

LEADERSHIP & CAMPAIGN ACADEMY

Candidates' Manual



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Foreword

Leadership plays an important role in any society. It helps develop a vision for society, galvanize citizens to realize that vision and spur the society to greater heights of development and democratization. A society with an effective, consultative and democratic leader will prosper faster than one without such a leader. The Constitution as adopted in August 2010 recognizes the premier role of leadership in achieving the desire of a "new Kenya." In addition to reforming the structure of the legislative, judicial and executive arms of government, the Constitution dedicates an entire chapter to the question of leadership. It requires that leadership at all levels within the Kenyan society should be exercised for the benefit of the country as a whole. Those entrusted with leadership positions are expected to place public interest at the centre of all their decisions. They are required to abide by the highest standards of integrity and to be accountable to the people for their actions.

The Constitution sets out Kenya's new elected leadership, starting from the Presidency, MPs and Senators at the national level, to the Governors and Assembly Members at the county level. In addition to including new leadership positions, the Constitution also raises the bar on leadership in terms of ethics and integrity. It is imperative, therefore, that all aspiring political leaders be acquainted with these new requirements so as to comply and play their full part in taking the country forward.

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) has, since 1993, supported democratic development in Kenya. Supporting the institutionalization and professionalization of political parties has long been at the heart of our work. As part of its continued support to political parties and the political process in Kenya, NDI has designed a program for potential candidates known as the Leadership and Campaign Academy (LCA). The LCA Training is also accredited as Continuous Legal Education (CLE) by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK). This Manual is a key component of the LCA. It should enable large numbers of potential candidates, whether they intend to vie through parties or as independents, to obtain the knowledge and skills needed in the run up to the next general elections. The manual is neither a magic wand nor a taxonomy of all the things needed by those seeking leadership positions. Rather, it is a basic guide to help them through the campaign process towards election to public office. It seeks to enable them to: assess their own strengths and weaknesses; plan for both the pre and post-election periods; communicate effectively; operate within an elected institution and transform the lives of those they seek to serve.

The process of developing this Manual has benefitted from the input of a lot of individuals. I am most grateful to all of them. The Manual has benefitted enormously from input from the LCA trainers and participants and Kenya's political parties. We are grateful to Mrs. Lucy Ndung'u, The Registrar of Political Parties for her co-operation during the development of this manual, and for her very useful comments and insights. NDI's expert on Political Party

Development, Sefakor Ashiagbor provided very valuable advice, based on her experience of NDI political party programs worldwide. Dr. Collins Odote took the lead in designing the LCA program and developing the Manual within Kenya together with a team that included Kwamtchetsi Makokha, Jean-Noé Landry, Elizabeth Marete, Phoebe Mungai, Roseline Idele and John Lovdal. Collins, together with Okumba Miruka, also edited the final manuscript to ensure coherence and flow.

I hope all who read this manual will find it useful during their campaigns and beyond.

Mary O'Hagan,

Senior Resident Director, NDI Kenya

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Abbreviations

CLE Continuous Legal Education

EACC Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission

EPC Election Planning Committee

FPTP First Past the Post

IEBC Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

GOTV Get Out The Vote

LCA Leadership and Campaign Academy

LSK Law Society of Kenya

NCIC National Cohesion and Integration Commission

NDI National Democratic InstitutePPDT Political Parties Disputes TribunalPPLC Political Parties Liaison Committee

PO Presiding Officer

PR Proportional Representation

PWDs Persons with Disabilities

RO Returning Officer

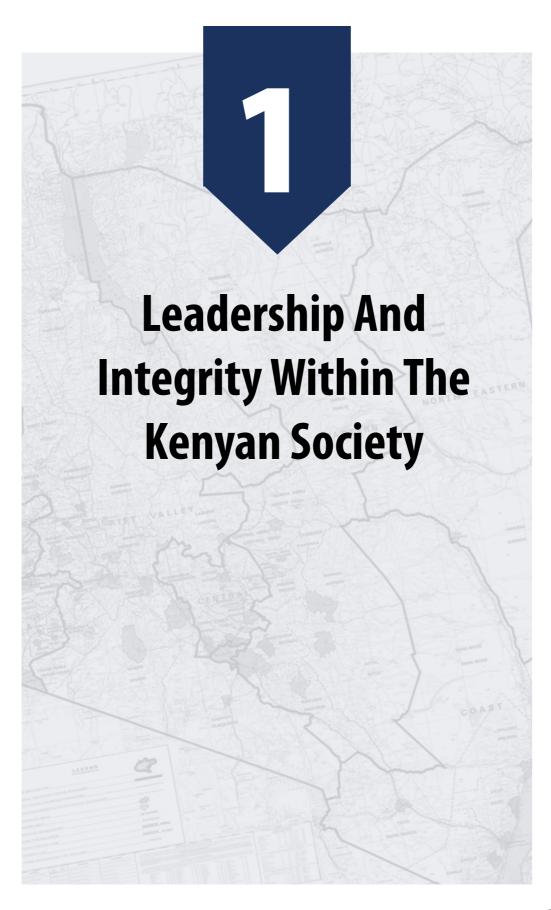
RPP Registrar of Political Parties

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1.1 Leadership within the Constitutional Context in Kenya

In offering oneself as a candidate, you are offering yourself to lead people, be it in a ward, constituency, county, country or other structure. Leadership is a process of guiding a group of people and helping them to achieve common goals. It is about influencing people. A leader is not a know-it-all but one with a vision, drive and commitment to realize that vision. Quotes by great writers demonstrate the different aspects of leadership.

Author	Quotes
John Quincy Adams	If your actions inspire others to dream more, learn more, do more and become more, you are a leader.
John C Maxwell	A leader is one who knows the way, goes the way, and shows the way.
John Buchan	The task of leadership is not to put greatness into people, but to elicit it, for the greatness is there already.
Theodore M. Hesburgh	The very essence of leadership is that you have to have vision. You can't blow an uncertain trumpet.
Benjamin Franklin	He that cannot obey cannot command.
Jack Welch	Before you are a leader, success is all about growing yourself. When you become a leader, success is all about growing others.
Eleanor Roosevelt	A good leader inspires people to have confidence in the leader; a great leader inspires people to have confidence in themselves.
Harold Geneen	Leadership cannot really be taught. It can only be learned.
General Colin Powell	Great leaders are almost always great simplifiers, who can cut through argument, debate, and doubt to offer a solution everybody can understand.
Ralph Waldo Emerson	Our chief want is someone who will inspire us to be what we know we could be.
Kenneth Blanchard	The key to successful leadership today is influence, not authority.
Jim Rohn	The challenge of leadership is to be strong, but not rude; be kind, but not weak; be bold, but not bully; be thoughtful, but not lazy; be humble, but not timid; be proud, but not arrogant; have humor, but without folly.
Peter F. Drucker	Leadership is not magnetic personality that can just as well be a glib tongue. It is not "making friends and influencing people", that is flattery. Leadership is lifting a person's vision to higher sights, the raising of a person's performance to a higher standard, the building of a personality beyond its normal limitations.

The Kenyan Constitution recognizes the importance of leadership in transforming the society. It places premium on the quality of that leadership identifying integrity as a basic requirement for leadership. Integrity is about moral and ethical values. This includes reliability to deliver on promises made, objectivity and incorruptibility. Integrity generates respect, loyalty, commitment and trust. As an aspiring leader, you should be aware of the provisions of Chapter Six of the Constitution, which deals with leadership and integrity. Specifically, Article 73 details the key principles that govern leadership:

Article 73 of the Constitution of Kenya

- 1) Authority assigned to a State Office
 - a. is a public trust to be exercised in a manner that
 - i. is consistent with the purposes and objects of this constitution;
 - ii. demonstrates respect for the people;
 - iii. brings honour to the nation and dignity to the office; and
 - iv. promotes public confidence in the integrity of the office;
 - b. vests in the State Officer the responsibility to serve the people, rather than the power to rule them.
- 2) The guiding principles of leadership and integrity include
 - a. selection on the basis of personal integrity, competence and suitability, or election in free and fair elections;
 - b. objectivity and impartiality in decision making, and in ensuring that decisions are not influenced by nepotism, favouritism, other improper motives or corrupt practices;
 - c. selfless service based solely on the public interest, demonstrated by
 - i. honesty in the execution of public duties; and
 - ii. the declaration of any personal interest that may conflict with the public duties;
 - d. accountability to the public for decisions and actions: and
 - e. discipline and commitment in service to the people.

As part of your preparations you need to be aware of the requirements on leadership and factor this in your analysis and agenda setting. As you engage with the electorate, they should also see that you meet these requirements. There are times when their expectations may conflict with your legal obligations. In such cases you must be able to explain to them that you have a duty to comply with the law.

Key things that chapter Six of the Constitution requires all aspiring candidates and leaders to desist from include:

- **Nepotism**: This refers to the use of power and favours to benefit friends and family without regard for merit. While there is always pressure by relatives and close friends for leaders to favor them in employment, business placements and other opportunities, aspiring candidates should know that this is immoral, unethical and is tantamount to corruption. It is a violation of the Constitution to practice nepotism and other forms of favoritism.
- Conflict of Interest: This refers to a situation where your public role as a leader conflicts with your personal interests. You are required as a leader to declare any personal interest that may compromise the performance of your public duties and avoid such conflict. For example, the Constitution requires you to declare, and forfeit to the State, gifts received in the course of performing public duties.
- Financial Misconduct: The constitution requires that you avoid financial misconduct as a leader. It has detailed rules on financial discipline and disclosure. You should not, unless in accordance with relevant law, maintain and operate a foreign bank account.
- Corruption: The Constitution and the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Act also make it an

offence to engage in corrupt practices. If you engage in and are found guilty of corruption, you will be barred from ever holding a public office. As part of the nomination process, you will be vetted by your political party and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) with the support of the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) to ensure compliance with this requirement.

1.2 Key Qualities of a Good Leader

As a candidate, you will be assessed on your policies and approach so as to determine the kind of leader you are. You should remember that there are different styles of leadership depending on which characteristics the leader prioritizes. The main styles include:

- Authoritarian leadership This style involves making the decisions independently as a leader without consultation and passing them onto subordinates. Such leaders are bossy, overbearing, controlling and dictatorial.
- **Bureaucratic leadership** In this leadership style almost everything is governed by the rule book. It involves undue focus on time-wasting rules and procedures which are complex and lengthy making the leadership style impersonal and slow.
- Laissez-faire leadership This style offers little or no guidance to group members and leave decision-making up to group members. It often leads to poorly defined roles and a lack of motivation.
- **Democratic leadership** This involved the leader offering guidance to group members while both participating in the group and allowing input from other group members. It encourages consultation.

Of the above, the style closest to the letter and spirit of the Constitution is a democratic leader. Key qualities you will require to be successful as a democratic leader include:

- **Vision:** Leadership is about defining the target of where one and society needs to go. Strong vision leads the leader. A visionary leader can see the desired destination and lead the people to reach it.
- Character: A successful leader is consistent, has inner strength, has integrity and stays the course. Character leads to trust.
- Role model: A good leader is an example to those they lead. Such leaders always think about the import and implications of their decisions and actions.
- **Inspiration:** Leadership is about inspiring and influencing others in order to follow your direction. This requires you to identify the problems facing the society and propose viable solutions.
- Consultation and Listening: A good leader listens to, and consults, others before making decisions. A leader is not necessarily the most brilliant person in the society or the one who knows it all. The ability to perform as a leader is not just about having ideas yourself, but much more about other bringing people's perspectives and needs to bear on governance and public processes.
- Service: A good leader does not boss others around but serves the people by addressing their needs. However those needs must be realistic and related to the leadership position

1.3 Making the Big Decision

The decision to vie for leadership is a momentous one. It is therefore important not to underestimate the implications of that decision and to make it through an informed and consultative process. This manual discusses the factors to consider in making the "big" decision and the required consultations and preparations prior to the decision. It also discusses the relevant provisions of the Constitution and other laws of Kenya that regulate specific leadership positions. As a candidate, you will need to be aware of and comply with the requirements of these laws in your guest for a leadership position in Kenya.

In making the decision to run, some of the things you will need to do are:

- Collect information on the requirements and qualifications for the leadership position you seek
- · Consult family members, close relatives and key advisers
- Consider your own motivation for seeking the position
- Carry out a detailed analysis of your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats
- Have a good grasp of the county/constituency/ward and issues of interest for the electorate
- Choose a strategy for seeking the position
- Assess you own readiness for the demands of campaigning, (winning or losing) and holding the office

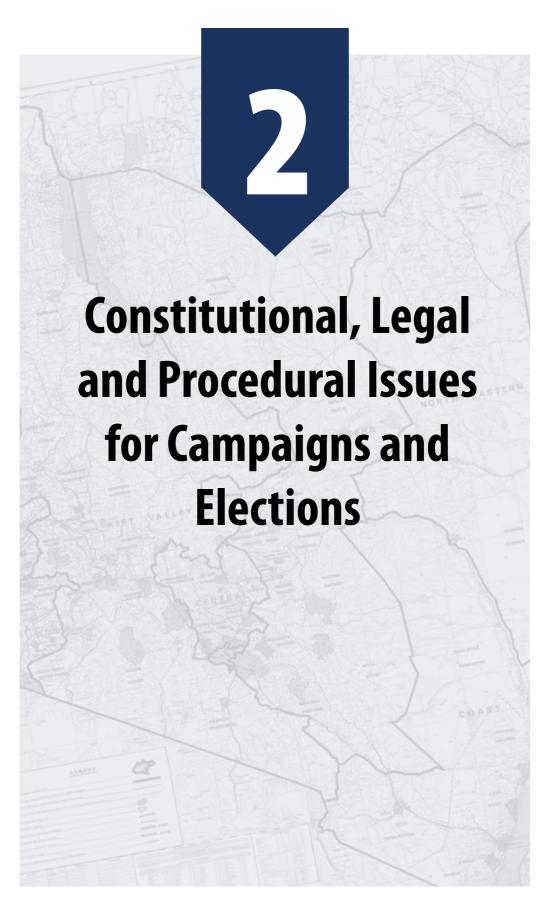
1.4 Running the Campaign

Deciding to run is only the first step in a long exciting but challenging process. This process involves the entire campaign all the way to elections, which can end in victory or defeat. While the final verdict lies with the electorate, the campaign plays a big role in determining the eventual outcome.

It is not possible to predict exactly how a campaign will turn out. But there are certain fundamentals that every campaign process needs to pay attention to. These include the campaign platform, message, plan, communication and teams. Planning and preparation enable the campaign to measure progress and stay on course. For you to be successful, you will need to plan and manage your campaign well.

The required preparations and skills to campaign successfully and undertake leadership responsibility is not something taught in school. Some of the skills are acquired practically in life. This manual summarizes the main components of a campaign based on an understanding that leaders emerge from many different walks of life.

Notes



2.1 Representation Avenues in the New Constitution

The constitution provides for a democratic system of government in which citizens are responsible for their own governance by participating directly in the electoral process and choosing credible leaders to represent their interests. It gives every citizen the right to free, fair and regular elections based on universal adult suffrage and the free expression of the will of the electorate. Those elections are to take place every five years and have been fixed for the second Tuesday of August every fifth year, although there are discussions to amend this to the Third Monday of December.

For the elections to be free and fair, they are required to be: done by secret ballot; free from violence, intimidation, improper influence or corruption; conducted by an independent body; transparent; and administered in an impartial, efficient, accurate and accountable manner.

Every person has the right to be a candidate for public office in Kenyan elections as long as they meet the minimum qualifications. The Constitution envisages a total of six elections:

- 1. Presidential elections.
- 2. Elections for Members of the National Assembly.
- 3. Elections for women representatives to the National Assembly.
- 4. Elections for senators.
- 5. Election for governors.
- 6. Election for County Assembly representatives.

For each of these elections, the Constitution sets the number of positions to be filled and the method of filling them. As a candidate, you need to be aware of the numbers and the method of filling those seats, otherwise referred to as the electoral system. There are two methods of elections in Kenya:

- First Past the Post (FPTP) Electoral System This is based on geographical constituencies. Electors vote for a candidate of their choice based on those cleared by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) either as independent candidates or party nominees. The person with a simple majority of the votes (first past the post) is declared the winner.
- Proportional Representation (PR) based on lists prepared by parties. The candidates are
 chosen from the list by the IEBC based on the number of seats that candidates got in the
 FTPT elections.

Table 2: Number of Seats and Methods for Filling Them

Office	Positions	Numbers	Electoral System
Presidency	President	1	FPTP
	Deputy President	1	Automatically assumes seat as running mate of President.

National Assembly	Members of the National Assembly	290	FPTP
	Women Members (one per county)	47	FPTP
	Special Interests (youth, persons with disabilities and workers)	12	Party List
Senate	Elected	47	FPTP
	Women	16	Party List
	Youth (1 man and 1 woman)	2	Party List
	Persons with disabilities (1 woman and 1 youth)	2	Party List
Governorship	Governor	47	FPTP
	Deputy Governor	47	Automatically assumes seat as running mate of Governor.
County Assembly Members	Elected	One per ward (total number of wards to be determined by IEBC)	FPTP
	Gender balance	Numbers required to meet the 2/3 and 1/3 rule.	Party List
	Marginalized groups (including youth and persons with disabilities)	4 per county	Party List

2.2 Qualifications for Elective Positions

The Constitution, supplemented by the Elections Act, states the required qualifications for elective and appointive positions.

Table 3: Qualifications and Disqualifications for Elective Positions

Position	Qualifications	Disqualifications
President (and Deputy)	 Must be a citizen by birth. Must be registered as a voter. Must have a degree from a recognized university. Must be nominated by a political party or be an independent candidate. Must be nominated by not fewer than 2,000 voters from each of a majority of the counties. 	 Owe allegiance to a foreign state. Is a public officer or acting in any state or other public office other than office of the President, Member of Parliament or county assembly. Participates in any manner in public fundraising or harambee within eight months preceding a general election or during an election period.

Position	Qualifications	Disqualifications
Member of the parliament	 Must be registered as a voter. Must have a post-secondary school qualification recognized in Kenya. Must be nominated by a political party, or be an independent candidate. If independent, must be supported by at least 1,000 registered voters in the constituency one is vying for. 	 Is a state officer or other public officer other than a Member of Parliament. Has at any time within five years immediately preceding the date of elections held office as a member of the IEBC. Has not been a citizen of Kenya for at least 10 years immediately preceding the date of elections. Is a member of the County Assembly. Is of unsound mind. Is an undischarged bankrupt. Is subject to a prison sentence of at least six months as of the date of registration as a candidate or at the date of elections. Is found in law to have misused or abused a state office or public office or in any way to have contravened Chapter 6 of the Constitution. Participates in any manner in public fundraising or harambee within eight months preceding a general election or during an election period.
Senator	 Must be registered as a voter. Must hold post-secondary school qualification. Be either nominated by a political party or be an independent candidate. If independent, must be supported by at least 2,000 registered voters in the county 	 Is a state officer or other public officer other than a member of parliament Has at any time within the five years immediately before the date of elections held office as a member of the IEBC Has not been a citizen of Kenya for at least 10 years immediately preceding the date of elections. Is a member of a county assembly Is of unsound mind. Is an undischarged bankrupt Is subject to a prison sentence of at least 6 months as of the date of registration as a candidate or at the date of elections. Is found in law to have misused or abused a state office or public office or in any way to have contravened Chapter 6 of the Constitution. Participates in any manner in public fundraising or harambee within 8 months preceding a general election or during an election period.

Governor (and Deputy)	Same as for Senator except that the Governor should have a university degree.	Same as for Senator.
Member of the County Assembly	 Is registered as a voter. Has post-secondary school qualification. Is either nominated by a political party or is an independent candidate. If independent, be supported by at least 500 registered voters in the ward concerned. 	 Is a state officer or other public officer other than a member of County Assembly. Has at any time within the five years immediately before the date of elections held office as a member of the IEBC. Has not been a citizen of Kenya for at least 10 years immediately preceding the date of elections. Is of unsound mind. Is an undischarged bankrupt Is subject to a prison sentence of at least 6 months as of the date of registration as a candidate or at the date of elections. Is found in law to have misused or abused a state office or public office or in any way to have contravened Chapter 6 of the Constitution. Participates in any manner in public fundraising or harambee within 8 months preceding a general election or during an election period.

2.3 Nominations

As an aspiring candidate you have to decide whether you will vie as an independent or party candidate. For you to be independent you are required not to be a member of any party at least three months before the nomination date. As a party candidate you will be required to go through party nominations. You will have to be a member of that party and understand the party structures, constitution and nomination procedures. This will enable you prepare effectively by having the relevant documentation confirming eligibility and the nomination fee. You should note that the elections Act contains important details and deadlines that relate to the nomination process. First, if you are going to be on a party list, you are required to have been a member of the party for at least three months before the date of submission of the party lists to IEBC.

Nominations will take place at least forty five (45) days before elections and will be done by parties in accordance with their party nomination rules. These rules are required by the Elections Act to have been filed with IEBC six months before the date of nominations. In addition one is required to be supported by members of the party. The Elections Act requires the list of members to be submitted to IEBC three months before nominations day.

2.4 Affirmative Action

There are various marginalized groups notably women, youth and persons with disabilities (PWDs) who are underrepresented in political leadership positions. The Constitution seeks to change this through affirmative action – measures that deliberately take into consideration factors such as age, race, color, religion, gender, disability and status in order to correct historical imbalances. The Constitution details affirmative action to ensure that the participation of these groups in politics is enhanced.

2.4.1 Gender

In Article 81, the Constitution provides that not more than two-thirds of members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. Measures to implement this are as follows:

- 47 National Assembly seats are to be contested by women alone at the county level (Article 97).
- 16 women shall be nominated by political parties to the Senate proportionately (Article 98).
- The Senate shall have one woman representing youth and another representing person with disabilities.
- Party list to top up the numbers in the county assembly to ensure that the overall number of members reflect the balance of not more than 2/3 from one gender. (Article 177).

However, there is a debate as to how to implement the principle in the National Assembly and Senate without compromising voters' rights to democratically choose their representatives. Proposals have been made to have seats filled proportionately based on party lists after the election based on the principle that not more than two-thirds of either gender shall be in any elective position. There is a Bill to amend the Constitution which is currently before parliament seeking to make this provision clearer to enable compliance with the "not more than two-thirds" gender rule.

2.4.2 Youth

The Constitution has also provided affirmative action for the youth. In addition to the general requirement, under Article 55, for the state to take affirmative action to ensure the youth are represented and participate in political spheres and the requirement under Article 100 for Parliament to enact legislation for increased representation of youth, the Constitution sets aside the following specific seats for youth.

- Youth to be included as part of the 12 nominated members of the National Assembly to be elected through proportional representation.
- 2 youth members of the Senate to be elected through proportional representation
- Youth to be included as part of the four representing marginalized groups in every County Assembly.

2.4.3 Persons with Disabilities

To ensure that persons with disabilities are involved in all aspects of public life, the Constitution in Article 54 details certain entitlements:

Article 54(2) "The state shall ensure the progressive implementation of the principle that at least five percent of the members of the public in elective and appointive bodies are persons with disabilities."

Parliament is also required under Article 100 to enact legislation to promote the representation of PWDs in Parliament. In addition the Constitution provides certain special or reserved seats for them as follows:

- People with disabilities to be included as part of the 12 nominated members of the National Assembly to be elected through proportional representation.
- 2 members of the Senate to be elected through proportional representation.
- People with disabilities to be included as part of the four members representing marginalized groups in every County Assembly.

2.4.4 Workers

The Constitution provides that workers should be included as part of the 12 nominated members of the National Assembly to be elected through proportional representation. However the term worker is not defined in the Constitution. Hopefully regulations under the Elections Act may clarify this category further.

2.5 Roles of Key Actors in the Electoral Process

2.5.1 The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) is established Article 88 of the Constitution. Further, Parliament has passed the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act (2011) to provide for the appointment process, functioning and operations of IEBC. It has 9 (nine) commissioners including a chair and a secretariat headed by the Chief Electoral Officer. The functions of the Commission include:

- Continuous registration of citizens as voters.
- Regular revision of voters roll.
- Delimitation of constituencies and wards.
- Regulation of the process by which parties nominate candidates for elections.
- Settlement of electoral disputes, including those related to nominations.
- Registration of candidates for elections.
- · Voter education.
- Facilitation of observation, monitoring and evaluation of elections.
- Regulation of campaign finances for candidates and parties.
- Development of a code of conduct for candidates and parties contesting elections.

As a candidate, you must be aware of the roles and responsibilities of the IEBC. At the constituency or ward level, there will be a Returning Officer (RO) for every constituency who will be in charge of the elections for that unit and who will eventually announce the total results for the constituency or ward. For every polling station, where you and all other registered voters will cast their ballot, there is a presiding officer who will take overall charge of the voting process and finally the counting and announcement of the polling station results before transmitting the same to the tallying centre. Unlike in the past, these officials will be permanent employees of the IEBC. In addition, they are required to have very high levels of professionalism and trust. The Elections Act makes it an offence for any election official to interfere with the conduct of free and fair elections, either through an act of omission or commission. Anyone found guilty is liable to a fine of up to one million Kenya shillings and/or imprisonment for up to three years.

Election Offences

The penalties for election offences are not just high for election officials. As a candidate, you are also expected to carry out your activities within the law. Part Six of the Elections Act deals with election offences. The IEBC has powers to arrest and prosecute you if you commit an electoral offence and also the power to impose any other sanction pending such prosecution.

Table 4: List of Offences and Punishment Levels

Number	Offence	Punishment (Up to)
1.	Offences relating to voters and register of voters	one million and/or 6 years imprisonment
2.	Multiple Registration	Up to 100,000 shillings and/or 1 year imprisonment
3.	Interference with ballot paper, box and voting	One million and/ or 6 years
4.	Violation of Secrecy of the ballot	One million and/or 3 years
5.	Treating voters	One million and/or 3 years
6.	Undue Influence	One million and/or 3 years
7.	Bribery	One million and/or 3 years
8.	Use of force or violence	One million and/or 5 years
9.	Use of national security organs	Ten million and/or 6 years
10.	Use of Public resources	Two million and/or 6 years. Repeat offenders to be disqualified from elections, future elections and holding public office

Electoral Code of Conduct

There is also a detailed electoral code that you as a candidate are required to be aware of, subscribe and adhere to. The aim of the code is to promote free and fair elections. It also seeks to promote a climate of tolerance where political activity can take place without fear, coercion, intimidation or reprisals. As a candidate you are duty bound to support free political campaigning and open debate all over Kenya during the election period. Specifically you are obliged to:

- Adhere to the values and principles of the Constitution.
- Promote voter education
- Publicize and uphold the electoral code of conduct
- Condemn, avoid and prevent violence and intimidation
- Promote gender equality
- · Promote ethnic tolerance
- · Promote cultural diversity
- Promote fair representation of special interest groups
- Support and participate in inter-party cooperation
- Generally affirm the rights of all participants in an election to express divergent opinions, debate and canvass for support.

You are also required to acknowledge the authority of IEBC. To deal with complaints that past electoral commissions have been toothless, the new code provides for the establishment of an Electoral Code Enforcement Committee to be responsible for ensuring compliance, including punishing those who violate the code. The punishments that can be imposed on you include:

- · A formal warning.
- Fine
- Being banned from holding meetings, erecting banners and distributing other literature.
- Being barred from contesting in a future election.
- Applying to courts of law for an order not to participate in the current election.

Election Dispute Resolution

The process for resolving election disputes has also been reformed. The first set of electoral disputes are to be resolved by the IEBC. These are disputes relating to nominations. If you have a concern on the manner in which your party carried out nominations, for example, you are required to refer the matter to the IEBC who will hear and determine the dispute within seven days. Once election results have been announced and you are dissatisfied, you can file an election petition. The petitions are to be filed and heard as follows:

Table 5: Petition Timelines

Election	Body to Resolve Dispute	Time Period
Presidential	Supreme Court	Within 21 days of declaration of results
Parliament and Senate	High Court	6 months
Governor	Nearest High Court	6 months
County Assembly	Nearest High Court	6 months

2.5.2 Registrar of Political Parties

In August 2011, Parliament passed the amended Political Parties Act which governs the registration and operation of political parties through the office of the Registrar of Political Parties (RPP). Parties enable people to aggregate and articulate their interests, provide political education, mobilize citizens and present candidates to compete for, and if successful, capture and exercise political power. The Constitution requires parties to entrench and promote

democracy and ethical behavior by:

- Having a national character as prescribed by an Act of Parliament.
- Having a democratically elected governing body.
- · Promoting national unity.
- Holding regular fair and free elections.
- Respecting the right of all persons, including minorities and the marginalized, to participate in political processes.
- Respecting and promoting human rights, fundamental freedoms and gender equality.
- Obeying the Constitution, rule of law and code of conduct for political parties.

As a candidate running on the ticket of a political party, the RPP is an important actor in your electoral quest. The office of RPP is composed of the Registrar assisted by three Assistant Registrars. Important functions of the RPP that will affect you as a candidate include:

- Registering, regulating, monitoring, investigating and supervising political parties.
- Administering the Political Parties Fund, which can be used by the party to
 cover its election expenses and at least 30% is to promote the representation in
 parliament and county assemblies of women, youth, persons with disabilities,
 ethnic and other minorities and marginalized communities
- Verifying and publicly making available the list of all members of political parties.
- Ensuring that no one is a member of more than one party at any one time.
- Investigating complaints under the Act.

The Political Parties Liaison Committee

The Political Parties Act also provides for the establishment of the Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC) at the national and county level. PPLC is a useful organ to you as a candidate during the election period, since it provides a framework for liaison between RPP, IEBC and political parties. This liaison is critical for promoting a culture of dialogue and fostering trust and thus free and fair elections. The issue of dialogue is also addressed in detail by the Code of Conduct for Political Parties. As a candidate your actions will have an impact on the levels of compliance with the code by your party. It is essential, therefore, that you read and fully understand its contents.

The PPLC is to be convened by the RPP. During elections, and as required by the IEBC Act, every party that has a validly nominated candidate is under a duty to attend PPLC meetings convened during the period after nominations.

2.5.3 Political Parties Disputes Tribunal

The Political Parties Disputes Tribunal (PPDT) is established to ensure faster and cheaper resolution of political disputes. It has the primary mandate to hear and determine disputes within and between parties, except disputes relating to party nominations, which can only be determined by IEBC. The specific disputes that PPDT has jurisdiction over include:

- Disputes between members of a political party
- Disputes between a member of a political party and the political party
- Disputes between political parties
- Disputes between an independent candidate and a political party
- Disputes between coalition partners
- Appeals from decisions of the RPP

The PPDT is expected to listen to disputes within three months. Should you be dissatisfied with its decision, you have a right to appeal to the High Court, then to the Court of Appeal and finally to the Supreme Court.

2.5.4 National Cohesion and Integration Commission

Following the 2007 general elections, Kenya made tremendous efforts to get to the root cause of the violence and put in place measures to avoid a similar recurrence in future. One of the identified causes of the violence during and after the 2007 elections was tribalism and incitement to tribal hatred during the campaign period. As a long term measure, the country adopted the National Cohesion and Integration Act, which provides for the establishment of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC).

NCIC has the mandate of promoting national cohesion within the country. National cohesion is an important goal and forms part of the national values and principles of governance contained in Article 10 of the Constitution. This is evident through such values as patriotism, national unity, inclusiveness, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized.

As an aspiring candidate, you should be aware of the mandate of NCIC to monitor, deter and recommend for prosecution those guilty of hate speech. Hate speech refers to use of words and actions intended to incite hatred and disaffection based on ethnic or religious affiliation. Use of such words is prohibited and can lead to your prosecution. Additionally the electoral code of conduct binds you to desist from hate speech.

2.5.5 The Role of Nonpartisan Election Observers

Election observation is one of the internationally accepted norms for promoting electoral integrity and ascertaining that standards for free, fair and credible elections are achieved. Election observation is the systematic assessment of the electoral process to determine whether it is conducted in compliance with legal requirements, and to meet the minimum standards for democratic elections. It is a long-term and concerted process that examines all aspects of electoral administration in the pre-election period, on Election Day and in the post-election period. Observers collect information about the process, analyze

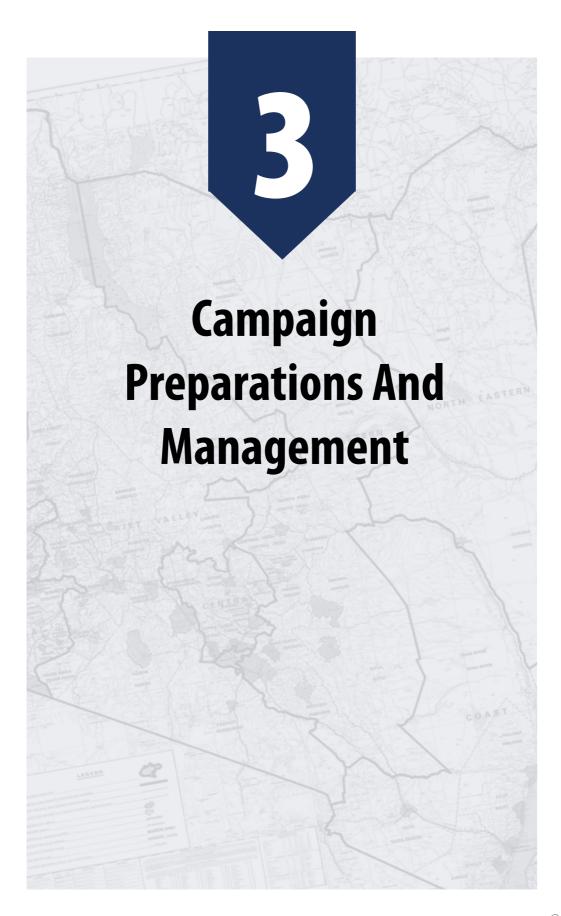
The Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) is a methodology that observers utilize to verify results officially announced. Observers are deployed to a representative sample of polling stations to collect information about voting, counting and announcement of results. This information is rapidly transmitted to a central database, analyzed and utilized to scientifically verify the accuracy of results the IEBC tally.

the information and release objective reports detailing their findings and recommendations. Observers are either international or domestic.

In Kenya, the Elections Act 2011 allows for the participation of non-partisan international and domestic election observers and neutral Kenyan groups and citizens who seek to guarantee the integrity of the elections. On election day, non-partisan election observers are deployed to polling stations to collect information about the conduct of polling and counting processes, to deter and expose malpractices, fraud and human errors if they occur, and to verify the accuracy of official results announced by the IEBC. Observers neither interfere, nor intervene, in the conduct of elections. Throughout the process, election observation groups share their findings and recommendations with key electoral stakeholders and the public.

Nonpartisan election observers therefore play an important role in order to:

- Promote electoral integrity
- · Build public confidence in the election process
- Encourage citizen participation in the electoral process
- Provide information about the conduct of elections to the public, and electoral authorities
- · Offer recommendations to improve future elections



3.1 Overview

Individuals and political parties use carefully crafted messages, targeted field operations, and effective fundraising skills to influence the electorate to vote for them. All political campaigns are defined by a finite set of resources: money, time and people. Whether you are running as an independent or not, these three resources will impact on the size and intensity of your campaign.

The other two issues that impact on a campaign are the fundamentals and campaign process. This chapter sets out the five fundamental requirements of a political campaign and six steps of the campaign process.

3.2 Fundamentals of a Campaign

Candidates and their campaigns should strive to accomplish and surpass a set of standard defining requirements that are characteristic of all campaigns. These include:

- Visibility: The candidate, party, its leader and platform must be known to the electorate. Without this recognition, voters are left unaware of their options on Election Day. For party candidates, your party and the party leadership should be known too.
- Fundraising: Financial resources are necessary to meet the campaign's goals
 and objectives. Fundraising should be conducted well in advance of the election
 and during the campaign itself. It enables the party to avoid debt and to build its
 infrastructure and capacity.
- Communication: The campaign needs to deliver a consistent message applied to local circumstances and targeting voters who are most likely to hear and be swayed by it.
- **Identification**: Numerous tactics can be employed to communicate to voters e.g. door-to-door contact, public rallies and social media.
- Actual Voting: The ultimate goal of a campaign is to identify supporters and ensure that they turn up to vote. This should be done without violating electoral laws which, in Kenya, require campaigns to end 24 hours before voting opens and disallow transportation of voters to the polling station.

3.3 The Six Steps of the Campaign Process

An effective campaign requires adequate preparation and a written plan to steer the campaign to victory. The 6 steps to creating a campaign plan are:

- 1. Research and Preparation
- 2. Planning
- 3. Organization
- 4. Execution and Monitoring.
- 5. Election Day
- 6. Follow-Up

3.3.1 Research and Preparation

a) Overview

Substantial and accurate information is necessary to develop the campaign plan. This information helps the campaign understand the feasibility of victory. It is impossible to design a message, ascertain the target audience, write the plan, create a budget, or organize the campaign without good research. Research is also at the basis of issue-based campaigns.

It is important that you focus on issues during your campaign. Issue-based campaigns help present the electorate with policy options and help nurture a culture of competition devoid of conflicts. To run a successful issue-based campaign you need to invest in research, since this is what will give you accurate and real time facts on which to base your facts.

As you prepare for your campaigns, it is important that you start with an analysis of yourself so as to prepare for the campaign process. This is normally undertaken through a SWOT analysis.

b) The SWOT Analysis

When deciding to run for office, it is useful to take stock of your strengths and weaknesses as a candidate and the campaign as a whole while anticipating the opportunities and threats on the road ahead. This self-assessment is referred to as a SWOT analysis i.e. Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats. The analysis is best conducted in the pre-election period to inform subsequent preparation and planning. It should be conducted honestly, even if you are very confident of your chances as a candidate.

The analysis should be led by the campaign manager or the person leading the preparation team but not a friend of the candidate. Nothing should be taken for granted in this discussion. It is a good idea to have one person lead a SWOT discussion and another to take notes, ideally on flip chart. The results provide valuable information for the candidate's positioning, the campaign's key message, voter contact tactic choices, and mobilization strategies. Above all, a good SWOT analysis creates a clear starting point to develop the campaign plan. The ultimate aim of the exercise is to maximize strengths and opportunities while minimizing weaknesses and threats. Strengths and weaknesses are often seen in contradiction to one another, but often they are in fact two sides of the same coin. What makes the SWOT analysis so effective is that it helps interpret the same issues in a positive or a negative light. Some of the most common observations for local campaigns are included in the table below.

Table 6: Sample SWOT Analysis

Strength	Weakness
 Active and motivated local team. Good sustained visibility in-between elections. Incumbent. Small area, well-known and accessible. Extensive roots in the local community. Experienced and known candidate. Funds readily available. Clear support from party headquarters, if party candidate. Party's core issues resonate with local context, if party candidate. 	 No active local branch infrastructure if running on party ticket. No or limited visibility. Constituency held by opposing party or candidate. Large area that is difficult to manage logistically. Little support in the local community. New candidate with no recognition. Limited funds. Not considered a winnable seat by your party headquarters, if party candidate. Party's priorities not relevant to local context, if party candidate.
Opportunities	Threats
 Win or keep a seat. Attract visibility to neighbouring campaigns because of campaign's success. Significant opportunity to recruit new members before and after the campaign. 	 Losing to others Candidate may come under attack for personal, political or professional weaknesses. Weaken or diminish the local party membership, if party candidate.
4. Raise profile of local issues on the national stage.5. Raise funds for the local branch and for the party, if party candidate.6. Incumbent not running.	4. Unable to put forward a credible alternative.5. Unpopularity of your party in the constituency.6. Strong opponents.

c) Consolidating a Candidate's Strengths and Addressing Weaknesses

As a candidate, you are the campaign's greatest asset - the persuader-in-chief, the number one fundraiser and primary motivator. It is, therefore, important to carefully place your characteristics in full view. This should be a primary goal of the SWOT analysis. The assessment can initially be based around key characteristics, including: occupation, length of time lived in the constituency, community involvement, education, family and skills. Here are examples of a candidate's strengths and how they can be interpreted as weaknesses depending on the local context.

Table 7: Examples of Strengths and Weaknesses

Characteristic	Strengths	Weaknesses
Occupation.	Small business owner thus has contacts with electorate.	Reputation of corruption within the business community.
Length of time lived and worked in the constituency.	Knows local officials and influential business leaders.	Lives outside the constituency and rarely visits.
Community involvement.	Donated to several local causes.	Not active in public debates about important issues.

Education.	Educated outside the country. A respected voice in field of expertise.	Perceived as elitist and disconnected. Not fluent in local language.
Family.	Large family with extensive ties in the community.	The family is not uniformly supportive of candidacy.
Skills.	Communicates well in one-on-one discussion.	Poor public speaking skills. Uncomfortable in front of large crowds or during media interviews.

Listing your accomplishments and identifying opinion leaders or allies (credible people from the local constituency) who can provide a public endorsement at strategic moments in a campaign is one way to bolster your standing. This also helps focus the attention of the electorate on what the campaign believes are your strengths. Personal, career and community accomplishments should be identified and trumpeted throughout the campaign. It is important that your message also addresses ways of dealing with your potential weaknesses without blowing them out of proportion.

The campaign manager and candidate should clearly identify the candidate's needs. Not every candidate wants to run a campaign 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. It is, therefore, important to ask the following questions:

- How much sleep does the candidate need?
- At what time does he or she perform best morning, afternoon or evening?
- Does the candidate need a lot of preparation time or a guick study?
- Does the candidate need a reminder or wake-up call?
- Is the candidate stiff or relaxed?
- What clothing is the candidate most comfortable in formal, informal?
- How much personal time does the candidate want/expect?

Above all, you must find the right way to present yourself to individual voters and convince them depending on your personality and public speaking experiences. One-on-one situations such as door-knocking might work better. Or you may be more at ease with small groups, larger groups, with print reporters or on television.

d) Conducting a Needs Assessment

The needs assessment is intended to determine the necessary alliances, resources and all other activities required for a successful electoral outcome. Important actions and decisions, such as the choice of campaign office, setting fundraising goals, and conducting a preliminary volunteer recruitment drive, should be made well ahead of the start of the campaign. Key players should take part in this crucial preparation and planning process under the auspice of an Election Planning Committee (EPC) which eventually hands over to the campaign manager when elections are triggered. The issues to be considered at this stage include:

- Preparatory analysis data, for example, past voting trends and key facts and figures.
- · Updated membership list.
- Campaign office space, if applicable.

- Financial assessment and fundraising plan.
- · Campaign staff.
- Communication structure e.g. phone lines, computers, Internet, printer, fax etc.
- Supplies.

The EPC should meet regularly – weekly or bi-weekly – in order to adapt its planning timeline and strategy to new developments. The structure should be simple and the portfolio at a minimum should comprise: finding a candidate, raising funds, recruiting volunteers, and developing ties with the media. EPC members should be very organized, motivated and discreet not to attract unnecessary public attention. Core committee positions can include the following:

Table 8: Functions of Election Planning Committees

Position	Functions
Chair	 Calls and chairs all EPC meetings. Liaises with candidate and/or party branch and headquarters. Ensures completion and implementation of the election plan.
Fundraising Organizer	Develops and implements a pre-election fundraising strategy.Works closely with the campaign's financial agent.
Media/ Communications Coordinator	 Establishes a positive relationship with local media outlets. Develops a comprehensive media listing. Coordinates media presence e.g. letters to the editor and call-in radio shows. Coordinates the design and publication of campaign material.
Volunteer Recruiter	 Updates all volunteer information from previous campaigns. Identifies and recruits new volunteers. Conducts outreach meetings with local groups who could donate potential volunteers.

It is possible to expand the size and scope of the EPC to include other necessary positions e.g. Voter Contact Organizer and Youth Organizer.

A campaign office should be selected based on the visibility that it contributes to the campaign, volunteer accessibility and logistical ease e.g. access to banks, transport, water and sanitation facilities. Large campaigns can afford the costs associated with a campaign office. Smaller campaigns may consider using the candidate's or campaign manager's home.

e) Identifying Citizen's Concerns

Citizens expect candidates to understand their issues and articulate how they will address them. You and your team are well advised to demonstrate to citizens' that you intend to do politics differently. This is where policies come in. Policies should be: specific, timely, and measurable, rather than blind and vague. This means identifying the issues that are of the greatest concern to the electorate and developing clear strategies and proposals for responding to them.

Policies matter because they can serve to motivate voters, members, and activists in-between elections and during campaigns. They demonstrate an understanding of citizen's problems

and an ability to solve them which enables you to show leadership. Candidates that develop good policies are also able to generate constructive public discussion on how best to solve local problems.

For party candidates, it is critical to coordinate with the local party infrastructure to engage effectively with the electorate. Parties are often criticized for poor engagement with citizens in-between elections. While some parties in Kenya strive to create meaningful opportunities to listen to voters and the concerns of local communities, candidates should appreciate the importance of these efforts as it affects them directly. A more credible and visible party at the grass-roots is beneficial for the candidate.

Opportunities to identify citizens' concerns have more impact if they are organized well before the campaign period. Developing the ears of the party can take many forms, but should emphasize two-way communication mechanisms to identify local priorities and put forward policy proposals to address them.

A candidate who can articulate coherent solutions to local problems will inevitably gain credibility and visibility.

f) Knowing the County/ Constituency/Ward

You and your campaign team may know the electoral area (county, constituency or ward) through: direct observation, other primary sources of information, and secondary information obtained from informed community residents. To this end, it is useful to create a list of informed residents who know the local political landscape, issues and controversies that have mobilized or divided public opinion. Visiting the constituency and conducting a thorough analysis of the territory is imperative. The task is to get a general feel, take note of significant landmarks and develop the campaign strategy and choice of tactics. Secondary sources of information, such as past election results and census data, are also useful.

g) Opinion Polls and Research Methods

Polling data helps inform the development of voter contact scripts, the fine tuning of campaign slogans and messaging on campaign materials. There are two kinds of research: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative research is based on a representative sample of the population and can help answer the questions who, what, when, and where of the electorate. Qualitative research, such as in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, are facilitated discussions that help answer the question why different sections of society hold the views they do.

A quantitative poll can help you answer the following questions:

- Which voters are most or least likely to vote for you?
- Who can be persuaded? What issues matter to them? What positions on these issues affect their voting behaviour?
- How do they feel about the direction of the country?
- When are they likely to make a decision?
- How have they voted in the past?
- In which area do they live?
- Where do they get their information?
- Why do they like, dislike, or remain uncertain about you?
- What are the qualities that they look for in a leader?
- Which candidates do they trust the most?

Poll results can differ significantly and great care should be spent in understanding the methodology, especially the interview method, sample size, and margin of error. You should not ignore poll results but you should also not take them as the gospel truth about the likely outcomes. Rather, you should prioritise the campaign as the environment can change significantly to shift public opinion. Remember that door to door campaigns, if done on a sufficient scale, cost less and can produce better information and provide more profile for you than polls.

Public opinion plays an important role in political campaigns. However, only the largest campaigns have the necessary funds to conduct their own research or to hire a non-partisan research company. The decision to conduct research for the purpose of a political campaign should be made early so as to contract a research company, if necessary, and to design the research project in time to incorporate the findings into the campaign message and plan. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that public opinion research will never be a substitute for building a field operation that enables the campaign to identify and mobilize a candidate's likely voters directly or a local party infrastructure capable of engaging citizens in-between elections.

A poll is only as good as its sample. In order to accurately poll every location or sub-location in a constituency, a large sample may be required. Campaigns that are considering conducting their own research should bear this in mind and ensure in advance that the results will be worth having. Second, they need to budget for the pollster's fees, be clear on the pollster's job description and negotiate the price before engaging the pollster.

In addition to public polls, candidates and parties should explore less expensive ways of gathering information, including the use of small focus group discussions. You can also rely on data from credible sources, including government statistics and research by non-partisan groups.

3.3.2 Planning

a) Elements of a Campaign Plan

A plan is the written blue-print to victory and is informed by research. It is the tool that defines the activities supporting the strategy to win, while the strategy is the set of objectives whose achievement maximizes the ability to win. The plan is the campaign's management tool, keeps the campaign on track and provides quantifiable means of measuring progress.

Irrespective of the resources at their disposal, all political campaigns need campaign plans that reflect a realistic allocation of resources. There is no point designing a plan that cannot be implemented. This necessitates a clear setting of measurable goals and targets. The campaign plan must be adaptable to changing circumstances. It is therefore a good idea to revise the plan as things evolve. The basic elements of a campaign plan are:

- 1. Campaign Structure.
- 2. Voter Analysis.
- 3. Budget.
- 4. Campaign Calendar.
- 5. Fundraising Plan.
- 6. Campaign Message.
- 7. Communications Plan.
- 8. Coalition Plan.
- 9. Field Plan/Voter Outreach.
- 10. Get out the Vote Plan.
- 11. Election Day Plan.

b) The Campaign Structure

Building the campaign team structure and defining the roles and responsibilities of team members is a crucial step. Deciding who to hire and when should correspond to the campaign plan, needs of the campaign and available resources. It must be decided which staff members will be paid. As a general rule, it is counter-productive to build a larger team than needed. Efficiency, discipline, and perseverance are important qualities in campaign workers. Figure 1 below summarises the composition of a campaign team.

Figure 1: The Campaign Team Structure



Table 9: Functions of Campaign Team Members

SN	Member	Functions
1	Candidate	 Persuade as many potential voters as possible. Meet and motivate volunteers. Raise funds. Does NOT manage the campaign.
2	Campaign Manager	 Responsible for every aspect of the campaign. Must be able to say "No" to the candidate. Advise and manage staff and volunteers. Has firm grasp of budgeting and regulations. Liaise with the Election Preparation Committee.
3	Finance Director	 Responsible for fundraising strategy and implementation. Prepare necessary financial report. Collect money and account for it.
4	Office Manager	 Usually a volunteer. Answer phone at the office. Coordinate office volunteers. Keep office supplies stocked. Keep contacts updated. Handle visitors to the office.
5	Voter Contact Coordinator	 Manage voter contact activities. Coordinate canvassing. Act as event organizer. Create and track number targets and keep good records.
6	Scheduler	 Paid position on large campaign but volunteer on smaller campaign. Research events attended by candidate. Work closely with campaign manager.
7	Communications Director	 Responsible for all communications. Speak on behalf of the campaign. Respond to press inquiries. Write and design campaign materials. Write and distribute press releases. Draft and contribute to speeches. Schedule and negotiate interviews. Develop media strategy.
8	Database Manager	Maintain voter contact database.Produce required lists and reports.
9	Election Day Director	Plan and manage logistics related to getting voters to the polls.
10	Treasurer	 Usually a volunteer. Submit and track financial report. Assist in financial disclosure.

Depending on the size and intensity of the campaign, it is possible to build a team around the candidate and the campaign manager. But it is the manager's responsibility to ensure that the fundamental tasks are completed. **REMEMBER WHERE RESOURCES ARE SCARCE, MORE THAN ONE FUNCTION CAN BE ASSIGNED TO AN INDIVIDUAL.** Once the team is assembled, it is worth organizing a strategic session to lay out the campaign plan and address any concerns and questions.

It is important to remember that the EPC and the campaign committee are different. The EPC helps to make the initial exploration, analysis and preparation before a decision is made to commence the campaigns. Once the campaigns begin, the EPC dissolves or its tasks are taken over by the campaign committee. Some members of the EPC can transit to the campaign committee.

c) Finding a Role for the Candidate's Family

Many candidates are supported by family members. This can be particularly useful on Election Day to motivate electors to go out to vote. Sometimes family members play the role of confidants, but they may be unable to provide the kind of blunt constructive criticism needed to address a candidate's mistakes. It is important to ensure that the opinions of family members do not conflict with those of the campaign manager. The latter must maintain due authority.

d) Undertaking Door to Door Campaign

Every campaign has a finite amount of resources and time. It is therefore important to choose the most effective strategy for reaching voters in your campaign process. The most effective and cost-effective means is a door to door campaign. Volunteers should be recruited to help in door to door campaigns. Winning an election requires a specific share of the total number of eligible votes. Through systematic fact-based analysis and informed decision-making, you can determine the number of votes you require to be able to win an election. This should help you target the reach of your door to door campaign.

Determining how many votes are needed to win is the first step towards developing the targeting goal. How to reach that number of supporters and persuade them to vote for you is the first priority of the campaign. In most circumstances, it is possible to identify three types of voters:

- 1. **Supporters:** These are voters who will always support you as long as they get out and vote on election Day. It is important to motivate a high voter turnout among this category.
- 2. **Potential voters:** These are people who have not made their choice yet. The campaign should persuade them to select you through effective messages.
- 3. **Opponent supporters:** These are people who vote for your adversary. Most of them cannot be persuaded and so it is a waste of time bothering with them.

Table 10: Targeting Voters

T	PARTISANSHIP							
U R		Always Vote For You	Swing Voters	Always Vote For Them				
N	Always Vote	С	D	В				
0	Sometimes Vote	E	F	В				
T	Never Vote	A	A	A – B				

Based on the analysis, you may target or not target the voters using the following key.

1. Don't target:

- People who will never vote (A).
- People who will always vote for your adversary (B).
- People who always vote and always vote for you (C).

2. Target:

- Swing voters who always vote for persuasion (D).
- Your supporters who only vote sometimes for election day (E).
- Swing voters who only vote sometimes secondary persuasion (F).

Generally, door-to-door canvassers should be trained, fed, transported and thanked. Each should be provided with the following tools and materials: script, map, voter list, pen/pencil, campaign literature, drinking water, snack and identity. The campaign manager briefs the teams at a specific time and location. The following briefs can be adapted as need be.

- The goal: To canvass homes in a polling station area with a known concentration of undecided or swing voters to tell them about the candidate, give them campaign literature, and answer their questions about the candidate.
- **Setting targets:** Volunteers should aim not to speak to individual voters for more than 3-4 minutes but they should also not appear to be in a hurry.
- How to do it: The kit contains the following:
 - * The voter's list: This is used to track how many voters are in the households visited. The person who opens the door provides this information after the volunteers have introduced themselves and posed the question.
 - Tally sheet: This is used to keep track of the contact with voters living at different addresses, their feelings about the candidate and if they need more information.
 - Volunteer badge: All volunteers wear badges indicating that they are working for the candidate and his campaign team.
 - Candidate briefing sheet: This is a synopsis about the candidate, his/her relevant experience, and stand on issues affecting the constituency. Volunteers should be familiar with this information but not shy away from referring to the sheet for accuracy. As a rule, a volunteer who doesn't know the answer to a question should not try to answer it. The best thing to do is to note it down for follow-up

- by someone better informed.
- * Campaign materials: Each voter should be given one.
- * The report: Volunteers should return all of their materials to the campaign manager or the person coordinating the door-to-door activity after the exercise. This is also an opportunity to debrief and share what voters are saying and feeling about the candidate. This information will help re-engineer the campaign accordingly.
- What to say: Although a script is given, each volunteer should convey it in his/her own
 words. The more natural the conversation, the better. A friendly personal connection is
 more likely to earn the voter's trust and support. The following examples of steps may be
 followed.

Sample Script

1.	Identification : "Hello My name is, and I'm a volunteer for (candidate), who is running for (position) May I speak with you for a moment?"
2.	Introduce the candidate: "We're helping (candidate) because (candidate) is an honest candidate with a good record of helping this community. We think (candidate) is one of the few candidates we can trust to represent our interests effectively."
3.	Asking the question: "We're conducting a person-to-person campaign because (candidate) wants to make sure the people know where (candidate) stands on all the issues. Is there a particular issue you're concerned about – or any question you'd like to ask?"
4.	Offer campaign literature: "Have you made up your mind about the election, (name of voter)? [If yes, determine preference and conclude conversation appropriately. If no, continue.]". "I'd like to leave this brochure with you to tell you more about (candidate) Please consider voting for (candidate) on election day (candidate) will be a great representative. Thanks for your time.

e) Calculating the Campaign Goal

Using researched information and rational judgment, it is possible to calculate as closely as possible the number of votes necessary to win the election. The following questions and example below act as guidelines:

Table 11: Campaign Goal Calculation – An Illustration

SN	Question	Example
1	How many people (not just voters) live in your constituency?	150,000
2	How many of these people are able to vote in this election?	Eligible voters(18 years and above who are registered as voters: 120,000 Non-Voters(those below 18 years and non-registered: 30,000
3	What percentage of these voters do you expect to vote in this election?	Turnout during the last elections: 50% The same turnout is expected.
4	How many expected voters is this in real numbers?	60,000 votes.
5	How many candidates will be running for this position?	6
6	How many of these candidates could be considered serious?	4
7	If elections were held today, what percentage of the vote do you think each candidate would receive?	In the last elections, the winning candidate received 35% of the vote (21,000 votes).
8	What percentage of the votes cast will be needed to win?	Similar margin expected.
9	How many votes cast in real numbers are needed to win?	Similar numbers.
10	On average, how many voters live in one household?	Approximately 3 voters per household
11	Do these voters living in the same household all tend to vote for the same candidate?	Mainly
12	If yes, how many households will you need to receive the support of to guarantee victory?	7 000 households
13	If you talk to ten average voters, how many can you persuade to vote for you?	If we take an average of 7 out of 10 people are persuaded, this should yield 30,000 people or 10,000 households.
14	How many households will you need to communicate with for your message to reach enough voters to achieve victory?	9000

Since only a fraction of the people that the campaign will contact through its activities will be persuaded, it is best to overestimate the number of targeted voters.

f) Developing a Campaign Plan and Calendar

Campaigns require a high level of organization to bear maximum results. There are two main time planning tools: the campaign plan and the candidate's schedule. The campaign plan remains the central coordinating and monitoring tool while the candidate's schedule provides essential details about the candidate's activities and daily movements. Both should be guarded carefully, as prior knowledge of a candidate's whereabouts and activities can be used counter-productively by the opponents.

The campaign plan can be divided into the campaign's fundamentals and related actions. It can also be organized in a calendar format. Ideally, the calendar should be organized according to the days left before voting. For instance, if there are 7 days left, the day should be

labelled E – 7 (Election Day minus 7 days). The calendar date is indicated to avoid scheduling confusion. Below is a template for developing a campaign calendar.

Table 12: Campaign Calendar Template

	E-34	E-33	E-32	E-31	E-30	E-29	E-28
Theme	Education Discussions						
Visibility	Meeting with KNUT officials						
Communication	Radio Interview						
Fundraising	Lunch With local businessmen						
Identification	-						
	E-27	E-26	E-25	E-24	E-23	E-22	E-21
Visibility							
Communication							
Fundraising							
Identification							
	E-20	E-19	E-18	E-17	E-16	E-15	E-14
Visibility							
Communication							
Fundraising							
Identification							
	E-13	E-12	E-11	E-10	E-9	E-8	E -7
Visibility							
Communication							
Fundraising							
Identification							
	E-6	E-5	E-4	E-3	E-2	E-1	E-Day
Visibility							
Communication							
Fundraising							
Identification							

Often, campaign teams tend to focus on the beginning of the campaign period and omit to schedule events in the last week running up to Election Day. Yet it is crucial to stress that voters often only make their decision a few days before polling day. This is when the campaign needs to reach its climax with larger scale events such as rallies and intensified voter contact activities like door-to-door campaigns. All supporters, volunteers and sympathizers should participate in these activities.

g) Financing a Political Campaign

Fundraising should be high on any campaign's priority list and planning should begin well ahead of the election campaign. All campaign plans should have a budget, including a fundraising plan that is consistent with Kenyan rules and regulations. The country's Constitution gives IEBC the power to regulate campaign financing while the Political Parties Act makes it an offence to receive money from foreigners and from non-governmental organisations. In addition, there are efforts to develop campaign finance legislation. The Draft Law requires the setting of campaign expenditure limits and disclosure of sources of funds and expenses. As a candidate you will be required to open an account of money that you will use for the campaigns, keep detailed records of donations and expenses and file financial reports with IEBC as required by law. You should, therefore, take into account the contents of this law when undertaking fundraising for elections since going against them is an offence and can result in one being disqualified from contesting.

The fundraising plan should be realistic, targeted and based on informed assumptions. It should anticipate every expenditure related to every single campaign activity. This includes fuel costs to transport volunteers, credit for mobile phones used by campaign staff and paper for printing campaign literature. Only with these details in mind is it possible to know how much money should be raised. As with other campaign planning documents, the fundraising plan must be able to respond to changes in the environment.

Candidates tend to have high expectations of support from their party. But they are often disappointed if the expectations are not well managed. It is, therefore, crucial to set and communicate these expectations early. Candidates should not shy away from asking for financial support for their local campaign.

h) Developing a Campaign Budget

Most campaign budgets will contain the items described below.

- Salaries: These are scheduled payments for full time and part time staff, as well
 as consultants.
- Administration: These costs cover rent, communication, equipment, supplies and utilities and services.
- **Persuasion:** This element covers paid advertisements, publicity materials, correspondence to solicit support, invitations to campaign events etc.
- Field: These include costs associated with managing volunteers, transportation, public rallies, door-to-door activities, and production of signs and basic campaign literature.
- **Media:** These relate media related expenses including the cost of materials produced for briefings and dissemination purposes e.g. renting equipment and space for a press conference, adverts.
- **Fundraising:** This is money used to raise money e.g. organising fund raising dinners and raffles.
- **Agents:** The money to pay agents is invariably a huge part of acampaign expenditure.

As a general rule, campaigns should expect costs to exceed estimates by approximately 15%.

It is important that overhead costs, or ongoing administrative expenditures, do not exceed 5% of total costs. The bulk of the budget should go directly to voter contact and communication to raise the visibility of the campaign and its message. The budget should be done as early as possible and estimates should be constantly revised according to fundraising outcomes. Cost projections for different services may need to be revised and money reallocated. Below is a budgeting template.

Table 13: Campaign Budget Template

Budget Category	No. Units	Amount	Subtotal	Total	Pre- campaign (Month 1)	Pre- campaign (Month 2)	Campaign
ADMINISTRATIVE							
A. Office Rent and Utilities							
1. Rent							
2. Utilities							
3. Insurance							
Subtotal (A)							
B. Office Supplies							
1. General supplies							
2. Letterhead/ envelopes	4000	5	20,000				
Subtotal (B)							
C. Office Equipment							
1. Desktop computers	2	80,000	160,000				
2. Printer							
3. Phones (landlines)							
4. Phones (mobile)							
4. Phone credit							
5. Software for computers							
6. Digital camera rental							
7. Fax machine							
8. Photocopier							
9. Office furniture							
10. Internet fees							
Subtotal (C)							
D. Salaries							
1.Staff Salaries							

2.Volunteer allowances and transport				
Subtotal (D)				
E: Transport and Publicity				
1.Vehicle Hire				
2.Vehicle Repair				
3.Fuel				
4. Media expenses				
Subtotal (E)				
F: Voter Contacts				
1. Publicity materials(posters, t-shirts, flyers, etc				
2. Refreshments				
3. Permits				
Subtotal (F)				
GRAND TOTAL (A+B+C+D+E+F)				

The budget must reflect the campaign plan. Each item listed must be costed. The budget, therefore, requires a frank assessment of the campaign's fundraising potential. The fundraising estimates must be realistic and take into account both the strengths and weaknesses of the candidate and the campaign.

i) Identifying and Approaching Potential Donors

Developing a fundraising strategy is not always easy. It is not always obvious to know who and how to approach people beyond the candidate and the campaign's immediate circle of friends and acquaintances. In theory, all known supporters and likely supporters should be asked to donate money for the campaign, if their financial situation allows it.

Approaching potential donors requires a careful approach. Donors seldom give without being asked or being given a reason. The fundraising plan should, therefore, define how each potential donor group will be motivated to give. The following list of questions should be defined for each potential donor group:

- What would motivate this group to give?
- What messages will be conveyed to them?
- What tools will be used to solicit donors?
- How much is each group expected to give or rise?
- Who will solicit the donors?
- What are the necessary steps to cultivate them?
- What is their connection to the campaign and the candidate?

There are numerous methods that can be used to solicit funds. They include personal appeals, events, direct mail, the internet and telemarketing. As a rule, the closer a potential donor is to the candidate, the less time it should take to raise funds. Candidates should be encouraged to go through their personal list of contacts as a starting point. Allies and prominent members of the community can also be asked to do the same on the candidate's behalf.

Donors that give larger sums often expect some kind of recognition and an opportunity to rub shoulders with the candidate, especially if he/she is a well-known figure in the community. Fundraising events, such as pay by the plate dinners, can be organized specifically for this category of donors. Other types of affluent associations or community groups, such as doctors, businesspersons and lawyers, can also be invited to thematic events. As a candidate, you should be prepared to address such audiences and excite their interests. Such events can be organized in the pre-campaign period. Remember that convinced donors are likely to donate repeatedly during the campaign. Because the fundraising plan is developed according to the campaign budget, it should be possible to quantify the fundraising request. Donors will more likely give if they are given a concrete idea of how their funds will be spent or what campaign activity they might be able to contribute to. It is the responsibility of the campaign manager and fundraising coordinator to ensure that they keep track of who has been contacted. This list is very important for later acknowledgement and thanking of the donors.

As you solicit for funds, you should avoid donations with political strings attached as these are the kind of funds that come to you with corrupt intentions. In any case, these kinds of donations are illegal and can land you in the wrong hands of the law in Kenya.

3.3.3 Organizing

a) Overview

There is a tendency to move straight to the execution phase once the campaign plan has been developed. This is a mistake which neglects the organizational steps required to realize the campaign's effectiveness. The campaign may have located polling stations where it needs to obtain the votes of potential supporters. A decision may have been made to go door-to-door in this specific area in order to persuade this target audience. Certain aspects from the candidate's experience and policies related to concerns in that area have been singled out. But what is needed to go door-to-door? How do we know where registered voters live? What is the sequence of steps that need to occur to go door knocking in a structured manner? Are there materials and forms required to operationalize the campaign and its activities? How many people and time are realistically needed to accomplish a given task? What system should be put in place so that results of planned activities can be collected? The campaign manager will need to work with each member of the team to ascertain that these questions have been diligently thought out.

b) Establishing the Voter Contact Database

Undertaking voter identification and outreach requires a system to collect the information that is gathered through different campaigning methods. In an ideal scenario, a campaign will have access to software that enables it to create individual voter files for each person that is contacted during the campaign. Sophisticated software is not necessarily needed. A computer with sufficient memory and an Excel spreadsheet suffices to create a basic voter contact database. But no matter which method is adopted, safeguards should be put in place

to protect the data that inform strategic campaign decisions. Ease of use and the ability to generate desired output in a particular format should prevail over sophisticated analytical potential and complicated search options. Forms are developed to collect information, which corresponds to the fields of the database. The goal is to track the campaign's supporters and potential supporters.

Voter Contact Database fields:

- 1. Accurate phone numbers
- 2. Accurate addresses
- 3. Email addresses
- 4. Names of registered voters
- 5. Codification of each voter living in the household.
- 6. Age
- 7. Gender
- 8. Party affiliation, if any
- 9. Issues of importance to the voter
- 10. Previous contact with the voter
- 11. Voter's previous voting history, if known

c) Recruiting and Working with Volunteers

Campaigns with significant field operations increase their ability to persuade more voters. Different people get involved for different reasons. Un-paid volunteers are the most effective because they convey a greater sense of purpose and integrity. Some volunteers believe in the party. Others simply want to be with other people. Some care about a particular issue, or know and like the candidate. The campaign team should identify the motives that may encourage supporters and friends to contribute some time to the campaign. Volunteers may be identified through:

- Contact books (previous workers, local constituency members)
- Friends and relatives of the candidate
- · Friends of campaign staff
- · Voters recruited when going door-to-door
- Public events
- Local community groups where volunteers are active
- Walk-ins (people who choose to visit the campaign office, or designated space, without a meeting)

Ideally, people who have shown more than just support in previous elections should be given a role in the following campaign. If a voter expressed interest in the candidate at the doorstep and wanted to receive a leaflet, then perhaps such a voter can do a bit of volunteering too.

Before asking for help, it is important to identify a list of roles the volunteer can play in the campaign. The worst thing is to have an idle volunteer. Here is a list of tasks that volunteers can accomplish during the campaign:

- Office tasks: answering calls, photocopying, sticking labels on envelops, etc.
- Information technology tasks: updating databases, keying in data, designing communication materials etc
- Telephone canvassing: making a series of calls based on lists of targeted voters
- Putting up leaflets and signs
- Door-to-door canvassing
- Performing Election Day tasks.

Not all volunteers are comfortable doing all of these tasks. Nor should they feel pressured to do so. Some tasks, such as leafleting and door-to-door canvassing, are more suitable for people with greater mobility. It is important that every volunteer is clear about the task they are being asked to perform.

A volunteer must be made to feel valued and appreciated. Motivating volunteers is crucial to maintain morale, enthusiasm and engagement. Here are some ideas to consider.

- Keep a friendly, clean, and respectful working environment
- Provide beverages, snacks, and access to facilities
- Give clear instructions and goals (opening hours, task steps, importance of contribution)
- Don't waste volunteers' time! Always have something for them to do
- Take photos of volunteers in action and display them in the campaign office
- Thank volunteers after completing their tasks and when they are checking out for the day
- Create opportunities for the candidate to interact with and thank volunteers
- Organise group events such as parties and bonding sessions. If the candidate wins, the victory party should include volunteers and be used to thank them

Note: Volunteers are, as a rule, not included in strategic decision making and should not be privy to sensitive information. This can act as a distraction from their assigned tasks and the overall performance of the campaign.

d) Organizing Campaign Events

The campaign team may wish to organize small or medium size events to bring together supporters and potential voters who may wish to learn more about the candidate and the solutions that he or she is advocating. In such events, the candidate should not be the focus. It is also an opportunity to identify and persuade potential supporters, recruit new members and volunteers, and raise funds. All campaign events should be organized with a purpose and given a theme that fits within the campaign plan. Here is a checklist for organizing a successful campaign event:

- Select an issue relevant to the local community.
- Invite people who would directly benefit/be interested in the issue. For example,
 if the issue is education, invitees should be members of school boards, teachers
 and parents
- Research on the issue and present credible information

- Send invitations several days in advance through different mediums
- Book a venue in advance (make sure it is not too big or too small)
- Have a registration form for participants at the entrance
- Organise for someone to greet and welcome guests at the entrance
- Prepare a press release and try to secure media involvement, if relevant
- Get a local opinion leader to answer questions and support the candidate's position
- Have someone else rather than the candidate facilitate the discussion as the candidate will be answering questions. Make sure this an experienced facilitator who can involve as many people as possible in the discussion
- Take the opportunity to publicise the candidate through materials such as fliers, stickers and posters
- Have someone take notes
- Have several volunteer and donation forms and someone to register those who would like to join the campaign
- · Keep the event positive and focused on the purpose

e) The Candidate's Daily Schedule

In medium and large size campaigns, the candidate's time requires a separate schedule to coordinate different engagements on a daily basis. The campaign manager and scheduler should prepare this. Time must be set aside to brief the candidate before campaign events. The campaign team should refer to the candidate's scheduler for guidance. The scheduler ensures that the candidate is on time for different appointments, and finds time to eat and rest. Some basic scheduling principles to be respected include the following:

- · Control the image of the candidate at all time
- Know where the campaign is going
- · Assume that the candidate is on record all the time
- Ensure there is only one candidate's schedule
- Stay informed

Below is a sample candidate's schedule. It includes start times for different commitments, the type of activity, location, notes on the circumstances and purpose of the scheduled item. Note that the candidate's time is accounted for even if he or she is not appearing in public.

Table 14: Sample Candidate Schedule

Time	Activity	Notes
07:30 am	Visit to Masumbuko Factory.	20 minutes to greet workers arriving at work. Will be accompanied by 4-5 volunteers to deliver leaflets. The media likely to be present.
08:50 am	Depart Masumbuko Factory to Mteremko FM Radio Station.	40 minutes in traffic. Radio calls en route. None of these calls are live. ALL are to raise interest in candidate's schedule tomorrow. Brief candidate on talking points for the radio show.

09:30 am	Arrive at Mteremko FM Radio Station. Contact Alice Hassan, radio researcher. Tel.: 020 79 534 2345 Meet radio host assistant	The live radio show starts at 09:45 and lasts 15 minutes. Candidates from other parties have confirmed their presence. As the incumbent, the candidate will speak first. The show to focus on local issues and campaign priorities.		
10:00 am	Depart for Nairobi Chamber of Commerce	30 minutes drive. Speech starts at 11:30. See briefing book for draft. Review speech en route.		

3.3.4 Execution and Monitoring

a) Starting on the Right Foot

After months of preparation, planning, and, above all, much anticipation, the campaign has finally begun. The campaign's goal is clear, methods to reach audiences have been laid-out, the campaign team has been recruited, roles have been divided, the candidate is ready and all logistics are in place. At the centre of all the excitement is the campaign manager who must keep the team together, disciplined and motivated.

To guide the execution, the campaign manager will need to put in place an effective information and communication system to ensure maximum coordination among team members. Although there are many uncertainties in a campaign, there are many ways to make the process more predictable and smooth. The following are some steps that can be taken at the onset:

- Set aside a single telephone number for the campaign office
- Reserve bulletin boards to post messages and announcements for volunteers and campaign staff
- Store campaign materials in a designated place and make them available for visitors
- Create and disseminate a list of campaign staff email addresses and telephone numbers
- Pay telephone fees in advance to avoid a breakdown in communication
- Schedule regular meetings with campaign staff and only change under the most serious circumstances
- Print and stock ample supply of forms and other materials
- Allocate campaign staff members specific working space
- Clarify internal communication lines and decision-making responsibilities. For example: who answers the phone, signs off on which decisions, needs to know what, ensures that signs are delivered to voters, talks to the media and is responsible for the candidate's schedule?

b) Internal Communication

Communication by email should be limited since it is prone to delivery mistakes, especially under stressful circumstances. Emails containing sensitive information or opinions can be shared with unintended recipients by accident and leaked to the media. As a rule, members

of the campaign team should not put in writing anything that could be leaked to the media. It is better to call or talk in person.

The campaign manager can choose to write directives to communicate instructions to members of the campaign team. They should be concise, clearly formatted, and in simple language. A clear division of labor should be established. Horizontal communication mechanisms should also be established for constant flow of information, focus and motivation. Successes should be recognized and appreciated. Regular morning check-ins helps to prioritize the day's tasks in coordination with others. The meetings should be short, preferably less than 30 minutes. Absences should be communicated directly to the campaign manager. Below is a sample agenda for a morning campaign team meeting:

- Visibility Check-Up: Each team member shares one item of information about the candidate's performance in the campaign; this can be expanded to identification of opportunities and threats.
- ii. **Successes:** The campaign manager shares a positive result or achievement of the campaign e.g. rousing speech by candidate, funds raised, progress with voter contact numbers, outstanding volunteer actions etc.
- iii. **Day's Campaign Activities Today:** Three priorities (that can be realistically completed during the course of one day).
- iv. **Announcements/Closure:** Important messages from the candidate, motivation for the day and announcement of next meeting.

A candidate may occasionally want to brief members of the campaign team when significant developments occur or are anticipated. But the candidate should not attend daily meetings of the campaign team. It is useful, however, for the candidate to pass by the campaign office at the end of the campaign day to motivate volunteers and stay abreast of voter contact progress.

c) Quick Responses

In a fast paced media environment where erroneous news can travel quickly and be crystallized in the public's perception, the campaign team should be ready to offer swift responses. The campaign manager should be consulted before any public statements are made unless otherwise instructed.

The campaign team should also be ready to respond to attacks or erroneous statements by opponents. The communication coordinator and the campaign manager should monitor these and issue rebuttals. Awareness of new social media is essential. Fact checks should be conducted within minutes, and not hours, of the original statement release. The candidate must be briefed if the campaign is being attacked. The campaign manager should be in touch with the scheduler to determine the most appropriate opportunity to respond publicly. However, do not allow attacks on your campaigns to distract you from preventing your own message/policies.

3.3.5 Election Day

(a) Quick Responses

Successful campaigns should translate to votes on Election Day. The scale of activities on

Election Day is determined by the laws of the country, the size of the electoral unit and the resources at your disposal. In Kenya it is illegal to campaign on Election Day or to transport voters to the polling station. This will impact on your strategies for ensuring that voters get out to vote for you on election day.

The work on Election Day will typically revolve around:

- Having agents in all polling stations
- Marinating contacts with agents
- Monitoring voter turnout throughout the day
- Monitoring developments within the constituency
- Liaising with campaign team, election officials and security officials to ensure everything proceeds smoothly
- Being present at the closing, counting and tallying of results.

You will need several categories of people on Election Day. The most important are agents.

(b) Role of Agents in an Election

As a candidate, you cannot be at every polling station within the constituency at the same time. The law allows you to have an agent at each of these stations to represent you and your interests. If you are a party candidate, your party may also have its agents. The duty of your agent is to defend your votes through legal means to ensure that they are secure and get counted. It is, therefore, important that you identify qualified and competent people as agents, and have them trained well on election rules and procedures and their role in the election process. You should also budget for payments for agents. Please also make arrangements so that your agents report to their respective polling stations before the opening time, which is 6.00 a.m. You should maintain contact with them throughout the Election Day and set up a small team to receive and analyze their reports and keep you updated on the voting/tallying process.

Notes