these words to explain to a potential donor why they should contribute to your campaign? If not, what changes would you make?

_____
_____

Could you use these words to explain to a voter why they should support you? If not, what changes would you make?

_____
_____

Situational Analysis _____

Now that you have conducted an assessment of your own readiness to stand for elected office, the next step is to analyze the environment in which you will be running.

There are a number of key factors in conducting a situational analysis for an electoral campaign. These include what the law says about candidate eligibility and candidate selection, the candidate selection process exercised by political parties, and the realities of what actually happens in practice (as opposed to what the regulations say should happen).

Step 1: The Law

What does the law say about who is eligible to stand for office? What are the requirements or disqualifications for candidacy?

Age _____

Citizenship _____

Residency _____
(e.g., do you have to prove you have lived in the country or the district for a certain amount of time?)

Income or financial status _____
(e.g., free from bankruptcy or claims of financial wrongdoing)

Education _____

Criminal record _____
(e.g., free from serious criminal convictions for a certain amount of time or indefinitely)

Party membership _____

Are there any other legal requirements for declaring yourself a candidate? For example, do you have to gather signatures of support, produce financial records or file registration papers?

_____
_____
_____
_____

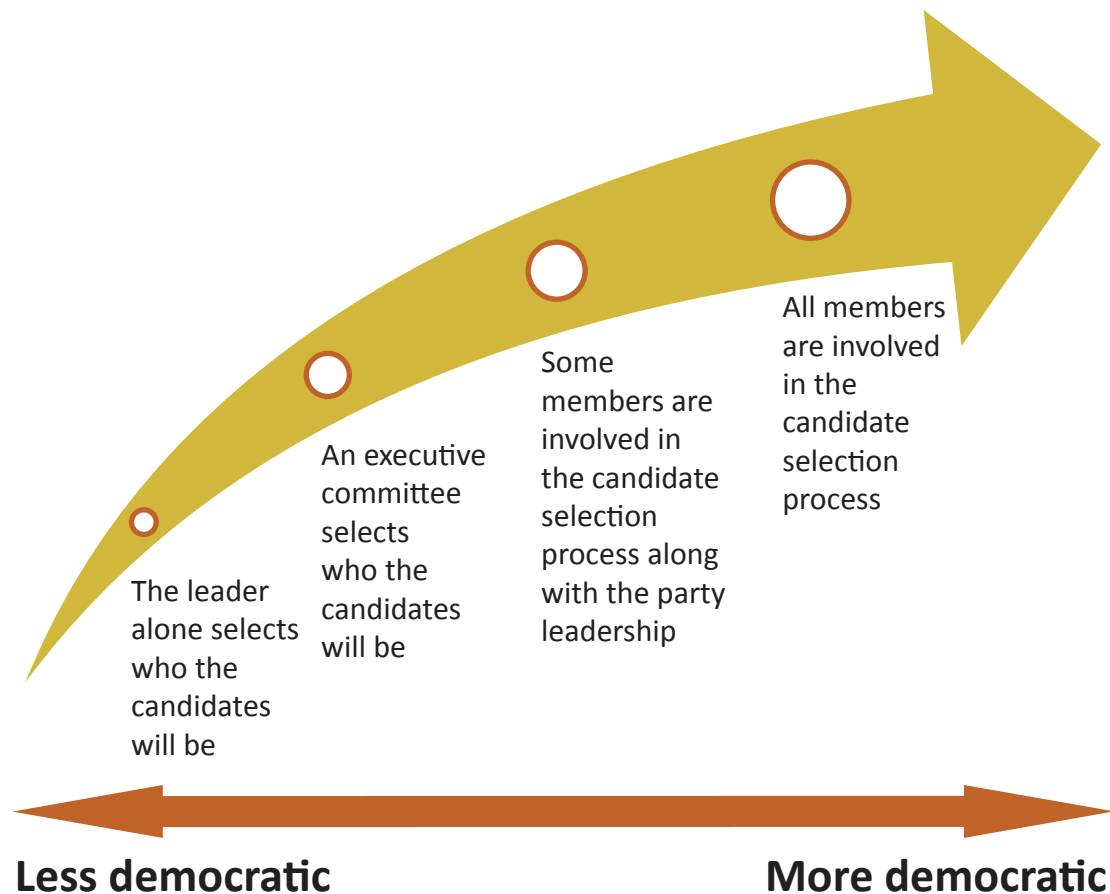What is the filing fee, or cost, to register as a candidate?

_____

Step 2: **The Political Party**

Some countries' electoral laws define the system of elections and requirements for candidates, but leave it up to the legally registered parties to decide how they will choose their candidates. What is the situation in your country? Does the law say anything about how political parties should chose their candidates?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Are these provisions enforced by the courts or electoral commission?

_____
_____

Every political party selects candidates in its own way. A party's candidate selection process typically evolves over time, depending on the internal culture of the organization and the degree to which party officials and members expect and demand to be involved.

Every system of candidate selection has its benefits and disadvantages, but it is important to understand what the system is if you aspire to be a candidate in a winnable seat. Candidate selection processes fall somewhere on this spectrum:

The leader alone selects who the candidates will be

An executive committee selects who the candidates will be

Some members are involved in the candidate selection process along with the party leadership

All members are involved in the candidate selection process

Less democratic   **More democratic**

How are decisions made within your political party about who gets to stand as a candidate? Is the process transparent and competitive, or are candidates selected in a restricted process (behind closed doors)?

_____
_____
_____
_____

The next matter to deal with is *who* actually makes the decisions about candidate selection. In most political parties, there are primary and secondary decision-makers.

- **Primary decision-makers** are those individuals with the official authority and position to determine what will happen within the political party.
- **Secondary decision-makers** are those individuals who *influence* primary decision-makers and therefore can also have an impact on what choices are made.

Consider the following diagram. At the center of the circle is the official decision-maker who has formal authority over the party's choices. These individuals are typically senior party leaders and elected officials.

In the outer ring are the secondary decision-makers. These are individuals who make up the personal and professional networks of the primary decision-maker, and who have the ability to influence that primary decision-maker.

Women, young people and other demographic groups that are less represented in politics often find that they have fewer connections at the center of these circles, i.e., among the primary decision-makers, but they have much stronger networks among secondary decision-makers. For challengers, the best way to a more powerful position is often through the unofficial decision-making route.

Keep in mind the self-interest and future ambitions of these decision-makers as you decide how to approach them. For example, some of the secondary decision-makers may aspire to one day become a primary decision-maker, and be more inclined to endorse you if they believe that you will later support their own ascent in the party hierarchy.

Consider your own ambitions to be a candidate in a winnable position. Identify all the primary decision-makers who could be involved in deciding whether or not you are selected. Do you have their support now?

Primary Decision-Maker   **Do I have her/his support now?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Review the list of primary decision-makers on the list above whose support you do not have now. What is the most persuasive argument or message you could make to this person about why they should support you?

Assume you are about to have a meeting with each of these individuals. In the space below, construct some talking points for yourself and, thinking about their interests or perspectives on the issue, define the most persuasive message you could present to them on why they should support your ambitions.

Primary Decision-Maker   **My Message**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Now, think about the secondary decision-makers who influence these individuals. Who do you know who is in their circles of influence who would respond, either positively or negatively, to your bid to be a candidate? If not, what is your most persuasive message to this person about why they should support you?

Secondary Decision-Maker   **Do I have her/his support now?**
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Review the list of secondary decision-makers on the list above whose support you do not have now. What is the most persuasive argument or message you could make to this person about why they should support you?

Assume you are about to have a meeting with each of these individuals. In the space below, construct some talking points for yourself and, thinking about their interests or perspective on the issue, define the most persuasive message you could present to them on why they should support your ambitions.
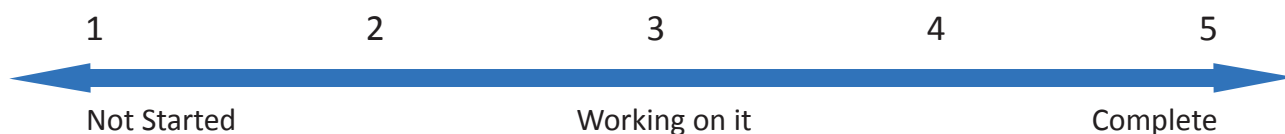
Secondary Decision-Maker   **My Message**
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Step 3: Final Analysis

Based on your answers in this section, how would you rate your likelihood to be selected as a candidate under current legal requirements in your country and political conditions in your political party? Rate the veracity of each statement below.

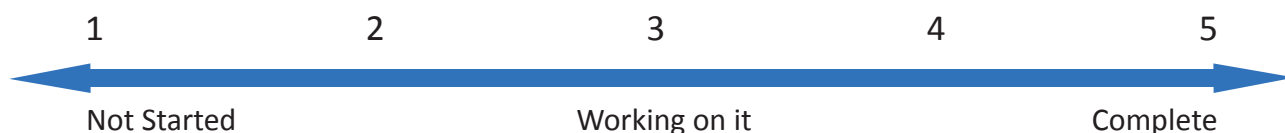1. **I currently meet all the legal requirements to be a candidate for elected office in my country.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

2. **The candidate selection process in my party favors my selection as a candidate.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

3. **Primary decision-makers in my party favor my selection as a candidate.**

1	2	3	4	5

Not Started   Working on it   Complete

4. **Secondary decision-makers in my party favor my selection as a candidate.**

1	2	3	4	5
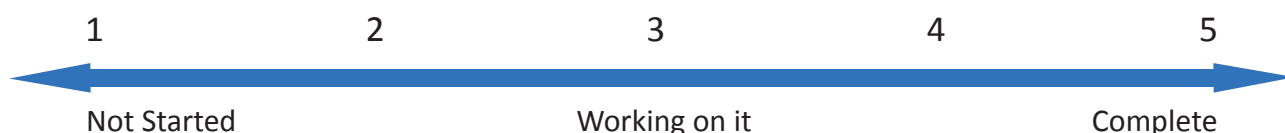
Not Started   Working on it   Complete

Step 4: Informed Response

You have now conducted an assessment of your own readiness to stand for office, as well as a review of the legal requirements you must meet and an analysis of the internal political challenges you face in your own political party.

The next step is to figure out what your strategic response should be to this situation. Based on the work you have done in the previous sections and your own understanding of the challenges and opportunities you face, what do you think you should do next?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

_____

_____

The next sections of this module will walk you through some options to inform your strategic response to this situation. Even if your final analysis suggests that there is a very good chance you will be selected as a candidate, there are likely to be a few obstacles that still stand in your way. It is important to think through how you will deal with these in order to build this goal into a reality.

If your analysis indicates that it will be a real challenge for you to get into a winnable position as a candidate, then it is even more important that you construct a strategic response which has the potential to alter this situation and improve your electoral fortunes!

Power Mapping

Power Mapping is a classic tool for charting the way forward in a challenging political environment. Power Mapping involves figuring out who has power and influence, and then sorting these decision-makers according to their likely response to and effect on a proposed action. In this case, the proposed action is your intention to become a viable candidate for elected office. Power Mapping allows us to identify the best response to a situation, including identifying ways to maximize the assistance of supporters and minimize the impact of opponents.

Review the lists of primary and secondary decision-makers that you made in Step Two of the previous section. Think about how each individual would respond or react to your plans to become a candidate in a winning position. Are they likely to respond positively or negatively to the idea? How strong will their response be? Chart them in the Power Map below.

Direction of Influence

	Positive	**Negative**
Strong		
Weak		

Strength of Influence

What has your Power Map revealed? Do you have more people potentially supporting you than you thought? Is the opposition stronger than you had realized?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Your next task is to think through how you are going to handle this situation. Who do you need to move into a different quadrant in your Power Map? What is it going to take to do that?

_____
_____
_____
_____

A general strategic response for each quadrant is outlined below. Will any of these work in your situation or are you going to have to find other options?

Direction of Influence

		Positive	Negative
Strength of Influence	**Strong**	Keep involved and engaged in the effort Ask to state their support publicly Recruit to lobby undecided or Strong Negative decision-makers	Engage and actively seek to influence Use peers to attempt to influence
	Weak	Monitor and inform as necessary, with minimum effort Seek to move into Strong Positive quadrant if Power Map is heavily Negative	Keep informed so that they do not move into Strong Negative

Personal Action Plans _____

One of the ways that you can invest in your personal political goals is to connect your success to the success of your party. This means tying the work that you are doing to build your own profile as a potential candidate to the essential work of building the party's profile and improving its chances of winning more seats.

Ask yourself whether there is a specific project that you can implement within your political party which is likely to have multiple outcomes, namely:
1. Raising your profile and essential contribution to the party
2. Improving the party's operational or electoral performance
3. Improving your own leadership and communication skills

Examples might include:
● Building the party's base of support in new areas through a grassroots voter contact effort
● Organizing and implementing a formal training program for party campaign staff and volunteers
● Creating models and options to improve internal communication
  Developing a stronger external communication, press and media department
● Expanding the party's outreach to new demographic groups, including women, young people and ethnic minorities
● Demonstrate high level of expertise in a specific field; appear often on media with interviews and participate in debates

The intended outcome of each of these is to improve the party's overall performance, enhance your political and leadership skills, and to raise your profile as someone making a real contribution to the party.

Consider some of the challenges for your party that you have identified in this training. Can you think of a specific project that would address some of these issues and potentially deliver benefits to you as well? The project should be something that is achievable within a realistic timeframe and which addresses an issue that your party's leadership believes is a key development area for your party.

_____
_____
_____

Use the following planning sheet to map out how you might further develop and implement this project.

Planning Sheet

Practice to address	Improvement goal	Action items	Measures of success	Completion date	Support required
Party Development Project					
1.					
2.					
Personal Development Aspects					
1.					
2.					