

# SOUTHERN AFRICA POLITICAL PARTIES AND DIALOGUE PROGRAM CURRICULUM

Developed by Shalestone Elections  
and Governance Consultants





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## Foreword

Contemporary representative democracy requires intermediary actors between the state and society as well as institutional mechanisms for the articulation of diverse views and policy preferences. Although there are a number of actors that can connect the people to the state, the centrality of political parties cannot be overemphasised. Indeed, political parties are so fundamental to the operation of modern politics that their role and significance are often taken for granted. Political parties are the main vehicle for political representation, the primary mechanism for the organisation of government and an important channel for maintaining democratic accountability.

Paradoxically, while political parties occupy a central place in contemporary democracies as they shape the political and public life in society, we also are pretty aware that there is no formal training for one to be in politics. This sounds like a contradiction. We expect so much from political parties and politicians and yet very little is done to better prepare these actors for them to ably and effectively deliver on societal expectations.

The Southern Africa Political Parties and Dialogue (SAPP&D) Program seeks to address this gap. The program aims at building the capacity of political parties in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Zambia as well as relevant actors in eSwatini to better respond to and represent the needs of society. This is done through a wide range of evidence-based and demand-driven capacity-building initiatives which largely take the form of training workshops, dialogue sessions and learning events for political parties, either bilaterally (party specific) or in a cross-party set-up. To ensure that such training workshops address the real needs of the parties, a capacity assessment of a selected number of political parties in the program countries was undertaken as part of the inception phase of the program with the exception of eSwatini (where the program is not yet targeting political parties) and in Angola (where the program only started in June 2020). Based on the outcome of this assessment, a number of areas meriting capacity building were identified.

The SAPP&D Program is committed to ensuring that its capacity-building initiatives are not only need-based, but they are also systematic, comprehensive, sustainable, and professionally delivered. It is for this reason that the program developed this curriculum for training of political parties. The themes covered in each module reflect the priority areas that need to be addressed if political parties are to be equipped with the relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes that allow them to become effective players in the advancement of democracy and development. Each training module has two important reference documents:

- a) The Facilitator's Handbook (FH) which serves as a guide for the facilitator to deliver the given module. The FH also provides the facilitator with some key reference and training materials that he/she can use (in their current form or in their own customised format).
- b) The Participant's Handbook (PH). This, as the name suggests, is a reference document for participants. It has the key documents that a participant will need to use during and after the training.

One of the biggest mistakes that is often made in the field of political party strengthening is the assumption that anyone can be a facilitator/trainer. This assumption, unfortunately, results in a number of capacity-building initiatives that are often poorly delivered and – unsurprisingly – have little impact. With this in mind, the program has in addition to developing the aforementioned FH and the PH – also developed a “Training of Trainers Manual” (ToT Manual). This manual provides guidance on how to apply the methodology underpinning the various training interventions. Facilitators are therefore expected to apply the required methodology to build the capacity of political parties to become more knowledgeable and better skilled in managing their parties and in strengthening democracy in their context. The ToT Manual also offers practical facilitation tips on how to best engage with participants on the series of manuals comprising this capacity-building initiative as well as how to deal with a number of scenarios that emerge during the learning process.



On behalf of Democracy Works Foundation and Freedom House, I would like to take this opportunity to thank Shalestone Elections and Governance Consultants who were tasked with the responsibility of developing this curriculum and all the accompanying resources. I would also like to extend gratitude to all those who played various roles in the process and without whose cooperation and commitment it would not have been possible to have this curriculum. The curriculum was made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Southern Africa. The views expressed herein are however NOT those of USAID. Rather, they are solely the views and expressions of our independent experts and/or those who were consulted as part of the development of this capacity-building initiative.

**Dr. Augustine Magolowondo**

Chief of Party

DWF/Southern Africa Political Parties and Dialogue Program

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## Note to facilitators: How to use each Module of the curriculum

The Southern Africa Political Parties and Dialogue Program curriculum is made up of 11 Modules. Each Module is designed to support the facilitator to ensure effective learning. The Modules are developed around the principles of adult learning, which essentially breaks down concepts into digestible elements that make it easy for the participants to grasp and apply. Each Module is targeted at ensuring that relevant knowledge on various concepts is imparted and adequately grasped by participants; skills are developed to be applied in their context; and attitudinal change is effected with regard to some key aspects that are discussed in the Module. It is the role of the facilitator to ensure these aims are achieved. Therefore the need for the facilitator to be adequately prepared to facilitate each Module is of paramount importance.

### Navigating each Module

- i. The title of each Module indicates the type of content to be covered. The facilitator will benefit from reading widely and being sufficiently familiar with that overall theme.
- ii. Each Module gives a step-by-step approach on how to facilitate the content. The facilitator must bear in mind that they are not trainers who simply impart or give a lecture to a passive audience. The facilitator is helping others to learn and facilitating their learning. As adult learners, participants will want to be involved in their own learning and take responsibility for this. Given the variation in learning styles of individuals,<sup>1</sup> the way each Module is broken down into activities allows for interactive learning, with the different methodologies taking into consideration the need to balance and appeal to the varying learning styles of the participants.
- iii. Each Module is guided by a main learning objective and a key understanding. While the key understanding reflects the boundary of the knowledge being imparted, the learning objective is what the participants are expected to have achieved, either at a knowledge, skills or attitudinal change level, from the curriculum. The facilitator must thoroughly understand both the key understanding and the learning objective, as this will guide her or him and ensure they do not deviate from the content. This has been carefully designed to achieve the learning objective and each learning objective is designed to achieve that key understanding. A summary of every Module is also provided to aid the facilitator gain a brief understanding of each Module.
- iv. Each Module is broken into various sub themes that make up the bigger Module theme or title. These sub themes have been placed into training sessions in a logical manner to ensure that one theme builds onto the other. The sub themes have been carefully chosen as the most relevant to the targeted audience. While a facilitator may be tempted to introduce other sub-themes related to the main theme it will be advisable to take into consideration the relevance of that new sub theme and how it enhances the rest of the course.
- v. Each sub theme's session is guided by a learning objective which outlines the aim of what should be achieved by the end of that session. The facilitator will do well in their preparation to be familiar with each specific learning objective and how this relates to the content suggested in the sub themes prior to facilitating each session.
- vi. As pointed out under point ii, a step-by-step approach on how to facilitate each section is given. The way the session is broken down denotes the methodology to be used to facilitate the session. This suggested methodology essentially breaks down a concept to make it easy to understand. Whilst the facilitator is encouraged to follow the guideline on the methodology suggested, the facilitator may in response to the participants' input and other considerations, such as time constraints, choose another suitable methodology

<sup>1</sup> Refer to the Facilitation Guide Handbook.



to impart the same message and achieve the stated learning objective. Facilitators must be mindful not to resort to the same methodology over and over again for convenience or due to dominant participants. The facilitator will do well to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the methodology being suggested in the sessions through adequate prior planning and practising before the actual training sessions. Being familiar with other methodologies<sup>2</sup> that could act as a substitute for the ones suggested in the curriculum is important as the facilitator may need to think on their feet and change their method in response to their audience.

- vii. The resources to be used to support the sessions are highlighted at the start of each Module. These resources are tools that the facilitator will need to support them in facilitating the session e.g. flip charts, markers, power point projector, etc. In the side bars are other resources such as documents that the participants will need to make reference too, notably handouts, power point presentations or videos. Moreover, the facilitator must be mindful that there is a participant's handbook that contains the necessary handouts to support the sessions being taught. The handbooks must be handed to participants at the start of the training, and the facilitator must guide the participants to the pages where they will find the handouts.
- viii. Often in the Module there is a Facilitator's note and a section titled, Make the point. These are points of emphasis that the facilitator must be aware of and refer to or that they must emphasise. The make the point comment helps the facilitator conclude a session.
- ix. Whilst the time frame for each session is not given, the sessions have been designed to be 45 minutes to an hour. In their preparation the facilitator must time their activities and allocate an appropriate time. S/he needs to be mindful that activities and sessions must not go on for too long as the essence of the learning may be lost. At the same time sessions must not be too short to provide adequate learning.
- x. Choosing and sequencing of sessions is important. The facilitator may not have adequate time to go through all the material in each Module. It will be up to the facilitator to be clear on what they want to achieve within the time they have and choose the appropriate material and sequence this logically such that there is a build-up on the learnings.
- xi. It is important to know if learning took place. For each learning objective, the facilitator will need to identify an assessment method to measure short-term learning outcomes. The assessment methods need to be practical, and take into account the available resources and scope of the learning intervention.
- xii. Finally, but most importantly, the facilitator must take time to PREPARE, PREPARE, PREPARE for the sessions way in advance as this will help him or her develop a full grasp of, and be comfortable with, the subject matter, the content in the each Module, and the methodology to be used. Preparation will also help the facilitator ensure they have all the tools and materials needed and anticipate any challenges that may occur and plan for the mitigation of these in advance.

We are confident that facilitators will find this curriculum useful for the mission of enhancing the capacities, skills and knowledge of political party leaders. The aim is to ensure the normalisation of needs-based policy development that contributes towards resilient and democratic political systems in Southern Africa.

Patience Zonge-Hwenha and Victor Shale

<sup>2</sup> Refer to the Facilitation Guide Handbook.





# **MODULE 1**

## **The Role of Political Parties**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT –

Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers

### Key understanding

Political parties are indispensable to a democracy. As a key democratic institution that serves a key function, parties must meet certain basic standards of operation, openness and accountability.

### Overall learning objective:

To chart potential strategies that parties can adopt to better fulfill their democratic roles and functions.

## Activity 1.1

### Understanding political parties: roles and functions

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe what a political party is;
- Describe the goal aggregation, socialization and representation functions of parties; and
- Engage in self-introspection on the roles and functions of political parties and whether their parties are fulfilling those roles or need to make improvements.

**Summary:** Political parties are organized bodies with a formal card-carrying membership. Their aim is to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties who are unlikely to win power may use elections to gain a platform). They typically focus on broad issues that address major areas of government policy. They are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.

**Step 1:** Icebreaker – play a game called Catching the Chicken.

#### Facilitator's note:

1. Ask for five volunteers from among the participants.
2. All volunteers must leave the training room.
3. Take aside one volunteer and, making sure than none of the others can hear what you are saying, instruct him or her to return to the training room and pretend to be trying to catch a chicken. They must not speak at all.
4. The volunteer who has been briefed enters the training room and acts out the instructions s/he was given. Remember, the volunteer may not speak.
5. After about 8 seconds call another volunteer back to the training room and instruct him or her to imitate what volunteer 1 is doing.
6. After another 8 seconds call in the 3rd volunteer to come in and imitate what both volunteers are doing.
7. Repeat the process until all volunteers are in the room and engaged in the game.
8. Stop the game and individually ask the volunteers what they thought they were doing. Start with the volunteer who entered the room last, and ask each volunteer in turn ending with volunteer 2. Then ask the participants who were observers what they thought volunteer 1 was doing?
9. Finally ask volunteer 1 to tell everyone what it was that they were doing.



10. Ask all participants, including the volunteers, if any got it right. If yes, ask them how they knew. Ask those who got it wrong why they were not able to identify what the volunteers were doing.
11. Discuss what lessons they have learned about their individual and collective understanding of the role of political parties?

**Step 2:** In plenary, ask participants to indicate if they think that political parties are important in a democracy. Take yes and no answers (2-4 responses). Ask participants who answered to justify their answers.

**Step 3:** In buzz groups of 2, participants are to brainstorm what they regard as political parties, then give feedback in a brief plenary. Allow for 5 minutes.

**Make the point:** A political party is defined as an organized group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected into public office. Political parties are often described as institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who decide and implement decisions. As such, they enable their members' and supporters' demands to be addressed in parliament and in government.

**Step 4:** In a brainstorming plenary session, ask participants to list the roles of political parties. Note the responses on the flip chart.

**Step 5:** Discuss political parties, particularly with reference to their following functions:

- Representation;
- Elite formation and recruitment;
- Goal formulation;
- Interest articulation and aggregation;
- Socialization and mobilization; and
- Organization of government.

Base this discussion on powerpoint presentations PPT 1.0: *Political Parties in Africa* and PPT 1.1: *Role of Political Parties*.

**Step 6:** In table groups, ask participants to reflect on the roles of the political parties present. The participants must then indicate whether their parties are performing the identified roles and consider the questions below:

- Which roles are they playing more often than others and which less often?
- What are the challenges that parties face in performing these roles?
- Which roles can they improve upon?

Capture their reflections on the flip chart.

**Step 7:** In plenary discussion, use the participant groups' feedback to augment the points you raised in the presentation and wind up the session with a summary of the key issues.

**Make the point:** Political parties are indispensable to democracy. The roles and functions that parties play, if well executed, support the consolidation of democracies.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 22 and 26 in the Resources.



## Activity 1.2

### Political party organization and structure

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe the importance of party structures at national, provincial, district, community and village level; and
- Describe party organization in terms of rules, procedures, decision-making and planning.

**Summary:** Well-structured, organized and inclusive parties which welcome traditionally excluded groups – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, and young people – are more likely to make optimal use of party resources and be more effective in their outreach programs.

**Step 1:** In buzz groups of 3, reflect on political parties and the use of party structures. Discussions should indicate:

- Why parties need structures;
- Whether their party has structures; and
- Whether these structures have powers to make decisions.

**Step 2:** Base this discussion on powerpoint presentation PPT 1.2: *Processes in Content Development and Political Programs: ANC Case Study*.

**Step 3:** In plenary, participants must discuss if they can identify with some of the structures in the presentation and whether similar structures in their parties perform the same functions as those in the ANC. If not, what is different?

**Make the point:** Most parties, the ANC included, continue to face challenges in institutionalizing accountable, transparent and visionary leadership that has the appropriate requisites for the inculcation of democratic culture and practice, both within the party and in the nation at large.

## Activity 1.3

### Leadership in political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Articulate the leadership skills, attributes and values that help build stronger parties.

**Summary:** Leadership organizationally and narrowly refers to the ability of an individual to influence, motivate and enable others to contribute to the effectiveness and success of the party. Organizationally, leadership directly impacts on the effectiveness of a political party, in revenue-generation skills, motivation and sustainability.

**Step 1:** Divide participants into 4 groups. Of these, 2 groups must address the first 2 questions below and the other 2 groups are to consider the last 2 questions.

- What is the role of leadership in political parties?
- What are the requisite leadership skills in political parties?
- What are the types of leadership styles that they are aware of; and
- How does each of the different leadership styles aid or undermine the party's development?

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 32 in the Resources.



**Step 2:** The groups share feedback in the plenary discussion.

**Step 3:** Divide the participants into groups and ask each to act out the different types of leadership styles identified in Step 1. The groups will be assigned a type of leadership which they must role play, demonstrating the **attributes** and **values** associated with that leadership style.

**Step 4:** Back in plenary, each group must role play its leadership character. The rest of the participants can act as party members, members of the opposition or ordinary citizens.

**Step 5:** In plenary, debrief the role plays and ask participants to identify:

- The leadership challenges often experienced in parties;
- The leadership values they see as lacking in their context; and
- How these challenges can be addressed to develop stronger parties – i.e. what must party leadership do more of or stop doing?

**Step 6:** Wind up the session with a short presentation that summarizes the key issues on leadership in political parties using PPT 1.3: *Leadership*.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 43 in the Resources.

## Activity 1.4(a)

### Management of internal party affairs

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain what is entailed in the management of business processes in party affairs on a day-to-day and a long-term basis.

**Summary:** Clear procedures, systems and structures are vital for a political party to be responsive to the needs of its constituents and the challenges of the competition during an election.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to brainstorm the internal systems their parties use to manage internal affairs. They should list the horizontal and vertical institutional arrangements. Capture their responses on the flip chart.

**Step 2:** Base this discussion on powerpoint presentation PPT 1.4: *Management of Internal Affairs*.

**Step 3:** Invite participants to role play some of the management styles used for the internal affairs of political parties.

**Step 4:** Following the role play, participants should debrief and indicate:

- How the management styles they played affect the functioning of parties; and
- What measures need to be taken to mitigate some of the prevalent negative behaviors in the management of internal party affairs?

**Step 5:** Make a summary of the key issues.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 46 in the Resources.



## Activity 1.4(b)

### Leadership selection, candidate nomination and mentorship

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the key principles as well as conventional methods of electing leadership and conducting mentorship; and
- Identify opportunities within their party to apply the principles of nomination and election to strengthen the democratic content of their party.

**Summary:** In order to add value to a democratic process such as an election, political parties ought to be democratic themselves in terms of their internal functioning and selection of leaders. The internal functioning of political parties regarding leadership selection and candidate nomination determines how the views and social demands of different groups are represented in parliament.

**Step 1:** In buzz groups of 2, ask participants to share their experiences of how candidates are nominated in their parties. They must indicate whether:

- There is an established nomination procedure for candidate and leadership selection;
- They have been directly involved in the nomination and selection processes; and
- What worked well and what didn't?

**Step 2:** Make the points that:

- The election of party leadership is as political as the organizations themselves;
- A political party can rise or fall on the basis of the nature and character of its leadership cadre;
- Leadership problems for many parties revolve around the election of leadership;
- In other words, democracy at both the macro-level of the nation and the micro-level of the party requires democrats and it is thus imperative for party leadership to embrace democratic culture and practice;
- One way of embracing democratic culture is through holding primary elections within the party;
- Primary elections form an important litmus test of the extent and degree of intra-party democracy;
- The process of nomination of party candidates often tends to be fraught with controversy and conflict due to the way it is executed by the party leadership;
- The following issues become crucial in terms of the legitimacy of the outcome of primary elections: eligibility criteria for party candidacy; election process and procedure for party candidacy; and the type of electoral system used to select party candidates;
- Problems around primary elections depend, *inter alia*, on whether the process emphasizes centralized leadership control or allows the party members to influence the selection process; and
- These problems are rife in almost all the countries in the region, irrespective of their electoral models. However, they are more common in countries that operate on a First-Past-The-Post electoral system, which easily allows candidates to contest elections in their independent capacity. The challenge revolves around the degree of openness when nominations for candidates are made.



## Activity 1.5

### Political party policy and participatory policy-making

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Articulate what policy is and explain the functions that a political party policy serves;
- Describe the (ideal) policy-making process that a party can adopt to develop sound policies that enjoy the support of a wide base of their members; and
- Develop strategies for engaging a wide spectrum of their members in the party policy-making process.

**Summary:** Policy-making is an integral part of the role of political parties. Policy and program development determines the effectiveness of parties, especially when it comes to mobilization of a support base and contestation for state power. How parties develop their policy positions by way of programs and manifestos is crucial. Therefore, the ability of parties to effectively carry out this role at party and national levels is critical.

**Step 1:** In groups, participants must discuss what is a policy and if political parties should be preoccupied with policy development.

**Step 2:** Allow for group feedback in the plenary discussion.

**Make the point:** A policy is a statement of intent that outlines the goals that a political party hopes to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them. In order for its policy to be achieved, a political party must be inclusive in its approach. Thus, it should ensure:

- That there is recruitment and promotion of women, youth and other marginalized groups within the party's organs, strategic leadership positions in the party and government, and as party candidates for public office at all levels; and
- That resources are dedicated to promoting gender parity.

**Step 3:** Deliver a presentation on party policy and participatory policy-making referring to powerpoint presentation PPT 1.5: *Political Party Policy & Participatory Policy Making*. At the end of the presentation, take questions and comments from the participants.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 48 in the Resources.

## Activity 1.6

### Linking party ideology/identity to policy

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the relevance of party ideology in informing party policies; and
- Draft a policy statement that is aligned to the party ideology.

**Summary:** Party policies that are guided by the party's ideology provide for a strong party identity and ideally make for a more focused approach in pursuing and carrying out the direction of party policy.



**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask the participants to explain what an ideology is and its importance and relevance to party activities. Note the responses on the flip chart and sum up what has emerged from participants, highlighting key aspects and characteristics of an ideology.

**Step 2:** Ask participants to name and explain their party's ideology. Note their responses on the flip chart and acknowledge the various parties that exist within their country.

**Step 3:** Deliver powerpoint presentation PPT 1.6: *Party Ideologies*. To assist participants use examples of parties that follow some of the ideologies mentioned. You can also cite policies of some of the parties for illustration purposes.

**Step 4:** Following the presentation, allocate participants to party groups. Ask the groups to reflect on the ideology they subscribe to. They must give examples of how their policies reflect the party ideology.

**Step 5:** Wind up the session with a summary of observations and key issues.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 51 in the Resources.

## Activity 1.7

### Research and training by political parties

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Articulate the value of using research-based evidence to influence the development policy agenda; and
- Identify the various credible research sources to access necessary policy informing data.

**Summary:** In the development of policy, parties need to base these on sound research.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session participants to discuss:

- Is research necessary for policy development?
- Justify their response.

**Make the point:** Conducting research on certain issues by a political party enables that party to address the problem through informed policies. Such research provides an indication of the importance with which the issue is regarded among the constituents. It also informs whether something has been done or if it needs to be changed or built upon.

**Step 2:** Pose the question: How do you do the research? Invite participants to share their own parties' experiences of research. Ask them which resource institutes or resources they have used in carrying out research to inform their policies.

**Step 3:** Give a short presentation on research and political parties from powerpoint presentation PPT 1.7: *Research and Training*.

**Step 4:** Finish off the session by providing participants with links to credible research sources on political party support and party financing.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 56 in the Resources.



## Activity 1.8

### Political party, parliament and development policy

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Show the relationships between and among elected representatives and other organs of the parties in policy agenda setting.

**Summary:** Coordinated policy-making processes strengthen the party and its influence in parliamentary policy debates and law-making.

**Step 1:** In groups, participants must draw a diagram to show the relationships between party, parliament and policy-development. They should mention how MPs from their parties contribute to policy-making. They should provide concrete examples of where their public representatives made contributions and whether those contributions resulted in action.

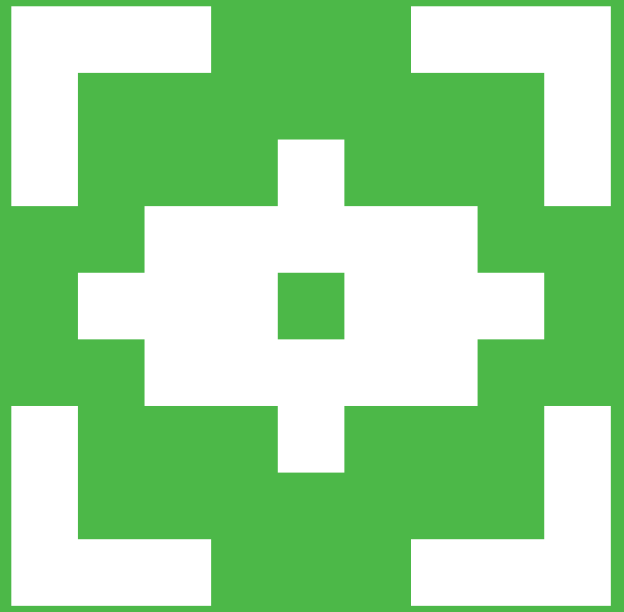
**Step 2:** The groups must present feedback in the plenary discussions.

**Step 3:** Make a presentation on the nexus between party, parliament and policy-making using powerpoint presentation PPT 1.8: *Political Party, Parliament and Development Policy*.

**Step 4:** Invite participants to engage with the presentation, take notes on key issues raised and provide responses accordingly.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 58 in the Resources.





# **MODULE 1**

## **The Role of Political Parties**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 1.1

### Understanding political parties: roles and functions

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Describe what a political party is;
- Describe the goal aggregation, socialization and representation functions of parties; and
- Engage in self-introspection on the roles and functions of political parties and whether your parties are fulfilling those roles or need to make improvements.

**Step 1:** You will play a game. The facilitator will give instructions on how to play. After the game, a debriefing will be held where you will offer your observations and the lessons that you learned from the game.

**Step 2:** Consider the following question and make notes of your thoughts in the space provided.

Are political parties at all important in a democracy? Justify your response. Contribute your ideas to the plenary discussion.

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**Step 3:** In buzz groups of 2 try to reach a joint understanding of the question below. Make notes of your thoughts in the space provided.

What is a political party?

Contribute your ideas to the plenary discussion.

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**Takeaway point:** A political party is an organized group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions, that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office. Political parties are institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who decide and implement decisions. As such, they enable their members' and supporters' demands to be addressed in parliament and in government.

**Step 4:** List the roles and functions that you think political parties play and make notes of your thoughts in the space provided.

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Contribute these to the plenary feedback session. The facilitator will note the contributions on the flip chart.

**Step 5:** The facilitator will show powerpoint presentations, PPT 1.0: *Political Parties in Africa* and PPT 1.1: *Role of Political Parties*, focusing on the issues below.

See pg 22 and 26 in the Resources.

- Representation;
- Elite formation and recruitment;
- Goal formulation;
- Interest articulation and aggregation;
- Socialization and obilization; and
- Organisation of government.

**Step 6:** Discuss the questions below in groups.

- As parties are you performing the roles identified?
- Which roles are you playing more often than others?
- What challenges (if any) are parties in your context facing in performing the presented roles and functions?

Reflect on these questions with other participants in your group. Note your key points on flip charts and contribute your group's reflections to the plenary feedback session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 1.2

### Political party organization and structure

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Describe the importance of national, provincial, district, community and village level party structures;
- Describe party organisation in terms of rules and procedures, decision-making and planning.

**Step 1:** Discuss the questions below in groups.

- Why do parties need structures?
- Does your party have structures and do these structures have powers to make decisions?

Discuss with two other participants and note your thoughts in the space provided. Share your joint responses in the plenary.

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See pg 32 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** The facilitator will show powerpoint presentation, PPT 1.2: *Processes in Content Development and Political Programs: ANC Case Study*.

**Step 3:** Reflect on this presentation and in the plenary discussion try to identify with some of the structures in the case study. Do similar structures in your party perform the same functions as those in the ANC? If not, what is different?

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 1.3

### Leadership in political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Articulate the **leadership skills, attributes** and **values** that can build stronger parties.

**Step 1:** You will be allocated to a group. In your group address the specific questions assigned to your group from those below:

- What is the role of leadership in political parties?
- What are the requisite leadership skills in political parties?
- What types of leadership styles are you aware of?
- How does each of the types of leadership styles aid or undermine the development of political parties?

**Step 2:** Provide feedback from your group discussion to the plenary.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will assign your group a **leadership style**. Together with your group members, prepare a role play that demonstrates that leadership style in the context of a political party. Place emphasis on demonstrating the **attributes** and **values** associated with that leadership style and the likely consequences it could have for a party.

**Step 4:** In the plenary session act out your group role play. You are free to use the rest of the participants as party members, opposition members or ordinary citizens.

**Step 5:** Reflect upon the role plays and in the table below name the attributes and values associated with each style and the consequences of each.

Leadership style	Attributes	Values	Consequence for party

**Step 6:** Reflect upon the following and contribute your thoughts to the plenary discussion:

- What are the leadership challenges that are often experienced in parties?
- What leadership values are we lacking in our context?
- How can these challenges be addressed to build stronger parties – i.e. what must parties do or stop doing when it comes to leadership?

**Step 7:** The facilitator will show powerpoint presentation, PPT 1.3: *Leadership*.

See pg 43 in the Resources.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 1.4(a)

### Management of internal party affairs

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Explain what is entailed in the management of business processes in party affairs on a day-to-day and a long-term basis.

**Step 1:** What internal systems exist in your party for the management of internal affairs? In the space provided list and name the horizontal and vertical institutional arrangements.

Contribute your answers to a brainstorming session.

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See pg 46 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** The facilitator will show powerpoint presentation, PPT 1.4: *Management of Internal Party Affairs*.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will ask for volunteers to role play some of the management styles that emerged from the presentation.

**Step 4:** Reflect on the following questions and contribute to the discussion in a debriefing of the role play:

- How do the management styles that were role played affect the functioning of parties in your context?
- What measures need to be taken to mitigate some of the prevalent negative behaviors in the management of internal party affairs?

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 1.4(b)

### Leadership selection, candidate nomination and mentorship

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Explain the key principles as well as conventional methods of electing leadership and mentorship; and
- Identify opportunities within your party to apply the principles of nomination and election for strengthening the democratic content of the party.

**Step 1:** Pair up with another participant and discuss the following questions:

- Is there an established procedure for the nomination of candidates and leadership selection within your party?
- Have you been directly involved in the nomination and selection processes?
- What has worked well and what has not?

**Step 2:** Points to consider:

- Election of party leadership is as important as the organizations themselves;
- A political party can rise or fall on the basis of the nature and character of its leadership cadre;
- Leadership problems for many parties revolve around the election of leadership;
- In other words, democracy at both the macro-level of the nation and the micro-level of the party requires democrats and it is thus imperative that party leadership embrace democratic culture and practice;
- One way of embracing democratic culture is by holding primary elections within the party;
- Primary elections form an important litmus test of the extent and degree of the intra-party democracy;
- The process of nominating party candidates often tends to be fraught with controversy and conflict due to the way it is executed by the party leadership;
- The following issues become crucial in terms of the legitimacy of the outcome of primary elections: eligibility criteria for party candidacy; election process and procedure for party candidacy; and the type of electoral system used to select party candidates;
- Problems around primary elections, *inter alia*, depend on whether the process emphasizes centralized leadership control or allows the party members to influence the selection process;
- These problems are rife in almost all the countries in the region, irrespective of their electoral models;
- However, they are more common in countries that operate on a First-Past-The-Post electoral system, which easily allows candidates to contest elections in their independent capacity. The challenge revolves around the degree of openness when nominations for candidates are made.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 1.5

### Political party policy and participatory policy-making

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Articulate what policy is and explain the functions that a political party policy serves;
- Describe the (ideal) policy-making process that a party can adopt to develop sound policies that enjoy the support of a wide membership base; and
- Develop strategies for engaging a wide spectrum of members in the party policy-making process.

**Step 1:** Discuss the questions below in groups.

- What is a policy?
- Should political parties be preoccupied with policy development?

Contribute your thoughts to the group discussion.

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**Step 2:** Contribute your feedback into the plenary session.

**Takeaway point:** A policy is a statement of intent that outlines the goals that a political party hopes to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them. In order for its policy to be achieved, a political party must be inclusive in approach. Thus, it should ensure:

- That there is recruitment and promotion of women, youth and other marginalized groups into the organs and strategic leadership positions in the party and in government, and as party candidates for public office;
- That resources are dedicated to promoting gender parity.

See pg 48 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will show powerpoint presentation, PPT 1.5: *Party Policy and Participatory Policy-Making*. Reflect on the presentation and ask any questions.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 1.6

### Linking party ideology/identity to policy

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Explain the relevance of party ideology in informing party policies; and
- Draft a policy statement that is aligned to the party ideology.

**Step 1:** What is a party ideology and what is its relevance to party activities? Note your thoughts in the space provided.

Participate in a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** What ideology does your party subscribe to? Note your thoughts in the space provided.

Participate in a brainstorming session.

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**Step 3:** Refer to and reflect upon powerpoint presentation PPT 1.6: *Party Ideologies* that the facilitator will present.

See pg 51 in the Resources.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 1.7

### Parties to conduct research and training

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Articulate the value of using research-based evidence to influence the development policy agenda;
- Identify the various credible research avenues to access necessary policy informing data.

**Step 1:** Discuss the questions below in groups.

- Is research necessary for policy development?
- Justify your response, whether your answer is yes or no.

Contribute to a brainstorming session in plenary.

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**Takeaway point:** Conducting research on certain issues by a political party enables that party to address the problem through informed policies. Such research provides an indication about the importance with which the issue is regarded among the constituents. It also informs whether anything has been done, if it needs to be changed or whether it must be built upon.

**Step 2:** Discuss the questions below in groups.

- How do you do the research?
- Which resource institutes or resources have you used in carrying out research to inform the policies within your party?

Contribute your deliberations in the plenary discussion.

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**Step 4:** Note important research links that the facilitator and other participants share. Note in the space provided those you feel will be of use to your party.

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**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.

See pg 56 in the Resources.



## Activity 1.8

### Political party, parliament and development policy

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Draw links between and among elected representatives and other organs of parties in a policy agenda setting.

**Step 1:** Discuss the questions below in groups:

- What relationship exists between your party, parliament and policy development? Draw a diagram to depict this relationship.
- How do MPs from your party contribute to policy-making?
- Provide concrete examples of where your party's public representatives have made policy contributions and whether those contributions led to action being taken.

**Step 2:** Share your group deliberations in the feedback plenary session.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will show powerpoint presentation PPT 1.8: *Political Party, Parliament and Development Policy*.

See pg 58 in the Resources.

The facilitator will take you through this presentation. Engage in a discussion on the matter, and reflect on whether your party is optimally using this relationship to advance and influence the national political discourse. Consider ways that you think your party can improve on in its engagement on policy matters through parliament. Note your ideas in the space provided.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### PPT 1.0: *Political Parties in Africa*

#### **POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA**

- Generally weak and fragile.
- Reasons - multi-partyism a relatively new phenomenon in emerging democracies;
- Historical issues i.e. transition from colonial to post-colonial;
- High demands to democratize according to Western standards without adequate preparation for this;

#### **POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA (Cont...)**

- Difficulty in satisfying competing demands of various constituents, local and global;
- Barely distinguishable and essentially meaningless programmes;
- Weak bureaucratic organization, including unreliable membership data;
- Poor funding base;
- Strong personalityism;



## POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Lack of internal democracy;
- ▶ High degree of factionalism;
- ▶ Weak formal links to civil society;
- ▶ Predominantly regional or ethnic-based membership and electorate;
- ▶ Parties hardly sustainable beyond elite level;

## POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Often ethnic and regional loyalties stronger than ideology or party programs.
- ▶ Majority of African governing political parties heavily dependent on direct or indirect use or abuse of government resources.
- ▶ Majority of African governing parties heavily dependent on the direct or indirect use or abuse of government resources.



## POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Party in power hardly autonomous from government influence - difficult to draw the line between where the influence of government begins and that of political party ends.
- ▶ Relationship between party and government blurred - governing party reliance on state resources to exact patronage to maintain party organization and management.

## POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Dominance of informal relations such as patronage and clientelism resulting in state capture to benefit from the largesse of the state - politics as a means to an end, devoid of any idea of protecting public interests vis-à-vis private gains.
- ▶ African opposition parties weak and leaders unable to aggregate interests with the governing political parties thus denying them the opportunity to play their oversight role.



## POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Often align and seek favours from ruling parties for survival.
- ▶ Structures, systems, ideology weak – not representing governments in waiting.
- ▶ Opposition often not taken seriously by ruling party and citizens alike and not trusted by citizens.
- ▶ Political environment makes it difficult for them to break through.



## PPT 1.1: *Role of Political Parties*

### THE ESSENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO DEMOCRACY: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- ▶ Consensus exists in respect of what political parties are and their role in a democratic system.
- ▶ Democracy defined from a procedural democracy, liberal or social perspective.
- ▶ Democratic system marked by political pluralism.
- ▶ One of the measures of the degree of pluralism is the existence and operations of political parties.

### THE ESSENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO DEMOCRACY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (Cont...)

- ▶ Political parties compete for ideas and political power and promote citizen participation in the political process.
- ▶ Political parties - the hallmark of representative democracy.
- ▶ Democracy unthinkable without political parties.
- ▶ Aggregate and articulate needs and problems of members and supporters.
- ▶ Socialize and educate voters and citizens in the functioning of the political and electoral system and generating general political values.



## THE ESSENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO DEMOCRACY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (Cont...)

- ▶ Political parties constitute most critical institutional foundation of a working democracy.
- ▶ However, political parties everywhere becoming unpopular and increasingly experiencing declining public trust. Why???

## FUNCTIONS OF PARTIES

- ▶ Balance opposing demands and convert them into general policies.
- ▶ Activate and mobilize citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options.
- ▶ Channel public opinion from citizens to government.
- ▶ Recruit and train candidates for public office.



## FUNCTIONS MATRIX

	Interest Articulation	Interest Aggregation	Recruitment
Government	Implement policies	Sustain electoral support for government	Fill government positions
Opposition	Develop alternatives	Gain electorate for change	Build pool of competent people

## THE EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEMS EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

- ▶ SADC region witnessed 3 political shifts (multi-partyism; one-party and multi-partyism).
- ▶ These have influenced party systems and the way political parties operate with implications for democracy.
- ▶ At independence in the 1960s - a brief existence of a multi-party system - elections preceding political independence contested by more than one party in each country.
- ▶ Parties chose candidates to contest state power on their behalf in an open competitive system.



## THE EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEMS EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Adoption of one-party system of either *de jure* (Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Malawi, etc) or *de facto* (Lesotho, 1970-1986, etc) varieties.
- ▶ Implication of one-party system - closed political space for democratic politics - multiparty contestation for state power denied.
- ▶ The elections contested by only one party (i.e. ruling party).

## THE EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEMS EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (Cont...)

- ▶ Since 1990s, shift back to multipartyism.
- ▶ Marked by the proliferation of political parties and the holding of regular multiparty elections where party candidates and independents contest.
- ▶ The 3 political epochs have had their own distinctive imprint on the democratic nature of the political systems over time.



## THE CURRENT STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

- State of political parties varies from one country to the other - common regional trends.
- All the countries in SADC region today have functioning multiparty systems, with the exception of Swaziland.
- Also have constitutional and legal frameworks allowing for the existence and operation of political parties.
- But having multiparty systems in place is one thing. Ensuring the effectiveness of parties and institutionalizing robust party systems is another.

## THE CURRENT STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRATIZATION (Cont...)

- Studies by International IDEA and EISA between 2003 and 2006 - functioning of parties governed primarily by their constitutions and internal regulations, yet limited by lack of internal democracy in most parties.



## THE CURRENT STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRATIZATION (Cont...)

- ▶ Some of the major challenges:
- ▶ Party system predominantly a “dominant party system” i.e. even though many parties exist, there is only one party that stands a chance of winning elections;
- ▶ Poor leadership anchored in patron-client personality based politics;
- ▶ Lack of intra-party democracy;
- ▶ Lack of financial resources.



## PPT 1.2: Processes in Content Development and Political Programs

### OUTLINE

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ The ANC and its structures
- ▶ The candidate nomination process
- ▶ Policy development
- ▶ Manifesto development

### INTRODUCTION

- ▶ Two things fundamental as a litmus test for a party's internal democratic culture i.e.
  - ✓ Management of internal affairs and the policy-making processes;
  - ✓ Primary elections and candidate nominations.
- ▶ Case of the African National Congress (ANC) demonstrates these aspects



## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES

- ▶ The ANC is a national liberation movement formed in 1912.
- ▶ In alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).
- ▶ Enjoys support of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) and the South African Student Congress (SASCO).
- ▶ Unlike in other coalition politics settings, the ANC tripartite alliance does not have a written MOU.



## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

- The ANC's mission - unite all South Africans around its vision of building a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.
- Has developed a set of core values, principles and practices that reinforce its character. i.e. Unity, service, sacrifice, collective leadership, democratic centralism, internal debates, humility, honesty, hard-work, constructive criticism and self criticism, discipline and mutual respect.
- **The ANC is not only Africa's oldest political party but the biggest with over one million registered/card carrying members.**

## THE ANC LEADERS

1. John Dube (1912-1917)
2. Sefako Mokgato (1917-1924)
3. Zaccheus Mahabane (1924-1927)
4. Josiah Gumede (1927-1930)
5. Pixley Seme (1930-1940)
6. Alfred Xuma (1940-1949)
7. James Moroka (1949-1952)
8. Albert Luthuli (1952-1967)
9. Oliver Tambo (1967-1991)
10. Nelson Mandela (1991-1997)
11. Thabo Mbeki (1997-2007)
12. Jacob Zuma (2007-2018)
13. Cyril Ramaphosa (2019-)



## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

- ✓ The National Conference (NC) - elects the National Executive Committee (NEC);
- ✓ The Provincial Conference - elects the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC);
- ✓ The Regional Conference - elects the Regional Executive Committee (REC);
- ✓ The Branch Biennial General Meeting - elects the Branch Executive Committee (BEC).

## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

- Branches may be grouped together in zones and may be sub-divided for the purpose of co-ordination into smaller units (street committees, voting districts). Zones may be grouped into sub-regions. A sub-branch has the same voting powers as a branch.



## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

► There are also the following structures:

- The ANC Women's League (ANCWL)
- The Youth League (ANCYL)
- The Veterans League

### THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE (NC)

- The National Conference is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC (held every 5 years) consists of voting and non-voting delegates.

## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

At least 90% of voting delegates are from branches and elected at properly constituted branch general meetings. The number of delegates per branch is determined according to its paid up membership, although each branch in good standing is entitled to at least 1 delegate;

The number of provincial delegates are fixed by the NEC according to the paid up membership of each province. The rest of the voting delegates are from the PECs, the ANCYL, the ANCWL and the ANC Veterans League;

Individuals (with special skills) may be invited as non-voting delegates.



## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

### THE NEC

- Elected through secret ballot by delegates, the NEC provides leadership between the NC.
- NEC chosen from a list on a ballot paper compiled from branch nominations.
- Only the ANC's Secretary General (SG), Deputy Secretary General (DSG) and Treasurer General are full-time paid officials.
- NEC elects NWC (Pres., Deputy President, Chairperson, SG, DSG and Treasurer General)

## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

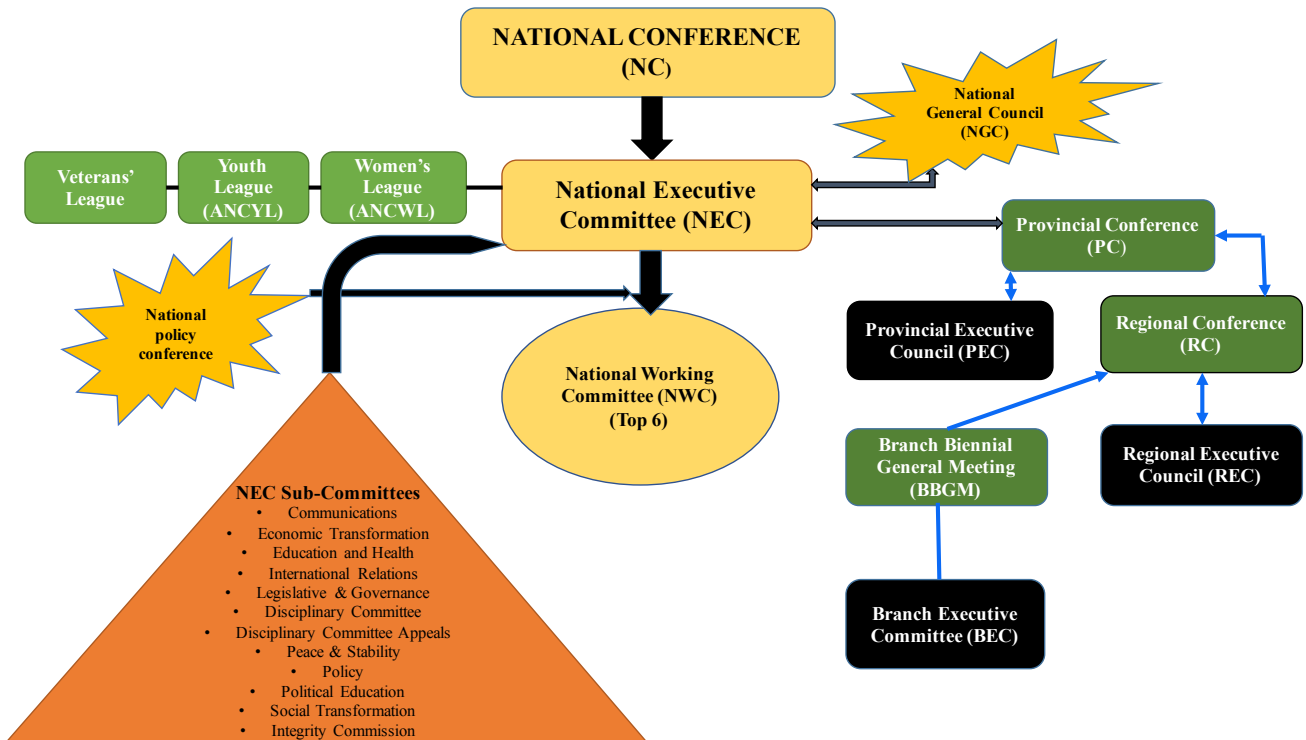
### NEC sub-committees

- Communications
- Economic Transformation
- Education and Health
- International Relations
- Legislature and Governance
- National Disciplinary Committee
- National Disciplinary Committee of Appeals
- Peace and Stability
- Policy
- Political Education
- Social Transformation

## THE ANC AND ITS STRUCTURES (Cont...)

### National General Council (NGC)

- Convened by the NEC in consultation with the PECs no later than 30 months after the National Conference.
- Determines and reviews the policies and programmes of the ANC.
- Receives and discusses NEC reports and can ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC, except the NC.
- Also evaluates the performance of the NEC members.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7nth1VoFv4>





## THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS

- It is important to note that South Africa exercises a Proportional Representation (PR) system for national and provincial elections.
- For the local elections, a mixed system is used.
- Under the PR system the whole country is treated as one constituency.

## THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS (Cont...)

- Parties have to prepare lists of candidates for the national parliament and the provincial legislatures.
- The ANC's nomination for candidates involves a broadly consultative branch-level nomination process and a veto by the NEC.
- The NEC is responsible for determining the criteria upon which the party's list is developed. These criteria include:



## THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS (Cont...)

- ✓ Geographical representation such that the list reflects the regional structures of the party;
- ✓ A minimum 50% women's representation in the party lists;
- ✓ A balanced representation of current MPs and legislatures to ensure continuity;
- ✓ Inclusion of COSATU, SACP and other partners;
- ✓ A blend of youth, the aged and people with disabilities; and
- ✓ Skill-appropriate candidates in areas such as finance and economic development.

## THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS (Cont...)

- Managing the party lists is the responsibility of provincial and the national list committees.
- These committees confirm the nominations received from local branches into a final national list, which is approved by the national list committee and the party's NEC.
- Nominations to these lists come from the ANC's branch level, where general meetings are held which must include 50% plus one of the membership of that branch.
- This is an extensive process, including thousands of branches countrywide. It takes months.



## POLICY DEVELOPMENT

- ▶ **The character of the ANC comes from:**

Vibrant ideological debate within its ranks and its ability to provide theoretical clarity on each phase of the struggle.

- ▶ This enables it to impact upon new realities and changing times in order to confront the challenges facing the country.
- ▶ The NC determines policy BUT a policy conference is held before the NC to discuss draft policy resolutions.
- ▶ Policy-making process is participatory with branches directly involved in coming up with policy issues

## POLICY DEVELOPMENT (Cont...)

- ▶ **This has resulted in the promotion of the culture of debate on issues of governance at all party levels.**
- ▶ Every January the ANC President makes the “January 8<sup>th</sup> Statement” on the party’s policy focus for the 12 months.
- ▶ This statement sets the tone for the ANC programs in the forthcoming year.
- ▶ The January 8<sup>th</sup> Statement is different from the State of the Nation Address (SONA).

## MANIFESTO DEVELOPMENT

- ▶ The ANC engages in an intensive people-centered election manifesto development process ahead of every election in SA.
- ▶ The party convenes a Manifesto Forum.
- ▶ Since these forums are open public gatherings, the party also interacts with members of the public.
- ▶ Public views are collected to inform the content of the manifesto.
- ▶ Once developed, the manifesto is launched at a big rally.



## PPT 1.3: Leadership

### LEADERSHIP

- ▶ General party challenge revolves around **leadership**.
- ▶ An organization is as good as its leadership, including political parties.
- ▶ Effectiveness and sustainability of these institutions (and by extension of government) are heavily dependent upon the caliber of their leadership.
- ▶ Leadership of parties influences their dynamism as key drivers of democracy.
- ▶ Even during elections, the party leadership can either be a political asset or a liability.

### LEADERSHIP (Cont...)

- ▶ Parties are supposed to be a political school for the development of democratic leadership that is groomed to lead the country.
- ▶ If political parties are unable to produce democratic leadership, this comes at a political cost to them, and a huge cost to the country.



## LEADERSHIP (Cont...)

Two major issues have generated debate on party leadership:

- (a) The nature of party-state relationships (ideally, there needs to be a distinction between these two);
- (b) One leader for the ruling party and another for government creating two centers of power, bifurcating state authority (Zambia, Namibia, SA and Malawi).

## INTERNAL FUNCTIONING & GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- ▶ Four major issues can be identified:
  - (a) Selection/election of the party leadership;
  - (b) Party primary elections;
  - (c) Management and administration of the internal affairs of the party; and
  - (d) Policy/programme development.



## SELECTION/ELECTION OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP

- ▶ This is as political an issue as the organizations themselves.
- ▶ A party can rise or fall on the basis of the nature and character of its leadership cadre.
- ▶ Leadership problems for many parties revolve around election of leadership; ***i.e. democracy both at the macro-level of the nation and the micro-level of the parties requires democrats and it is thus imperative upon party leadership to embrace democratic culture and practice.***



## PPT 1.4: *Management of Internal Affairs*

### **MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PARTY**

- ▶ An important yardstick for the extent to which intra-party democracy is deepening.
- ▶ Involves the day-to-day running of party affairs, building of national, provincial, district, community and village branches of parties, management of moveable and immovable resources.
- ▶ Also includes development of manifestos and program organizing regular meetings & conferences for parties.

### **MANAGEMENT AND ADMIN. OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PARTY (Cont...)**

- ▶ Where leadership is autocratic, management of parties tends to be less transparent and accountable to the party rank and file.
- ▶ Where leadership is open and fairly democratic the management becomes more transparent and accountable.



## MANAGEMENT AND ADMIN. OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PARTY (Cont...)

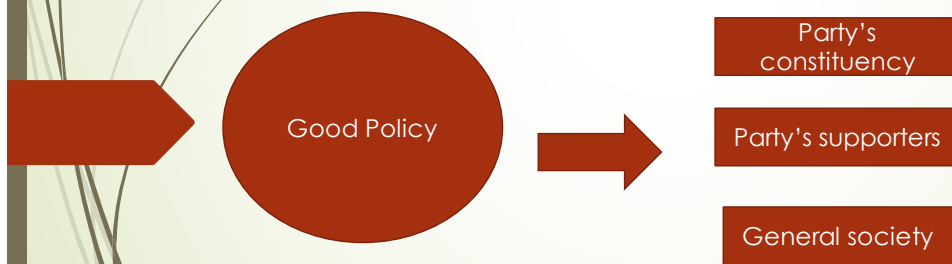
- ▶ It is imperative, therefore, that parties strive for an efficient, transparent and accountable management of party affairs if intra-party democracy is to be established and institutionalized.
- ▶ Effective and efficient management systems to be put in place from the village/community branches up to the national structures of parties if their management is to be adequately improved.



### PPT 1.5: Party Policy and Participatory Policy-Making

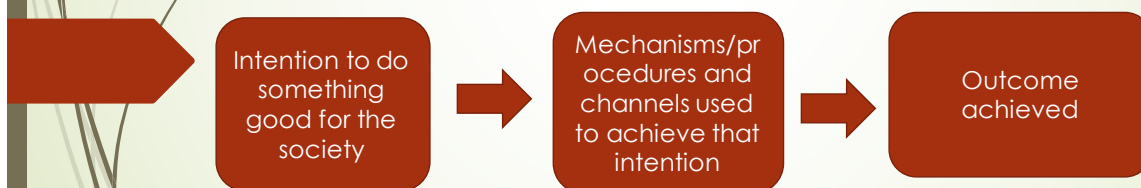
#### DEFINITION

A statement of intent that outlines the goals that a political party hopes to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them.



#### DEFINITION (cont..)

In the case of a governing party, its set of policies gain national character and therefore should broadly be beneficial to society as a whole. Thus a policy is:

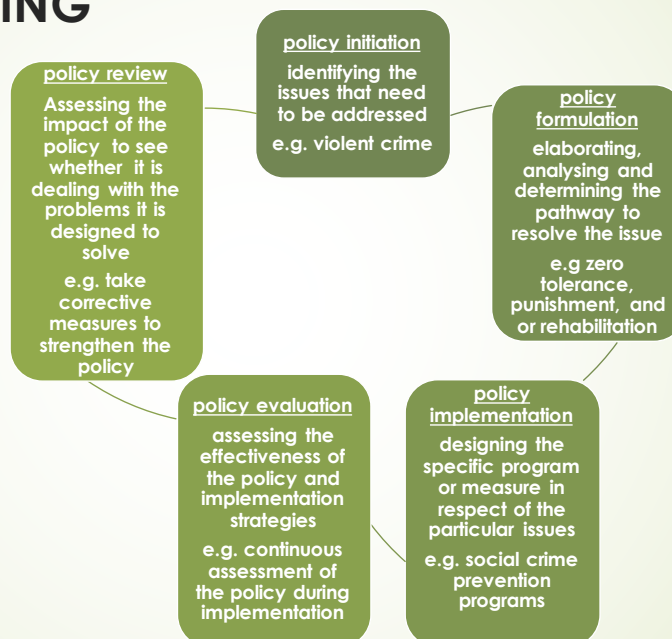




## WHY IS POLICY IMPORTANT?

- ▶ It is a roadmap to the future;
- ▶ Defines a political party;
- ▶ Gives hope to party members;
- ▶ Helps deal proactively and reactively with issues;
- ▶ Guides and maintains order;
- ▶ Ensures accountability.

## POLICY MAKING





## FEATURES OF GOOD POLICY MAKING

- ▶ Forward looking;
- ▶ Outward looking;
- ▶ Innovative, flexible and creative, evidence-based;
- ▶ Inclusive;
- ▶ Joined-up;
- ▶ Learns lessons;
- ▶ Communication;
- ▶ Evaluation;
- ▶ Review.



## PPT 1.6: *Party Ideologies*

### **PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES**

- ▶ Political parties can be classified in different ways. Common classification of parties include the following:
  - ▶ Cadre vs Mass parties;
  - ▶ Representative vs Integrative parties;
  - ▶ Constitutional vs Revolutionary parties;
  - ▶ Left-wing vs Right-wing parties.

### **PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)**

- ▶ A cadre party boasts trained and professional members.
- ▶ Its local influence is exercised indirectly through the networks of these notables/professionals.
- ▶ A mass party focuses on recruitment, mass mobilization and organization than ideology.
- ▶ Mass parties are catch-all parties that are de-ideologized emphasizing leadership, unity and pragmatism



## PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)

- ▶ A **representative party** perceives itself as an election machine, its goal being to secure votes.
- ▶ It reflects rather than forms and shapes public opinion.
- ▶ It adopts a catch-all strategy.

## PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)

- ▶ An **Integrative party** adopts a pro-active instead of a reactive strategy.
- ▶ It mobilizes, educates and inspires people.
- ▶ It is a **cadre party** that is ideologically disciplined.
- ▶ **Communist** and **socialist** parties are examples of integrative parties because they place ideological conviction over elections.



## PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)

- ▶ A **constitutional party** acknowledges rights and entitlements of other parties.
- ▶ It operates within a framework of rules and constraints.
- ▶ It distinguishes between party and state where state institutions enjoy political neutrality.
- ▶ A **revolutionary party** is anti-system.

## PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)

- ▶ Ranges from left (communist parties) to the right (fascist parties). Aim is to seize power from constitutional structures using tactics ranging from outright insurrection and popular revolution to quasi-legalism.

A **Left-wing party** is usually a progressive, socialist and communist party. It is mainly committed to social reform or whole economic transformation. Left-wing party draws support from the poor (workers, peasants).

A **right-wing party** is usually conservative, upholds existing social order and resists change. Its support lies mostly among the business and middle classes.



## **PARTY TYPOLOGIES & IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)**

- ▶ Today the left and right phenomenon may be misleading and simplistic.
- ▶ Parties adopt the catch-all approach and become broad churches i.e. They contain their own left- and right-wings within their ranks.
- ▶ Electoral competition has blurred the ideological identity of parties.

## **PARTY IDEOLOGIES**

- ▶ An ideology refers to a set of ideas and views espoused by a political party which defines its policy positions, programs and election manifestos.
- ▶ This world view influences and inspires the party's political actions during and between elections.
- ▶ Conventional ideologies that parties embrace include from left to right.



## PARTY IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)

LEFT	RIGHT
Liberty	Authority
Equality	Hierarchy
Fraternity	Order
Rights	Duties
Progress	Tradition
Reform	Reaction
Internationalisation	Nationalism

## PARTY IDEOLOGIES (Cont...)

Socialism	Liberalism	Conservatism	Fascism
Community	Individualism	Tradition	Authority
Fraternity	Freedom	Pragmatism	Power
Social equality	Reason	Human imperfection	Centralisation
Needs	Equality	Organicism	Coercion
Social class	Toleration	Hierarchy	Intolerance
Common ownership	Consent	Authority	
	Constitutionalism	Property	



## PPT 1.7: *Research and Training*

### RESEARCH AND TRAINING

- ▶ Is research necessary for political party policy development?
- ▶ If yes, how would you do the research?
- ▶ If no, why is it not important?

### RESEARCH AND TRAINING (Cont...)

- ▶ Conducting research on certain issues a political party intends to address through its policies is important because it informs the parties decision making. In addition:
  - ✓ Research provides background information about an issue;
  - ✓ It gives an indication about the awareness about the issue by the targeted beneficiary constituency;
  - ✓ It establishes the importance with which the issue is regarded among the constituents;
  - ✓ It also informs whether something has been done or if it needs to be changed or built upon.



## RESEARCH AND TRAINING (Cont...)

- In conducting research a political party should:
  - ✓ Consider whether a rule, policy, or guideline is needed;
  - ✓ How the policy document impacts on existing policy;
  - ✓ The purpose and goal of the policy, including scoping the areas the policy will cover.

## PPT 1.8: Political Party, Parliament and Development Policy

### INTRODUCTION

- The first challenge facing political parties rotates around the effectiveness of parties and the robustness of party systems.
- A party system is the shape, form and content of political interaction between and among political players and within a broader civil society.
- It is in this context that the role of political parties, parliament and development policy can be analyzed.
- This analysis also recognizes the dynamics of political party business inside and outside parliament.

FIGURE 1: PARTY SYSTEM





## THE PARTY SYSTEM

- ▶ As can be seen from the infographic, there are direct and indirect linkages between political parties and development policy.
- ▶ On a daily basis, the party outside parliament interfaces with the election management body, civil society, parliament, business and media, all of which represent specific societal interests.
- ▶ Similarly, the party in parliament links up with the same constituency including the party outside parliament.
- ▶ A strong link between the party and its parliamentary representative ensures representation of the needs of society, enactment of legislation and translation of the policy of the victorious party into national policy once elections are over.
- ▶ Another important actor in this nexus is the judiciary.
- ▶ On policy positional and rule of law.





# **MODULE 2**

## **Political Parties and the Electoral Process**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This handbook will indicate when you will need to use:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers

## Key understanding

Elections are not an event but a process, involving various critical and supportive activities and multiple stakeholders, all of which must ensure the integrity of the electoral process.

## Activity 2.1

### Values clarification exercise

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the importance of elections within a democracy.

**Summary:** The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (article 21) is emphatic in pointing out that *“The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures”*. Elections are the hallmark of representative democracy, allowing the people’s regular input in choices about leaders and policy. Though democracy requires more than elections, a country cannot be a democracy without holding genuine elections. Elections form the basis for democratic legitimacy. Elections give citizens a means to hold their leaders accountable by voting incumbents out of office. They are a mechanism to peacefully resolve the transfer of political power. Elections are also central to making democracy deliver a better quality of life by linking voters’ interests to those in government and allowing citizens to select representatives who reflect their will. Genuine elections are instrumental in laying the foundation for responsive governance and contributing to longer-term development goals. Though intended as mechanisms for the peaceful arbitration of political rivalries, elections frequently become flash points for political violence. At the core of this paradox are elections without integrity.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to indicate how many elections have been held in their country in the post-colonial era.

**Step 2:** In a brief plenary discussion ask participants to offer reasons why they participate as parties in elections. What do elections mean to them? Take a cross section of brief responses from participants across all the parties represented.

**Facilitator’s note:** Note the views expressed by ruling vs opposition parties. You will be able to pick up on these views in the concluding part of this session and also on the sessions on electoral integrity.

**Step 3:** Carry out a value clarification exercise on the importance of elections in a democracy.

### Facilitator’s note

Values clarification exercise on importance of democratic elections

### Instructions

This exercise is an introduction to democratic elections and political parties. It helps to gauge parties’ understanding of and attitudes to elections. It helps parties understand the role and relevance of democratic elections. Statements in this exercise present some of the controversies and misconceptions about elections in Africa.



Ask participants to stand in the middle of the room. Project if possible or read out the following statements one by one. After reading each statement, ask participants to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statement. Those who agree must stand on one side, whilst those who disagree must stand on the other side. Ask 3-4 participants from either side to briefly say why they agreed or disagreed with the statements.

**Statements 1:** Elections are synonymous with successful democratization in a country.

**Explanation:** The holding of **predictable, credible, free** and **fair** elections may indeed be a sign of democratization – both the building of a democracy and its institutionalization. The importance of democratic elections must therefore be underlined. It is important to note the qualifiers of democratic elections highlighted above (i.e. predictable, credible, free and fair). They are the visible signs of representative democracy. However, if elections are just window dressing, they work against democratization and can serve to legitimize autocratic governments.

**Statement 2:** Elections in Africa are, in simple terms, window-dressing rituals with no real political meaning other than filling ballot boxes behind closed doors.

**Explanation:** This is a highly cynical view and derives from the way that elections have largely been poorly conducted in a significant number of countries across the continent. Whilst it is not an excuse for the bad conduct of elections, it must be noted that the democracy project in Africa is a relatively new one and the values, principles and institutions necessary for democracy-building have yet to take firm root in some countries on the continent. The opportunities for conducting genuine elections that contribute to the progress of countries on the continent are, however, always available and depend largely on the leadership of state and non-state actors within the various countries.

**Statement 3:** Elections are a source of conflict on the African continent and they waste a lot of resources that the continent cannot afford to spare.

**Explanation:** Elections in emerging democracies and post-conflict societies do indeed have great potential to plunge a country back into violent conflict, to undermine the processes of stabilization and to discredit democratization. Elections are not only a tool of democratic participation but also a fierce contest for positions of leadership, power and access to resources in some African countries. Political- and election-related violence does continue to mar electoral processes on the continent. While elections are not inherently a source of violence, they can potentially exacerbate existing tensions (political, ethnic, regional and religious) and differences, which can spill over into violence. This occurs especially when elections are not conducted within an appropriate institutional framework. Although some of the triggers of election-related violence are unique to the context in which they unfold, there are certain common patterns that put countries at risk of electoral violence. First, elections organized in the context of political transitions (e.g. following peace agreements or cessation of hostilities) and where reconciliation between the parties is yet to firmly take hold are particularly susceptible to violence. Closely linked to this is the point that the political system impacts on violence during periods of elections. Countries that are partly democratic and partly autocratic (mixed regimes) have proven to be vulnerable to electoral violence as they lack the institutional fabric required to channel grievances in a constructive manner. Second, in countries where electoral outcomes are contested, protests in the post-election period can spill over into violence. Third, unemployed youth appear to be an especially fertile target for recruitment by political actors determined to commit acts of violence through party militias. Respecting the tenets of democratic elections and upholding electoral integrity is important in helping the management and often resolution of the conflicts that can emerge. Democratic elections are in actual fact a powerful instrument in enabling the peaceful resolution of conflicts.



**Statement 4:** Stable and strong (well-institutionalized) opposition parties are key to ensuring that elections are meaningful.

**Explanation:** Elections mean competition over policy options. The vehicles for offering these various policy options are political parties. When parties are well established and ideologically based the competition to govern exercised through the electoral process is likely to yield an outcome that gives greater meaning to the real purpose of democratic elections.

**Statement 5:** Conducting genuine elections generates a momentum for greater democratization within a country.

**Explanation:** The assumption is that the will that was exercised by the various electoral stakeholders to ensure a genuine election is the same will that will be exercised by the various state and non-state actors to build a more democratic country.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 90 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Conclude the session with powerpoint presentation PPT 2.1: *Democratic Elections*.

**Make the point:** Whilst often triggering conflicts in Africa due to their contentious nature and the high stakes involved, elections provide a genuine mechanism for democracy-building.

## Activity 2.2

### Electoral cycle group work

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe the various processes that make up the electoral cycle.

**Summary:** Elections are a very important aspect of the democratic process, which requires careful planning and handling. In this regard, elections are not prepared on the eve of the polling day but are prepared during a time period that proceeds from the last election to the next, hence the notion of an electoral cycle. The Electoral Cycle Approach derives from the premise that elections are composed of a totality of interacting elements where a wide range of legal, technical and organizational aspects must be considered simultaneously. The variety of these processes that make up the electoral process ensures the likelihood of a more robust and credible process.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to name the electoral processes/activities they are familiar with. Note responses on the flip chart. (1 min.)

**Facilitator's note:** Guide participants to name such processes/activities such as voter registration, campaigning, voting, etc.

**Step 2:** Pose the question to participants whether the processes named all happen at the same time. Take yes and no answers.

**Make the point:** Elections are not an event but a process. Viewing elections as a process provides for a more coherent strategic approach by all electoral stakeholders to deliver a more credible process that is more likely to achieve the ideals intended by democratic elections.



**Step 3:** Distribute HO 2.2: *Electoral Cycle*.

Consider the handout on the electoral cycle. In table groups, assign some participants to work on the **Pre-election stage**, others on the **Election stage** and others on the **Post-election stage**. Each group must name and describe at least 4 activities involved within their assigned phase. (15 mins.)

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 95 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** In plenary feedback allow groups to report on any 2 processes/activities within their assigned electoral phase. Groups must report on different processes/activities. (20 mins.)

**Step 5:** Distribute HO 2.3: *Electoral Cycle Completed*.

After considering the handout on the completed electoral cycle, talk through the complete electoral cycle and conduct interactive discussion clarifying what each process entails. (10 mins.)

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 96 in the Resources.

**Step 6:** Ask participants to discuss in their table groups the implications for political parties of not regarding elections as a process but as an event. The groups must assess the current status in their context and what some of the consequences have been to them, the electoral process and the democratic outlook in their context as a result of regarding elections as an event rather than a process. (15 mins.)

**Step 7:** In plenary feedback allow groups to each present a single point from their discussions. These points must be different from those that have already been presented by other groups.

**Step 8:** Sum up discussions and highlight the main arguments emerging from the group discussions.

**Make the point:** Elections are a continuous process of interconnected activities rather than a single event. When electoral stakeholders regard elections as an event this is more likely to compromise the quality of the electoral process itself, including the conduct in which the various activities are undertaken, the acceptability of outcomes, and the perceived legitimacy, credibility and confidence in governance and democratic institutions, including political parties. Regarding elections as an event makes for a crisis management and reactionary approach to elections. It increases the chances of parties crying foul over alleged electoral misconduct, even when unwarranted, hence casting doubt over the credibility of the entire electoral process and sowing or fanning the seeds of instability in society.

## Activity 2.3

### Electoral stakeholders debate

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name the various electoral stakeholders and articulate their role(s);
- Explain how political parties should relate to other electoral stakeholders.

**Summary:** Political parties are key electoral stakeholders whose involvement in the electoral process contributes significantly to the integrity of elections. They are, however, not the only significant stakeholder. Parties must therefore operate within an understanding of their role as well as that of other stakeholders, notably the Electoral Management Body (EMB). Transparency, confidence and efficiency (i.e. the legitimacy and proper conduct of the election) need parties to participate in all stages of the process rather



than leaving the conduct of the elections to EMBs with little or no contact with political parties.

**Step 1:** Ask for 10 volunteers, divide them into 2 groups.

**Step 2:** Organize a debate on the following statement: “Political parties are the main stakeholders in the electoral process.”

**Step 3:** One group should be for the motion, the other against. Allow 5 minutes for each group to prepare their arguments. Appoint a moderator.

**Step 4:** Debate for 10-15 minutes. The moderator to ensure that each group is allowed to present their points.

**Step 5:** At the end of the debate ask participants, in a plenary discussion, to point out the key arguments raised for and against the motion about political parties being the main electoral stakeholder. Sum up the key points raised through the debate.

**Make the point:** Political parties are not the only competitors. In an election they are a key stakeholder in the electoral process. However, because elections require various processes, parties by the mandate that they represent are not always best placed to satisfy these, hence the equal importance of an array of other stakeholders.

**Step 6:** Divide participants into 3 groups. Allocate each group an electoral phase. Ask the groups to make reference to the electoral cycle and name the roles that political parties specifically play in the phase allocated to them.

**Facilitator’s note:** Guide participants to name roles such as candidate nomination, by-elections, party agent preparation and deployment, strategic planning, oversight, etc.

**Step 7:** Allow 15 minutes for group feedback. Distribute HO 2.4: *Political Parties and the Electoral Cycle*.

Read through this with participants, clarifying the various roles as needed. Bring into the discussion the issue of whether there are any differences in the roles in the electoral cycle for parties in power and those in opposition. Sum up the discussion.

**Make the point:** Though political parties are not the only stakeholders in the electoral process they are key stakeholders with many of the electoral processes requiring their understanding and participation. Participating fully in fulfilling the roles required of them in the electoral process in a timely manner enables parties to be better prepared for an election. The ability of parties to fulfil the roles required of them within the framework of the electoral cycle enables not only a more credible electoral process, but also more prepared and stronger parties.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 97 in the Resources.

## Activity 2.4

### Electoral stakeholders mapping

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name and describe the various roles played by other key electoral stakeholders and how political parties relate to these stakeholders.



**Summary:** Different stakeholders are involved in executing the various functions associated with holding a credible electoral process. Just as these stakeholders must carry out their mandated roles competently, they and the roles they play must be respected by all, including political parties.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to name the various electoral stakeholders that they are familiar with. Ensure that participants come up with an exhaustive list that is specific e.g. under voters they must point out women, youth, people living with disabilities etc. as specific stakeholders. If necessary, supplement the list with those that participants could have missed out. Refer to HO 2.5: *Electoral Stakeholders*.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 98 in the Resources.

Note the stakeholders named through the brainstorming on the flip chart. With participants cluster the list according to the following categories:

- Election authority;
- Government statutory bodies;
- Electorate;
- Civil society; and
- Others.

**Make the point:** Electoral stakeholders encompass all individuals and organizations that conduct or ensure that the elections are carried out and those for whom elections are conducted.

**Step 2:** Assign to each table group 2 electoral stakeholders from the categories identified. Ask the groups to do the following:

- Identify the roles that the stakeholders allocated to the group play in the electoral process. Participants to make reference to the processes detailed in the electoral cycle;
- After 5 minutes ask participants to join the nearest table group, share their discussions and make any further inputs into the roles identified by the other group;
- The combined groups to note down in bullet form on the flip chart (designed in table format), the roles associated with the 4 stakeholders that they discussed.

**Facilitator's note:** The table format to be used by participants should have 2 columns and 4 rows per flip chart. One column should have the header Stakeholder and the other Role Description.

**Step 3:** Ask all the combined groups to stick their flip charts on the wall alongside each other. Together participants to view each presentation in turn as each group presents their group's work while the other groups make any inputs.

**Step 4:** In summing up the discussions, facilitate a short exercise in which you remove some of the stakeholders and ask participants to say what the implications of this would be for holding of elections.

**Make the point:** Various stakeholders are involved in executing the various functions within the electoral cycle. These stakeholders, including political parties, need to clearly understand and respect the roles played by each of the stakeholders.



## Activity 2.5

### Political parties and electoral stakeholder mapping

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Relate the role as parties to other electoral stakeholders.

**Summary:** Electoral stakeholders complement the common purpose of a credible electoral process. Parties, as key electoral stakeholders, must to the best of their ability ensure harmonious working relationships with other stakeholders. They must respect the professional nature of the mandated roles of these stakeholders whilst also informing the better performance of these stakeholders. Overly antagonistic relationships with other stakeholders impact on the health of the electoral process. They increase risks such as a general lack of trust and legitimacy in democratic and governance institutions and hamper progress in strengthening democracy.

**Step 1:** Divide participants into 4 groups. Allocate 3 stakeholders to each group.

- Group 1: Media, youth, international observers;
- Group 2: EMB, party agents, judiciary;
- Group 3: Civil society, police, competing political parties, people living with disabilities;
- Group 4: Women, election monitors, human rights commission.

**Step 2:** After drawing a stakeholder map ask the groups to indicate what they think the relationship of parties to the identified electoral stakeholders should ideally be.

#### Facilitator's note

##### Instruction:

Participants to draw a circle at the centre of the flip chart and write in it “Political parties”. They must draw circles to depict the stakeholders allocated to them and place these according to how close or far apart they think their relationship with that stakeholder should be. Participants to draw either solid or broken lines that are uni- or bidirectional, again depending on the type of relationship they should have with the stakeholder. A solid line means a strong relationship must exist, whilst a dotted line conveys a weak relationship. A solid line with 2 cancellation lines across the solid line denotes a broken down relationship. A bent squiggly line denotes an unpredictable relationship. The direction of the arrow(s) on the line depicts if the relationship is one-sided or is a mutual one.

You may need to demonstrate the exercise using an example from any field, such as family relationships.

**Step 3:** After drawing the stakeholder map, participants to do the following:

- Depict on the same diagram the current reality in their relationships with these stakeholders by adding parallel shapes and lines (using different colours).
- Deliberate on reasons why the relationship is at the level it is.
- Recommend what it is they can **stop**, **start** or **continue** doing as political parties to ensure healthy relationships with these stakeholders for a credible electoral process.



**Facilitator's note:** In tackling the 2nd and 3rd questions, you want to get parties to take as much responsibility as they can for the current nature of their relationships with other stakeholders. They must then suggest mechanisms of strengthening these relationships where required from their point of view as parties.

Where possible invite a panel consisting of stakeholders, such as an EMB senior rep, a media rep and a citizen or member of civil society, and ask them to engage with the partners with regard to their expectations and challenges about the relationships between themselves and political parties.

**Step 4:** In a plenary feedback session discuss issues emerging from the groups and take a round of inputs emphasizing the key points.

### Key understanding

The integrity of elections should be upheld to ensure public confidence in the results, democratic institutions, governance processes and legitimacy of government.

## ✂ Activity 2.6

### Electoral integrity

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Outline the principles that make for a credible election process.

**Summary:** Free and fair, or genuine elections, means that the electoral process offers equal opportunities and a safe environment for all competing parties and candidates, i.e. a level playing field for all electoral contestants and their supporters. Ensuring free, fair and credible elections speaks to the issue of electoral integrity. Integrity is key to a credible electoral process. Electoral integrity is more than the mere absence of political manipulation and fraud, however. It includes a commitment to designing and aligning the electoral legal framework, rules and practices with international human rights and electoral commitments. It also includes complete commitment to transparency, inclusivity, professionalism, honesty and a full and genuine engagement with key electoral stakeholders – the electoral contestants, the legislature, voters, the media, civil society, the security sector, etc. – in order to arrive at an electoral outcome that is acceptable to all.

**Step 1:** Select 10 volunteers for a role play. Distribute the script, HO 2.6: *Role Play Electoral Integrity* and ask them to prepare to perform the script.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 101 in the Resources.

**Facilitator's note:** It is advisable that during one of the earlier breaks you select the participants who will carry out the role play so that they can prepare beforehand.

**Step 2:** Ask the volunteers to perform the role play (allow 5 minutes).

**Step 3:** In a debriefing session afterwards ask participants to note what they saw in the role play, where the electoral process was not carried out properly, and by whom. Ask participants to name the principles that they think were flouted in the electoral process and the likely consequences.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 102 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Distribute HO 2.7: *Electoral Integrity*.

Talk through the notion of electoral integrity and its principles.



Participants can find copies of the powerpoint slides on pg 108 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 112 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of these powerpoint slides on pg 115 in the Resources.

**Step 5:** Deliver powerpoint presentation PPT 2.8: *SADC Principles and Guidelines for Democratic Elections*.

Briefly discuss and align these principles to the broad principles of electoral integrity. Allow participants to reflect on the adherence of their country or other regional countries to these principles in the conduct of their elections.

**Step 6:** Distribute HO 2.9: *Electoral Malpractice in the Democratic Republic of Congo*.

Ask participants to note instances of malpractice and discuss the consequences of elections without integrity.

**Step 7:** Provide group feedback in plenary discussion. Round off with powerpoint presentation PPT 2.10: *Consequences of Electoral Malpractice*.

**Make the point:** Elections represent the means for citizens to express their will. A credible election is thus one that is characterized by inclusiveness, transparency, accountability and competitiveness. Public confidence in the election process is critical for the integrity of the election as it reflects the representation of the true will of the people. Electoral integrity entails respecting and upholding international standards and global norms governing the appropriate conduct of elections, notably ethical behavior, fairness, impartiality and professionalism. The true measure of an election is whether it engenders broad public confidence in the process and trust in the outcome. Without electoral integrity, leaders and officials lack accountability to the public, confidence in the election results is weak and the government lacks the necessary legitimacy.

## Activity 2.7

### Electoral integrity national historical timeline

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Apply the principles of electoral integrity to country context.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to individually list as many factors as they can think of that undermine electoral integrity. Each one must be written on a Post-It-Note or a piece of paper, one factor per paper. Participants to stick their factors upfront on a pre-prepared workspace. (This could be a flipchart, whiteboard or wall.)

**Step 2:** Together with participants, organize and cluster the factors that have emerged.

**Step 3:** Once clustered, allocate each table group 2 factors and ask them to explain how the factors undermine electoral integrity. Groups to give feedback in whatever manner they feel best expresses their factors.

**Step 4:** Divide participants into 4 groups. Draw a historical timeline of the past 4 elections that have been held in their country. Allocate each group a single election period. Ask each group to consider the conduct of the elections in their allocated election period and to note if and how the electoral integrity principles were upheld within their context. The groups to consider what affect the conduct of the elections has had on the state of the country's democracy narrative.

**Step 5:** In a plenary feedback discussion participants to consider to what extent their country is practising the principles of electoral integrity. What are the challenges and where are the opportunities?



**Step 6:** Conclude the session by highlighting key issues that have emerged.

**Make the point:** Electoral integrity depends on public confidence in electoral and political processes. Electoral integrity allows for peaceful resolution of conflict, open dialogue, debate and information sharing amongst leaders and the public. Elections without integrity cannot provide the winners with legitimacy, the losers with security and the public with confidence in their leaders and institutions. Various factors that can hinder the exercise of electoral integrity should be identified and addressed appropriately.

## Activity 2.8

### Inclusivity in electoral integrity

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe how upholding the principle of inclusivity enhances the integrity of elections.

**Summary:** One of the obstacles identified in ensuring electoral integrity is the failure to remove barriers – legal, administrative, political, economic and social – to universal and equal political participation. Complementary to this is the fact that one of the guiding principles of electoral integrity is respect for principles of electoral democracy under which inclusive participation in electoral processes is emphasized. The equal participation in the electoral process of all groups in society is not always guaranteed. It often comes with its share of challenges for the marginalized and less powerful groups in society, notably women, youth and people with disabilities. It is through political parties that these groups can participate fully in electoral processes, hence parties have a duty to ensure that full participation of these groups is guaranteed, supported and protected.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants what the representation of women, youth and people living with disabilities is in political decision-making at national level. Ask each party to also indicate what ratio of women, youth and people with disabilities are selected as candidates to participate in elections.

**Step 2:** Carry out a values clarification exercise on some of the myths and misconceptions on the participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in the electoral process.

#### Facilitator's note

Inclusivity values clarification exercise

**Statement 1:** Making politics and political life more diverse and more inclusive is a foreign agenda to Africa; politics is a game for the fittest.

**Statement 2:** Political parties are the main obstacle to enabling meaningful youth participation in politics.

**Statement 3:** Youth are too inexperienced politically and thus have nothing meaningful to bring to the electoral process.

**Explanation:** Youth engagement in formulating tomorrow's politics is crucial because inclusive participation is a fundamental political and democratic right. Actively promoting the inclusion of youth in political processes is not only about norms, values and rights, but also about practical politics. Younger cohorts find themselves in a different situation and their political and socioeconomic priorities differ from those of their older counterparts. Having grown up in a period of transformation due to the



increased use of information and communications technologies, young people bring new visions and ideas to the political sphere (International Idea).

**Statement 4:** Women’s participation in the electoral process should be confined to specific areas such as voting and being supporters as this better protects them from the abuse associated with being candidates.

**Explanation:** The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979, reiterates the right of women “to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government”. More specifically, Article 7 stipulates that state parties shall take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to abide by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. While it is clear that no discrimination on the basis of sex is permitted in the exercise of the right to vote and the right to participate in public life, CEDAW places a further, positive obligation on state parties to take appropriate measures to eliminate any such discrimination. Moreover, Article 4 of CEDAW encourages the use of temporary special measures (TSMs) to accelerate compliance with Article 7.

**Statement 5:** Political parties in Africa are negligent towards people with disabilities through not investing in structures that enable them to participate in a meaningful manner in political decision-making.

Participants can find copies of these powerpoint slides on pg 117 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 119 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Deliver powerpoint presentation PPT 2.11: *Inclusivity in the Electoral Processes*.

**Step 4:** Distribute copies of the electoral cycle for political parties to the groups and allocate each group an electoral phase and a stakeholder from amongst women, youth and people with disabilities. In the groups, participants to identify for each phase common party practices in their context regarding inclusion of women, youth and people with disabilities. The groups to come up with ways for parties to ensure the meaningful participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in the electoral process by using HO 2.12: *Inclusivity Worksheet*.

**Step 5:** In the group feedback session ensure that everyone who worked on the same target group reports back at the same time to create a complete picture across the electoral cycle.

**Make the point:** The best practice for upholding electoral integrity is ensuring the equal and meaningful participation of all groups in society.

## Activity 2.9

### Upholding principles of electoral integrity

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name ways in which electoral stakeholders can uphold principles of electoral integrity.

**Step 1:** Assign phases of the electoral cycle to different groups. Distribute HO 2.13: *Electoral Integrity Worksheet*.

Ask participants to note the roles to be played by key stakeholders as well as themselves as political parties towards ensuring that each of these electoral integrity principles are met across the electoral cycle.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 120 in the Resources.



**Step 2:** In the plenary feedback session ask participants about the actual carrying out of these principles, in particular by political parties. Discuss the challenges, establish if there is will and intent on the part of the political parties to play their role in upholding electoral integrity and discuss what the parties see as possible solutions to address some of the challenges.

**Step 3:** Sum up the discussion through highlighting the key points raised.

**Make the point:** Electoral integrity is a cross-cutting issue touching all processes, including the monitoring process, and all electoral stakeholders, such as poll agents. Overall electoral integrity is not so much dependent on achieving superlative performance in any single area, but rather on improving all aspects of the electoral cycle.

## ✂ Activity 2.10

### Political party conduct in winning and losing elections

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Apply principles of electoral integrity in party conduct in the winning and losing of elections.

**Step 1:** Show video clips from different contexts showing the conduct of parties and supporters in the aftermath of elections.

**Step 2:** Follow up with a debriefing asking participants to describe the scenes and if they recognize these within their context.

**Make the point:** The manner in which both election winners and losers conduct themselves in the aftermath of an election contributes to electoral integrity. It is common practice in Africa that those who lose elections may not accept the results, often leading to catastrophic consequences for the nation at large.

**Step 3:** Pose the question: Is it possible for parties that lose elections to concede defeat and those that win to do so willingly? Ask participants to discuss in their table groups and to consider the challenges this poses and the consequences of parties failing to do so.

**Step 4:** Distribute HO 2.14: *Democratic Transitions in Africa: the Case of Ghana*.

In plenary, ask participants to note lessons that could be useful in their context – both at party and national levels.

**Step 5:** Conclude the discussion by highlighting the key points that have emerged.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 123 in the Resources.



### Key understanding

Legal framework governing elections in the country

An electoral process is crucially supported by a set of legal provisions to promote consistency, equity and a common understanding of electoral processes.

## Activity 2.11

### Electoral laws

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name the various legal provisions according to which elections are organized in their country.

**Summary:** A legal framework for elections generally refers to the combination of legislation and rules related to elections in a given country. A legal framework for elections includes the applicable provisions in the constitution, electoral law and other laws that affect elections, such as a law on political parties. It also includes any regulations attached to the electoral law and other relevant laws, as well as relevant instructions and regulations issued by the responsible Electoral Management Body (EMB). Establishing the “rules of the game” for elections should be of vital concern to political parties, candidates and citizens alike. Democratic elections serve to settle fairly and peacefully the competition among those seeking government powers as representatives of the people. Democratic elections also serve as the means for citizens to freely express who they choose to give the authority and legitimacy to wield the reins of government as their representatives. It is thus in the direct and immediate interests of electoral contestants – political parties and candidates – and of the population as a whole to ensure that the rules for electoral competition, as well as the way those rules are enforced, guarantee that a genuine democratic election takes place (Merloe Patrick).

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session participants are to indicate if there are laws within their context that guide the conduct of the electoral process. Take yes and no answers.

**Step 2:** Ask participants to discuss in pairs what is likely to happen in an electoral process in the absence of a legal framework and to reflect on what benefit it is for parties to be aware and knowledgeable of the laws governing the electoral process in their context. The pairs to also discuss the risks of not knowing the laws.

**Step 3:** Plenary feedback.

**Make the point:** Parties have a responsibility to know and understand the legal framework that govern elections in their country. Professing ignorance of the law is hardly a valid excuse if things go wrong and undermine the goal of electoral credibility and integrity.

The legal framework determines the “rules of the game” for different phases of the election process. Thus, it is in the direct interests of electoral contestants and citizens to ensure that the rules for electoral competition, as well as the way those rules are enforced, guarantee that a genuine democratic election takes place. Stakeholders should respect the stipulated legal provisions and at the same time consider what the legal framework means for the transparency, inclusiveness and accountability of each part of the electoral cycle.



**Step 4:** In a brainstorming session, and in reference to the various electoral processes in the electoral cycle, ask participants to name the various laws governing elections within their context.

**Step 5:** Distribute copies or a summary of existing pieces of legislation to the table groups and allocate a law to each group. The groups to produce a summary of the provisions contained in that law. The groups to consider the key points that explain the ethos of the law and capture these on the flip chart in bullet form.

**Step 6:** In plenary feedback discussion take a round of the inputs by highlighting key issues that have emerged.

## Activity 2.12

### International and regional frameworks guiding elections

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name the various international and regional legal instruments guiding elections; and
- Explain the relevance of these instruments to the conduct of elections at local level.

**Step 1:** Find excerpts from the following frameworks:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- United Nations International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights;
- African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance; and
- SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.

Write the excerpts on the flip chart – 1 for each flip chart.

**Step 2:** Ask participants to identify the legal instruments of each of the excerpts.

**Step 3:** Assign a specific excerpt/legal framework to groups of participants. Ask participants to discuss how the legal framework assigned to them has been or can be instrumental in influencing the conduct of elections at a national level.

**Step 4:** Group feedback.

**Step 5:** Focus on the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance and the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections and invite an expert guest speaker to interact with participants on these 2 frameworks and supportive structures around them and how parties can engage with these and gain from them.

**Step 6:** Wind up the discussion.





## **MODULE 2**

### **Political Parties and the Electoral Process**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## 🔗 Activity 2.1

### Understanding elections

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Explain the importance of elections within a democracy.

**Step 1:** You can make notes in the space provided.

- How many elections have been held in your country in the post-colonial era?

Contribute your response in a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** Question:

- Why do you as a party participate in elections?
- What do elections mean to you?

Contribute your response in a plenary discussion.

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**Step 3:** Question:

- What are your views on elections?

The facilitator will guide you through a values clarification exercise.

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See pg 90 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Refer to PPT 2.1: *Democratic Elections* and follow and engage on the powerpoint presentation that the facilitator will deliver.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ✂ Activity 2.2

### The electoral cycle

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Describe the various processes that make up the electoral cycle.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- What electoral processes and activities are you familiar with?
- Do these activities all occur at the same time?

Contribute your responses in a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** Use HO 2.2: *Electoral Cycle* to identify the phase where each of the named activities that emerged from the brainstorming session belong. Work with others in your table group to carry out this exercise. Feedback your group work in plenary and participate in a discussion on the matter.

See pg 95 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will take you through HO 2.3: *Electoral Cycle Completed*. Participate in an interactive discussion on the various processes and activities in the electoral cycle.

See pg 96 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Questions:

- What are the implications of political parties looking at elections as an event as opposed to a process?
- Reflect and discuss with other participants in your table group.

Contribute your responses to the plenary discussion.

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**Takeaway point:** Elections are a continuous process of interconnected activities rather than a single event. When electoral stakeholders regard elections as an event it is likely to compromise the quality of the electoral process itself including the conduct in which the various activities are undertaken, the acceptability of the outcomes, and the perceived legitimacy, credibility and confidence in governance and democratic institutions including political parties. Regarding elections as an event makes for a crisis management and reactionary approach to elections. It increases the chances of parties crying foul over alleged electoral misconduct, even when unwarranted, hence casting doubt over the credibility of the whole electoral process and sowing or fanning the seeds of instability in society.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## ✂ Activity 2.3

### Electoral stakeholders

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Name the various electoral stakeholders and articulate their roles;
- Explain how political parties should relate to other electoral stakeholders.

**Step 1:** Statement: “Political parties are the main stakeholders in the electoral process”.

Reflect upon the above statement and participate in a structured debate on the matter as guided by the facilitator.

**Step 2:** Note the key points raised in the debate for and against the above motion.

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**Step 3:** You will be assigned to groups and allocated an election phase. As a group, discuss the role that political parties play in your allocated election phase. Feedback your discussion in the plenary session.

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See pg 97 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Refer to handout HO 2.4: *Political Parties and the Electoral Cycle*. The facilitator will take you through this. Reflect upon the issues that emerge and participate in a discussion on the matter. As part of your reflections consider this question:

- Are there any differences in the electoral cycle roles between the parties in power and those in opposition?

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**Takeaway point:** Though political parties are not the only stakeholders in the electoral process they are key stakeholders and need to understand and participate in many of the electoral processes. Participating fully in fulfilling the roles required of them in the electoral process in a timeous manner enables parties to be better prepared for an election. The ability of parties to fulfil the roles required of them within the framework of the electoral cycle enables not only a more credible electoral process, but also more prepared and stronger parties.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## ✂ Activity 2.4

### Electoral stakeholders

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Name and describe the various roles played by other key electoral stakeholders and how political parties relate to these stakeholders.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- Who are the electoral stakeholders you are familiar with?
- Which of these stakeholders fall into the following categories:
  - Electoral authority;
  - Government statutory bodies;
  - Electorate;
  - Civil society;
  - Others.

Contribute your answers in a brainstorming session.

Refer to HO 2.5: *Electoral Stakeholders* for a comprehensive list of stakeholders.

See pg 98 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** You will be assigned to a group. In this group you will be allocated 2 electoral stakeholders. Discuss the following questions with the others in your group:

- What are the roles that the stakeholders allocated to your group play in the electoral process? Make reference to the processes detailed in the electoral cycle and if and how the stakeholders have a role in this.
- After 5 minutes your group must join with the next table group and share your discussions. Make any further observations on the roles identified by the other group.
- Your combined group to note down in bullet form on flip chart (in table format) the roles associated with the 4 stakeholders you have discussed.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will guide the feedback session to the previous exercise. Reflect upon your takeaway reflections on the importance of the various stakeholders in the electoral process. What are the implications of their absence or of their role not being taken seriously?

**Takeaway point:** Various stakeholders are involved in executing the many functions within the electoral cycle. These stakeholders, including political parties, need to clearly understand and respect the roles played by each of them.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## 🗂️ Activity 2.5

### Political parties and electoral stakeholders

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Relate the role as parties to other electoral stakeholders.

**Step 1:** In an assigned group you will be allocated electoral stakeholders. Map out the ideal relationship of these stakeholders to you as parties i.e. what is the ideal type of relationship that should exist between you and the stakeholders? The facilitator will guide you in drawing the map.

**Step 2:** In your assigned group, enhance your map of the ideal relationship of stakeholders to parties and draw another map of the reality showing how parties and the stakeholders actually relate in your context.

**Step 3:** Deliberate on the reasons why the relationships are at this level.

- What responsibility can we take as parties regarding the state of the relationships?
- Recommend what it is we can stop, start or continue doing as political parties to ensure healthy relationships with these stakeholders.

**Step 4:** Contribute your deliberations to the plenary feedback and discussion session.

**Takeaway point:** All electoral stakeholders should contribute towards the common purpose of a credible electoral process. Parties as key electoral stakeholders must, to the best of their ability, ensure harmonious working relationships with the other stakeholders, respecting the professional nature of their mandated roles whilst also encouraging the better performance of these stakeholders. Overly antagonistic relationships with the other stakeholders impact negatively on the health of the electoral process. They increase risks such as a general lack of trust and legitimacy in democratic and governance institutions which could stall progress towards democracy strengthening.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ✂ Activity 2.6

### Electoral integrity

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Outline the principles that make for a credible election process.

**Step 1:** Refer to HO 2.6: *Role Play Electoral Integrity*. This will be enacted and you may be asked to volunteer to take part in it. If not, observe what is happening in the role play.

See pg 101 in the Resources.

- What lessons can you observe about electoral integrity from the role play?
- Name the principles of electoral conduct that you think were flouted in the role play on the electoral process.
- What do you think the consequences of these could be?

Reflect upon the above questions and contribute your thoughts in a plenary discussion.

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**Step 2:** Contribute your feedback from the group into the plenary session.

**Step 3:** Refer to handout HO 2.7: *Electoral Integrity*. Reflect upon it as the facilitator takes you through it. Note down the commonly accepted principles of electoral integrity.

See pg 102 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Refer to handout HO 2.8: *SADC Election Principles and Guidelines for Democratic Elections*. The facilitator or a guest speaker will take you through a discussion on these guidelines and the experiences in the region of adherence to these.

See pg 108 in the Resources.

**Step 5:** In groups, refer to HO 2.9: *Election Malpractice in Democratic Republic of Congo*. In groups note how malpractice affects elections without integrity. Contribute your deliberations to the plenary discussion.

See pg 112 in the Resources.

**Step 6:** Refer to PPT 2.10: *Consequences of Electoral Malpractice*. The facilitator will take you through this.

See pg 115 in the Resources.

**Takeaway point:** Elections represent the means for citizens to express their will. A credible election is thus one that is characterized by inclusiveness, transparency, accountability and competitiveness. Public confidence in the election process is critical for the integrity of the election as it reflects the representation of the true will of the people. Electoral integrity entails respecting and upholding international standards and global norms governing the appropriate conduct of elections, notably ethical behavior, fairness, impartiality and professionalism. The true measure of an election is whether it engenders broad public confidence in the process and trust in the outcome. Without electoral integrity, leaders and officials lack accountability to the public, confidence in the election results is weak, and the government lacks the necessary legitimacy.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## ✂ Activity 2.7

### Electoral integrity country context

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Apply the principles of electoral integrity to country context.

**Step 1:** List as many factors as you can think of that undermine electoral integrity. Write your list on Post-It-Notes or pieces of paper. Place one factor per post it or paper.

**Step 2:** Stick your contributions on the space provided by the facilitator. Together with other participants cluster these into categories.

**Step 3:** You will be allocated groups and a number of factors that have emerged from the previous discussion. In your groups reflect and explain how the factors undermine electoral integrity.

**Step 4:** Feedback your discussion points into the plenary.

**Step 5:** Participate in a historical timeline exercise as guided by the facilitator to map the conduct of elections in your context. Reflect upon the insights and lessons that you are learning about electoral conduct in your context.

- To what extent do you think your country practices the principles of electoral integrity?
- What are the challenges and the opportunities?

Contribute your reflections to the plenary discussion.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ✂ Activity 2.8

### Inclusivity in the electoral process

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Describe how upholding the principle of inclusivity enhances the integrity of elections.

#### Step 1: Questions:

- How many women, youth and people living with disabilities are represented in political decision-making at national level in your context?
- At your party level what is the ratio of women, youth, and people with disabilities who are selected as candidate to participate in elections?

Note down your responses and contribute to the plenary session.

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#### Step 2: Questions:

- What are your views on inclusivity in elections?

Participate in a values exercise, which will be guided by the facilitator.

**Step 3:** Refer to PPT 2.11: *Inclusivity in Electoral Process*. Engage on the powerpoint presentation by the facilitator.

See pg 117 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** You will be allocated a group, an electoral phase and a stakeholder from women, youth or people with disabilities. In your group discuss the following and note down key points:

- Common political party practices in your context regarding inclusion of the target group allocated to you.
- Discuss the reasons for the party practices; and
- Come up with possible ways that you as parties can use to ensure the meaningful participation in the electoral process of women, youth and people with disabilities. Use worksheet HO 2.12: *Inclusivity Worksheet* to complete this exercise.

See pg 119 in the Resources.

Contribute your discussion points to the plenary.

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**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## ✂ Activity 2.9

### Upholding principles of electoral integrity

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Name ways in which electoral stakeholders can uphold principles of electoral integrity.

See pg 120 in the Resources.

**Step 1:** In groups, you will be allocated HO 2.13: *Electoral Integrity Worksheets*. For each principle of electoral integrity note the roles to be played by the allocated stakeholders as well as by you as political parties to ensure that each of these principles are met in the electoral phase allocated to you. Note your key points on the flip chart.

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**Step 2:** Contribute your group deliberations in the feedback plenary session.

**Takeaway point:** Electoral integrity is a cross-cutting issue touching all processes, including the monitoring process, and all electoral stakeholders, such as poll agents. Overall electoral integrity is not dependent on achieving superlative performance in any single area, but rather on improving the many aspects of elections in the whole electoral cycle. This improvement is largely realized through the conduct of the various stakeholders.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ✂ Activity 2.10

### Conduct around winning and losing elections

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Apply principles of electoral integrity in party conduct in the winning and losing of elections.

**Step 1:** Watch videos on the conduct of parties and their members in the aftermath of winning or losing an election. Note the various responses shown. In your view do you think these responses uphold electoral integrity? Contribute your reflections on the issue in the plenary.

**Step 2:** Questions:

- Can parties that lose elections concede defeat willingly in the African context?
- Can those parties that win do so graciously?
- Consider the challenges around parties losing and winning and the consequences of parties failing to accept the results of the election.

Discuss questions in group work and note your key points on the flip chart.

Contribute your group discussion points to the plenary.

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**Step 3:** Refer to HO 2.14: *Democratic Transitions in Africa: Case of Ghana*. In your assigned groups read through and note lessons that can be useful in your context – both at party and national levels. Contribute your group discussion points to the plenary.

See pg 123 in the Resource.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## 🗘 Activity 2.11

### Electoral laws

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Name the various legal provisions according to which elections are organized in your country.

**Step 1:** Question:

- Are there laws within your context that guide the conduct of the electoral process?

Contribute your response to the brainstorming session.

**Step 2:** Questions:

- What is likely to happen in an electoral process in the absence of a legal framework?
- Is it useful for parties to be aware of and knowledgeable about the existing laws governing the electoral process in their context?
- What are the risks of not knowing the laws?

In pairs discuss the above questions. Note down your key points and contribute these in the plenary.

**Step 3:** Refer to the electoral cycle and name the various pieces of legislation that guide elections in your context. Contribute your list to the plenary discussion.

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**Step 4:** In group work you will be assigned an electoral law. Discuss it with the others in your group and produce a summary of the provisions contained in that law. Capture the key points that explain the ethos of the law on the flip chart in bullet form. Contribute your group discussion points to the plenary.

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**Takeaway point:** The legal framework determines the “rules of the game” for different phases of an election process. Thus, it is in the direct interests of electoral contestants and citizens to ensure that the rules for electoral competition, as well as the way those rules are enforced, guarantee that a genuine democratic election takes place. Stakeholders should respect the stipulated legal provisions and at the same time consider what the legal framework means for the transparency, inclusiveness and accountability of each part of the electoral cycle.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ✂ Activity 2.12

### International and regional frameworks guiding elections

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Name the various international and regional legal instruments guiding elections; and
- Explain the relevance of these instruments to the conduct of elections at local level.

**Step 1:** Various excerpts from the following frameworks will be displayed:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- Convention of Political and Civil Rights;
- African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance; and
- SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.

Identify which excerpt is from which framework?

**Step 2:** You will be assigned a specific excerpt/legal framework. Discuss how the legal framework assigned has been or can be instrumental in influencing the conduct of elections at a national level. Feedback your discussion into the plenary discussion.

**Step 3:** A guest speaker or the facilitator will take you through a presentation on the relevance of international and regional legal frameworks and will hone in on the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance and the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### PPT 2.1: *Democratic Elections*

#### OUTLINE

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ What is an election
- ▶ Functions of elections
- ▶ By-product of an election
- ▶ Conclusion

#### INTRODUCTION

“The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of a government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or equivalent free voting procedures.”

**Art. 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)**



## INTRODUCTION (Cont...)

- ▶ Elections are the hallmark of representative democracy, allowing the people regular input in choices about leaders and policy.
- ▶ Although elections constitute a key pillar of a democratic system, on their own they do not make a democratic system i.e. an election is not synonymous with democracy.
- ▶ There can be elections without democracy, yet there cannot be democracy without elections.

## WHAT IS AN ELECTION

- ▶ A process of choosing leaders at various levels (presidential, parliamentary, local government, organizational) to run national/organizational affairs on behalf of the electorate with a clear mandate over a specific period of time.
- ▶ Dieter Nohlen, defines an election as a “democratic method of choosing representatives of the people... (and)... the basis for the concept of liberal democracy” (1996:1 & 3).



## WHAT IS AN ELECTION (Cont...)

- Dieter Nohlen, defines an election as a “democratic method of choosing representatives of the people...(and)... the basis for the concept of liberal democracy”(1996:1 & 3).
- Andrew Heywood defines elections as “ a device for filling an office or post through choices made by a designated body of people: the electorate” (2002:229).

## WHAT IS AN ELECTION (Cont...)

- Elections give citizens a means to hold their leaders accountable by voting incumbents out of office or promising to hold to account those elected.
- Elections are central to ideally making democracy deliver a better quality of life by linking voters' interests to those in government and allowing citizens to select representatives who reflect their will.
- Genuine elections are instrumental in laying the foundation for responsive governance.



## TEN FUNCTIONS OF AN ELECTION

- Legitimation of political system and government;
- Transfer of national trust to persons and parties;
- Providing for orderly succession of governments;
- Selection and recruitment of leadership;
- Social mobilisation and political education for the electorate;
- Competition for political power;
- Channeling political conflicts in procedures for their peaceful settlement;
- Representation of opinions and interests of the electorate;
- Influencing policy;
- Establishing an opposition capable of exerting control over government.

## BY-PRODUCT OF AN ELECTION

- It is an instant of **participation** - lays the basis for creating **social cohesion**, and **social capital** creating the stronger possibility for the construction of a **civic culture** underlined by **social reciprocity** and **social solidarity** and **co-operation**.
- Promote **both legitimacy and credibility** which in turn promotes **citizen consent for governance**.
- Through consent, compliance is promoted, making it easier for **enforcement** without coercion.

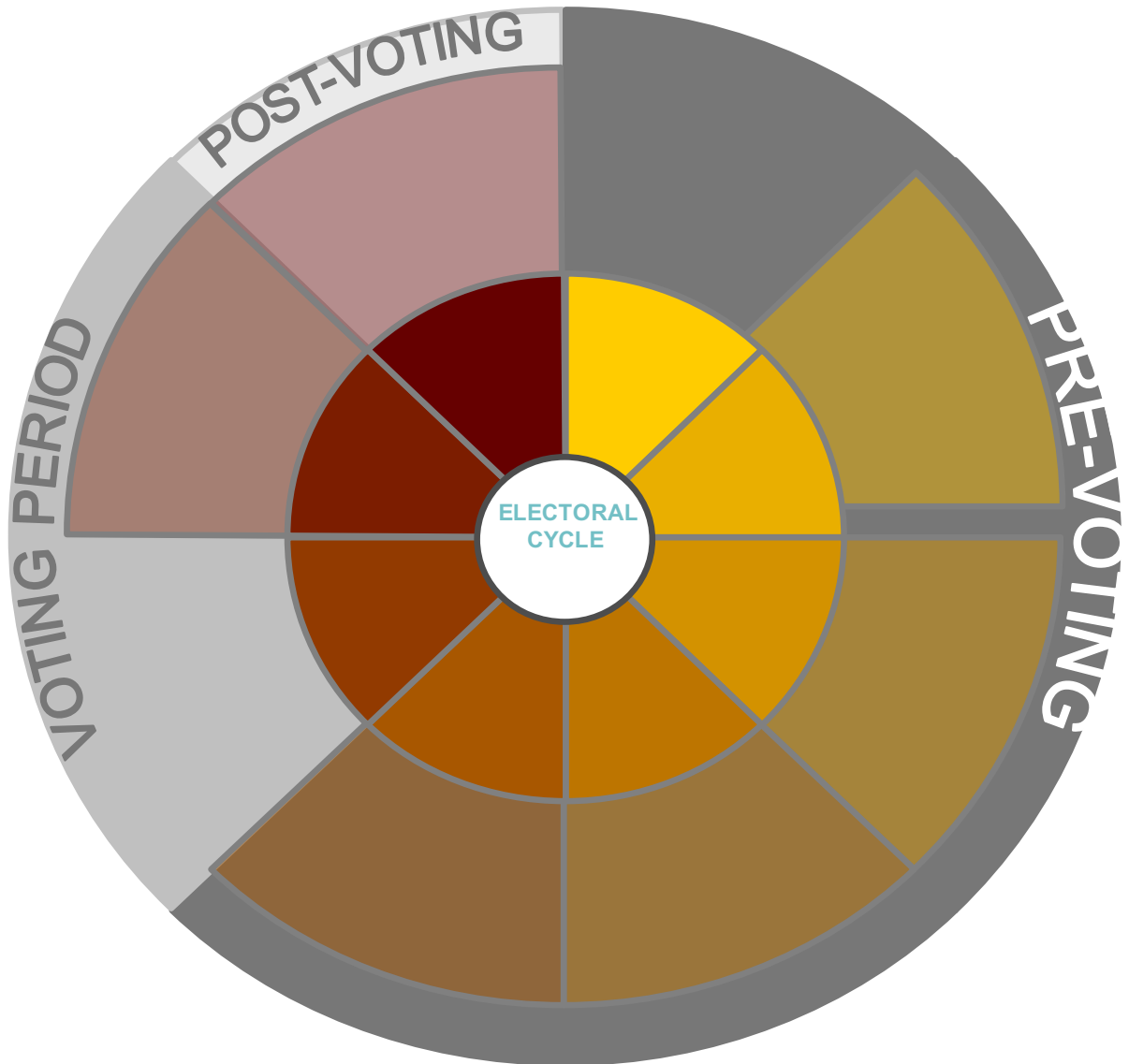


## CONCLUSION

- ▶ Democracy and elections are two concepts that are interrelated but are not the same and should not be taken to mean one and the same thing.
- ▶ However, it is important to note that **free, fair and credible elections are ONLY possible within the context of a democracy.**

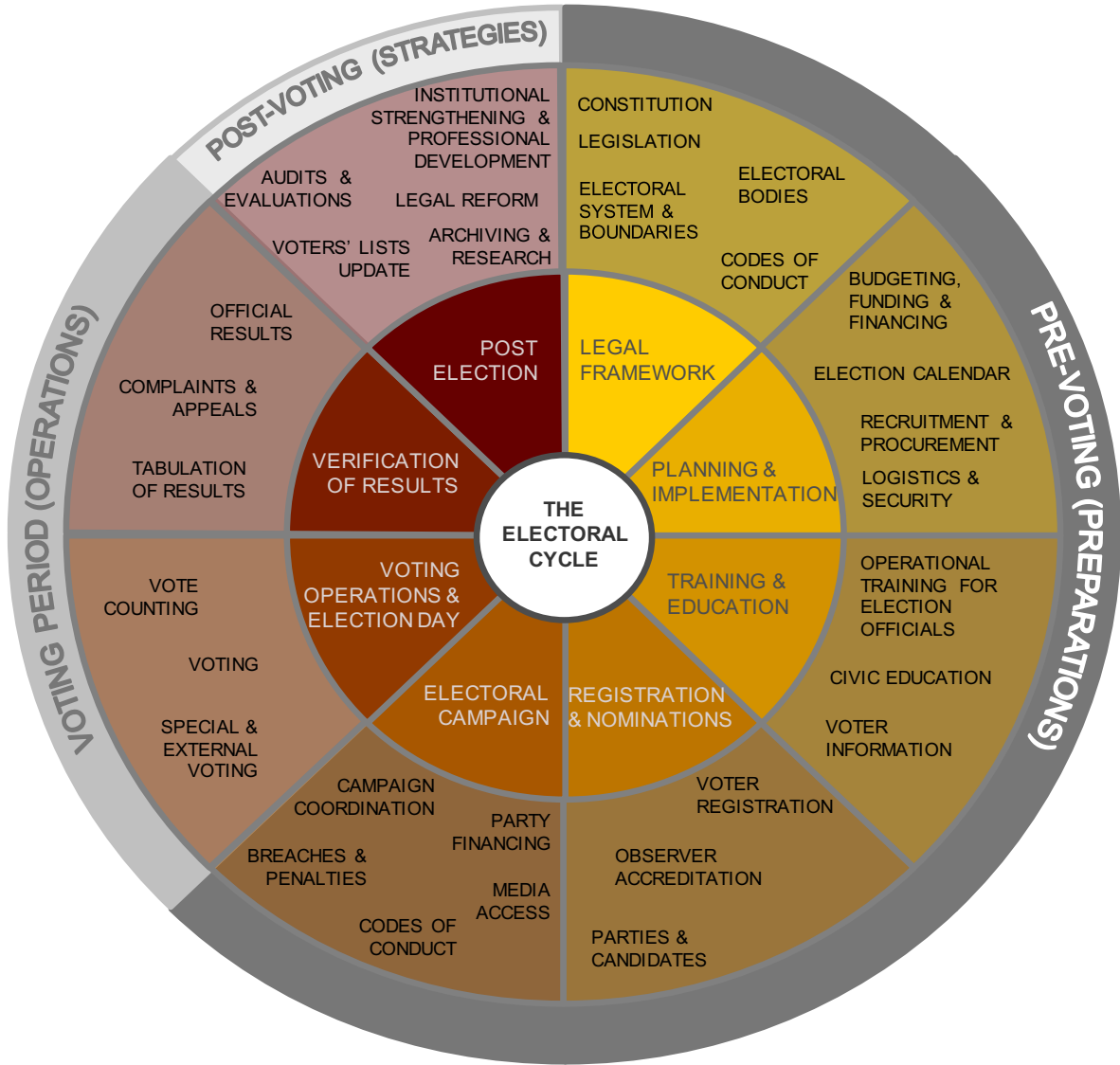


## HO 2.2: Electoral Cycle





## HO 2.3: Electoral Cycle Completed





## HO 2.4: *Political Parties and the Electoral Cycle*

### HO 2.4 Political Parties and the Electoral Cycle

#### I. Pre-electoral preparation period

- a. Roles and definitions, registration of political parties
- b. Financing a political party prior to the electoral period (election day) campaign finance
- c. Quotas and establishing a party structure and candidate list
- d. Candidate and party leadership selection
- e. Candidate registration/requirements/nomination during pre-electoral period
- f. Electoral campaign

#### II. Election Day and electoral period operations

- a. By-elections
- b. Primary elections
- c. Electoral alliances and coalitions

#### III. Post-electoral period strategy

- a. Election review and party performance review
- b. Defining political party internal structure
- c. Party structure, party members
- d. Government formation
- e. Party group/party caucus
- f. Floor-crossing

**Source:** ACE Electoral Knowledge Network: 2018

**Ref:** Electoral Approach: Political Parties and Candidates - <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/pc/pczz>



## HO 2.5: *Electoral Stakeholders*

### HO 2.5 Electoral Stakeholders

#### Three Constituencies

There are always three stakeholder constituencies involved in an election:

**The election authority.** In many cases, election legislation will establish a national election commission or designate a government agency responsible for administering elections. Depending upon the organizational structure of this body, there may be specific departments responsible for such areas as voter education, public relations, training, regulatory drafting, election preparations, and so on. There may be other statutory bodies as well, such as the legislative institutions themselves, security organisations or local governments that have some responsibility to support election preparations.

**The contestants.** The primary contestants in an election are the candidates who are running independently or being forwarded by registered political parties, public organizations, or groups of voters. Within their own campaign organizations and often with the help of political party structures, the contestants may have resources dedicated to such activities as voter information and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) activities.

**The electorate.** The third group of stakeholders is composed of all those who vote. The electorate can be considered at large, segmented into groups, such as women voters, young and first-time voters or military voters, and in terms of more formal organizations and associations described in shorthand as “civil society”. The latter, a large and amorphous grouping, has variously, and in some cases erroneously, been described as the independent, non-governmental or voluntary sector. This group plays an important role in voter education because of its ability to mobilize in favor of public interest activities, its capacity to reach out to a wide range of different audiences and its potential resources.

#### Primary Stakeholders

Primary stakeholders include the following groups:

- Political parties and candidates;
- Electoral management body (EMB) staff;
- The executive branch of government;
- Legislatures;
- Electoral dispute resolution bodies;
- The judicial system;
- Election monitors and citizen and international election observers;
- The media;
- The electorate: voters and prospective voters;
- Civic society organizations; and
- The donor community and electoral assistance agencies.



Political parties and candidates are key stakeholders; EMBs must consider their concerns and interests when designing and implementing policies and activities. Unless the EMB enjoys a good relationship with, and the confidence of, political parties, its policies and programmes will attract criticism that will make it difficult for it to enjoy widespread stakeholder support. Where political party nominees are appointed as full members of an EMB, there is a permanent structure for EMB dialogue with the political parties.

Political parties and candidates are more likely to have confidence in an EMB that maintains an open-door policy to them; treats all political parties and candidates with respect, impartiality and fairness; and considers their opinions and suggestions. It is important that all political parties believe that they are being treated equitably and are offered the same opportunities and information by the EMB. Regular meetings with political parties — possibly more frequently during an electoral period — can provide a framework for reciprocal communication and can promote acceptance of the EMB's timetables, processes and outputs.

EMBs in Canada, Lesotho and South Africa have arrangements along such lines. In Kenya, the EMB liaises with parties in a formally constituted political party liaison committee. In South Africa, the law requires the EMB to set up political party liaison committees at all levels of government, from the national to the local level. It is preferable for the EMB to meet all the political parties at the same time (rather than separately) to discuss its decisions or policies. Minutes of these meetings need to be provided to all political parties, whether they have attended or not.

In addition to these regular meetings, an EMB may be able to improve its relationships with political parties by including their representatives in EMB-sponsored events. Examples of joint activities are familiarization visits to voter registration facilities, participation in voter education and information workshops, joint media interviews or EMB-sponsored public debates between candidates. Equal opportunity to participate should be given to all political parties/blocs and candidates.

It is important to involve political parties in consultations about setting an EMB's strategic objectives and evaluations of its performance. As key EMB customers, political parties' and candidates' opinions on the EMB's focus, priorities and service are a useful way to improve electoral management. After each electoral event, it is useful for the EMB to include political parties in general consultations with stakeholders on how to improve the electoral framework, and to consider them in any proposals for electoral reform.

## **Government Departments**

Apart from the election authorities, there are other statutory bodies that may need to be consulted as the voter education programme is being refined. In some countries, departments of information or education may be responsible for electoral processes like on-going civic education programmes. Because civic education has a nation-building component, presidential offices, broadcasting or telecommunications bodies, and



departments dealing with development, constitutional planning, or other institutional arrangements may also be involved.

### **Independent Statutory Bodies**

Other independent statutory bodies may be responsible for overseeing particular aspects of a country's constitution. Human rights commissions, for example, constitutional courts, commissions responsible for gender and racial equity, and councils dealing with special groups all have had increasing advocacy and educational roles. As such, they have a role to play during elections and should be involved.

### **Political Parties**

Among the electoral actors, the political parties have a very important role to play as they contribute to the expression of the suffrage of the citizens.

Thus, political parties must remember that an election is not being prepared on the eve of the poll. They need to develop strategies for the mobilization and orientation of citizens so that they register on the electoral list; the assistance of their members and supporters in obtaining national identity cards, without which the identification of citizens will be difficult. Political parties must also take advantage of the provisions of the electoral legislation in order to fully understand their role in the electoral process and to fulfill it fully when the time comes.

Source: ACE Electoral Knowledge Network: 2018

Ref: Election Stakeholders - <http://aceproject.org/main/english/ve/veb03a.htm>



## HO 2.6: Role Play Electoral Integrity

### HO. 2.6 Role Play Electoral Integrity

Roles:

Electoral management body (EMB) officials (2)

Political party candidates (3)

Polling officer (1)

Voters (5)

Public Media (1)

Judge (1)

It is election time. The public broadcaster is screening the campaigns of the current ruling party positively. The news on the campaigns of the opposition is highly limited and reported with a negative bias.

On election day, some political party candidates are “secretly” buying votes at the polling station. Others are secretly influencing their supporters to disrupt the process so as to discourage voters from voting.

Polling officers who are assisting blind voters are not respecting their wishes and instead putting their mark on their personal preferences.

When the election results are released it emerges that the opposition has won. The ruling party is in shock. They never thought it was possible. They command the EMB to delay the announcement of the results whilst they strategize on what to do. The EMB obeys and announces a set of results that is different to what was shown through observer and monitor missions and displayed at polling stations.

The opposition challenges the election results and takes their case to court, but the court keeps postponing the case. Inauguration of the candidate takes place before the opposition's case is heard.

Not all the funding allocated by government and the donors for use by the EMB was spent during the election period. They decide to use it to award themselves bonuses for “working so hard”. They tell the accounting officer to record the expenditure under communications costs.



## HO 2.7: *Electoral Integrity*

### HO 2.7 Electoral integrity

Elections must be conducted with integrity for strengthening democracy, furthering development, and for social and individual security. Where elections are held and integrity is not challenged, the bedrock of the democratic principle of political equality is honoured: citizens select their leader and hold them accountable. Where elections lack integrity and politicians, the leaders, officials and institutions are not accountable, the public is denied equal opportunity to participate in and influence the political process. In such cases the public loses interest in the election and faith in its outcome and the government that is formed would remain weak and alienated from the public.

In that case institutions would become empty shells deprived of ethos and principle and the spirit of democracy would be dampened. As has been proffered by Pippa Norris the government that is formed would tend to be authoritarian and disconnected from the people. Electoral integrity is defined as: “Any election that is based on the democratic principles of universal suffrage and political equality as reflected in international standards and agreements, and is professional, impartial, and transparent in its preparation and administration throughout the electoral cycle including during pre-electoral period, the campaign, on polling day and its aftermath” has clear legitimacy.

Electoral integrity not only boosts social integration and upholds the rule of law, but regularly scheduled elections with universal and equal suffrage, and held as a secret ballot, has tangible benefits. One of the benefits is that it empowers women, fights corruption, delivers services to the poor, improves governance and ends political or ethnical conflicts peacefully. Moreover, a peaceful transfer of power takes place, which is the essence of democracy.

Five major challenges have often been identified that need to be overcome to achieve electoral integrity and meet the attributes of effective electoral governance. These are: 1) Building the rule of law to substantiate claims to human rights and electoral justice; 2) Building professional, competent EMBs with full independence of action to administer elections that are transparent and merit public confidence; 3) Creating institutions and norms of multiparty competition and division of power that bolster democracy as a mutual security system among political contenders; 4) Removing barriers – legal, administrative, political, economic, and social – to secure universal and equal political participation; and 5) Regulating uncontrolled, undisclosed, and opaque political finance.

### Common Principles of Electoral Integrity

Election integrity involves a set of standards based on democratic principles and a legal and institutional system that encourages and protects fair and equitable



elections. These systems need to be adapted to the social and political context of each country, but the basic objectives are the same and stem from the need to ensure free and fair elections. The guiding principles essential to maintaining election integrity are:

- Respect for principles of electoral democracy;
- Ethical conduct;
- Accuracy;
- Institutional protections (a system of checks and balances);
- Oversight and enforcement; and
- Transparency.

### **Respect for Principles of Electoral Democracy**

According to the principles of electoral democracy, all citizens have equal rights to participate as voters and candidates; all citizens must have equal voting power; the secrecy of the vote must be assured; voters must have access to political information; legislation must provide for fair and non-partisan election administration; and elections must be held regularly and decided by the freely cast votes of the majority.

These principles guarantee free and fair elections as an essential condition of election integrity. A free election depends on freedom of speech, assembly, association and movement, and freedom from fear. A fair election depends on a transparent electoral process, equitable electoral legislation and systems, equal opportunities for all participants, an independent and impartial elections commission, lack of intimidation, proper procedures, and acceptance of the electoral results.

Election integrity depends on a commitment to abide by the democratic system of governance and the rule of law; channels for participation and complaints; an openness to change where it is needed; and acceptance of the official results of a free and fair election. The system protects the principles of electoral democracy and free and fair elections through its legal framework and institutional framework.

### **Ethical Conduct**

Election integrity depends on ethical conduct by electoral administrators, election officers, candidates, parties and all participants in the electoral process. It implies that all participants should behave in a way that promotes a free and fair process, and that discourages conduct that jeopardizes the integrity of the process. To achieve this, all participants must carry out their duties or roles in a professional, transparent and impartial manner. This means that public officials (including electoral administrators) must not use their position for personal or partisan



benefit. It means that candidates and parties must not misuse campaign contributions. And it means that lobbyists must not use money or other incentives to improperly influence an electoral administrator or public official, and must disclose their funding and spending as required by law.

Ethical conduct also depends on respect for the political rights and activities of others; acceptance by citizens and electoral administrators that everyone has the right to freely debate political issues and promote different political viewpoints; and an understanding that no one has the right to interfere with political parties' efforts to spread their message or with other citizens' political activities.

Many systems have a code of conduct that sets out the behavior required of all participants in an election.

### **Accuracy**

Integrity problems are usually thought to result from dishonest or fraudulent practices, but they can also be the result of human error or an honest mistake. It is essential for election administration to be professional and accurate. Sloppy work or inaccuracies in totalling votes can raise serious integrity questions and compromise the validity of an election. The same checks-and-balances designed to limit power and ensure accountability can also help catch mistakes. Although a deliberate attempt to derail the process or manipulate election results would be treated as a criminal act, problems resulting from mistakes and inaccuracies usually remain an administrative or civil matter.

Integrity problems can also arise from weaknesses in the wording of laws or the design of systems. For example, laws and regulations delegate to election officers certain responsibilities for administering elections. Poorly worded provisions granting too much discretion to an individual officer would thereby create opportunities for abuse of power. By the same token, a poorly designed voter registration system could allow multiple registrations by dishonest people or could raise barriers to registration for large segments of the eligible population. Outdated laws could also cause problems if they do not take into account modern technology and do not cover computer-based fraud.

Inaccuracies in defining legal and institutional frameworks, as well as in implementing and enforcing them, can inadvertently create many problems and encourage deliberate fraud.

### **Institutional Protections: Checks and Balances**

Institutional protections based on checks and balances are widely used today to protect integrity and keep elections free and fair. To be effective, they must be part



of the legal and institutional frameworks. They ensure that the various authorities inherent in the electoral process are divided among different bodies, providing a counterbalance to the electoral administration. The division of powers gives political parties, civil society and the media a role in the oversight of elections and the presentation of public reports.

Separation and limitation of powers are usually specified in the legal framework. For example, legal provisions can separate administration and enforcement of a law. They can also separate the powers of prosecuting authorities and courts that issue rulings. The powers associated with oversight responsibility can be delegated to a division of an inspector general's department or an electoral court. These protections can also delegate authority for enforcing electoral law to the judicial system. Administrative regulations should clearly specify the delegation and limitation of authority for each division and staff position within the electoral system. This will ensure that electoral organizations are aware of the extent of their authority and know that a system is in place to keep election officers from exceeding their responsibilities.

When there is a division of electoral powers between several bodies, it is important to develop good coordination so that organizations work together without duplication of effort or conflicting approaches. It is also important to ensure that the public, politicians and parties are informed about the roles and responsibilities of each agency to avoid confusion and misunderstandings.

In New Zealand, for example, different institutions have responsibility for specific electoral tasks. The Chief Electoral Officer, an employee of the Ministry of Justice, is responsible for running the elections. The Electoral Enrolment Centre (part of the New Zealand Post Office) handles voter registration and voter list maintenance. The Electoral Commission is an independent body mandated to register political parties and their logos, inform the public about electoral matters, allocate public funds for campaign broadcasting, and receive campaign financing reports. The police are responsible for investigating breaches of electoral law and prosecuting offenders. The Representation Commission is an independent statutory body that determines electoral boundaries. A parliamentary committee reviews election administration and recommends amendments to electoral legislation.

In countries that are in transition or where there is no reliable judicial system, the only way to counter the influence of existing institutions may be by establishing an electoral commission with wide-ranging powers, similar to the Australian Electoral Commission.

The Mexican electoral system, which underwent a series of reforms between 1990 and 1996, is a good example of effective electoral reform using separation of



powers and a system of checks and balances. To limit the power of electoral administrators, the reformers set up a scheme of interlocking institutional constraints. Among other things, they drafted new electoral legislation, the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (COFIPE). They took the administration of elections out of the hands of the Ministry of the Interior and established a permanent, non-partisan and autonomous election management body, the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). They set up a judicial tribunal specifically to rule on electoral disputes. They drew up a list of electoral crimes and specified harsh penalties; a special prosecutor is responsible for enforcing the law. They revamped the register of electors and issued high-tech, high-security voter ID cards. And they established a party oversight regime, allowing political parties to monitor each step of the process.

## **Oversight and Enforcement**

To ensure a free and fair process, and to make administrators and participants accountable, the legal and institutional frameworks should provide for oversight and enforcement of election laws.

Continuous oversight of the process by internal and external mechanisms can locate problems in the system and identify the groups or individuals responsible.

Enforcement of legal and regulatory measures is essential to monitor the actions of personal and special interests, and to create the conditions for a free and fair election. Enforcement is a deterrent to those contemplating illegal or unethical behaviour, and it punishes those who have broken the law. An atmosphere of impunity and a lack of enforcement encourage a climate of corruption and mediocre performance. In a climate such as this, there is little incentive for electoral administrators, election officers or candidates to follow rules or play fair. Ongoing enforcement is an important priority in rooting out corruption from the election process, bringing those responsible to swift and sure justice, and maintaining a sense of trust in the system.

## **Transparency**

Lastly, a system with integrity is transparent. Transparency makes institutional systems and the actions/decisions they take widely accessible and understood. It is difficult to maintain or publicly justify a system that permits abuse and corruption. Electoral administrators and election officers should be held accountable for decisions they make when administering elections; legislators should be held accountable for the content of the laws they pass and the level of funding allocated for elections; and candidates and political parties should be held accountable for their conduct and that of their supporters during the campaign.



Participants need to have access to all of the procedural information so that they can understand how the process works. Transparency, along with the public scrutiny that follows, usually requires electoral administrators and election officers to comply with the rules and be accountable for their actions.

Regular consultations between the policy-making bodies, the electoral management body and political players can help build a transparent electoral administration and a framework that is acceptable to the participants. Consultation is especially useful in countries that are in transition, where procedures are still being developed and candidates have concerns about the capacity of the electoral agency and policy bodies to organize and hold free and fair elections.

Transparency builds understanding of the process, the difficulties encountered, and why electoral administrators and election officers make certain decisions. Transparency increases the credibility of the process and the legitimacy of the results. If the electoral process is free and fair, accurate, transparent and monitored, and if laws and regulations are enforced, it is difficult for participants and voters not to accept the election results or the legitimacy of the newly elected representatives.

Source: Ace. Electoral Network

## References

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## PPT 2.8: SADC Election Principles and Guidelines

### PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

- ▶ The development of the principles governing democratic elections aims at enhancing the transparency and credibility of elections and providing guidance to member states on elections and the enhancement of democracy and good governance.

### PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS (Cont...)

- ▶ The Guidelines informed by:
- ▶ The SADC legal and policy instruments and
- ▶ The major principles and guidelines emanating from the OAU/AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa – AHG/DECL.1 (XXXVIII); the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007); the AU Guidelines for African Union Electoral Observation and Monitoring Missions – EX/CL/35 (III) Annex II.



## PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS (Cont...)

- ▶ Member states committed to do the following:
- ▶ Encourage the full participation of all citizens in democratic and development processes;
- ▶ Ensure that all citizens enjoy fundamental freedoms and human rights, including freedom of association, assembly and expression;
- ▶ Ensure that the date or period of elections is prescribed by law. The date or period of elections shall be based upon the legal framework and applicable constitutional provisions;

## PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS (Cont...)

- ▶ 4.1.4 Take all necessary measures and precautions to prevent corruption, bribery, favouritism, political violence, intolerance and intimidation;
- ▶ 4.1.5 Promote and respect the values of electoral justice which include integrity, impartiality, fairness, professionalism, efficiency and regularity of elections;



## PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS (Cont...)

- ▶ Promote necessary conditions to foster transparency, freedom of the media; access to information by all citizens; and equal opportunities for all candidates and political parties to use the state media;
- ▶ Guarantee an environment of open contest with no undue exclusion and restrictions on anyone to vote as well as the right of eligible and qualified citizens to stand as candidates in any election;

## PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS (Cont...)

- ▶ Encourage regular reviews of the participation of citizens in the diaspora in national elections;
- ▶ Uphold and guarantee the impartiality and independence of the Judiciary, the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and all other electoral institutions;
- ▶ Ensure that voter education capacitates and empowers all eligible citizens, as well as fostering ownership of the electoral process and the democratic political system;



## PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS (Cont...)

- ▶ Ensure the adherence to a binding Electoral Code of Conduct;
- ▶ Ensure the acceptance of the election results by all electoral stakeholders as proclaimed to have been free, fair, transparent, credible and peaceful by the competent and independent national electoral authorities in accordance with the respective laws of the land;
- ▶ Condemn and reject unconstitutional change of government and non-acceptance of results, after due process, as announced by the legally competent authorities.



## HO 2.9: Election Malpractice in Democratic Republic of Congo

### HO.2.9 Electoral Malpractice in the DRC

#### Voters and Observation

The statistics were somewhat ambiguous: though, in absolute terms, more people voted in 2011, the rate of participation decreased and the number of discarded ballots increased. These factors can be interpreted in different ways, relating to the quality of registration and voting in both years, but would not seem to be strong enough to enable a definitive judgement to be made. International observation was significantly down but domestic observation was considerably increased, proving that the DRC has a healthy civil society. The election, therefore, did not suffer from a “lack of eyes on the target”, though the diminished number of international observers probably represented diminished international attention, which plays an important role in the DRC’s current situation.

In 2006, 25 420 199 people were entitled to vote. A total of 25 712 552 voters were registered but 292 353 were excluded from the voters’ roll for multiple registration (Nanitelamio 2008). The official turnout was 70.5% (approximately 17 921 240) in the first round and 64.5% (16 396 028) in the second, run-off, round. There were 4.9% invalid and 0.7% blank ballots in the first round and 1.7% invalid and 0.4% blank ballots in the second (Carter Center 2006c). According to the Independent National Electoral Commission (La Commission Électorale Nationale Indépendante – CENI), in 2011 there were 32 024 640 voters, of whom 18 911 572 (59.05%) voted, minus 768 468 spoiled or blank ballots (4.1%) giving a final tally of 18 143 104 (56.7%) “valid voters”. Putting aside potential manipulation, these figures show important slippage in the level of participation and an official doubling of discarded ballots (perhaps partly due to less funding from international donors for voter education (Carter Center 2011a). On the other hand, more people actually put ballots into boxes, perhaps saying something about the registration process.

#### Media, courts, violence

The Audiovisual and Communication High Council (Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel et de la Communication – CSAC), which replaced the High Media Authority just two months before the elections as the government agency responsible for ensuring equal access to public media during elections, was accused of bias in the administration of its mandate. EU mission chief Mariya Nedelcheva noted that presidential candidates did not get equal access to the national television network, with Kabila receiving 86% of airtime against just 1% for Tshisekedi.

Nedelcheva also noted the nomination of 18 new magistrates by the president, raising doubts about the independence of the Supreme Court, which was charged with examining the preliminary results and declaring them official (AFP 2011). Earlier that year, the constitution was amended so that the candidate with the most votes



(regardless of the percentage) wins the elections, removing the need for a second round. A UN human rights report documented 188 violations between 1 November 2010 and 30 September 2011 apparently linked to the electoral process and relating to freedom of expression, physical integrity, liberty and security of individuals and freedom of peaceful assembly (Monusco & OHCHR 2011).

Most of these incidents directly involved elements of the Congolese National Police or the National Intelligence Service targeting supporters of the opposition parties. International observers also expressed concern about violent pre-election demonstrations. Human Rights Watch (2011) reported at least 18 civilians dead and 100 seriously wounded in electoral violence between 26 and 28 November. The majority of those killed were shot by the Republican Guard in Kinshasa. Other civilians were killed and injured in fighting between rival political parties, attacks by armed groups, and mob violence.

On election day there were incidents of violence related to suspected fraud, augmented by the poor preparation of electoral lists. Many citizens had been left off the lists and their late posting, just before the election, allowed little chance to demand a revision. Electors and officials were often unsure whether a particular voter could vote. Late and insufficient materials at some polling stations did not help either. Voting material did not arrive in some polling stations for four days after the election was supposed to have been held. EU observers noted attempted ballot box stuffing in several provinces, undelivered election materials, unsealed ballot boxes, voters turned away from polling stations and other problems. In some cases, when election officials or others tried to stop apparent fraud, they were threatened or attacked by those committing the fraud, some of them members of the security forces. Several polling stations were burned down following allegations of ballot box stuffing. In other areas there were attempts to intimidate electors into voting a certain way, notably by Erasto Ntibaturama of the former Rwanda-backed rebel militia-turned political party, the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP). Observers say he compelled voters to vote for his son, Bahati Ibatunganya, and for Kabila.

Following the elections there were violent demonstrations, resulting in harsh crackdowns. A report contested by the UN Joint Human Rights Office claimed that defence and security forces had killed at least 33 people and injured 83 others between 26 November and 25 December 2011 as well as arbitrarily arresting 265 civilians (see UNJHRO 2012; Ministère de la justice 2012).

## **Election Evaluation**

There were stark differences among the evaluations of the different monitoring missions. All international observers noted that voting day was generally peaceful and that the Congolese people showed their determination to live in a democracy by walking long distances and suffering long waits to vote (see, eg, AU, SADC, ECCAS, ICGLR & COMESA 2011; EU 2011; Carter Center 2011b; AETA/EurAc 2011;



Monusco 2011). For the missions of the AU, SADC and other African interstate organisations this seemed to be enough and they ratified the results (AU, SADC ECCAS, ICGLR & COMESA 2011; BBC Africa News 2011). The Francophonie (which, in addition to numerous African members, also had some important Western ones) limited itself to calling for respect for the legal process, for non-violence and for inclusive dialogue (La Francophonie 2012). Most Western and Congolese missions expressed a more critical view. The Carter Center (2011c) was particularly scathing, saying the quality and integrity of vote tabulation varied across the country and the results “lacked credibility” though it also said the serious problems observed did not necessarily mean the final order of candidates would have been any different. It highlighted the loss of 2 000 polling station results in Kinshasa and extremely high turnout in pro-Kabila Katanga contrasted with average participation in pro-Tshisekedi Kasai Occidental. The Center also noted delays in announcing results, a lack of proper observer access to the tabulation process and some severe restrictions on media and communication.

After voting ended, opposition candidates and observers complained that the results had not been properly separated by polling station, as required by law. The EU EOM asked that, in the name of transparency, detailed results be posted at the local compilation centres as well as on the CENI's internet site. This appears to have been done initially only to voting-centre level, but, according to a diplomatic source, the results were subsequently distributed on CDs to interested parties (see CENI site; AETA 2011).

The conclusions of the Catholic Church's observation mission were broadly similar in tone (CENCO 2012). It denounced the chaos, irregularities and violence and called for an overhaul of the CENI. The report of the National Electoral Observation Mission (Mission nationale d'observation 2011) included a number of pointed criticisms, including fraud, as did the report of the “Voice of the Voiceless for Human Rights” (La Voix des Sans-Voix pour les droits de l'homme – VSV 2012). VSV also decried a lack of political culture, saying neither Kabila nor Tshisekedi.

***Adapted from Timothy B Reid: CONGOLESE ELECTIONS 2011: Mostly a Problem of Global Governance and Negative ‘Soft Power’, not Resources.***



## PPT 2.10: *Consequences of Electoral Malpractice*

### ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE CONSEQUENCES

When elections work well they can:

- select office-holders and governments;
- determine policy priorities;
- link citizens (as principals) with representatives (as agents);
- generate inclusive legislatures;
- confer legitimacy on elected authorities;
- hold leaders to account; and
- provide the main opportunity for most ordinary citizens to participate in politics.

### ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE CONSEQUENCES

“Well-functioning contests can also be expected to strengthen a citizen's feelings of political legitimacy, including trust in elected institutions such as parties and governments, and overall satisfaction with the performance of democracy and protection of human rights. Even losers are thought more likely to accept the outcome of a fair election in the belief that in the next contest they have an equal chance of prevailing”. Pippa Norris



## ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE CONSEQUENCES

Legitimacy crises for governing regime can:

- ▶ have effect of making the government authoritarian to exert its authority - "The less the power, the greater the desire to exercise it" - Bernard Levin;
- ▶ undermine political stability;
- ▶ decrease political trust in democracy;
- ▶ cause a violent standoff – leading to destruction and stagnation of the country's democracy – "When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers";
- ▶ cause civil unrest;
- ▶ prevent democratic culture and institutions taking root and maturing – democracy stagnation.
- ▶ have a negative effect on the confidence of voters in the elective procedure. Thus, it leads to political apathy and low voter turnout in ensuing elections reinforcing legitimacy crisis.



## PPT 2.11: *Inclusivity in Electoral Process*

### INCLUSIVE ELECTIONS

- ▶ Elections where all those eligible have the opportunity to vote to choose their elected representatives, or to be representatives themselves, are central to democracy.
- ▶ Ensuring that women and men and other groups in society can and do participate without unfair barriers is a core component of delivering an inclusive election.

### INCLUSIVE ELECTIONS

- ▶ “When women participate in elections – as voters, candidates, electoral administrators, or party supporters – they can express their own needs and interests. Decisions better reflect the electorate. Political processes are more inclusive. Democracy is strengthened”. UNDP



## INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS

The barriers to access different areas of electoral participation that may be perceived by the People Living With Disabilities (PLWD) relate to:

- ▶ difficulties in voter registration;
- ▶ inaccessible registration materials or facilities;
- ▶ inadequate or inaccessible voter education and related materials;
- ▶ difficulties in physical access to polling stations;
- ▶ inability to vote independently and privately;
- ▶ absence of inappropriate assistance from poll workers.



## HO 2.12: Inclusivity Worksheet

### HO 2.12 Inclusivity Worksheet

#### Electoral Phase

Electoral Process	Current Situation for women Fully Involved (FI), partially involved (PI), nominally involved (NI), not involved at all (NIA)	Current situation for youth (FI, PI, NI, NIA)	Current situation for PLWD (FI, PI, NI, NIA)	Possible recommendations to improve inclusivity status (what to stop, start and continue doing).



## HO 2.13: Electoral Integrity Worksheets

### HO 2.13 Electoral Integrity Worksheets

Stakeholders to pick from:

- Political parties
- Media
- Civil society
- EMB
- Voters
- Observers and monitors
- Voter registration office
- Statutory bodies (e.g. police)

#### 1. Exercising Transparency

Electoral Phase and Process	Stakeholder	Conduct to be Exercised
e.g.Pre-Election Voter Registration	Voter Registration Office	Must publish and display a voters' roll for inspection before the elections
Campaign	Media	Must not show bias against any of the parties and must give a balanced version of the conduct of all the parties and accord equal air play.



## 2. Exercising Respect for principles of electoral democracy

Electoral Phase and Process	Stakeholder	Conduct to be Exercised

## 3. Exercising Ethical Conduct

Electoral Phase and Process	Stakeholder	Conduct to be Exercised

## 4. Exercising Accuracy

Electoral Phase and Process	Stakeholder	Conduct to be Exercised




**5. Exercising Institutional Protections  
(a system of checks and balances)**

<b>Electoral Phase and Process</b>	<b>Stakeholder</b>	<b>Conduct to be Exercised</b>

**6. Exercising Oversight and Enforcement**

<b>Electoral Phase and Processes</b>	<b>Stakeholder</b>	<b>Conduct Expected</b>



## HO 2.14: *Democratic Transitions in Africa: Case of Ghana.*

### HO 2.14 Democratic Transitions in Africa: the Case of Ghana

A number of countries in Africa have been experiencing challenges when it comes to democratic transition. Examples include the upheavals which started towards the end of 2010 in Côte d'Ivoire, where Laurent Gbagbo refused to cede power to Alassane Ouattara after being defeated in an election – a situation which degenerated into post-election violence. Zimbabwe has similarly experienced the same phenomenon with elections in 2008 and 2018 having degenerated into devastating post-election violence. Kenya's elections of 2009 saw deadly post-election violence.

Generally, democratic societies, which adhere to universal suffrage, respect the outcomes of elections, regardless of which party wins. In this regard, Ghana stands out as a trailblazer of peaceful transitions of power. Senegal is another country in West Africa which has experienced smooth transition – in 2000 and 2012, when Abdoulaye Wade peacefully conceded power to Macky Sall after losing the March election.

Ghana's path to electoral democracy started during the early 1990s when Jerry Rawlings abandoned coup tendencies and military rule and decided to embrace genuine civilian democracy. This was as a result of increased internal demands for democracy, coupled with international pressure – especially from the Bretton Woods institutions, which pressurized the political leadership at the time to heed the citizens' call for reforms. The transition to multiparty democracy was approved by a national referendum which saw 93% of voters approving the new constitution on 28 April 1992, thus ushering in a new period of democracy. The first democratic elections in Ghana were subsequently held that same year (1992) and won by Rawlings, heralding the beginning of a new era which was to be characterized by entrenchment of democratic values and commendable systems of governance.

Initially, some opposition political parties did not agree with the electoral outcome and showed their discontent by threatening to pull out of the parliamentary elections that were to follow. Instead of mobilizing the electorate to engage in violent protests, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) – which had lost the 1992 presidential elections – expressed its grievances by writing a book entitled *The Stolen Verdict*. This was an exceptional way used by the elite in Ghana to protest against the election results. As a result, all key stakeholders entered into dialogue under the supervision of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee. The parties managed to bury their differences and agreed to abide by the country's constitutional provisions. Since then, Ghana has made substantial democratic progress. Subsequent elections were held as per the constitution and Rawlings managed to enjoy two full terms of four years each at the helm of government. For the virtually two decades that Rawlings



was in power, with half the period under military dictatorship and the second half as a civilian democracy, the 'coup mentality' was successfully destroyed in Ghana.

By 2001, Rawlings had handpicked a successor, John Atta Mills, to lead the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party to contest the presidential election. The first contest for the 2001 election produced no outright winner for the presidency. After a presidential election run-off John Atta Mills, who was Rawlings' preferred successor, lost to John Agyekum Kufuor of the NPP by a margin of 57% to 43%. During that election, many people expected Rawlings to take advantage of his incumbency to manipulate the election in favour of his party, the NDC. It was also projected that although Rawlings had promised to respect the will of the people by respecting the outcome of the election, it was highly likely that he was bound to resist any outcome that was short of a win for the NDC. Interestingly, Rawlings and the NDC kept their promise to respect the outcome of a democratic electoral process. The NDC bowed out of power gracefully, and Ghana was now progressing firmly along the path towards the consolidation of long-term political stability where free and fair elections are accepted by all contestants – both winners and losers. This marked a peaceful transition of power from one political party to another, a second feat in the consolidation of democracy in Ghana. This switch of government by way of respecting the will of the people as expressed through the ballot box sent a clear and encouraging message to other African countries that Ghana had come of age in the quest for nationhood.

Another election took place four years later, in 2004. Although the NDC was hopeful that it could wrestle power from the NPP, the latter party won again. In line with the growing expectation that the electoral outcome would be acceptable to every Ghanaian, the NDC conceded defeat for the second time, leading to a very peaceful post-election period. This allowed John Kufuor and the NPP to enjoy two terms in power.

In December 2008, and for the third time running, Ghana earned and consolidated its position as a pacesetter in Africa, in terms of respecting the will of the people. Another election was peacefully conducted, leading to the country's second peaceful transition – this time from the NPP to the NDC. The NDC bounced back into power after John Atta Mills won the presidential election, beating the NPP presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, by a razor-thin margin of about 40,000 votes. This was despite the fact that the NPP had almost 100,000 more votes than the NDC in the first round of voting which did not produce an outright winner, and coupled with the advantage of incumbency and the huge support base as evidenced by the total number of votes that the NPP got during the first round of elections. The NPP humbly conceded defeat and handed over power to the NDC – clearly signifying a maturing democracy.

These developments earned Ghana international praise. On 4 January 2009, the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, praised Ghana for the orderly elections and peaceful transition, which he said was a sign of commitment to democratic processes. Furthermore, the International Institute for Justice and



Development and the World Bank Governance Indicators for 2009 both recognized Ghana's good governance and democratic processes. They praised Ghana's peaceful transition of power, despite a tightly contested and drawn-out election. These democratic developments created ample evidence of Ghana's political stability and a much needed hope for Africa in view of the continent's dented electoral credibility.

It is pertinent to note that praising Ghana's transparent and credible elections and change of governments does not necessarily imply that its political system is perfect. Like most nations, both the developed and the developing, there are always some 'bumps' along the way. Widespread electoral malpractice and political chicanery has neither been witnessed nor reported much in Ghana's elections since the 1990s. Although politically motivated violence has been reported in some instances during election times in northern Ghana, the incidence is usually relatively low compared to other African countries. Even the ethnic divisions which were witnessed during the 2008 election run-off were not as widespread and destructive as in other countries. By and large, it is the mature and peaceful manner of handling these challenges which make Ghana stand out as the epitome of democracy in Africa.

Source: Anyway Sithole, ACCORD, 2012.





# **MODULE 3**

## **Strategic Plan for Poll Watching**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT - Powerpoint

HO - Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers

## Key understanding

Poll watching is an instrumental role played by parties and supported by appropriate comprehensive strategic plans to protect the integrity of the electoral process.

## Activity 3.1

### Poll watching

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe the role and relevance of poll watching.

**Summary:** Poll watching serves the important role of administering one of the fundamental democratic freedoms, that of voting. Although there are various other processes aimed at ensuring the credibility of the elections, including observation, it is commonly argued that the best way is judgment and authentication by the key local stakeholders, especially the political parties and the electorate. Poll watching is important to safeguard the democratic process and build confidence in the election results.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to indicate, by show of hands, who has been involved in poll watching.

Ask a cross section of those who have participated in poll watching to briefly share what they did, why and what the experience was like for them.

**Step 2:** In buzz groups of 3 ask participants to discuss their understanding of election monitoring. Ask them how it differs from election observation.

**Step 3:** Facilitate a brief plenary feedback session.

**Step 4:** In the plenary discussion ask participants:

- To say what they think is likely to happen if elections in their context were conducted without poll watchers. Allow a cross section of participants to respond.
- What could go wrong at a polling station even if poll watchers were present?

**Step 5:** Ask participants to give their views on the necessity of poll watching, specifically by party agents.

**Step 6:** Do a brief presentations on the importance of poll agents in elections, based on PPT 3.1: *Poll Watching*.

**Make the point:** Poll watching serves to safeguard the interests of the political parties and candidates. Through poll watching, poll agents get more information about the performance of their political party or candidate in electoral divisions and throughout the country. They also get reports from polling stations that help assess voter turnout. The information collected by poll agents can be very useful to a party or independent candidate in re-strategizing or capacity building for future elections.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 114 in the Resources.



## Activity 3.2

### Understanding strategic planning for poll watching

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the strategic importance of poll watching;
- Develop an effective poll watching strategy.

**Summary:** As elections become more competitive and highly technical, it is not sufficient to simply deploy party agents at the polling stations. For maximum value in poll watching, political parties and independent candidates need to have a clear strategy on how they will interface with election day activities. Such a strategic approach needs to be cognizant of the calibre of individuals required for poll watching. They require training, technical support, strategic deployment, coordination, supervision and infrastructure, including communication equipment.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants what they understand by strategic planning and strategic planning for poll watching. Write their responses on a flip chart.

**Step 2:** Ask participants whether they have been involved in strategic plan development in the party. Was this on a specific theme or on broader party strategy? How was the strategy developed and what was the outcome?

**Step 3:** Give a presentation on PPT 3.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning*. Depending on the participants' experiences, this may need to be simplified and placed in context. The presentation should make references to poll watching, the specific elements that may be needed to develop a poll watching strategy and how it should relate to the broader party strategy.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 149 in the Resources.



## **Activity 3.3**

### Situational analysis

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Generate information about the current state of poll watching by the party;
- Produce a SWOT analysis.

**Summary:** An important aspect of strategic planning is environmental scanning where the party or candidate takes time to identify the internal and external factors that may constrain or support the poll watching program. This is a critical exercise as it will help the party or candidate to devise mechanisms to mitigate the negative factors. The party or candidate should also identify actors in the electoral process with whom they will need to interact to enhance poll watching, especially on election day.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 151 in the Resources.

**Step 1:** Give a presentation on situational analysis using HO 3.3: *SWOT Analysis Matrix*. Invite participants to ask questions on the presentation before proceeding to the next activity.

**Step 2:** Divide participants into 4 groups and ask each group to identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of poll watching for their next election. Groups must write up their points on flip charts.

**Step 3:** Collect individual group's flip charts and put them on the wall as reference for the strategic plan sessions to follow. Invite participants to a plenary discussion to give feedback on the group work.

**Step 4:** Wind up the session with a summary of the key points that emerged from the plenary discussion.



## Activity 3.4

### Priority setting

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify the key areas for effective poll watching.

**Summary:** Preparation for poll watching entails several activities and areas that need attention. Given that during elections both political parties and candidates work under pressure, often with competing priorities, it is important that key priority areas which have a significant impact on poll watching have to be identified, and human, financial and other resources are dedicated to them to ensure effective poll watching.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to list key priority areas for effective poll watching. They should justify their choices and the group should reach consensus on priorities. Put up a list of the agreed key poll watching areas on the wall.

**Step 2:** Ask participants to look at each of the identified areas and arrange them according to their preferred order of prioritization. On a clean sheet of paper list the priorities in a participant's preferred order to be used in subsequent stages of the strategy development.

**Step 3:** In winding up the session, make the point that there are several areas required for effective poll watching. An adequately articulated strategic plan for poll watching includes:

- Recruitment;
- Training
- Deployment; and
- Supervision.

**Recruitment** consists of identifying and hiring party agents who are able to take care of the monitoring. **Training** involves building the capacity of the party agents who will be involved in the poll watching. **Deployment** refers to placing party agents at selected and strategic polls. **Supervision** is managing and providing proper guidance to the poll watchers, making sure that the outputs are achieved on time and meet quality requirements.



## **Activity 3.5**

### Setting the goals and objectives for poll watching

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify what the parties want to achieve within the priority areas.

**Summary:** Clarity on what is to be achieved by political parties by poll watching is vital.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 152 in the Resources.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session facilitate participants' discussion about SMART objectives and give examples. Refer to HO 3.4: *How to Write SMART Objectives*.

**Step 2:** Divide participants into groups according to the priorities.

**Step 3:** Ask participants to formulate one SMART objective within their priority area.

**Step 4:** Back in plenary, invite participants to give feedback on their objectives.

**Step 5:** Conclude by compiling a summary of the key objectives.

## **Activity 3.6**

### Activities for poll watching strategic areas

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Provide the basis for the implementation of the strategic plans.

**Summary:** Clarity on interventions and cost implications is a prerequisite for successful poll watching. Therefore, among the critical steps in strategic planning for poll watching is the development of a set of activities to be carried out ahead of, and during, election day as well as during the tabulation processes. The costs of these activities must also be fully determined. These activities help fulfill the overall goals of poll watching, meet the set objectives and achieve the expected outputs. The activities are to be in line with the key areas identified during the priority setting session.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 154 in the Resources.

**Step 1:** Present HO 3.5: *Work Plan and Budget for Poll Watching* to explain the link between objectives, activities and outputs as well as the cost of implementing activities.

**Step 2:** Request participants to return to their groups to formulate activities, outputs and costing in line with their priority areas.

**Make the point:** Activities have to be realistic, bearing in mind the political, electoral and economic contexts in their country.

**Step 3:** In plenary groups, participants to give feedback and finalize their plans.



## Activity 3.7

### Formulating assumptions and risks

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify risks that have the potential of derailing effective implementation of poll watching.

**Summary:** Assumptions and risks are two sides of the same coin. The value of assumptions in strategic planning is that they help with the assessment of potential risks to the smooth implementation of poll watching, from the initial stages of planning. These assumptions are necessary to provide a basis for adjustments to the poll watching plans and implementation process. It is important to note that successful poll watching is dependent on management of the identified risks.

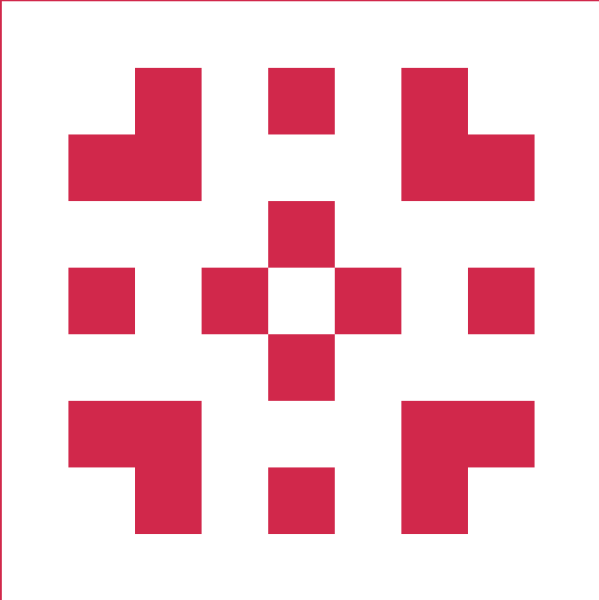
**Step 1:** In a brainstorming exercise, ask participants to explain the difference between risks and assumptions. Wind up the discussion after sharing HO 3.6: *Assumptions and Risks for Poll Watching* with participants.

**Step 2:** In groups, ask participants to formulate assumptions and identify risks based on the agreed objectives and ask them to suggest mitigation measures for the successful implementation of the poll watching strategy.

**Step 3:** Combine the assumptions and risks into a single matrix based on the group presentations.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 156 in the Resources.





# MODULE 3

## Strategic Plan for Poll Watching

### Participant's Handbook





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 3.1

### Poll watching

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Describe the role and relevance of poll watching.

#### Step 1: Questions:

- Have you been involved in poll watching in a previous election?
- If so, describe the experience.

Note your responses in the space provided. Share your experiences in a brainstorming session.

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#### Step 2: Questions:

- What do you understand by election monitoring?
- Is there a distinction between election monitoring and election observation?

Note your responses in the space provided. Contribute your views to a plenary discussion.

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#### Step 3: Questions:

- What do you think is likely to happen if elections in your context were conducted without poll watchers?
- What could go wrong at a polling station even if poll watchers were present?
- Why do you think it is necessary to have poll agents involved in poll watching?

In buzz groups of 3 discuss your responses and make notes in the space provided. Contribute your points to the plenary discussion.

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**Step 4:** Refer to PPT 3.1: *Poll Watching*, which considers the importance of poll agents. The facilitator will take you through this. Note any lessons and insights that could be of benefit to you and your party. Use the space below to make notes if required.

See pg 114 in the Resources.

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**Takeaway point:** Poll watching serves to safeguard the interests of the political parties and candidates. Through poll watching, poll agents get more information about their political party or candidate performance in electoral divisions and throughout the entire country. They also get reports from polling stations that help in the assessment of voter turnout country-wide. The information collected by poll agents can be very useful to a party or independent candidate in re-strategizing or capacity building for future elections.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 3.2

### Understanding strategic planning for poll watching

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Explain the strategic importance of poll watching;
- Develop an effective poll watching strategy.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- What is your understanding of strategic planning in general and strategic planning specifically for poll watching?
- Have you been involved in strategic planning development in the party?
- Was this on a specific theme or a broader party strategy?
- How was the strategy developed and what have been the outcomes?

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**Takeaway point:** As elections become more competitive and highly technical, it is not sufficient to simply deploy party agents at the polling stations. For maximum value in poll watching, political parties and independent candidates need to have a clear strategy on how they will interface with election day activities. Such a strategic approach needs to be cognizant of the calibre of individuals required for poll watching. They require training, technical support, strategic deployment, coordination, supervision and infrastructure, including communication equipment.

See pg 149 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** The facilitator will deliver a powerpoint presentation, PPT 3.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning*.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 3.3

### Situational analysis

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Generate information about the current state of poll watching in your party
- Produce a SWOT analysis.

**Step 1:** The facilitator will refer to handout HO 3.3: *SWOT Analysis Matrix*. Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.

See pg 151 in the Resources.

**Takeaway point:** An important aspect of strategic planning is environmental scanning where the party or candidate takes time to identify the internal and external factors that may constrain or support the poll watching program. This is a critical exercise as it will help the party or candidate devise mechanisms to mitigate the negative factors. The party or candidate should also identify actors in the electoral process with whom they will need to interact to enhance poll watching, especially on election day.

**Step 2:** In groups, identify Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats with regard to poll watching for your next elections.

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**Step 3:** Give feedback from your group discussion in the plenary session.

**Step 4:** The facilitator will give a summary of the key issues based on the plenary discussion. Use the space provided to make notes.

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**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 3.4

### Priority setting

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify the key areas for effective poll watching.

**Step 1:** Question:

- List key priority areas for effective poll watching. You should justify your choices and the group should reach consensus on priorities.

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**Step 2:** Consider each of the identified areas and prioritize them.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will wind up the discussion.

**Takeaway point:** There are several areas required to mount effective poll watching. The areas that should be identified for the strategic plan for poll watching are: recruitment, training, deployment and supervision. Recruitment consists of identifying and hiring party agents who will take care of the monitoring. The training consists of building the capacity of the party agents who will be involved in the poll watching. Deployment refers to placing the party agents at the selected polls. Supervision consists of managing and providing proper guidance to the poll watchers, making sure that the outputs are achieved on time and up to the required standard.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 3.5

### Setting the goals and objectives of poll watching

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify what the parties want to achieve within the priority areas.

**Step 1:** The facilitator will refer to handout HO 3.4: *How to Write SMART Objectives*. Give examples of SMART objectives.

See pg 152 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** You will be divided into groups and assigned a priority area for effective poll watching.

**Step 3:** Formulate one SMART objective in your priority area. Use the space provided to make notes.

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**Step 4:** Share your deliberations in a feedback plenary session.

**Step 5:** The facilitator will conclude by listing the key objectives. Use the space provided to make notes.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 3.6

### Activities for poll watching strategic areas

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Provide the basis for the implementation of the strategic plans.

See pg 154 in the Resources.

**Step 1:** Refer to and reflect on HO 3.5: *Work Plan and Budget for Poll Watching*. The facilitator will take you through this presentation on the link between objectives, activities and outputs as well as the cost of implementing activities. Use the space provided to make notes.

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**Takeaway point:** Clarity on interventions and cost implications is a prerequisite to successful poll watching. Therefore, among the critical steps in strategic planning for poll watching is the development of a set of activities to be carried out ahead of, and during, election day as well as during the tabulation processes. The costs of these activities must also be fully determined. These activities help fulfil the overall goals of poll watching, meet the set objectives and achieve the overall expected outputs. The activities are expected to be in line with the key areas identified during the priority setting session.

**Step 2:** In groups formulate activities, outputs and costing in line with your priority areas.

**Takeaway point:** The activities have to be realistic, bearing in mind the political, electoral and economic contexts in your country.

**Step 3:** Share your group's deliberations in the feedback plenary session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 3.7

### Formulating assumptions and risks

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify risks that have the potential of derailing effective implementation of poll watching.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- What is the difference between risks and assumptions? The facilitator will refer to HO 3.6: *Assumptions and Risks for Poll Watching*.

See pg 156 in the Resources.

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**Takeaway point:** Assumptions and risks are two sides of the same coin. The value of assumptions in strategic planning is that they help with the assessment of potential risks to the smooth implementation of poll watching, from the initial stages of planning. These assumptions are necessary to provide a basis for adjustments to the poll watching plans and implementation process. It is important to note that successful poll watching is dependent on management of the identified risks.

**Step 2:** You will be divided into groups. Discuss the following

- Formulate assumptions and identify risks based on the agreed objectives;
- Suggest mitigation measures for the successful implementation of a poll watching strategy.

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**Step 3:** Compile the assumptions and risk matrix based on the presentations of all the groups.

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**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Resources

### PPT 3.1: *Poll watching*

#### PRESENTATION OUTLINE

- ▶ Role and responsibility of party agents;
- ▶ Recruiting, training and deployment;
- ▶ Reporting procedures;
- ▶ Case studies.

#### THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARTY AGENTS

- ▶ Political parties and candidates standing for election have the right to have an agent to observe the process on their behalf at polling stations.
- ▶ What legislation is in place in the country's electoral law to guarantee this?
- ▶ What are the functions and responsibilities spelt out in this law?



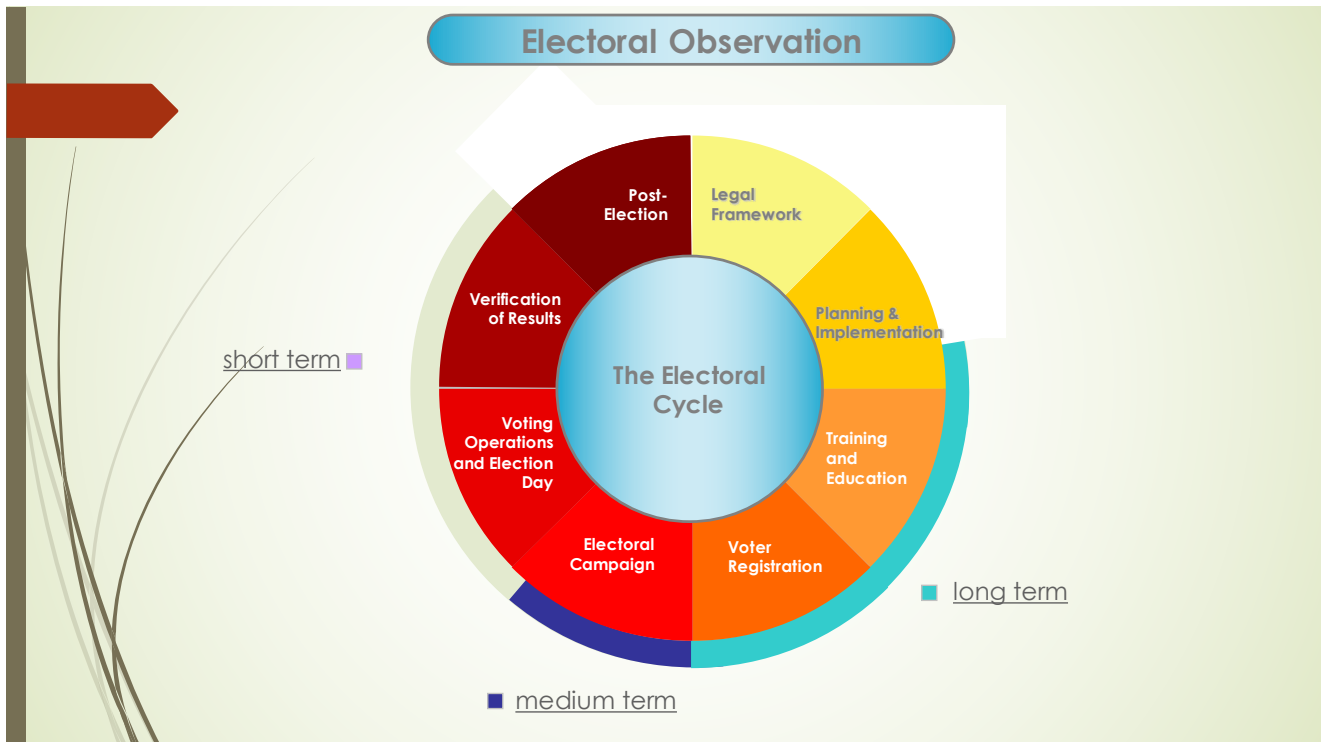
## THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARTY AGENTS (Cont...)

Generally, party agents have to:

- ▶ be present where the polling station is operating;
- ▶ record observations;
- ▶ consult the voter register at any time;
- ▶ have access to the records of the election operations;
- ▶ launch complaints where necessary.

## THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARTY AGENTS (Cont...)

- ▶ exercise the monitoring conscientiously and with objectivity;
- ▶ avoid unjustifiable interference in the activity at polling stations which disturbs the normal conduct of the vote.



## RECRUITING, TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT (Cont...)

### Criteria for Recruiting Party Agents

- Strong allegiance and loyal support to the party;
- Basic education and the ability to speak and write the local language of the area where the party agent would be deployed;
- Knowledge of the area of deployment and of the local cultural and political context.



## RECRUITING, TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT (Cont...)

- ▶ Party agents should reside near the stations where they will be deployed so that they are known by the voters;
- ▶ The agents should be credible and must be of sound mind;
- ▶ Training and knowledge of the context and of the electoral history is necessary.

## RECRUITING, TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT (Cont...)

### Training Methodology

- ▶ Timing of the training;
- ▶ Duration;
- ▶ Content (legal and institutional frameworks, electoral system);
- ▶ Costs.



## RECRUITING, TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT (Cont...)

### Critical Factors for Deploying Party Agents

- Awareness about the importance of training party agents;
- Mobilising enough funds for training party agents;
- Involvement of party agents at all stages of the election, beginning with the registration process.

## RECRUITING, TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT (Cont...)

- Accreditation of party agents according to the laid-down procedures;
- Parties/candidates should endeavour to have at least one party agent per polling station.
- Case studies.



## PPT 3.2: *Phases of strategic planning*

### **PHASE 1: INITIATING AND DESIGNING THE PLANNING PROCESS**

- **Phase I activities**
- Participation and inclusiveness;
- Selection of consultants;
- Composition of the working groups;
- Readiness assessment;
- Agreement on process;
- Baseline analysis.

### **PHASE II: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ANALYSIS**

- **Phase II activities**
- Developing a party-organization vision;
- Stakeholder analysis;
- Mission and values;
- SWOT analysis.



## PHASE III: DRAFTING THE PLAN

- ▶ **Phase III activities**
- ▶ Identifying and assessing strategic issues;
- ▶ Formulating strategies;
- ▶ Reviewing the strategic plan and adoption.



## PHASE IV: IMPLEMENTATION

- ▶ **Phase IV activities**
- ▶ Supervision;
- ▶ Reporting;
- ▶ Coordination;
- ▶ Evaluation/review.



## HO 3.3: Swot Analysis Matrix

### HO 3.3 SWOT Analysis Matrix

<p><b>Strengths</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Use of the advisory and intervention panel for campaigns</li> <li>● Membership composition and multiplicity of skills at party's disposal</li> <li>● Thematic approach to election observation</li> <li>● Female representation in the party and candidate list</li> <li>● Inclusivity of PLWDs, youth and women in the party manifesto</li> <li>● Use of ICT in party campaigns</li> <li>● Introduction of innovative campaign</li> </ul>	<p><b>Threats</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Election-related violence</li> <li>● Government clampdown on opposition supporters</li> <li>● Upsurge of social media and fake news</li> <li>● Rigging of the polls</li> <li>● Limited funding</li> <li>● Partiality of the Election Commission</li> </ul>
<p><b>Weaknesses</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Lack of robust party structures</li> <li>● Lack of office communication infrastructure at sub-national levels</li> <li>● Lack of clear interface between the national level and sub-national levels in terms of campaign reporting lines, collaboration and coordination</li> <li>● Poor background checks for poll watchers</li> <li>● Poor training of poll watchers</li> <li>● Inadequate risks analysis and risk management</li> </ul>	<p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Use of ICT in electoral campaigns</li> </ul>



## HO 3.4: How to write SMART Objectives

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### HO 3.4: How to Write SMART Objectives

For funded partners, program planning includes developing five-year program goals (a broad statement of program purpose that describes the expected long-term effects of a program), strategies (the means or broad approach by which a program will achieve its goals), and annual work plan objectives (statements that describe program results to be achieved and how they will be achieved). Objectives are more immediate than goals; objectives represent annual mileposts that your program needs to achieve to accomplish its goals by the end of the five-year term. Each year, your work plan objectives should be based on the strategies you have selected to reach your program goals. Because strategies are implemented through objectives and program activities, multiple objectives are generally needed to address a single strategy. Objectives are the basis for monitoring implementation of your strategies and progress toward achieving your program goals. Objectives also help set targets for accountability and are a source for program evaluation questions.

#### Writing SMART Objectives

To use an objective to monitor your progress, you need to write it as a SMART objective. A SMART objective is:

##### **Specific**

- Objectives should provide the “who” and “what” of program activities.
- Use only one action verb, because objectives with more than one verb imply that more than one activity or behavior is being measured.
- Avoid verbs that may have vague meanings to describe intended outcomes, like “understand” or “know,” because it may prove difficult to measure them. Instead, use verbs that document action, like “At the end of the session, the participants will list three concerns...”
- Remember, the greater the specificity, the greater the measurability.

##### **Measurable**

- Objectives should quantify the amount of change expected. It is impossible to determine whether objectives have been met unless they can be measured.
- The objective provides a reference point from which a change in the target population can be measured clearly.

##### **Achievable**

- Objectives should be attainable within a given time frame and with available program resources.

##### **Realistic**

- Objectives are most useful when they accurately address the scope of the problem and programmatic steps that can be implemented within a specific time frame.
- Objectives that do not directly relate to the program goal will not help achieve the goal.



### ***Time-phased***

- Objectives should provide a time frame indicating when the objective will be measured, or a time by which the objective will be met.
- Including a time frame in the objectives helps in planning and evaluating the program.

### **Objectives checklist**

Is the objective SMART?

- **Specific:** Who (the target population and people doing the activity) and what (the action or activity)?
- **Measurable:** How much change is expected?
- **Achievable:** Can be accomplished given current resources and constraints.
- **Realistic:** Addresses the scope of the health program and proposes reasonable programmatic steps.
- **Time-phased:** Provides a timeline indicating when the objective will be met. Does it relate to a single result?

### **Examples of SMART Objectives**

**Non-SMART objective 1:** Schools will be trained on the selected scientifically based sun safety health education curriculum.

This objective is not SMART because it is not **specific, measurable, or time-phased**. It can be made SMART by **specifically** indicating who is responsible for training the schools, how many people will be trained, who they are, and by when the training will be conducted.

**SMART objective 1:** By year two of the project, the Division of Cancer will have trained **75%** of elementary schools in districts 1, 3, and 6 on the selected scientifically based sun safety health education curriculum.

**Non-SMART objective 2:** 90% of cancer survivors will participate in our self-management course.

This objective is not SMART because it is not **specific or time-phased**. It can be made SMART by **specifically** indicating who will do the activity, by when, and who will participate in the self-management course.

**SMART objective 2:** By the end of the calendar year, district health staff will have enrolled 90% of newly diagnosed cancer survivors from the Elms Cancer Community Center in the Chronic Disease Self-Management course.



## HO 3.5: Work Plan and Budget for Poll Watching

### HO.3.5 Work Plan and Budget for Poll Watching

Objectives	Outputs	Activities	Budget	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	
<b>1.0 To engage 44,000 literate and dedicated poll watchers</b>	1.1 Poll watcher selection criteria developed	1.1.1 Develop a selection criteria	3,839,400.00						
		1.1.2 Communicate the adopted criteria of selection to ward, constituency, district and provincial chairpersons							
	1.1.3 Identify suitable poll watchers. Sign agreements with poll watchers								
	1.1.4 Coordinate the recruitment of poll watchers								
<b>2.0 To train 44,000 poll watchers including 900 supervisors</b>	2.1 A total of 20 National TOTs trained adequately	2.1.1 Qualified resource personnel identified and engaged for TOT training	125000.00						
		2.1.2 Deliver letters of invitation to identified supervisors for training							
		2.1.3 Train supervisors on how to conduct poll watching supervision							
		2.1.4 Conduct one workshop for 20 TOTs at national level							
	2.2 A total of 218 provincial trainers adequately trained for poll watching	2.2.1 Conduct 10 workshops at provincial level for 218 District TOTs		4,155,000.00					
		2.3.1 Conduct TOT workshops at District level for constituency level training (2 per constituency)		108,400.00					
	2.4 A total of 44,000 poll watchers trained in 156 constituencies	2.4.1 Conduct at least 2 poll watching workshops in each of the 156 constituencies			9,680,000.00				



Objectives	Outputs	Activities	Budget	May	June	July	Aug	Sept
<b>3.0 To deploy a minimum of 22,836 poll watchers in all polling streams</b>	3.1 A list of 22,836 poll watchers deployed	3.1.1 Purchase sufficient communication tools such as satellite phones for all poll stations	85,624,700.00					
		3.1.2 Procure copies of voter registers and distribute to polling stations						
		3.1.3 Provide transport, food and other requirement to poll watchers						
		3.1.4 Develop and issue reporting template/checklist for poll watchers						
<b>4.0 To render support to the poll watchers throughout the polling, counting and tallying process</b>	4.1 Supervisor checklist and agreement developed 4.2 Supervisors deployed	4.1.1 Sign agreement with supervisors	1,593,000.00					
		4.2.1 Deploy the supervisors to their respective territories						
	4.2.2 Provide logistical measures i.e. transport, food, satellite phones, talk time							
	4.3.1 Supervisors follow-up with poll watchers on polling day							
	4.3.2 Analyze data from poll watchers by supervisors and produce poll watching report							
	4.3.3 Collect all poll watching reports and analyses							
<b>5.0 To review the effectiveness of poll watching during the 2016 elections</b>	5.1 Poll watching review workshop report produced and distributed to party structures	5.1.1 Provide logistics memo and programme to participants	308,000.00					
		5.1.3 Hold the review workshop						
		5.1.4 Produce proceedings report						



## HO 3.6: Assumptions and Risks for Poll Watching

### HO. 3.6 Assumptions and Risks for Poll Watching

Objectives	Assumptions	Risks	Risks Mitigation
<b>To engage 44,000 literate and dedicated poll watchers</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. There are literate members of the party available to do poll watching</li> <li>2. Donors will be willing to provide financial assistance</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. There will not be adequate suitable poll watchers in certain provinces, districts, constituencies and wards</li> <li>2. Economic downturn affects donors' ability to provide adequate financial support</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cast the net wider by importing suitable poll watchers from provinces, districts, constituencies and wards with higher numbers of suitable candidates</li> <li>2. Mobilize sufficient funds from local business people and supporters, regional and international friends of the party</li> </ol>
<b>To train 44,000 poll watchers including 900 supervisors</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The 'TOT' approach will be successfully implemented at all levels (national, provincial district and constituency)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The quality of training may reduce as the training cascades to the grassroots levels</li> <li>2. Political environment is conducive for holding of training workshops in various provinces</li> <li>3. Political interference through abuse of security agencies to frustrate the training program</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ensure adherence to the training methodology and monitor the entire training program</li> <li>2. Put in place a plan B for workshop venues in the event that political or other factors make it impossible to use some places</li> <li>3. Liaise with relevant authorities including the police to secure necessary permits where applicable</li> </ol>



<p><b>To deploy a minimum of 22,836 poll watchers in all polling streams</b></p>	<p>1. Sufficient number of trained poll watchers will be available for deployment and for back up purposes</p> <p>2. The deployed poll watchers will not be bribed to neglect their duty</p> <p>3. The deployed poll watchers will use acquired skills to monitor polling day proceedings and provide accurate reports</p> <p>4. There will be a continuous supply of power and telecommunication networks will not be interrupted</p>	<p>1. Deployed poll watchers may be bribed or intimidated to leave polling stations before completion of the polling day activities</p> <p>2. Poll watchers may provide inaccurate reports</p>	<p>1. Motivate deployed poll watchers and supervise them closely to ensure quality outputs</p> <p>2. Provide contingency equipment such as torches and satellite phones for use by poll watchers and supervisors in case of power cuts or jamming of cellphone networks</p>
<p><b>Supervision to render support to the poll watchers throughout the polling, counting and tallying process</b></p>	<p>1. Trained supervisors are available for deployment on polling day</p> <p>2. Supervisors do their job effectively in the field and provide timely reports to the party elections command centers in all areas</p>	<p>1. There could be too many incidents or irregularities which may lead to supervisors spending more time in some areas than others</p> <p>2. Supervisors may be obstructed to do their job especially in conflict prone areas (hot spots)</p>	<p>1. Ensure regular communication with supervisors and adherence to the party reporting template</p>
<p><b>To review the effectiveness of poll watching</b></p>	<p>1. The electoral processes concluded in time and without incidents of violence</p>	<p>1. There could be election-related conflict which could affect the party's ability to reflect on the electoral process</p> <p>2. Some party officials could defect in the event that their party loses the elections and documents in their possession like poll watching reports could disappear.</p>	<p>1. Analyze and produce challenges and lessons learnt report to be distributed to provincial, district and sub-district structures in the event that a review conference is not held</p> <p>2. Ensure timely collection of the poll watching materials from the provinces and sub-provisional levels.</p>





# **MODULE 4**

## **Election Campaigning**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers

## Key understanding

Elections campaigns are about parties and candidates contesting for approval of their political programs and personalities. It is imperative for both parties and candidates to make their plans for the country known to the electorate through effective campaign types, strategies, plans, and themes

## Activity 4.1

### Understanding political parties: roles and functions

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Clearly explain what election campaigns are;
- Differentiate between issue-based and personality-based campaigns; and
- Analyze which one is predominant in their country.

**Summary:** An election campaign is one of the most critical activities in the electoral process because it has a huge impact on how the people vote at the polls. In an electoral democracy, election campaigns are essentially public outreach strategies through which political parties and candidates reinforce their support base and try to persuade undecided voters and opposition supporters to vote for them. The way in which the electoral campaign is conducted has an impact on the credibility of the elections.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming exercise, ask participants to discuss in pairs:

- What an election campaign is and how it contributes to the conduct of credible elections; and
- Their understanding of personality-based versus issue-based campaigns.

Capture the responses on a flipchart.

**Make the point:** Elections are an expression of popular sovereignty through which people exercise their democratic right to choose their own leaders, influence the policy agenda of their countries and provide a seal of approval for the legitimacy and accountability of their governments and regimes. It is for these reasons that political parties conduct election campaigns as a political activity whose end goal is to secure votes and acquire power and influence.

Election campaigns should, however, be more than just a performance, but should be about communicating ideas to the citizens while at the same time creating space for them to communicate their preferences and influence policy-making and implementation. Thus, election campaigns are and should be informed by the experiences of citizens throughout the entire electoral cycle. Through elections campaigns, political parties raise social, economic, cultural, and political issues that are impacted upon by a number of factors between elections. Properly conducted campaigns are therefore part of the electoral process and a manifestation of a broader democratic process.

### Facilitator's note

This session alerts participants to the importance of campaigns as a means to achieve the goals of an electoral process. The session also makes political parties aware of the many different factors that impact on election campaigns and shares the ways in which they can devise strategies to deal with negative factors.



**Step 2:** Wind up the session through a presentation on HO 4.1: *Issue-Based vs Personality-Based Campaigns* that makes a comparison between personality- and issue-based campaigns.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 179 in the Resources.

## Activity 4.2

### Types of campaigns

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Clearly distinguish between various types of election campaigns.

**Summary:** The electoral success of a political party depends on the type of campaign it embarks on and its implementation. Electoral campaigns are not static because political parties and candidates seek new ways to attract voters. The three main types of campaigns that have been used in different countries are grassroots-, communications-, and consultant-based campaigns. The choice of campaign type depends on factors such as the party system, the electoral system, and campaign regulations. The choice is also influenced by the resources available to the party or candidate.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to share their experiences of election campaigns. They must include:

- Whether they were involved in the planning of a campaign;
- What role they played in the campaign;
- What type of campaign was chosen; and
- What were their experiences overall.

Note the answers on a flip chart

**Step 2:** Deliver a presentation on the different types of campaigns, highlighting their pros and cons, based on PPT 4.2: *Campaign Types*.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 180 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Call on participants to ask questions and make comments on the presentation. Refer them back to the flip chart used in step 1 and verify with them whether there are differences in what they presented and what was in the presentation.

**Step 4:** Wind up the session with a YouTube clip illustrating campaign types, accessed at <https://youtu.be/EFgSjkhvxxw>



## Activity 4.3

### Legal framework guiding electoral campaigns

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- List and explain different national legislation regarding election campaigns.

**Summary:** The legal framework within which referendums and elections at national, regional, and local levels are conducted in a country outlines the rules that guide the conduct of parties, coalitions, and independent candidates in carrying out their election campaigns. It is imperative, therefore, that those political parties, coalitions, and independent candidates are not only familiar with the legal framework governing elections but also committed to abiding by it.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to:

- Explain the links between election campaigns and the legal framework;
- List legislation governing election campaigning in their country; and
- Discuss whether the legislation is adequate and, if not, what is lacking.

**Make the point:** An electoral process is guided by a legal framework that provides clear boundaries governing the behavior of electoral stakeholders. Therefore, the legal framework comprises a set of laws that are enacted by parliament to regulate the conduct of elections and serve as a conflict management mechanism. A sound legal framework ensures a credible electoral process. However, flawed legal frameworks have led to election-related disputes and violence in some instances.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 183 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Deliver a presentation on the legal frameworks of election campaigns, based on PPT 4.3: *Legal Framework Guiding Electoral Campaigns*.

## Activity 4.4

### Campaign ethics and the code of conduct

**Learning objective:** By the end of this activity, participants will be able to:

- Explain the importance of ethics in campaigns and link ethics to the drafting of the campaign code of conduct.

**Summary:** The electoral process requires a comprehensive election dispute resolution (EDR) architecture that provides the ethics and conduct of electoral stakeholders. A code of conduct is one of the effective conflict management tools that form part of the EDR system. Its specific objectives include contributing to a peaceful election; contributing to a level playing field during elections; developing public confidence in the electoral process; promoting a culture of political tolerance; ensuring that the electoral process is credible and its outcome legitimate and acceptable to all contestants; and promoting constructive management of election-related disputes.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to brainstorm the relevance of a code of conduct during an election in their countries. Allow discussions on the points raised by participants.



**Step 2:** Divide the participants into groups to discuss the current code of conduct in their country's legislation. Participants should consider the provisions of the code of conduct and discuss what they mean and how they can be interpreted differently.

**Step 3:** Based on their responses to the points above, ask participants to do a brief role play pertaining to their chosen code of conduct provision. Refer to handout HO 4.4: *Group 1 Role Play Script* and HO 4.5: *Group 2 Role Play Script*.

**Step 4:** Invite participants to a plenary to debrief on their observations during the role plays.

**Step 5:** Summarize the key issues on the code of conduct based on the discussions.

Participants can find copies of the handouts on pgs 188 and 189 in the Resources.

## Activity 4.5

### Gender, youth, and people with disabilities (PWD) in election campaigns

**Learning objective:** By the end of this activity, participants will be able to:

- Explain how women, youth and other marginalized groups can meaningfully participate in election campaigns.

**Summary:** Political parties can play a key role to address the exclusion of women, youth and PWD in political and electoral processes. They should go beyond creating token structures, such as women and youth leagues, and develop real avenues for women, youth and PWD to take up leadership roles. In addition, political parties should ensure that marginalized groups participate freely as candidates and supporters in the electoral processes. Participants are not only sensitized but also empowered to work towards mainstreaming the role of women, youth and PWD in their election campaigns.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to engage in a brainstorming session on the level of participation of women, youth, and PWD at national, regional and local government levels (as candidates or supporters or both). In pairs participants must discuss:

- Is there a need for mainstreaming the role of women, youth and PWD in election campaigns?
- Are there any experiences/stories that participants can share about women, youth and PWD in campaigns?

Participants to provide feedback and discuss this in plenary. Capture their responses on a flip chart to be used as reference later in the session.

**Step 2:** Divide participants into 6 groups. Assign 2 groups to discuss questions 1 and 3 below, another 2 groups to discuss questions 2 and 4 and the last 2 groups to address questions 5 & 6:

1. What is the role that women historically and currently play in election campaigns in their context? Are there any factors, both within the party and in the external environment, that stand in the way of their meaningful participation – as candidates or supporters? Include implicit and explicit messages.



2. What is the role that youth historically and currently play in election campaigns in their context? Are there any factors, both within the party and in the external environment, that stand in the way of their meaningful participation – as candidates or supporters? Include implicit and explicit messages.
3. What can parties stop, start and continue to do in order to encourage the meaningful participation of women in election campaigns?
4. What can parties stop, start and continue to do to encourage the meaningful participation of youth in election campaigns?
5. What is the role that PWD historically and currently play in election campaigns in your context? Are there any factors, both within the party and in the external environment, that stand in the way of their meaningful participation – as candidates or supporters? Include implicit and explicit messages.
6. What can parties stop, start and continue to do in order to encourage the meaningful participation of PWD in election campaigns?

**Step 3:** Ask participants to share their feedback in a plenary session.

**Step 4:** End the session with a summary of the key issues that emerged during the discussions and make concluding remarks, highlighting the importance of mainstreaming women, youth, and PWD in election campaigns.

## **Activity 4.6** Campaign strategy plans

**Learning objective:** By the end of this activity, participants will be able to:

- Outline the key components of a campaign strategy plan.

**Summary:** In order to attract voters during election campaigns to win elections, the most powerful tool for a political party or candidate is a campaign strategy and plan. The absence of such a plan makes it difficult to reach the maximum number of voters. A campaign ensures that the party and or candidate convey a message which various sectors of society understand. It provides details and deadlines, brings order to the campaign, defines the what, when, who, and how of the campaign.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to indicate whether they have been involved in developing a campaign plan. If so, ask them to mention key components of an election campaign plan and justify them. Note these down on a flip chart.

**Step 2:** Add additional components to the list compiled by the participants and ask participants to discuss in table groups what would happen if those components were left out of the campaign plan.

**Step 3:** Present a campaign plan, making use of PPT 4.6: *Campaign Plans*.

**Step 4:** In the same table groups, give participants the task of developing a campaign plan for the regional and local authority elections. The plan should:

- Indicate the what (content and context), who (target audience), how (outreach methodology), and when (time frames) of the campaign;

Participants will find copies of the powerpoint slides on pg 190 in the Resources.



- List the resources required for the campaign, including the budget.

Issue flip charts to the groups for them to capture their discussions.

**Step 5:** Invite groups to present their feedback to the plenary and facilitate discussions on the group reports.

**Step 6:** Refer to the sample campaign infographic based on HO 4.7: *Sample of a Campaign Plan in Namibia*, and wind up the session with a summary of the key issues on election campaign plans.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 192 in the Resources.

## Activity 4.7

### Strategic positioning

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify issues and entry points for the campaign.

**Summary:** In order to mount a successful campaign, a political party and candidate strategy has to revolve around clearly stated differences from their competitors in an election race. Exposing the differences to the voters is a strategic way of adding value to a campaign. Thus, a campaign strategy has to be mindful of who it targets, and how it will approach the target. Equally important, it should identify the weaknesses of the competitor's campaign so as to identify strategic entry points for reinforcement, persuasion and conversion.

**Step 1:** Through a brainstorming exercise, ask participants to discuss the importance of conducting research and competitor mapping ahead of an election campaign.

**Make the point:** Strategic positioning considers the strengths and weaknesses of the party and candidate, the needs of the targeted constituency and the position of the competitors. Therefore, strategic positioning has to consider the following points:

- Demographics of the target constituency;
- Context and political environment within which a campaign drive is to be undertaken;
- Who are the competitors and what are their positions and strategies;
- What difference will the campaign brand make in comparison to the competitors' campaigns? What is unique to the campaign?

**Step 2:** Assign participants a group work task to develop a party campaign strategy. Issue the groups with guidelines to work with.

**Step 3:** Invite participants back to the plenary and facilitate group feedback. As the groups give their feedback, assess their performance in line with the considerations highlighted in step 2 above.



## **Activity 4.8**

### **Campaign themes/messages**

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Develop election campaign themes and messages for effective communication.

**Summary:** Besides the campaign strategic position, another critical element of a campaign portfolio for a political party or candidate is a campaign theme. A creative theme increases the electoral economies of scale. A campaign theme generates excitement around the election, election issues, the political party as well as the candidate. Therefore an all-embracing campaign theme is vital to retain, reinforce, and persuade voters. In other words, it should be inclusive of diverse issues to appeal to more voters. It should consist of what the voter wants, what the candidate/party offers and what the opponents bring. A good theme has power to influence choice and link voters' concerns with the candidate's/party's approach.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorm exercise, ask participants to explain:

- The importance of a campaign theme;
- What makes a good campaign theme?
- Their experience with developing a theme, its considerations and how the theme was received by the voters.

**Step 2:** Assign participants a group work activity to develop a creative election campaign theme. They must explain what inspired their message.

**Step 3:** Wind up the session with a power point presentation on election campaign themes from PPT 4.8: *Campaign Themes*.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 193 in the Resources.



## Activity 4.9

### Campaign media strategy

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the significance of media communication in campaigns; and
- Describe key components of an effective media strategy.

**Summary:** There are various tools, techniques and approaches available for the political parties to work with media in order to improve their communication with the electorate and stakeholders. The media has the capacity to contribute to a successful electoral campaign through its varied information platforms. Working with the media enhances the party and candidate's profile and helps clarify policy positions. In order for the media to play a constructive role during election campaigns, political parties and candidates have to target political journalists and editors who not only understand the political landscape but also the electoral process.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to indicate differences between print and electronic media. Use HO 4.9: *Difference between Electronic and Print Media* to guide your facilitation.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 198 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Provide participants with an incomplete media engagement opportunities matrix and ask them to work in groups to complete the matrix. Encourage participants to come up with other opportunities they are familiar with to enrich the matrix. Refer to HO 4.10: *Media Engagement Matrix*

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 201 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Invite groups to present their group work in a plenary session and facilitate the discussions.

**Step 4:** Use YouTube clips (see links below) to conclude the session by emphasizing the important role media plays to inform the electorate of the electoral process, especially during the campaigns, and the importance of shaping the image of the candidate through an effective media strategy.

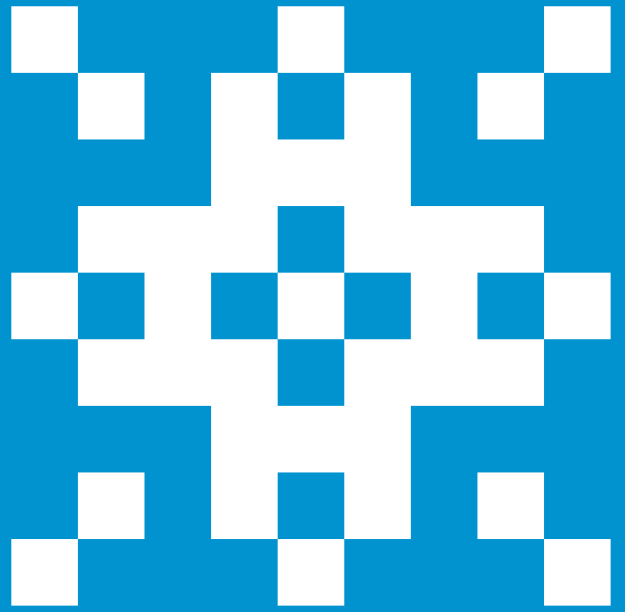
<https://youtu.be/wU4nNZRsjfA>

<https://youtu.be/2FEeeGBiYI0>

<https://youtu.be/2FEeeGBiYI0>

<https://youtu.be/VJDnkjPUTZk>





# **MODULE 4**

## **Election Campaigning**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 4.1

### Understanding the election campaign

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Clearly explain what election campaigns are;
- Differentiate between issue-based and personality-based campaigns; and
- Analyze which one is predominant in your country.

**Step 1:** Pair up with another participant and discuss the following questions:

- What is an election campaign?
- What is its contribution to the conduct of credible elections?
- What is your understanding of the personality-based versus issue-based campaigns?

Make notes in the space provided and capture the responses on a flip chart.

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**Takeaway point:** Elections are an expression of popular sovereignty through which people exercise their democratic right to choose their own leaders, influence the policy agenda of their countries and provide a seal of approval for the legitimacy and accountability of governments and regimes. It is for these reasons that political parties conduct election campaigns as a political process whose end goal is to secure votes and acquire power and influence. Election campaigns should, however, be more than just a performance but should be about communicating ideas to the citizens while at the same time creating space for them to communicate their preferences and influence policy-making and implementation.

Thus, election campaigns are and should be informed by the experiences of citizens throughout the entire electoral cycle. Through election campaigns, political parties raise social, economic, cultural and political issues that are impacted upon by a number of factors in the period between elections. Properly conducted campaigns are therefore part of the electoral process and a manifestation of a broader democratic process. This session on campaigns demonstrates their importance as a means to achieving a successful electoral outcome. The session also makes political parties aware of several factors which impact election campaigns and ways in which they can devise strategies to deal with negative factors.

See pg 179 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Refer to HO 4.1: *Issue-Based vs Personality-Based Campaigns* and engage on the presentation by the facilitator.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 4.2

### Types of campaigns

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Clearly distinguish between various types of campaigns.

**Step 1:** Share your experiences in election campaigns, focusing on the following question:

- Were you involved in the planning of a campaign?
- What role did you play in the campaign?
- What was the type of campaign?
- What were your experiences overall?

**Step 2:** Refer to PPT 4.2: *Campaign Types* and ask any questions you may have.

See pg 180 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.

**Step 4:** Watch the YouTube clip at <https://youtu.be/EFgSjkhvnxw> about campaign types and note any lessons emerging.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 4.3

### Legal framework guiding electoral campaigns

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- List and explain different national legislation regarding election campaigns.

**Step 1:** Consider the following questions:

- Explain the links between election campaigns and the legal framework;
- List legislation governing election campaigns in your country; and
- Discuss whether the legislation is adequate and, if not, what is lacking.

Note your thoughts in the space below and contribute your answers in a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** The facilitator will conclude the brainstorming exercise.

**Step 3:** Refer to PPT 4.3: *Legal Framework Guiding Electoral Campaigns*. Engage with the presentation by the facilitator.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

See pg 183 in the Resources.



## Activity 4.4

### Ethics in the conduct of campaigns and the code of conduct

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Explain the importance of ethics in campaigns; and
- Link ethics to the areas to be included in the drafting of the campaign code.

**Step 1:** Your task is to consider the relevance of a code of conduct during an election in your country. In groups discuss what the provisions of the code of conduct mean and how they can be interpreted differently.

**Step 2:** The facilitator will ask you to do a brief role play concerning one of the provisions in the code of conduct. Refer to the role play scripts provided in HO 4.4: *Group 1 Role Play Script* and HO 4.5: *Group 2 Role Play Script*.

See pgs 188 and 189 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Contribute your answers to a brainstorming session.

**Step 4:** Note down key issues from the discussion in the space provided.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 4.5

### Gender and youth in election campaigns

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Explain how women, and other marginalized groups, can meaningfully participate in election campaigns.

**Step 1:** Reflect on the following question:

- Why is there a need for gender mainstreaming in election campaigns?

Note your answers in the space provided.

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**Step 2:** Reflect on the following questions:

- What is the level of participation in election campaigns of women at national, regional and local government levels (as candidates, supporters, or both)?
- What is the role that women play in election campaigns? Are there any factors, both within the party and in the external environment, that stand in the way of their meaningful participation – as candidates or supporters?
- What is the role that youth play in election campaigns? Are there any factors, both within the party and in the external environment, that stand in the way of their meaningful participation – as candidates or supporters?
- What is the role that people with disabilities (PWD) play in election campaigns? Are there any factors, both within the party and in the external environment, that stand in the way of their meaningful participation – as candidates or supporters?
- What can we as parties stop, start and continue to do to encourage the meaningful participation of women, youth and PWD in campaigns?

Note your answers in the space provided

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**Step 3:** Contribute feedback from the group to a plenary session.

**Step 4:** Take note of the concluding remarks by the facilitator.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 4.6

### Campaign strategy plans

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Outline the key components of a campaign strategy plan.

**Step 1:** List the key components of an election campaign plan and explain their significance. Make use of the space provided to note your thoughts.

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**Step 2:** The facilitator will add more components of a campaign plan. In your groups discuss what would happen if those components were left out of the campaign plan. Note comments below.

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**Step 3:** Refer to PPT 4.6: *Campaign Plans* and engage in the presentation that the facilitator will take you through.

See pg 190 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** In your table groups, develop a campaign plan for the regional and local authority elections. The plan should:

- Include the what (content and context), who (target audience), how (outreach methodology), and when (time frames); and
- List the required resources for the campaign, including the budget.

Discussions should be captured on flip charts.

**Step 5:** Present the group's feedback to the plenary session.

**Step 6:** The facilitator will wind up the session with a summary of the key issues regarding election campaign plans, using as an example H.O 4.7: *Sample of a Campaign Plan in Namibia*.

See pg 192 in the Resources.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

## **Activity 4.7**

### Strategic planning

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify issues and entry points for the campaign.

**Step 1:** In your table groups discuss the importance of conducting research and competitor mapping ahead of an election campaign.

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**Takeaway points:** Strategic positioning considers the strengths and weaknesses of the party and candidate, the needs of the targeted constituency and the position of the competitors. Therefore, strategic positioning has the following key considerations:

- What are the demographics of the target constituency?
- The context and political environment within which a campaign drive is to be undertaken;
- Who are the competitors and what are their positions and strategies?
- The difference the campaign brand will make compared to the competitors' campaign. What is unique about your campaign?

**Step 2:** In groups develop a party campaign strategy.

**Step 3:** Contribute your feedback from the group to a plenary session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 4.8

### Campaign themes/messages

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you will be able to:

- Develop election campaign themes and messages for effective communication.

**Step 1:** Consider the following:

- The importance of a campaign theme;
- What makes a good campaign theme; and
- The experience of developing a theme, focusing on considerations that have been discussed, including how the theme was received by the voters.

Contribute your answers to a brainstorming session.

**Step 2:** Develop a creative election campaign theme and explain what inspired your message.

**Step 3:** Refer to PPT 4.8: *Campaign Themes* and engage on the presentation by the facilitator.

See pg 193 in the Resources.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 4.9

### Campaign media strategy

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you will be able to:

- Explain the significance of media communication in campaigns; and
- Describe key components of an effective media strategy.

See pg 198 in the Resources.

**Step 1:** Go through HO 4.9: *Difference between Electronic and Print Media* and discuss the differences between these media platforms. Note your thoughts in the space provided.

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See pg 201 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Work in groups to complete the media engagement opportunities referred to in HO 4.10: *Media Engagement Matrix* to complete the exercise.

**Step 3:** Contribute your feedback from the group to the plenary session.

**Step 4:** Watch the YouTube clips (links are below) and note any lessons from them.

<https://youtu.be/wU4nNZRsjfA>

<https://youtu.be/2FEeGBiYI0>

<https://youtu.be/2FEeGBiYI0>

<https://youtu.be/VJDnkjPUTZk>

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### HO 4.1: Issue-Based vs Personality-Based Campaigns

#### HO 4.1: Issue-Based vs Personality-Based Campaigns

ISSUE-BASED	PERSONALITY-BASED
<p>Focuses on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issues of concern</li> <li>• Issues that generate emotions</li> <li>• Usually something closer to people’s minds and hearts</li> <li>• Something that shocks</li> <li>• Something needing urgent attention</li> </ul>	<p>Focuses on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender</li> <li>• Tribe, race, ethnicity</li> <li>• Social status, marital status</li> <li>• Manner of speaking</li> <li>• Physical attribute, i.e. short or tall, etc.</li> </ul>
PROS	CONS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Helps citizens identify issues that are vital to their well-being</li> <li>• Helps meaningful participation for the people</li> <li>• Assists citizens to call on candidates and political parties to address such issues</li> <li>• Adds substance to elections and provides a substantive base upon which voters may make their choice</li> <li>• Encourages voters to focus on the actual policies of the political parties and the candidates</li> <li>• Provides the basis for accountability once elected into power</li> <li>• An issue-based campaign is about assisting groups to raise important issues, and discuss some of the methods that they can use to address them</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Easily generates conflict, leading to electoral violence</li> <li>• Fails to articulate policy positions for either the individual or the party</li> <li>• Has no basis for accountability of the individual or party</li> <li>• Does not facilitate development</li> </ul>

Source: NIMD 2015



## PPT 4.2: Campaign Types

### TYPES OF CAMPAIGNS

Grassroots, Communication-, and Consultant-based campaigns

#### Grassroots campaigns

- Regarded as old style; campaigns require numbers to show support,
- Uses recruited voters to become campaign volunteers, thus creates an activist, grassroots base of support,

### TYPES OF CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

- Enables direct voter contact (DVC)
- DVC brings voter to higher cognitive level than other campaign communications,
- Voters more engaged,
- Allows two-way communication. Voters share own views and get more invested in the campaign,
- DVC allows voters to see body language and humanizes the candidate,
- Uses rallies, public meetings,



## TYPES OF CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

### Communications-based campaigns

Uses

- ▶ Phones,
- ▶ Internet,
- ▶ Newspapers,
- ▶ Radio and TV.

Costly but saves time

## TYPES OF CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

Modern communication-based electoral campaigns often use private consultants. Most of them deal with:

- ▶ Strategic planning,
- ▶ Preparing initiatives for the ballot,
- ▶ Message development,
- ▶ Radio and television advertising,
- ▶ Targeted mail.



## TYPES OF CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

### Consultant-based campaigns

Uses:

- ▶ Graphic and web design,
- ▶ Grassroots organizing,
- ▶ Day-to-day campaign operations,
- ▶ Community outreach,
- ▶ Polling/surveys/focus groups,
- ▶ Opposition research,
- ▶ Budget planning.



## PPT 4.3: *Legal Framework Guiding Electoral Campaigns*

### LEGAL FRAMEWORK

- ▶ Elections are first and foremost provided for in a national constitution.
- ▶ There is no doubt that elections are a competition.
- ▶ It follows therefore that campaigning tends towards conflict (latent or manifest).
- ▶ The challenge is to manage such election-related conflicts constructively.

### LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- ▶ Election campaigns governed by different acts or regulations.
- ▶ In some countries, the Electoral Act covers campaigns.
- ▶ This may or may not include an electoral code of conduct.
- ▶ In some countries the Electoral Act used concurrently with the electoral code of conduct in conducting election campaigns.
- ▶ Code of conduct could be a voluntary agreement among political parties.



## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- Often draws mainly on the goodwill of the parties to abide by it.
- May be part of the electoral law enforceable by the Election Management Body (EMB).
- Voluntary codes of conduct are not binding. Legislated codes of conduct are binding.
- Aims primarily to regulate how parties conduct themselves in ensuring a free and fair democratic election that promotes political stability.
- The specific objectives of a code of conduct include the following:

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- Contributing to a peaceful election;
- Contributing to a level playing field during elections;
- Developing public confidence in the electoral process;
- Promoting a culture of political tolerance;
- Ensuring that the electoral process is credible and its outcome legitimate and acceptable to all contestants;
- Promoting constructive management of election-related disputes.



## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- ▶ The code should specify who is bound by it,
- ▶ At the minimum, political parties and candidates are supposed to be bound by the code,
- ▶ The code may also bind other players (e.g. the Kenyan, Tanzanian and Zimbabwean code includes the media, civil society organizations, the EMB, etc.),
- ▶ If code is in the law, it should specify the expected ethical code to be adhered to by all those affected by its implementation,

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

The code may provide for:

- ▶ Publicly condemning violence and intimidation;
- ▶ Preventing violence or intimidation, or language or action which might lead to violence or intimidation;
- ▶ Not allowing weapons to be carried or displayed at political meetings, marches, demonstrations, voting stations, etc;
- ▶ Not publishing or repeating false, defamatory or inflammatory allegations about political opponents;
- ▶ Cooperating with other political parties to avoid scheduling political activities at the same times and places;
- ▶ Protecting access to eligible voters by political opponents;



## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- ▶ Not destroying, disfiguring or removing other political parties' campaign materials;
- ▶ Not plagiarizing other political parties' symbols, colors or acronyms;
- ▶ Not bribing eligible voters;

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- ▶ Not abusing positions of power, influence, or privilege in respect of the election campaign and voting.
- ▶ The code can facilitate the equal participation and access of women to political activities and voting.



## LEGAL FRAMEWORK (cont...)

- ▶ Ordinarily, the code applies during the electoral period as stipulated by the electoral law, especially between the campaign period and polling day.
- ▶ Equally important, the code specifies sanctions to be imposed on those who violate its provisions.

## HO 4.4: Group 1 Role Play Script

### HO 4.4: Role Play Script

#### Group 1: Player script

Your Sunshine Party (SP) is the governing party contesting regional and local elections in the Chegutu district. You are the incumbent mayor and the party candidate once more. You are going to be the main speaker at the rally organized at the district town center. Your opponent is a former member of your party who has since formed his new party, the Patriotic Front. Your opponent is a renowned activist who used to pull crowds for your party. He is also known by locals as a philanthropist. You know that your opponent poses a real threat to your campaign so you have to do something about it during your speech. These are the points you make on why people should vote for you:

- You are the best man because you have experience and have done many good things for the people of Chegutu.
- That if people do not vote for you, they are going to suffer because many social services will be stopped by the opponents.
- The Patriotic Front party is a splinter party formed by ill-disciplined people who ran away from your party because they are power hungry and trouble makers.
- The candidate was facing fraud investigations in the Sunshine Party and cannot be trusted by the people.
- He goes around claiming to be doing charity work while in actual fact he uses stolen money to buy votes.
- You also got information from reliable sources that your opponent has extra-marital affairs and therefore cannot be entrusted with the affairs of the people.

Make up a few more below-the-belt accusations to fight for your position.



## HO 4.5: *Group 2 Role Play Script*

### HO 4.5: Role Play Script

#### Group 2: Player script

You are the former Councilor in the Chegutu District Council having served in the Sunshine Party during the past five years. You will be addressing the final rally for your newly formed party, the Patriotic Front. You explain to your supporters that you left the Sunshine Party in protest over lack of intra-party democracy and non-consultation with communities on issues that affect them. You note the challenges facing the people of Chegutu, among which unemployment and poor service delivery, particularly water supply to the villages and poor health facilities rank high. Point out to your audience that your party plans to turn around the situation within the first two years by ensuring that water supply is fully restored in six out of the ten villages; that you are going to replace ageing equipment at the district hospital so that people do not have to travel to the cities to get medical attention; and you will, together with the people, agree on priorities within the first 100 days and work out solutions to the current problems together. You appeal to the people to vote with their conscience and that your party's victory will be for the benefit of all the inhabitants of Chegutu, including your opponents.



## PPT 4.6: Campaign Plans

### POLITICAL PARTIES' CAMPAIGN PLANS

- ▶ Campaigns need proper planning to succeed;
- ▶ They entail details and deadlines;
- ▶ Plans bring order to the campaign;
- ▶ Plan defines the what, when, who and how of the campaign;
- ▶ They divide tasks, integrate work, and provide a roadmap of the electoral process;
- ▶ They minimize uncertainty;
- ▶ A plan saves time and money; and
- ▶ It may change during the electoral process.

### POLITICAL PARTIES' CAMPAIGN PLANS (cont...)

- ▶ They inspire confidence in supporters; and
- ▶ Assure members and donors that their resources are not wasted.

Elements of a plan include:

- Demographic profile, because this has an effect on resources required;
- Opposition profile to exploit weaknesses;



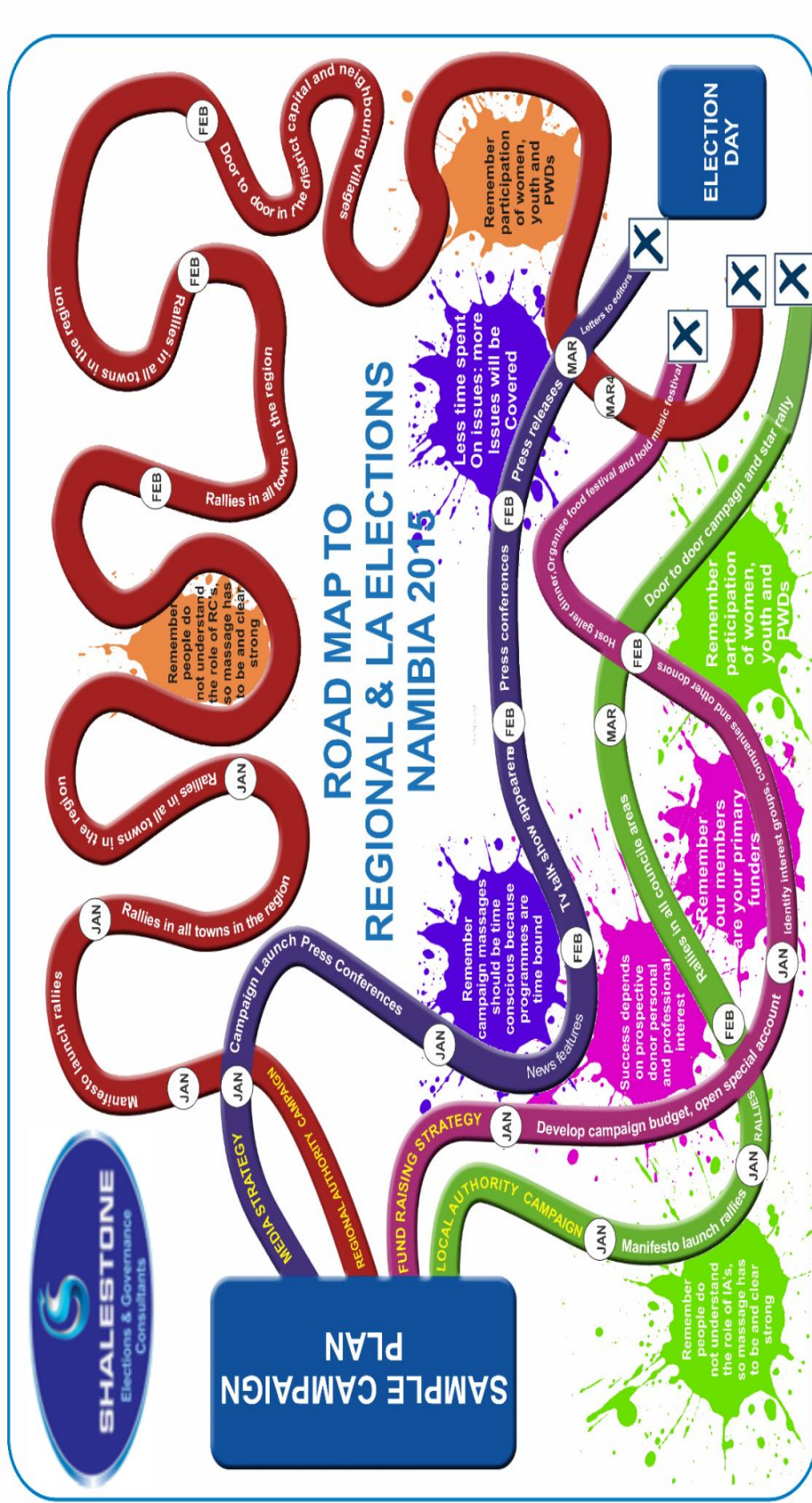
## POLITICAL PARTIES' CAMPAIGN PLANS (cont...)

- Electoral history;
- Public opinion;
- General strategy;
- Fundraising plan (quantity, timing, sources, and tactics);
- Communication strategy;
- Outreach strategy.



### HO 4.7: Sample of a Campaign Plan in Namibia

## HO 2.7 Sample of a Campaign Plan in Namibia



Source: Shalestone Consultants 2015



## PPT 4.8: Campaign Themes

### IMPORTANCE OF CAMPAIGN THEMES

- Generate excitement around issues;
- Inspire audiences, simplify the complex issues and infuse familiar ideas with fresh energy;
- Should consist of what the voter wants, what the candidate/party offers and what the opponents bring;
- A good theme has power to influence choice;
- Links voters' concerns with the candidate's/party's approach;
- Has to conform to campaign context (also its theme to be consistent with candidate actions);
- Should be inclusive of diverse issues to appeal to more voters (e.g. environment = concern about the future; crime prevention=safely community).

### HOW TO MAKE A WINNING CAMPAIGN THEME

#### Be creative:

- A theme has to be fresh and use fun in communicating a message;
- It has to use metaphors to appeal to audiences' imaginations;
- It has to exaggerate ideas;
- It has to explore concepts not usually used alongside the party or candidate brand.



## HOW TO MAKE A WINNING CAMPAIGN THEME (Cont...)

### Be concise

- ▶ A campaign theme has to be short and to the point;
- ▶ If long words are used, they must be used very carefully so as to not lose the audience;
- ▶ The words have to capture the message succinctly.

## HOW TO MAKE A WINNING CAMPAIGN THEME (Cont...)

### Be original

- ▶ A theme has to be original to ensure lasting interest in the campaign;
- ▶ The research at the beginning of the campaign portfolio development may provide good ideas of the issues for the campaign theme.



## HOW TO MAKE A WINNING CAMPAIGN THEME (Cont...)

### ► Be inclusive

- A theme has to be inclusive. It has to cater for all sectors of society, including marginalized groups;
- A good theme makes everyone an agent of the party or candidate. They become ambassadors of the brand being promoted.

## HOW TO MAKE A WINNING CAMPAIGN THEME (Cont...)

### ► Be relevant

- A relevant theme does not only appeal to the audience's emotions but is sustainable beyond the election campaign period;
- A relevant theme ensures participation of a higher number of members and supporters alike.



## HOW TO MAKE A WINNING CAMPAIGN THEME (Cont.)

### Be positive

- ▶ A theme can encourage desired actions and change unwanted behavior;
- ▶ A positive theme serves a motivating function and through inspiring words has a lasting impact on the targeted audience.

## “DEFENDING OUR LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY”





## “A CHANGE YOU CAN TRUST, A NEW BEGINNING: NOW IS THE TIME”





## HO 4.9: *Difference between Electronic and Print Media*

### HO 4.9: DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA

Print	TV	Radio
<p>The length of coverage is determined by column inches or words. It is important for party representatives to give out succinct detail and information. This should communicate the key message that the party wants to convey.</p>	<p>The usual length of news story items can be from 15 seconds up to 90 seconds for electronic interviews. Party representatives should be well prepared and well informed about the issues that they are invited to talk about. It is vital for party representatives to know what the topic of interest is and the angle which that particular media outlet uses.</p> <p>Talk shows and feature programmes usually have extended time slots and are an important opportunity to explore issues and convey a party's perspective more comprehensively. Thorough preparation, facts, statistics and the thinking informing the party's perspectives; as well as the ability to think on one's feet are vital in this format. Good debating skills and being able to develop a convincing argument ensure success.</p>	<p>The usual length of a news story is 30 to 60 seconds. Party representatives should be well prepared and well informed about the item that they will be talking about. Because of the condensed nature of the news medium, news radio works on the basis of sounds bites. One should appreciate that communication in this medium aims to convey the largest amount of information in the shortest space of time.</p> <p>Talk shows and feature programmes usually have extended time slots and are an important opportunity to explore issues and convey a party's perspective more comprehensively. Thorough preparation, facts, statistics and the thinking informing the party's perspectives; as well as the ability to think on one's feet are vital in this format. Good debating skills and the ability to develop a convincing argument ensure success.</p>



<p>If readers cannot make sense out of the information provided, they have an opportunity to re-read. Party representatives should make sure that their facts are correct, precise, easy to understand and concise. Ensuring accuracy of the key message the party intends to communicate is vital to avoid misunderstanding, distorting and misquoting, which journalists sometimes do.</p>	<p>Viewers only have one opportunity to see the story. Party representatives should be able to pursue, encourage and engage their audience in order to make a lasting impact on them. Party representatives need to have a clear understanding of the viewership.</p>	<p>Listeners only have one opportunity to hear the story. Party representatives should be able to convey their message unambiguously. Party representatives need to have a clear understanding of the listenership.</p>
<p>Interviews can be done in person, or over the phone. Party representatives should ensure that they convey their message succinctly to avoid being misunderstood.</p>	<p>Interviews included in the story must be done in person. Party representatives should therefore ensure that their body language is lively, engaging and consistent with the message being conveyed.</p>	<p>Interviews can be done in person or over the phone. Where possible, cell phone interviews should be avoided due to static and areas of inadequate network coverage. Party representatives should ensure that they convey their message succinctly to avoid being misunderstood.</p>
<p>It is important to be sensitive to local language preferences and take into account the community being communicated to. Messages should be tailored to be informative, clear and precise.</p>	<p>It is important to be sensitive to local language preferences depending on the community to whom the message is being communicated. Messages should be tailored to be informative, clear and precise.</p>	<p>It is important to be sensitive to local language preferences depending on the community to whom the message is being communicated. Messages should be tailored to be informative, clear and precise.</p>

Stories are explained through words, photographs and graphics. This is a passive medium.	Stories are explained through visuals, especially action, and live interviews. This is an active medium.	Stories are explained through words and sounds. This is an intermediate medium which works both passively and actively.
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Adapted from: The Association of Washington Public Hospital Districts.



PPT 4.10: Media Matrix

**HO 4.10: Media Engagement Matrix**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Process/responsibilities</b>	<b>Possible tools</b>
<b>News or feature stories</b>	To inform, entertain, educate and communicate newsworthy information to audiences.	Party spokesperson provides background information and context as well as interview sources. For a feature story a pitch may be made for coverage. This implies knowing and developing a working relationship with content producers and content decision-makers in media outlets.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Press release</li> <li>● Fact sheet</li> <li>● Background briefing</li> </ul>
<b>Guest appearances</b>	To discuss a topic of interest in a talk show setting on TV or radio. This can be in response to an invitation or a pitch for airtime.	Party spokesperson identifies relevant, informed and appropriate person to speak on the party’s behalf. Where a pitch is being made, communicating with the show’s producer (not the host) in good time is advisable. The producer will book the guest or reject the suggestion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Letter</li> <li>● Telephone</li> <li>● Talking points and briefing documents</li> </ul>
<b>Community calendar items</b>	To inform the people about events and activities which the party will carry out within a given time.	Party spokesperson sends press release about upcoming event or activity to calendar editor well in advance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Press release</li> </ul>
<b>Letters to the editor</b>	To respond to an article that appeared in the paper. To voice a similar or dissimilar view. To inform editor of a necessary correction.	Party spokesperson/public relations official drafts letter of 50 to 300 words in response to an article that appeared in the paper. This is an opportunity to demonstrate the party’s view on a topic or to defend its position.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Letter</li> </ul>

Adapted from: The Association of Washington Public Hospital Districts.





# **MODULE 5**

## **Conflict Management**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers. You will also need copies of the Electoral Cycle.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 224 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 225 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 227 in the Resources.

## Key understanding

With political parties forming a critical pillar for the entrenchment of a democratic culture and its practices, their ability to add value to democratization depends on if they are able to embrace tolerance and internal democracy and manage both their internal and external conflicts in a democratic manner.

## Activity 5.1 Understanding conflict

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the concept of conflict, its manifestations, and its pros and cons.

**Summary:** Conflicts are an inevitable fact of life. However, the results of conflicts are not predetermined. Conflict might escalate and lead to non-productive results, or it can be beneficially resolved and lead to a positive outcome. Conflict may be defined as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Political parties operate in a highly contentious environment which makes conflict a common part of their context. It is key that parties understand conflict and, in particular, how to deal with it for the benefit of their parties and society as a whole.

**Step 1:** Distribute HO 5.1: *Role Play on Conflict* and ask for volunteers to enact a role play. They should prepare a 3-minute performance.

**Step 2:** Volunteers to enact the role play.

**Step 3:** Conduct a debriefing on the role play by asking participants what they noted in terms of where conflict can exist and how it can manifest itself.

**Step 4:** In a plenary brainstorming session ask participants to say what they understand by conflict. They should list key words and note these down. With the participants, combine some of these words and phrases to come up with a conceptualization of conflict.

### Facilitator's note:

You are not looking for a perfect definition of conflict but should aim to cover the basic essence of what conflict entails. An example of a definition to guide you is: "Conflict is defined as an incompatibility of goals or values between two or more parties in a relationship, combined with attempts to control each other and antagonistic feelings toward each other." (Fisher, 1990)

In a brief discussion ask participants about their associations with the notion of conflict – are these positive or negative?

**Step 5:** Highlight the importance of destructive and constructive conflict, based on the references in HO 5.2: *Destructive and Constructive Conflict*. Discuss this with participants.

**Step 6:** Distribute handout HO 5.3: *Conflict Stages – Various Thoughts*. Ask participants to form groups of 3 and read through the HO together. They must discuss and explain their experiences of some of the issues being presented.

**Make the point:** Conflicts are a part of life. These need not become destructive, but it is important that the positive side that can emerge from conflict is harnessed and that conflicting parties do not allow conflicts to degenerate to the point that they become intractable.



## Activity 5.2

### Conflict causes and triggers: analysis

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Analyze conflict causes, triggers and effects.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to name what they think are generally the sources of conflict. Participants must do this individually and they must name as many causes as they can think of and write these on a piece of paper or in the space provided in their Handbooks.

**Step 2:** Participants must share their list with their neighbor and consolidate their ideas into one list.

**Step 3:** In the plenary, go around the room and take feedback from the pairs. To avoid repetition, each pair must give one point only. Cluster what has emerged from the groups into 4 categories – Economic, Value, Power, and Others.

**Step 4:** Distribute HO 5.4: *Sources of Conflict*. Talk through this with participants.

**Step 5:** Introduce participants to a tool for analysing conflict causes, based on HO 5.5: *The Conflict Tree*. Explain the tool in an interactive discussion with participants. Demonstrate the use of the tool using simple examples from any issue.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 231 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 232 in the Resources.

**Make the point:** In order to deal more appropriately with conflict, it is important that there is a thorough appreciation of its causes, triggers, actors, and context.

## Activity 5.3

### Understanding inter-party conflicts

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify the causes, triggers and effects of inter-party conflicts.

**Summary:** Political parties as key agents of representative democracy play a crucial role in the democratization process. Elections are all about inter-party competition for control of government on behalf of the electorate. For political parties to remain key agents of democratization, the need to embrace internal democratic ethos, practices, and principles to manage intra-party disputes and conflicts constructively is of utmost importance. Besides ensuring internal democratic processes and constructive management of intra-party disputes, parties need to invest in smooth and cooperative inter-party relationships that allow for political tolerance of their divergent opinions and views. A culture of political tolerance that is accompanied by constructive engagement of parties on various national issues, both during and between elections, and which guarantees inter-party dialogue, is of utmost importance.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to name the kinds of conflicts that occur amongst parties. Participants must write these down on Post-It notes and stick them up on the flip chart or the wall. (These will be used later for reference when participants talk through intra- and inter-party conflicts.)



**Step 2:** Get an indication from participants if inter-party conflicts are experienced in their context. Ask for some brief narratives on inter-party conflicts they have encountered. Have these conflicts been constructive or destructive?

**Step 3:** Divide participants into 4 groups. Ask the groups to carry out a conflict analysis using the conflict tree tool on the causes, triggers and effects of these inter-party conflicts.

**Step 4:** Conduct a plenary feedback session and in the discussion participants must reach consensus on the causes, triggers and effects of inter-party conflict in their contexts. In the discussion, hone in on the effects of inter-party conflict on society as a whole.

**Make the point:** Given the competitive nature of politics, conflicts across different parties are inevitable. While conflicts can be useful in making for stronger and healthier parties and democracies, this is largely dependent upon the way these conflicts are perceived and subsequently handled amongst the parties.

## Activity 5.4

### Understanding intra-party conflicts

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Understand the causes, triggers and effects of intra-party conflicts.

**Step 1:** Role play various dynamics in intra-party conflicts.

**Step 2:** Debrief the role play and ask participants to reflect if scenes depicted in the role play occur in their contexts. Ask them to share any narratives they are familiar with.

**Step 3:** Form groups and ask participants to do a conflict analysis on the causes and effects of intra-party conflicts in their context.

**Step 4:** Ask for group feedback and hold a plenary discussion on the issues emerging from the groups, taking note to highlight the effects associated with internal party conflicts not only on the party but on society as a whole.

**Step 5:** Distribute worksheet HO 5.6: *Reflections on Internal Party Conflict* and ask participants to individually reflect on these and complete them. Thereafter participants must caucus with those from their party and use the reflection sheets to engage each other.

**Step 6:** Facilitate a brief reflection on the above exercise without necessarily compelling the parties to share the specifics of their reflections.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 234 in the Resources.



## Activity 5.5

### Mechanisms for dealing with intra- and inter-party conflicts

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify the various strategies that parties can use to manage intra- and inter-party conflicts.

**Step 1:** Ask participants in a brainstorming session to name the conflict management strategies they are familiar with.

Note these down on a flip chart. Ensure that the following emerge: mediation, negotiation, arbitration, adjudication.

**Step 2:** Assign each table group a conflict management strategy and ask the groups to discuss what the strategy entails.

**Step 3:** Take group feedback and conduct a plenary discussion.

**Step 4:** Do a presentation on conflict management strategies, based on PPT 5.7: *Conflict Management Methods*.

**Step 5:** Ask the table groups to discuss the use of each strategy in the management of inter- and intra-party conflicts. Where would the mechanism be most appropriate?

**Step 6:** Take group feedback and conduct a plenary discussion.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 235 in the Resources.

#### Key understanding

Election-related disputes, although inevitable, require electoral stakeholders, including political parties, to play a positive role in preventing, resolving and managing these to ensure that the credibility of the electoral process is upheld.



## Activity 5.6

### Understanding election-related disputes

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify where in the election cycle electoral-related disputes occur, their causes and manifestations.

**Summary:** Electoral conflicts and political violence have featured in Africa's democratization, signalling weaknesses in the governance of elections, the rules of orderly political competition, and the lack of impartial judiciaries to interpret and adjudicate electoral disputes. The challenges of electoral conflicts and political violence reflect the problems of transitions to democracy associated with managing elections and building institutions of competition that are widely accepted by winners and losers. In other instances, electoral conflicts and political violence arise, in part, from reactions of groups that have been deliberately disadvantaged and disempowered by their opponents. Claims about the deliberate subversion of the ends of electoral and democratic processes are always invoked by losers who may then seek redress through violence. Although certain levels of violence frequently occur at different stages of the electoral process in Africa, the occurrence of electoral contestations that lead to large-scale violence is an issue of concern. Elections that end in widespread conflict and violence, resulting in the loss of lives and the destruction of property, raise questions about election management and administration, as well as the long-term impact on the consolidation of political competition.

**Step 1:** Get an indication from participants if electoral-related disputes occur within their context, the prevalence of these (how often they occur), and how these conflicts often play out. Take a few responses from a cross-section of participants.

**Step 2:** Distribute HO 5.8: *Election Violence in Africa*. In table groups ask participants to go through this and note key points regarding the state of electoral violence in Africa.

**Step 3:** Take group feedback and conduct a plenary discussion.

**Step 4:** Distribute the electoral cycle to table groups or in the case that participants already have this, refer participants to it.

Individually ask participants to mark with a red marker or pen where in the electoral cycle conflicts occur. After a minute, individual participants must share their lists among the greater table group and indicate *the processes* within the electoral cycle where the risk of disputes is high. The groups must grade the processes from 'not likely' (yellow shading), 'least likely' (mark by X in green), 'likely' (mark by XX in Blue) to 'highly likely' (mark by XXX in red).

**Step 5:** Facilitate a brief plenary feedback session and some discussion to reach consensus amongst all groups on the ratings.

**Step 6:** Discuss how electoral-related disputes manifest themselves. Distribute HO 5.9: *Political and Electoral Violence in East Africa* and go through this with participants.

**Step 7:** Ask participants to reflect on their context and to discuss in pairs how electoral conflicts manifest in their country.

**Step 8:** Take group feedback and discuss in a plenary session.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 240 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 242 in the Resources.



## Activity 5.7

### Electoral violence

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify risks for electoral violence, and causes and effects.

**Summary:** While competitive elections – once unheard of in many African countries – have become more frequent, they unfortunately pose a heightened threat of electoral violence, particularly in countries without the necessary political and technical infrastructure in place to prevent or mitigate election-related violence. The factors that propel such violence are multifaceted and diverse, ranging from flawed or failed elections to structural issues such as poor governance, exclusionary political practices, the socio-economic uncertainties of losing political power and the challenges associated with partial democracies, to name but a few. However, it is the structural challenges that are often found outside the electoral cycle that create the potential for electoral violence, with elections either precipitating political disputes or escalating simmering tensions and acting as a trigger to violent conflict.

**Step 1:** Show video on election-related violence if possible.

**Step 2:** Hone in on the issue of electoral violence. Get an indication of how prevalent incidents of electoral violence are in the context of the participants.

**Step 3:** Deliver an interactive presentation on election violence, PPT 5.10: *Electoral Violence*, and discuss the issues that emerge.

**Step 4:** Carry out a conflict analysis (draw problem tree on flip chart) together with participants on the causes and effects of election violence.

**Step 5:** Distribute HO 5.11: *Causes of Electoral Conflict in Africa*. Allow participants to read it and in their table groups ask them to note the key causes of electoral violence.

**Step 6:** In rounding up the discussion, refer to such cases of election violence like Kenya in 2007 and Zimbabwe in 2008 to highlight the key points on electoral violence. Get an indication from participants on how they would rate the risk of the likelihood of election related violence in their context from ‘not likely’, ‘likely’, ‘highly likely’ and to justify their responses.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 243 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 248 in the Resources.



## Activity 5.8

### Complicity of political parties in electoral violence

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify areas where political parties are responsible for fueling electoral-related violence.

**Step 1:** Divide participants into 2 teams and conduct a debate on the following: Political parties must be held responsible for all the electoral-related violence that occurs. Group 1 must be for the motion and the other group against it. Allow 5 minutes for groups to prepare their arguments. Carry out the debate for not more than 10 minutes.

**Step 2:** Point to the pertinent issues raised and emphasize the need for a heightened sense of awareness and responsibility by political parties towards averting electoral violence.

**Step 3:** In their table groups, ask participants to point out the ways in which they wilfully and unwittingly trigger electoral violence and ask them to suggest ways they can avert violence (what must they stop, start or continue doing).

**Step 4:** Take group feedback and discuss in a plenary session.

**Step 5:** Sum up through highlighting the key issues that have emerged.

**Make the point:** Political parties have a responsibility for ensuring a non-violent electoral process. Their complicity in fuelling electoral violence is highly irresponsible and impacts negatively on the credibility of the electoral process and also reinforces a violent culture in society which weakens the democratic process.

## Activity 5.9

### Prevention and management of electoral violence

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Formulate strategic entry points to the prevention, resolution and or management of electoral violence.

**Summary:** Preventing and managing electoral violence requires a multistep approach that takes into account the full electoral cycle. There are a number of important activities that Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) should engage in during the pre- and post-election phase. In other words, preventing electoral violence does not begin or end on election day.

**Step 1:** Distribute the electoral cycle.

**Step 2:** Form 3 groups and assign each group an electoral phase. Participants to identify the high-risk areas for triggering violence during the phase of the electoral cycle assigned to them and to suggest ways of averting and or managing this violence.

**Step 3:** Take group feedback and discuss in a plenary session.

**Step 4:** Show video on the prevention and management of electoral violence or identify a guest speaker to talk through the issues.

**Step 5:** Take a round of discussion by asking participants to reflect if there are any take away lessons they can glean from the presentation.



## Activity 5.10

### Election dispute resolution mechanisms

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe how to utilize the legally provided mechanisms for the mitigation of election-related disputes.

**Summary:** The effective resolution of electoral complaints is integral to the integrity and legitimacy of an election. If the rules governing the resolution of election claims are incoherent or do not provide for effective remedies, or if arbiters are biased or poorly trained, the adjudication process can destabilize governments, undermine public trust, and engender violence.

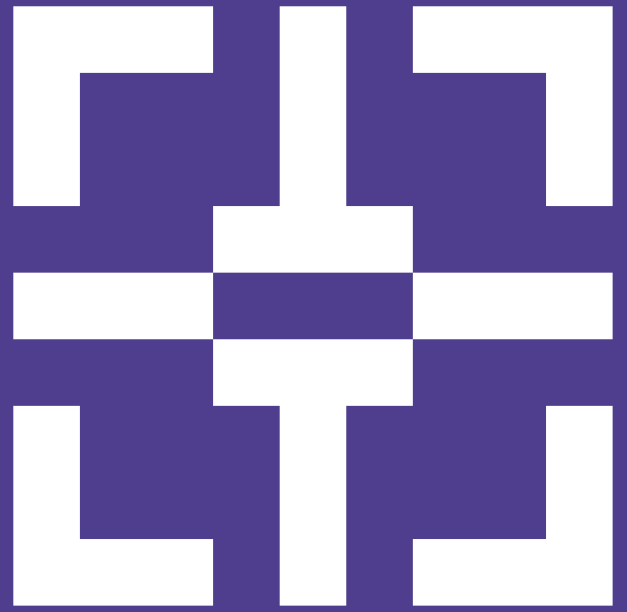
**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants if, within their context, there is an election dispute resolution framework. How are any election-related disputes handled in their context?

**Step 2:** Ask participants to discuss the issue from their context.

**Step 3:** In groups, ask participants what they think can be improved in their context and how they as parties can support an effective and efficient election system of election dispute resolution?

**Step 4:** Group feedback and plenary discussion.





# **MODULE 5**

## **Conflict Management**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

See pg 224 in the Resources.

See pg 225 in the Resources.

See pg 227 in the Resources.

## Activity 5.1

### Understanding conflict

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Explain the concept of conflict, its manifestations, and its pros and cons.

**Step 1:** You may be requested to participate in a role play, or watch its performance, based on HO 5.1: *Role Play on Conflict*. After the role play, in the space provided below note down any key issues about conflict in terms of what it is and how it manifests itself.

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**Step 2:** What are your associations with conflict – are they positive or negative? Refer to HO 5.2: *Destructive and Constructive Conflict*.

- Note the key points on how conflict can manifest itself.
- When is a conflict positive and when does it become negative?

**Step 3:** Refer to HO 5.3: *Conflict Stages – Various Thoughts*.

In groups of 3 discuss your thoughts and share your reflections in the plenary discussion.

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**Takeaway point:** Conflicts are a part of life. Whilst these need not become destructive, it is important that the positive that can emerge from conflicts be harnessed and that conflicting parties do not allow conflict to degenerate to a point of being intractable.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 5.2

### Conflict causes and triggers

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Analyse conflict causes, triggers and effects.

**Step 1:** List what you think are generally the sources of conflict.

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**Step 2:** Share your list with your neighbor and consolidate your lists into one. Discuss your list in the plenary session and participate in the ensuing discussion.

**Step 3:** Refer to HO 5.4: *Sources of Conflict* and engage on the presentation by the facilitator.

See pg 231 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** The facilitator will demonstrate how to conduct a conflict analysis using HO 5.5: *The Conflict Tree*. Note the key characteristics of the tool and how to use it.

See pg 232 in the Resources.

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**Takeaway point:** In order to deal appropriately with conflicts, it is important that there is a thorough appreciation of its causes, triggers, actors and context.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## **Activity 5.3**

### Understanding inter-party conflicts

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify the causes, triggers and effects of inter-party conflicts.

**Step 1:** Name the kinds of conflicts that occur amongst parties and note them in the space provided. Share your list in a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** Questions:

- Have you experienced inter-party conflicts in your context?
- What stories can you share on inter-party conflicts.
- Have these conflicts been constructive or destructive?

**Step 3:** In groups, conduct a conflict analysis on the causes, triggers and effects of inter-party conflicts within your context using the conflict tree tool.

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**Step 4:** Conduct a plenary feedback session on conflict causes, triggers and the effects of inter-party conflicts.

**Takeaway point:** Given the competitive nature of politics, conflicts across different parties are inevitable. Conflicts can be useful in making for stronger and healthier parties and democracies, but this is largely dependent upon the way these conflicts are perceived and subsequently handled amongst the parties.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 5.4

### Understanding intra-party conflicts

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify the causes, triggers and effects of intra-party conflicts.

**Step 1:** The facilitator will ask you to role play the dynamics in intra-party conflicts.

**Step 2:** Reflect if the scenes depicted in the role play occur in your context.

**Step 3:** In groups, conduct a conflict analysis on the causes and effects of intra-party conflicts in your context.

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**Step 4:** Share your group deliberations in a feedback plenary session.

**Step 5:** Complete worksheet HO 5.6: *Reflections on Internal Party Conflict*. Confer with others from your party and share your reflections. You will not be required to share your party's conflicts in the plenary session.

See pg 234 in the Resources.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 5.5

### Mechanisms for dealing with intra- and inter-party conflicts

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify the various strategies that parties can use to manage intra- and inter-party conflicts.

**Step 1:** Name the conflict management strategies you are familiar with and list them in the space provided.

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**Step 2:** Your group will be assigned a conflict management strategy. In your group discuss what the strategy assigned to you entails.

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**Step 3:** Share your group's deliberations in a feedback plenary session.

**Step 4:** Refer to PPT 5.7: *Conflict Management Methods*. Engage on the presentation with the facilitator.

**Step 5:** In your assigned group discuss

- The use of each strategy in the management of inter- and intra-party conflicts.
- Where would the mechanism be appropriate?

Contribute your feedback from the group to a plenary session.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

See pg 235 in the Resources.



## Activity 5.6

### Understanding election-related disputes

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify where in the election cycle electoral-related disputes occur, their causes and manifestations.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- Do electoral-related disputes occur within your context?
- If so, what is the prevalence of these (how often do they occur); and
- How do these conflicts often play out?

Contribute your views to a plenary discussion.

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**Step 2:** Refer to handout HO 5.8: *Election Violence in Africa*. In your assigned groups read through this handout and note the key points regarding the state of electoral violence in Africa.

See pg 240 in the Resources.

Contribute your points to a plenary discussion.

**Step 3:** Refer to the electoral cycle and note in the space provided where conflicts occur within your context.

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Share your views in plenary and reach consensus with other participants on the occurrence of electoral violence in your context.

**Step 4:** Refer to HO 5.9: *Political and Electoral Violence in East Africa* and reflect on the manifestation of electoral conflicts within your context.

See pg 242 in the Resources.

Contribute your points to a plenary discussion.

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**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## **Activity 5.7** Electoral violence

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify risks for electoral violence, causes and effects.

**Step 1:** Watch video on election-related violence.

See pg 243 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** How prevalent are incidents of electoral violence in your context? Refer to PPT 5.10: *Electoral Violence*, and discuss the issues that emerge.

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See pg 248 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Refer to HO 5.11: *Causes of Electoral Conflict in Africa*. Engage on the presentation by the facilitator.

**Step 4:** Carry out a conflict analysis on election violence within your context. Note key causes of electoral violence. Reach consensus with other participants on the causes, triggers, and effects of election violence.

Contribute your discussion points to a plenary discussion.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 5.8

### Complicity of political parties in electoral violence

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you will be able to:

- Identify areas where political parties are responsible for fueling electoral-related violence.

**Step 1:** Debate the following motion:

- Political parties must be held responsible for all the electoral-related violence that occurs.

Participate in the debate. Note down the key points for and against the motion.

**Step 2:** Questions:

- In what ways do you as parties wilfully and unwittingly trigger electoral violence? (Be as honest as can be.)
- Suggest ways that parties can avert the violence. (What must you stop, start or continue doing?)

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**Step 3:** Feedback your discussion into a plenary discussion.

**Takeaway point:** Political parties have a responsibility for ensuring a non-violent electoral process. Their complicity in fueling electoral violence is highly irresponsible, impacts negatively on the credibility of the electoral process and also reinforces a violent culture in society which weakens the democratic process.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 5.9

### Prevention and management of electoral violence

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you will be able to:

- Formulate strategic entry points into the prevention, resolution and or management of electoral violence.

**Step 1:** In groups, refer again to the electoral cycle. The facilitator will distribute copies to those who don't have one. Consider the electoral cycle assigned to your group and do the following:

- Identify the high-risk areas for triggering violence.
- Suggest ways of averting and or managing this violence.

Note your key points on the flip chart.

Contribute your feedback from the group to the plenary session.

**Step 2:** Watch the video on managing electoral violence. Note any lessons from this video that you think is applicable to your situation.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 5.10

### Election dispute resolution mechanisms

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you will be able to:

- Describe how to utilize the legally provided mechanisms for the mitigation of election related disputes.

**Step 1:** Identify election resolution mechanisms that are used in the face of a conflict.

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**Step 2:** Questions

- What do you think can be improved in election dispute resolutions?
- How can you as parties support an effective and efficient system of election dispute resolution?

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### HO 5.1: *Role Play on Conflict*

#### HO 5.1 Role Play on Conflict

##### **Roles:**

1. A young person has applied for admission to two universities, one local and the other university in another country, and received positive responses from both. Now he has to choose where he must study. Whilst the local university is offering him the degree of his first choice, there are no opportunities for him to get a scholarship to enroll in the course. The university abroad is offering him a lesser course but he has the chance of getting a scholarship. But he will be far from home and away from his family for at least 4 years. He struggles to make a decision.
2. William and Andrew were working in the same team at work and were best of friends. One day, they were asked to give their inputs on a particular project assigned to them by their superior. There was a major clash in their understanding of the project and both could not agree with each other's opinions. William wanted to carry out the project in a way that Andrew did not agree with. Andrew walked out and the two have not spoken since then.
3. The church choir master believes that he should be the only one to select the songs, the choir uniform and anything related to the choir. The choir members are unhappy about this as they do not always agree with his choices and the way he runs the choir. The choir master tells the choir members that those who are unhappy about him are free to leave and find their own choir. Soon the choir disintegrates as the majority of people leave.



## HO 5.2: *Destructive and Constructive Conflict*

### **HO 5.2 Destructive and Constructive Conflict**

Conflict is inevitable in any society. However it does not necessarily have to be a bad thing.

In 1969, [Deutsch](#) created a view of conflict that remains a usable framework today. Deutsch claimed that the negative or positive nature of conflict really is determined by people's behavior; it is not an inherent quality of conflict itself. Some behaviors produce dysfunctional, destructive and unproductive responses; other behaviors produce functional, constructive and productive responses.

Destructive conflict – Conflicts tend toward destructiveness when the means used are severe and harmful. Destructive conflicts increase in scale and tend to become self-perpetuating. Conflict outcomes tend to be destructive when they are applied unilaterally, without regard to the other party's interests. Behaviors that escalate a conflict until it seems to have a life of its own are dysfunctional and destructive. Destructive conflicts may degenerate to the point that the conflicting parties forget the substantive issues and transform their purposes to get even, retaliating or hurting the other person. In destructive conflict, no one is satisfied with the outcome, possible gains are not realized and the negative consequences at the end of one conflict episode are carried over to the beginning of the next conflict – creating a degenerating or negative spiral. Destructive conflicts are more likely to occur in rigid, competitive systems.

Constructive conflict – behaviors that are adaptive to the situation, person and the issues of the moment are functional and constructive. Many conflicts are a mixture of competitive and cooperative impulses. Constructive conflicts appropriately balance the interests of both parties to maximize the opportunities for mutual gains. Constructive conflicts contain an element of creative adaptation born from a realization that one must know both one's own and the other's interests and goals to be able to find a road both parties are willing to walk to discover a mutually acceptable outcome. Focusing on the process, not just the outcome one person desires, is key to productive conflict management. Constructive conflicts tend to make greater use of persuasion and positive inducements. Constructive outcomes are those which are mutually acceptable and which support an ongoing relationship between the parties. Most conflicts involve a complex mix of constructive and destructive elements, and this mix can vary over the course of a conflict.



<b>CONSTRUCTIVE CONFLICT</b>	<b>DESTRUCTIVE CONFLICT</b>
Affirms differences; sees their potential for enriching outcomes	Uses differences as divisions; dichotomous (wrong/right)
Participatory – win/win, shared power; focused on common interest	Competitive – win/lose; powerful/powerless; focused on self interest
Attitude of curiosity, honesty, humility and respect (reflected through listening, questioning, validation, affirmation, empathy). Power “with” approach	Attitude of confrontation, dominance & aggression (reflected through put down, talking over, hurting, abuse, violence, blaming)
2-way process – trying to achieve mutually acceptable outcomes; has broad vision; open for change; focus is on issues, rational	1-way process – trying to win preferred outcomes; narrow vision; resistant to change; personalizes issues; irrational
Based on clear guidelines; ground rules/processes	Out of control-no guidelines/limits
Equal information – sharing common information base; naming personal agendas; seeking fair outcomes	Uneven/unequal information; works from stereotypes/assumptions rather than information; undercurrents; hidden agendas; not interested in fair outcomes
High level of personal responsibilities for process; balance between giving and taking	Little or no personal responsibility for process; just wants it all

Source: Suzi Quixley. 2008. Understanding Conflict



## HO 5.3: Conflict Stages – Various Thoughts

### HO 5.3: Conflict Stages – Various Thoughts

The potential for conflict exists whenever people have different needs, values, or interests; this is the "latent" conflict stage. The conflict may not become apparent until a "triggering event" leads to the emergence (or beginning) of the obvious conflict. Emergence may be followed quickly by settlement or resolution, or it may be followed by escalation, which can become very destructive. Escalation, however, cannot continue indefinitely. De-escalation can be temporary or can be part of a broader trend toward settlement or resolution. Or escalation may lead to a stalemate, a situation in which neither side can win. If the pain of continuing the conflict exceeds that of maintaining the confrontation, the parties are in what Zartman calls a "hurting stalemate," which often presents an ideal opportunity for negotiation and a potential settlement. Finally, if and when an agreement is reached, peacebuilding efforts work to repair damaged relationships with the long-term goal of reconciling former opponents.

**Latent conflict** - Latent conflict exists whenever individuals, groups, or organizations have differences with one another, but those differences may not be enough to cause one side to act and escalate the situation. These may be things that bother one party or another, but are categorized as annoyances, or things not worth getting upset about.

**Emergence** - This is the stage where we begin to notice conflict. Once the accumulation of differences or annoyances build up or an altercation erupts; the latent conflict that may have been dormant manifests in a public manner.

**Escalation** - Escalation is the increase in the intensity of the conflict and in the severity of tactics used. When conflict escalates it tends to spill over involving more people and other related issues. Parties begin using their power and resources to make stronger threats and harsher sanctions.

**Deadlock/stalemate** - Once conflict escalates it reaches the stage of stalemate. In this stage parties perceive that they cannot win or get everything they want, yet do not want to give in or back down. Parties begin to run out of resources and tactics to use to their advantage.

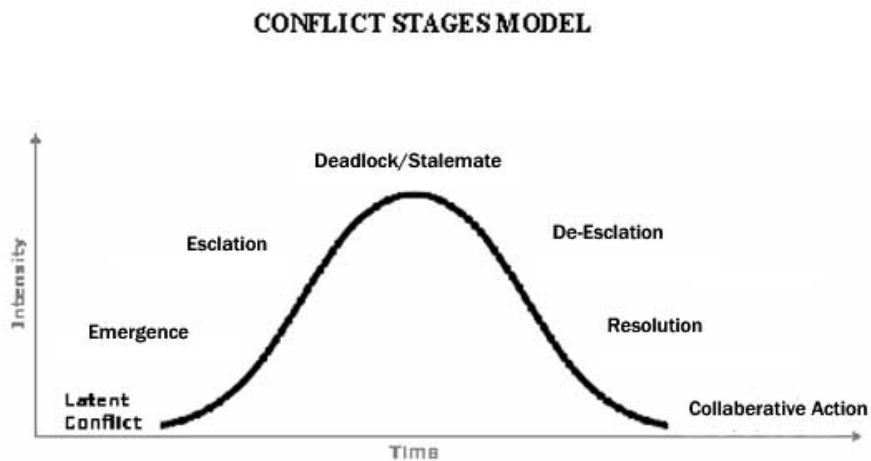
**De-escalation** - Eventually conflicts begin to wind down and transform. Parties begin to change their stances and positions. This may be because of outside forces, change in perspectives or simply the passing of time. Parties may begin to see that their goals are unrealistic and begin to change them for realistic solutions.



**Resolution** - In this stage parties begin to look for a way to resolve their problems. Grievances are often reduced, and both sides begin to look for alternative ways to resolve their conflicts. In this stage resolutions are found.

**Collaborative action** - This is where the parties begin to work together to implement the resolution. In this stage, parties begin to strengthen their understanding, communication and relationship with each other.

Below is a visual chart that shows the progression of the conflict life cycle.



### *Stages of escalation*

Conflicts tend to escalate and de-escalate over time, bursting out into violence, retreating into latent periods, and so on. It is a vital piece of information, in analysing a conflict, to know where in the escalatory spiral the conflict currently stands, and in which direction it may be heading. Another tool offers a way of doing this. This model says that there are four basic stages that a conflict moves between, listed in rising order of escalation: Discussion, Polarization, Segregation and Destruction.

### **Discussion stage.**

Parties are disagreeing, but are still close enough to work together. Communication hopefully consists of direct debate and discussion between parties. Mutual perceptions are both accurate and reasonably benign. The relationship is one with a modicum of trust and respect. The issues being emphasized in the dispute are substantive, objective ones. The possible outcome is assumed to be one that can please both sides: a win-win solution. The preferred method for managing the conflict is through co-operation to reach a joint solution.



For instance, Canadian-Quebecois tensions over linguistic and cultural rights are deep, abiding and complex. But, by and large, the argument is waged within the parameters of low-escalation discussion.

**Polarization stage.**

The parties have started to put distance between them, to withdraw and turn away from each other. Because of that distance, communication is now more indirect and reliant on interpretation (or, increasingly, misinterpretation). Mutual perceptions of each other are hardening into rigid stereotypes, especially since these are no longer challenged by the evidence of direct interaction with each other. The relationship has deteriorated from one of respect to a cooler one where each sees the other as still important but increasingly unreliable. The emphasized issues have moved away from the objective elements to the more psychological concerns about the relationship. The possible outcome is no longer one where everyone wins, but one where each must compromise to win some things and lose others. The preferred method of managing the conflict has moved from co-operative decision-making to competitive negotiation. The Soviet-US relationship during periods of Cold War detente fits the polarization stage fairly closely.

**Segregation stage.**

The parties have completely moved away from each other. Communication is now restricted to the issuing of threats. Mutual perceptions have hardened into a picture of us as good and them as evil. The relationship is now one of mistrust and disrespect. The issues now being emphasized in the dispute are the core needs and values of each group: thus the stakes have rapidly risen by this stage. The outcome is now perceived as a zero-sum calculation: a simple win-or-lose situation. And the preferred means of managing the situation has become one of defensive competition, where each protects its own interests above all, while trying to outwit or outsmart the other side. To a degree, the tense stand-off in early 1998 between Iraq and the US over UN weapons inspections reflected an instance of escalation to the polarization stage, but one which then de-escalated without tipping over into the outright violence of destruction.

**Destruction stage.**

This is one of all-out antagonism. Communication now merely consists of direct violence or complete silence. In order to justify violence, perceptions of the other side have become abusive descriptions of them as non-human, psychopaths, and so on. The relationship is seen as being in a completely hopeless state. The only issue being emphasized now is the ultimate survival of one's own side in the face of the other's aggression. Perceived possible outcomes now are all lose-lose: the situation is so bad that both sides will bear a heavy cost. The chosen



method of managing the conflict at this stage is simply that of trying to destroy the opposition: we are in a state of war. The world sadly abounds with examples of conflicts manifestly in the destruction phase.

Models of conflict are however idealized. Actual conflicts usually do not follow a linear path. Rather, they evolve in fits and starts, alternatively experiencing progress and setbacks toward resolution. The lack of linear progress helps to give the conflict a sense of intractability. Escalation may resume after temporary stalemate or negotiation. Escalation and de-escalation may alternate. Negotiations may take place in the absence of a stalemate. However, these models are still useful, because most conflicts pass through similar stages at least once in their history.

Delineating different stages is also useful in efforts to resolve conflict. By recognizing the different dynamics occurring at each stage of a conflict, one can appreciate that the strategies and tactics for participants and interveners differ depending on the phase of the conflict. We note that the stage of a conflict is determined subjectively by those involved. Some participants may see the conflict as escalating, while others believe it is de-escalating; one side may perceive itself to be in a hurting stalemate, while the other side believes it can prevail through continued force. Determining each party's assumptions regarding the stage of the conflict is thus important, before one can design a conflict management, transformation, or resolution strategy.

In addition, Kriesberg observes that the sequence of the phases differs from group to group. "Moderates, hardliners, spoilers, and various other factions within each camp tend to be in different phases of intractability at any given time. Therefore, shifts in the relative size and influence of these factions will produce changes in the conflict's course."



## HO 5.4: Sources of Conflict

### HO 5.4 Sources of Conflict

Daniel Katz (1965) created a typology that distinguishes three main sources of conflict:

1. **Economic** - Economic conflict involves competing motives to attain scarce resources. Each party wants to get the most that it can, and the behavior and emotions of each party are directed toward maximizing its gain.
2. **Value** - conflict involves incompatibility in ways of life, ideologies, the preferences, principles and practices that people believe in. International conflict (e.g., the Cold War) often has a strong value component, wherein each side asserts the rightness and superiority of its way of life and its political-economic system.
3. **Power** - Power conflict occurs when each party wishes to maintain or maximize the amount of influence that it exerts in the relationship and the social setting. It is impossible for one party to be stronger without the other being weaker, at least in terms of direct influence over each other. Thus, a power struggle ensues which usually ends in a victory and defeat, or in a “stand-off” with a continuing state of tension. Power conflicts can occur between individuals, between groups or between nations, whenever one or both parties choose to take a power approach to the relationship. Power also enters into all conflicts since the parties are attempting to control each other.

It must be noted that most conflicts are not of a pure type, but involve a mixture of sources. For example, union-management conflict typically involves economic competition, but may also take the form of a power struggle and often involves different ideologies or political values. The more sources that are involved, the more intense and intractable the conflict usually is. Another important source of conflict is ineffective communication. Miscommunication and misunderstanding can create conflict even where there are no basic incompatibilities. In addition, parties may have different perceptions as to what are the facts in a situation, and until they share information and clarify their perceptions, resolution is impossible. Self-centeredness, selective perception, emotional bias, prejudices, etc., are all forces that lead one party to perceive situations very differently from the other party. Lack of skill in communicating - what we really mean in a clear and respectful fashion - often results in confusion, hurt and anger, all of which simply feed the conflict process. Whether the conflict has objective sources or is due only to perceptual or communication problems, it is experienced as very real by the parties involved.



## HO 5.5: *The Conflict Tree*

### HO 5.5: The Conflict Tree

#### Description:

The conflict tree is a visualizing and sorting tool. The tree visualises the interaction between **structural**, **manifest** and **dynamic** factors.

- The **roots** symbolise structural “static” factors.
- The **trunk** represents the manifest issues, linking structural factors with the dynamic factors.
- The **leaves** moving in the wind represent the dynamic factors.

#### Dynamic Factors:

- Dynamic factors include the form of communication, escalation level, relationship aspects, etc. Working with dynamic factors involves a short-time horizon; reactions to interventions are quick and at times unpredictable. Examples are diplomatic interventions, or multi track conflict transformation dealing directly with the form of interaction between the conflicting parties.

#### Manifest issues (what appears on the surface):

These are issues that the conflict parties want to talk about, the “topic” of the conflict.

#### Structural Factors:

Root causes are the basic “reason” for the conflict. They are difficult to influence on a short-term basis. However, if root causes are avoided, the conflict may pop up again later.

#### Step by step instructions:

1. On a large sheet of paper or a flipchart draw a picture of a tree, including its roots, trunk and branches.
2. Each person gets several Post-It-Stickers, on which they write a word or two, or draw a symbol or picture, indicating important factors of the conflict as they see it.
3. Invite people to attach their cards to the tree: on the roots, they put what they consider to be root causes. On the trunk, they write what they think of as manifest issues (the “topic” of the conflict). On the branches, they write what they see as the dynamic factors that are influencing the conflict.



4. The facilitator manages the discussion on where the factors are placed on the tree. There is no absolute “right” or “wrong”. Placement of factors is partly subjective, may be different in different conflicts, and may change over time. Nevertheless, as a group try to create a common snapshot of the conflict.
5. People can visualise their own conflict transformation efforts and place this on the tree in relation to the factors they are currently working on.
6. Discuss the links between root causes and dynamics factors and how to address these.

Source: Adapted from SDC, COPRET, 2005



## HO 5.6: *Reflections on Internal Party Conflict*

### HO 5.6: Reflections on internal party conflict

#### Worksheet

- How are conflicts perceived within my party?
- What are the dominant sources of conflict within the party?
- How are conflicts subsequently dealt with?
- Is there room for open discussions?
- Are there open and documented procedures for dealing with conflict?
- What opportunities for growth within our party can arise as a consequence of conflict?
- What narrative would I like to see to resolve intra party conflict within my party?
- How can I personally contribute to this narrative?



## PPT 5.7: Conflict Management Methods

### NEGOTIATION

- A bargaining relationship among the opposing parties.
- Negotiations are voluntary and require that all parties are willing to consider the others' interests and needs. If negotiations are hard to start or have reached an impasse, the conflicting parties may need assistance from a third party.

### MEDIATION

- An acceptable third party who has limited or no authoritative decision-making power assists the principle parties in a conflict to resolve their dispute through promoting conciliation and facilitating negotiations.
- Mediation leaves the decision-making power primarily in the hands of the conflict parties. They enter into a voluntary agreement, which they themselves, and not the mediator, implement.



## MEDIATION (Cont...)

- ▶ Makes no judgement as to its quality or morality.
- ▶ Mediator has no power outside the negotiation situation, and any power within the negotiations rests at all times on the continued permission of the conflicting parties.
- ▶ Mediation involves use of process, skills, techniques, and experience to urge the parties on, or ease their path, towards a solution which they themselves design, refine and ultimately implement.



## MEDIATION (Cont...)

- ▶ The conflicting parties at all times hold the initiative. The mediator merely uses reasoning, unforced persuasion, the control of information and the generation of alternatives to encourage them to reach agreement.
- ▶ The mediator can play a vital role in outlining the consequences of proposals and options: by putting him or herself in the shoes of the other side, a mediator can effectively "reality-test" a party's proposal in advance.



## CONCILIATION

- Conciliator provides a communication channel between the parties.
- Main aims -- to help identify the major issues of contention, to lower tensions between parties, and to move the parties closer to direct interaction (i.e., negotiation) over the identified issues.

## CONCILIATION (Cont...)

- Conciliation particularly beneficial at *pre-negotiation* stage -- has effect of clarifying agenda for subsequent discussion; encouraging the building of a "common mental map"; reducing tensions and facilitating greater understanding of each other's aims and goals; and building the initial stages of a bridge between adversaries that will lead to more co-operative approaches (IDEA, 1998).



## ARBITRATION

- ▶ The parties submit the issues at stake to a mutually agreeable third party, who will make the decision for them. Arbitration is an informal, private procedure.
- ▶ Solution comes from the third party, not the conflicting parties. They do not necessarily engage in discussions to construct that solution, beyond advocating their own point of view to the arbitrator.

## ARBITRATION (Cont...)

- ▶ The authority of the arbitrator is such that the conflicting parties are bound to the ruling. Its solution is binding and there could be rewards for compliance and punishments for non-compliance.
- ▶ Arbitration is never the sole approach to managing deep-rooted conflict: because of the depth of feeling involved in such conflict, solutions which are not “owned” by the disputants are usually inappropriate (IDEA, 1998).



## ADJUDICATION

- ▶ Disputants usually hire lawyers to act as their advocates, and cases are argued in front of judges or other officials with adjudicative authority.
- ▶ These legal representatives take into consideration the disputants' concerns, interests and arguments, and make a decision based on the norms and values of a society and in conformity with legal statutes.
- ▶ Disadvantage – the decision is premised on one party being right and one wrong. The outcome therefore tends to produce a winner and a loser.
- ▶ Advantage – results of the process are binding and enforceable because the judge is socially sanctioned to make the decision.

## COERCION

- ▶ Extra-legal approach
- ▶ Involves processes of coercion to persuade or force "opponents" into compliance or submission



## HO 5.8: *Election Violence in Africa*

### **HO 5.8: Election Violence in Africa**

Electoral processes can contribute to peace – or they can be catalysts of conflict. Electoral conflicts and political violence signal “weaknesses in the governance of elections, the rules of orderly political competition and lack of impartial judiciaries to interpret and adjudicate electoral disputes.” (AU, 2010)

Precisely because election processes are contests through which political power is retained or pursued, and social differences are highlighted by candidates and parties in campaigns for popular support, they can often generate vulnerabilities for the escalation of conflict into violence. Indeed, it is quite clear that election processes in recent years sometimes catalyzed conflict before, during and after voting day. Tensions may rise in the run-up to election processes as some candidates mobilize along extremist lines to win support, as rival factions vie for votes and to secure turf, and as parties or factions seek to weaken or even eliminate opponents in efforts to seek or retain political power. During the election event, as well, violence sometimes spikes in the days before or during voting as the drama of the contest unfolds. After the vote, there is the continuing potential for post-election violence when allegations of fraud and corruption emerge, or where those dissatisfied with the outcomes of elections take to the streets or, in the gravest instances, the battlefield, to challenge results.

Electoral conflicts and political violence have featured in Africa’s democratization. The challenges of electoral conflicts and political violence reflect the problems of transitions to democracy associated with managing elections and building institutions of competition that are widely accepted by winners and losers. In other instances, electoral conflicts and political violence arise, in part, from reactions of groups that have been deliberately disadvantaged and disempowered by their opponents. Claims about the deliberate subversion of the ends of electoral and democratic processes are always invoked by losers who then seek redress through violence. Although certain levels of violence frequently occur at different stages of the electoral process in Africa, the upsurge of electoral contestations that lead to large-scale violence is an emerging issue of policy concern. Elections that end in widespread conflict and violence, resulting in the loss of lives and the destruction of property, raise questions about election management and administration, but also about the long-term impact on the consolidation of political competition.

In general, violence during any stage of the electoral cycle that arises from differences in political views, opinions, and practices could be defined as electoral violence. As one form of political conflict, electoral violence typically occurs when groups and parties use force to intimidate opponents to affect the electoral process and outcomes in their own favor. At heart, electoral violence fractures political competition and impedes or criminalizes political dissent. The use of threats and



intimidation during voter registration may disenfranchise part of the population, while assaults and assassinations during election campaigns may force political contenders to boycott elections. In some circumstances, parties may use forms of electoral violence to seize power and extinguish the democratic process altogether. Electoral conflicts and political violence also occur in the aftermath of contested elections where groups or parties use violence to contest the legitimacy of outcomes or alter it completely. Both localized and national forms of electoral violence adversely affect social stability and, if not properly managed, could, in combination with other conflict fissures, lead to anarchy and civil war.

*Excerpt from the Africa Union. 2010. Election-Related Disputes and Political Violence: Strengthening the Role of the African Union in Preventing, Managing, and Resolving Conflict*



## HO 5.9: Political and Electoral Violence in East Africa

### HO 5.9: Political and Electoral Violence in East Africa

NATURE OF POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN EAST AFRICA			
	TANZANIA	UGANDA	KENYA
<b>Nature of Political and Electoral Violence</b>	Assault	Beatings	Battery
	Murder	Killings	Assassinations
	Attempted murder	Malicious damage to property	Attempted assassinations
	Malicious or wanton damage/destruction of property	Threats of beatings	Destruction, looting and damage of property
	Arson	Death threats	Arson
	Threats to violence	Extra judicial executions	Threats of violence
	Threats to kill	Arbitrary detention	The violent or physical disruption of public meetings and campaign rallies
	Bombings	Arrest without warrants	Political thuggery
	Disruption of political campaign rallies	Personal humiliation by stripping to nakedness	Torture
	Hooliganism	Shootings	Hijacking and confinement
	Fighting	Chasing away of voters from polling stations on the pretext that they were non-Ugandans or under-age	Rape
			Sexual harassment
		Hate speeches	
		Defamation/insults	
		Closure of party/campaign offices or premises	
		Economic repression/sabotage, eviction/displacement	



## PPT 5.10: *Electoral Violence*

### DEFINITIONS

- ▶ “Political violence is violence over political competition...At its heart; political violence concerned with the issue of the legitimacy of government. It removes or fractures political competition, and is aimed at removing or cowering political dissent.”

(Dr Makumi Mwangi, Director of the Centre for Conflict Research, in his paper *Political and Election Violence in Kenya*)

### DEFINITIONS (Cont...)

Electoral violence -- political violence that aims at the electoral process. It is geared:

- ▶ towards winning political competition or power through violence, subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process.
- ▶ Its tool of trade is the intimidation and disempowerment of political opponents.



## ELECTORAL VIOLENCE

- ▶ ...Acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arise in the context of electoral competition. When perpetrated to affect an electoral process, violence may be employed to influence the process of elections – such as efforts to delay, disrupt, or derail a poll – and to influence the outcomes: the determining of winners in competitive races for political office or to secure approval or disapproval of referendum questions.

## ELECTORAL VIOLENCE (Cont...)

Election violence takes place:

- ▶ not just at election time, but in periods leading to elections, during the elections themselves,
- ▶ and in the period immediately following elections such as during the counting of ballots.



## ELECTORAL VIOLENCE (Cont...)

- ▶ Elections do not 'cause' violence.

Root causes of conflict often found in deep-rooted economic, social or political issues in dispute and in the allocation of power among various social forces that the electoral process affects.

*(UNDP)*

## ELECTORAL VIOLENCE (Cont...)

- ▶ How the election process and administration is designed, managed, and implemented.
- ▶ Elections considered free, fair, and transparent, less likely to experience electoral violence.
- ▶ Allegations of stolen, cheating, or 'façade' democracy.

*(UNDP)*



## ELECTORAL VIOLENCE (Cont...)

- ▶ Electoral violence includes:
  - assassination of opponents or spontaneous fistbumps between rival groups of supporters;
  - threats, coercion, and intimidation of opponents, voters, or election officials. E.g. tossing a grenade into a crowd of rival supporters to induce fear and to intimidate (e.g., to suppress mobilization or voting by that group).

(UNDP)

## ELECTORAL VIOLENCE (Cont...)

- ▶ Violent acts can be targeted against people or things, e.g. targeting of communities or candidates or deliberate destruction of campaign materials, vehicles, offices, or ballot boxes.



### NATURE OF POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN EAST AFRICA

	TANZANIA	UGANDA	KENYA
<b>Nature of Political and Electoral Violence</b>	Assault	Beatings	Battery
	Murder	Killings	Assassinations
	Attempted murder	Malicious damage to property	Attempted assassinations
	Malicious or wanton damage/destruction of property	Threats of beatings	Destruction, looting and damage of property
	Arson	Death threats	Arson
	Threats to violence	Extra judicial executions	Threats of violence
	Threats to kill	Arbitrary detention	The violent or physical disruption of public meetings and campaign rallies
	Bombings	Arrest without warrants	Political thuggery
	Disruption of political campaign rallies	Personal humiliation by stripping to nakedness	Torture
	Hooliganism	Shootings	Hijacking and confinement
	Fighting	Chasing away of voters	Rape
		from polling stations on the pretext that they were non-Ugandans or under-age	Sexual harassment
			Hate speeches
		Defamation/insults	
		Closure of party/campaign offices or premises	
		Economic repression/sabotage, eviction/Displacement	
		(Source: FES, CCR, 2001)	

## ACTORS AND AGENTS IN ELECTORAL CONFLICT

- Political parties and candidates**, especially those parties with armed wings or with ties to paramilitary groups; indeed, a common phenomenon is violence perpetrated by bodyguards of candidates or a close cabal of supporters around them (whether authorized by the candidate, or not).
- Citizens**, who engage in direct acts of violence against supporters of other factions.
- The state**, such as police, army units, or special intelligence or internal security services who target opposition groups and candidates or enable violence by failing to act to prevent violence by others and/or clamp down on media coverage.
- Non-state security services**, e.g rebel factions, militias, or vigilante groups.
- Civil society**, or organizations of citizens or individuals with particular interests or agendas (such as the politically mobilized youth groups and martial arts clubs in Timor-Leste).

(UNDP)



## HO 5.11: *Causes of Electoral Conflict in Africa*

### **HO 5.11: Causes of electoral conflict in Africa**

In the incipient phase of democratization in Africa in the late 1980s, political and electoral violence was caused by the determination of ruling parties under siege from emerging opposition parties to hang onto power. In this fragile era of democratization, dominant parties accustomed to occupying the political space hardly countenanced the power and legitimacy of opposition forces. Violence often occurred during the elections, particularly as competing parties sought to mobilize constituencies using all available means. Facing intense pressure from new and untested political parties, some of the ruling parties resorted to political violence aimed at subverting the electoral process and outcomes. They also deployed partisan state institutions, particularly the military, paramilitary, and police forces against opposition groups. Political and electoral violence organized by ruling parties included forceful dispersals of political rallies, beating, assault, arbitrary detention of leaders and followers, torture, murder, and wanton destruction of property. Furthermore, blatant manipulation of the electoral process, including vote buying, intimidation of voters, and rigging and destruction of ballot boxes became part of the repertoire of violence for parties determined to deny their opponents the opportunity to take power.

Similarly, opposition parties and groups, invoking the language of fairness and seeking to undo years of authoritarianism, also engaged in forms of violence such as violent street demonstrations, arson, and destruction of property, to counter state-instigated violence. The patterns of electoral violence that characterized the electioneering process often persisted into the post electoral phase, particularly where losing parties challenged the legitimacy of winners. In some of the elections in the mid-1990s, losing parties challenged the results through mass demonstrations, destruction of property, threats and intimidation of opponents, and work stoppages. These events, in turn, elicited violent responses by regimes that sought to restore order, peace, and security. In some cases, the spiral of violence throughout the electoral cycle forced opposition groups to boycott the elections, especially in circumstances where organized violence by ruling parties succeeded in curtailing the organizational abilities of weak and fledgling parties.

Although the reluctance by ruling parties to accept legitimate political competition and pluralism dominated the initial democratic transition, deep ethnic and regional cleavages in most African countries also contributed to political and electoral violence by raising the stakes of competition. In ethnically divided societies, the costs



involved in losing or winning elections are sometimes fundamental to the well-being of entire communities. With the politicization of communal or ethnic identities, winning an election can be a matter of survival in the eyes of the parties competing for power. Electoral violence in Africa has occurred where the uncertainties of electoral outcomes have aggravated communal, ethnic, and religious conflicts. The most common element of this dynamic is where politicians mobilize support from ethnic and regional constituencies to win elections without attempts to reach out to other groups. The most publicized cases of electoral violence in Africa entailed elites from different ethnic groups appealing to sectarian and partisan interests, transforming elections into zero-sum contests. These patterns of mobilization, in turn, invited violent reactions from competing ethnic and regional groups, igniting violence during and after elections. In extreme instances, electoral violence took the forms of ethnic cleansing, balkanization, sabotage, evictions, and mass displacements.

The results were ethnic and regional disenfranchisement that deprived opposition challengers of the minimum conditions necessary for effective participation. In some countries, the patterns of political marginalization and disenfranchisement continued into the post-electoral phase where whole groups and communities were economically disenfranchised because of their support for losing parties, intensifying political exclusion and alienation. One of the outcomes of the political and electoral conflicts of the 1990s was the incremental militarization of society as aggrieved and marginalized groups in some countries resorted to arms to protect themselves against violence perpetrated by opposition groups. Although in some African countries, militarization of large segments of society was a consequence of years of civil war, there are countries where election-related violence invariably generated defensive militarization that continued to have an impact on subsequent elections. Where militarization coincided with economic and political marginalization, there emerged in some countries an infrastructure of violent dissent. Initially used in the first phase of electoral and political competition, armed militias and violent youths have gradually mutated into strong organizational structures that have perpetrated violence during elections and beyond.

In some countries, the militarization of youth coincided with a dramatic increase in poverty leading to a class of economically disenfranchised people who could be used to perpetrate political and electoral violence. In societies undergoing democratization soon after civil wars, elections have frequently descended into military confrontation between armed factions. Electoral competition in conditions



of political instability leads some parties to use political violence as an alternative to accepting electoral defeat. This is more so where there have been insufficient or weakly implemented programs of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. In some post conflict contexts, elections exacerbate existing conflicts and harden conflict-related alliances, leading to incidences of violence. It is for this reason that discussions of elections in post conflict environments focus on questions of timing and supervision: sometimes, elections that are held too early without close international supervision can produce results that may extend the conflict rather than resolve it. However, as most of the countries recovering from civil wars in Africa have shown, post conflict elections that are managed by the deployment of international resources may help to defuse existing conflicts, creating lasting institutions for conflict management.

Violence and political conflicts have arisen from bids by incumbent governments and leaders to change existing constitutional rules to extend their terms in office or reformulate rules to favour certain succession candidates. Changes in term limits in some African countries since the early 2000 have led to conflicts, dividing societies and worsening political tensions, with aggrieved parties using or threatening to use violence to defend the status quo. In these countries, the consequences of conflicts over term limits have invariably affected electoral processes with incumbents attempting to use elections to legitimate such changes while the challengers scramble to prevent such outcomes. In a number of instances, contests over constitutional arrangements and term limits have been violent or have foreshadowed the onset of widespread electoral violence. Where electoral and constitutional rules have been established, violence occurs due to either the willful changing of established rules or organizational deficiencies in the administration of those rules. Countries that have witnessed electoral violence have frequently been characterized by high levels of contestation of the legitimacy of previous election outcomes, particularly by losing parties. Frustration with flawed elections boils over into violence particularly where there has been a pattern of selective use of the law to exclude political rivals and suppress the common will. The new outbursts of electoral violence are reminiscent of the incipient phase of Africa's democratization, where the electoral rules for multiparty competition have not been widely accepted and where strong parties with long-standing dominance of the political process cannot countenance defeat. In these instances, opposition groups that have never had a chance to govern perceive elections as the vehicles to ascend to power, while the incumbents see elections as means to legitimate their continued rule.



Electoral violence everywhere imperils democracy by distorting normal mechanisms of political competition but, more fundamentally, by increasing mass apathy toward and alienation from politics. In those African countries that have made significant progress in building pluralism, the growing incidence of electoral violence has dampened the impetus for democratic consolidation. In some countries that have witnessed a history of interethnic coexistence and amity, violent skirmishes resulting from poorly administered elections have resurrected societal fault-lines, casting doubt on the patterns of state building and national harmony. There is also growing concern that in recent outcomes of contested elections, the international community has expeditiously prescribed negotiated arrangements to stabilize volatile situations. Although it is understandable why national and international actors would move precipitously to forestall the destabilization of national institutions that comes with the upsurge in electoral violence, wholesale prescriptions of power-sharing arrangements and institutions may weaken the trend toward building competitive rules that clearly define losers and winners. Power-sharing arrangements that create broad-based governing coalitions after violent electoral processes may reward parties that intimidate opponents through violent means. They may also potentially undermine democratic values by making a mockery of the essence of electoral competition. Moreover, post-electoral power-sharing institutions may end up being brittle solutions that, although keeping violence in check, create divided and dysfunctional governments that may worsen governance. For partners in the emerging power-sharing arrangements, the challenge is to seize the momentary opportunities created by periods of relative stability to craft enduring rules that preempt the resurgence of electoral violence.

*Source: AU. 2010. Election-Related Disputes and Political Violence: Strengthening the Role of the African Union in Preventing, Managing, and Resolving Conflict report of the au panel of the Wise, July 2010. INTERNATIONAL PEACE INSTITUTE*





# **MODULE 6**

## **Mobilization and Management of Resources**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers

## Key understanding

**Resource mobilization** is about activities geared towards looking for and securing financial, human, and material resources to implement the organization's programs. Therefore, the ability of political parties and candidates to strategically mobilize, utilize, and manage critical resources strengthens their effectiveness.

## Activity 6.1

### The rationale for resource mobilization

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the basis for mobilization of resources by parties;
- Articulate various resources required for enhancing party performance.

**Summary:** Political economy analysis and needs assessment studies for political parties in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have revealed that the majority of political parties do not have sufficient financial resources to perform their functions. The situation is especially dire during an election year. The rationale for resource mobilization is therefore that, like all social movements, political parties need to mobilize resources and engage in collective action in order to make an impact. This is more so because the political parties' responsibility extends beyond the election period. They must develop policy, recruit members, conduct civic education, and maintain organizational coherence. However, realization of the need for resources does not always result in their mobilization because it depends on many other factors including the political environment and the electoral systems. Hence it is important that political parties and candidates conduct a carefully considered resource mapping exercise for optimum benefit.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming exercise, ask participants to discuss in pairs:

- What is the rationale for resources mobilization?
- What kind of resources must a party and candidates mobilize between the elections and during elections?

**Step 2:** Invite participants to provide feedback from their discussions to the plenary. Cluster the resources into the following categories: Human, Physical, Financial/Economic, Social, Technical Assistance/Cooperation.

**Step 3:** Make a short presentation on types of resources, drawing on PPT 6.1: *Types of resources required by parties and candidates* and discuss this with participants.

**Step 4:** In a plenary reflection ask participants to identify where they have paid the most and the least of their attention in terms of resource mobilization.

### Make the point:

- Resource mobilization provides party members with the opportunity to contribute their knowledge and expertise to party programs and initiatives;
- Non-financial resources are equally as important as financial ones; and
- Resources can be generated internally by the organization rather than relying on what can be provided by external sources/donors. (Koomson, 2011)

Participants will find a printout of the Powerpoint slides on pg 269 in the Resources.



## Activity 6.2

### Legal framework guiding resource mobilization

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name and describe the various legal provisions that govern resource mobilization by parties.

**Summary:** Political parties' and candidates' ability to mobilize resources is dependent on the rules and regulations guiding fundraising, expenditure, and other related activities. In the SADC region, for instance, most states provide public funding to parties represented in parliament. These are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Malawi, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. Others like Botswana, Mauritius, Swaziland and Zambia do not provide any form of direct public funding to parties. Some countries have enacted laws regulating the private funding of parties, by closing off space for private funding or demanding disclosure of the sources of private funding and its use. (Shale, 2017)

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants if there are any legal provisions that govern resource mobilization of parties in their context.

**Step 2:** Follow up by asking participants to identify the key legislation that they are familiar with that govern resource mobilization by parties. (Note that such legislation could be found in political party acts, party finance acts, the constitution, etc). Note down on a flip chart the legislation identified.

**Step 3:** Divide participants into groups and give each group a piece of legislation that has provisions on party resource mobilization. Ask the groups to cite the relevant sections of the legislation governing party resource mobilization and what these say, and explain the implications of the provisions for party conduct in resource mobilization.

#### Facilitator's note:

In the event that no legislation exists, debate the relevance of having legislation to guide party resource mobilization.

**Step 4:** Group feedback and plenary discussion.

**Make the point:** The legal framework guiding resource mobilization is key in determining the success or failure of such endeavors. The legal framework shapes the form and content of the resource mobilization initiatives by political parties and candidates. Moreover, the legal framework also has implications for political party's taxes. Therefore, a political party or candidate resource mobilization strategy must be mindful of the legal framework and the tax regulations enshrined in it.



## Activity 6.3

### Resource mobilization strategy (RMS)

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe key components of a RMS; and
- Design strategies for mobilization of resources.

**Summary:** The strategy for resource mobilization is intended not only to assist political parties and candidates achieve their goals and objectives, it also determines actions and timeframes for mobilizing resources. In order to strengthen institutional capacity for effective resource mobilization and utilization, a political party should consider developing a RMS as part of its broader institutional strategy. This strategy must clearly articulate resource mobilization mechanisms, options, and approaches at national and sub-national levels. The political party should also consider appointing a resource mobilization focal point or committee to implement the strategy.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to explain why it is important for a party to have a RMS. Participants must name the key components of a RMS and capture these on a flip chart.

**Step 2:** Give a presentation on PPT 6.2: *Resource Mobilization Strategy* and also HO 6.3: *Resource Mobilization Phases*. Go through these with participants, explaining the major components of a RMS.

**Make the point:** The party should build resource mobilization skills and effective resource utilization and management of its rank and file membership at local, regional, and national levels instead of concentrating on the national level only.

**Step 3:** Invite participants to work in pairs to conduct resource mapping – that is identify the requisite resources for the effective functioning of a political party. The pairs must then join with the bigger table groups and consolidate their lists into 1.

**Step 4:** Capture the feedback from groups on the flip chart to be used in the following step.

**Step 5:** Divide participants into groups and ask each group to develop a resource mobilization plan based on the resources identified in step 4 above. In carrying out the assignment, the groups should think about:

- The type of resources: Are they financial contributions, donations or other in-kind resources such as technical skills?
- The scale of the resources mobilization drive;
- The activities they will undertake to raise these resources;
- Costs related to the resource mobilization activities.

**Step 6:** Invite participants to a plenary session and lead a discussion on their feedback. Put up the groups' presentations on the wall or flip chart so that they can be used as references during the workshop.

**Make the point:** The ability of parties to develop a meaningful resource mobilization strategy is a key step towards building stronger parties. Under-resourced parties are unable to be effective in realizing their democratization mandate.

Participants can find copies of the slides on pg 275 and the handout on pg 278 in the Resources.



## Activity 6.4

### Resource mobilization techniques

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Articulate various techniques for mobilizing party resources.

**Summary:** There is a combination of challenges, including human, institutional, political and financial, that can impact on parties' management and accountability of resources. Therefore, the party should adopt varied suitable techniques for resource mobilization. To be effective, all techniques require unremitting effort from all rank and file members and the focal points or committees that are tasked with the mobilization and management of resources.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to name the various resource mobilization strategies they are familiar with.

**Step 2:** In pairs, assign to each an RMS and ask them to explain how the strategy works and what their experience with the strategy has been. The pairs must capture their responses on the flip chart.

**Step 3:** After 5 minutes of step 2 above, the pairs must find the other pairs assigned the same strategy as theirs and consolidate their discussion points.

**Step 4:** Group work feedback.

**Step 5:** Deliver a presentation on HO 6.4: *Resource Mobilisation Techniques* and explain the roles that each of the key role players in the political parties must play.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 280 in the Resources.

**Make the point:** Regardless of the technique adopted, there is a need for a committee comprising party members who will actively help mobilize resources. The party or candidate can also hugely benefit from individuals who have a large network of contacts and are willing to ask their contacts to contribute to the cause. It is also important to underscore the importance of private sector involvement in resource mobilization for the party and candidate.



## Activity 6.5

### Managing risk and accountability in resource mobilization

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify risks entailed in resource mobilization; and
- Develop mitigation strategies for their party around managing the identified risks.

**Summary:** There is a combination of challenges, including human, institutional, political and financial, that can impact on parties' management and accountability of resources. In developing partnerships and undertaking resource mobilization initiatives, managers must therefore adhere to the highest ethical standards, avoiding both actual and foreseeable potential risks.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to identify some of the risks entailed in resource mobilization and explain how they could affect the party or candidate's efforts. Capture their responses on a flip chart.

**Step 2:** Wind up the brainstorming session by explaining to participants some of the key risks:

- Indebtedness of parties to the sources of the resources. In the case of a country where public funding is available, this dependence would be on the state. Where private sources are permissible, such dependence would be on donors and individual contributors.
- Lack of intra-party democracy where decision-making treats rank and file members as mere passengers instead of active participants. Membership forms a key source of resources for the party in terms of membership fees and volunteering of skills and should be given similar attention as inner decision-making structures.
- Declining interest and confidence in political parties measured against the increased political participation in alternative spaces.
- Misuse of resources.

**Step 3:** Divide participants into groups and ask each group to:

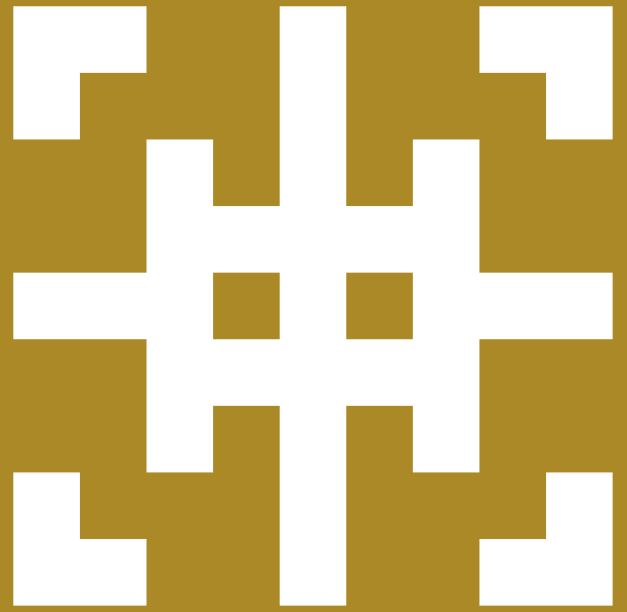
- Identify the risks and explain how they could affect the resource mobilization efforts of the party; and
- Suggest ways of mitigating the identified risks.



**Step 4:** Invite participants to a plenary on their feedback. The participants' feedback must be recorded on the flip charts so that they can be used as references by participants when they develop an individual risk matrix.

**Step 5:** Refer participants to the risk matrix developed out of their groups and ask them to suggest accountability measures required to manage the identified resources.





# **MODULE 6**

## **Mobilization and Management of Resources**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 6.1

### The rationale for resource mobilization

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Explain the basis for mobilisation of resources by parties;
- Articulate various resources required for enhancement of party performance.

**Step 1:** Pair up with another participant and discuss the following questions:

- What is the rationale for resources mobilisation?
- What kind of resources must parties and candidates mobilize between the elections and during elections?

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**Step 2:** Feedback your paired discussions in a plenary session.

**Step 3:** Refer to handout PPT 6.1: *Types of resources required by parties and candidates* and follow the presentation by the facilitator.

**Step 4:** In a plenary session consider where the focus of your party has mostly been in terms of resource mobilization. Consider also where the least attention has been.

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**Takeaway point:**

- Resource mobilization provides party members with the opportunity to contribute their knowledge and expertise to party programs and initiatives;
- Non-financial resources are equally as important as financial ones; and
- Resources can be generated internally by the organisation rather than relying on what can be provided by external sources/donors. (Koomson, 2011)

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.

See pg 269 in the Resources.



## Activity 6.2

### Legal framework guiding resource mobilization

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Name and describe the various legal provisions that govern resource mobilization by parties.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session indicate if you are aware of any legal instruments in your context that guide resource mobilization for political parties.

**Step 2:** If these legal instruments exist, can you name them and note them in the space provided? Perhaps there is something in your constitution, or you have a political party act or a party financing act.

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**Step 3:** In group work, you will be assigned a piece of legislation that concerns resource mobilization for political parties. You must identify the relevant sections of the legislation governing party resource mobilization and articulate what it says and the meaning and implications of this. In a plenary session offer feedback from your group work.

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**Takeaway point:** The legal framework guiding resource mobilization is key in determining the success or failure of resource mobilization endeavors. The legal framework shapes the form and content of the resource mobilization initiatives by political parties and candidates. Moreover, the legal framework also has implications for political party's taxes. Therefore, a political party's or candidate's resource mobilization strategy must be mindful of the legal framework and the tax regulations enshrined in it.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## # Activity 6.3 Resource Mobilisation Strategy (RMS)

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Describe key components of an RMS; and
- Design strategies towards mobilization of resources.

**Step 1:** Consider the following questions and participate in a brainstorming discussion.

- Do you think it is important for a party to have a resource mobilization strategy? If so why?
- Name the components that you think make up a resource mobilization strategy.

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See pgs 275 and 278 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Refer to PPT 6.2: *Resource Mobilization Strategy* and HO 6.3: *Resource Mobilization Phases* and engage on the presentation by the facilitator.

**Takeaway point:** The party should build resource mobilization skills and effective resource utilization and management of its rank and file membership at local, regional, and national levels instead of concentrating only on the national level.

**Step 3:** In pairs, conduct resource mapping and identify the specific resources that you think are crucial for the effective functioning of a political party. You can make notes in the space provided. You may want to refer to the roles and functions of a party and align the requisite resources to these. Contribute your resource map to a plenary discussion.

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**Step 4:** You will be allocated to a group. In your group you will be required to develop a resource plan. Issues to guide the development of your resource plans are as follows:

- The type of resources. Are they financial, donations, or other in-kind resources such as technical skills?
- The scale of the resources mobilization drive;
- The set of activities that will be undertaken to raise these resources;
- Costs related to the resource mobilization activities.



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**Step 5:** Present your feedback from the group discussion into a plenary session.

**Takeaway point:** The ability of parties to develop a meaningful resource mobilization strategy is a key step towards building stronger parties. Under-resourced parties are unable to be effective in realizing their democratization mandate.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## **Activity 6.4**

### Resource mobilization techniques

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Articulate the various techniques for mobilising party resources.

**Step 1:** Name the various resource mobilization strategies you are familiar with and contribute these to a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** Pair up and discuss the resource mobilization strategy allocated to you. How does the strategy work, have you used the strategy and if yes, what have your experiences of using the strategy been?

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**Step 3:** Join up with other pairs who discussed the same strategy as you and consolidate your discussion points. Present this in plenary.

**Step 4:** Refer to HO 6.4: *Resource Mobilisation Techniques* and engage with the facilitator:

See pg 280 in the Resources.

**Takeaway point:** Regardless of the technique adopted, there is a need for a committee comprising men and women who will actively help mobilize the resources. The party or candidate can also benefit hugely from individuals who have a large network of contacts and are willing to ask their contacts to contribute to the cause.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## # Activity 6.5

### Managing risk and accountability in resource mobilization

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify risks entailed in resource mobilization; and
- Develop mitigation strategies for your party around managing the identified risks.

**Step 1:** Identify some of the risks that you think are entailed in resource mobilization for parties. Contribute your thoughts to a brainstorming session. Consider how these risks could affect the party efforts at resource mobilization and the management of these resources.

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Some risks to consider:

- Indebtedness of parties to the sources of the resources. In the case of a country where public funding is available, this dependence would be on the state. Where private sources are permissible, such dependence would be on donors and individual contributors.
- Lack of intra-party democracy where decision-making treats rank and file members as mere passengers instead of active participants. Membership forms a key source of resources for the party in terms of membership fees and volunteering of skills and should be given similar attention as inner decision-making structures.
- Declining interest and confidence in political parties measured against the increased political participation in alternative spaces.

**Step 2:** Questions for discussion in group work:

- Identify the risks and explain how they could affect the resource mobilization efforts of the party.
- Suggest ways of mitigating the identified risks.

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**Step 3:** Share your group deliberations in a feedback plenary session.



**Step 4:** Refer to the risk matrix handout.

Note in the space provided accountability measures required to manage the identified resources.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### PPT 6.1: *Types of resources required by parties and candidates*

#### RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

- ▶ All the means that an organization should acquire to implement its action plan.
- ▶ Goes beyond fund raising.
- ▶ Entails obtaining various resources from a multitude of partners, by different means.
- ▶ RMS - combination between resources, mechanisms and partners.
- ▶ Does not only mean use of money but achieving the mission of an organization through the mobilization of knowledge in human resources, use of skills, equipment, services, etc.
- ▶ It also means seeking new sources of resource mobilization and maximum use of the available resources.

#### IMPORTANCE OF RESOURCE MOBILIZATION TO PARTIES

- ▶ Helps to diversify and expand resources that a party needs to function optimally.
- ▶ Helps parties to formulate an independent budget.
- ▶ Helps parties to have a longer term and well rounded view of the needs of their party towards the realization of their mandate.
- ▶ Averts parties from operating in a crisis mode and decreases perpetual dependency on others.
- ▶ Strengthens the chances of sustainability of a party.
- ▶ Helps to build relationships with a broad range of stakeholders.



## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE?

- **Human:** pertains to personnel and overall functioning of an organization in terms of recruitment, training and welfare.
- **Social:** resources rooted in the individual's or collective's social network and social ties.
- **Physical:** the material assets that an organisation owns, including buildings, materials, manufacturing equipment, and office furniture.
- **Economic/financial resources:** include from local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

### Human Resources:

- Human resource refers to the personnel of a business or organization. It also refers to the people who make up the workforce of an organization.
- The engagement, organization and treatment of a political party's human resources can lead to its success or failure as a going concern.
- These are the policies and practices involved in carrying out the "people" or human resource aspects of a management position, including recruiting, screening, training, rewarding, and appraising.



## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

- **Step 1: Planning** - Each political party is different and has different human resource needs in accordance with its strategic plan and documents. The leaders need to recognize this and identify the key human resource skills they need and when they need them.
- **Step 2: Recruitment** - Once the key human resource skills have been identified, the political party must undertake the recruitment process.
- This Involves –
  - identification of the person; and
  - job specifications for each position to be recruited and the salary that the political party can offer. All to be condensed into an advertisement.

## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

- **Step 3: Selection** - Once applications have been received from interested persons, the political party needs to analyse the applications against the job and person specifications provided, shortlist, and conduct interviews in order to select the best person for the vacancy.
- **Step 4: Training** - involves the induction and continuous training of human resources.
- When done properly a workforce grows with the political party and more internal recruitment and retention occur, thus reducing the recruitment costs.



## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

- ▶ **Step 5: Assessment** – Employees' contributions have to be assessed periodically to ascertain their continued value – hence performance appraisals, ideally to be undertaken yearly, based on targets set at the beginning of the year;
- ▶ **Step 6: Consequence management** - behavior at the workplace and related work area governed by various legislation and policies promulgated by an organization. Where there is breach of policy the designated entity/manager/supervisor should undertake consequence management.

## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

- ▶ **Social Resources**
- ▶ One of the functions of political parties is to mobilise people's participation and to socialise them.
- ▶ Therefore, social networks of individuals and the party collective are key in ensuring confidence in the party.
- ▶ It is in the interest of a political party to preserve social networks and overall patterns and norms of social interactions firstly, within its membership base and secondly, within the communities where it operates.
- ▶ These networks are also key in ensuring a high voter turnout during elections.



## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

### Physical resources

- Political parties require material assets in order for them to function properly.
- E.g., buildings, materials, manufacturing equipment, and office furniture.
- Research has shown that most parties on the continent do not have physical resources beyond the national level. There are some that even operate entirely from car boots.
- Some parties obtain physical assets with the support of international donors and political foundations to which the party is affiliated.

## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

### Financial and non-financial resources can be mobilised from:

- National governments;
- Private and philanthropic foundations;
- Corporate and academic institutions;
- Community-based organisations;
- Corporate sponsorship; and
- Subscriptions and member donations



## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

### Financial resources

- The parties ability to raise financial resources is dependent on the external regulation of parties.
- Political parties should have a fundraising strategy and put in place accountability mechanisms.
- In developing a strategy, a political party needs to reflect on:
  - ✓ What will the fundraising achieve?
  - ✓ What is the party's contribution to the effort?
  - ✓ How will the money and resources mobilised have impact?

## WHAT TYPE OF RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE? (Cont...)

- ✓ How much are the overhead costs?
- ✓ Is there going to be a cost for managing the funds?
- ✓ What are the roles of each member of the fundraising team and how are they going to be held accountable?
- ✓ Who is going to be responsible for the coordination of the effort?



## PPT 6.2: Resource Mobilization Strategy

### RESOURCE MOBILIZATION STRATEGY

1. Assessment of the current situation.
2. Identifying required resources for the party programs.
3. Comparing what resources are needed and what is available to determine the gaps.
4. Identifying potential sources of needed resources.
5. Outlining best strategies for approaching stakeholders who can offer the needed resources.

### RESOURCE MOBILIZATION STRATEGY (Cont...)

6. Outlining monitoring and review mechanisms.
7. Mobilising accountability and management structure for managing resources.
8. Establishing financial systems to safeguard the resources, including adequate financial controls that demonstrate good management and builds trusts.
7. Documentation of all activities.

FOLLOWING ALL STEPS ENSURES A SOUND RESOURCE MOBILISATION PLAN.



## 1. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT SITUATION

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION PLACES THE RMS WITHIN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PARTY:

- ▶ Have clarity of vision for RMS vis a vis its relationship with party vision and goals;
- ▶ Review existing resource mobilization efforts;
- ▶ Define what activities NEED to be carried out to gain required resources;
- ▶ Determine what it should take to carry out the activities;
- ▶ Clarify expected deliverables.

## 2. IDENTIFYING REQUIRED RESOURCES

- ▶ List all resources needed for the project.
- ▶ Review and list all resources available to ensure that all resources/resource categories are considered.
- ▶ Human – skills, capacities, equipment.
- ▶ Compare needs with existing resources and note gaps.



### 3. IDENTIFYING POTENTIAL SOURCES OF RESOURCES NEEDED

- Identifying donors and partners.
- Matching their scope and interest with the requirements of the project (resource mobilization environment search and donor mapping).
- Considering ethical issues – seeking to understand the underlying principles of the donor/partners in relation to the values of the party.

### 4. STRATEGY IDENTIFICATION

Type of potential donors/partners determines approach i.e.

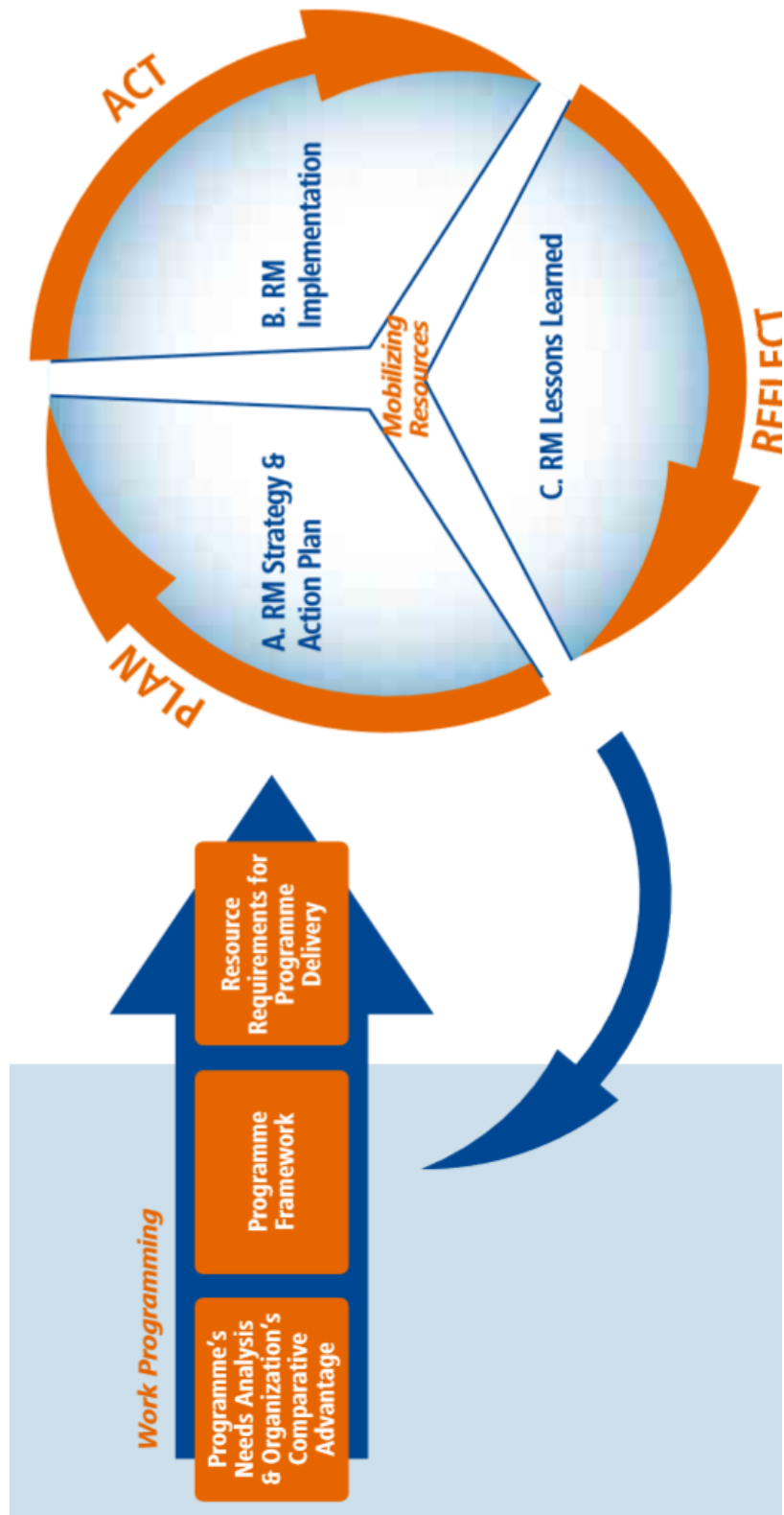
- Whether you have worked with them before;
- Whether you need to build on existing relationships;
- Whether it is new donor/partner;
- Whether you need to sell your organization to them;
- Whether you need to create new relationships.



## HO 6.3: *Resource Mobilisation Phases*

### **HO 6.3 Resource Mobilization Phases**

- **PLANNING:** this involves environmental scanning, articulation of the opportunities and how they are going to be tapped into, description of short-, medium- and long term activities.
- **IMPLEMENTATION:** This is actioning the RMS and ensuring that identified opportunities are pursued, potential partners are engaged, deals are negotiated and agreed with networks, the resource mobilisation project is managed and properly documented, and results are widely communicated with stakeholders.
- **REFLECTION:** This is the monitoring and evaluation of the RMS to identify successes and failures as well as extracting lessons learnt for onward planning.





## HO 6.4: Resource Mobilisation Techniques

### HO 6.4 Resource Mobilisation Techniques

There are a variety of techniques for mobilising resources. An RMS usually involves a mixture of several different strategies. Some mobilisation techniques are:

- Personal requests by party leaders and members;
- Use of a mobilisation committee;
- Events;
- Sale of memorabilia;
- Solicitation letters;
- Solicitation phone calls;
- Writing proposals for funding of projects; and
- Internet websites.

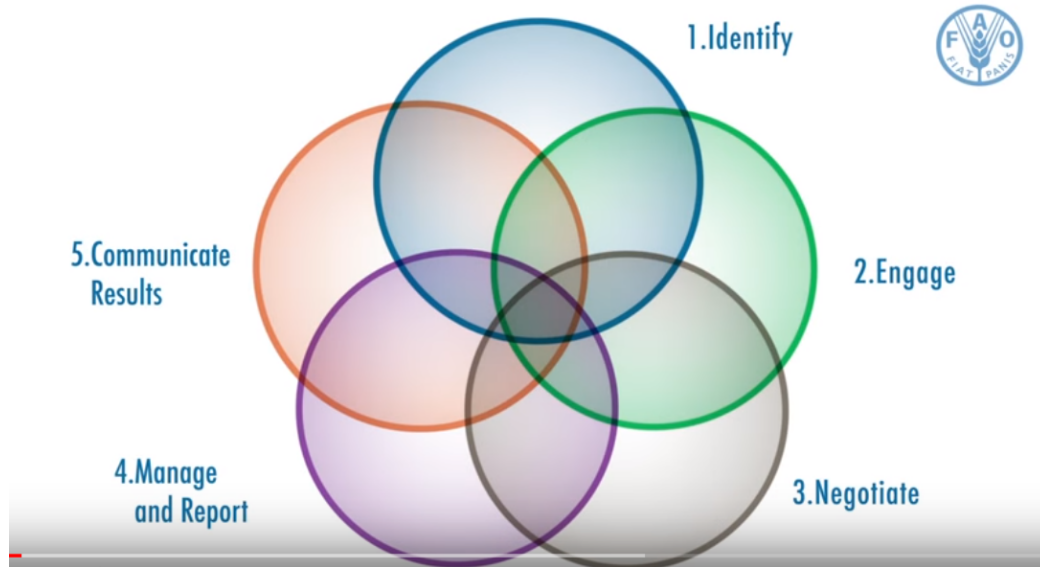
NDI 2004

It is important to note that a good cause alone is not enough for securing resources. Personal relations and networks go a long way in ensuring trust and support. The relationships should be sustained through:

- Legitimacy;
- Transparency;
- Accountability.

Some of the techniques of resource mobilization are:

- Begin with the end in mind;
- Know your audience;
- Keep the intentions of the donor in mind;
- Listen and be prepared to explain the elements of your organization to the donor;
- Prepare talking points in advance if going to a meeting with a potential donor;
- Follow up.



Source Food Agricultural Organisation 2014





# **MODULE 7**

## **Political Party Policy and Manifesto Development**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT –

Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers

## Key understanding

Manifestos guide parties to focus on policy-based campaigns. They are, however, not merely devices to harvest votes at election time. They importantly establish the agenda for government that the party will pursue in office.

## 🚩 Activity 7.1

### Understanding political party policies and manifesto

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Clearly explain the significance of party manifestos to policy role of parties.

**Summary:** Political parties compete for ideas and political power and promote citizen participation in the political process. They are the hallmark of representative democracy whose function includes aggregation and articulation of the needs and problems of members and supporters. They socialize and educate voters and citizens in the functioning of the political and electoral system and generating general political values and they balance opposing demands and convert them into general policies. They activate and mobilize citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options. Furthermore, they channel public opinion from citizens to government and recruit and train candidates for public office. One of the major challenges confronting political parties is the lack of skills in policy and manifesto development.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to discuss in pairs:

- What is a policy and how does it differ from a manifesto?
- Their understanding of the role of political parties' policy towards a country's development agenda.

Participants must capture the responses on a flip chart.

**Step 2:** Conclude the brainstorming session by providing a definition that describes a **policy** as a: *statement of intent that outlines the goals that a political party hopes to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them.* Define a **manifesto** as a document that sets down all the views and opinions that a political party or candidate has on certain issues. It tells the audience the ways that the party or candidate would deal with these issues if they were elected into public office.

**Make the point:** Political parties are a channel through which societies set collective goals and ensure that such goals are achieved. Their goals are translated into national goals if they capture government power. Thus, what were originally party goals gain a national character and aim to attract more popular support. Political parties, therefore, need to strive to set coherent policy options providing the electorate with reasonable choices among realistic and achievable goals.

**Step 3:** Wind up the session through presentation of PPT 7.1: *Policies and Manifestos* that describes political party policy and manifestos as well as their importance.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 300 in the Resources.



## Activity 7.2

### Best practices in party policy and manifesto development

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Clearly describe key elements of party policy and explain the process of manifesto development.

**Summary:** One of the challenges facing political parties in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is the extent to which party structures participate in the policy and manifesto development processes. Literature on political parties reveals that the more the rank and file membership participates in policy and manifesto development, the more successful the party will be. This session therefore looks at both the process and content of policy and manifesto development in the targeted project countries in order to identify best practices.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to identify key policy elements and features of a good policy.

**Step 2:** Make a presentation on policy explaining its efficacy, attributes and a policy-making process, referring to PPT 7.2: *Policy-Making Process*.

**Step 3:** Divide participants into groups and assign each group a topic around which they should develop a policy using the brainstorming and power point presentation notes as references. The participants must record their group work on flip charts

**Step 4:** Invite participants into a plenary session and lead the discussion on their feedback. Put up the groups' flip chart notes/presentations on the wall or flipchart stand so that they can be used as references during the workshop.

**Step 5:** Using the same groups, refer to the issue of a manifesto as defined earlier, and ask the groups to discuss and indicate the different ways of developing it, highlighting best practices.

**Step 6:** Invite participants to a plenary session and lead the discussion on their feedback. Put up the groups' flip chart notes/presentations on the wall or flipchart stand so that they can be used as references during the workshop.

**Step 7:** Present PPT 7.3: *Election Manifesto* and identify key considerations to be made in developing one.

**Step 8:** Using the same groups, allocate extracts of different manifestos and ask participants to identify a well-articulated manifesto and a poorly articulated one. They should say what are the weaknesses and strengths of each in line with the presentation and plenary discussions. This discussion to be based on the sample manifestos in HO 7.4: *Energy Development*, HO 7.5: *Mining and Energy* and HO 7.6: *Sample Manifesto UNDP*.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 303 in the Resources.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 304 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handouts on pgs 307, 309 and 310 in the Resources.



## **Activity 7.3** **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)**

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name the SDGs broadly; and
- Specifically explain some of the targets and indicators on the SDGs on water and energy.

**Summary:** SDGs are a set of 17 global development goals that were introduced in 2015 following the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). One of the major distinctions between the SDGs and MDGs is the collaborative nature of the approach in the implementation of the former as opposed to the latter where the relationship was donor recipient-based and therefore lacking in traction and ownership of the processes.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to explain what SDGs are. What does the acronym stand for? Where do the SDGs originate from? How many of them are there? Name the ones they are familiar with.

**Step 2:** Ask participants to name which SDGs pertain to natural resources.

**Make the point:** The SDGs are a blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all and offer a vision around which parties can develop their policy-making priorities.

**Step 3:** Refer to HO 7.7: *SDG Infographics* and make a presentation on SDGs, explaining some targets and indicators on natural resources included in the handout.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 307 in the Resources.



## Activity 7.4

### Role of parties in the implementation of water- and energy-related SDGs

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Draw links to how their party policy and manifesto development can advance water and energy policy formulation.

**Summary:** Political parties should play an active role in supporting the achievement of the SDGs. One concrete way of doing this is by aligning their manifestos with the SDGs so that the party that wins elections can contribute to the implementation of the goals in their constituencies. Most importantly, political parties have a role to contribute to the SDGs that focus on the critical and often ignored development areas, including the energy and water sectors.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session, ask participants to indicate if their country has a national policy regarding water and energy? If so, ask them to name the policy(ies). Participants to indicate how familiar they are with the policy(ies) and what they contain.

**Step 2:** Consider national policies pertaining to water and energy. In groups ask participants to summarize what these policies say and to draw any links to the SDGs on the same issues (one policy per group). The groups are also to discuss and explain the role of political parties in the implementation of SDGs. Participants must capture their responses on the flip charts.

**Step 3:** Group feedback and plenary discussion.

**Make the point:** Political parties have a key role to play in achieving the SDGs given their policy-making roles. Parties are uniquely equipped to lead required interventions, oversee program implementation and monitor their impact.

**Step 4:** Refer participants to HO 7.8: *Sample Policies of New Zealand* showing how manifestos can be aligned to SDGs.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 312 in the Resources.



## Activity 7.5

### Integrating water and energy into party policy and manifesto development

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Embed party policy on water and energy in the party's election manifesto.

**Summary:** As suggested in activity 7.3 above, political parties have to align their policies and manifestos to the SDGs. Yet, political economy studies have revealed that political parties in some countries are poorly equipped to fulfil this responsibility. A number of practical ways on integrating these are considered in this section.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to form groups of those belonging to the same parties. In their groups they must reflect on the following questions.

- In your policies and manifestos, have you made any provisions on water and energy?
- How aligned are these provisions to the national policies?
- How aligned are these provisions to the SDG milestones and indicators?
- What actions have you taken thus far to achieve what is set out in your policies and manifestos regarding water and energy?
- What are the gaps and what can you as a party do to fill these policy gaps regarding water and energy?

**Step 2:** Group feedback and plenary discussion.

**Make the point:** Parties may not want to fully disclose their entire discussion. The exercise above is mainly for their benefit. In the plenary session allow them to give the feedback that they are comfortable discussing with the workshop group.

**Step 3:** In pairs, ask participants to explain ways in which political parties can integrate water and energy SDGs into their policy and manifesto development. Capture their responses on the flip chart. Explain to participants that implementation and the success of water and energy SDGs rely largely on political parties' commitment to sustainable development policies, plans and programs.

**Step 4:** Using the case study from South Africa in HO 7.9: *Party Manifesto Comparison* illustrate how parties can integrate the implementation of water- and energy-related SDGs into their manifestos.

**Step 5:** Divide participants into groups and ask each group to draft into their manifesto a party position on water and energy based on their country's legal framework. The participants must record their group work on flip charts.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 314 in the Resources.

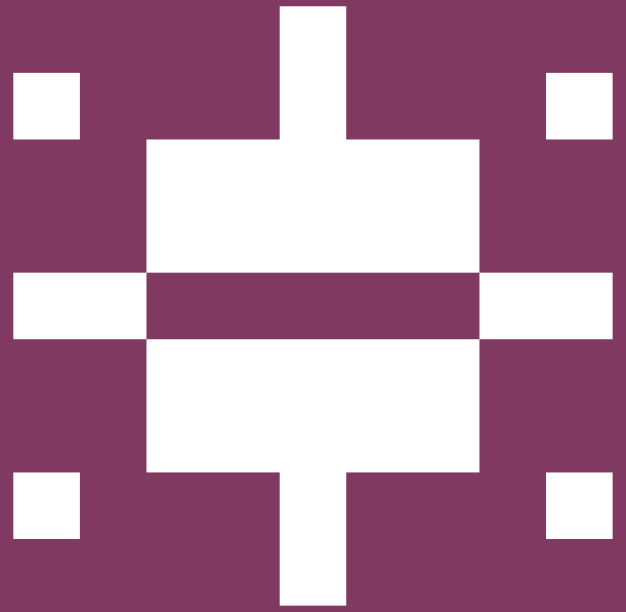


**Step 6:** Invite participants to a plenary session and lead the discussion on their feedback. Put up the groups flip chart notes/presentations on the wall or flipchart stand so that they can be used as references during the workshop.

**Step 7:** Refer participants to HO 7.10: *Additional Examples of Manifestos* for further examples of water- and energy-related manifestos.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 316 in the Resources.





# **MODULE 7**

## **Political Party Policy and Manifesto Development**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 7.1

### Understanding political party policies and manifesto

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Clearly explain the significance of party manifestos to the policy role of parties.

**Step 1:** Pair up with another participant and discuss the following questions:

- What is a policy and how does it differ from a manifesto?
- What is your understanding of the role of political parties' policies in a country's development agenda?

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**Step 2:** Feedback your discussion points in a plenary session.

Consider the following definitions of a policy and a manifesto:

*A policy is a statement of intent that outlines the goals that a political party hopes to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them. A manifesto is a document that sets down all the views and opinions that a political party or candidate has on certain issues. It tells the citizens how the party or candidate would deliver these issues if they were elected into public office.*

**Step 3:** Refer to PPT 7.1: *Policies and Manifestos*. Engage with the presentation by the facilitator and in the space provided note any lessons and reflection points for you and your party.

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**Takeaway point:** Political parties are a channel through which societies set collective goals and ensure that such goals are achieved. Their goals are translated into national goals if they capture government power. Thus, what were originally party goals gain a national character and try to attract more popular support. Political parties, therefore, need to strive to set coherent policy options providing the electorate with reasonable choices among realistic and achievable goals.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.

See pg 300 in the Resources.



## Activity 7.2

### Best practices in party policy and manifesto development

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Clearly describe key elements of party policy and explain the process of manifesto development.

**Step 1:** Name and note in the space below what you think are the key features of a good policy. Contribute your points to a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** Refer to PPT 7.2: *Policy-Making Process* and engage on the presentation by the facilitator. Note any lessons and reflection points for you and your party.

See pg 303 in the Resources.

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**Step 3:** In groups develop a policy on a topic allocated to your group. Use the brainstorming and power point presentation notes as references. Note any key takeaway points from this exercise.

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**Step 4:** Feedback your discussion from the group in a plenary session.

**Step 5:** In the same groups make reference to the definition of a manifesto and together with other group members discuss the following:

- Indicate the different ways of developing a party manifesto; and
- Highlight what you think is best/good practice in manifesto development.

Note your key points on the flip chart.

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**Step 6:** Contribute your feedback from the group into a plenary session.

See pg 304 in the Resources.

**Step 7:** Refer to PPT 7.3: *Election Manifesto* and engage on the presentation by the facilitator. Note any lessons and reflection points for you and your party.

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See pg 307, 309 and 310 in the Resources.

**Step 8:** Refer to sample manifestos in HO 7.4: *Energy Development*, HO 7.5: *Mining and Energy* and HO 7.6: *Sample Manifesto UNDP* as examples of well and poorly articulated manifestos.

Note the strength and weaknesses of the presented case studies. What lessons are there for your party manifestos?

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## 🚩 Activity 7.3

### Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Name the SDGs broadly; and
- Specifically explain some of the targets and indicators in the SDGs regarding water and energy.

#### Step 1: Questions

- What is your understanding of SDGs?
- What does the acronym stand for?
- Where do they originate from?
- How many of them are there?
- Name the ones you are familiar with.
- Are there any SDGs that pertain to natural resources?

Note these down in the space provided, making reference to **HO 7.7: SDGs Infographic**.

Note down your responses in the space provided and contribute to a brainstorming session.

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**Step 2:** Refer to handout 7.7 and engage with the facilitator. Note any reflection points for you and your party.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

See pg 311 in the Resources.



## ⚙️ Activity 7.4

### Role of parties in the implementation of water- and energy-related SDGs

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Draw links to how your party policy and manifesto development can advance water and energy policy formulation.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- Does your country have a national policy regarding water and energy? If so, name the policy(ies).
- How familiar are you with the policy(ies) and what they comprise?

Contribute your response to a brainstorming session.

**Step 2:** In group work refer to the policy allocated to you and address the following questions:

- Summarize the provisions that are contained in the policy;
- What (if any) are links between your national policies on water and energy and those SDGs on the same issues?
- Explain the role of political parties in the implementation of SDGs.

Note your groups' key points on the flip chart.

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**Step 3:** Contribute your feedback from the group to a plenary session.

**Step 4:** Refer to HO 7.8: *Sample policies of New Zealand*. Engage with the facilitator and note any lessons and reflection points for you and your party.

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See pg 312 in the Resources.



**Takeaway point:** Political parties have a key role to play in achieving the SDGs given their policy-making role. Parties are uniquely equipped to lead required interventions, oversee program implementation and monitor their impact.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ⚙️ Activity 7.5

### Integrating water and energy into party policy and manifesto development

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Embed party policy on water and energy into your party's election manifesto.

**Step 1:** In a reflection on your party discuss the following questions with others who belong to the same party:

- In your policies and manifestos, have you made any provisions on water and energy?
- How aligned are these provisions to the national policies?
- How aligned are these provisions to the SDG milestones and indicators?
- What actions have you taken thus far to achieve what is set in your policies and manifestos regarding water and energy?
- What are the gaps and what can you as a party do to fill these policy gaps regarding water and energy?

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**Takeaway point:** This exercise is mainly for the benefit of your party. Share in the plenary discussion a summary of only the key points you feel free to disclose.

**Step 2:** In pairs suggest ways that you think political parties can integrate water and energy SDGs into policy and manifesto development. Note down your key points in the space provided.

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**Step 3:** Contribute your points to a plenary discussion.

**Step 4:** Refer to HO 7.9: *Party Manifesto Comparison* from a South African case study. The facilitator will take you through the document. Engage and reflect on the presentation and note any lessons and insights which would benefit your party.

See pg 314 in the Resources.



**Step 5:** In groups practise drafting into your manifesto a party position on water and energy based on your country's legal framework. This will be a skeletal position for demonstration purposes.

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**Step 6:** Group feedback and participate in a plenary discussion.

**Step 7:** Refer to HO 7.10: *Additional Examples of Manifestos* for further examples of water- and energy-related manifestos and note down any further lessons and insights that could benefit your party.

See pg 316 in the Resources.

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**Takeaway point:** Implementation and success of water and energy SDGs rely largely on political parties' commitment to sustainable development policies, plans and programs.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### PPT 7.1: Policies and Manifestos

#### DEFINITIONS

- ▶ A **policy** is a statement of intent that outlines the goals that a political party hopes to achieve and the methods and principles it will use to achieve them.
- ▶ Policies are meant to give effect to political party's ideologies.
- ▶ A political party ought to make policies that are in line with what it stands for.
- ▶ A governing party's policies gain national character and therefore should broadly be beneficial to society as a whole.

#### DEFINITION (Cont...)

Intention to do something good for the society



Mechanisms/procedures and channels used to achieve that intention



Outcome achieved



## WHY IS POLICY IMPORTANT?

- ▶ It is a roadmap to the future;
- ▶ Defines a political party;
- ▶ Gives hope to the party members;
- ▶ Helps to deal proactively and reactively with issues;
- ▶ Guides and maintains order; and
- ▶ Ensures accountability.

## MANIFESTO DEFINITION

- ▶ A **manifesto** is a document that sets down all the views and opinions that a political party or candidate has on certain issues.
- ▶ It tells the audience the ways that the party or candidate would deliver these issues if they were elected into public office.
- ▶ It sets out the government agenda if its party or candidate is elected into office.
- ▶ Most importantly, manifestos assume the form of a national vision once they are implemented.



## FEATURES OF GOOD POLICY MAKING

- Forward looking;
- Outward looking;
- Innovative, flexible and creative, evidence based;
- Inclusive;
- Joined-up;
- Learns lessons;
- Communication;
- Evaluation; and
- Review.

## POLICY AND MANIFESTOS

Good policy &  
good  
manifesto



Party's  
constituency

Party's supporters

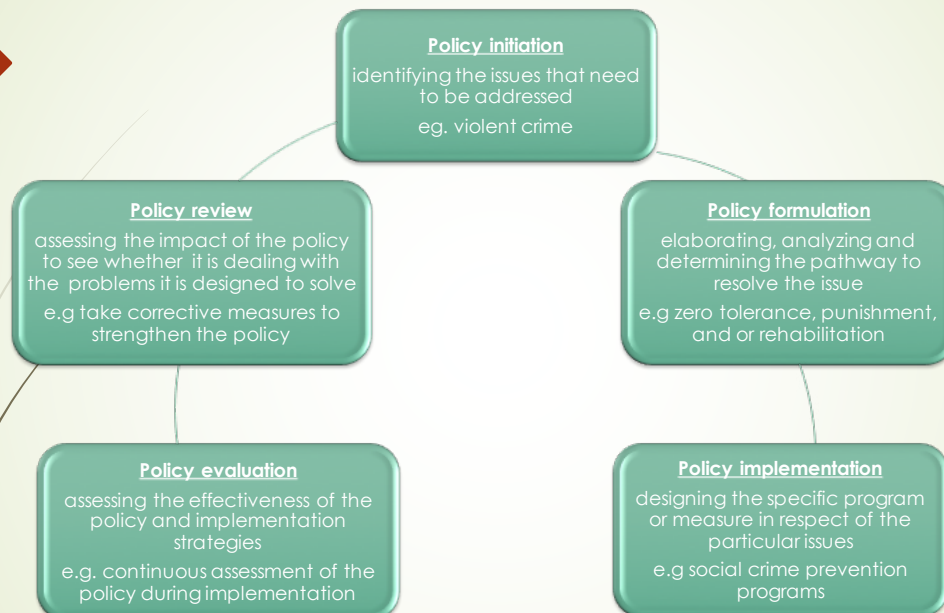
General society



## PPT 7.2: Policy-Making Process

### INTRODUCTION

- Policy-making entails several related steps.
- These are:
  - ✓ Policy initiation;
  - ✓ Formulation;
  - ✓ Implementation;
  - ✓ Evaluation; and
  - ✓ Policy review.





## PPT 7.3: *Election Manifesto*

### WHAT IS A MANIFESTO?

- ▶ A document that sets down all the views and opinions that a political party has on certain issues.
- ▶ It tells reader the ways that the party would change these issues if they were elected as the government.
- ▶ On an individual basis, a manifesto is what the candidate would try to do for the people he or she represents in Parliament if they were elected.

### WHAT IS A MANIFESTO? (Cont...)

- ▶ To write your own manifesto for your party, decide which issue/s you are going to concentrate on.
- ▶ Doesn't really matter what it is or they are.
- ▶ All you need is to have a strong opinion on it or them.
- ▶ In recent decades, the status of electoral manifestos has diminished due to a significant tendency for winning parties to, following the election, either ignore, indefinitely delay, or even outright reject manifesto policies which were popular with the public.



## WHAT IS A MANIFESTO? (Cont...)

### Tips to follow when writing a manifesto:

1. **Choose issues** you think are important or maybe that the main political parties have as issues in their manifestos.
2. Try to have at least **one local issue**, one **national issue**, and one **international issue**.

## WHAT IS A MANIFESTO? (Cont...)

3. **Order these issues** – which issue do you think is the most important and one that your party should make the main issue in their campaign. Remember to think about what the voters might see as the main issue.
  4. **Decide** what you would do to try to change these issues if you were to be elected. These are your policies.
- ✓ **Be clear** about your opinions on the issues but **DON'T** make promises that you can't keep.



## WHAT IS A MANIFESTO? (Cont...)

5. You need to **write up your issues** and policies in a leaflet to be sent to all houses in the area for people to find out what you would do for them.
- ▶ **Be clear and concise** in your writing. Nobody is going to care what you have to say if they can't understand what you are saying.
  - ▶ 'Know what you want to say and say it'.



## HO 7.4: Energy Development

### HO 7.4 Energy Development

Energy is a prerequisite for the proper functioning of all sectors of the economy. It is an essential service whose availability and quality determines the success or failure of national development endeavors.

The importance of energy as a sector in the national economy cannot therefore be overemphasised. Yet energy cannot be developed and managed in isolation from other sectors. Zambia's current national energy consumption statistics indicate that wood fuel accounts for 79%, followed by electrical energy at 10% with petroleum energy at 9%. Other energy sources, such as coal, solar, bio-fuels and wind, only contribute 2% to the total national energy consumption. In the electricity sector the hydro potential is about 6,000 MW of which 3,000 MW could be harvested through planned projects. Currently, the country's installed capacity is about 2,300.

Zambia is currently facing an electricity supply deficit and has low electrification rates, 45% in urban areas and 3% in rural areas. The country is aiming to reach 90% and 51% access by 2030 in urban and rural areas respectively. In order to exploit the potential and attract independent power producers (IPPs) to invest in power generation, the Patriotic Front (PF) government has commenced the revision of the electricity tariff with a view to not of arriving at a cost reflective tariff.

In the next five years the PF government shall:

- Accelerate and scale up public-private partnership investment in hydro power generation to raise the installed capacity in order to meet national demand and generate surplus for export;
- Attain cost reflective tariffs by 2019, thereby promoting IPPs to invest in power generation. Additionally, to allow ZESCO to make a profit and recapitalise;
- Promote investment in alternative energy sources such as thermos electricity generation from coal and nuclear reactors. Promote investment in the development of renewable energy sources such as solar, bio-fuels, and wind;
- Accelerate the provision of electricity to rural and peri-urban households at subsidised rates;
- Promote the development and use of other alternative fuels in households such as liquid petroleum gas (LPG) and ethanol gel fuel to reduce dependency on wood fuel;



- Promote transparent procurement of crude oil and petroleum products from such sources and on such terms as are consistent with the need to maintain steady and reliable supplies at minimum landed cost;
- Rehabilitate and upgrade the national strategic storage facilities;
- Rehabilitate and upgrade the TAZAMA pipeline infrastructure;
- Standardize the price of petroleum products countrywide so as to remove distortions in the fuel cost;
- Review the tax regime on petroleum products;
- Promote exploration for oil and gas;
- Unbundle the electricity industry into (i) Generation (ii) Distribution and Customer Service to improve efficiency. Transmission will still remain under the government's jurisdiction;
- Promote private sector involvement in generation, particularly using renewable energy such as bio-fuel or small-scale hydro;
- Review regulation of the energy sector;
- Compile Network Development Master Plans, medium and long term;
- Implement projects arising from Network Development Plans (NDPs);
- Implement fuel marking techniques to avoid fuel contamination, smuggling, fuel dumping, etc., which would save the country millions of kwacha;
- Put maintenance plans in place; and
- Introduce Network Performance Management.



## HO 7.5: Mining and Energy

### HO 7.5 Mining and Energy

The DPP believes Malawians are rights holders who must benefit from a just extraction and distribution of natural resources. Policies and practices in the sector should therefore protect the rights of citizens to fair access to natural resources and beneficiation.

The DPP government will therefore develop and implement transparent, accountable and efficient mobilization and utilization of natural resources for the development of the country. This will include ensuring contracts that benefit citizens, while providing stable environment for the investors.

The DPP abhors the fact that Malawi is just sitting on many high value minerals, including gold, diamonds, bauxite, lime, uranium and heavy mineral sands, yet we do not have enough energy. It is time to place high priority on investment that leads to the identification and exploitation of minerals and energy to provide the technology and financing that will lead to discovery, exploitation and use of new minerals and energy resources of our country.

More advanced technologies will be introduced for exploitation of commercial hydropower, wind and solar power for rural electrification through, inter alia, the use of coal, geo-thermal, solar and wind energy.

#### **The DPP shall invest in alternative power sources like wind generated power**

The DPP shall actively search for alternative sustainable energy sources and only initiate energy projects that are cost effective and centred on the priority needs of the people and of investment. We shall encourage Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) in the energy sector.

The DPP will promote research and usage of biofuels in the form of biogas, bioethanol and biodiesel. A Bioenergy Commission will be established to regulate and promote the usage of bioenergy in the form of biofuels. Furthermore incentives will be provided to agro-industries that use agriculture waste products for the cogeneration of electricity.

The DPP will however prioritise:

- (i) Development of new legal and institutional frameworks for natural resources that protect the long term interests of the country.
- (ii) Introduction of alternative sources of energy such as solar, wind and biogas.
- (iii) Provision of new incentives to people in rural areas to use electricity while growing more trees, especially fast-growing trees.
- (iv) For efficiency, the DPP government will separate the functions of ESCOM into electricity production, distribution, and marketing, and have them run as autonomous institutions. In addition, we will encourage more private sector players to invest in the energy sector.



## HO 7.6: *Sample Manifesto UNDP*

### HO 7.6 Sample Manifesto UPND



Mismanagement and a lack of planning means that, today, Zambia has a growing electricity deficit. As a result, widespread deforestation is denying our children their future, largely due to charcoal production.

But Zambia has immense potential

for renewable energies, notably hydroelectricity but also solar, wind, geothermal and biofuels.

Only the UPND has the business experience and knowledge to manage this sector effectively, so that we can benefit from private investment, earn Zambia foreign exchange, and create jobs.

We will tap into this potential expeditiously by:

Diversifying our energy portfolio and by better managing our water resources to prevent the unreliability of electricity supply experienced under the current Government.

Supporting renewable energy projects to protect the inheritance of our nation. We will facilitate participation of the private sector in power generation through Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs) and the Independent Power Producers Association of Zambia.

Maintaining existing energy infrastructure. We are experiencing frequent load-shedding because of maintenance backlogs. Further, to reduce fuel prices and the pressure on the budget, we must improve the outputs from Indeni Refinery, TAZAMA and the Ndola Fuel Terminal through private sector involvement and assistance.

Reducing lead-time on key projects and ending the secrecy to procurement procedures.

We will also review the power purchase agreements especially those to do with export to ensure that before we export, we have enough power for Zambians.





## HO 7.7: SDGs Infographic

### HO 7.7 SDGs Infographic





## HO 7.8: Sample Policies of New Zealand

### HO 7.8 Sample Water and Energy Manifestos

#### SAMPLE POLICIES OF NEW ZEALAND

##### *Electricity*



Set a goal of 100% renewable energy generation by 2030.

Winter energy payments for more than 500,000 lower-income households, which will cover 75% of the average extra cost of power in winter.

Require big-generator retailers to report publicly on their accounts.

Encourage time-of-use pricing so people can save money and the whole system benefits from lower peak-time demand.

Incentivise energy efficiency by modernising the Low User Fixed Charge.



Introduce a Winter Energy Payment for people receiving superannuation or a main benefit. This will be \$450 a year for a single person and \$700a year for a couple or person with dependent children, paid monthly from May to September.

Plan for the transition to the next stage of energy culture, based primarily on renewably-generated electricity and low emissions.

Investigate and develop new electricity system structures that can deal with higher proportions of variable renewable energy sources such as wind and solar power.

Reinstate until 2028 a moratorium on any new fossil-fuelled baseload electricity generation.

Ensure that households and other distributed generators can be grid-connected at a fair rate, and sell surplus electricity back into the power grid at a fair price (linked to the wholesale price).



Introduce a government subsidised solar energy installation plan for all homes in Aotearoa.

Introduce a government subsidised solar energy installation plan for 200,00 homes over a one year period.

Enable families, community organisations and businesses to sell their unused solar energy to a government trading platform.

Subsidise solar heating and expansion of energy hubs for rural communities.

Read more [here](#).



90 per cent of electricity will be generated from renewable sources by 2025.  
Encourage efficiency, meaning less resource and investment wastage and improvements in the coordination of electricity production.  
Review the low fixed charge and come up with an alternative that works for low income users.  
Make sure the settings are right so that consumers can get the energy they want in the way they want it—whether from the grid, or a solar tiled roof on their neighbour's house.  
Read more [here](#).



Establish four basic aims for policy: guarantee security of supply; achieving greater investment in the industry to produce and distribute electricity; facilitate energy efficiencies; and, to ensure that energy is supplied at a fair and reasonable price.  
Conduct a full Inquiry into high retail electricity prices – recent reviews in the UK and Australia have found major issues with similar ‘market reforms’ we adopted here.  
Review the Electricity Authority with regulatory functions to be transferred to the Commerce Commission.  
Cancel the Transmission Pricing Methodology and require Transpower to socialise transmission grid costs across New Zealand; and require Transpower to fund future transmission grid upgrades from its profits.  
Restore public ownership of the part-privatised generators (and WEL Networks) over time, by buying back shares when the market price for them is right.  
Read more [here](#).



Introduce a \$10 million a year fund that will help New Zealand families install micro-generation technology into their homes.  
This would primarily be targeted at new builds to encourage building energy efficient homes.  
New builds could get up to \$10,000 per house.  
Existing houses could get up to \$5,000 per house.



## HO 7.9: Party Manifestos Comparison

### HO 7.9 PARTY MANIFESTOS COMPARISON

ISSUE	Democratic Alliance (DA)	African National Congress (ANC)	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)
Building a sustainable environment	<p>Compiling drought management plans in water-scarce areas and encouraging the harvesting of rain water through roof-top tanks and other means.</p> <p>Encouraging the installation of water management devices, for both government facilities and by residents to reduce consumption and detect leaks.</p>	<p>Increasing the capacity of existing dams, building new dams and improving water treatment infrastructure.</p> <p>Introducing innovative technologies and energy sources that are free of harmful emissions such as hydrogen fuel cells, solar power and wind energy.</p>	<p>Aggressively pursue forms of green and clean energy, including solar and wind energy to electricity households and install street lights and robots.</p> <p>Make sure that the permanent dumping sites are not located closer to residential areas.</p>
	<p>Encouraging sustainable recycling and waste reduction initiatives, such as the recycling of grey water for irrigation.</p> <p>Investing in infrastructure, where possible, that decreases reliance on traditional sources of water. This includes desalination plants and reclamation works which treat sewerage water to the point where it is potable.</p> <p>Identify businesses and households with excessively high water and electricity usage to assist with consumption management to save water and ensure residents are only billed for water they use.</p> <p>Making use of our local governments lead by example by producing energy</p>	<p>Undertaking youth initiatives as part of municipal efforts to adapt to changing climatic conditions.</p>	



	<p>efficiency plans with targets for official buildings and public spaces. This will decrease the local governments' electricity bills, making them more financially sustainable.</p> <p>Moving towards the installation of energy efficient lighting, such as LEDs and sola power, in all public spaces.</p> <p>Ensuring that the existing sewerage infrastructure is capable of coping with the needs of the residents it serves.</p> <p>Setting targets in new low-cost housing developments for the installation of solar water heaters.</p> <p>Lobbying national government to allow people and businesses to sell their excess wind and solar-generated electricity to the grid for consumption by other users, benefiting both residents and the local economy by ensuring stable electricity.</p> <p>Identifying and managing landfill sites, at or near to capacity, and setting and managing waste reduction targets, which include the use of recycling.</p> <p>Constantly developing innovative and cost-effective ways to manage waste, including investigations into the viability of waste-to-electricity initiatives.</p>		
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Source: Biznews May 2016

Ref: Biznews May 2016. Know what you're voting for: ANC, DA, EFF 2016 Election Manifestos compared.



## HO 7.10: Additional Examples of Manifestos

### HO 7.10: PARTY MANIFESTO INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY – SOUTH AFRICA

#### **Mineral, Energy Affairs and Water**

The IFP's policy on mineral and energy affairs is based on the party's commitment to the free market system. The IFP rejects a socialist and statist approach to energy affairs, and believes that urgent transformation of the government's entire energy policy is required. In view of its extreme importance, the field of energy should be separated from the field of minerals and should fall under its own Ministry and Department.

**Energy Affairs (Hydroelectric power):** The IFP believes that the benefits of hydroelectric power generated from the water resources of the province of KwaZulu-Natal should be made available to local communities, and that local companies should be contracted to perform engineering and other related tasks in the development of hydroelectric power.

**Electricity:** Eskom should be privatized and the price of electricity should be market-related. However, extension of the national grid requires state subsidization. Eskom should become an electricity retailer. Pre-payment for electricity should be encouraged.

**Fuel:** The fuel industry is excessively regulated. Fuel imports should be freed subject only to safety guarantees, while the retailing of petrol should be deregulated. The fuel price should be determined in a free market in order to promote economic growth and job creation, and the Central Energy Fund should be abolished. The Motor Vehicle Insurance Fund should not be funded by a hidden tax on fuel.

**Gas:** MossGas should be sold as soon as possible.

**Coal:** Beneficiation of coal for the manufacture of chemicals and other products, including gas, is preferable to the burning of coal for energy. The IFP favours a further extension of the use of gas in South Africa for domestic purposes, especially cooking and heating.

**Alternative energy sources:** Intensive research is required into alternative energy forms. Nuclear energy should be further investigated because of its low cost, bearing



in mind the alleged safety and environmental problems associated this energy form. Solar power for domestic applications needs to be promoted.

**Mineral Affairs:** Minerals will continue to be the mainstay of the economy for many years to come because South Africa possesses a greater abundance of minerals than any other single country on earth. Because the mining industry is so important to the economy, and provides so many jobs, the government has an obligation to ensure that it is allowed to operate as efficiently and profitably as possible. State interference in the mining industry should be kept to the minimum.

**Migrant labour:** The IFP holds the view that in spite of the lengthy history of migrant labour in the South African mining industry, preference should be given to employing South Africans whenever and wherever possible.

**Mining technology:** South Africa is a world leader in mining technology, and the government should encourage the overseas marketing of this technology.

**Mining safety and health:** The IFP supports, in essence, the Mine Qualifications Authority (MQA) set up in terms of the Mine Health and Safety Act. Encouragement should be given to extending the health activities on mines to neighbouring communities. The IFP supports pre-employment testing for HIV in the mining industry.

**Beneficiation:** The IFP supports attempts to further beneficiate minerals where market and investment opportunities are favourable.

**Education and training:** The IFP notes that the mining industry is heavily involved in training and should be able to decide for itself how to fund education and training in the industry. The mining industry should not therefore be subject to nationally imposed skills training levies, which in any case will be inefficient. Education and training standards in the industry should be so designed as to make it possible for individuals to move freely within the industry and, if so desired, outside of it.

**Mineral rights:** The IFP supports the existing hybrid mineral rights dispensation and security of tenure in the interests of stability and investment in the industry. The IFP also supports greater co-operation between the state and the private mining industry in the exploration of minerals. The royalties on mineral rights in tribal areas should accrue to the tribal authorities.



**Labour and industrial relations:** Industrial relations in the industry are best left to employers and employees, through union representation. The IFP believes that the mining industry should continue to develop training programmes for miners which, in the event of mine closures, would equip miners with the skills with which to find other employment. Accommodation and family quarters on mines should be continuously upgraded to meet modern standards.

**Small scale mining:** Small scale mining should be encouraged subject to environmental safeguards.

**Marketing of minerals:** The IFP supports joint marketing and promotional efforts by the South African mining industry.

**Taxation:** The IFP supports accelerated depreciation and capital allowances, taxation based on profits rather than via levies and other imposts, and tax incentives to encourage the exploitation of mineral deposits.

**Environmental issues:** Investment in mining must not be discouraged by excessive environmental regulation, yet the cost of restoring the environment after the conclusion of mining operations should be met from the revenues derived from mining on the 'polluter pays' principle.

**Affirmative action:** Existing discrimination in the industry should be eliminated and development of the previously disadvantaged populace should be encouraged in both employment and ownership.

**Water:** The use and disposal of water in South Africa is a subject fraught with controversy. On the one hand, there is the pessimistic view that South Africa is an arid country and that the only equitable way to deal with the perceived scarcity of water is through the rigid control of its use and disposal. This leads to the conclusion that government should engage itself in the process of water allocation.

On the other hand, there is the view that South Africa, though arid in many regions, is an adequately watered country with a rainfall which, though subject to annual fluctuations, is more than sufficient to sustain development and to serve the needs of



the population. The IFP position is sympathetic to this latter view.

**National competence:** The IFP does not accept that water should be 'owned' and controlled, down to the last drop, by the Minister of Water Affairs, but rather that its management should be devolved to the lowest practicable level. The IFP believes that the enlightened way of dealing with the problem of water shortages is for national government to limit its role to co-ordinating planning for the collection of water through the building of dams, canals and the tapping of river systems in neighbouring countries which have spare capacity. Bureaucratic controls over water should be reduced in order to save money.

**Provincial competence:** The management of water resources and the allocation of water – including the sale of water – should be entrusted to the provinces. Provincial administrations should manage all aspects of water provision except those involving major capital projects, the integration of water systems and international negotiations over the supply of water from foreign countries. The value of water should be recognised between provinces through the payment of royalties.

**Local government competence:** The day-to-day control of water resources, in their areas of jurisdiction, should be entrusted to traditional agencies i.e. municipalities, irrigation committees and, in tribal areas, the Amakosi.

**Review of water related legislation:** The IFP believes that the water law ought to be revised after thorough study of water laws in country's comparable to South Africa.

**Privatisation of water:** The IFP advocates the privatisation of water, and urges that the control of water be effected through the price mechanism. Private companies which enter the field of water supply should then be contractually bound to provide water to needy communities. Moreover, the poor and needy should be assisted with payment for water, where necessary, through government subsidy.

Proceeds from the sale of water rights should be used for the construction of dams and canals. <http://www.ifp.org.za/our-policies/>





# **MODULE 8**

## **Strategic Communications for Political Parties**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and colored paper

## Key understanding

In order to have influence, political parties and candidates require strong communication and stakeholder management skills.

## Activity 8.1

### Overview of the use of communication by parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Articulate the relevance of effective communication for campaigning, opinion formation, interest mediation and party organization.

**Summary:** Why is communication important for political parties? Communication is about building and maintaining relationships and alliance with constituencies. Communication is essential for political parties to be able to coordinate activities and reach out to mobilize existing and potential constituencies. Communication is a two-way approach that also enables constituencies to access the political parties and better understand their intentions.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming exercise, ask participants to explain what they understand by communication and what they think this entails for political parties. Capture the responses on a flipchart and save them for later.

**Make the point:** Communication is the act of conveying meanings from one entity or group to another. The main steps inherent in all communication are: the formation of communicative motivation or reason; message composition; message encoding. (Wikipedia)

**Step 2:** Explain that political parties must understand what is at stake for their constituencies, and the power of individual stakeholders versus groups of stakeholders. In groups ask them to identify key stakeholders and consider the following questions:

- Who are they?
- What do they want?
- How are they going to try to get it?

**Step 3:** Provide participants with two different colored pieces of paper. On one piece of paper they must state what they see as communication activities in their respective organizations and on the other they must state the various stakeholders with which their respective organizations interact.

**Step 4:** Discuss in plenary.



## Activity 8.2

### Parties' internal and external communication

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Distinguish between internal and external communication and outline appropriate tools for both.

**Summary:** Internal and external communication are key to a successful well-functioning political party that has consistent contact with its constituencies, is able to articulate party objectives clearly, and maintains a party brand that is associated with respect and openness both inside the party and outside of it.

**Step 1:** Ask participants what is the difference between internal and external communications? Record participants responses on the flip chart.

**Make the point:** Internal communication is the transmission of information between party members or parts of the party. It takes place across all levels and units of an party. Communication is said to be internal when the exchange of information, messages, facts, opinions, etc takes place between the members of the party, or various units of the party, for business purposes. It can occur between individuals, groups, departments or units. Internal communication aims to establish and disseminate the objectives of the undertaking, develop plans to accomplish its objectives, and organize resources to do so in an effective way. It assists in selecting, training and appraising participants within the party. It is a tool that motivates the employees.

External communication is the sharing of information between the party and any other person or entity from the external environment. External communication determines the way the party connects with, or disseminates information to, external audiences. It has a great impact on the minds of stakeholders, as their opinion about the party, brand and its variants largely depend on it. It focuses on facilitating cooperation with the groups to build and maintain a good public image. Campaigns, service calls, press releases, invitations, circulars, reports, etc are some of the methods of external communication. (<https://keydifferences.com/difference-between-internal-and-external-communication.html>)

**Step 2:** Divide participants into two or three groups. Ask each group to:

- Identify 2 key internal communication activities undertaken in their party. They should indicate whom they are communicating with and what means/tools they are the using to communicate;
- Do they recall or know of any action that has been undertaken by the party to develop or influence internal communications?
- Identify 2 external communication activities undertaken by the political party. When the organization communicates with the outside world who is it talking to? They should also explain if the party has made an effort to develop and implement a robust strategic communication strategy.



## Activity 8.3

### Communication tools and platforms

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain the efficacy of communication platforms for greater party outreach, especially social media.

**Summary:** It is important for political organizations to know how to communicate effectively as this will contribute to the results and impact of the institutional strategic plan. There must be sustained and focused deliberate investments on the communication strategy tools as these are “how” it will be implemented on a practical level. It is necessary to take into considerations factors that would affect communications, for example environments, national communication policies, and effective mapping of stakeholders, to better understand what to communicate to them.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants what communication tools and platforms have been used in their respective organizations. Take down their responses on the flip chart.

**Step 2:** Make the point that an effective communication framework that addresses the institutional needs includes:

- Tools and platforms to strategically reach the objectives of the party;
- Flexible and dynamic communication styles;
- Communication that informs and educates constituencies, shapes messages that are direct and addresses communication gaps between the party and its constituencies; and
- Appropriate communication frameworks at the institutional, human, and financial levels. These all help to build a communication culture in the party and a framework that effectively serves both internal and external publics.

**Make the point:** Knowing when to change communication tools, and how to address the issue of crisis communication that requires effective tools and strategy, are key. Therefore, participants must understand various media platforms and tools.

**Step 3:** Explain the following terms:

- **Media:** Any means of communication designed to deliver information and influence large audiences. This includes newspapers, television, radio, social networking sites, etc.
- **Print media:** Media that uses the written word on paper, such as newspapers and magazines.
- **Broadcast media:** Media that broadcasts sounds or images, such as radio and television.
- **Traditional media:** Means of mass communication introduced and used before the advent of the Internet, including television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.
- **New media:** A general term used to describe forms of electronic communication made possible through computer and digital technology, including websites, social networking, video and audio streaming, chat rooms for online communities, and blogs, etc.
- **Paid media:** Media coverage that your campaign or political party has to pay for by purchasing advertising time or space.



**Step 4:** When choosing a media platform or tool certain considerations must be taken into account. Ask participants to consider the following:

- Determining party objective(s);
- Defining the key audiences;
- Identifying the most important media outlets for a campaign; and
- Creating a tactical outreach plan of events and activities designed to generate coverage that the party wants, on the platforms needed to reach key audiences.

**Step 5:** Divide participants into groups. Each group must choose a key message they would like to convey to a particular constituency. The participants must outline the communication platform and tools they consider appropriate for that particular constituency and why.

They should consider the following questions:

- Why are we using the particular communication platforms?
- What factors within our key messages are we communicating to enhance the constituency's understanding of the party's overall strategic objectives?



## Activity 8.4

### Social media

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Distinguish between mainstream media and social media and will be familiar with the pros and cons of social media.

**Summary:** Social media is the ultimate in disruptive technology. It has changed information delivery, business organization, online content, news coverage, and the manner in which individuals' process new information and developments. Social media platforms also challenge the rate at which we shape our messages, receive them and disseminate them, thereby allowing almost every individual to be a "citizen journalist".

Despite social media's capability of generating engagement, there are a few aspects that political parties should heed and understand in depth, such as:

- The ability and resources to sustain political interest online over time and move those engagements between different communication platforms.
- Social media is a very personal "one on one" communication and therefore messages on social media platforms are received very individualistically, therefore highlighting the pros and cons of social media for political parties.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to explain their understanding of social media and how it differs from mainstream media. Capture their responses on the flip chart for later reference.

**Step 2:** Make a short presentation on the pros and cons of social media based on HO 8.1: *Pros and Cons*.

**Step 3:** Ask participants to form pairs and briefly name the social media platforms they use regularly and how they would apply them to their respective constituencies. Open the discussion to develop understanding of social media and what it means for political party organizations.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 339 in the Resources.



## Activity 8.5

### Party communication strategy

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe key components of a communication strategy and develop a basic draft of a communication strategy.

**Summary:** Careful planning and understanding of the role of communication in the institutional delivery of parties' work is key. A strategic communications plan will help ensure that parties are maximizing every opportunity to inform, inspire, and motivate supporters and potential supporters.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to explain what a communication strategy is and why it is necessary. Capture their responses on the flip chart.

**Make the point:** A communications strategy is designed to help you and your organization communicate effectively and meet core organizational objectives. A communications strategy shows how effective communications can:

- Help achieve overall organizational objectives;
- Engage effectively with stakeholders;
- Demonstrate the success or failure of the communication;
- Ensure people understand what the party does; and
- Change behavior and perceptions where necessary.

**Step 2:** Underscore the importance of participants' understanding of their constituencies when developing a comprehensive strategic communication strategy and plan.

**Step 3:** Explain that a strategic communication plan will help ensure that parties are maximizing every opportunity to inform, inspire, and motivate supporters and potential supporters using various media.

**Step 4:** Take participants through the key steps of developing a communication strategy. As an introduction explain that communications strategies should briefly outline the organization's objectives, its main functions and where it operates.

**Step 5:** Participants should also look at their organization's communications strengths – what has been successful and what has not worked well over the last approximately five years. The following tools can be used to help analyse the organization's current situation.

#### PEST analysis

This involves listing the Political, Economic, Social and Technological factors that affect an organization's work. These could be positive or negative factors and should include issues that are likely to have an impact on how the organization operates. For example, under "political" you might include change of government: the need to build contacts with new civil servants and MPs and the need to understand the new policy agenda. This has implications for targeting media.

#### SWOT analysis

A SWOT analysis involves listing an organization's Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats. Think about what this means in terms of communication priorities. How can Threats be turned into Opportunities? How can parties or candidates make the most of their Strengths through effective communications?



### Competitor analysis

Another useful tool when assessing your current situation is to look at what competitors are doing. This can be a relatively simple exercise requiring identifying the main opposition and ranking them against certain criteria. Try to be objective when assessing their strengths and weaknesses.

**Step 6:** Any communications strategy should closely reflect the parties' overall organizational plan. Participants should look at their organization's overall vision and core aims and objectives. They should then suggest how communications can help deliver these goals. As well as referring to specific objectives, this section should consider the overall principles of communications that underpin the strategy and the key messages that the organization wants to convey.

**Step 7:** Ask participants to give a detailed description of their main audiences – both external and internal. These might include the public, politicians, service users and staff. They could also refer to potential audiences that the organization is keen to connect with.

Many organizations will find that they have a lot of different audiences with whom they need to interact. One part of the strategy might look at which audiences will be interested in specific parts of the organization or activities. This makes it easier to prioritise communication tasks.

**Step 8:** Once organizations have identified their audiences, they must break down their objectives into messages that are relevant to each of those audiences. Start with the audiences that are the highest priority.

**Make the point:** Messages should be relevant and appropriate for the audience. Organizations might speak to their supporters in much more forthright language than they would use for local authorities, for example. But it is very important that there is continuity across the messages and that all stakeholders understand what kind of organization it is. Messaging always needs to link back to the key organizational objectives and values.

**Step 9:** Each audience identified above requires the most appropriate channels for communicating with it. Depending on the target audience these might include an e-bulletin, a conference, a workshop, a leaflet, a press release, an event, or broader methods using print media, social media and the organization's website. In a plenary session discuss which tools best suit specific audiences.

Once they have looked at the channels they have to use, they can begin to construct a communications plan, linking audiences, messages, and channels. Having identified the audiences and key communications methods, the next step is to draw up a table that indicates the key communications activities, budget, and resources allocated to delivering the strategy. The work plan should also include proposed timescales and identify particular milestones within the strategy. This will allow parties to measure progress towards their ultimate goals.

**Step 10:** A communications strategy should conclude with a section on evaluation. What does success look like and how will parties know when their objectives have been met? In groups, participants should list the tools that can be used to evaluate the different sections of a communication strategy. Back in plenary note these on the flip chart.

### Facilitator's note:

These could be simple measures such as the number of responses to e-bulletins or website hits. Assessing how much the campaign has succeeded could also include measuring media coverage, not only in terms of volume, but also breadth and depth. How often were key messages mentioned in a radio report or newspaper article? Ultimately the measure of the success of a communication strategy lies in policy changes that indicate



that the key demands of the communication campaign have been achieved and by shifts in public opinions on the messages of the campaign.

<https://knowhow.ncvo.org.uk/campaigns/communications/communications-strategy>

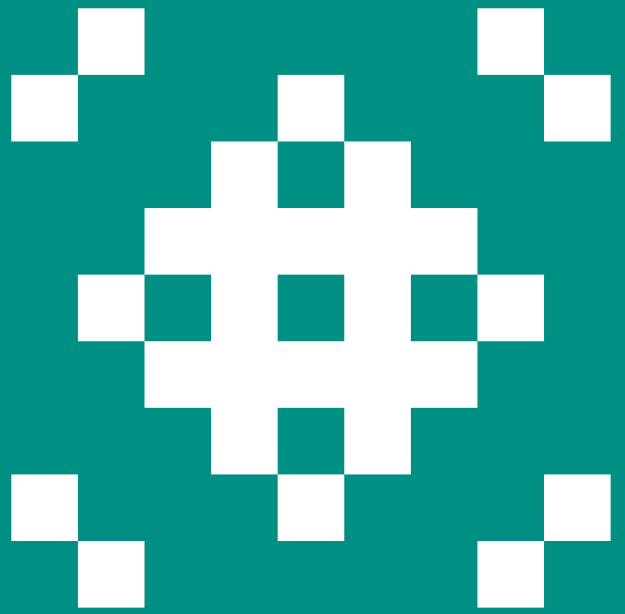
**Step 11:** In groups of three or four, participants must draw up a draft skeleton of a communication strategy focusing on key messages and the audiences they would like to reach.

#### **Facilitator's note:**

Refer to the discussion earlier in the session where the participants discussed in general the need for communication. Developing a communication strategy takes this a step further to considering the role of communication in participation in political party discourse. It looks deeper into constituency engagement, citizenry views on politics in general, and the role of political parties themselves in discourse and engagement. Some schools of thought argue that communication itself is an act of political participation as communication engages and enables discourse with various views.

**Step 12:** In a plenary session ask participants to reflect on their role in the communication strategy and how they believe it could affect the future of their political organization.





# **MODULE 8**

## **Strategic Communications for Political Parties**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 8.1

### Overview of the utility of communication in parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Articulate the relevance of effective communication for campaigning, opinion formation, interest mediation and party organization.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session explain what is meant by communicating and what you think it entails for political parties? Make notes in the space provided.

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**Takeaway point:** Communication is the act of conveying meanings from one entity or group to another. The main steps inherent in all communication are: the formation of communicative motivation or reason; message composition; message encoding. (Wikipedia)

**Step 2:** Political parties must understand what is at stake for their constituencies and the power of individual stakeholders versus groups of stakeholders. In this context answer the following questions:

- Who are they (constituencies, stakeholders)?
- What do they want?
- How are they going to try to get it?

**Step 3:** You will be provided with two different coloured pieces of paper. On one piece of paper state what you deem as communication activities in your respective organizations and on the other state the various stakeholders that your organization interacts with.

**Step 4:** Discuss in plenary.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 8.2

### Parties' internal and external communication

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Distinguish between internal and external communication and outline appropriate tools for both.

**Step 1:** Answer the following question:

- What is the difference between internal and external communication?

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**Takeaway point:** Internal communication is the transmission of information between organizational members or parts of the organization. It takes place across all levels and units of an organization. Communication is said to be internal when the exchange of information, messages, facts, opinions, etc takes place between the members of the organization, or various units of the party. It can occur between individuals, groups, departments or units. Internal communication aims to establish and disseminate the objectives of the undertaking, develop plans to accomplish its objectives, and organize resources to do so in an effective way. It assists in selecting, training and appraising participants within the organization. External communication is the sharing of information between the organization and any other person or entity from the external environment. External communication determines the way the party connects with, or disseminates information to, external audiences. It has a great impact on the minds of stakeholders, as their opinion about the party, brand and its variants largely depend on it. It focuses on facilitating cooperation with the groups to build and maintain a good public image. Campaigns, service calls, press releases, invitations, circulars, reports, etc are some of the methods of external communicating. (<https://keydifferences.com/difference-between-internal-and-external-communication.html>)

**Step 2:** In groups consider the following:

- Identify 2 key internal communication activities that have been or are being undertaken in your organization. Indicate whom you are communicating with and what means/tools you are using to communicate.
- Do you recall or know of any action that has been undertaken by an organization to develop or improve internal communications?
- Identify 2 external communication activities that have been or are being undertaken by your party. When the party communicates with the outside world to whom is it talking? Comment on whether the party has developed and implemented a robust strategic communication strategy.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 8.3

### Communication tools and platforms

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Explain the efficacy of communication platforms for greater party outreach, especially social media.

**Step 1:** In a plenary session discuss the following:

- What communication tools and platforms have been used in your organizations?

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**Takeaway point:** An effective communication framework that addresses the institutional needs should include:

- Effective tools and platforms to strategically reach the objectives of the party;
- Flexible and dynamic communication styles, as various factors may have to be considered, such as the media, political competition, regulatory frameworks for the media, laws, political culture, etc.
- Communication trends to suit constituencies and inform and educate them.
- Trend analysis to better shape messages that are direct and address communication gaps between the party and its constituencies; and
- Investment in an appropriate communication framework at the institutional, human and financial levels. The investment helps build a communication culture that effectively serves both internal and external publics.

**Step 2:** Know when to change your communication tools, and how to address the issue of crisis communication that requires effective tools and strategy.

Therefore, participants must understand various forms of media.

**Step 3:** Make sure you understand the following terms used in communications:

- **Media:** Any means of communication designed to deliver information and influence large audiences. This includes newspapers, television, radio, social networking sites, etc.
- **Print media:** Media that uses the written word on paper, such as newspapers and magazines.
- **Broadcast media:** Media that broadcasts sounds or images, such as radio and television.
- **Traditional media:** Means of mass communication introduced and used before the advent of the Internet, including television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.



- **New media:** A general term used to describe forms of electronic communication made possible through computer and digital technology, including websites, social networking, video and audio streaming, online communities, chat rooms, blogs, etc.
- **Paid media:** Media coverage your political campaign or party has to pay for by purchasing advertising time or space.

**Step 4:** When you are choosing a media platform or tool certain considerations must be considered. Discuss how you would:

- Determine your objective(s);
- Define your key audiences;
- Identify the most important media outlets for your campaign; and
- Create a tactical outreach plan of events and activities designed to generate the coverage you want using the platforms you need to reach your key audiences.

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**Step 5:** In your groups:

- Pick a key message you would like to convey to a particular constituency; and
- Outline the communication platform and tools you consider appropriate for that constituency and why.

Guiding questions for this group session include:

- Why are we using the particular communication platform?
- What factors within our key messaging would enhance the constituency's understanding of the party's overall strategic objective?

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 8.4

### Social media

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Distinguish between mainstream media and social media and be familiar with the pros and cons of social media.

**Step 1:** Explain your understanding of social media and how it differs from the mainstream media.

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See pg 339 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Discuss the pros and cons of social media, referring to HO 8.1: *Pros and Cons*.

**Step 3:** In pairs, name the social media platforms you use regularly and how you would apply them to your constituencies.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 8.5

### Party communication strategy

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Describe key components of a communication strategy and develop a basic draft of a communication strategy.

**Step 1:** Question:

- What is a communication strategy and why is it necessary?

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**Takeaway point:** A communications strategy is designed to help you and your organization communicate effectively and meet core organizational objectives. A communications strategy shows how effective communications can:

- Help achieve your overall organizational objectives;
- Engage effectively with stakeholders;
- Demonstrate the success of your work;
- Ensure people understand what you do; and
- Change behavior and perceptions where necessary.

**Step 2:** Using HO 8.1: *Pros and Cons* discuss the key steps in developing a communication strategy. Take the following into account:

- Presentation on organizational objectives and communications objectives;
- Identifying stakeholders; and
- Messages.

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**Step 3:** Plan the communications activities, budget, and resources needed to implement your communication strategy.

**Step 4:** You need to evaluate or measure the success of your media campaign: Your strategy must conclude with a section on evaluation. What does success look like and how will you know when your objectives have been met? Here you should indicate the tools you will use to evaluate various sections of your communications. These could be simple measures such as tracking the number of responses to



e-bulletins or hits on your website. They could also focus on policy changes, for example, and assess whether the key calls of your campaign have been achieved. You could also measure media coverage; not only in terms of volume, but also breadth and depth. How often were your key messages mentioned and has there been a shift in public attitude on the issues you have been campaigning for?

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**Step 5:** In your designated groups, draw up a draft skeleton of a communication strategy focusing on key messages and the audiences you would like to reach.

**Takeaway point:** The role of communication in political party discourse must consider constituency engagement, citizenry views on politics in general and the role of political parties themselves in the discourse and engagement. Some schools of thought see communication itself as an act of political participation because it engages and enables discourse with various views and expression for example, through manifestos, political parties' slogans and other public declarations or action.

**Step 6:** The facilitator will engage you in a plenary discussion to reflect on your role in communication and what it means for the future of your political organization.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### HO 8.1: *Pros and Cons*

#### HO 8.1: PROS AND CONS

##### Pros for use of social media by political parties

- **Large Audience:** Having a large audience on social media evens the playing field for candidates who may not have as much funding, or as big a name as their opponent(s).
- **Feedback/Engagement:** One aspect that makes social media such a powerful communication tool is the feedback aspect. Unlike the days of old, anyone can participate in dialogue and let their voice be heard. Social media allows politicians to reach voters in an intimate way.
- **Analytics:** Radio and television did not give politicians an understanding of who was watching/listening to them. Social media, on the other hand, uses analytics software to give politicians an idea of the different demographics that they are engaging. This allows campaigns to spend money more efficiently to target voters. Politicians can craft their message to reach voters who are undecided about which candidate will get their vote.
- **Informed Voters/ constituencies:** Prior to the rise of social media, the only people who would get the news were the people who took initiative to seek news sources. However, in the age of social media, the news is right in front of you. Whether it's a friend sharing news, or seeing what's in the "trending" sidebar on Facebook, people who are on social media sites, particularly Facebook and Twitter, cannot avoid seeing the news

##### Cons of social media use by political parties

- **Underhanded Tactics:** Social media platforms are very individual in communicating and there is difficulty in monitoring what and when individuals post on social media thereby giving room for underhand tactics.
- **Bots:** Bots are fake profiles on social media platforms that sow division between people and political parties. Bots are being used to spread dissension and news from untrustworthy sources. Facebook and Twitter are the two largest platforms under scrutiny.
- **Low-Tier Discourse:** Social media has caused the deterioration of political discourse. Politicians have resorted to communicating through memes and inappropriate posts on social media. The deterioration of communication moves the focus away from the important things a politician should be addressing, such as the policies they wish to implement. (<https://www.uloop.com/news/view.php/263903/Pros-amp-Cons-of-Social-Media-in-Politics>)





# **MODULE 9**

## **Inclusivity in Political Parties**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need flip charts, markers and tags

### Key understanding

Political parties operating within a democracy should substantively reflect the diversity of the society they represent in their composition, leadership, policies, and processes.

### Overall learning objective:

Ability of participants to develop substantive strategies to ensure the involvement of diverse stakeholders in political party affairs.

## Activity 9.1

### Understanding inclusivity in political decision-making

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Articulate the importance of inclusivity in party affairs and political decision-making.

**Step 1:** Play inclusivity game.

#### Facilitator's note:

##### Instructions

1. Ask for 7 volunteers, 4 who are men and 3 women.
2. Assign values in Rands to the participants. Assign smaller values to the men and larger values to the women, as listed below. Make tags with the values clearly written with a marker on the tag. The participants must wear the tags showing their values.

The values are as follows:

- R2 – man
  - R5 – man
  - R5 – man
  - R10 – man
  - R18 – woman
  - R30 – woman
  - R30 – woman
3. Tell the volunteers that you shall call out a certain value that participants are supposed to make. They must quickly get together with others to make up that value e.g. if you call out R7, the participants with R5 will scramble to pair up with the participant with R2.
    - Round 1: Ask participants to quickly make R7
    - Round 2: Ask participants to quickly make R10
    - Round 3: Ask participants to quickly make R12
    - Round 4: Ask participants to quickly make R28
    - Round 5: Ask participants to quickly make R48, then R60, then R78, and finally R100.



**Step 2:** Do a debrief of the game by asking those who participated how they experienced it. Ask those with low values how they felt and those with high values how it made them feel. In particular they should consider:

- How did it feel when one made it to the value called out?
- How did it feel when one did not make it, particularly those with low values?

Ask the other participants about their observations, particularly in societies in which gender and other societal groups are represented by those with low and high values. They should ask:

- Where do these values come from?
- What are the experiences of those with lower values in society and in politics?
- Are they often regarded as tokens and with what effect?
- What are the implications of these values in everyday life, including in political decision-making?

**Step 3:** Present scenarios for participants in groups of 3 to consider the consequences for individuals and society at large of being excluded from various settings.

**Step 4:** Through the use of HO 9.1: *Inclusivity Worksheets* ask table groups to discuss the situation of political representation and participation in their context, notably with regard to women, youth, and people with disabilities (PWD). What have been, or still are, the consequences for the parties and the political and policy outlook in their country?

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 364 in the Resources.

**Step 5:** Group feedback and plenary discussion.

**Step 6:** Give an interactive presentation on inclusivity in political parties, based on PPT 9.2: *Inclusivity*.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 365 in the Resources.

**Step 7:** You may end the session by showing the video, LGBTI Political Inclusion Journeys, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jrRYlz1B0ZQ>

**Make the point:** Democracies lack credibility if their processes and institutions exclude groups in society.



## ❖ Activity 9.2

### Legal frameworks guiding inclusivity

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Name and describe the key global, regional and national conventions/protocols on inclusivity of women, youth and PWD; and
- Link their policy-making as a party to the realization of national, regional, and international goals on inclusivity.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to name the various conventions/protocols and pieces of legislation that they are familiar with that pertain to the inclusivity of women, youth, and PWD. These conventions can be at national, regional, and global levels.

**Step 2:** In a plenary discussion cluster the named conventions/protocols and legislation into the broad categories of Global, Regional and National and create a diagram showing the hierarchy of these to demonstrate how they relate to each other. Ask participants to explain their observations.

#### Facilitator's note:

Some of the key conventions/protocols to be brought out are the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the African Youth Charter, and the national legislation in their context.

**Step 3:** Divide participants into groups and give each group a summarized version of one piece of legislation. All groups to have different pieces of legislation and each group to receive only one. Ask groups to note the key highlights of their assigned legislation as contained in the clauses. Groups must identify the clauses that relate to inclusivity in political decision-making and list them in bullet point on the flip chart.

**Step 4:** Group feedback.

**Step 5:** Invite a guest speaker who is an expert in inclusivity policies (from civil society, the United Nations Development Programme, etc) to address participants on CEDAW in particular and the alignment/domestication of the current national legislation on gender to CEDAW and the AU and SADC gender protocols, challenges and opportunities.

**Make the point:** CEDAW is a convention or treaty, which means that it is part of international law and is legally binding for countries that have ratified the convention. Although other international human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender, CEDAW is important because it comprehensively addresses women's human rights and is focused on ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls, and guaranteeing their rights in all areas of life. CEDAW requires countries to eliminate discrimination against women in the public as well as the private sphere.

The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) requires its state parties to work to remove these barriers. Article 29 of the CRPD explicitly requires state parties to "ensure that persons with disabilities can effectively and fully



participate in political and public life on an equal basis with others, directly or through freely chosen representatives, including the right and opportunity [...] to be elected”.

**Step 6:** Parties to consider their own party policies and practices and how these reflect national legislation on gender.

## ❖ Activity 9.3

### Youth in political decision-making

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify strategies for enhancing youth mobilization and substantive participation in party affairs.

**Step 1:** Divide participants into 2 teams for a debate: The debate topic is “Youth Friend or Foe (Allies or Enemies) in Political Affairs”. One group must argue for youth as friends and the other for youth as foes.

**Step 2:** At the end of the debate sum up the key arguments that have emerged from the debate.

**Step 3:** Distribute various anecdotes and information to the table groups (statistics on youth, stories of youth participation in country’s history, legislative framework, current areas and examples of participation and non-participation, barriers to participation, consequences, etc.) and ask them to create a story board on youth participation in political affairs and decision-making.

**Step 4:** Get feedback from the groups and make one complete story board from the contributions of all the groups.

**Step 5:** Do a presentation on youth inclusion in parties and political decision-making, based on PPT 9.3: *Youth Inclusion in Politics*.

**Make the point:** Participation is a fundamental democratic right. It should be an end in and of itself to remove existing barriers to youth political participation. The active contributions of youth can pave the way for the possibility of overcoming some authoritarian practices and bringing to life new and progressive ideas that reinforce stronger democratic values and practices.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 369 in the Resources.



## ❖ Activity 9.4

### Youth in political party affairs

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify various opportunities for strengthening youth inclusion through the existing party structure.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming plenary discussion get an indication of how many of the parties have a youth league and how active and strong these are.

**Step 2:** Distribute the case study of Kenya's youth leagues, in HO 9.4: *Case Study, Youth Participation in Political Parties*. Ask participants to pair up to go through the case study.

**Step 3:** Form groups and carry out a SWOT analysis of party youth leagues. Allocate groups to work on either Strengths, Weaknesses, Threats, or Opportunities.

**Step 4:** Hold a plenary feedback session to draw up a complete SWOT analysis.

**Step 5:** Ask groups (perhaps party groups) to come up with potential applicable strategies that they can employ at party level to increase the meaningful participation of youth in party affairs and political decision-making. Groups to identify what they must start, stop and continue to do.

**Step 6:** Take group feedback and sum up, highlighting key points that have emerged.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 372 in the Resources.

## ❖ Activity 9.5

### Women's leagues

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify various opportunities for strengthening women's inclusion in the existing party structures.

**Step 1:** Get an indication of the parties that have women's leagues and how these leagues operate.

**Step 2:** Hold a plenary discussion on the following topic: "Are women's leagues a structure for women's meaningful inclusion in politics and party decision-making?"

**Step 3:** Carry out a SWOT analysis on women's league in parties. Each group should work on either Strengths, Weaknesses, Threats or Opportunities.

**Step 4:** Use contributions from the groups' feedback to compile a complete SWOT analysis.



## ❖ Activity 9.6

### Violence against women within political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify party practices that condone violence against women within parties.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to indicate if acts of violence are perpetrated against women in politics. Participants to give only yes or no answers and write them onto Post-It-Notes. Stick these notes upfront on the flipchart and collate and announce the results on the existence of violence against women in politics.

**Step 2:** In a follow up brainstorming session ask participants what is their understanding of violence against women in politics.

**Step 3:** Put up the following statement: “Violence is the cost of doing politics, so there is nothing special about violence against women; it is the same violence that everyone in politics can experience”. Facilitate a plenary debate on the merits and demerits of that argument.

**Step 4:** Do an interactive presentation on PPT 9.5: *Violence against Women in Politics*.

**Step 5:** If possible, invite a speaker to talk about her experiences of violence against women in politics. Alternatively form groups and ask if they could discuss the following:

- Identify the types of violence that occur against women within the parties in their context;
- Identify the reasons for the violence;
- Identify party practices that perpetuate violence against women;
- Ask if such cases are reported; and
- Do their parties have policies and mechanisms for dealing with issues of violence against women?

**Step 6:** Group feedback and plenary discussion.

**Make the point:** Violence against women in politics is a human rights violation that impacts not only on women but on the whole society. It is a deterrent to women’s political participation and an infringement of their political rights.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 376 in the Resources.



## ❖ Activity 9.7

### Dealing with violence against women in political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify strategies and policies that parties can adopt to mitigate violence against women within their parties.

**Step 1:** Distribute cases and ask participants in groups to come up with strategies and possible policies that the parties can adopt in mitigating violence against women within their parties (what must they stop, start and continue to do).

**Step 2:** Group feedback and plenary discussion on issues such as the political will to adopt the strategies and policies identified.

## ❖ Activity 9.8

### PWD and political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify strategies for enhancing the substantive participation of PWD in party affairs and political decision-making.

**Step 1:** Show video on Civic and Political Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Cameroon, available at <http://www.electionaccess.org/en/media/videos/364/>

**Step 2:** Hold a debrief on the video.

**Step 3:** Through a fishbowl discussion ask participants to reflect frankly on the challenges to the participation of PWD in party affairs within their context.

**Step 4:** Conduct an interactive presentation on the inclusion of PWD in political decision-making, using the first part of PPT 9.6: *Inclusion of People with Disabilities*.

**Step 5:** In groups, ask participants to suggest strategies that parties could possibly adopt to address the various challenges identified.

**Step 6:** Conduct an interactive presentation on strategies for inclusion. Make reference to the second part of PPT 9.6: *Inclusion of People with Disabilities*.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 380 in the Resources.



## ❖ Activity 9.9

### Political parties' inclusivity strategies

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Identify and explain the commonly used inclusivity mechanisms for ensuring women, youth and disabled people's participation in politics.

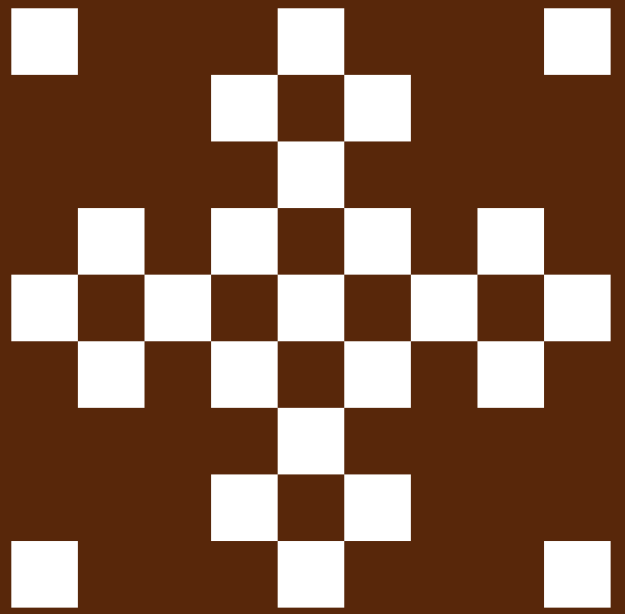
**Step 1:** Ask participants to state the mechanisms for fostering inclusivity with which they are familiar.

**Step 2:** Get an indication of the mechanisms from those listed which the parties have used and with what success. Allow for some brief narratives on this.

**Step 3:** Distribute PPT 9.7: *Strategies for Meaningful Inclusion Within Parties*. Do a presentation on the various mechanisms parties could adopt to ensure inclusivity. Discuss the pros and cons of these with participants and ask them to suggest measures to mitigate negative aspects of the measures discussed.

Participants will find a printout of these powerpoint slides on pg 383 in the Resources.





# **MODULE 9**

## **Inclusivity in Political Parties**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT – Powerpoint

HO – Handout

## Activity 9.1

### Understanding inclusivity in political decision-making

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Develop substantive strategies to ensure the involvement of diverse stakeholders in political parties.

**Step 1:** Play an inclusivity game. Your facilitator will explain the rules of the game.

**Step 2:** Reflect on the issue of status in society and the roles of high and low status depicted in the game.

**Step 3:** In groups of 3, consider the consequences for individuals and society at large of being excluded from various settings.

**Step 4:** Refer to HO 9.1: *Inclusivity Worksheets* and discuss:

- Political representation and participation in your context especially with regards to women, youth and people with disabilities (PWD).
- What have been, or still are, the consequences for parties and the political and policy outlook in your country?

**Step 5:** Feedback your discussion in a plenary session.

**Step 6:** Refer to PPT 9.2: *Inclusivity* as the facilitator leads the presentation.

**Step 7:** Watch the video on LGBTI Political Inclusion Journeys.

**Takeaway point:** Democracies lack credibility if their processes and institutions exclude groups in society.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

See pg 364 in the Resources.

See pg 365 in the Resources.



## ❖ Activity 9.2

### Legal frameworks guiding inclusivity

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Name and describe the key global, regional and national conventions/protocols on inclusivity; and
- Link your policy-making as a party to the realization of national, regional, and international goals on inclusivity.

#### Step 1: Question:

Name the various conventions/protocols and pieces of legislation that you are familiar with that pertain to inclusivity of women, youth, and PWD. Note your comments in the space provided.

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**Step 2:** Through a plenary discussion cluster the named conventions/protocols and pieces of legislation under the broad categories of global, regional and national.

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#### Step 3: In groups:

- Note the key highlights in the clauses of the assigned legislation.
- Identify clauses that relate to inclusivity in political decision-making.

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#### Step 4: Group feedback

**Takeaway point:** The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is a convention or treaty, which means that it is part of international law and is legally binding for countries that have ratified it. Although other international human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, prohibit discrimination on



the basis of gender, CEDAW is important because it comprehensively addresses women's rights and is focused on ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls, and guaranteeing their rights in all areas of life. CEDAW requires countries to eliminate discrimination against women in the public as well as the private sphere.

The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) requires its state parties to work to remove barriers to participation. Article 29 of the CRPD explicitly requires state parties to "ensure that persons with disabilities can effectively and fully participate in political and public life on an equal basis with others, directly or through freely chosen representatives, including the right and opportunity [...] to be elected".

**Step 5:** Reflect on your own party policies and practices.

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ❖ Activity 9.3

### Youth in political party affairs

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify strategies for enhancing youth mobilization and substantive participation in party affairs.

**Step 1:** Debate the following topic: “Youth Friend or Foe (Allies or Enemies) in Political Affairs?” One group must argue for youth as friends and the other for youth as foes. Make notes in the space provided.

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**Step 2:** Facilitator to sum up the debate.

**Step 3:** In table groups, create a story board about youth participation in political affairs and decision-making, based on statistics on youth, stories of youth participation in a country’s history, legislative frameworks, current areas and examples of participation and non-participation, barriers to participation, consequences, etc. Your facilitator will discuss these with you before you begin.

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**Step 4:** Contribute your feedback from the group in a plenary session that will compose one story board from all the contributions.

**Step 5:** Refer to PPT 9.3: *Youth Inclusion in Politics* that sums up issues of youth participation in party affairs and political decision-making.

See pg 369 in the Resources.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

## **Activity 9.4**

### Youth in political party decision-making

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify the various opportunities for strengthening youth inclusion through the existing party structures.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- Do you have a youth league?
- If yes, how active and strong is it?

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See pg 372 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** In pairs, consider the Kenyan case study, HO 9.4: *Case Study, Youth Participation in Political Parties*. Are there any similarities with issues and challenges in your context? What insights and lessons can you gain from the case study for the benefit of your party?

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**Step 3:** In groups, carry out a SWOT analysis of party youth leagues. You will be assigned to an area to work on.

**Step 4:** Share your group deliberations in a feedback plenary session.

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**Step 5:** In groups:

- Come up with potential applicable strategies that you can employ at party level to increase the meaningful participation of youth in party affairs and political decision-making; and
- Identify what they must start, stop and continue to do.



**Step 6:** Share your group deliberations in a feedback plenary session.

**Takeaway point:** Participation is a fundamental democratic right. It should be an end in and of itself to remove existing barriers to youth political participation. Through the active contributions of youth, democratic values can come to life, paving the way for overcoming some authoritarian practices and bringing to life new and progressive ideas that can reinforce stronger democratic values.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

## Activity 9.5

### Women's leagues

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify the various opportunities for strengthening women inclusion through the existing party structures.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- Does your party have a women's league?
- If yes, how are these leagues operating?

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**Step 2:** The facilitator will lead discussion on the following topic: "Is there a structure for women's meaningful inclusion in politics and party decision-making?"

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**Step 3:** Work on either the Strengths, Weaknesses, Threats or Opportunities for women's leagues in parties.

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**Step 4:** Contribute your feedback from the group in a plenary session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ❖ Activity 9.6

### Violence against women within political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify party practices that condone violence against women within parties.

**Step 1:** Question:

- Are there acts of violence perpetrated against women in politics?

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**Step 2:** Question:

- List the conduct that you think constitutes acts of violence against women in politics?

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**Step 3:** Debate the following motion: “Violence is the cost of doing politics; it is the same violence that everyone in politics can experience”. What are your views? Note key points emerging from those for and against the motion.

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**Step 4:** Reflect on PPT 9.5: *Violence against Women in Politics*.

See pg 376 in the Resources.

**Step 5:** In groups, discuss the following:

- Identify the type of violence that occurs against women within the parties in your context;
- Identify the reasons for the violence,
- Identify party practices that perpetuate violence against women;
- Are such cases reported? and
- Do your parties have policies and mechanisms for dealing with issues of violence against women?

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**Step 6:** Contribute your feedback from the group to a plenary session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ❖ Activity 9.7

### Dealing with violence against women in political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify strategies and policies that parties can adopt in mitigating violence against women within their parties.

**Step 1:** In groups, come up with strategies and possible policies that you can adopt to mitigate violence against women within your parties. (What must you stop, start and continue to do).

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**Step 2:** Contribute your feedback from the group into a plenary session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

## **Activity 9.8** PWD and political parties

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify strategies for enhancing the substantive participation of PWD in party affairs and political decision-making.

**Step 1:** Watch video on Civic and Political Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Cameroon.

**Step 2:** Note down the lessons and insights you got from the video.

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**Step 3:** Reflect on the challenges of the participation of PWD in party affairs within your context.

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See pg 380 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Refer to the first part of PPT 9.6: *Inclusion of People with Disabilities* and engage with the presentation by the facilitator. Note any lessons and insights for you and your party.

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**Step 5:** Question:

- What strategies can you possibly adopt to address the various identified challenges?

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**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## ❖ Activity 9.9

### Political parties' inclusivity strategies

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Identify and explain the commonly used inclusivity mechanisms for ensuring women, youth and PWD's participation.

**Step 1:** State the mechanisms for fostering inclusivity that you are familiar with.

**Step 2:** Question:

- Which mechanisms have you used with success?

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**Step 3:** Refer to PPT 9.7: *Strategies for Meaningful Inclusion Within Parties*. Engage with the presentation by the facilitator and note any lessons and insights for you and your party.

See pg 383 in the Resources.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*

## Resources

### HO 9.1: *Inclusivity Worksheet*

#### HO 9.1: Inclusivity Worksheet

TARGET GROUP	Number in Parliament compared to total number of parliamentarians	Number in cabinet as a proportion of total number of cabinet members	Number of party national executive committee members vis total number of members of NECs (per party)
Women			
Youth			
People with disabilities			



## PPT 9.2: *Inclusivity*

### EXCLUSION

- Marginalization or exclusion - persistent inequality and adversity resulting from discrimination, social stigma and stereotypes.

Includes:

- ✓ inaccessible polling stations
- ✓ information unavailable in minority languages
- ✓ discriminatory laws
- ✓ lack of access to information
- ✓ significant barriers to entering the political process exist for those at the margins.

### EXCLUSION (Cont...)

- Issue of “double” or “triple” exclusion owing to their gender, age, ethnicity, etc.
- E.g. youth represent different genders, ethnicities, sexual orientations, economic statuses, education levels and religions, creating major variations among their needs and interests. This often results in differing priorities and can make it difficult for young people to achieve consensus and take collective action (NDI).



## INCLUSIVITY

- ▶ “No voice should be left unheard. No one should be left behind. No one should be subject to any form of exclusionary rhetoric. For democracy to be sustainable, democracy should allow each and every citizen to participate in political processes and represent their interests and concerns” (International IDEA).

## INCLUSIVITY (Cont...)

- ▶ Widespread political participation leads directly to the articulation of interests, which improves the quality of democratic governance, and electoral participation is one of the strongest ways that citizens can control decision-makers (O'Neill, 2009, 7).



## INCLUSIVITY (Cont...)

- Most widely-accepted models of democracy (Held, 2006) count on the active participation of politically literate citizens who are interested in how their governments work: “The more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is,” (Verba and Nie, 1972).

## INCLUSIVITY (Cont...)

- Failure of large groups of citizens to give their consent, through inactivity or small levels of influence, the legitimacy of the political order is threatened and should be questioned.
- Higher levels of political engagement ensure that the outcomes of the political process are **NOT** biased towards those who participate the most (see Macedo et al., 2005; Martin, 2012).



## INCLUSIVITY FACTS

- Inequality of opportunity persistent worldwide.
- Not all citizens in society are represented in policy discussions and many feel marginalized.
- E.g. women, who constitute over 50 per cent of the world's population, continue to be under represented as voters, political leaders and elected officials. Democracy cannot truly deliver for all of its citizens if half the population remains excluded from the political arena. Same as young people.
- Access to political institutions is often not available or even feasible in some contexts because the frameworks or modalities for inclusive citizen involvement and engagement are not being implemented or are simply not in place.

## INCLUSIVITY (Cont...)

- Political parties, as the main gatekeepers to access to political participation, should demonstrate a concrete commitment to inclusion and accessibility.



## PPT 9.3: Youth Inclusion in Politics

### YOUTH INCLUSION

- ▶ Young people between the ages of 15 and 25 constitute a fifth of the world's population.
- ▶ Africa – people under the age of 35 constitute about 65 percent of the population.
- ▶ General agreement that the demographic strength of the youth has not translated into their meaningful participation in political parties.
- ▶ While youth are often involved in informal, politically relevant processes, such as activism or civic engagement, they are not necessarily formally represented in national political institutions such as parliaments and many of them do not participate in elections.

### YOUTH INCLUSION (Cont...)

- ▶ Young people's decreasing electoral turnout goes hand-in-hand with their decreased participation in political parties.
- ▶ No participation = no representation.
- ▶ Some consequence include a lack of representation, and political agendas that prioritize the concerns of other sectors of the population over theirs.



## YOUTH INCLUSION IMPORTANCE

- ▶ For example the Arab Spring - fresh ideas and new leadership can help to overcome authoritarian practices.
- ▶ Significant frustration likely to arise if youth not included in new formal decision-making. This likely to destabilize democratization and accelerate conflict dynamics.
- ▶ Youth as a positive force for transformative social change.

## YOUTH INCLUSION IMPORTANCE TO PARTIES

- ▶ Investing in future voters.
- ▶ Assuring a permanent supply of candidates, political apprentices, and members.
- ▶ Guaranteeing some much-needed muscle and brainpower to run election campaigns, and other "mundane" jobs.
- ▶ Ensure a supply of fresh and more radical ideas (van Run-Kvist, 2018).
- ▶ One of the core functions of political parties is elite recruitment. Parties need constant supply of high-quality future candidates and personnel in order to achieve and sustain political relevance.
- ▶ A youth-oriented approach can translate into building a long-term support base (Nurvala, 2018), particularly when a clear, long-term, and robust electoral mobilization strategy is in place.



## YOUTH INCLUSION IMPORTANCE TO PARTIES (Cont...)

- ▶ Young people have a better insight into what problems their peers are experiencing, and how they perceive current reality.

## YOUTH INCLUSION IMPORTANCE TO PARTIES (Cont...)

- ▶ Ensuring that young people have a meaningful voice in political parties can:
  - ✓ improve outreach to other population groups; and
  - ✓ provide parties with additional channels to disseminate their messages.

Broader horizons, visions for the future that look beyond the term of office, and sometimes even optimistic or utopian views that young people can offer can:

- ✓ improve party discussions and provide much-needed input for more sustainable and socially just policies; and
- ▶ More young people in politics makes for more social justice.

## HO 9.4: Case Study, Youth Participation in Political Parties

### HO 9.4: Case Study, Youth Participation in Political Parties

The role of the youth in future Kenyan politics has come into sharper focus after the general elections of March 2013. In those elections, political party nominations included a good number of young leaders. Some youth were elected to county and national assemblies as well as the senate. This has occurred in previous elections, but notable youth victories in 2013 were Mr. Munge Kibiwott, elected Parkerra ward representative in Baringo County at 19 years of age and Mr. Boniface Kinoti who was only 26-year-old at the time of his election as Member of Parliament for Buuri constituency. One nominated senator was only 24 years in 2013. These elections and nominations do not, on their own, support a theory of change. But seen alongside other political trends, it appears the past is giving way to the new. For a long time, Kenyan youth did not participate in decision-making processes because of the hierarchical and patrimonial governance order in most communities. Allocation of leadership responsibilities followed age, wealth and lineage. Breaking these cultural barriers is a key achievement for the youth in Kenya in recent history. Largely due to their demographic dominance, the youth have also been able to insert themselves strongly in political and development discourse. With youth unemployment in the country at more than 75 percent, job creation is a central theme in socio-economic development today.

It did not all happen at once. Progressively, the youth have played important roles in driving political change. For example, the contribution of the student movement to the struggles for political pluralism and restoration of human rights and freedoms during the late 1980s and early 1990s is well documented. The more recent transition from the 40-year rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) also highlights the role of young people. Ahead of the 2002 polls, crowds attending rallies countrywide put pressure on the opposition leaders to unite. Invariably, the youth were majority in these crowds going by media images and observers' accounts. As such, it is no exaggeration to say that the youth of Kenya created the pressure that led to opposition unity in 2002, which resulted in the end of the KANU regime. As "stakeholders" in the more liberal and open policy processes that followed the change of government, young people have contributed to institutional reforms in the governance, justice, law and order sector. They have done this by proactively expressing their views on some of the leading questions and dilemmas over national governance.



However, the growing strength of youth in political affairs in Kenya shows a narrative not always positive. A report by Youth Agenda -indicated that young people were responsible for more than half of all the cases of violence that followed the 2007 general elections. The report confirmed that youth participation in politics in the multi-party era was still conflated with the strong forces of ethnic adversarial relations of the national body politic. Youth involvement in political violence has been widely analyzed, including the activities of gangs deployed by politicians across the country to block rivals from accessing “their” zones of influence. It raises the question: have the youth been vanguards or vandals in Kenyan political development?

At the point that this article was published there were 62 registered political parties in Kenya. None of the registered political parties in Kenya had an explicit political platform on generational change. Furthermore, there was no political party with a singular or major agenda for youth participation in politics. However, all the parties tended to place the youth at the center of their strategies and plans for national development, at least on paper. In spite of the common understanding, the parties seem to view the youth as recipients of development rather than key players in the design and implementation of development strategies. Political competition between the parties was not on the basis of how much they integrate the youth in their structures and activities. It was about what the parties intended to ‘give’ to the youth. Perhaps, this has to do with the historical development of political parties in the country.

#### Traditional Roles of Youth within Political Parties in Kenya

- Involvement in militant party activities, such as providing militant security or neutralizing militant attacks;
- Being consulted on ‘youth matters’ or for ‘youth-related’ decisions once in a while;
- Instrumental engagement in event management and other task accomplishment from time to time;
- Offering personal assistance to leading personalities in the party;
- Managing online platforms and social media functions of the party, especially if it amounts to only putting out views of other personalities/ organs of the party;
- Gathering political intelligence for a repository within the party used by decision-makers;
- Contributing finances to the party.

One avenue for youth participation in Kenyan parties has been through the youth leagues.

**FUNCTIONS OF PARTY YOUTH LEAGUES**

Some of the statements that youth leagues in Kenyan political parties have formulated for their objectives and functions are presented below:

- Ensure that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the mother party and to the life of the nation
- Champion the general interest and rights of the Kenyan Youth
- Support and reinforce the mother party in the attainment of its goals and aspirations
- Rally the youth to support and unite behind the party
- Take appropriate measures to promote youth participation in political party as outlined in the Political Parties Act
- Promote among youth the spirit of international solidarity, peace and friendship with other nations
- Promote gender equality in the spheres of life, especially amongst the youth
- Promote unity and patriotism among the youth
- To ensure that the input of all youth within the party are protected and secured and ensure their full involvement in governance of the party
- Realize full participation in all decision making processes with a view of developing mother party and society
- Play an important role in the party politics that contributes to the growth of national economy and society

**A SWOT analysis of Youth Leagues in Kenya**

**Strengths**

- Substantive membership;
- Significant levels of political awareness among members;
- Recognition and support by mother parties;

**Weaknesses**

- Poor organizational capacities;
- Poor financing;
- Limited autonomy from mother parties;



- Lack of shared political goals among leaders and members, that influenced differences in political goals and interests that undermine homogeneity; and
- Lack of leadership mentorship and transition arrangements.

**Opportunities**

- High numbers of youth who are potential members of party youth leagues;
  - Increasing interest in young people by key political players;
  - State funding of political parties;
  - Available funding from international development partners;
  - The increasing use of information technologies in political processes; and
- Constitutional and legal frameworks that promote inclusive governance and mainstreaming of erstwhile marginalized groups in political processes.

**Threats**

- Short lifespan of political parties;
- Exclusion of youth leagues from key party processes and activities;
- Lack of enthusiasm for youth leadership development among senior party leaders;
- Confusion over delineation of the youth age bracket in political parties;
- An overreliance on party and donors for resources;
- Preoccupation with livelihoods, causing increasing political apathy among youth in Kenya; and
- Depletion of leadership as youth leaders transit to party roles without befitting replacement.

Source: Adapted from Kristelig Folkepartis Ungdom 2016: Handbook for Youth Participation in Political Parties in Kenya.

## **PPT 9.5: Violence Against Women in Politics**



### **VAW**

“The range of experiences of political life have been the stories of abuse, violence and the fear of violence that have impeded women's participation and full contribution to political life. Those are, of course, rights. And violence against women in politics is a violation of those rights. We won't have true democracy anywhere without the safe, full and equal participation of women. — Ms Purna Sen, Director of Policy, UN Women



### **VAW (Cont...)**

“Violence against women in politics is deeply damaging not only to women, but to all of us. Every vote that is not cast, every voice that is not heard, takes us farther from realizing our full potential as local and national polities and as a global community”. — Mr Andrew Gilmour, Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights, OHCHR



## VAW (Cont...)

- Violence against women in politics is GBV and a human rights violation that impacts on the whole society.
- VAW is a deterrent to women's political participation and political rights and processes, and policy outcomes suffer from the underrepresentation of women decision-makers.
- Women of color appear to be disproportionately affected, and risks are likely higher for women of marginalized communities.

## VAW (Cont...)

- VAW undermines parliamentary work and reinforces discrimination and negative stereotypes, impeding women's ability to carry out their work safely and effectively.



## TYPES OF VAW

- ▶ **Physical violence** (e.g. assassinations, kidnappings, beatings, property damage);
- ▶ **Sexual violence** (e.g. rape, sexual harassment, sexualized threats);
- ▶ **Psychological violence** (e.g. threats, character assassination, denial of salary, stalking and online abuse).

## VAW (Cont...)

- ▶ “When a man goes out and campaigns all day, greeting people, he is [considered] a hardworking public servant. When a woman does, [people say] ‘what kind of woman/mother is she...’? Being a woman traveling to another city, with these accusations, creates domestic problems and challenges as well, where families ask you, ‘is it really worth it?’ They don’t hear you”. — Ms Fátima Mena Baide, Councillor, Honduras



## VAW (Cont...)

- VAW victims may be afraid to speak publicly and may face additional disincentives to report incidents, e.g. political backlash, defamation, family impacts, marginalization within their own parties, showing weakness, receiving criticism that they are 'not up to the job,' or the humiliation and frustration of not being taken seriously by police.
- Reporting incidents can be traumatic in itself, especially when institutions like the police, judiciary, Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) or political parties do not take VAW seriously, or respond inadequately or without impartiality.
- Although men are the main perpetrators, VAW is perpetrated by both men and women, including by fellow and sister political party members who seek to silence and marginalize women as they gain visibility and influence.

## VAW (Cont...)

- Online and phone stalking appear to have a 'gateway impact' from the virtual to the physical world; perpetrators do not necessarily work alone, but as members of online networks.
- Threat levels against the women in politics on this panel appeared to increase the more they were outspoken, visible and influential in terms of policy-making.
- Many incidents of VAW occur with impunity due to lack of state and institutional mechanisms to follow up on claims; beyond issuing a report, press conference or article, it can feel impossible for women to seek justice.

## PPT 9.6: *Inclusion of People with Disabilities*

### PWD

- ▀ Persons with disabilities under-represented in political life, including in different political party structures.
- ▀ Barriers preventing equal participation by persons with disabilities:
  - ✓ legal barriers;
  - ✓ a lack of accessibility;
  - ✓ a lack of awareness;
  - ✓ a lack of civic participation;
  - ✓ and a lack of data.

### PWD (Cont...)

- ▀ Access to information is also an indispensable precondition for genuine political participation.
- ▀ Political rallies and electoral events, as well as broadcast election debates, are rarely accessible for persons with disabilities. Programs of political parties are very rarely available in alternative formats. This affects their possibility to become more active in a political party, and reduces their right to vote.



## PWD (Cont...)

- The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) requires its state parties to work to remove these barriers. Article 29 of the CRPD explicitly requires state parties to “ensure that persons with disabilities can effectively and fully participate in political and public life on an equal basis with others, directly or through freely chosen representatives, including the right and opportunity [...] to be elected”.

## STRATEGIES FOR INCLUSION

- Disseminate accessible information regarding political party platforms, public affairs and political activities (including electoral programmes), in various formats including Braille, sign language and easy-to-read formats); ensuring that meetings are accessible for persons with disabilities.
- Make funding available to improve access to elected office. For example in Scotland a public fund supports persons with disabilities to stand as candidates by covering their additional expenses in attending public functions. The Scottish government has also changed elections rules so that political parties' campaign expenditures related to accessibility for persons with disabilities are exempted from thresholds.
- Provide reasonable accommodation and the necessary support for persons with disabilities who want to engage with the party, from the lowest to the top levels.



## STRATEGIES FOR INCLUSION (Cont...)

- Implement public awareness campaigns about the political rights of persons with disabilities and services and programs that support their political participation.
- Consult with persons with disabilities, and families of persons with disabilities to better understand and support their needs.
- Consider other effective methods of bringing persons with disabilities into politics, such as quota systems, or political caucuses.



## PPT 9.7: *Strategies for Meaningful Inclusion Within Parties*

### STRATEGIES

- Political reforms within political parties – recognition of women, youth and PWD as critical constituencies within parties. With this recognition, political parties will assign more substantive responsibilities to these groups beyond field mobilization for party events.
- Developing a broad-based long term agenda to parties and also broad ownership of parties beyond individuals (founders usually);
- Prioritizing policies that are relevant to young people, women, PWD in party programs, election manifestos, and in key political debates.

### STRATEGIES (Cont...)

- Organizational reforms within political parties – representative structures and interactive dialogue.
- Organizational and thematic capacity development of leagues and relevant structures and political leadership development through mentoring and nurturing.





# **MODULE 10**

## **Strategic Planning for Political Parties**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT –  
Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart, markers, a blindfold and coloured paper

## Key understanding

For political parties to be successful they need to have a clearly crafted goal, mission and vision on how they will respond to the demands of their constituents and how they will ensure effective institutional capacity.

## Activity 10.1

### Understanding strategic planning for parties

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Define strategic planning;
- Articulate the importance of strategic planning for political parties; and
- List strategic issues for planning.

**Summary:** The competitiveness of elections and increased demands by civil society require political parties to adequately perform a representation function and be responsive to social and economic needs. This is all the more so as most African countries have held no less than 5 election cycles since their independence. In order for parties to be successful in such an environment, focus, determination and adaptive institutional capacity are required. It is vital for a political party to have a shared idea and picture of what the party is, where it wants to go, and how it plans to get there (IDEA). Given that political parties' activities are closely tied to the electoral processes, it is advisable that political parties in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) also develop 5-year strategic planning cycles to coincide with the 5-year election cycles. This would ensure that the parties can interface with election management body (EMB) structures on the pre-election, election, and post-election phases at national and sub-national levels.

**Step 1:** Through a brainstorming exercise, ask participants to discuss in pairs:

- What is strategic planning?
- Why political parties have to develop strategic plans.

**Step 2:** Conclude the brainstorming session by showing participants a YouTube clip available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLJ34L5UW4E> and underscore the importance of strategic planning in political parties.

**Make the point:** Political parties must take a holistic approach to their short-, medium- and long-term business processes. Their contest for political power must be driven by a systematic plan that provides clear direction in terms of planning, execution, and the review of strategy and tactics. Strategic planning also aids the parties' networking initiative to develop strategic partnerships with like-minded organizations and foundations.

**Step 3:** In group discussions based on HO 10.1: *Benefits of Strategic Planning*, ask participants to discuss the benefits mentioned in the handout and suggest any additional benefits of strategic planning by political parties.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 396 in the Resources.



## Activity 10.2

### Phases of strategic planning

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Describe a step-by-step process for developing a strategic plan.

**Summary:** A strategic framework includes a clearly stated vision, a well articulated value, a mission articulated in a mission statement, the overall goal of the party' plan, as well as the key result areas on which the party intends to focus. All these are to be contained in interlinked phases that make up a strategic plan.

**Step 1:** Ask participants to discuss in pairs the main phases of strategic planning. Conclude the discussion by underscoring the importance of a systematically phased approach to strategic planning.

**Step 2:** Deliver a presentation on PPT 10.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning* focusing on the following:

- Initiating and designing the planning process;
- Internal and external analysis;
- Drafting the plan; and
- Implementation.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 397 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Invite participants to comment on the presentation and provide them with further clarity where needed.

**Step 4:** Introduce the steps entailed in developing a strategic plan and explain how each adds value to the plan.

**Step 5:** Make the point that there are several constraints that could affect the smooth implementation of a strategic plan. These may be social, technological, administrative, political, legal and economic.

**Step 6:** Hand out to participants a list of the steps discussed above and block out some of the steps. Ask them to complete the blank spaces. At the end of the exercise facilitate a short discussion on their performance.



## Activity 10.3

### Strategic plan development in practice

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Develop strategic plans with a clear goal, vision and mission, environment analysis, mapping of various actors, assumptions and risks, and a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats SWOT analysis.
- Design monitoring mechanisms for the implementation of the party strategy plans.

**Summary:** The value of this session is to provide participants with practical skills on how to develop a strategic plan for their political parties. The participants should be able to develop a document that states the organization's relevance and aids responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of its constituency. The strategic plan should also provide a stabilizing function to the organization for which it is being developed. Thus, it should have a monitoring and evaluation component to ensure adherence to the agreed trajectory and provide solutions to the challenges identified during implementation.

**Step 1:** Divide participants into two or three groups depending on the total number and assign them to role play a strategic planning game. Ask each group to identify one member who will be blind-folded. Give clear instructions to the rest of the group on the rules and make sure everyone is clear about what the game entails.

Invite participants to look at the cards that you will have placed on the floor and after the identified individual has been blind-folded, rearrange some of the cards and invite the group to commence with the exercise. Repeat the exercise with the other groups and rearrange the cards and change rules from time to time, including adding additional time in one case and cutting off time in another. Allow all groups to role play the exercise.

At the end of the game, invite participants to answer the following:

- How did they decide to go about collecting the assignment, i.e. what role did planning play in achieving the objective?
- What role did they assign other team members besides the blind-folded member?
- What mechanisms did they choose to monitor changes in the rules?
- How did they monitor progress in achieving the goal?
- What problems did they come up against and how did they solve these problems?

In addition, ask participants to share their personal experiences of participating in the exercise and how this relates to real life experiences. Ask whether they experienced any special moments and/or unexpected creative or negative conduct or behavior from their colleagues during the exercise.

Wind up the exercise by going through the key lessons learnt from the exercise.

**Step 2:** Divide the participants into groups and ask each group to develop a strategic plan following the four phases of strategic planning outlined in PPT 10.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning*, namely:

- Initiating and designing the planning process;
- Internal and external analysis;
- Drafting the plan; and
- Implementation.



Participants must identify resources that they will require to enable implementation of the strategic plans.

**Step 3:** Invite participants to debrief on their strategic plans in a plenary session and facilitate the dialogue.

**Step 4:** Present a summary of the key issues on the development of a strategic plan.

## Activity 10.4

### Implementation

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Implement and monitor a strategic plan.

**Summary:** The implementation of a strategic plan requires effective planning. Implementation activity plans are not developed at the strategic planning session. They are much too detailed. When an activity involves more than one department, a planning team composed of representatives from each affected department is usually set up to develop the plan. The department that bears the greatest degree of responsibility for the activity is designated the leader of the planning team. Following the strategic planning exercise, management should set a deadline for the writing of implementation activity plans. These plans are the meat of the strategic plan for the organization. They provide, in detail, how the political organization will meet its objectives, goals and mission and the organization's programs and subprograms (Baxter 1994).

**Step 1:** Ask participants to break into groups and formulate activities for each strategic output. Using HO 10.3: *Implementation*, introduce the SMART principle for the implementation plans.

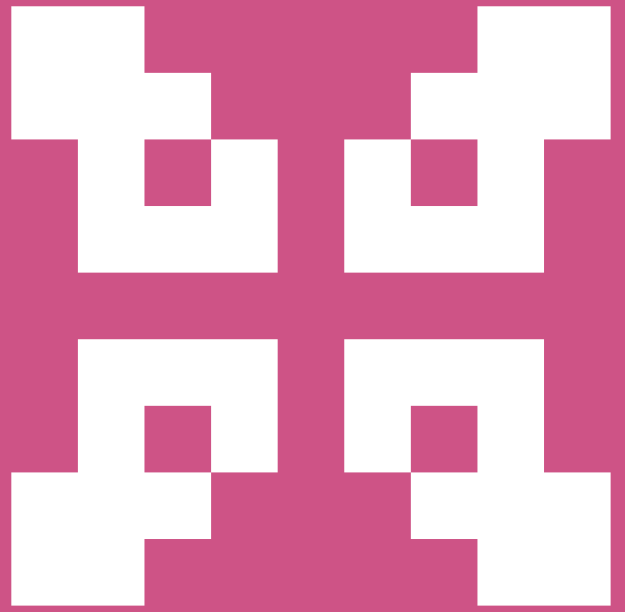
**Step 2:** In a plenary session, facilitate the debriefing of the implementation plans from the groups.

**Step 3:** Make a short presentation based on PPT 10.4: *Strategic Plan Monitoring of Progress* regarding meeting set targets and the identification of challenges that need the party's remedial action.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 399 in the Resources.

Participants can find copies of the handout on pg 400 in the Resources.





# **MODULE 10**

## **Strategic Planning for Political Parties**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 10.1

### Understanding strategic planning for parties

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Define strategic planning;
- Articulate the importance of strategic planning for political parties;
- List strategic issues for planning.

**Step 1:** In pairs discuss:

- What is strategic planning?
- Why political parties have to develop strategic plans?

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**Step 2:** Watch the YouTube video the facilitator will show you and note the use of strategic planning in political parties.

**Takeaway point:** Political parties must have a holistic approach to their short-, medium- and long-term business processes. Their contest for political power will be driven by a systematic plan that provides clear direction in terms of planning, execution, and review of the strategy and tactics. Strategic planning also helps the parties' networking initiative develop strategic partnerships with like-minded organizations and foundations.

See pg 396 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** In groups discuss the benefits mentioned in HO 10.1: *Benefits of Strategic Planning* and suggest any additional benefits of strategic planning by political parties.

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**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 10.2

### Phases of strategic planning

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Describe a step-by-step process for developing a strategic plan.

**Step 1:** In pairs discuss:

- What are the main phases of strategic planning?

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**Step 2:** The facilitator will make a detailed presentation on the key phases of strategic planning, namely:

- Initiating and designing the planning process;
- Internal and external analysis;
- Drafting the plan; and
- Implementation.

This will be based on PPT 10.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning*.

See pg 397 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** In plenary make any comments you have on the presentation.

**Step 4:** The facilitator will introduce the steps entailed in developing a strategic plan and explain how each adds value to the plan.

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**Takeaway point:** There are several constraints that could affect the smooth implementation of a strategic plan. These may be social, technological, administrative, political, legal, and economic.

**Step 5:** To demonstrate your understanding of the steps entailed in developing a strategic plan, complete the blank spaces on the paper you will be provided by the facilitator.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 10.3

### Strategic plan development in practice

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Develop strategic plans with a clear goal, vision and mission, environment analysis, mapping of various actors, set of assumptions and risks and the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of a SWOT analysis; and
- Design monitoring mechanisms of the implementation of the party strategy plans.

**Step 1:** In your designated groups prepare and role play a strategic planning game. Each group must identify one member to be blind-folded. Pay attention to the rules and make sure you are clear about what the game entails.

Look at the cards that will be placed on the floor by the facilitator. Using all forms of communication EXCEPT WORDS guide the blind-folded colleague to walk on the papers.

At the end of the game, answer the following in a plenary:

- How did you decide to go about implementing the assignment, i.e. what role did planning play in achieving the objective?
- What role did you assign other team members besides the blind-folded member?
- What mechanisms did you choose to monitor changes in the rules?
- How did you monitor progress in achieving the goal?
- What problems did you come up against and how did you solve these problems?

In addition to the above questions, share your personal experiences of participating in the exercise and how this relates to real life experiences. Were there any special moments and/or unexpected creative or negative conduct or behavior from your colleagues during the exercise?

See pg 397 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** In groups, develop a plan following the four phases of strategic planning for political parties outlined in PPT 10.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning*, namely:

- Initiating and designing the planning process;
- Internal and external analysis;
- Drafting the plan; and
- Implementation.

Identify resources that you will require to enable the implementation of the strategic plan.

**Step 3:** Feedback your discussion from the group in a plenary session.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 10.4

### Implementation

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Know how to implement and monitor a strategic plan.

**Step 1:** In groups refer to HO 10.3: *Implementation* to formulate activities for each strategic output.

See pg 399 in the Resources.

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**Step 2:** Feedback your group discussion in a plenary session.

**Step 3:** The facilitator will make a presentation, PPT 10.4: *Strategic Plan Monitoring of Progress*.

See pg 400 in the Resources.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### HO 10.1: *Benefits of Strategic Planning*

#### HO 10.1: Benefits of Strategic Planning

**Strategic planning and enhanced institutional capacity offer clear benefits to political parties.**

1. The party and the party organization can enhance their performance and respond more quickly (and more successfully) to changing circumstances. Clearer insights into a party's strengths, weaknesses and priorities allow it to achieve better results using fewer resources. In this context, better results do not mean better electoral results, but achieving organizational goals such as stable or increased levels of funding, enhanced capacity to organize party congresses, more effective and efficient ways of selecting candidates, and better training programmes for party members.

2. A strategic attitude can also enhance understanding and the capacity for organizational learning. This leads to more conscious, more disciplined and better-informed methods of self-analysis and decision-making. Finally, planning can improve external communications and societal and political support, because it helps a party communicate its core ideas and objectives more effectively – making it more recognizable and creating a more positive, consistent and confident public image.

**Strategic planning is equally relevant from the perspective of political party assistance providers.**

1. Strengthening parties' institutional capacity – typically the mission of assistance providers – is more likely to succeed, and is more likely to take place in a focused way, if the political party has developed an organizational mission. Strategic management as a tool for political parties involves formulating a mission and following up to fulfil that mission. For the parties that assistance providers work with, strategic planning can help improve their positioning vis-à-vis their external environment and their performance in their internal environment.

2. A longer planning time frame makes it easier for assistance providers to program and organize their support to political parties, and to work together with other assistance providers. A long-term strategic plan extends the time frame of their partner parties' objectives and planning, and is therefore more realistic and effective than one-off projects and funding. A sound strategic plan will lead to identifiable projects for the medium and longer term, and such plans may function as a framework for project proposals for which the assistance provider can, in turn, make funding or other types of assistance available.

3. Support to strategic planning can be equally successful when carried out with a single or multiple political parties at the same time. However, an inclusive strategic planning process, in which multiple political parties take part individually, helps identify possible joint challenges to both institutional capacity-building and the democratic system in question. As such, at a more macro level, strategic planning will help assistance providers identify priorities and determine their future focus areas.

Source: IDEA/NIMD



## PPT 10.2: *Phases of Strategic Planning*

### PHASE 1: INITIATING AND DESIGNING THE PLANNING PROCESS

- ▶ **Phase I activities**
- ▶ Participation and inclusiveness
- ▶ Selection of consultants
- ▶ Composition of the working groups
- ▶ Readiness assessment
- ▶ Agreement on process
- ▶ Baseline analysis

### PHASE II: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ANALYSIS

- ▶ **Phase II activities**
- ▶ Developing a party/organization vision
- ▶ Stakeholder analysis
- ▶ Mission and values
- ▶ SWOT analysis



## PHASE III: DRAFTING THE PLAN

- ▶ **Phase III activities**
- ▶ Identifying and assessing strategic issues
- ▶ Formulating strategies
- ▶ Reviewing the strategic plan and adoption



## PHASE IV: IMPLEMENTATION

- ▶ **Phase IV activities**
- ▶ Supervision
- ▶ Reporting
- ▶ Coordination
- ▶ Evaluation/Review



## HO 10.3: Implementation

### HO 10.3: Implementation

Implementation plans should utilize the SMART principles of election administration. The plans should be:

**Specific.** Plans should be as specific as possible. Every person who reads the plan should know what is to be accomplished, how and when. Wherever the accomplishment of specific tasks in the plan is required, the plans should detail the department that is responsible for the task. Internal departmental plans should detail a specific person.

**Measurable.** Every step of the process should be measurable. That is, specific time frames should be included for each task to be accomplished and milestone dates established so that progress in completing the task can be reviewed. Assignment of milestones will allow the election managers to quickly see where bottlenecks in implementing the plans are to be found and address them before they become large problems that affect the overall success of the strategic plan.

**Achievable.** Every task in the plan should be achievable within the timeframe and budget allotted in the plan. Plans that are not achievable within the timeframe and budget place the entire objective in jeopardy. For example, a procurement schedule that does not allow sufficient time for the production of the supplies and materials is not achievable. In developing the implementation plan, the organization should always ask can we do this in the time and budget allotted?

**Realistic.** Plans should be realistic and reflect the actual working environment in the country – physical, cultural and political. Reliance on people or institutions to perform in a timely and particular manner when they have not done so in the past is not realistic planning. Back-up plans should be in place wherever possible. In areas where people are not familiar with technology the use of sophisticated technology can prove disastrous.

**Time-Phased.** Everything cannot be accomplished at once. Various tasks in the implementation plan timetable logistically follow one another. Others can proceed simultaneously. Appropriate timing under country conditions means that the plans are more achievable and realistic. Failure to adhere to a realistic timetable will result in a mad scramble to accomplish tasks on time and will increase costs. For example, failure to develop specifications and award contracts in a timely fashion can mean that supplies and materials must be produced under a significantly shorter timeframe than planned or shipped by air rather than sea or overland. This can often double and even triple the cost of items, throwing the budget and the plan into disarray.

Source: Baxter 1994



## PPT 10.4: *Strategic Plan Monitoring of Progress*

### INTRODUCTION

- ▶ Political parties must establish a process to measure progress in meeting their set goals and objectives.
- ▶ They must ascertain if all measures towards the implementation of their plans are taken on time and efficiently.
- ▶ They must clearly articulate the time frames within which certain activities are to be carried out and completed.

### INTRODUCTION (Cont..)

- ▶ This is not difficult to do because most of their activities are contiguous to the election cycle.
- ▶ For example, political parties may set themselves the tasks of recruitment, participation in electoral processes such as boundary delimitation, and voter registration (by way of outreach), etc.
- ▶ They are therefore able to determine how many new members they have recruited and in which provinces, districts and or nationally, how many people they want in constituencies to cover voter registration awareness, and by when.



## INTRODUCTION (Cont..)

Political parties may also set themselves targets for civic and political education. For example, goals might be:

- Within three years every citizens in X number of constituencies understand the concept of a democracy. This type of objective might be accomplished through political and civic education in phases in different parts of the country depending on the parties' plans.
- Within five years every constituency office will be fully functional with salaried staff, office equipment, and will have a telephone/fax connectivity. A party can determine how much of this task is to be completed by, for example, mid-year or within each year, etc.

## MONITORING PROGRESS

- It is imperative that to be successful, a political party must measure its progress.
- This also helps party leaders know what is happening in their organization as a whole and within various party structures.
- Monitoring also provides motivation to the party rank and file and enables adjustments of plans and strategies where challenges are encountered.
- Most importantly, monitoring progress and measuring performance ensures results and accountability by the party bosses and the rank and file.



## ESTABLISHING MONITORING MEASURES

- ▶ **Political parties must consistently ask themselves, was the goal, objective, or activity accomplished as scheduled?**
- ▶ They cannot wait until the end of the process to ask this question as it will be too late to rectify mistakes.
- ▶ It is critical to the successful implementation of the plans to establish milestones to judge progress.
- ▶ Milestones should provide opportunities to judge progress and to make necessary adjustments in the management of the process.
- ▶ They also free party leaders from performing day-to-day oversight of progress on all components of the plan at all times.
- ▶ In other words, the party leaders can concentrate on problem areas.

## ESTABLISHING MONITORING MEASURES (Cont...)

- ▶ Party leaders at various party structures must have designated individuals responsible for ensuring that objectives and agreed activities and dates are tracked and reported upon.
- ▶ Reporting should be frequent enough to provide the party leaders with a view of progress, but not so frequent that little is accomplished between reporting dates.
- ▶ Through the effective use of reporting milestones, party leaders can be assured, in most instances, of meeting targeted objectives.



## MEASURES FOR OBJECTIVES ACCOMPLISHED OVER TIME

- As in any other plans, the plans for political parties will include time-driven activities as well as activities that require a longer time.
- It is important therefore for party leaders to:
  - ✓ Establish exactly what is to be measured, the source of the data, and how the value is being accomplished;
  - ✓ Provide clear and specific definitions that are not open to interpretation and ensure that the sub-national structures will be able to provide accurate information.
- The next step is to establish baseline data. This information is then used to measure progress.
- To use the example above on political and civic education, the baseline might be established through a survey or through focus groups (at branch level) to determine the present level of understanding.

## KEYS TO SETTING MILESTONES AND MEASURING PROGRESS

- In developing measures for progress, political parties must ensure that:
  - ✓ Various structures are involved in ownership and they clearly know what is expected of them in terms of accountability;
  - ✓ They formulate realistic expectations toward meeting the goals and objectives;
  - ✓ The measures allow for adjustments based on gained experience and expectations;
  - ✓ The measures enhance productivity; and
  - ✓ They include a number of milestones leading up to a final target.
- The process of developing, updating and reporting on meeting goals and objectives is dynamic and requires the ongoing attention of the party leadership.
- The process should be accepted as evolutionary and that it will improve with experience.





# **MODULE 11**

## **Fostering Inter-Party Dialogue**

### **Facilitator's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

PPT –

Powerpoint

HO – Handouts

You will need a flip chart and markers, Post-it Notes or coloured bond paper cut into various shapes. You will also need 3 or 4 definitions of dialogue.

## Key understanding

IPD is a democratic process to reach a common understanding and consensus on issues of mutual concern amongst political parties for the benefit of the country and its citizens.

**Overall learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Enhance the capacity of political parties to advance national policy and democratic consolidation through cooperation and consensus-building.

## Activity 11.1

### Understanding IPD and its contribution to democracy

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Explain how parties interact at institutional and societal levels; and
- Distinguish dialogue from other forms of party engagement in a democracy.

**Summary:** Political parties usually operate in a competitive mode. This is to be expected given that multi-party politics denotes competition. However, within the mandate of political parties has to be the realization that they cannot achieve some of their roles through competition. Equally importantly parties have to seek shared solutions for the benefit of the country and its citizens. Effective and inclusive dialogue between political parties is an essential element of democratic politics. Conflicts, inter-party strife and polarized relations between political parties can block a country's development. On the other hand, a basic level of trust and cooperation between political parties can pave the way for peace, stability, and sustainable growth.

**Step 1:** Play the Prisoner's Dilemma game (compete or cooperate).

#### Facilitator's note:

Instructions

Ask participants to pair up with a member of an opposing party and stand back to back.

They have to imagine that they are conspirators to a crime. They have been caught by the police and are being asked for statements on the crime. They have the following options.

1. If they both do not confess then they both each get 2 years in prison on a lesser charge.
2. If one confesses, s/he gets off scot-free, while the other gets an 8-year sentence.
3. If they both tell on each other (incriminate the other), then they get 4 years each – collectively the worst outcome of all.

Make 3 cards for each participant and give each one a set. Card 1 has the symbols NC (not confess), card 2 has the symbol C (confess), and card 3 has the symbol T (tell on each other).

In round one read out their options and ask the pairs to make their decision on what they will do. They must then turn around and indicate their response to the scenario by showing their selected card. The pairs must not consult each other on their decision. No speaking is allowed. They are only allowed to display the cards simultaneously.



Note the responses in the first round i.e. how many of the pairs chose which options. Carry out a second round of the same exercise to see if there will be a change in responses. You may also want to carry out a third round of the same exercise to note any significant changes in response from the first round.

Ask participants to indicate their choices in all 3 rounds and to say what informed their choices? How far did they trust their partners to make a choice that was mutually beneficial?

Notice how, from a rational viewpoint, the best strategy is to defect. No matter what one person does, the other is better off ratting him or her out. Yet if each player works for his own self-interest, both are worse off. It's a frustrating problem. Game theorists call it a Nash equilibrium ie one in which nobody can improve their position by a unilateral move. It takes trust to reach the best solution.

**Step 2:** Debrief the game by asking participants to reflect on what they observed, how they played the game, and the reasons for the choices they made. Hone in on political party behaviour and ask participants to reflect on the ways/manner in which political parties interact – is it through competition, cooperation or by seeking consensus. Which is the dominant manner in their country's context?

**Step 3:** Ask participants to offer a brief narrative of their accustomed way of interacting as parties (Take 2 to 3 narratives).

**Make the point:** Whilst parties may for the most part operate in competition, their role within a democracy requires that they also work together in cooperation and by reaching consensus on areas of mutual interest and those that are in the interests of citizens and society. The need for cooperation and consensus-building requires that parties have to engage in dialogue, hence the need for IPD.

**Step 4:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to say in a word or short phrase what comes to mind when they hear the word dialogue. Take a cross section of responses and note them on the flip chart.

**Step 5:** Display 3 or 4 conceptualizations/definitions of dialogue on flip charts and ask participants to walk around the room reading the definitions. Ask them to stand next to the definition that they feel best describes dialogue.

**Step 6:** After participants have had an opportunity to defend the definition they chose, present PPT 11.1: *What is Dialogue?* and engage with participants.

**Step 7:** Distribute HO 11.2: *Negotiation, Dialogue & Debate* on the differences between dialogue and other modes of engagement and go through this with the participants.

**Make the point:** The dialogic approach offers an alternative to the use of force – be it force of arms, force of political or economic power, or merely force of argument.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 427 in the Resources.

Participants will find copies of the handouts on pg 433 in the Resources.



## Activity 11.2

### Value of IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- List the benefits of an IPD and describe when it is best applied.

**Summary:** IPD falls under the category of political dialogue. The objective of political dialogue is to achieve practical and peaceful solutions to national challenges, in order to address conflict drivers and achieve reconciliation, and at a deeper level build a greater national consensus and shared vision of the future for the nation. Political dialogue importantly helps to promote a political culture where inclusive dialogue is an integral part of conflict prevention, peace-building and democratic governance processes. Its contribution to conflict prevention, post-conflict peace-building and state-building is often undervalued. According to Odendaal (2011), one of the reasons for the frequent failure of peace agreements may well be that post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building is not sufficiently rooted in long-term, ongoing political dialogue.

**Step 1:** Hone in on IPD and talk through the characteristics of an IPD with participants in a plenary brainstorming session.

**Step 2:** Present PPT 11.3: *Value of IPD*.

**Step 3:** In plenary draw a big tree on a flip chart, which you shall call the Inter-Party Dialogue Tree. The tree must have roots, which represent principles; soil, which refers to the environment; a trunk which will represent institutions; and fruit which will represent benefits.

Ask participants to symbolically envision an IPD as a tree composed of various aspects that have symbolic meaning. Looking at an IPD as a tree denotes it is a living system that is anchored through its roots in the soil and is nourished through certain positive practices like watering. It then can bear fruit in accordance with the type of tree planted and how it is nourished. A tree with shallow roots in a toxic environment that has weak support institutions is likely to yield poor fruit or none at all.

**Step 4:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to reflect on what the roots, soil, trunk and fruits possibly represent in terms of an IPD. The answers that you want to solicit are: roots = principles; the soil = pre-conditions to ensure a credible process; the trunk = institutions; and fruits = benefits.

**Step 5:** Individually ask participants to write as many benefits as they can think of that can be provided by a meaningful IPD. Participants to write these on the coloured paper given to them, with one benefit to be written on each piece of paper. They must stick these on the tree diagram in the area of fruits. Cluster together any repetitions. Add any other benefits that may have been left out by participants.

**Step 6:** Move to mapping out the roots of the IPD tree and ask participants in buzz groups of 2 or 3 to come up with the principles in which a meaningful IPD should be anchored. The groups must write their principles on the provided papers, 1 per piece of paper. Participants can stick their principles at the roots section. Cluster principles emerging from the groups as required and debate the principles.

**Step 7:** Once the principles have been mapped, discuss the HO 11.4: *IDP Principles* with participants and talk through these principles together.

Participants will find a printout of the powerpoint slides on pg 434 in the Resources.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 437 in the Resources.



**Step 8:** Move to mapping the pre-conditions necessary for a successful dialogue, i.e. the soil. In a plenary brainstorming session ask participants to name the pre-conditions they think should be in place. Distribute HO 11.5: *Dialogue Success Factors* and go through this with participants, talking through the do's and do not's.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 438 in the Resources.

**Step 9:** Move to the trunk of the tree (the institutions). In a plenary brainstorming session ask participants to name the ideal institutions that they think should support a meaningful IPD. Note these down on the tree trunk. Institutions include political parties, legislation, civil society, constitution, parliament.

**Step 10:** Once the IPD tree is complete ask participants to share their reflections on an IPD from the picture that has emerged.

**Step 11:** Discuss in plenary when, why, and what to do to ensure an effective and successful IDP. Refer back to HO 11.5: *Dialogue Success Factors*, placing emphasis on the issues raised.

**Make the point:** A dialogue process may not be advisable if:

- There seems to be a significant power imbalance that would inevitably compromise the dialogue, increasing the possibility that the most powerful group might co-opt the process.
- Violence, hatred and distrust are stronger than the will to find common ground.
- Key groups or sectors are not internally organized or lack a coherent sense of collective identity.
- Key parties are not willing to participate, or show a lack of political will.
- Key parties express their willingness to participate, but give the impression of responding automatically and unthinkingly to the proposals, without any real intention of making the process succeed.
- Time pressure is too strong.
- There is no underlying legal framework.
- Key parties lack the ability to provide continuity to the process.

After conducting such an exploration it is possible that the conclusion will be that a dialogue process is not feasible or appropriate. Launching a dialogue process prematurely can cause more harm than good. However, when circumstances are not favorable, it is not necessary to completely abandon the initiative. It is possible to work with the actors to prepare conditions that will allow a future dialogue process to be conducted successfully. (OAS, UNDP, 2013)

An IPD is a process not to be taken lightly. To ensure a meaningful outcome, parties must be aware and play their part in the support and exercise of the various mechanisms, preconditions, and principles entailed.



## Activity 11.3

### Process of an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- List the steps in an IDP process and describe it.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session get an indication if any of the participants or their parties have participated in an IPD before or if they know of an IPD conducted in their context, or any context. What was the process like and/or what do they think the process of an IPD ideally entails?

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 439 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Distribute HO 11.6: *Journey by Bus*. In plenary, discuss with participants what the handout is saying about the process an IPD takes and ask them what they think the stages of an IPD are.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 440 in the Resources.

**Step 3:** Distribute HO 11.7: *Journey by Bus Worksheet* and ask participants to summarize the possible pitfalls/risks and challenges of the process, working in groups. In their feedback participants can demonstrate the process through role play or any other way they see fit.

**Make the point:** An IPD is not necessarily a linear and predictable process and it can take a long time. Complex socio-political conflicts or matters are not solved through once-off dialogue events, but through ongoing, multi-faceted and multi-level dialogue processes. Depending on the content of the dialogue, the players involved and the environment in which the dialogue is being held, the dialogue may be long and arduous and parties need to prepare for this with a realistic outlook

## Activity 11.4

### Key planning/preparation for participating in an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- List the planning/preparation needed for the party's effective participation in an IPD.

**Summary:** Political dialogue is a complex process, both politically and psychologically. To succeed it relies on specific preconditions and professional attention. Under-estimating its complexity could contribute to its failure. Lack of party preparation can also increase the chances that a dialogue may fail. Practice has shown that all too often parties come to the dialogue table unprepared, with misguided assumptions or with diverging expectations. Being prepared means doing one's homework with regard to the topics on the agenda and securing internal party support for the positions that you aim to reach as a party.

**Step 1:** Refer participants back to the IPD tree and process. Working in pairs they must identify the type of preparations that they think a party needs to put in place to help them participate in an IPD.

**Step 2:** They must write each point from their discussion in step 1 on paper distributed to them, one point per piece of paper.

**Step 3:** Facilitate a feedback session with groups sticking their points on the flip chart or wall. Cluster as appropriate. Pick out the following issues:

- Having a sound knowledge of what the dialogue will engage in;



- Participating in setting the dialogue agenda;
- Having a sound understanding of the dialogue issue(s) to be addressed;
- Having a clear internal reflection on the formal and informal party position, interests and needs on the topics to be addressed;
- Who to send as its representative(s) to the dialogue and the type of mandate that they are giving their representative(s);
- The kind of dialogue structures and rules that would best suit the party;
- Internal party structures for supporting the dialogue, including those for handling internal communication;
- What the parties hope to achieve by engaging with the dialogue process; and
- Knowledge of who the facilitator is.

**Step 4:** Divide the participants into 4 groups and allocate each group one issue from the following:

- The party needs to have a sound understanding of the dialogue issue(s) to be addressed;
- A party has to have had sound internal reflection on the formal and informal party position on the dialogue topics;
- A party must have internal party structures for supporting the dialogue, including those for handling internal communication; and
- A party needs to be clear on what it hopes to achieve by engaging with the dialogue process.

Ask each group to reflect on the importance of the aspect allocated to them for a party preparing to participate in an IPD and point out the pitfalls that may occur if parties go into a dialogue without preparing for engaging with the issue allocated to the group.

**Step 5:** Facilitate a group feedback session through a gallery walk where groups move from one group to the other hearing their views and making further inputs to the discussions.

**Make the point:** An effective IPD is intrinsically linked to a party's internal capacity for dialogue. Through their internal structures parties can play a role in supporting an IPD and helping it achieve its goals.

## Activity 11.5

### Party representation to an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- List the various factors that they can use to select their representatives to an IPD.

**Step 1:** Identify 5 participants to participate in a role play based on HO 11.8: *Role Play Whom to Send*.

**Step 2:** Ask the volunteers to perform the role play for the participants.

**Step 3:** Debrief the role play and ask participants in their table groups to help the party leaders in the role play to decide who the various parties should send to represent them in the IPD and to give justifications for their choice.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 441 in the Resources.



**Step 4:** In a plenary brainstorming session discuss the different people/positions that could be sent by a party to represent them in an IPD.

**Step 5:** In groups, ask participants to identify the considerations and criteria that a party can employ to choose their representative(s) to an IPD and how the criteria chosen can benefit the party.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 442 in the Resources.

**Step 6:** Distribute HO 11.9: *Choosing Representatives to a Dialogue* and go through this with participants. Allow the groups to reflect if the considerations they chose are aligned to those in the handout.

**Step 7:** Group feedback and plenary reflections.

**Make the point:** In selecting representatives to an IPD, parties must employ objective criteria to ensure the party will benefit. The need to distinguish and balance between institutional and individual approaches is important. Whilst the personalities and knowledge base of party representatives to an IPD is important, political parties as institutions need to be reassured that their ideology and program, as well as their political values and viewpoints, are going to be safe in the hands of their delegate(s) at the dialogue table.

## Activity 11.6

### Inclusivity considerations in an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- Apply an inclusivity lens to the participation, process, and content of an IPD.

**Summary:** Political parties as democratic institutions are ideally the conduits and advocates for equal participation and representation of all genders and groups that make up the society, notably gender, youth and people with disabilities (PWD). Any IPD process constituted solely (or pre-dominantly) by one gender or one societal group would undermine the democratic value of equal participation, and therefore its results would lack legitimacy and credibility. The agreements resulting from such a dialogue are likely to be skewed in favor of the group that was best represented.

**Step 1:** Divide participants into 4 groups, with group 1 representing men, group 2 representing women, group 3 youth and group 4 PWDs. In their groups ask participants to imagine they are participating in an IPD on developing a national policy agenda on water and energy. As representatives of their societal group they must raise the issues that they would like to be reflected in the policy agenda.

**Step 2:** In plenary group feedback participants from the other groups must reflect on the issues raised by the other groups and point out any insights for them on the issues presented by the different societal group. For any of the points raised by the other groups, participants must present the issue from the standpoint of the societal group they are representing.

**Step 3:** Bearing in mind the value of an IPD and the previous exercise, ask participants to reflect on the lessons for them on the need for an inclusive approach in the representation, process, content, and possible outcomes of an IPD.

**Step 4:** Pose the question: How can parties ensure an inclusive approach to an IPD? Ask participants to brainstorm the issue in pairs. Facilitate a brief feedback session from the buzz groups.



**Step 5:** Distribute handout HO 11.10: *Practical Steps in Ensuring Inclusivity in an IPD*. Go through this with participants.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 445 in the Resources.

**Make the point:** Inclusivity through ensuring diversity of views enriches the political dialogue, augmenting its democratic values and depth and scope, and subsequently the outcomes that emerge from it.

## Activity 11.7

### Types of agreements

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session participants will be able to:

- List the key considerations for reaching agreements and implementing these.

**Step 1:** In a brainstorming session ask participants to note what they think are the types of agreements that the parties in a dialogue can reach. Note the issues on a flip chart.

**Step 2:** Introduce the various types of agreements that parties may reach, notably:

- Pre-negotiation (dialogue) agreements;
- Interim or preliminary agreements;
- Comprehensive and framework agreements; and
- Implementation agreements.

In a plenary discussion get a sense of how much participants are aware of any of these.

**Step 3:** Distribute HO 11.11: *Agreement Types* and go through these with participants.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 449 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Move on to talk about how to reach agreements. Introduce the notion of Position, Interests and Needs (PIN). Explain this model and discuss it with participants. Refer to PPT 11.12: *Understanding PIN*.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 450 in the Resources.

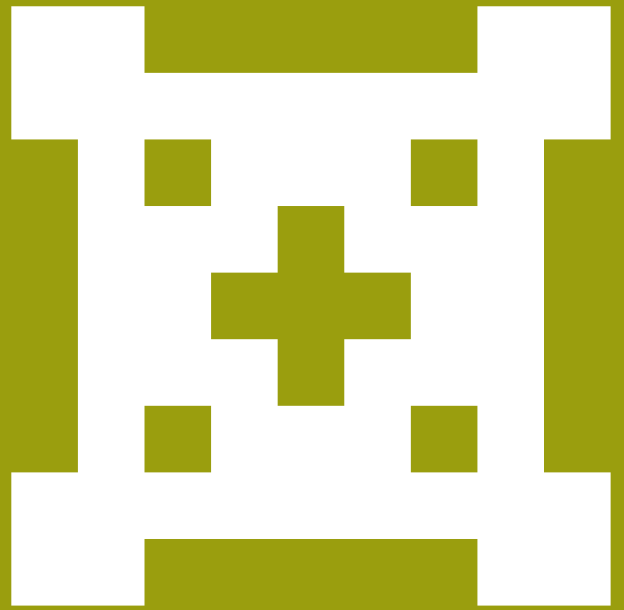
**Step 5:** Discuss in plenary the issue of reaching agreements. In pairs ask participants to discuss what they think informs the reaching of agreements. Allow the groups to feed back their thoughts and note the issues raised on the flip chart.

**Step 6:** Introduce the concept of Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement (BATNA) and present PPT 11.13: *BATNA*.

Participants will find copies of the handout on pg 453 in the Resources.

**Make the point:** Reaching agreements that are well structured provides the basis for meaningful outcomes in IPDs. It is in the interests of parties to ensure that they are able to reach these agreements in a manner that is well informed.





# **MODULE 11**

## **Fostering Inter-Party Dialogue**

### **Participant's Handbook**





This Handbook will include the following acronyms:

- PPT - Powerpoint
- HO - Handout

## Activity 11.1

### Understanding Inter-Party Dialogue (IPD) and its contribution to democracy

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- Explain how parties interact at institutional and societal levels; and
- Distinguish dialogue from other forms of party engagement in a democracy.

**Step 1:** Participate in the Prisoner's Dilemma game.

**Step 2:** Note in the space provided how parties in your context operate in relation to each other. To what extent do they compete and to what extent do they cooperate?

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**Takeaway point:** Whilst parties may for the most part operate in competition, their role within a democracy requires that they also cooperate and work towards reaching consensus on areas of mutual interest and those that are in the interests of citizens and society. The need for cooperation and consensus-building requires that parties have to engage in dialogue, hence the need for an IPD.

**Step 3:** Question:

- What is your understanding of dialogue? Refer to the various definitions presented on flip charts around the room and note the definition that you feel best appeals to you. Justify your choice. Contribute points to a plenary discussion.

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See pg 427 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Refer to PPT 11.1: *What is Dialogue?* and follow and engage on the presentation that the facilitator will deliver. Note down any insights and reflections about dialogue.



**Step 5:** Refer to HO 11.2: *Negotiation, Dialogue & Debate* on the differences between dialogue and other forms of engagement. Read through the HO and note any key insights and reflections.

See pg 433 in the Resources.

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**Takeaway point:** The dialogic approach offers an alternative to the use of force – be it force of arms, force of political or economic power, or merely force of argument.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 11.2

### Value of IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of this session you should be able to:

- List the benefits of an IPD and describe when it is best applied.

**Step 1:** Questions:

Having learnt about dialogue in general, what do you think IPD is? What are its characteristics? Note your response and contribute to a brainstorming session.

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See pg 434 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Refer to PPT 11.3: *Value of IPD* that the facilitator will present. Engage on the presentation and note down any insights and reflections for your benefit and that of your party.

**Takeaway point:** An IPD falls under the category of political dialogue. The objective of political dialogue is to achieve practical and peaceful solutions to national challenges, in order to address conflict drivers and to achieve reconciliation. At a deeper level it is to build a greater national consensus or cohesion, and a shared vision of the future for the nation. Political dialogue importantly helps to promote a political culture where inclusive dialogue is an integral part of conflict prevention, peace-building, and democratic governance processes. Its contribution to conflict prevention, post-conflict peace-building and state-building is often undervalued.

**Step 3:** Participate in a mapping of the principles, benefits of inter-party dialogue, the environment in which it should be held and the supportive institutions to anchor the likelihood of its success. Note down the key issues emerging from the mapping exercise.

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**Step 4:** When do you think is the appropriate timing for an IPD to be held? What issues are more suited to be dealt with through an IPD? Note down your reflections and contribute your thoughts to the plenary discussion.

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**Takeaway point:** A dialogue process may not be advisable if:

- There seems to be a significant power imbalance that would inevitably compromise the dialogue, increasing the possibility that the most powerful group might co-opt the process.
- Violence, hatred and distrust are stronger than the will to find common ground.
- Key groups or sectors are not internally organized or lack a coherent sense of collective identity.
- Key parties are not willing to participate, show a lack of political will.
- Key parties express their willingness to participate, but give the impression of responding automatically and unthinkingly to the proposals, without any real intention to see the process succeed.
- Time pressure is too strong.
- There is no underlying legal framework.
- Key parties lack the ability to provide continuity to the process.

After conducting the exploration stage it is possible that the conclusion will be that a dialogue process is not feasible or appropriate. Launching a dialogue process prematurely can cause more harm than good. However, when circumstances are not favorable, it is not necessary to completely abandon the initiative. It is possible to work with the actors to prepare conditions that will allow a dialogue process to be conducted successfully in the future. (OAS, UNDP, 2013)

An IPD is not to be taken lightly. To ensure that a meaningful process ensues and the anticipated benefits are realized, parties must be aware and play their part in the support and exercise of the various mechanisms, preconditions, and principles entailed.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 11.3

### Process of an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- List the key elements of and describe the IPD process.

**Step 1:** Questions:

- Have you ever participated in an IPD or know of an IPD that has happened in your context or in any other context?
- What was the process like for you?
- What do you think the process of an IPD ideally entails?
- Note down your points and share in a plenary session.

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See pg 439 and 440 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Refer to HO 11.6: *Journey by Bus*. In the worksheet provided, HO 11.7: *Journey by Bus Worksheet*, note what is happening in the metaphor and what each of the various aspects represent. Share your points in a plenary discussion.

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**Step 3:** Working in groups the stages of an IDP process will be assigned to you. Summarize what the stage entails. Note your points as a group on the flip chart and feedback in a plenary session.

**Takeaway point:** An IPD is not necessarily a linear and predictable process and it can take a long time. Complex socio-political conflicts or matters are not solved through once-off dialogue events, but through ongoing, multi-faceted and multi-level dialogue processes. Depending on the content of the dialogue, the players involved, and the environment in which the dialogue is being held, the dialogue may be long and arduous and parties need to prepare for this with a realistic outlook.

**Session end:** Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.



## Activity 11.4

### Key planning/preparation for participating in an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- List the planning/preparations needed for the party's effective participation in an IDP.

**Step 1:** Question:

- Pair up to identify the type of preparations that you think a political party needs to put in place to participate meaningfully in an IPD. Note your points in the space provided.

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**Step 2:** Join the group and share and consolidate your lists of preparations into 1 list. Present your points to the plenary session and deliberate on issues raised by all groups.

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**Step 3:** In group work, you will be allocated one of the following preparatory issues:

- The party needs to have a sound understanding of the dialogue issue(s) to be addressed;
- A party has to have had a sound internal reflection on the formal and informal party position on the dialogue topics;
- A party must have internal party structures for supporting the dialogue, including those for handling internal communication; and
- A party needs to be clear on what it hopes to achieve by engaging with the dialogue process.

In your groups deliberate on the issues allocated to you and point out the pitfalls that may occur if you as a party enter into dialogue without having attended to the issues allocated to your group.

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**Takeaway point:** A successful IPD requires having sound knowledge of what the party will be engaged in within the dialogue; participating in the setting of the dialogue agenda; having a sound understanding of the dialogue issue(s) to be addressed; having reflected as a party on the formal and informal party positions, interests, and needs on the topics that form the dialogue; having decided who to send as its representative(s) to the dialogue and the type of mandate that they are giving their representative(s); being aware of the kind of dialogue structures and rules that would best suit the party; having awareness of internal party structures for supporting the dialogue, including handling internal communication; being clear what the parties hope to achieve by engaging in the dialogue process; and knowing who the facilitator is.

An effective IPD is intrinsically linked to a party's internal capacity for dialogue. Parties, through their internal structures, can support an IPD in achieving its goals.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 11.5

### Party representation to an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- List the various factors that you can use to select your representatives to an IPD.

**Step 1:** You may be asked to volunteer to participate in a role play based on HO 11.8: *Role Play Whom to Send*. Alternatively, as an observer note the key issues regarding the selection of party representative(s) to a dialogue.

See pg 441 in the Resources.

**Step 2:** Participate in a brainstorming session on the various people in parties who could be sent to represent the party in a dialogue.

**Step 3:** In groups, identify the considerations and criteria that a party can employ to choose their representative(s) to attend an IPD. How can the criteria chosen benefit the party?

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**Step 4:** Contribute your deliberations to a plenary feedback and discussion session.

**Step 5:** Refer to HO 11.9: *Choosing Representatives to a Dialogue*. How well do these speak to the list you developed in your group?

See pg 442 in the Resources.

**Takeaway point:** In selecting representatives to an IPD, parties must employ objective criteria. The need to distinguish and balance between institutional and individual approaches is important. Whilst the personalities and knowledge base of party representative(s) to an IPD is important, political parties as institutions need to be reassured that their ideology and program as well as their political values and viewpoints are going to be safe in the hands of their delegate(s) at the dialogue table.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 11.6

### Inclusivity considerations in an IPD

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- Apply an inclusivity lens to the participation, process, and content of an IPD.

**Step 1:** You will be allocated to groups and placed in categories by the facilitator. As representatives of the categories or societal group allocated to you raise the issues that you would like to be reflected in the policy agenda that speaks to your interests and needs, for example on developing a national policy agenda on water and energy. Note down your points.

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**Step 2:** In the plenary feedback pay attention to, and reflect on, the issues raised by the other groups and point out any insights for you on the issue at hand as a representative of a different societal group. For any of the points raised by the other groups, participants must present the issue from the standpoint of the societal group they are representing.

**Step 3:** Reflect on the need for an approach in the representation, process, content, and possible outcomes of an IPD. How can parties ensure an inclusive approach to an IPD? Note down your thoughts and contribute these to a plenary discussion.

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See pg 445 in the Resources.

**Step 4:** Refer to HO 11.10: *Practical Steps in Ensuring Inclusivity in an IPD*. Take note of some of the strategies pointed out. Which ones do you think your party can possibly adopt?

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**Takeaway point:** Inclusivity through ensuring diversity of views enriches the political dialogue, augmenting its democratic values and depth and scope, and subsequently the outcomes that emerge from it.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Activity 11.7

### Types of agreements

**Learning objective:** By the end of the session you should be able to:

- List the key considerations towards reaching agreements and implementing these.

**Step 1:** Question:

- What do you think the types of agreement are that the parties in a dialogue can reach? Contribute your thoughts to a brainstorming session.

**Step 2:** Are you aware of any of the following agreement types?

- Pre-negotiation (dialogue) agreements;
- Interim or preliminary agreements;
- Comprehensive and framework agreements; and
- Implementation agreements.

**Step 3:** Refer to HO 11.11: *Agreement Types* and note what each agreement type entails.

See pg 449 in the Resources.

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**Step 4:** Consider the various issues of engagement that parties hold dialogues around. Note their Positions, Interests and Needs (PIN). What does negotiating around these issues entail? What kind of agreements are likely to emerge from this? Refer to PPT 11.12: *Understanding PIN* and follow the presentation by the facilitator. What insights and lessons can you take from negotiations around PIN?

See pg 450 in the Resources.

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**Step 5:** When does an agreement come about? When do you know it is the right moment to reach an agreement? Pair up with another participant to discuss this. Note down your points and share in a plenary.

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See pg 453 in the Resources.

**Step 6:** Refer to PPT 11.13: *BATNA* and follow the presentation by the facilitator. Note down any insights and lessons for your benefit and that of your party.

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**Takeaway point:** Reaching agreements that are well structured provides the basis for meaningful outcomes in IPDs. It is in the interests of parties to ensure that they are able to reach these agreements in a manner that is well informed.

**Session end:** *Ask any questions or contribute any further reflections you may have.*



## Resources

### PPT 11.1: *What is Dialogue*

#### WHAT IS DIALOGUE?

- Dialogue is mostly associated with an open exchange of information, sharing different stories and perspectives and an exploration of the position of other parties. (IDEA Handbook)

PPT IPD 1.1 Definitions of Interparty Dialogue - International IDEA & Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

#### WHAT IS DIALOGUE? (Cont...)

- A process of genuine interaction in which human beings listen deeply and respectfully to each other in a way that what they learn changes them. Each participant in a dialogue strives to incorporate the concerns of the other participants into their own perspective, even when they continue to disagree. No participant gives up his or her identity, but each recognizes the human value of the claims of the others and therefore acts differently towards others. (OAS, 2013)



## DIALOGUE

- ▶ “During a dialogue process we work to achieve a **systemic understanding of the problem** and to **strengthen relationships among all stakeholders**. This, in turn, makes it possible to identify the wide ranging actions that can **transform the underlying system**”. (OAS)

## DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE

Dialogue that:

- ▶ Respects and strengthens democratic institutions;
- ▶ Seeks to transform conflictive relationships so as to prevent crises and violence; and
- ▶ Contributes to enhancing democratic governance.
- ▶ Democratic dialogue is always a process of cooperation and teamwork



## DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE (Cont...)

- ▶ **Systematic/structured** approach and guided by certain principles to ensure higher likelihood of realization of goals.
- ▶ **Systemic** approach to the problem and therefore seeks to include a diverse group of actors related to problem/issue at hand, and not just parties seeking to negotiate something tangible.

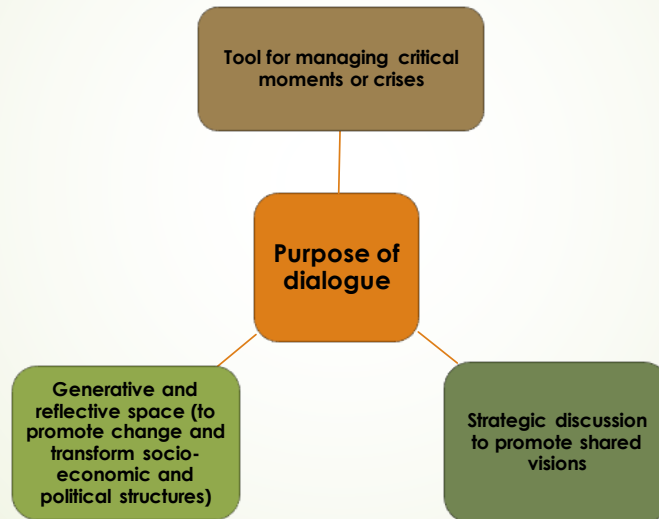
## DIALOGUE PURPOSES

Four capacities needed for the 'soft' side of democracy:

- ▶ 1. The capacity to resolve conflicts peacefully;
- ▶ 2. The capacity to cooperate across political party lines & other divides;
- ▶ 3. The capacity to develop an inclusive agenda for action; and
- ▶ 4. The capacity for citizen participation

**Dialogue offers that opportunity.**

## DIALOGUE PURPOSES



## DIALOGUE PURPOSES (Cont...)

“For dialogue to help promote change and transform social, economic, and political structures and promote shared vision, need to think of it as a **safe space** in which the actors **can interact with trust and respect**. They must be able to bring their **ideas, interests, concerns, demands, and beliefs** to the dialogue table so they can work together, in a **legitimate and peaceful manner, to transform relationships, generate rationality, and organize consensus.**” (OAS, 2013)



## VALUE OF DIALOGUES

- ▀ Focuses on the underlying patterns of relationships and behavior from which crises often emerge rather than just the manifestations.

Working at that level is what creates the possibility of sustainable change.

## VALUE OF DIALOGUES (Cont...)

- ▀ “The kind of approach likely to be effective in the complex work of democracy-building, must be one that is able to foster complex processes of change in **attitudes**, in **values**, in **modes of interaction**”. (Geert van Vliet)



## VALUE OF DIALOGUES (Cont...)

- ▶ “Increasingly, people have come to recognize that concrete steps towards change – such as **treaties** and **other agreements, constitutional reforms, policy initiatives and legislation** – are necessary but often insufficient to meet the challenges societies are facing. To take hold, such initiatives must be grounded in deeper change at the personal level. This is where dialogue has a particular role to play”.



## HO 11.2: Negotiation, Dialogue & Debate

### HO 11.2: Negotiation, Dialogue & Debate

NEGOTIATION	DIALOGUE
The expected outcome is a concrete agreement.	The expected result is the transformation of human relationships.
Participants seek to define and satisfy material interests through specific arrangements agreed by the parties	Participants seek to create new human and political problem-solving capacities.
The parties must be ready to attempt to reach agreement.	Can be fruitful even if the parties are not ready to negotiate but are convinced that they do not want to continue a destructive relationship.
Involves assets or rights that can be physically divided, shared, or defined tangibly.	Involves change in relationships by creating new bases for mutual respect and cooperation.
DEBATE	DIALOGUE
Participants listen to each other in order to refute data, trying to demonstrate flaws in what the others are saying.	Participants listen to others in order to get to know each other better and to understand each other's beliefs and interests.
Participants seek to impose their ideas, given that debate should lead to a single answer, so they defend their own views.	Participants express and share their uncertainties as well as their deepest beliefs
Offers very little new information.	New information emerges.

Source: OAS



## PPT 11.3: Value of IPD

### IPD OBJECTIVES

- ▶ Lack of trust between politicians/parties are a major source of instability and conflict in emerging democracies.
- ▶ Parties akin to operating largely in competition. Though parties are competitive in nature, political party dialogues is necessitated when the majority of parties across the political divide face the same problems or concerns.
- ▶ In the absence of dialogue, parties settle differences through other (often violent) means.
- ▶ Dialogue is the main vehicle for the peaceful resolution of conflicts of interests.
- ▶ In polarized political systems with a dominant party structure, there is a niche for inter-party dialogue. Parliament does not necessarily offer a 'safe space'. It is usually confrontational debate.

### IPD

Safe meeting space where politicians and parties:

- ▶ Can meet and interact;
- ▶ Consolidate their role as parties in a democracy;
- ▶ Foster relationships and build mutual trust;
- ▶ Set, negotiate and adopt (policy) reform agendas;  
and
- ▶ Let off steam in a controlled environment.



## IPD OBJECTIVES

- ▶ Tied to achievement of the wider role of political parties in a democracy.
- ▶ Tied to the 4 capacities needed for realizing the 'soft' side of democracy.
- ▶ Tied to the 3 general reasons for dialogue in general.

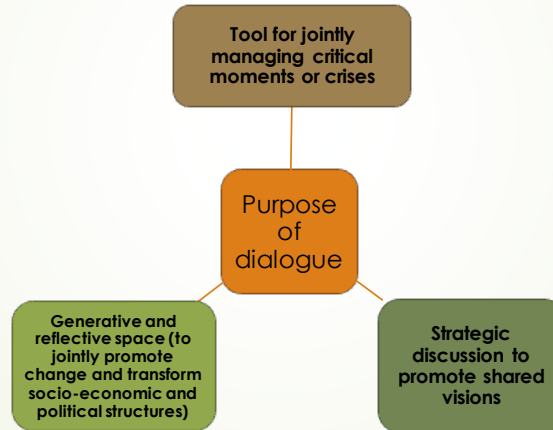
## IPD OBJECTIVES (Cont...)

- ▶ The 4 capacities needed towards realizing the 'soft' side of democracy are:
  1. The capacity to resolve conflicts peacefully;
  2. The capacity to cooperate across political party lines;
  3. The capacity to develop an inclusive agenda for action;  
and
  4. The capacity for citizen participation.



## IPD OBJECTIVES (Cont...)

► The 3 general purposes of dialogue:



## OBJECTIVES OF INTERPARTY DIALOGUE

<b>Trust building between parties</b>	Dialogue aims to achieve trust between different political parties that have strongly divergent positions, interests and needs, which can be the cause for political or violent conflict and is counterproductive to democratic and economic development.
<b>Create understanding into each others' points of view</b>	Dialogue aims to be a process through which parties can learn to understand the position, interests, and needs of other parties as a basis to develop shared understanding and consensus on issues.
<b>Shared agenda setting and pursuit of democratic reforms</b>	Dialogue aims to be process through which parties can negotiate a shared agenda and pursue democratic reforms, thereby contributing to sustainable democratic development.
<b>Open extra-parliamentary communication channels</b>	Dialogue is a mechanism for parties to cooperate in parallel and provide support to parliamentary decision-making procedure in the 4-5 years between elections.



## HO 11.4: IPD Principles

### HO 11.4: IPD Principles

1. Joint ownership (of [design of] process);
2. Inclusiveness in participation (parties);
3. Equality in decision-making (no voting);
4. Legitimacy of the process (joint decision & transparent criteria);
5. Sustainability (goes 'beyond the handshake');
6. Diversity in representation (parties are not the only political actors); and
7. Non-partisan and impartial facilitation.



## HO 11.5: *Dialogue Success Factors*

### HO 11.5: Dialogue Success Factors

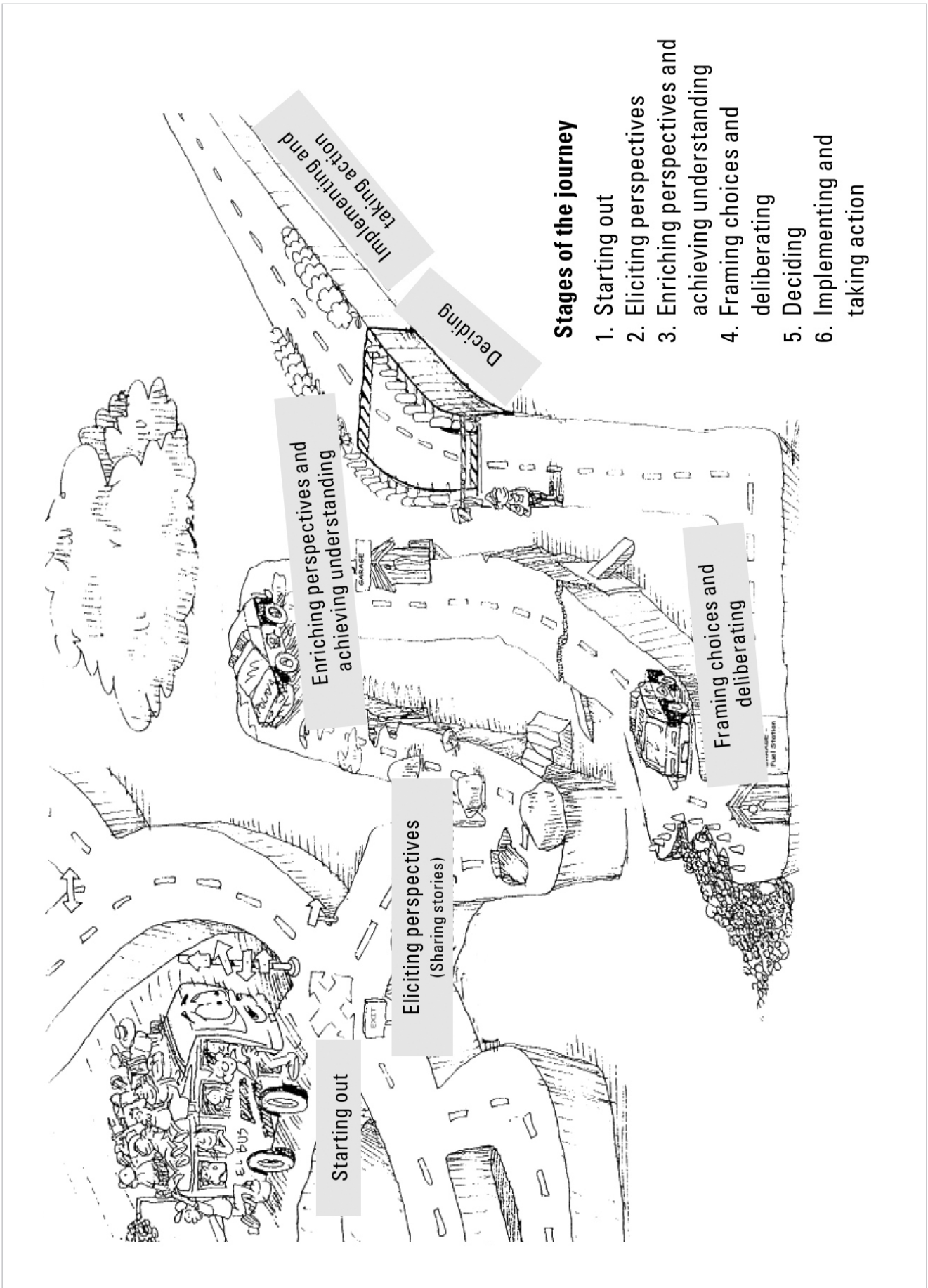
Success relies on specific preconditions and professional attention. An under-estimation of the complexity of a matter for dialogue contributes to failure. Moreover, pursuing dialogue in inappropriate manners and at inappropriate times may do harm because it reduces confidence, increases cynicism and contributes to what has become known as ‘dialogue fatigue’.

The preconditions for successful dialogue are:

1. Adequate preparation:
  - Conducting an objective, reliable analysis of the conflict and parties’ interests and fears;
  - Learning lessons from past experiences, particularly the reasons for past failures;
  - Designing an appropriate process; clarifying and allocating roles of different support actors;
  - Setting up a support structure to deal with funding, logistical arrangements and financial management;
  - Pre-mediation consultation to ensure sufficient buy-in of all parties into the process; and
  - Planning an appropriate communication strategy with the press.
2. Credible facilitation. It is crucial to have a skilled facilitator that all parties accept and feel comfortable with in order to make the process as fair and even-handed as possible.
3. Sufficient political commitment. Political will is important for the dialogue to reach inclusive agreements and for effective implementation. Political commitment is influenced by internal and external political pressure, but is strongest when participating parties enjoy a sense of ownership of the dialogue process.
4. Collective leadership capability. A critical factor determining the success of dialogue is the capability of leaders to form coalitions across political and social divides in order to implement decisions that have been made through the dialogue process. Where the capability to form such coalitions does not exist, little can be expected from dialogue in terms of lasting results.
5. Adequate inclusion. Inclusion is of critical importance because exclusion is often a major cause of conflict. It is in most cases a contentious issue and it is difficult to satisfy all. It is, however, necessary to be “inclusive enough” to safeguard the legitimacy of decisions. The inclusion of women is crucial as the political dialogue process can be a window of opportunity for addressing structural inequalities. The inclusion of youth is also highly important given the demographic realities of many societies.



## HO 11.6: Journey by bus





## HO 11.7: Journey by bus Worksheet

### HO 11.7: Journey by Bus Worksheet

Characteristic	Representation
The bus	
The driver	
Petrol and mechanical condition	
The road	
Police, transport laws and regulations	
Mechanical garages, petrol stations	
Flooding, holes in road, landslides	
Dark cloud	
On/off ramps	



## HO 11.8: Role Play Whom to send

### HO 11.8: Role Play Whom to Send

#### Characters:

1. Party leader
2. Secretary general
3. A vocal member of the party in the national executive committee (NEC)
4. The leader of the youth wing
5. The leader of the women's wing

#### Script

The leader of the party addresses the group and tells them of the inter-party dialogue that all the parties have agreed to participate in towards resolving the perpetual conflict amongst parties that has eventually brought parliament to a halt. He informs these party members that the party has to send a representative to participate in the dialogue on the party's behalf since they all cannot go. He wants ideas from the group. The dialogue is most likely to extend over a period of 8 months.

The secretary general stands up and says that as secretary general he is the obvious choice to represent the party at the dialogue as his role is important.

The member of the NEC disagrees and says that the SG is not eloquent enough and thus will not be able to do a good job. He feels that his skills as a good debater will do the trick in the dialogue – after all his eloquence is well recognized in many circles.

The youth leader says he thinks that the decision should be put to a vote.  
The rest of the participants murmur their disagreements with this.

The woman leader raises concern that it is always the male figures in the party that are chosen to participate in key events and yet the party professes to advance democratic ideals. She feels that this concern should be a criterion for consideration on whom the party should send.

Arguments ensue amongst the party members.

Finally, the party leader who has been listening all along calls the meeting to attention and says he has made his decision after listening to all their views. He says since he is the leader of the party, he knows what is best for the party and much as he has faith in all of their abilities, he shall go to represent the party. He dismisses the meeting. Party members are shocked but they grudgingly go along with the leader's decision.



## HO 11.9: *Choosing Representatives to a Dialogue*

### HO 11.9: Choosing Representatives to a Dialogue

Choosing representative(s) to an IPD is an important decision that parties will be confronted with. This is not a light decision and a party will need to consider various factors. Whilst personalities matter in an IPD, political parties as institutions need to be reassured that their ideology and programme as well as their political values and viewpoints are going to be safe in the hands of their delegate(s) at the dialogue table. A dialogue process between parties should strengthen, not undermine, political party structures, hence the need to put the needs of the party first. Regardless of the mode of representation chosen, the party hierarchy should explore a feedback mechanism to enhance party ownership.

The following are a list of considerations that provide a guide on selecting a representative to an IPD.

- **Participants' formal hierarchical position, their informal networks** within the party and the size of the party are among the factors that can influence a party's choice of representatives.
- **Personalities** – It goes without saying that, in a dialogue, personalities matter – people can make or break the process. Try to identify participants who are 'open minded' and potential 'agents of change'.
- **Seniority** – Some party participants may be too senior (and therefore too busy) to be regularly available, while others might be too junior to make decisions.
- **Levels of influence** – Some may have a strong profile (in the media) but lack influence within the party, while others may have support from within the party but lack the right personal skills for dialogue with opponents.
- **Power of decision making** – It is always not necessarily a given that senior members within a party will be the obvious choice to send to an IPD. While a secretary general may be the formal focal point for a political party, he/she may not always hold highest de facto decision-making power or political clout.
- **Topic of the dialogue** – Depending on the topic and context, party representatives may come from the national leadership committee or executive body (made up of party presidents, chairs, secretaries general and other key staff), from auxiliary groups such as youth or women's wings, or from regional and local party branches.
- **Expertise on dialogue issue** – Is the topic of the dialogue highly political or more technical? Does it deal with a large-scale democratic reform agenda or a local



political dispute? It would be prudent for a party to try as best as possible to send representatives that have a high degree of understanding of the dialogue topics.

- **The leadership level of representatives being sent by other parties** – Dialogue participants will always expect to meet peers in the dialogue, as opposed to participants from a much lower or higher level within another party. If some parties wish to send their secretary general, it is likely that other parties would automatically consider someone at the same level.
- **Representation** – women, youth and other often marginalized groups could be considered.
- **Spoilers** – Include potential ‘spoilers’ as participants when there is reasonable hope that they can engage positively or that engagement can neutralize their capacity to undermine the process, and that there can be no solution without them.
- **Continuity** – A facilitated dialogue process that runs for years will ultimately be affected by internal party elections or national elections. Consequently, a party’s leaders, as well as its representatives in the dialogue, may change. The importance of continuity in the members of the dialogue team, and of minimal changes in the persons representing the political parties, is often important as excessive rotation of members undermines the level of trust between individuals and can cause temporary delays or setbacks. Countering this may necessitate choosing a dialogue team as opposed to an individual.

Respected politicians are generally considered to be suitable participants to an IPD if they:

- Have a relevant position within the party they represent;
- Belong to the layer of trusted party members and are close to the party leadership;
- Have significant political experience;
- Have a clear interest in or expertise in the subject;
- Have the intelligence and capacity to conduct a dialogue;
- Act as reform-minded forces within the party, or at least are not there merely to obstruct the process;
- Are responsive to gender and diversity issues within their party;
- Are not sworn enemies of other dialogue participants;
- Are able to work with different factions within a party;
- Are willing to take up an active role in the dialogue process;
- Possess a generally positive and constructive mindset; and
- Have the ability to represent the party to the outside world.



### **Practical considerations**

While the highest level of commitment comes from the leadership, on a day-to-day level it may be more useful to work with a second group of more hands-on, 'ready-to-cooperate' party representatives. However, whether or not the leadership chooses to participate, they should always remain engaged and updated about the dialogue in order to maintain commitment at the highest level. In order to make the dialogue work it is important that the leadership defines the level and mode of engagement. One option that allows them to stay informed and involved, even if only at crucial decision-making moments, is to define specific communication channels or procedures, including briefing sessions.

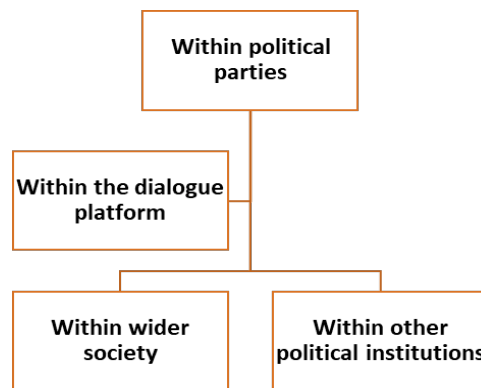
(Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy [NIMD] 2012).



## HO 11.10: Practical Steps in Ensuring Inclusivity in an IPD

### HO 11.10: Practical Steps in Ensuring Inclusivity in an IPD

Opportunities for fostering women's, youth and PWD's meaningful participation in dialogue processes can be realized at various levels. The diagram below shows where these opportunities can be found.



#### Within Political Parties

Participants in a dialogue forum are usually chosen by their party and its leadership, and tend to come from positions with influence and decision-making power within the party. As women/youth/PWD are generally under-represented at the party leadership level, many political party dialogue platforms typically include more men than members of these groups at the dialogue table. Parties should agree from the outset on how to ensure the participation of these groups within the dialogue forum. Reaching an inter-party agreement on ways to create more equal participation on the part of men and the other groups in the dialogue is important. This agreement could include a dialogue strategy for including and reaching out to women - for instance, by inviting representatives from party women's/youth wings, or by creating a mixed space for dialogue. Once consensus has been reached, this agreement can be formalized and made part of the dialogue platform's MoU or constitution. In addition, there is need to develop a dialogue agenda that includes discussions of gender/youth/PWD disparities in external frameworks.

#### Within the Dialogue Platform

It is important to distinguish between women's, youth and PWD participation and their **inclusive** participation. In some cases, women and youth and PWD might be represented numerically in the dialogue but do not enjoy the inclusive space and opportunity to participate in and contribute to a dialogue. It is important that



stakeholders to the dialogue, including the facilitators, ensure that the dialogue's rules and procedures are conducive to the full participation of the said groups. Mixed spaces, gender and special women's, youth, PWD groups can be used to support the meaningful participation of these groups in dialogues. Parties wishing to involve women politicians in the dialogue more actively will first look at the specifics of the context they find themselves in and consult with key women, youth and PWD politicians or spokespersons within their respective parties to think through different options. Three approaches that have been successfully used by parties in various contexts are outlined below.

### **1. Creating a mixed space for dialogue**

Parties can agree to a mixed space of dialogue whereby both male and female representatives attend the dialogue. Depending on the number of party representatives present in the platform, the forum can commit itself to certain percentages; for instance, if each party sends three representatives to the dialogue they can undertake to send at least one of a different gender.

Other formulae include always inviting a representative from the other gender from the same rank (i.e. male leaders bringing their female counterparts within the party, and vice versa) or always including a representative of the party women's wing. The advantage of this kind of set-up is that women and men are present at the same table and have equal opportunities to influence the course of the dialogue discussions.

A possible risk is that parties may agree to a certain formula but do not act in the spirit of the agreement and, for instance, appoint women and young people who have no real influence within the party. If this happens, a facilitator can initiate bilateral discussions with the party concerned to see how this situation can be changed for the better. It is a facilitator's role to make sure that all those appointed by parties to participate in a dialogue are truly representative of the party, have a strong mandate and can make a meaningful contribution. This goes equally for men and women.

'In Mali, all the party Secretary Generals are men. As a result, CMDID's strategic plan pays specific attention to equal participation and the issue of women's participation: each party agreed to send two leaders—one man and one woman—to take part in the interparty dialogue. CMDID also assists the parties' national party bureaus to become more sensitive to women's issues and reinforce capacity building of women through leadership training.' Soumano Moumouni Executive Director, Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMDID), Mali



## 2. Establish a gender, youth, PWDs reference group

A second option is to set up special reference groups composed of women, men, youth, PWD alongside the regular political party dialogue forum. This group can be established as part of the dialogue structure or more independently to bring politicians together, define common goals, inform themselves about the laws and internal party regulations and provide suggestions for improving equality within the parties. Specific tasks of the gender reference group can be to offer gender perspectives on the political party dialogue agenda and to answer questions that come out of the dialogue. Having a gender reference group can also make it easier to link up with other civil society groups in society that support the country's broader women's agenda.

## 3. 'Women/Youth/PWD only' groups and parliamentary caucuses

A multiparty 'women/youth/PWD only' group can be useful in contexts where politicians from these groups feel uncomfortable discussing their concerns in the presence of men, for instance because of cultural sensitivities, or because they want to avoid accusations of undermining party discipline – sometimes the agendas of these groups goes against a certain political party line, for instance when discussing new electoral systems. These dialogue groups can act as incubators for more mainstream dialogue. Sometimes women or youth or PWD find themselves in agreement with women/youth/PWD from other parties on topics that concern their target groups, thereby providing a natural opportunity for dialogue. In other contexts, party leaders view women's issues for example, as less sensitive dialogue openers and are therefore more easily inclined to support the multiparty dialogue initiative. A facilitator should be aware of these opportunities and make use of them where they exist. The risk in setting up special groups, however, is that the role of these groups in politics may remain associated with (or even limited to) 'women's/youth/PWD issues'. The existence of these groups can even be used as an excuse not to bother with women's/youth/PWD issues in the mainstream dialogue.

Because this group should never be used to sideline women/youth/PWD from the regular dialogue forum, a 'women/youth/PWD only' dialogue platform should never be the sole method used when seeking to achieve equality. In a number of countries, different kinds of groups exist parallel to each other, and each can serve a different purpose. For example, in Ecuador, women both from parties and from civil society set up a formal network, the *Red de Mujeres Políticas del Ecuador* (Women's Political Network of Ecuador) focused on supporting women in leadership positions, while an informal multi-party women's group aimed to strengthen the position and visibility of women politicians within their own parties was set up.



Women's caucuses in parliament are also built around the idea that women from different parties have particular concerns in common. In countries where these caucuses exist, they can be considered as an institutionalized dialogue mechanism. Caucuses that focus on defending the rights of women sometimes face criticism from within their respective parties with regard to putting women's interests ahead of the party agenda. In other countries there is no space for a parliamentary women's caucus, as in the case of Bolivia, where public meetings between indigenous and non-indigenous women were at one point considered too sensitive as a result of strong pressure to prioritize the indigenous agenda (as opposed to the women's agenda).

An alternative approach may be not to set up a formal platform but rather to facilitate more informal, behind-the-scenes meetings. A multi-party women's dialogue can help prepare the ground for a future parliamentary caucus. Both women's groups and caucuses are designed to contribute to the overarching goal of equal participation of men and women in politics. A facilitator may wish to make sure that efforts between the different groups are coordinated.

### **Gender sensitivity within the dialogue**

Many women face specific obstacles when entering politics, including the need to balance the public/private life dichotomy in a way that differs from men. These types of differences need to be taken into account when discussing the workings of the dialogue. Similarly, in parliament, one of the obstacles to women's participation is the need to work long hours or attend late-night meetings, which many women must balance against the need to take care of their families. For facilitators, this means reaching out to women representatives from the outset, and seeking to identify shared concerns that can be taken into account during the dialogue process. At the same time, while discussing the political participation of women and men it is important to keep in mind that neither group is homogeneous. Women politicians have as many identities as men (e.g. having a certain gender, belonging to a specific indigenous, ethnic or religious group, being poor or part of the economic elite), juggle with an accumulation of different responsibilities, and may face various kinds of discrimination and prejudice while doing so. For a dialogue process this means that, ideally, the opinions of a wide variety of women and men need to be considered. A facilitator can also assist parties in developing their own capacities to analyse issues from a gender perspective (e.g. by offering training on how gender roles are shaped and the ways in which men and women engage in socio-economic life and the world of politics).

*Extract from IDEA, NIMD and Oslo Center, Political Party Dialogue, A Facilitator's Guide.*



## HO 11.11: Agreement types

### HO 11.11: Agreement Types

1. **Pre-negotiation** – an agreement to talk. Usually the first step and results from an initial process of “talks about talks”. It’s usually unwritten and often confidential. This early form of agreement represents the consent of the parties to come to the table. Sometimes a more formal pre-negotiation agreement sets out precise terms around process and substance of the talks and on how these will proceed.
2. **Interim/transitional or preliminary agreements** – set out a further process of talks of the necessary political changes which will determine the ultimate political solution. It also sets out a provisional arrangement which will ensure until final status arrangements are agreed. Interim agreements adopt and create institutions and processes as instruments to work out a final settlement. This type of agreement designs the instruments to make the final agreement.
3. **Comprehensive and framework agreements** – sets out in detail the complete arrangements for a new direction on the issue at hand. These full agreements state all the constituent parts of a final settlement.
4. **Implementation agreements** - there should be no complacency once agreements have been signed. There is a need to ensure the effective implementation of the dialogue agreements in order to consolidate the desired result from the dialogue and address any long-standing challenges. It is as important to achieve agreements that facilitate implementation as it is to ensure that professional capacities for mediation are sustained throughout implementation.

## PPT 11.12: *Understanding PIN*

### UNDERSTANDING PIN – ANECDOTE

There is one orange left in the fruit basket. 2 sisters (your children perhaps) both want the one orange. They start to argue about who should have the orange. The fight turns into a physical one with a lot of name calling. This undoubtedly threatens the future of the relationship of the sisters. As their parent you try and mediate the situation. Who should have the orange – the elder one or the younger one, should they merely just share half each– is it that clear cut?

### P – POSITIONS

- ▶ A **position** – a **fixed idea**, usually a **demand**, that is the basis of the conflict.
- ▶ Bargaining based on positions are win-lose because if you don't walk away with what you wanted, you've lost. Whoever gets the biggest piece of the pie is the winner.
- ▶ Issue of the sisters fighting over the orange. They are fighting at the level of positions.



## PITFALLS ON POSITION BASED NEGOTIATIONS

1. **Arguing over positions produces unwise agreements** - tendency to lock parties into those positions. The more you clarify your position and defend it against attack, the more committed you become to it and high likelihood of creating new positions in defense of original positions.
2. **Arguing over positions is inefficient** – process takes long time and it creates incentives that stall any settlement.
3. **Arguing over positions endangers an ongoing relationship**
4. **When there are many parties, positional bargaining is even worse** – too many positions to deal with.

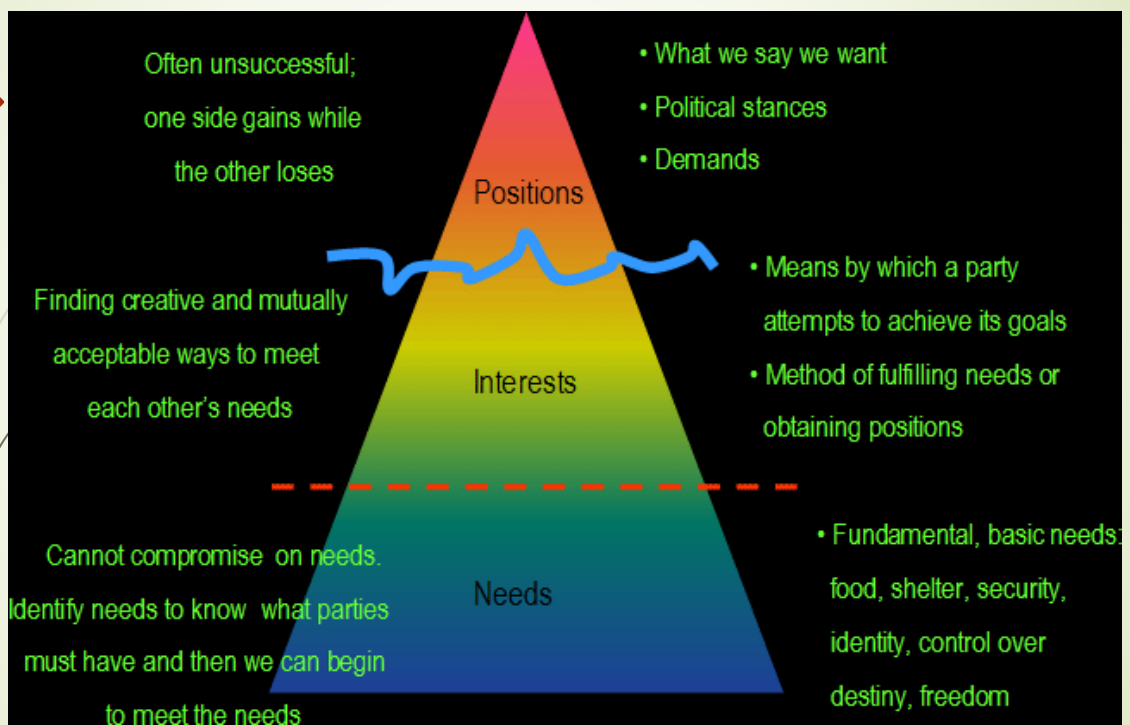
**Source:** Fischer & Ury, Getting to Yes

## I – INTERESTS

- **Interests** in a negotiation/dialogue are the underlying **desires, needs, wants, and goals** of a side. A side's interests can be analyzed by asking, "Why do you want that?". Interests are so crucial to a negotiation/dialogue that there is even a style of negotiation called **interest-based negotiation**, integrative bargaining, win-win, or principled negotiation.
- In the example of the 2 sisters fighting over an orange, a few questions for each can uncover that perhaps one of the sisters wants the juice of the orange, whilst another the rind to bake an orange cake.

## N – NEEDS

- Human needs such as **security**, **fulfilment**, **belonging**, **self-esteem** etc. are important to consider in a negotiation/dialogue. A human needs approach to negotiations takes into account that these needs cannot be traded or bargained for and that they have strong influence.
- In the story of the 2 girls needs could be recognition of each of their positions in the family.
- Space for dialogue is at interest and needs levels.





## PPT 11.13: BATNA

### CRITERIA IN REACHING AGREEMENT

- Negotiate with objective criteria – identify what that criteria are – the more you bring **standards of fairness, efficiency, or scientific merit** to bear on your particular problem, the more likely you are to produce a final package that is wise and fair
- Objective criteria consists of fair standards, fair procedures:
  1. Frame each issue as a joint search for objective criteria.
  2. Reason and be reasonable as to which standards are most appropriate and how they should be applied.
  3. Never yield to pressure, only to principle. i.e. focus on objective criteria firmly but flexibly. Frame each issue as a joint search for objective criteria. (Rodgers & Ury, Getting to Yes)

### BATNA

- BEST ALTERNATIVE TO A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.
- The standard against which any proposed agreement should be measured. That is the only standard which can protect you both from accepting terms that are too unfavorable and from rejecting terms it would be in your interest to accept.
- Has advantage of being flexible enough to permit the exploration of imaginative solutions. Instead of ruling out any solution which does not meet your bottom line, you can compare a proposal with your BATNA to see whether it better satisfies your interests. (Rodgers and Ury)

## BATNA (Cont...)

- ▶ The better your BATNA, the greater your power/negotiating power. Not necessarily determined by resources like wealth, political connections, physical strength, friends, and military might.
- ▶ The relative negotiating power of two parties depends primarily upon how attractive to each is the option of not reaching agreement.

## BATNA (Cont...)

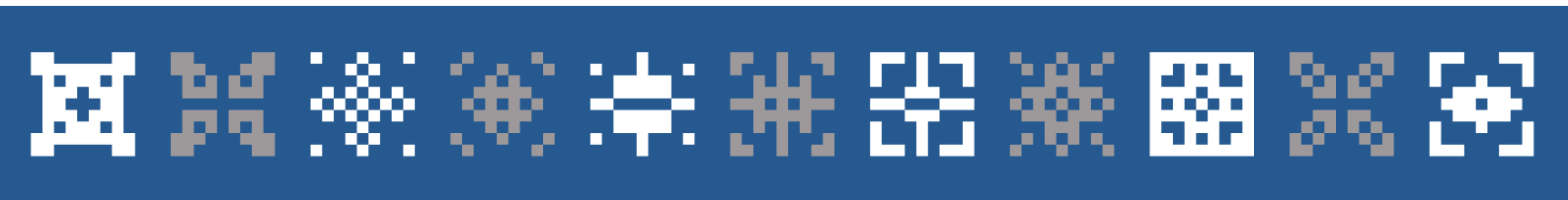
- ▶ E.g. The relative negotiating power of a large industry and a small town trying to raise taxes on a factory is determined not to be put off by the relative size of their respective budgets, or their political clout, but by each side's best alternative. In one case, a small town negotiated a company with a factory just outside the town limits from a "goodwill" payment of \$300,000 a year to one of \$2,300,000 a year. How? The town knew exactly what it would do if no agreement was reached: It would expand the town limits to include the factory and then tax the factory the full residential rate of some \$2,500,000 a year. The corporation had committed itself to keeping the factory; it had developed no alternative to reaching agreement.

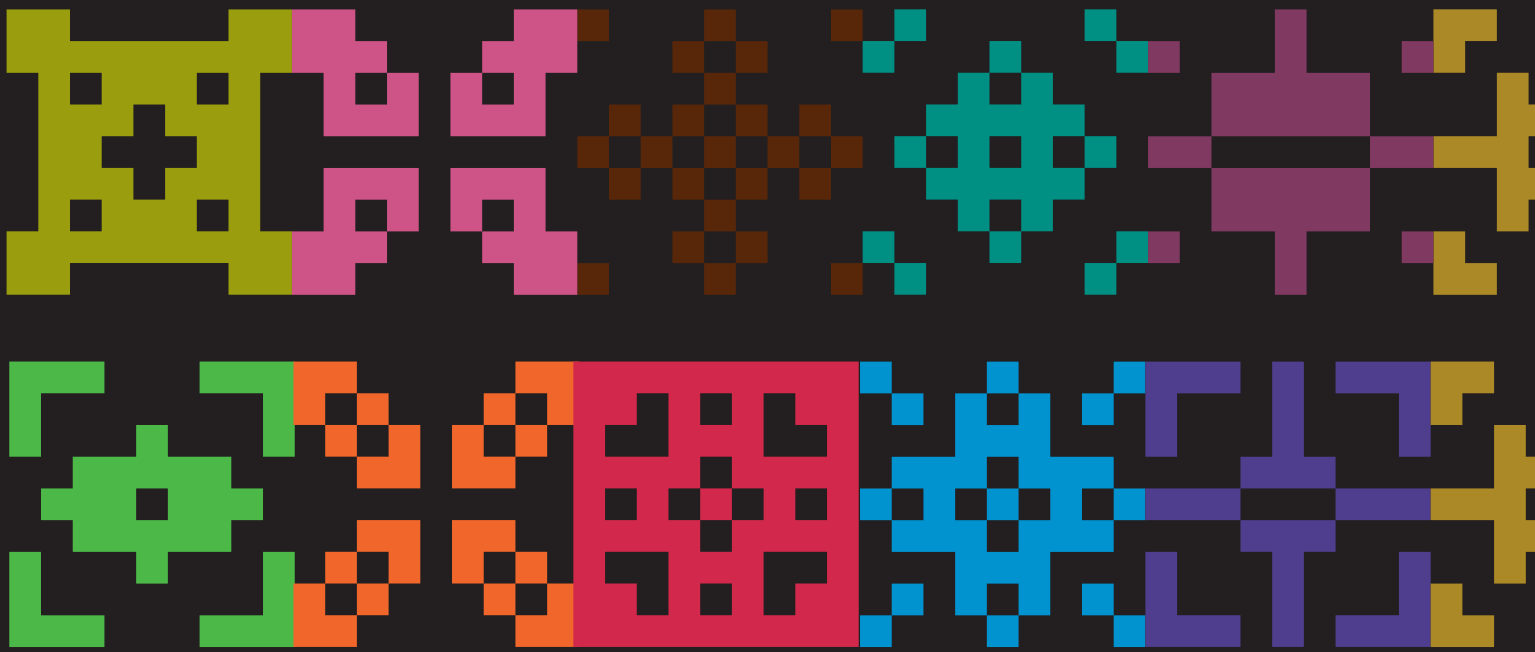


## BATNA (Cont...)

- E.g. Cont... At first glance the corporation seemed to have a great deal of power. It provided most of the jobs in the town, which was suffering economically; a factory shutdown or relocation would devastate the town. And the taxes the corporation was already paying helped provide the salaries of the very town leaders who were demanding more. Yet all of these assets, because they were not converted into a good BATNA, proved of little use. Having an attractive BATNA, the small town had more ability to affect the outcome of the negotiation than did one of the world's largest corporations. (Rodgers & Ury)







The SAPP&D Program curriculum is a comprehensive collection of eleven training modules designed for political parties in the region. Each module contains a Participant Guide, a Facilitator’s Guide and a Resources Guide comprising strategies, guidelines and activities to enhance the effectiveness of political parties in fostering democratic, transparent, accountable, and inclusive leadership, and encouraging participatory policy development, focusing on water and energy, among political parties in Southern Africa. The modules cover:

- The Role of Political Parties
- Political Parties and the Electoral Process
- Strategic Plan for Poll Watching
- Election Campaigning
- Conflict Management
- Mobilization and Management of Resources
- Political Party Policy and Manifesto Development
- Strategic Communications for Political Parties
- Inclusivity in Political Parties
- Strategic Planning for Political Parties
- Fostering Inter-Party Dialogue



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