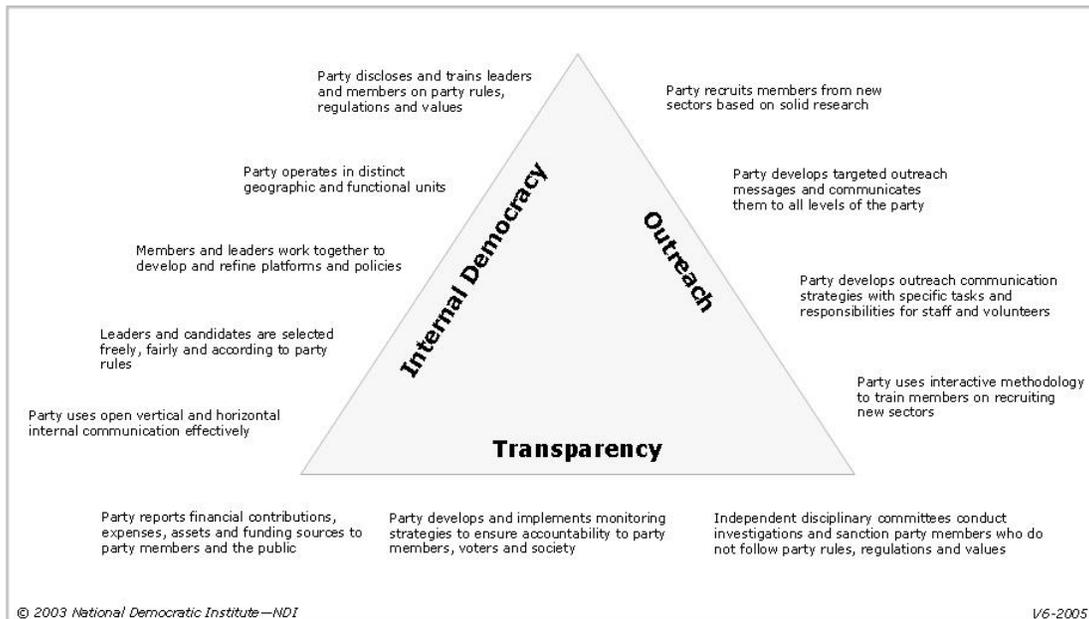


Best Practices of Effective Parties: Three training modules for political parties



Erica Breth and Julian Quibell, Editors

This publication was made possible through the support provided by the Office for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, US Department of State, under the terms of Award No. S-LMAQM-03-H-0047. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of State.

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

Democracy depends on legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive, independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law, political parties that are open and accountable, and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

Build Political and Civic Organizations: NDI helps build the stable, broad-based and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a strong civic culture.

Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

Safeguard Elections: NDI promotes open and democratic elections. Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to monitor elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that polling results reflect the will of the people.

Promote Openness and Accountability: NDI responds to requests from leaders of government, parliament, political parties and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service to the balance of civil-military relations in a democracy. NDI works to build legislatures and local governments that are professional, accountable, open and responsive to their citizens.

International cooperation is key to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington D.C., with field offices in every region of the world, NDI complements the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development.

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Introduction

Although a majority of Latin Americans believe democracy is preferable to other political systems, most are not satisfied with democracy in their own country. Recent *Latinobarometro* polls show that four out of five Latin Americans have lost trust in their political parties, mirroring a disturbing trend worldwide.

Concerned about growing disillusionment among citizens, Latin American political party leaders have recognized the need for party renewal and practical approaches to implementation. In response to this need, and based on work with political parties in over 50 countries since 1983, NDI has identified three fundamental characteristics of successful political parties that transcend geographic boundaries and ideologies.

Around the world, healthy parties

- develop and maintain democratic internal structures,
- promote and enforce transparency and accountability, and
- consistently revitalize their membership through outreach to new sectors.

NDI's Triangle of Best Practices of Effective Parties identifies the best practices that political parties adopt to consistently improve their performance within these three areas.

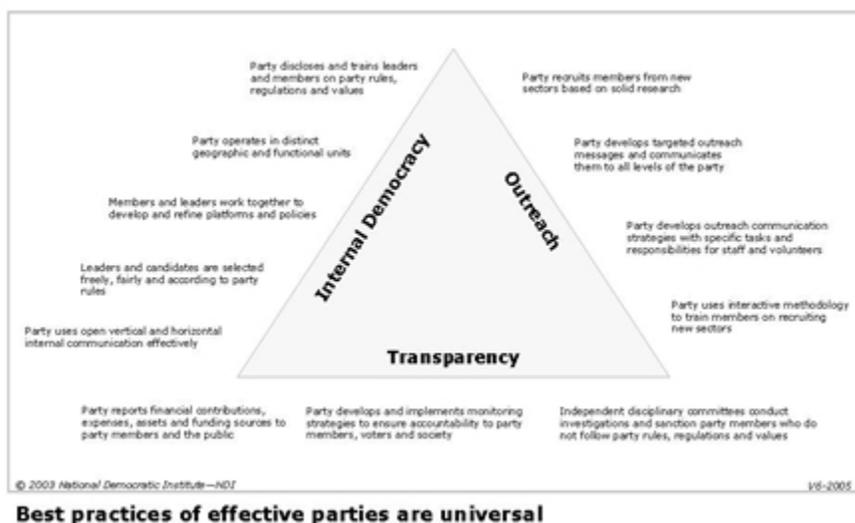
NDI developed a series of modules for use by party trainers, on internal democracy, transparency and outreach. These modules aim to help parties examine and improve current organizational practices and institute new practices as needed.

While they were developed for Latin American parties, these materials can be applied to parties worldwide.

Methodology

At the most basic level, the modules are designed to help party activists examine their party's internal democracy and transparency structures and processes in a creative way, as well as learn specific techniques for targeting and recruiting new members. At a slightly deeper level, the modules reinforce party best practices and empower the party activist to become a catalyst for change.

NDI developed the modules with adult learning techniques in mind. Each module begins with a brief introduction to the topic, followed by interactive exercises that require a party activist to



research party documents, describe processes, and recommend changes. Each module can be completed in several hours, or divided up into smaller pieces over a longer period of time. At the end, the party activist will have a module filled with his reflections and recommendations to the party.

Adapting these materials to train groups

Organizational renewal and revitalization should be permanent features of political parties. By consistently training party members to understand and question party structures and processes, parties can develop an environment in which informed activists help keep the party and its policies relevant. To help with this, each module is accompanied by a training appendix with examples of how to adapt the module to train groups.

The appendix contains sample agendas, or instructional plans, showing how NDI adapted these modules for use in an interactive training for Argentine, Bolivian and Peruvian party trainers in 2004. While NDI chose to devote one day to each of the module topics, trainers can develop curricula to fit time constraints by using as few or as many of the modules as desired.

Trainers will find sample interactive group activities in the appendix, as adapted from the written module exercises. These activities are accompanied by instructions for each activity.

In addition to the basic concepts covered in the manual, trainers will find a list of supplementary articles on internal democracy, transparency and outreach in the appendices. Trainers can assign these articles to participants, to stimulate group discussion.

Finally, a trainer may wish to translate the materials into a local language and add examples illustrating local party implementation of the best practices.

To facilitate adaptation of these materials by trainers, the manual can be downloaded for free from NDI's Latin America Political Party Network website, www.ndipartidos.org. NDI invites parties to adapt this manual, or use it as is, and invites parties to share their own manuals and success stories on our website.

Acknowledgements

It is no mistake that we chose to say we “developed” rather than wrote this publication. The material in these workbooks is based on 20 years of training and cumulative knowledge of political party leaders, NDI staff and volunteers all over the world. We would like to especially acknowledge the following people for contributing resource materials, advice and encouragement:

Ben Allen, Aaron Azelton, Simon Baugh, Steven Breth, Victoria Canavor, Mevis Clark, Eduardo Colindres, Fabiola Cordova, María del Carmen Corte, Rebecca De Mar, Christiaan DeLuigi, Nick Demeter, Matt Dippell, Ivan Doherty, Mary Duppler, Anthony Escamilla, Ted Fenn, Veronica Gonzalez, Francisco Herrero, Gerardo Le Chevallier, Julie Leonard, Anaïs Miodek, Daissy Moreno, Katy Mudge, Luis Nunes, Shannon O’Connell, Mary O’Hagan, Paulina Ojeda, Michael O’Reilly, Katie Prud’homme, Sandy Quimbaya, Robert Reed, Tanya Romero-Baca, Felix Ulloa, Peter Van Praagh, Charlotte Youngblood and Dilma Zurita.

Sources

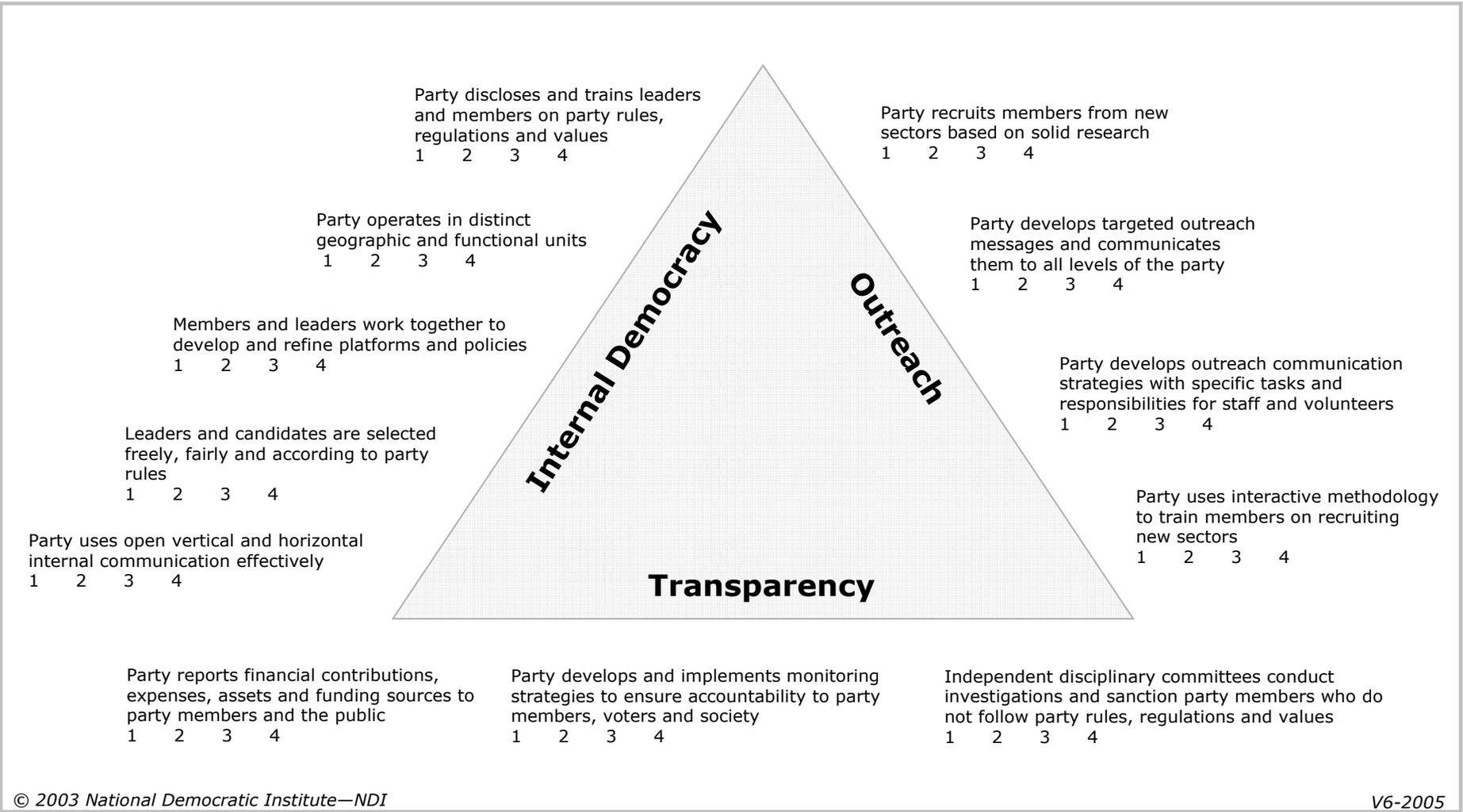
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We tried to make this publication as accurate as possible. Any errors are the responsibility of the editors and we welcome suggestions and corrections.

*Erica Breth & Julian Quibell
December 2003
Washington, DC*

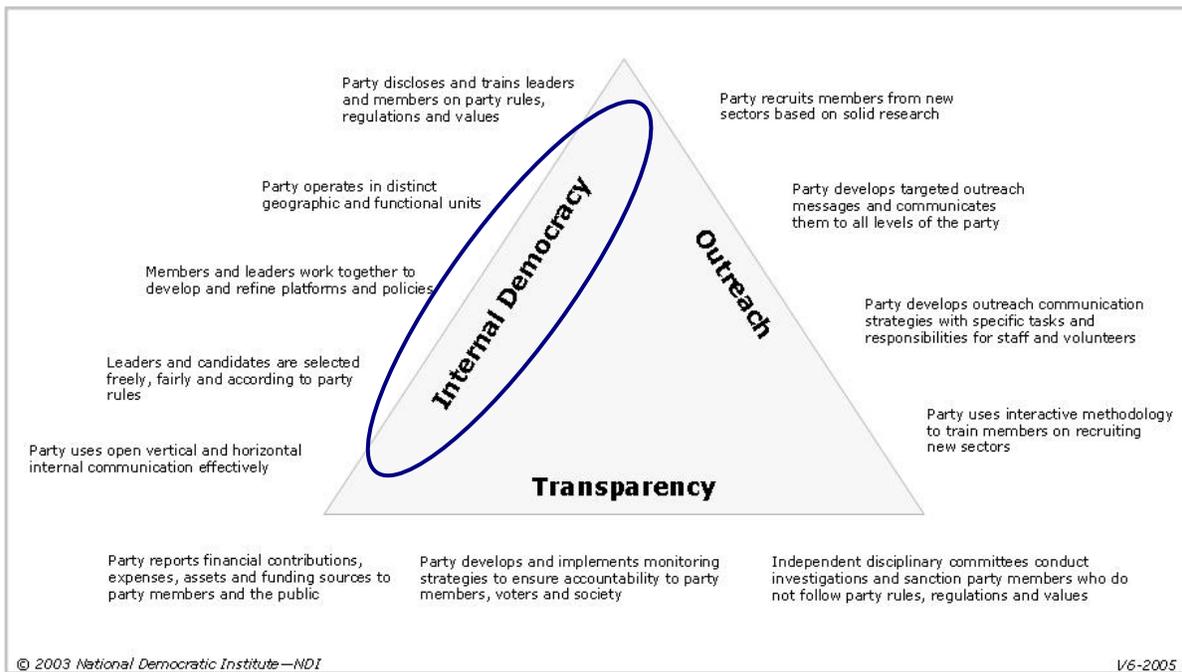


Best Practices of Effective Parties

Rate your party's performance on each best practice above from 1-4 using the following scale:

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

Module I: Internal Democratic Structures & Processes



Overview: Why should parties care about internal democracy?

In 20 years of work with political parties in more than 50 countries, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has seen that successful parties are those that are committed to best practices in internal democracy, transparency and outreach to new sectors. This workbook on internal democracy is intended for use with NDI's Triangle of Party Best Practices.

Political parties are institutions unlike any other formal organizations in the world. Parties are players in highly dynamic, demanding environments. Parties are expected to be able to fight and win elections, develop policy ideas on a broad range of topics, communicate effectively to an increasingly distracted electorate, raise enough money to support themselves, manage the expectations of a population, and implement a legislative agenda either as government or opposition. Parties are expected to be active and engaged seven days a week, 365 days a year. This is a varied and challenging list of expectations for any institution.

To survive and thrive in these conditions, political parties must be responsive to opportunities for growth, development and transformation. Otherwise, the changes that are a natural part of their surroundings will easily leave them behind.

Unique case of Latin America

Many Latin American parties started during autocratic regimes, not democratic governments, and were organized and had rules corresponding to subversive or revolutionary organizations. Today, these parties face the challenge of modernizing and democratizing their own internal systems to match the change from autocratic political structures to democracies occurring in their countries.

As voters increasing voice their displeasure at the ballot box and in polls over what they perceive as weak democratic systems within parties, the pressure for and rewards of meaningful reform grow greater.

What are the benefits of internal democracy?

1. Positive voter perception
2. Competitive, organized, well-funded party
3. Effective, dynamic campaigns
4. Enthusiastic, active, quality staff and volunteers

Characteristics

Internal democracy in a political party is characterized by transparent, accountable and inclusive rules, organization and processes. When applied in practice, these abstract ideals bring very real benefits to parties on the ground. Political parties focused on transparency, accountability and inclusion tend to be better organized and are able to find more resources. Open and inclusive structures allow parties to run more effective, dynamic and competitive campaigns, attract a broader base of talent in staff and volunteers, expand and enhance support among the base and tap into more human and financial resources.

Reaping the rewards

Enthusiastic, active and engaged party members are the lifeblood of every political party. These members are a precious resource which should be valued and developed, and should feel important

and listened to. A political party with an internal democratic culture will involve members in a variety of activities and decision-making at all levels. Party members who have a good understanding of the party's platforms and values, rules and processes, are invaluable external advocates for party candidates and policies, as well as internal resources as activists, trainers, fundraisers, organizers and donors.

Political parties that actively engage their members also tend to be more naturally connected to voters in general and therefore more aware of the concerns of citizens. This connection provides the best possible research any party could have when it comes to knowing voters' priorities and what will be on their minds on Election Day.

Who is this workbook for?

Creating and maintaining a political party that is vibrant, dynamic, connected and competitive is a process that requires constant work and constant focus on growth and development. This workbook is designed to assist those objectives. NDI's *Internal Democratic Structures & Practices* workbook is geared towards political parties and party activities wishing to investigate, analyze and improve the democratic structures and processes of their own party.

Activists will use interactive exercises to analyze and define their party's internal structure (statutes and organization) and processes (policy development, leadership selection, internal communication and training). Party activists will then apply the concepts they have learned about building internal democracy to a real case. At the end of the workbook, party activists should have increased knowledge about their party statutes and structures and be able to make recommendations to strengthen their party's internal democracy and overall operational efficiency and competitiveness.

Internal democracy: goals and objectives

At the end of this workbook, you will be able to:

1. Describe the benefits of internal democracy
2. Explain and evaluate your own party structures and processes
3. Develop a strategy to strengthen internal party democracy

Diverse options for democratic party structures & processes

Objective: To describe tactics to strengthen internal democracy

What is internal democracy? How much do you need before you can call a party democratic? There is wide debate about these questions. Some argue that overly democratic parties are not governable. On the other hand, others argue that undemocratic parties negatively affect public opinion and the chances of democratic governance when the party gains power. The answer may lie somewhere in between. In general, a party that is internally democratic is a party that embraces democratic values such as freedom of speech and freedom of choice for members. Each individual party committed to democracy must decide on the appropriate structures and processes to promote their goals and realize their mission.

In the following exercise, you will see that there is no one answer to how a party should be structured, and you will observe the influence of party ideology, beliefs and goals on the diversity of tactics to strengthen internal democratic structures and processes.

Activity: Compare & Contrast Party Structures

Objective: To explain the connection between internal organizational design and party values and beliefs.

1. Circle two relatively opposite party ideologies below, then write one party in the space marked "Party A" and the other in the space marked "Party B."

Liberal

Conservative

Christian Democrat

Libertarian

Green

Socialist

Party A: _____

Party B: _____

2. Imagine you are a well-respected political consultant. The two parties you circled have asked you to conduct an assessment of their internal structures and processes with a view to improving them. Below, outline what you anticipate finding in each of the parties based on your understanding of the values and beliefs of each party.

1. What are the values, beliefs and goals of the party?

(Write your answers for Party A in this column)

(Write your answers for Party B in this column)

2. How is the party organized? (e.g. leadership structure, decision-making processes, centralized vs. decentralized structure, etc.)

3. What are the leadership qualities the party looks for? How are leaders selected? How diverse is the leadership?

4. What are the responsibilities of the leadership?

5. Who can be a member? How are members selected? Which groups does the party actively recruit for membership?

6. What are the responsibilities of each member?

7. What are the party's rules for making decisions? What consequences are there if members don't follow the rules or act unethically or illegally? What disciplinary structures exist?

8. Who gives funding to the party? With whom does the party share its financial information?

9. Is the party closed (produces all training and policy development within official party channels) or open (outsources training, policy development, etc.)?



Questions to consider:

How are the structures and processes of the two parties you selected similar? How are they different? Does one appear more democratic than the other? Based on your analysis, what would you say are some characteristics of democratic parties? What about characteristics of non-democratic parties? Of the two parties you've assessed, which do you think will perform better in elections? Why? What are your recommendations for improvement for the party that will come out worse in elections?

Party structure: Written rules and organization

Objective: To define the key elements of internal democratic structures and evaluate the internal structure and organization of your party

Just as rule of law is essential to a functioning democracy, so are rules, organization and processes to a party. To strengthen its internal democracy, parties should have written rules (usually in the form of statutes) and known organizational divisions with clear roles and responsibilities. Of course, rule of law is not only laws and institutions, it is also the application and enforcement of the laws, which we will discuss in the next section on internal party processes.

Statutes set forth the rules of your party: the internal regulations that govern how the party operates on a daily basis and how standards for performance and decision-making are defined. Statutes translate a party's fundamental principles and values from an amorphous concept into a clear set of guidelines and structures that implement those principles every day.

Party members and activists often think of the statutes as long and boring documents. But these regulations actually contain vital information that each party activist should know in order to make a sound contribution to the party's development.

Statutes also typically outline the organizational divisions, or operating structures, that enable the organization to carry out its mission as effectively as possible. Understanding the party's organizational structure and the responsibilities of each organizational unit are also important to the party's growth and success. Continuous training on the party's statutes facilitates this process.

The sections below outline general elements of the written rules, or statutes, and organizational divisions for a political party and will help you assess the way your party is structured in these areas and how training of party members is conducted.

Written Statutes

Every political party has a reason for being, or a mission, that is based on fundamental principles and values. These values define the purpose of the party, the structure of the party and how decisions are made. These values are elaborated in the statutes, constitution, or charter of the political party.

Written statutes serve a number of key functions:

- Define the ideology, principles and purpose of the party
- Define membership eligibility, including policies for recruitment of underrepresented groups
- Classify leadership positions and describe the methods of selecting leaders, including quotas or other inclusionary mechanisms

Internal Democracy Best Practice

Party discloses and trains leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values

- Describe the role and relationship among different administrative units at the local, regional and national levels
- Establish standing committees, or working groups, in important areas such as policy development, finance, training, communication and relations with civil society

Continuous Training

One of the most underutilized mechanisms for internal democracy is training. Effective parties have training services with ongoing training programs for their members and leaders on a wide range of subjects that can include the party's history and statutes, campaigns and elections, fundraising, voter outreach, voter registration, media and message, public speaking. Some parties make partnerships with civil society organizations to do the training for them.

Benefits of training

Parties that continually train and update their member's skills are able to adapt more easily to changing circumstances, recruit volunteers and organize elections. Continuous exposure to new ideas and skills contribute to modern, dynamic parties. Training gives members additional reasons to volunteer their time with the party and helps bring in new people and prepares members to move up within the party and successfully contest elections by developing and building on their skills. Continuous training can give parties an edge over their competitors.

Training topics & structure

There are four types of party training: ideology, technical skills, internal democracy, and relations with other democratic institutions. Usually, parties have think tanks that research and train party members on ideology, and separate training services that cover the three other areas.

Depending on whether a party has a closed or open structure, the party either has internal think tanks and training services or has an agreement with independent think tanks and training services. For

example, the Mexican *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) party is a closed system with its own think tank (*Fundación Colosio*) that trains party members on ideology and its own training institute (ICADEP). The US Democratic party, on the other hand, has an open structure and relies on various independent think tanks (e.g. The Brookings Institution) for policy ideas and training, and NGOs for training on other subjects (e.g. EMILY's List, a civil society organization, trains Democratic women candidates).

Who trains on what areas within parties?	
Party Think Tank	Party Training Service
Ideology	Technical skills
	Internal democratic processes
	Relations with other democratic institutions

This next exercise gives you an opportunity to examine the written rules, or statutes, of your party and describe its organizational structure, in order to understand how your party's current structures

help or hinder internal democracy. Based on your responses, you will also be able to evaluate how your party's training structures might aid the dissemination and enforcement of party statutes.

Activity: Statute Analysis

Objective: To describe your party's internal democracy as reflected in the party statutes

Study the statutes of your political party. Here are several questions to help you examine the statutes:

1. When was the party founded? By whom (person and/or group)? Does the party still reflect its origins?

2. What is your party's mission? What are the fundamental principles and values of your party? Does your party have a particular ideology? If so, what is it?

3. Is your party a member of an international party organization? If so, which one? Does this membership influence your party rules?

4. What are the criteria for becoming a member of your party? Is it a party of masses (open membership) or cadres (highly selective membership)?

5. What are the rights and responsibilities of members of your party?

6. What is the structure of the leadership of your party?

7. What are your party's policies and platforms? What is your party's relation to civil society organizations?



Questions to consider

Having considered your statutes, what recommendations would you make to party leaders to make your party statutes more democratic? How are your party members trained on party rules regulations and values? How would you recommend improving the training structures to make internal information more accessible? Who should be trained, on what topics and who should be the trainers?

Organizational Divisions

Organizations made up of people without clear roles and responsibilities are generally ineffective. Like any other organization, a political party needs to be designed so that it can best carry out its mission and function in a competitive environment. Well-organized parties take into account their ideology, vision and history, the geography of the country, the needs of the people, and the cultural and ethnic make-up of citizens, among others. With such an array of considerations, parties seek to maximize their organizational capacity and resources by designing internal structures that are broken up into geographic and functional units. The benefit of these divisions to parties is both to attract members and develop policies that make sense in different parts of the country and with different types of people.

**Internal Democracy
Best Practice**

Party operates in distinct geographic and functional units

Geographic Units

Geographic units within parties are based on the geographic and/or political divisions of the country such as national congresses, regional councils and local branches. Each organizational unit

contributes to the party in its own way. Communication among geographic units is essential to ensure coordination and coherence.

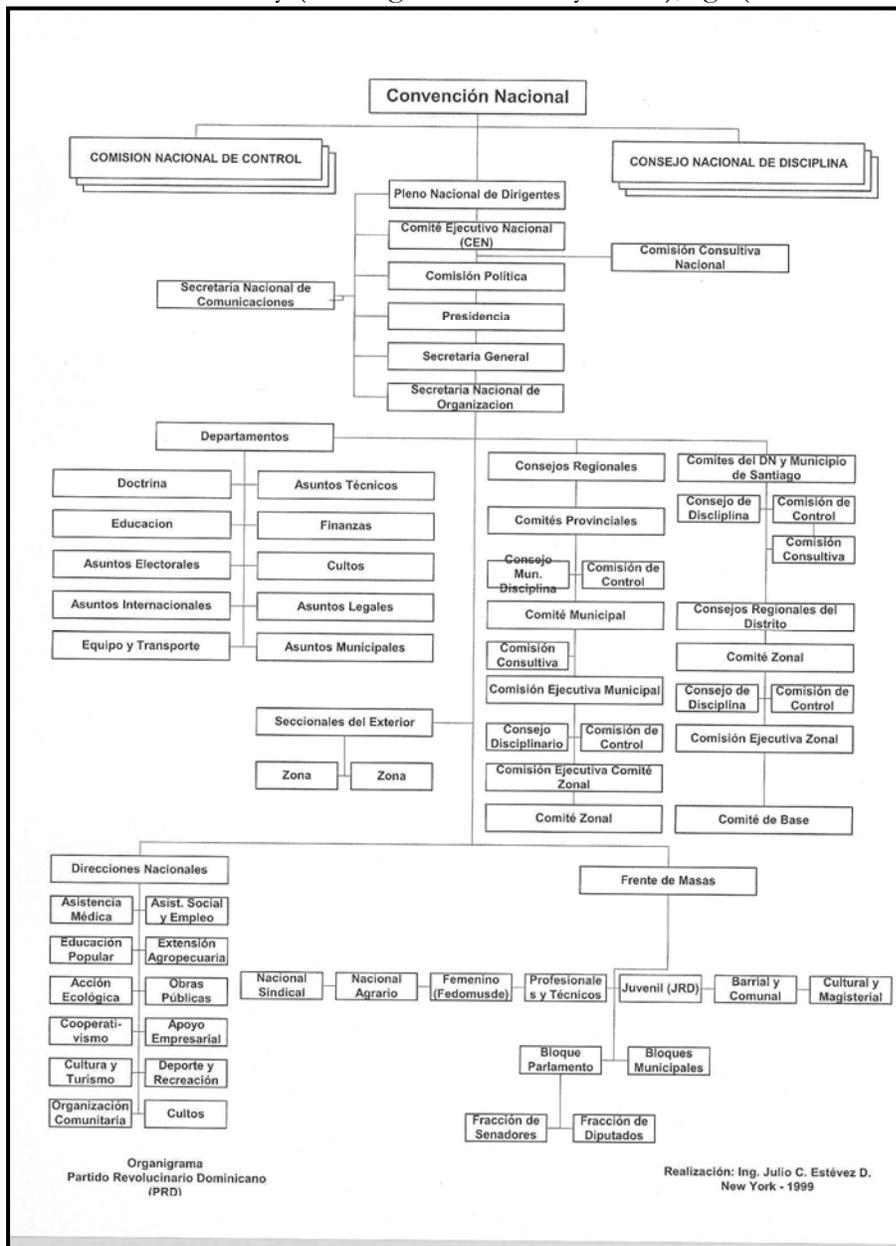
Functional Units

Parties may also have functional units based on ethnicity (an indigenous advisory board), age (a youth wing), gender (a women’s caucus) or profession (a farmer’s wing or council of mayors). These sectors are often good sources of policy ideas and can be incorporated into programs to attract new members and supporters.

Parties may have specific quotas for geographic and functional representation within the party, related to the party’s vision and beliefs. One of the responsibilities of a functional unit may be to work with the outreach unit and the geographic units to recruit those populations in certain areas.

Other organizational models

The structure of a party might also reflect different membership levels. For example, the party may distinguish between sympathizers (who perhaps do not pay dues and cannot hold leadership positions, but can select candidates) and members (who perhaps are dues paying and can hold leadership positions).



Flow chart showing one party’s geographic and functional divisions.

Most parties also have a permanent or semi-permanent elections division that coordinates with both geographic and functional units. Regardless, in most parties around the world, volunteer party activists, not salaried employees, staff all these structures.

Creating and maintaining an explicit chain-of-command and decision-making is done by every effective organization. A chain-of-command requires well-defined job descriptions for every worker in the party's organization. Job descriptions are written explanations of each person's duties and responsibilities. A job description should include both general areas of responsibility, as well as specific assignments. When new jobs are created, it is often desirable to involve each party activist in the writing of their job description.

The next exercise will give you an opportunity to explore how your party is structured.

Activity: Party Organization Chart

Objective: To examine the internal democratic structures of your party by designing a flow chart

Draw an organization chart that describes the structure of your party. What are the responsibilities of the people within each section of your flow chart? How centralized is your party? What geographic structures exist within your party (e.g. national, regional and local levels)? What functional structures exist within your party (e.g. farmers, youth, women, etc.)? What membership structures exist (e.g. sympathizers, members)?





Questions to consider

Which party document describes the structure of your party? What does the national party or election law say about party structure? What recommendations would you make to party leaders to make your party organization more democratic?

Finally...

You should now be able to describe your party statutes and organizational structure, and describe the benefits of these internal democratic tools. Now, we will investigate the processes that make up internal party democracy.

Party processes & behavior: Applying the rules

Objective: To define the key elements of internal democratic processes & evaluate the internal processes and behavior of your party

One aspect of internal democracy within parties is written rules and organizational structures. For maintaining internal democracy within a party the party's actual processes are as important as the written rules and structures. Common processes include developing policies, selecting leaders, communicating ideas and training members.

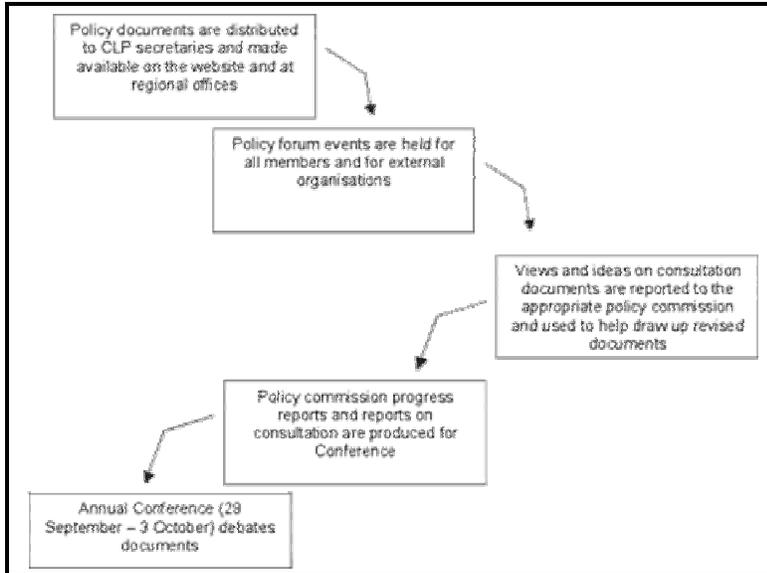
The design of these processes will vary from party to party according to beliefs and values and according to whether the party has an open or closed system. For example, a party with an open system might allow all members and even civil society to help determine party policies and select leaders, and it might work in partnership with civil society organizations to communicate and train party members and sympathizers. In contrast, a party with a closed system might develop policies and platforms through an internal party think tank and allow only dues-paying members to select leaders and be trained. What is common among successful parties however, is that they seek member input on policies and platforms, select leaders in a systematic and transparent manner, communicate regularly throughout the party and continuously train members and leaders.

Participatory Policy & Platform Development

The process of developing public policy positions varies according to the capacities of a political party. If a national party has an office of research, the research staff can initiate a planning process and be responsible for a first draft. For some parties, a small ad hoc group of experts, party members and others can play a similar role. In all cases, widespread participation of party members, perhaps through a network of study groups or public forums, helps inform policy positions. Party organizers and leaders must first understand the concerns and priorities of ordinary people. Then, discover the best way to address those issues and win citizens' support for the party.

Internal Democracy Best Practice

Members and leaders
work together to develop
and refine party platform
and policies



The UK Labour Party incorporates member views on party policies by gathering comments through regional offices and holding forums for members and civil society organizations.
(based on diagram at <https://www.labour.org.uk/consultingonpolicydocuments>)

The bottom line is that members should have the ability to engage party leaders in an exchange of ideas and in decision making. In genuinely democratic parties, the ultimate policy-making authority is the party membership.



Questions to Consider

How is policy developed in your party? Are you able to contribute to crafting policies? Which party document describes these rules? What recommendations would you make to improve democratic policy and platform development in your party?

Systematic Leadership Selection

Internal party democracy goes to the core of a healthy and vibrant political party. Just as citizens of a nation are entitled to cast ballots in elections, members of a political party should be entitled to select or reject their leaders, office holders, and candidates for public office. While the need for internal democracy is almost universally accepted, the structure of a party's decision-making process is not always conducive to it.

Internal Democracy Best Practice

Leaders and candidates are selected freely, fairly and according to party rules

Parties generally select candidates and leaders through some form of **direct or indirect election**. Parties often conduct periodic conventions for the purpose of electing national party leaders and developing party policy. In some cases, the conventions are open to all members of the party. In other cases, members may elect, from local, district or provincial levels, delegates to the national convention. Regardless of the method, party members are given regular opportunities to take part in the selection of party leaders at all levels.

To help ensure that one individual or special interest does not dominate a party, some party constitutions stipulate that party leaders can only serve limited periods in office. Therefore, there is a regular change in party leadership that is instituted by members of the party. Other party constitutions stipulate that party leaders must be reflective of the party membership so as to make sure that a variety of perspectives are included in the management structure. All of these rules and procedures are intended to promote inclusiveness and accountability in the operation of the party.



Questions to consider

How are leaders chosen in your party? Which party document describes these rules? Who is eligible to hold leadership positions? Are there any restrictions to running for a leadership position? If funds are required, where do these funds come from, and who is eligible? Are youth, women and other non-traditional groups encouraged to run? Are internal elections independently monitored? What recommendations would you make to party leaders to make leadership selection more democratic?

Open Communication

A party can have brilliant policies and vision, but without clear and open communication, a party cannot succeed. A successful party will have a clear communication structure that is well known and understood by its members and is reinforced by the party's internal communications and training mechanisms.

In order to successfully build party membership and convince voters, each party organizer must understand the party's position on major issues and its plans for the future. Parties should have mechanisms that allow organizers to ask questions, voice opinions and receive honest, useful responses from the party leadership. The key to this is a well-designed system that facilitates open communication between party leaders and members and also between different structures within the party such as between two local branches or between the environmental policy committee and the youth wing. In other words, a party should have open vertical and horizontal communication.

Internal Democracy Best Practice

Party uses open vertical & horizontal internal communication effectively

Vertical communication

Leaders and members in successful parties communicate openly and regularly. In part, this means that the leadership of the party regularly sends information to party members. This might include party messages, platforms, positioning and achievements, national press releases, newsletters, articles, petitions, surveys and ideas for photo opportunities; or leaflets for door-to-door campaigning and other materials to support local voter outreach. Vertical communication is not just top-down orders however, it also includes eliciting and incorporating the views and experience of party activists on candidate selection, policy development, talking points on controversial issues, campaign priorities, legislative priorities, impact of policy or legislation on the ground, and political opponents.

One tool for facilitating communication among party activists and leaders is a regularly published party newsletter or bulletin. A monthly or quarterly newsletter could be augmented with special issue "alerts" (i.e., specific information on important, fast-breaking political developments that organizers need to know). This information can be transmitted the traditional way, via print or through face-to-face contact, telephone, faxes, e-mail, SMS/pagers, websites, radio and television, to name a few.

Open communications will provide the national party with detailed information about politics and the concerns of people throughout the country. For example, regular reports from the base to the leadership can focus on general political information, an evaluation of a fundraising event, membership recruitment efforts, or public opinion about the party's policies.

Horizontal communication

A party must also have effective horizontal, or functional, internal communication. This means that if the party has functional structures such as a women's wing and a youth wing, the two wings send each other information on their events, etc. Another example would be local branches of the party within a province sharing information back and forth. This interchange of information can help spread ideas and create new leaders throughout different sections of the party, activate members in

far-away regions, strengthen weak sectors of the party, and spread best practices and share experiences.

Every party leader, organizer and active member, from the village level to party headquarters, should know to whom they report and, in turn, who reports to them. In a well-organized party, every organizer and leader should be able to describe her position in the communications structure and name the person to whom they regularly report and also who provides them with information.

These are all essential for building an effective internal party structure. Acknowledgment and understanding of the views of local party activists is essential for building loyalty at the local level for national party goals. Without such acknowledgment and understanding, party activists can lose their incentive to support the party, and without members, parties cannot survive.

The next exercise helps you describe your own party's communication structure.

Activity: Communication Flow Chart

Objective: To appraise your party's communication systems

Go back to the organization chart you drew earlier. Using a different colored pen, indicate the official lines of communication between structures.



Questions to consider

Does information flow from the top to the bottom of your party? Does it flow back up to the top? Does it flow horizontally? What are the mechanisms of communication that are used in your party? How often are they exercised? In your opinion, which ones work and which ones could be improved? What recommendations would you make to party leaders to make your party communication more democratic?

Finally...

You should now be able to describe your party internal processes and behavior and describe the benefits of these internal democratic tools.

In the next section you will apply what you know about the best practices of internal democracy to help a party resolve a serious problem.

Putting it all together: Internal democratic renewal

Objective: Develop a strategy for internal democratic reform

Many parties have decided to review and update their internal democratic structures. This process requires a commitment from the party leaders and an investment of time and resources. Environments around parties change and parties evolve as they grow. Periodic review of internal democratic structures helps to keep a party vibrant, growing and successful.

In the following exercise, you will be asked to apply concepts of internal democracy to help a political party strengthen its internal democratic structures and processes to improve the health and longevity of the party.

Case study: Internal democracy

Objective: Apply internal democracy concepts to develop a strategy for internal democratic reforms

Read the following case of an actual political party. Think about what recommendations you would make to improve the internal democratic structures and processes. Then, read what the party chose to do.

Background:

The British Labour Party was founded in 1899. In its first 100 years, Labour was a natural party of opposition, governing for only short periods before the Conservative Party returned to power. The current Labour Government, led by Tony Blair, is the first to achieve two full terms in power. There are a number of reasons why Labour had previously been unsuccessful in power. These include:

- The Labour Party was frequently split. Party membership, trade unions, and local party units often worked in opposition to the Labour Party in government, feeling betrayed by the policies that were being implemented.
- The Labour Party in government failed to move with public opinion and was seen as out of touch.
- The Labour Party had been subject to take over attempts by small groups of Trotskyite extremists, trying to use party procedures to gain control of local parties

Part of the reason for these failings was the Labour Party's internal structure and policy-making process. Labour Party policy was decided at the party's annual conference where delegates from local parties, trade unions, and parliament moved motions. Speeches were

made in support or against of the motion, amendments were tabled, the motion was supported or opposed by the leadership, and a vote was taken. This policy-making process created the following situation:

- The confrontational nature of the process meant that motions were tabled on areas of natural disagreement within the party
- The voting in favor of or against the motion meant that one "side" always had to lose
- The conference (which was televised) emphasized the differences within the party rather than those areas where the party agreed. The public quickly concluded that the party couldn't agree on anything and could not be trusted to govern effectively
- Only a handful of the party's mass membership got an opportunity to play a part in the policy-making process, meaning that many good ideas were lost.
- If a policy area was not deemed important enough to be discussed at conference there was no opportunity for the party to debate it
- People who were not members of the party had no opportunity to express their opinions within the policy process

In 1996, on the verge of electoral victory, the Labour Party decided that its policy-making process would have to change if it was going to survive in power.



Questions to consider:

Imagine that you are a political consultant advising the President of the Labour Party how to reform the party's internal democracy in 1996.

- How can the party make sure that it has a genuine debate while avoiding splits and factionalism?
- How can the party reach consensus?
- Should the Labour Party's objectives be to present a united front to the public or to create greater democracy in the party? Is it possible to do both?
- What mechanisms can the party use to increase input from civil society groups?
- How can the party ensure that the new democratic process cannot be used by extremist groups to try to take over the party?

4. The new National Policy Forum organized small groups of members to discuss and amend policy documents. All discussions operated on the basis of consensus
5. The amended policy documents were sent out to Party members for a further round of discussions before the National Policy Forum met again
6. Final policy documents were drafted by the National Policy Forum and Party Researchers for the party's annual conference to vote on. The documents could not be amended by conference and the vote could only be for or against.

Several thousand party members played a part in the policy process, and good ideas from members were listened to at a local and national level. All sections of the party from Prime Minister to ordinary party member debated together to try to reach consensus.

In 2003, the Government launched 'The Big Conversation' (www.bigconversation.com). This is a process similar to Partnership in Power but it engages the wider public and civil society groups rather than those who are dues-paying members. Since September 2003 the Labour Party has received over 30,000 policy responses from members of the public. The Prime Minister has attended 10 Big Conversation forums with members of the public, and the policy exercise has been seen as so successful that the party now intends to extend it.

Results and lessons learned:

The policy forum process has allowed thousands of party members and members of the public to put forward their ideas and suggestions for policy. The Labour Party conference has become a showcase for the party's policy rather than a place for the party to argue with itself. The leadership of the party has suffered fewer defeats at the party conference than ever before and the party's official process is transparent and open.

However, while the Labour Party's policy-making process does allow individual party members to become involved, there are obvious limits to the extent to which a governing party can seriously discuss policy changes or developments within this structure. In practice, the Partnership in Power process can become little more than a test of support within the party for *existing* government policy.

Consequently, many party members now feel marginalized. Some criticize the new procedures saying that there is little or no real opportunity for party members to change policy. This is a lesson in itself. All policy-making processes, however successful, need to be renewed and reinvigorated or they risk losing credibility.

Review

You should now be able to explain the benefits of internal democracy, describe your party structures and processes, and make recommendations to help your party strengthen its internal democratic mechanisms. Let's review the best practices of internal party democracy:

Best Practices of Internal Democracy

Internal democratic structure & organization

- Party discloses and trains leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values
- Party operates in distinct geographic and functional units

Internal democratic processes & behavior

- Members and leaders work together to develop and refine party platform and policies
- Leaders and candidates are selected freely, fairly and according to party rules
- Party uses open vertical and horizontal internal communication effectively

Referring back to the objectives of this workbook, you should now be able to:

- ✓ Describe the benefits of internal democracy
 - Positive voter perception
 - Competitive, organized, well-funded party
 - Effective, dynamic campaigns
 - Enthusiastic, active, quality staff & volunteers
- ✓ Explain and evaluate your own party structures and processes
 - By analyzing party statutes and flow charts
 - By adding communication channels to party flow charts
 - By designing a training program

- ✓ Develop a strategy to strengthen internal party democracy
 - By examining the case study

Finally...

Parties that develop, practice and honor democratic values will win the confidence of voters. Voters recognize that if the party is internally democratic there is a chance that after the party wins elections and governs, their practices will also be democratic. Based on the experience of parties all over the world, implementing best practices of internal democracy as well as best practices of transparency and outreach to new sectors pave the way for longevity and success.

Good luck!

Add to Appendix:

Too often, parties do not train their members or train them only in ideology or party history. Keeping in mind the variety of training areas available, continue to the next exercise to design the ideal training program for an imaginary party. Then, think about changes you might recommend to your own party's training services.

Activity: Design a training program

Objective: To design a party training program

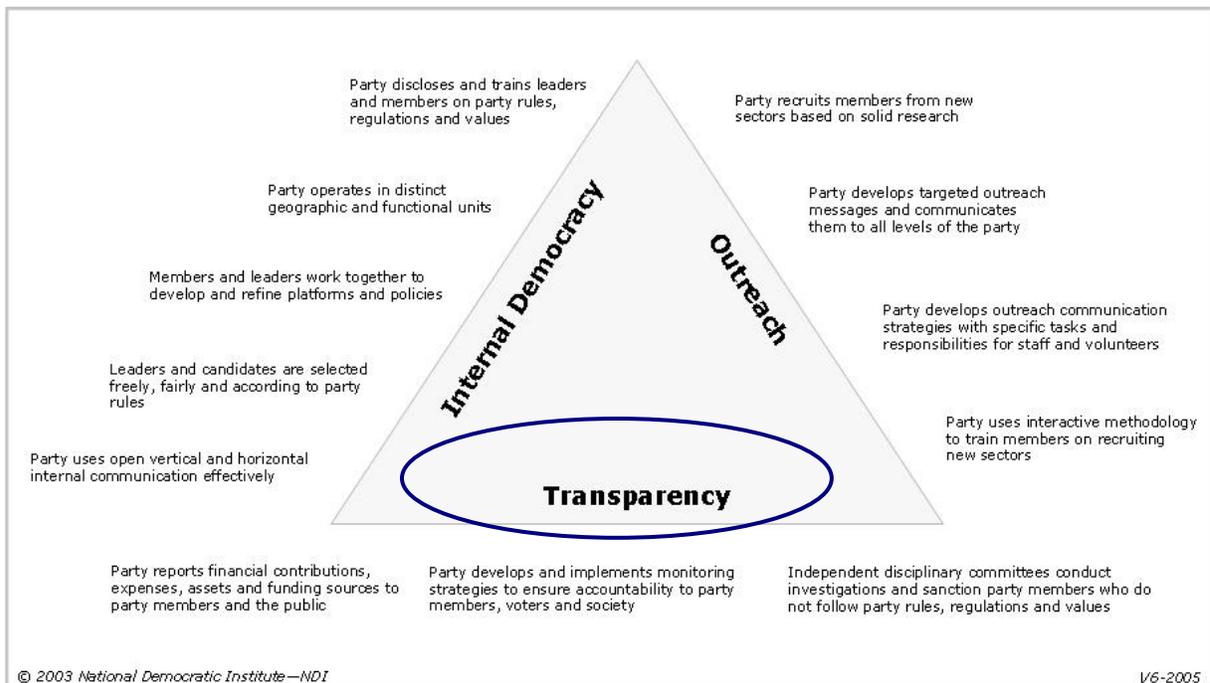
Imagine you are a political consultant hired by a political party that does not have any formal training for its members. Choose one of the parties from the exercise "Compare & Contrast Party Structures." Advise the party on who should be trained, on what topics and who should be the trainers. Should the party have a separate training service or hire an outside person or civil society organization to do the training? Include reasons for your recommendations.



Questions to consider:

Think about your own party: What training programs does your party have? Who is able to get training? What do you have to do to qualify for training? Is there a series of courses all members must complete? How is the training funded? Who are the trainers? Is there specific training geared towards youth, women or other specific sectors? What recommendations would you give to your party leaders to improve training?

Module II: Improving Party Transparency





Overview: Why should parties care about transparency?

In 20 years of work with political parties in more than 50 countries, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has seen that successful parties are those which are committed to best practices in internal democracy, transparency and outreach to new sectors. This workbook on transparency is intended for use with NDI's Triangle of Party Best Practices.

Almost every country in Latin America and the Caribbean has had free elections to varying degrees. Many countries now face the “second generation” challenge of consolidating democratic institutions like political parties while promoting equitable economic growth. At the heart of these issues is ethics and accountability.

Unique case of Latin America

Corruption undermines democracy and distorts economies, inhibiting growth and transferring resources from the needy to the rich. In Latin America, corruption compounds the challenges of economic reform and aggravates the income gap between rich and poor – the widest such disparity of any region in the world. As result, citizens are frustrated about the ability of democracy to deliver, leading them to become skeptical about political systems and democracy as a whole.

In the 1990s, Latin American leaders were in the vanguard of anti-corruption efforts. They adopted a regional anti-corruption platform in Caracas that has been a model for other parts of the world, such as the Southern Africa Development Community.

What are the benefits of party transparency?

1. Improves public confidence, perception & votes
2. Combats corruption and saves money
3. Improves quality of party leaders and members

Political parties are the thread that runs through most democratic institutions: they are uniquely positioned to promote transparency and anti-corruption through their roles in naming judges, providing leaders for legislatures and the executive branch and by serving as models for society.

Characteristics of Transparency

According to Transparency International, there are two types of administrative corruption. The first is when a public official does his job, but accepts illegal payments to do what he is required to do. For example, a Senator may be required to vote on bills in the Senate. Accepting a payment to vote one way or another is an example of corruption “according to rule.” The second type of corruption is when a public official accepts payment for a service he is not allowed to provide. Accepting a payment to nominate someone to be head of the political party is an example of corruption “against the rule.” Corruption, and even the perception of corruption costs parties money and votes. It costs money when funds are directed away from the party and instead, to individuals, or as a result of strict fines for allowing illegal behavior. It costs votes when voters decide they don’t want representatives who are untrustworthy or who appear to hire only their friends.

Political parties who wish to protect themselves from corruption have internally democratic systems such as clear, written job descriptions and rules that are available to all within the party. They have accountability mechanisms, and also disciplinary bodies that actively investigate and take action against party members who have infringed upon the rules. These are all tools of transparency.

Benefits of Transparency

Most societies have some sort of measure of ethical and moral behavior. Sometimes this comes from shared religions, sometimes it is agreed upon by lawmakers, and many times it is an unspoken code among citizens in a community. The purpose of this workbook is not to delve into right or wrong, but rather to explore the tools available for parties to make values and procedures clear to their party members and voters, as well as enforce them.

Transparency allows parties to act in reflection of their values, improving the quality of party leaders and members who believe and act in accordance to those values or mission. Transparency helps combat corruption by clarifying rules and providing disciplinary mechanisms sanctioning unethical or corrupt behavior. Transparency improves public confidence in and perception of parties. By increasing transparency, parties can receive more votes, and keep party funds secure for party activities, not fines or personal enrichment.

There is no question that opening up any organization to the public will mean a certain amount of criticism, no matter what. Introducing transparency measures is one of the most challenging things that a party can do, but ultimately one of the most rewarding.

Who is this workbook for?

NDI's "Preventing Corruption and Improving Perceptions of Parties Through Transparency" workbook is geared towards party activists wishing to understand and internalize the transparency structures and processes of their own party. Instead of memorizing facts about party rules, activists will use interactive exercises to analyze and define transparency tools within their party's internal structure (codes of conduct, statutes, financial guidelines and organization), processes (leadership and candidate selection and financial management and fundraising), and outside the party (legal or legislative reforms and partnerships with civil society). Party activists will then apply the concepts they have learned about promoting transparency to a real case. At the end of the workbook, party activists should have increased knowledge about their party statutes and processes related to transparency and be able to make recommendations to strengthen their party's transparency.

Party transparency: Goals and objectives

At the end of this workbook, you will be able to:

1. Describe the benefits of transparency to political parties
2. Explain techniques for increasing transparency
3. Practice creating a strategy to increase transparency

Individual incentives

Organizations are not just corporate machines, but are made up of individual people whose decisions become part of the organization. Increasing transparency within organizations like political parties includes a need to understand the motivations and incentives of the individuals who make up the party. This exercise will give you a chance to explore the motivations and incentives of the person you know best: you!

Activity: What would you do if...?

Objective: To explore personal attitudes and individual incentives

Answer the first question. Once you have answered that question, go on to the next one. **Don't read ahead!** There is no right or wrong answer to any question.

Q: You find \$1000 on the sidewalk near a store. Do you turn it in to the store or keep it? Why? What if you are unemployed and have a family of six to support?

A:

Q: You find \$1000 on the sidewalk near a store. There is a security camera trained on the money. Do you turn it in to the store or keep it? Why?

A:

Q: You find \$1000 on the sidewalk near a store. Last week, you heard of someone who found \$1000 and kept it and was prosecuted by local authorities. Do you turn it in to the store or keep it? Why?

A:



Questions to consider:

Was there a difference in your actions between when there wasn't a camera and there was a camera? Did you hesitate in one scenario but acted more decisively in another? Would it have made a difference if you were a well-known leader of a political party? Do you think other people might have made the same choice as you, or not? What conclusions can you draw from this exercise related to human nature?

Finally...

Your answers to these questions probably were not all the same. Most people's are not. This is a reflection of real life. To the mother with six hungry children, it may be most important to her to buy food than to return the money. Individuals that make up organizations react differently to different situations, and organizations such as political parties must anticipate this.

Most people who answer they would keep the money in the first scenario, will take the money to the nearby store in the second scenario. Even if they do not know for sure that the camera even works. This is interesting. Apparently, most people will play it safe if they think there is a chance others might notice or might sanction them. This is an important deterrent for political parties to remember when launching campaigns to increase transparency.

To protect itself, a political party needs to be clear about what it considers ethical behavior and it must make sure that everyone within the party knows the rules, abides by them, and understands the consequences for behaving unethically. Otherwise, the actions of one individual can tarnish the reputation of the entire party, perhaps even destroy the party.

In the next exercise, you will have the opportunity to explore your party's approach to situations that arise from corrupt behavior or behavior that might produce perceptions among voters of corruption within the party.

Understand your party

**"If a man knows not what harbor he seeks,
any wind is the right wind."
-Seneca**

Objective: To explain the need for party transparency mechanisms

Political parties are often held up to a high standard of ethical behavior since they represent the public and often operate using public funds. What is ethical or not is not always clear however, and parties can open themselves up to problems of perception by voters and the danger of illegal activity of individuals within the party. What transparency mechanisms does your party have in place? You can get some idea in the following exercise.

Activity: Crisis management

Objective: To appraise your party's transparency mechanisms

You will need your party statutes, code of conduct and constitution to address the following scenarios. You might also want to reference the country's party law. Note that the scenarios do not necessarily represent corrupt or fraudulent behavior depending on the laws of the country and the party. They may, however be perceived as corrupt or fraudulent by voters.

Answer these questions for the scenarios below:

- A. What are the party or country laws/rules regarding this? If there are no laws or rules on this topic, is there any danger the public may develop a negative perception of the party because of this, or repeated examples of this within your party?
- B. If this has occurred in your party, what steps did the party take to identify, respond to or correct the problem? What ramifications did this have for the party? What role did civil society play, if any?
- C. What transparency tool could your party utilize to combat perceptions of or actual corruption in the future?

1. Your party's candidate for president of the nation spends more funds than is allowed.

A.

B.

C.

2. Your party accepts major donations from one business leader who consults regularly with party leaders on policy issues. The source of the funds is not revealed to the public.

A.

B.

C.

3. A local branch leader hires her brother to work in the branch office.

A.

B.

C.

4. All candidates for public office from your party are selected by your party's president.

A.

B.

C.

Finally...

These are complex questions, and the best parties are prepared to answer them with clear rules, regulations and codes of conducts that all party members are trained on. In the next section you will learn more ways to systematically increase transparency in your party.

Organizational incentives & deterrents

**"We are what we repeatedly do.
Excellence, then, is not an act, but a habit."
-Aristotle**

Objective: To review the three best practices of transparency

As discussed earlier, individuals don't always have the same ethical frameworks. Parties must plan for this, and ensure that individuals in the party do have the same frameworks: the party's frameworks. For more information on the benefit of codifying and training members on party rules, regulations and values, see NDI's module on internal democracy.

Step I: Financial accountability

In recent years, the role of money in politics has become a major issue of concern in every corner of the world. What was once dismissed as the preoccupation of a few individuals has grown into public outcry as corruption and unethical financial practices are uncovered in political parties around the world. Political leaders, governments and the public agree that this corruption has caused perceptions of political parties and of democracy itself to plummet.

Reporting income, expenses and assets is standard practice in the private sector, with regulatory bodies helping ensure transparency and accountability to the public. In politics however, this type of financial disclosure is not customary and often is not mandated by government.

The lack of established standards for party finance not only allows corruption to flourish, it also contributes to a lack of voter confidence in political parties. Party finance laws are fundamental to effective democracies. Some of the most common measures governments use to regulate party finance include: public financing, public access to party financial documents, campaign spending limits and reporting requirements.

In the absence of party finance laws, political parties should publicly adopt standards for financial disclosure to establish credibility with voters and promote the democratic value of transparency. The first transparency best practice is that the party reports financial contributions, expenses, assets and funding sources to party members and the public.

Transparency Best Practice

Party reports financial contributions, expenses, assets and funding sources to party members and the public



Questions to consider

What legislation currently regulates party finance in your country, including party income, expenditure and donations? Does your party receive public financing? How is public financing regulated? Do members, the media or the general public have access to your party's financial records?

Here are some accountability mechanisms other parties use:

- ✓ **Full public disclosure of party financial records**, including all income and expenditures and the names of donors.
- ✓ Abiding by government or party **fundraising guidelines and regulations**.
- ✓ Adhering to **public financing regulations**.

Step II: Ensure accountability to the public

Analysts who have studied corruption point out that it flourishes in countries where enabling environments exist. In some countries, this environment can encompass the society as a whole. In one focus group conducted in a South American country, citizens said they expected all public officials to steal. Stealing was considered normal. What was considered corrupt was unequal distribution of what was stolen. Written rules can help political parties establish certain values, but the behavior of the leaders and the members of the party must correspond to the written rules—party leaders and members must be accountable for their actions. The second transparency best practice is the following: the party develops and implements public monitoring strategies that enable accountability to voters and society—in other words, the party creates monitors to encourage good habits.

Transparency Best Practice

Party develops and implements horizontal and vertical monitoring strategies to ensure accountability to voters and society

Codes of Conduct

One of the most pertinent documents to a transparency strategy is the code of conduct. Codes of conduct are usually short documents that describe values that the party considers paramount to the behavior of its members or leaders. Some parties ask internal leaders to sign codes of conduct, others require all members to do so. Using codes of conduct openly declares the party's expectation of its members and the members' expectations of the leaders.

Some parties ask for input from all levels of the party in creating a code of conduct. This tactic can give legitimacy to a code of conduct when it is something created by and agreed upon by a diverse cross-section of party members.

What other party documents would help create transparency in a party and should be known to all party members?

Perhaps you named some of these:

- ✓ **Job performance criteria and evaluation guidelines.** Annual performance reviews of party representatives. Soliciting reviews from the community.
- ✓ **Conflict of interest agreements** for party officials and candidates.
- ✓ Fundraising guidelines and regulations.
- ✓ **Contracts outlining ethical and performance expectations.** Public officials from the party agree to resign voluntarily from their government position if they violate the contract. One party requires that all party members who hold public office sign this contract, and then it conducts regular evaluations to ensure that the contract is being followed. The party recently enforced the contract by removing three governors and six deputy governors for violating contract principles.
- ✓ **Trainings and lectures on corruption** and vote buying for party candidates, utilizing respected community or religious leaders. One party holds monthly discussions about corruption and good behavior.



Questions to consider:

How is behavior in your party consistent with its code of conduct or statutes?
What are some instances in which behavior does not correspond with the written rules?
How is ethical behavior perceived by party activists? By party leadership? By citizens?
What training does your party offer on ethics?

Vertical accountability

According to Transparency International, there are two ways to promote accountability. The first, is to have a system in which those who are governed have some sort of check on those who govern. The most obvious example of this is regular internal party elections. The check on the party leader is that she can be voted out of office. In this case, party members don't control what the party leader does every day, but the leader is ultimately accountable to her party members. This is called vertical accountability.

Candidate and leadership selection often provide the highest opportunities for corruption and manipulation. Problems or opportunities for corruption in the selection process include vote buying, bribery, cronyism and nepotism. Corruption in the selection process can often occur at the middle or lower levels of the party structures where there is less public and media scrutiny—or less horizontal accountability, which we will explore below.

What other ways can you think of that could help promote party leaders' accountability to members?

These are some solutions other parties use:

- ✓ **Corruption hotlines** for members to report corrupt behavior within the party nomination and internal election processes.
- ✓ **Full public disclosure of party financial records**, including all income and expenditures and the names of donors.
- ✓ **Term limits** for party leaders to avoid a monopoly of power with one group, and, therefore, limit opportunities for corruption and the use of influence and party machinery by incumbents.
- ✓ Anti-corruption, **independent election monitoring bodies** within the party to investigate the internal campaign process and expose vote buying. One Deputy Secretary General investigates corruption during party primaries and also serves as an anti-corruption “czar” within the party.

- ✓ Open primary elections **allowing all party members to select the party’s candidates for office**. Parties report that as they integrate democratic procedures into the selection process, candidates are of a higher caliber and the “purchasing” of party positions and nominations becomes more infrequent. When officials and candidates are determined by the entire membership of the party through a clean, secret and fair voting process, patronage and cronyism no longer determine party leadership and representation. One party uses a combination of primary elections involving all party members and public opinion surveys to select its candidates. By broadening participation in the leadership and candidate selection processes however, parties face increased costs, additional logistics, and geographical constraints.

Horizontal accountability

The second way to promote accountability is to have a system in which independent organizations have some sort of check on those who govern. For example, a civil society organization monitors legislative votes and publicizes legislators’ individual votes. Allowing voters access to a legislator’s voting record increases transparency and voters will be better informed about his good work, and reward him by reelecting him at the next election. This is called horizontal accountability because it is a peer organization that is contributing to the accountability.

Parties can also decide to tackle issues of transparency and anti-corruption outside the party, such as by promoting rules and behaviors within the legislature, and also within the laws of the country. Parties might team up with other parties in the legislature in a coalition to promote legal or legislative reforms. Transparency reforms could include freedom of information laws and creating ethics offices or ombudsmen within the legislature.

The most savvy parties actually seek out partnerships with independent civil society organizations. As mentioned earlier, some parties recruit civil society organizations to help monitor internal elections. Others cooperate with civil society in publicizing candidates and their funding. This helps political parties publicize their transparency efforts to more voters and also can help the party if the monitoring is perceived to be independent.



Questions to consider:

What instances do you know of in which your party collaborated with civil society? Are there civil society “watchdog” organizations in your area? What ways could your party work more closely with civil society to help combat corruption and perceptions of corruption?

Other parties have tried these tactics:

- ✓ **Organize forums with civic groups, academics, and citizens to discuss legislative reforms.** Media, civil society and academia play an indispensable role by checking government institutions, politicians and political parties, but they also can be useful for creating a constituency for reform.
- ✓ **Establish party think tanks and research institutes to propose solutions to political corruption.** One party is establishing a party research institute to analyze and develop anti-corruption policy.
- ✓ **Recruit potential leaders from new sectors** such as women and youth to diminish perceived “old boy” networks.
- ✓ **Internal anti-corruption bodies.** One party has established internal structures to monitor party operations and finances. “Party Controlling Commissions” operate at all levels of the party hierarchy.
- ✓ **External audit systems.** One party requires annual independent audits of all financial records.

Step III: Discipline when required

A party that discloses its finances and has monitoring strategies is well on the way to being a transparent party. But sometimes unethical behavior by party members can make any other transparency reforms seem insignificant. Parties report that codes of conduct and written regulations alone are not enough. There needs to be other reinforcing preventative measures (training) and procedures for enforcement, such as evaluation, monitoring and disciplinary processes. If there is no threat of sanction, party regulations are often ignored, and do not result in behavioral change. The third transparency best practice is: independent disciplinary committees conduct investigations and sanction party members who do not follow party rules, regulations and values—in other words, the party punishes bad habits.

Transparency Best Practice

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

Party representatives frequently cite financial management and fundraising processes as the easiest area for abuse. It is extremely difficult for parties to keep track of all the money flowing in and out of the party. This can be one area in which parties can benefit from implementing horizontal accountability through a partnership with a civil society monitoring organization. Electoral competition is also increasingly requiring that parties raise large amounts of money to finance campaigns and fundraising practices often circumvent the law. Discipline is crucial and we will see in the final exercise the great damage corrupt fundraising practices can have on parties.

Write one example of your party punishing bad habits.

These are some ways parties discipline their members:

- ✓ **Independent disciplinary committees**, separate from party leadership, to conduct investigations, hold hearings and discipline those who engage in unethical behavior. Disputes should be resolved in a speedy and fair manner. The independent disciplinary committee of one party expelled six senior officials for buying votes in internal party elections.
- ✓ **Disciplinary procedures**. Parties should institutionalize laws and regulations to ensure party discipline and avoid party switching. Several parties require candidates to sign resignation letters in case they violate party principles, namely by switching parties.

Activity: Pop Quiz

Objective: To test your retention

Have you been paying attention? Here's a 5-minute pop quiz:

1. What is transparency?

2. What are the costs of corruption?

3. What are the benefits of transparency?

4. What are the three best practices of transparency? (Give one real life example of each of the three components.)

If you missed any of these, go back and review the previous sections. Otherwise, go ahead to the next section, where you will have a chance to evaluate a real case, and propose recommendations.

Putting it all together

“Corruption is best exposed, and best attacked in a democracy. Corruption can only be examined and eradicated in an environment of pluralism, tolerance, freedom of expression, and individual security—an environment that only democracy can guarantee.”

-Oscar Arias

Objective: To apply what you’ve learned about using transparency tools

There is no way around it: combating corruption is difficult. According to Nobel Prize winner and former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias, if your party exists in a democracy, it has a better chance at increasing transparency and exposing corruption. The other good news is that you now have specific tools that your party can implement to deter corruption harder and improve negative perceptions of political parties.

In the next exercise, you will consider the real case of one political party faced with a scandal that threatened the reputation of the party.

Case Study: Germany Party Finance Debacle

Objective: To analyze a case and recommend actions to improve party transparency

You are an ethics and anti-corruption party expert hired to help this party decide what to do. Here is the situation:

Background

The German Christian Democratic Union (CDU) was founded after World War II as an anti-communist force. Like the Italian Christian Democrat party, the CDU was supported by the United States to form a democratic alliance, specifically as a force towards German reunification.

The CDU had a definitive influence on Germany’s economic recovery after World War II, along with the US Marshall Plan. The CDU has played an important role in the political stability of Germany as a bloc against communists and extreme right wingers. One of the reasons the CDU has been able to exercise this role has been for the trust it earned from citizens and the support it received from the United States and other democratic nations.

Scandal

At the end of 1999, Helmut Kohl admitted that he had violated the law during his 16 years in power by accepting funds without reporting them. He explained that the money was used to combat the resurgence of communist forces in East Germany, including to open offices of the CDU in various East German states. In a press conference, Kohl explained that \$9.5 million had been deposited in Swiss bank accounts in 1983. He also explained that between 1986 and 1997, \$4.25 million had been withdrawn from the secret accounts.

One independent investigation revealed that more than \$6.3 million were donated by anonymous donors between 1989 and 1998. Of this amount, party officials indicated that more than \$1 million was solicited by Mr. Kohl. Since then, new allegations of illegal funds, money laundering and bribery are seriously affecting this party.

Various media outlets reported that opinion surveys show that the CDU's public support had fallen to 29%, possibly due to an increase in support for extreme right wing parties.

These events led to a political scandal that strongly threatened the legitimacy and honesty of the CDU and the political stability of Germany at a time of growing strength of the extreme right-wing and a communist resurgence.



Questions to consider:

What specific steps would you advise the party to undertake to take sanctions, minimize damage, and repair its reputation? What steps would you advise the party to put in place to avoid such a situation in the future?

This is what happened in real life:

The party decided to...

- In December 1999, party leaders questioned Kohl for 6 hours about the scandal. Mr. Kohl resigned his post as Honorary President of the party on January 18, 2000 in response to demands for clarification of his deeds, however he refused to give the names of those who had donated millions in undeclared donations to the party.
- The party prepared to pay fines to the state for violating the German party law, an amount they estimated to be about \$3 million.
- Wolfgang Schauble was chosen as successor to Kohl. The process was divisive and internal divisions within the party became apparent to the public. Not long afterwards, Mr. Schauble admitted that he had received 100,000 DM from an arms merchant and was forced to resign.
- Finally, the party selected a new leader: Angela Merkel, an East German, and the first woman leader to lead a major German party.

The impact of the corruption scandal was serious...

- CDU was fined more than \$25 million dollars
- The former CDU treasurer was arrested
- Parliament unanimously voted to investigate the CDU
- CDU fell in the polls, losing ground to Social Democrats and Communists

Although only speculations exist about the identity of the donors, some media reports suggest that one of the donors may be a German media magnate. If this is true, this reflects a high level of corruption within the party and the possibility that the party may have been influenced by wealthy special interests.

Finally...

As you see in this case, even when a party has held power and influence for years, a corruption scandal can destroy the party internally, waste millions of dollars of resources, and create such a lasting negative perception with voters that the party falls precipitously polls and ultimately loses much of its hard-won power and influence. The scandal in Germany illustrates the crucial importance of increasing party transparency.

Review

You are now ready to help your party implement transparency tools to deter corruption and improve perceptions of the party. Let's review the best practices of transparency:

Best Practices of Transparency

- Party discloses and trains members on party rules, regulations and values
- Party develops and implements public monitoring strategies to ensure accountability to voters and society
- Independent disciplinary committees conduct investigations & sanction party members who do not follow party rules, regulations and values

Referring back to the objectives of this workbook, you should now be able to:

- ✓ Describe the benefits of transparency to political parties
 - Improves public confidence, perception & votes
 - Combats corruption & saves money
 - Improves quality of party leaders and members
- ✓ Explain techniques for increasing transparency
 - By analyzing party documents using the crisis management exercise
 - With the discussion on accountability and discipline
- ✓ Practice creating a strategy to increase transparency
 - With the case study

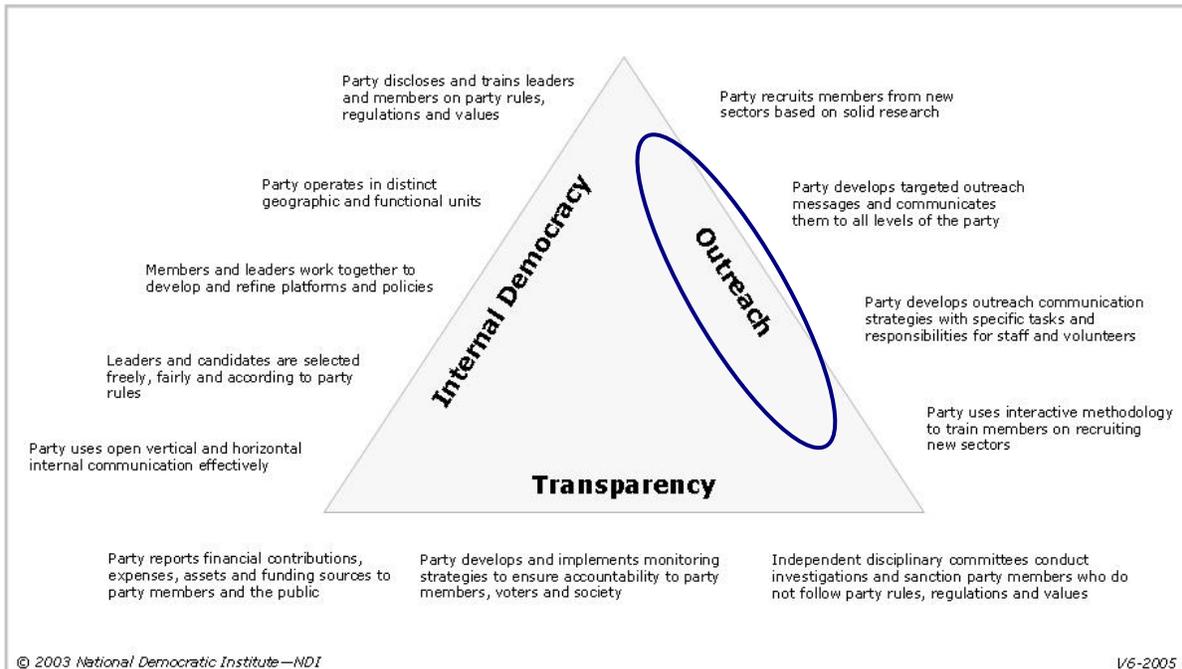
Finally...

Parties that are transparent will gain the confidence and votes of citizens and party members and keep party funds safe from the actions of individuals. Based on the experience of parties all over the world, implementing best practices of transparency as well as best practices of internal democracy and outreach to new sectors will pave the way for longevity and success.

Good luck!



Module III: Party Outreach to New Sectors





Overview: Why expand party membership to new sectors?

In 20 years of work with political parties in more than 50 countries, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has seen that successful parties are those which are committed to best practices in outreach to new sectors, transparency and internal democracy. The topic of this workbook is “Party Outreach to New Sectors,” part of NDI’s workbook series Principles & Techniques for Political Party Strengthening.

Latin America is home to some of the oldest and most sophisticated political parties in the world. And like their counterparts in other countries, political parties in Latin America face the serious challenge of ensuring that they remain dynamic, strong and engaged in the vigorous and ever-changing societies they represent. For modern political parties, this means ensuring that the diversity of the population is reflected in their party ranks, groups of supporters and policy platforms.

Benefits

Diversity in a political party is a sign of growth, development and vision. Parties that have an eye on victory in the future are taking the time now to reach out to and engage those members of society who may be underrepresented in politics and public life. In addition to growing a party’s base of support, bringing these groups and individuals into the democratic process creates stronger governing institutions and better public policies.

For example

Women, youth and indigenous peoples are examples of groups that are often underrepresented in political participation. They hold only a fraction of leadership positions in political parties and government, despite representing large segments of society. For example, in most countries women make up the majority of the population, and yet they are only marginally represented in political parties.

Targeting new groups creates opportunities for parties to test innovative growth, development and publicity strategies. For example, one Latin American party increased youth party membership and voter participation from 30% to 50%, and won the youth vote through a creative outreach effort targeting youth. The party developed a message for young voters and used a touring musical group to deliver it. Now, that party has a budget for youth activities and youth representation on state committees. This is one example of the benefits of creative approaches to reaching new audiences.

What are the benefits of party outreach to new members?

1. Increases party membership and votes
2. Increases potential sources of human and financial resources
3. Demonstrates that a party is dynamic and focused on growth and development
4. Allows more informed party policies

Who is this workbook for?

This workbook is designed for party activists engaged in efforts to create an outreach strategy to expand party membership and support into new sectors. Beginning with a look inside the party

itself, the workbook helps readers identify and research a target audience, design a targeted message, and finally, create and practice an outreach plan.

Vibrant political parties regularly and systematically take on this type of planning. By bringing in new constituency groups, parties build a base of new activists and future party leaders and increase their ability to win elections.

Party outreach to new sectors: Goals and objectives

At the end of this workbook, you will be able to:

1. Define the benefits of outreach to new sectors
2. Test techniques for identifying, researching and targeting potential members
3. Practice recruiting new members

Understand your party

Objective: To investigate whether your party reflects your voting population

If your party has decided to engage in efforts to expand its base of support, you and your colleagues may soon be going door-to-door asking your supporters to become active members of the party. You will probably have more than one conversation about the party, what it stands for, and who belongs to the party. To prepare for their questions, it will be helpful to begin with a baseline assessment: an understanding of the current membership and leadership of your own party.

Activity: Does your party reflect your voters?

Objective: To think about your leadership structure and membership and how it might affect your party's attempts to reach out to underrepresented audiences

Write the answers to these questions about your party

1. What is the racial, ethnic, religious, gender and age composition of your party's leadership?

2. Have there been changes to this composition in the last 10 years? If so, how and what is causing the changes?

3. What is the racial, ethnic, religious, gender and age composition of your party members?

4. Have there been changes to this composition in the last 10 years? If so, how and what is causing the changes?

5. What strategies does your party employ to reach out to new groups? (Students, pensioners, single Moms, unemployed, displaced people, returnees, youth who are thinking of leaving the country)

6. What percentage of leaders in your party are women?

7. What percentage of the party membership is female? If it is less than 50%, why do you think this is the case? Does the party have plans to reach out to women? If so, how?



Other questions to think about:

What does this exercise tell you about your party? How might the party's composition affect its ability to promote policies that resonate with various groups? What does this say about your party's potential to gain new members or votes?

Finally...

The point of expanding the party base is to attract new groups to the party, so there's bound to be some discrepancy between what your party looks like now and what you'd like it to look like later. Understanding how your party looks to outsiders, however, is important information as you begin to identify who you will target and how you will present your party to these potential new members, as you will in the next exercises.

Identify potential members

Objective: To identify and prioritize potential target audiences through research

This workbook is designed for political party activists either beginning or already engaged in efforts to expand the party's base of support by identifying demographic and geographic groups that may respond to the party's message through effective outreach.

Most political parties have limited resources: time, money and people. And, not all voters are the same and realistically, there are some out there who will never support your party. So it makes the most sense for a political party to target specific groups or areas when looking at growth, rather than trying to reach out to the entire population. Society is broken up into many different groups, such as youth, pensioners, veterans, women, indigenous, teachers and many more. Although these groups are diverse, they have one thing in common: they are all looking for someone to help them and represent them well, and many of them are interested in participating themselves as active party members.

Step I: Identify supporters most likely to join

You want to make sure that you are targeting a group of people that has the best chance of becoming members of your party. How do you identify the people most likely to join your party? The following resources will help you identify where your party has strong and consistent support, where support ebbs and wanes, and where your party has little support:

- Recent census figures
- Returns from the last national elections
- Returns from the last local, regional or municipal elections
- Reports from university think tanks
- Surveys conducted by marketing and advertising firms
- Surveys conducted by non-governmental organizations
- Results of a survey canvass conducted by the political party

Outreach Best Practice

Party recruits members from new sectors based on solid research

Using those materials and what you know about your area, identify potential new members in this next exercise.

Activity: Membership Bull's Eye

Objective: To identify population segments that are likely membership targets

The Membership Bull's Eye will help you meet the first challenge in growing a membership base: to determine who is likely to join if asked.

Rules of the Game

In the actual game of bull's eye, draughts or darts, the point of the game is to throw the darts at the board. The closer you get to the bull's eye, the more points you get. If your dart lands in one of the other rings, you get fewer and fewer points. The rules for membership bull's eye are the same.

Center

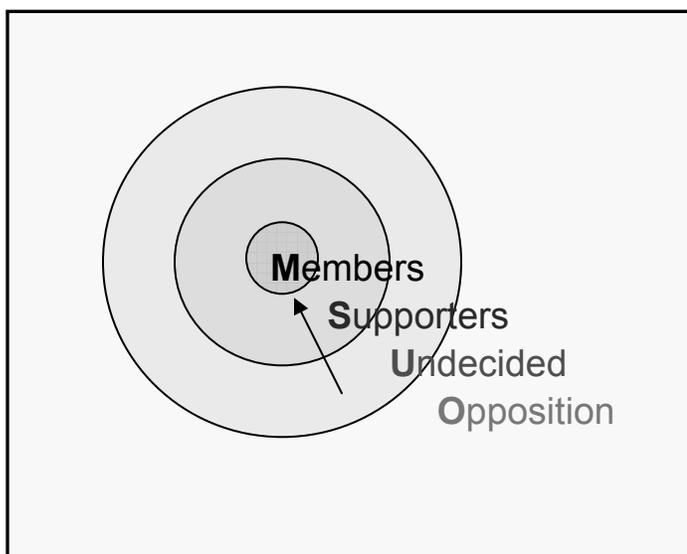
In the center of the membership bull's eye are a party's most valuable resource: its members. Members have contributed something of significance to the party such as financial resources or volunteer time, and vote for the party. They are a party's lifeblood. The more people you move into the members circle, the more your party will win.

Inner ring

The first ring around the bull's eye center are party supporters. These are people who have voted for the party, but are not yet members. This population is key to gaining new members, the most fertile ground for outreach. The more people you move into the supporter's ring, the more potential members are created.

Outer ring

The next ring out are undecided voters, who may vote for the party or may vote for the party's opponents. Undecided voters can also be useful in party building, but require more resources to bring them closer to the center. We don't address these people in this workbook.



Membership Bull's Eye: Political parties win by moving people from the outer rings to the bull's eye

Outside the rings

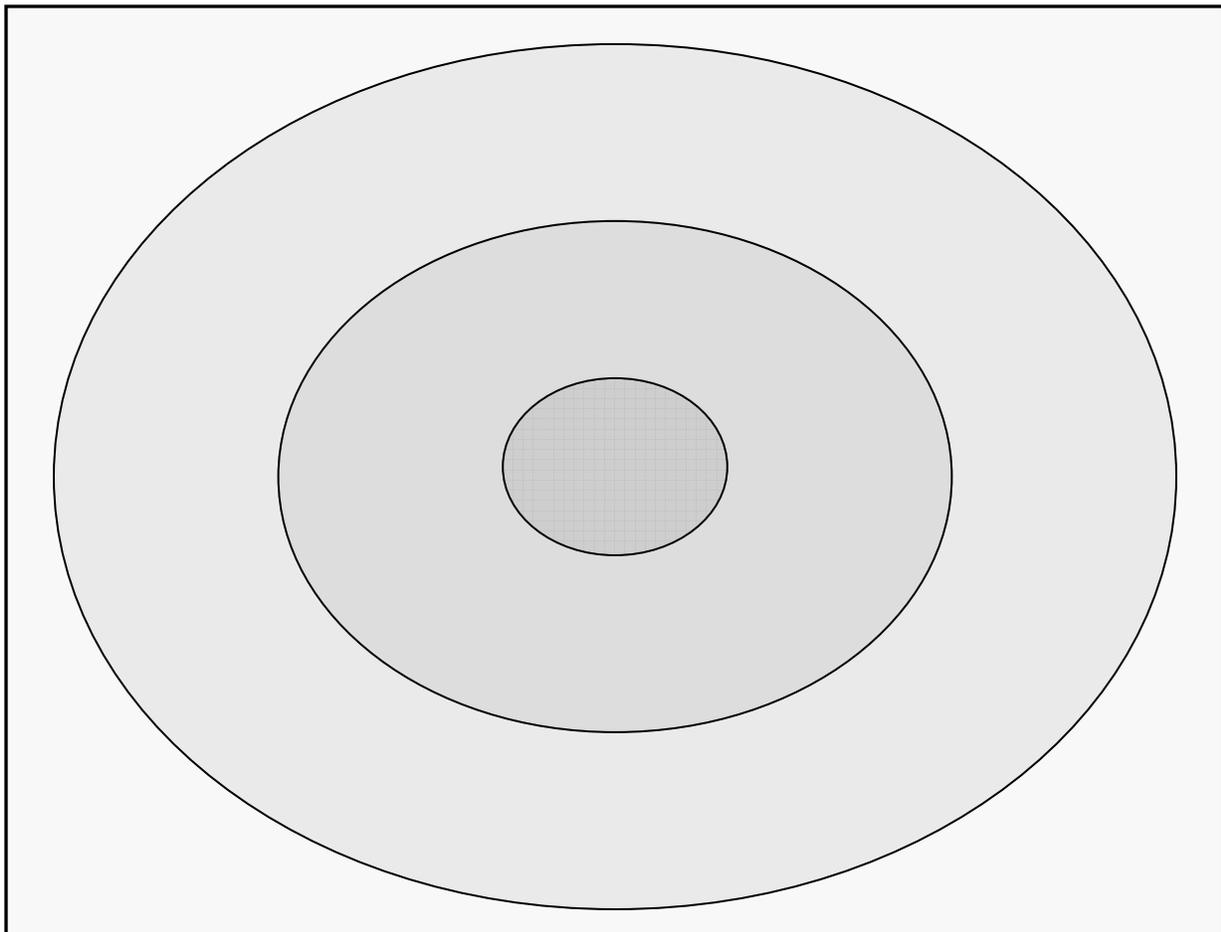
Outside the rings is your strongest opponent's base. No matter what you do, these folks belong to your opponent and will not be swayed to move to support your party. This is a

hostile environment for your party and therefore is not a very good place to focus precious resources when trying to grow support. Knowing who they are, however, will save you money and time by not trying to ask them to become members.

1. Initial which of the following groups is a stable and solid member (M), supporter (S), undecided, fluctuating or waning (U) or opposition (O). Add any necessary groups not mentioned, and make as specific as possible. e.g. women aged 18-35 (M), male farmers aged 40-60 (S), etc

Women/men	Urban/rural	Young/middle aged/old
Homeowners/renters	Professional/laborers	Educated/less educated
students	teachers	farmers
doctors	academics	mothers
first-time voters	ethnic minorities	disabled
pensioners/seniors	indigenous	Poor/middle class/wealthy

2. Using the list above, write the names of all the opposition (O) groups around the edges of the Membership Bull's Eye below, undecided (U) in the outer ring, supporters (S) groups in the inner ring, and members (M) in the middle of the Bull's Eye.



3. Who did you put in the inner ring of supporters?

These are the groups you will now do more research about, find out where they live, and then go knock on their doors and ask them to become members.

Finally...

Just as in darts, the point of Membership Bull's Eye is to move closer and closer to the center. In this case, the goal is to move the people from the outer rings, to the inner rings. In other words, your goal is to convert undecided voters into supporters and supporters into members. This technique can also be used during election time to move somewhat persuadable and highly persuadable voters into the party's base of support.

With the Membership Bull's Eye, you've taken a whole possible universe of groups to target, prioritized them by identifying members, supporters, undecideds and opponents. Remember, with limited time and resources and the goal of expanding your membership base, you'll want to focus your energy on turning supporters into members. As the next elections near, your elections team can focus on turning the undecided into supporters, but right now, your purpose is strengthening the party with new members. To make your efforts as effective as possible, you'll need to add more detail to the groups you've identified as potential new members so that you have a better sense of who they are, what's important to them and how to reach them. What will convince these supporters to become members? You will need to do some more research to find out.

Step II: Prioritize the Most Important Supporters

Once you know which groups are most likely to sympathize with your party and join, you need to prioritize among those groups. Because parties have limited time, money and resources, you want to invest in the groups that are going to help you meet your membership goals. You will need to consult with your party on the numeric goals. You may find that the party has decided to focus on a certain group, so that will influence who you target to become new members.

No party likes to admit it, but not everyone is going to join the party. But that is normal. If you've already done the Membership Bull's Eye, you know which groups you will target. Now, you want to make sure that you will be able to meet your membership target by recruiting from those groups.

You will need demographic information, information on who is registered to vote in your area, and information about target numbers from your party. In answering the following questions, be as accurate and as honest as possible.

Activity: Who are your most important supporters?

Objective: To identify which target groups will yield the most new members

1. How many **total voters** are there in your area? _____ *Example: 50,000*
(use in column E below)
2. What is your party's new **membership target**? _____
3. In column A, write down the groups who support your party, as identified in the Membership Bull's Eye. (These groups are in the inner ring of the Bull's Eye.)
4. From your demographic information, indicate in column B the percentage of the total population in your area that the group comprises.
5. In column C, estimate the percentage of people in that group that you will be able to convince to become party members. Refer to your voting pattern information for help estimating this. Be realistic.
6. In column D, do the calculation. This will tell you the percentage of the total population your party will be able to recruit when you target this group.
7. Finally, do the calculation in column E. This will tell you the number of new members that you can expect you will be able to recruit from this group.

A	B	C	D	E
Group	% of the total population	Number of people from this group in the total population (B x #1)	% of this group the party can convince to become active (take a guess)	Real Number of people in this group who will become active. (C x D)
<i>Example: Truck drivers</i>	<i>1.0% are truck drivers</i>	<i>1.0% x 50,000 = 500 truck drivers</i>	<i>One out of two truck drivers, or 50.0%</i>	<i>500 x 50.0% = 250 newly active members</i>
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
TOTAL:				

As you can see from the make-believe example, talking to 500 truck drivers (column C) to gain the active support of 50.0% of the truck drivers (column D) will get you 250 newly active members.

When you add up all the members that you can get you will have your REAL MEMBER TOTAL

MY REAL MEMBER TOTAL IS _____ (total of column E)

MEMBERSHIP TARGET IS _____ (from question 2 above)

IS YOUR REAL MEMBER TOTAL LARGER THAN MEMBERSHIP TARGET?

YES _____ **NO** _____

If your answer above is **YES**, you are in very good shape and can continue on to the next section.

If your answer above is **NO**, it is very important that you go back to the Membership Bull's Eye and identify further groups that you can convince to join the party. You might have to find more than the four groups that there is space for. Feel free to make your own chart to add those groups.

Once you identified enough potential members so that the answer above is YES, you are ready to find out where your potential members live.

Research potential members

Objective: To determine where your potential members live so that you can visit them on a survey canvass to learn what issues your potential members are concerned about

Now you know who and how many voters you can expect to join the party. But in order to ask them to join, you need to know where to find these voters, and also what issues they are concerned about.

Step I: Identify your Most Important Precincts

You are not going to be able to meet every single supporter in your District. It's just impossible because you don't have enough time. In that case, there is no use knocking doors all over a precinct where your political opponents and all their entire families live. No matter how much time, people and money you spend in that district, your party is unlikely to find support. But that is normal. What you have to do now is identify where it is your Most Important Supporters live.

You can significantly increase your party membership without having members from every precinct. Recruit in precincts where your party has high support.

Activity: Choose the right neighborhood

Objective: To identify the best neighborhoods for recruiting new members

1. In the table below, list the groups you identified in the previous exercise in order with the greatest number of potential members as 1, the smallest number of potential members as 4. Next to the group name, write the number of members you can expect to recruit.
2. Now, write in the precincts or neighborhoods where most or many of the people belonging to those groups live. For example, if one of the groups that you identified as your MOST IMPORTANT SUPPORTERS are businessmen, maybe they live and work in precincts in the center of town.

Name of Group	Number of Members	Precinct or neighborhood
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

3. In the next box, please write the number or name of the precincts where you expect to get the most number of members. These are your **MOST IMPORTANT PRECINCTS**.

THE MOST IMPORTANT PRECINCTS IN MY DISTRICT ARE:

Finally...

You now know where you should spend most of your **RESOURCES**. In other words, you know where to spend your **time, people and money**. In the next exercise, you will learn how your party can begin to use its time, people and money to produce new party members.

Step II: Determine the interests of your target group

Since you have done a lot of research on potential members already—you know which groups are likely to support you, you know how many new members you can expect to get from those groups, and you know where they live, you are almost ready to ask your Most Important Supporters to become active members of the party.

It is extremely important that your party understand the Most Important Supporters' concerns and interests so that party volunteers are able to speak knowledgeably to these supporters.

As mentioned earlier, there are numerous public and private sources from which you can learn about the interests of the voters in your area. One of the best ways to do this is to personally visit your Most Important Supporters and ask them to fill out a short survey so that your party can better serve them.

A supporter survey, or canvass, is an opportunity to talk face to face with voters. It is a great way to find out what people think; to build voters' trust and confidence in your political party; to promote your party and to recruit new volunteers and members.

Why should a party conduct a survey canvass?

- ✓ Identify new members, volunteers and voters (for membership recruitment and election database)
- ✓ Improve targeted messages of print materials, by learning supporters' concerns and interests
- ✓ Show your party is interested in voters and their concerns—not only at election time, but year round
- ✓ Identify strengths and weaknesses of the party
- ✓ Test new policies by asking citizens their opinion
- ✓ Give experience to volunteers before the next election
- ✓ Change the style of politics

Activity: Create a questionnaire

Objective: Design a short questionnaire to learn your supporters' concerns and interests

Follow the tips below to create a questionnaire that your party volunteers can use as they go door-to-door seeking input from your party supporters.

- ✓ Party name must be clearly visible- so people will recognize the party.
- ✓ Introduction - Briefly explain that the purpose of the questionnaire is to ask people for their opinions, to show that the party cares about people.
- ✓ The questionnaire should have no more than eight questions on both local (front page) and national (back page) issues.
- ✓ On the back of the questionnaire put important political questions to find out about voter party preferences. This is essential information for party to start the process of identifying its supporters and to develop voters' lists.
- ✓ Always leave space on the back for people to add their comments and include an invitation for people to receive additional information on the party; to join; and to participate.
- ✓ Leave space for people to give their names, addresses and telephone numbers. This is crucial for the voters lists
- ✓ The layout of the questionnaire should be simple and straightforward. People should be able to quickly understand what the questionnaire is and be able to easily fill it out in less than 5 minutes.

What questions could you include in the questionnaire?

- ✓ What issue in our community are you most concerned about?
- ✓ What do you want for your children?
- ✓ What do you want for your future?

On a separate sheet of paper, design your questionnaire.

Finally...

With this questionnaire in hand, a map, a suggested script, a nametag, a partner, and a canvass log, your party volunteers can go door-to-door in your target neighborhoods and research the concerns and interests of your potential new members. Knowledge about their concerns and interests is what you will need for the next exercise.

Develop a persuasive message

Objective: To develop a persuasive message using the Message Triangle to use when asking supporters to join the party

Your party probably knows a great deal about your community and the issues that face it. However, just knowing about your community is not enough to convince new people to join your party. It is important to use research about voter perceptions to create a message that shows your party's knowledge and convinces potential supporters that you have the best solutions to the problems that face them and that you will fight to make their lives easier.

A message is a concise body of truthful information that provides the persuasive reason for a voter to choose to actively support your party and become a member. In seeking new members, your party should carefully craft a message that will resonate with the target audience. In this section, you will practice developing a persuasive message that addresses the concerns of targeted groups and shows how that the solutions to those concerns come from your party.

Although there are many reasons why people affiliate themselves with a political party, the majority of people in democracies are motivated by personal beliefs and support parties who have philosophies and policies that they share.

People support a political party when the party can demonstrate in a clear, concise and convincing way that:

- The party cares about citizen's problems and their hopes for the future
- The party has a specific, immediate and doable plan to improve the lives of citizens

Outreach Best Practice

Party develops targeted outreach messages & communicates them to all levels of the party

Activity: Message Box

Objective: To develop an effective message by anticipating target group interests, concerns and opinion of your party

1. Which issues are most crucial to your MOST IMPORTANT SUPPORTERS? (Get this information from a canvass, or other research.)

1.

2.

3.

2. You will need to explain to your target audience what your party's opinion is on that subject and be aware of other party's positions as well. Fill out the following Message Box for each one of the three issues you list above.

<p>Us/Us</p> <p><i>What do we say about our proposal?</i></p>	<p>Them/Us</p> <p><i>What does the opposition say about our proposal?</i></p>
<p>Us/Them</p> <p><i>What do we say about the opposition's proposal?</i></p>	<p>Them/Them</p> <p><i>What does the opposition party say about their proposal?</i></p>

3. Now, use the information in the message box to create a clear, concise, convincing message that will show the voter that your party shares this concern. Voters have heard lots of promises though, so prove that your party is serious by adding a specific example of a party policy that addresses this issue. (If you are not sure what your party policy's are, make sure you get this information from your party.)

Message:

Policy: (How the party will comply with the promise)

4. Once you have a message box on each issue that your target audience is concerned with—and you practice the message, you will easily be able to answer questions they have, and most importantly, by being able to speak fluidly and intelligently on the issue, show the potential member you care about each of these issues.

Finally...

Remember to make sure that everyone in your party knows the message and uses it. Some parties reproduce the message box in newsletters and in materials for members, so that everyone literally is reading off the same page. After the next exercise, you will be ready to head out to meet your supporters, and ask them to join the party.

Create & practice outreach strategy

Objective: To identify a variety of methods to deliver the message to your target audience to practice the message before using it in real life

Once the party has developed its targeted message, you need to decide how you will deliver the message and, above all, practice, practice, practice.

Step I: Identify the method to deliver your message

There are numerous ways to get your message to your target audience, but some are better than others. Here are the four traditional methods to communicate a message:

1. In person (we will focus on this method)
2. By telephone
3. Through the media (radio, TV, newspapers, internet)
4. By mail or email

Outreach Best Practice

Party develops outreach communications strategies with specific tasks and responsibilities for staff and volunteers

The first question to ask when deciding what means you will use to deliver your message is how does your target audience get its information. You'll also need to consider how difficult it will be to persuade these supporters to become members. More challenging environments require more personal contact.

There are also plenty of new communications technologies today. What other methods can you use to communicate with the target audience? Keep in mind that the best way to communicate with an audience is through a means that they already use and are comfortable with.

Be creative in your thinking. Delivering messages in person can mean going door to door, but it can also mean going to places where your target audience gathers. Continuing the example of targeting

What ways could your party deliver the message to its supporters?

- ✓ Door-to-Door Canvassing
- ✓ Petitions, Raffles and Auctions
- ✓ Posters and Banners
- ✓ Plays, Puppet Shows and Local Theatre
- ✓ Festivals and Rallies
- ✓ Leaflets and Brochures
- ✓ Policy Manifestos and Discussion Documents
- ✓ Press Releases
- ✓ Press Events
- ✓ Radio and Television Broadcasts
- ✓ Discussions with Community Leaders

youth, if the youth in your area congregate at sports clubs or dances, you might decide to recruit there. Or even hold an event specifically for your target audience. Local party activists, especially youth, can help identify good locations at which to present the message to your target group.

Once you've developed a strategy for the recruitment campaign, you have to go out and meet your supporters.

Determining places other than home to find your potential members

Your party might decide to recruit new members in other venues than supporters' homes. Keeping your Most Important Precincts in mind, your volunteers need to go places where there are people, lots and lots of people. Most importantly, you want to go to places where your Most Important Supporters go. Don't wait for them to come to you. You have to go and find them.

Activity: Are your supporters at home or ...?

Objective: To determine the best place to meet supporters

One good place to meet people in the morning is at bus stops. In the space provided, list 5 places where your Most Important Supporters can be found and the time of day that is best to find them there.

MOST IMPORTANT SUPPORTERS	PLACE	TIME OF DAY
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

You can use this information to put together your outreach strategy.

Finally...

As you can see, there are a variety of places where you can meet your Most Important Supporters to persuade them to join your party, including at home. This is one way to communicate with voters

that is effective from Santiago to Santo Domingo and what we will focus on in the final exercise in this workbook.

Step II: Practice outreach to new members

All your hard work strategizing who and how to target for membership in your party will be wasted unless you practice delivering the message. This is important for any person-to-person recruitment such as door to door. Your party should mobilize and train its members to use the message. Whenever a member of your party comes in contact with a member of your target group, they should be able to use the party message effectively. Role-play exercises can help. You can make them up depending on your party's situation, or use the one below.

Outreach Best Practice

Party uses interactive methodology to train members on recruiting new sectors

One thing that you should consider doing is to practice delivering your message with your friends and family and volunteers. They will give you feedback and tell you what sounds good and what needs improvement.

Role-play: Door to door recruiting underrepresented groups

Objective: To build your confidence using the party message in recruiting new members

1. Before you go out and knock on any doors, each volunteer should practice.
2. You will need two other people: a pair of volunteers and one voter.
3. The voter should decide whether she will be a supporter or not and interested in joining or not. Volunteers will encounter all sorts of people at the door.
4. The volunteers should carry the instructions and a voter log (see next page) to record the results of the visit. For this exercise, you should also create a message triangle targeted specifically to the voters you are visiting.
5. Practice doing this until you are comfortable with your script and ready to do it for real.

Why is door to door a good way to recruit new members?

- ✓ It's inexpensive
- ✓ It shows supporters that you care enough to come and meet them;
- ✓ It gives you immediate feedback about how the community views you.

Sample Instructions for Membership Recruitment

Thank you for helping our party by helping to recruit new members. By now, you have been briefed by your party representative, and had extensive training on door-to-door recruitment and on using the message we have developed to target women. Please read these instructions before you start.

The purpose of this membership drive is to increase the membership of women in our party.

In this packet, you and your partner will find:

1. A map of the precinct you will cover
2. A list of locations to target
3. A nametag with your name and party affiliation
4. A business card, or sheet with your contact information to give to the voter
5. A canvass log to record the results of this membership drive
6. The message box

Knock at the door...

Go to each house on the list. Knock on the door. Here is a sample script: "Hello, my name is _____ and I am a volunteer with the _____ political party. As you know, we recently conducted a survey and I wanted to see if you had any questions."

Answer voter questions...

Refer back to your training on using the message triangle. If neither you nor your partner know the answer, write it down, and tell the voter you will get the answer.

Ask her to join...

Here is a sample script: "We would welcome your participation in the party. Would you be interested in becoming a member?"

If she says yes, write down her contact information on the canvass log and tell her that someone from the party will be contacting her shortly.

If she says no, thank her for her time, and leave your contact information with her if she has any questions for the party in the future.

When you're done...

Please return your canvass log and any unused materials to this office. **Thank you!**

Sample Voter Log

Precinct #:

Date Canvassed:

Street Name:

Canvasser:

#	House #	Voter's Name(s)	# voters in household	Telephone	Comments
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					

Return to:
Branch Office, Name
Address, telephone, fax



Review

You are now ready to help your party increase its membership through outreach to new sectors. You will need to put together each of these steps to create an outreach plan, practice it, and then implement your outreach program. Let's review the objectives for this workbook, and what you now know are the steps for outreach to new sectors:

Best Practices of Outreach to New Sectors

- Party recruits members from new sectors based on solid research
- Party develops targeted outreach messages & communicates them to all levels of the party
- Party develops outreach communications strategies with specific tasks and responsibilities for staff and volunteers
- Party uses interactive methodology to train members on recruiting new sectors

Referring back to the objectives of this workbook, you should now be able to:

- ✓ **Define the benefits of outreach to new sectors**
 1. Increases party membership and votes
 2. Increases potential sources of human and financial resources
 3. Demonstrates that a party is dynamic and focused on growth and development
 4. Allows more informed party policies
- ✓ **Test techniques for identifying, researching and targeting potential members**
 - Analyze party needs
 - Identify possible new members with the Membership Bull's Eye
 - Prioritize these into Most Important Supporters & Most Important Precincts
 - Fine-tune research with the Survey Canvass
 - Create a targeted message from your research using the Message Box

✓ **Practice recruiting new members**

- With the door-to-door exercise

Finally...

Parties that have good outreach programs are able to better fulfill their role in society. When parties recruit members from new sectors, they increase their ability to contest and win elections by increasing their voter population. These modern and dynamic parties represent a broader portion of society by widening the type of people they reach and provide policy alternatives other parties cannot through consultation with these new sectors. In the process, parties who recruit members from new sectors identify and train new political leaders for the party and the country.

Good luck!