Political Strategies

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Translated from German by

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1. Foreword Dr. Wolfgang Gerhardt
President of the Board of Directors, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

One of the core areas of activity of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is to extend advisory support to political parties in developing and transition economies. Peter Schröder, working as an external expert, made early and significant contributions to developing the advisory activities of the Foundation in theory and practice. We published "Political Strategies" in 2000, which allowed a wider readership to benefit from Peter Schröder's experiences and reflections on strategic planning. The methodological approach to strategic planning has not changed significantly since that time. What has changed are the societies in which these strategies are to have an impact. The present second edition of the book is intended to address this change.

One area that has witnessed extreme and extensive transformation is political communication. Two developments have played a key role: one, there has been a quantum increase in the availability of information over the internet, although this has been accompanied by growing insecurity associated with the deluge of data and conflicting assessments of that data. Thus data overload can also contribute to disinformation and create confusion when ascertaining whether information is true. The second development has been the emergence of Web 2.0, which shifted control over communication from traditional disseminators to the citizens, so much so that now anyone can set up and maintain their own social network. Official communication by political and social institutions is thus called into question, necessitating a change in strategy for precisely those institutions that earlier controlled political communication and which now face a more democratic reality.

Apart from these important changes, there has also been a distinct growth in political networking, globalisation and the blurring of responsibilities and powers. Political decision-making and the reception of these decisions have become more complex. This complexity amplifies uncertainty, both for the decision-makers as also for the affected persons and observers of the process.

During elections and equally during the implementation of policies, building trust and confidence have become vital preconditions for generating faith in the polity and social institutions. Strategic decisions and emotions are similarly converging and making confidantes out of consultants and experts. This, in fact, constitutes the great challenge for effective strategy formulation, especially for long term strategies. "Trust" is a fragile and tenuous thing; it takes time to elicit and must constantly be tended lest it vanish again. In an age of quick profits and short term goals, what is lacking is the awareness of this fact—sometimes even the will—as well as the knowledge and the abilities to achieve sustainable and sustained success. The steps towards this goal are described in this second, revised edition of Peter Schröder's book "Political Strategies". Experts in the field as well as interested laypersons can look forward to an exceedingly worthwhile read.

Foreword (1st edition, 2000)

Dr. Otto Graf Lambsdorff
President of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (1995-2006)

Strategic thinking and action are commonplace in the economic and military spheres. They are still an exception in politics, where tactical considerations and short term actions are the norm. However, strategic planning is required to ensure that long term concepts, policy implementation and of course election campaigns are successful and sustainable in the long run.

In its core areas of activity comprising political education, policy dialogue and especially policy advice, the objective of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is to impart strategic knowledge and motivate policy makers and administrators at all levels to utilise strategic instruments for shaping political processes more effectively.

In its practical activities in Germany, the Foundation is concerned primarily with imparting knowledge of methodologies. The Foundation here is responding to a growing demand in civil society to understand and utilise strategies and, most of all, be able to identify, evaluate and judge strategic elements in political processes.

Abroad, the activities of the Foundation are focused on policy advice, specifically to the executive, legislature, political parties and non-governmental organisations. These activities are concerned not only with imparting strategic understanding but also with developing strategically planned concepts that include tactical and operational steps. The Foundation's work with its partners in this area has shown that the application of such instruments can help policy-makers and administrators to become more effective.

With the publication of this book, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is seeking to make the practical experiences of the author and the theoretical foundations of strategic planning in politics available to a wider audience. It thereby hopes to motivate politicians to base their campaigns and political decisions on strategic considerations. It seeks to prompt administrations to develop measures based on strategic objectives rather than the compulsions of day-to-day politics. Finally, it wishes to demonstrate to political scientists that there are means of shaping politics apart from ex post facto methods that political science may need to pay more attention to than it has so far. At the same time, with this book the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom also hopes to contribute to making strategic processes in policy planning more transparent and consequently more comprehensible.

2. Introduction

When one has spent many years as a political consultant, been involved in election campaigns, the launch of new policies or planning the career path of prominent personalities, one is often asked when one is finally going to put one's experiences to paper and publish a book on strategic planning. The initial feeling is one of panic − what if someone were to imagine that such a book contained model solutions for all conceivable and inconceivable situations arising during policy formulation and implementation? Model solutions are, of course, an impossibility since each situation is distinct and necessitates a different response.

Then what does a book on the strategic and tactical planning of political processes have to offer? Not much more, really, than impart awareness that strategy is essential; awareness that some "divine" inspiration of a politician or a consultant does not suffice to implement policy. Whoever wishes to achieve a long term impact must plan beyond the immediate satisfaction of the desire for power. Continuity and reliability must figure in the calculations. Political change − leaving aside revolutions and coups − can only be achieved together with the people who will be affected. It is a long and difficult process. Bringing about a change in social parameters is like wading through thick glue, or to borrow from Max Weber, like drilling through hard boards.

This book attempts to persuade its readers, and especially politicians, that success depends on well planned strategies and the decisive implementation of those strategies. It attempts to make readers aware of the wonderful diversity of strategic solutions.

The main sections are described below and will serve as a guideline to the reader. There are numerous cross references throughout to enable a selective reading of individual chapters.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the evolution of strategic thinking, its applications today and the approaches and methods available to the strategic planner.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of methods of "conceptual planning", which form the core of this book.

Chapters 6 to 11 outline the first methodological steps and focus on what is called situational appraisal, which forms the basis for any strategic considerations.

Chapters 12 and 13 describe the actual process of arriving at a strategy, with Chapter 13 being devoted to specific strategy patterns. Readers looking for an overview of various conceivable strategic approaches will find ample material here.

The tools employed in paving the way for strategy implementation and consequently for establishing the tactical framework – which in turn is governed by the strategy – are discussed in Chapters 14 - 19. Chapter 19 focuses entirely on the implementation aspects.

Strategy control instruments and data acquisition are dealt with in Chapter 20. With this strategic planning comes a full circle, moving over again into situational appraisal.

Chapters 21 to 23 are devoted to action plans emerging from the selected strategy, the organisational requirements for the implementation of these plans and their financing.

Special underlying factors and factors determining the direction adopted by strategic planning are discussed in Chapters 24 to 26. These include constitutional systems, party systems and electoral systems as well as their specific influence on the planned strategy.

Chapter 27 is a supplement that introduces complex strategic problems and their solutions. This is intended to provide an insight into the importance of a strategic approach to problems such as fundamentalism, corruption and conflict management.

Despite the numerous examples and detailed descriptions of concrete situations, this book cannot claim to do more than present a method for planning political processes. The method reveals the paths to the goal. The goals, however, can be reached through very diverse paths in different parts of the world. Sometimes the path is highly convoluted and the means to achieve the goal are contingent on cultural and legal ground realities. These can be so disparate that even the methodology may occasionally need to be adapted.

Yet even if all conditions are different, the fundamental aim should be to develop clear and simple strategies because only such strategies can be understood, implemented and their impact monitored. In fact, the fascination and at the same time the triumph of strategic planning lies in its simplicity, in reducing problems to their essence and in focusing on the strategic objective. Hopefully this book will contribute to a deeper understanding of these concepts.

3. Strategic Planning – Why Do We Need It?

Strategy was initially a military concept, the word itself being taken from the Greek[1]. Strategic considerations have always played a role when large masses of people needed to be led and given direction. In early times it was largely the prospect of war that created this need.

Up until the beginning of industrialisation, strategy retained its almost exclusively military connotation. It was only subsequently that it became necessary to lead large masses of people on the economic front. The scope of the term widened and managerial strategy was born to facilitate the planned management of people within an organisation. Gradually the concept was extended to embrace other aspects of society and this naturally included politics. Here too the objective was to lead large masses of people or members of parties and organisations towards a particular goal.

The Greek origins of the term should not, however, give the impression that strategy did not exist prior to this period. Any kind of thinking and planning that is directed at a particular objective and is expressly carried out with this objective in mind is, in fact, strategic planning. One of the standard works on strategic planning is Sun Tzu's "The Art of War"[2], written over 2000 years ago in China. It continues to be perhaps the most influential book on strategy even today and is standard reading for politicians and managers in Asia.

The term strategy continued to be refined over time and adapted to military and later corporate and political exigencies. This resulted in the distinction between strategy and tactics. Till the 18th century, armies largely consisted of one (tactical) unit during battle. The commander of the army was also its chief tactician. Over the years, however, armies were increasingly divided into independent operating units. It then became necessary to distinguish between the overall strategy, the military strategy and the tactical aspects.

In his philosophical treatise on the nature of war, Carl von Clausewitz[3] developed the definition that is considered valid even today. Tactics teaches the use of armed forces in battle, while strategy teaches the use of engagements for the object of war. Von Clausewitz regards the armed forces as a means to achieve the purpose of war, namely victory. However, this victory again is only a means to achieve the ultimate goal of strategy, namely peace. The higher the level of strategy, the more it becomes a continuation of politics, until finally no distinction remains.

Von Clausewitz therefore states that the goal of strategy is not the obvious victory, but the peace which will follow. Awareness of this fact is crucial in strategic planning. Therefore, it is important to recognise the actual objective of an electoral victory or what the introduction of a new law is actually intended to achieve. Many strategies in

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[1] Greek "strategia": generalship, the art of commanding an army
[2] Sun Tzu: *The Art of War* (translated from the Chinese, 1972),
[3] Prussian general, military theorist and author, 1780 – 1831; posthumous works on war and warfare, 10 vol. (pub. 1832-37), Vol 1-3: *On War*.

the political arena then stand exposed for what they really are, namely a contest for selfish gains, a contest for personal power or a contest for objectives other than those put forward. There is no dearth of examples to illustrate this.

> *There have been campaign strategies for presidential candidates who did not have a manifesto. Power or personal enrichment was the underlying motivation for electoral victory in this case.*
>
> *There have been strategies for founding political parties in former socialist states that were not directed at entering parliament but solely at receiving government grants for new parties.*
>
> *There have been strategies to introduce environmental laws, whose objective was never to actually implement these laws but to facilitate bribes.*
>
> *There have been strategies to curb drug trafficking that did not aim at actually eliminating the menace but at deflecting international pressure and joining hands with the traffickers.*
>
> *There have been strategies to identify foreign enemies in order to divert attention from domestic problems and create a common threat perception.*

There are enough examples to demonstrate that the political intentions behind a strategy need to be clearly understood before a strategy can be planned.

> *The author received a very straightforward answer from the leaders of a political party in Africa. When he asked why they wished to take over government they replied, "Now we want to eat." Clearly they felt it was their turn now to help themselves to a piece of the pie.*

Strategy *per se* always has one goal: victory. Whether this is expressed through elected seats or additional gains or candidates winning elections or obtaining the majority to pass a law, it is always about victory. What is actually done with this victory is the political purpose behind the obvious result.

A further condition for the need to plan strategically is the scarcity of the desired resource. Be it a job that one tries to land by employing a strategic plan, or greater market share – whether in business or in the political sphere – if the resource is not scarce it does not require a strategy. If, on the other hand, the resource is scarce and therefore contested, strategic planning becomes necessary.

In the context of this condition we arrive at a definition of a strategy, namely:

A strategy is a sequence of usually discrete steps with the objective of conserving resources while achieving a defined goal that will almost always lead to a disadvantage for one or several others.

3.1   Struggle for power and influence

Politics and strategy – how are these compatible? This is a question often asked by politicians and parties, sometimes even by governments. The usual attitude is, "But we are not at war." Or, "Our political opponents are not our enemies." Or, "Our intentions and ideas are so good, we don't need a strategy."

Clearly we are not at war when we pursue political objectives or fight an election. Nevertheless, every political idea put forward by an individual or a group divides society the minute it enters the public domain. The reason is that every political idea aims at changing an existing condition. And there are always those who benefit from a particular state of affairs and those who suffer. Machiavelli[4], the man whose book on power became famous all over the world, was well aware of this fact. Every change creates winners and losers. This is usually the case anyway, but in politics, especially, there is a predominance of zero sum games[5]. That is why every idea will have its proponents and opponents.
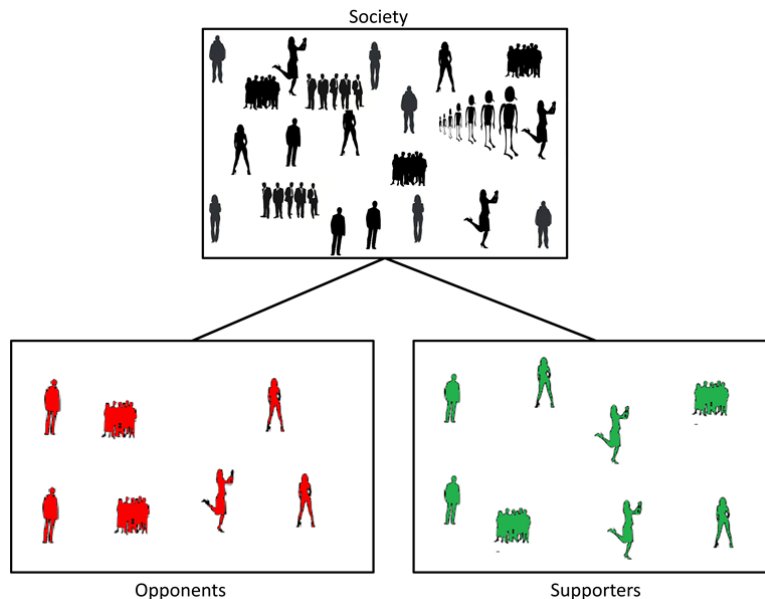
Strategic rule: You can't please everyone.

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[4] Machiavelli writes in Chapter 6 of *The Prince*: "Because the innovator has for enemies all those who have done well under the old conditions, and lukewarm defenders in those who may do well under the new."

[5] See Chapter 13.2.8 for references to zero sum games.

A proponent of greater environmental protection will find supporters among those suffering due to environmental pollution or among others, who though not directly affected, are nevertheless aware of the dangers that excessive pollution poses and therefore support environmental action. At the same time, there will be opponents, for instance those who benefited from the previous status quo. These need not just be the "evil" capitalists and industrialists. Many politicians were taken aback to find that even workers in factories were opposed to their ideas because their jobs were threatened.

It is frequently difficult to identify the proponents and opponents of a proposal because opponents tend to hold their cards close to their chests while working all the harder at undermining plans. This makes it difficult to spot them, especially when general approval for an idea has been verbally expressed.

Initiatives against corruption will find broad-based support among those who generally regard corruption as something negative. Of course, such initiatives will be rejected by those who so far profited from corruption. Yet many politicians adopting an anti-corruption stance have miscalculated by not considering the nature of corruption prevalent in their country. Where the issue is large-scale corruption in the higher echelons of government and administration, the majority of the population will be supportive. But if the issue is petty corruption at the lower level, support is certainly not as widespread because the man on the street begins to ask himself how he will manage without the little bribes needed to grease the wheels. It is quite possible that alliances develop between the bribe giver and taker. In such a situation corruption becomes an intrinsic component of that particular social set up. The strategic war against corruption is a war where much money and influence are at stake. It is a war that is therefore bitterly contested.

> *Machiavelli had this to say: "That is why all armed prophets have conquered, and unarmed prophets have come to grief. Besides what I have said already, the populace is by nature fickle; it is easy to persuade them of something, but difficult to confirm them in that persuasion."*

In other words, every political idea, however well intentioned, can only be realised in confrontation with the opponents of the idea. The implementation of an idea has little to do with reason or rationality. It is all about power and influence.

The same applies to planning election campaign strategies. The word "campaign" alludes to the fact that it is really a battle to retain or wrest power. In languages like German the word "Wahlkampf" literally suggests that it is a fight for power and influence.

3.1.1 Political strategies

Political strategies are used to push through political ideas or concepts, for instance the introduction of new laws or the creation of new administrative structures or the implementation of measures for deregulation, privatisation or decentralisation.

Experience shows that such steps are seldom adequately planned by either political parties or governments, otherwise the number of failed projects would not be so large. Often such projects or plans result in the affected population initially resisting change, then attempting to subvert it, or simply disregarding the new laws if they believe the state to be too weak to enforce them.

One indicator for the lack of strategic planning practised by governments and administrative authorities is the absence of units for strategic controlling. While financial controlling exists in several countries, and even functions in some, strategic controlling is conspicuous by its absence. The reason primarily is that politicians shy away from defining measurable strategic and tactical goals because they fear that they will later be measured against these.

Political strategies are essential not only for parties, politicians and governments but also for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are politically active. Whether they are trade unions, environmental groups or human rights organisations etc., all NGOs require strategies to achieve their long term goals.

No long term changes or ambitious projects can be achieved without political strategies. For instance decentralisation – the introduction of another level of political and local government – requires extensive planning. Several aspects need to be simultaneously taken into account, such as the powers and jurisdiction of the local government, its organisational form, finances, election of representatives, election of the political administration etc. Only detailed planning based on a long term strategy can help avoid the mistakes that have occurred in many countries time and again.

> *It has happened that local representatives were elected but their powers were not defined. It has happened that powers were not transferred because the bureaucracy refused to part with them. It has happened that powers were transferred but there were no adequate financial provisions. It has happened that members of local governments were elected but not prepared for the job they faced.*

One often comes across such examples when new policies are being introduced. Citizens cannot be expected to become more involved without more information being made available to them. It is futile to introduce environmental measures without first creating awareness. Privatisation loses its impact and is a threat to many jobs if it is implemented without a buy-in from the population. The ushering in of a market economy involves more than just dismantling a command economy. It implies the creation of many interacting markets (those for goods, services, labour, money, housing etc.). It does not suffice to privatise a few companies and then simply sit back.

The question that arises at this point is, why then are there so few planned strategies in the political sphere? One of the main reasons is the extreme over-confidence of persons in power vis-à-vis those they govern or those they consider their opponents. Daniel

Kahneman and Jonathan Renson[6] have described this very well in their article[7], "Why hawks win?" They observe that unrealistic optimism is one of the most important errors or biases identified by psychologists. Research has demonstrated that a vast majority of people, and especially politicians, believe that they are more intelligent, more attractive and more talented than the average person and frequently overestimate their future success. They consistently overrate the control they have over events.

The strategic planning of political processes and changes involves an unsparing analysis of the existing situation, a clear awareness of opponents and friends, a clear analysis of existing power equations, a clear perception of the goal one wishes to achieve and the focusing of all energies to achieve that goal. However, if even elected politicians are not clear about what "market economy" or "democracy" really mean, it can hardly be expected that these vague objectives will be intensely pursued. If the legislature does not support the executive in implementing strategic policies and instead repeatedly questions the objectives themselves, it hardly comes as a surprise that so many projects fail.

Often it is the "good" politicians, those who attempt to implement ambitious plans without a strategic concept, who are responsible for the social conditions under which millions of people suffer.

3.1.2 Strategies for election campaigns

Campaign strategies are a specific form of political strategy. Their objective is to obtain good results during elections in order to acquire as much power and influence as needed to push through policies and achieve the desired societal changes.

In democratic societies, the assumption of power and the opportunity to influence events are preceded by democratic elections, which can have very diverse formats and possibilities. The objective is to corner the share of the electoral market that is constitutionally required to exert influence on the executive. In various systems[8] such as the parliamentary, the presidential and various mixed forms of government, this works out quite differently. The battle for votes, which also represent a limited resource for political parties, needs to be carefully planned and therefore necessitates a strategy.

Campaign strategies to acquire power are often viewed as something negative, even by political parties. Yet it is clear that if power is not in the hands of one's candidates or one's party, some other political concepts will be implemented. And it is natural that politicians of a particular party will regard other concepts as inferior to their own.

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[6] Daniel Kahneman is a Nobel laureate in economics at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Jonathan Renshon is a doctoral student in the Department of Government at Harvard University.
[7] "*Why Hawks win*?" in Foreign Policy, Jan/Feb 2007, Washington
[8] See also Chapter 25 on various systems of government.

There are critical groups within society, predominantly among journalists or intellectuals etc., who maintain a critical approach towards power. This approach is prevalent especially among those who frequently come up against the exercise of power by others, or need freedom to carry out their work, or fight abuse of power, or advise others on the use of power. While criticism of the abuse of power is clearly justified, it is unfortunate that any means of exercising power, particularly attempts at concentrating power, tend to be opposed. This does not lead to better politics, but rather to harmful compromises and irresolute implementation.

The struggle for power is harmful and damages political culture only when it is a struggle without a concept, without a plan to make such changes in society and the political framework as are necessary for development – in other words, power for power's sake or power to fulfil selfish interests.

In a democracy, power is granted for a defined period of time (legislative term). The voters expect from politicians that they will use the power given to them to achieve what they had earlier promised. Should their policies prove to be misguided, the voters have the possibility of withdrawing power during the next elections.

3.1.3 Career strategies

Career strategies have even more negative associations. However, here too one needs to make a distinction. When the intention is simply to "eliminate" irksome opponents by any means, such negative preconceptions are justified. On the other hand, when the intention is to focus all energies on achieving a particular objective, such strategies are both useful and necessary.

What is wrong about having strategies for professional career planning? Unconsciously each one of us makes strategic career decisions every day. However, as long as such decisions continue to be made arbitrarily and are not based on any long term strategic planning, they will lead to many tactically wrong subordinate decisions.

Strategies for political careers are essential to be able to articulate ideas and be given the opportunity to implement them, more so in democratic mass parties but also in smaller parties with an elite leadership. The democratic structures within parties have a specific role to play here. In undemocratic parties it appears logical that strategic planning is necessary to remove those in powerful positions. Yet even in democratically structured parties, strategic planning is a prerequisite for success.

Small pressure groups represent one specific type of career strategy. Pressure groups endeavour to introduce new approaches that would be suppressed without such attempts. Several environmental initiatives gained prominence only because a small pressure group was able to exert influence within political parties or other organisations through skilful strategizing. The career planning of the entire group is often a decisive factor because a political issue is closely associated with the personalities that support it. For instance, there are pressure groups for gender equality, youth policy, human rights etc., where it is important that the representatives of the group are closely

associated with the issue at a personal level and display a high level of issue and personality congruence[9].

3.2 Tactical planning

Tactical planning proceeds from an existing strategic plan. Tactical decisions and action plans are useful only if a strategy has been carefully mapped out. Tactical planning provides the answers to the questions: who does what, when, where, how and why. These decisions at the tactical level are intended to achieve individual tactical objectives, which cumulatively lead towards achieving the overall strategic goal. The decisions depend on an exact knowledge of the context, the specific environment and one's own capabilities. Therefore tactical planning is not undertaken at the strategic level but by the leadership at the tactical level, which alone possesses the required knowledge.

If the government of a country takes the strategic decision of attracting foreign investment, there is a choice of tactics it can employ depending on the existing framework. Some will focus more on low wage and production costs (location factors), while others will concentrate on raw material reserves and others still on good infrastructure. But there can be other tactics too, which focus on proximity to sales markets or on flexible laws and regulations. Although all such tactics are directed at attracting foreign investment, their tactical orientation can vary widely.

The fundamental decisions in tactical planning, which are in fact determined by the strategy, along with time schedules and action plans are instruments for strategy implementation. Without tactical planning and operational plans a strategy would, of course, exist, but it would not become effective since it would not be implemented. Thus the implementation of strategy, or tactical planning, is of crucial importance.

3.2.1 Distinguishing between tactical planning and strategic planning

To the lay person, a 'tactician' is often someone to be looked down upon as one who takes short term decisions that are not integrated in an overall strategy. Were that indeed to be the case, the decisions would have no objectives and no direction and could thus not be referred to as tactical decisions. They would merely reflect the over-enthusiastic behaviour of activists.

The true tactician will proceed according to a plan that lies within the framework of strategic guidelines and will utilise precise knowledge of the specific environment and context to skilfully exploit the situation to the greatest advantage in terms of the strategy.

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[9] See also Chapter 7.3.6: The problem of congruence.

Tactical planning and strategic planning are therefore inextricably linked. The difference is that while strategic planning concerns itself with the overall situation and takes decision for the entire organisation, the entire political party or the entire nation, tactical planning proceeds from individual strategic objectives which it attempts to operationalise taking into account specific relevant factors.

3.3 Influence of different cultures on the formulation of strategies

It must be remembered that mechanisms for strategic decision making and strategic thinking are independent of geographic, cultural or other differences. Strategy is directed at an overriding goal. To achieve this goal, the required conditions are created through planning. This holds true all over the world.

Nevertheless, cultures do influence the choice of strategy since they are part of the context and specific environment, although their influence is much greater at the tactical level. For instance, cultural factors would play a role if a strategy is planned for the opposition party in a society where the concept of a political opposition is not accepted. This is the case in large parts of Africa and Asia. In the final analysis, whether a culture is open towards conflicting positions or is one based on consensus is relevant only for tactical decisions. Otherwise there would be no wars or drawn out conflicts in certain parts of the world such as Africa, Southeast and East Asia, where consensus is the norm. But it is precisely in these regions that armed conflicts and violent clashes have frequently played such a major role.

This implies that cultural components such as religious orientation, social and historical background, special modes of communication etc. are the underlying factors that need to be taken into account when developing strategies or tactics. However, they fall in the same category as other factors, such as need structures, legal frameworks or organisational structures (which in turn are obviously shaped by cultural influences).

The strategic planner must therefore consider the general environment including cultural factors during the planning process. Yet these cultural elements must not be placed on a pedestal. They are to be approached simply for what they are: factors that need to be taken into account when planning.

4. Methods of Strategic Planning

Strategic planning is the systematic and forward-looking analysis and formulation of goals, responses and options, their optimal selection and the establishment of a set of instructions for their rational implementation.[10]

Clearly, an art as old as strategic planning has developed many different methods over time – each considered most suitable for its particular purpose. This book does not attempt to identify the best method for political planning processes, although a certain preference will, of course, be discernible. The author is aware that planning processes and the planning environment can vary so widely that to concentrate on an all encompassing method would in itself constitute a major error in planning.

The methods must vary, even if only marginally, because the objectives pursued are different, tasks differ, planning and communication proceed differently, the levels of participation vary as do command hierarchies.

Mintzberg[11] describes ten different schools of thought on strategy formation. Three of these are prescriptive. They attempt to describe the "correct" path to formulating a strategy.

One of these is the Design School, which regards strategic planning as an informal conceptual process typically practised by confident, hierarchically equal executives. The Design School model is also referred to as SWOT[12], i.e. "Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats".

This model was taken up by the Planning School which, however, holds that while the planning process is informal, the CEO of an organisation plays a key role. These differences between the two schools may appear insignificant, but they are very relevant in the practical planning process.

The third school of thought is the Positioning School. It is less concerned with the process of formulating strategy than with its content (differentiation, diversification etc.). The Positioning School adopts significant elements of the Planning School and then simply extrapolates the methods of the Planning School into the actual content of strategies. This method is closely related to the method of "conceptual planning" which is the focus of this book.

The other seven schools are more descriptive than prescriptive. The Cognitive School is concerned with how the human brain deals with the formation of strategy. It therefore regards strategic planning as a mental process.

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[10] Brockhaus Encyclopaedia, 19th edition
[11] Henry Mintzberg: *The Rise and Fall of Strategic Planning*, 1994, p. 2ff, Maxwell Macmillan Canada, Toronto 1994
[12] See also Chapter 4.4.1 regarding SWOT.

The Entrepreneurial School describes strategic planning as a visionary process emanating from a strong leader.

The Learning School is based on the assumption that strategy emerges from a collective learning process.

The Power School concentrates on conflict and the exploitation of power during the process.

The Cultural School is concerned with the collective and cooperative dimension of the process.

In contrast, the Environmental School views strategy formation as a passive reaction to external forces.

Finally, the Configuration School attempts to combine all other schools by regarding them as different episodes within the process.

Clearly, there is a great variety of methods available when planning strategy. While Mintzberg concentrated primarily on planning methods and schools of corporate strategy, there are of course, also military planning models. The military functions of strategic planning as put forward by Peacock (1984) and Sun Tzu's comprehensive strategy model are among the many such models available. In conjunction with SWOT and conceptual planning, Sun Tzu's 2000 year old military model continues to provide an important foundation for strategic planning processes, including processes for planning political strategy.

While SWOT, for instance, is confined more or less to situational appraisal and the formulation of strategies, conceptual planning goes further in evaluating strategies and especially in implementing them. Here it employs tactical planning to develop time schedules and operational plans. Conceptual planning accords special importance to implementation through the planning of public relations activities. This makes the method particularly suitable for socio-political processes. As in Sun Tzu's model, strategy evaluation, implementation and monitoring are given high priority in conceptual planning.
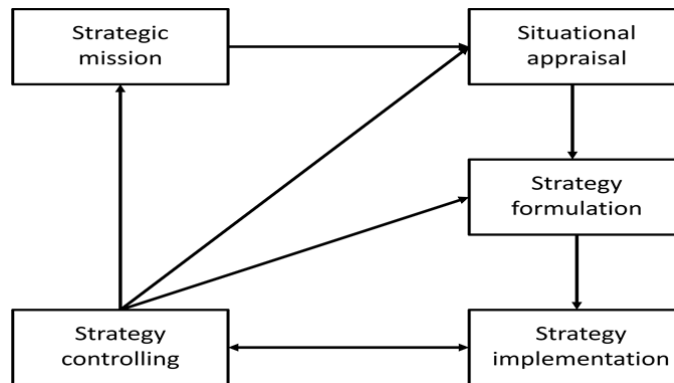
Strategic planning process

4.1 Methodological approach: military, market-oriented, political

What follows is an overview of the partly divergent (but also similar) approaches to strategic planning in military, corporate market-oriented and political contexts. The approaches overlap not only because their methodology is similar, but also because some approaches become components of the other strategies. In other words, military strategy can – or should – always be a part of political strategy: war as a continuation of policy by other means[13], but also vice-versa. Moreover, political strategy is also always a marketing strategy, or at least it displays a market orientation – we need look only at election campaigns. It is therefore, difficult to make any clear-cut distinctions.

4.2 Military models

In order to better appreciate the application of military strategy for other strategies, it is necessary first to have some understanding of the concepts and principles of war. The works of Admiral J.C. Wylie[14] und Colonel William E. Peacock[15] are used for this purpose. These works are given preference to those of von Clausewitz as they are more reflective of current thinking.

Peacock served in Vietnam and Okinawa and in the Pentagon, and this gave him a direct insight into both the planning side of strategy as well as its implementation. In discussing the works of both these authors, relevant portions from Sun Tzu's "The Art of War" will be referred to in order to illustrate the continuing significance of his philosophy in the present day military context.

Wylie states that the first objective of a strategic planner during war is to have some selected degree of control of the enemy. This control is the result of a pattern of war manipulated such that the centre of gravity of the war shifts to the advantage of the

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[13] von Clausewitz: *On War*, 19th edition, Ferd. Dümmler Verlag, Bonn, p. 200
[14] Wylie, J.C.: *Military Strategy: A General Theory of Power Control*; Rutgers University Press USA, 1967
[15] Peacock, W.E.; *Corporate Combat*; Maple Vail, London 1984

strategist and the disadvantage of the opponent. The centre of gravity of the war is critical to its outcome. It follows that the primary strategic objective is to shift the main weight of the war in favour of one's own side. This depends on four factors: the nature, placement and timing of the war as also the weight of the war's centre of gravity.

4.2.1 The nature of war

The nature of war has undergone continuous and far-reaching change. In the same way as the sinking of the Spanish Armada brought about a sea change in naval warfare[16] due to a new strategic development – the accurate cannon with heavy destructive power – scientific advances have added new dimensions to the way in which battles are waged. In recent times this has led to two new categories of armed conflict being added to traditional maritime and continental warfare, namely aerial warfare (including nuclear weapons and Star Wars) and asymmetric or guerrilla warfare[17].

An altogether new debate on changes in warfare was triggered by the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001. The phrase, "war on terror," used by the US government has meanwhile been withdrawn.[18,19] The strategies employed in warding off terrorist attacks are vague, unclear and not very successful. This is so mainly because the strategy of terror is not a military strategy aimed at conquering territory, but a communications strategy that seeks to influence minds. This communications strategy, however, is being attacked with military strategies by the USA and its partners. The risk of the military strategy failing is consequently obvious. It should, at the very least, be supplemented or even replaced by a communications strategy.

The basic principles of these four types of warfare (land, sea, air and guerrilla warfare) are quite similar, with the exception of guerrilla warfare. The distinction between classical warfare and asymmetric warfare becomes clear when comparing von Clausewitz's definition of war with that of Mao Zedong. According to von Clausewitz, "War is an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will." Mao, on the other hand, defines war as follows: "All the guiding principles of military operations grow out of the one basic principle to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy." Clausewitz holds that the opponent must not be destroyed but only defeated since it is not possible to force one's will on a destroyed opponent.

In classic maritime warfare, establishing and exploiting control of sea routes and straits is often decisive for establishing control on land and in the air. This is the reason why large fleets are maintained in the Atlantic and the Pacific. The surveillance and control of sea routes is also important because it helps provide protection to and facilitate the movement of reinforcements and troops, both in times of peace and war.

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[16] John Knox Laughton: *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada 1588*; State Papers, Suffolk 1987

[17] Mao Tse-tung: T*heorie des Guerilla-Krieges*; rororo 886, Reinbek

[18] Richard Jackson: *Writing the War on Terrorism. Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism;*
Manchester United Press, Manchester/New York 2005, ISBN 0-7190-7121-6
Markus Kotzur: *"Krieg gegen den Terrorismus" – politische Rhetorik oder neue Konturen des "Kriegsbegriffs" im Völkerrecht?* In: Archiv des Völkerrechts (AVR), 40th Ed., 2002, p. 454-479.

[19] Andrian Kreye: *Bushs Kriegsrhetorik hat ausgedient*; Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 2009

Similarly, aerial control is important for surveillance on land. There is no other practical way of preventing the enemy from attacking our troops except to destroy his air power before he has a chance to strike us. Having command of the air means to be in a position to prevent the enemy from flying while retaining the ability to fly oneself. Even the Star Wars programme of the United States was directed at dominating space in order to achieve strategic advantage on land.

In continental warfare, the terrain dictates the type of battle that can take place, the type of weapons that can be deployed, the types of troops and the manner of advancing. More and more weapons systems today are developed for ground combat. Some are useful in overcoming restrictions imposed by the terrain. Finally, however, in order to achieve the goal, it is necessary to engage the enemy, regardless of who it is.

In guerrilla warfare, victory in a decisive battle is not the objective, since such a battle would inevitably be lost. The objective, rather, is to use small, independent units to inflict heavy damage and demoralise enemy troops. Such strategies are useful when the enemy has a large army and the terrain chosen is suitable for the chosen kind of warfare. While the Sino-Japanese war under Mao Zedong marked the beginning of this type of combat, the Vietnam War illustrated the consistent application of guerrilla warfare with remarkable efficacy.

Guerrilla warfare has been defined as acts of war that are carried out in an area occupied by the enemy by armed combatants who are not part of a regular army. Guerrilla troops fight in dispersed, mobile units with a preference for methods such as surprise attacks, ambush and sabotage.[20]

In fact, guerrilla warfare illustrates the close symbiosis between military and political strategies. It is an instrument that has frequently been used to achieve political ends such as de-colonisation and the class struggle. Mao Zedong and Che Guevara[21] employed guerrilla warfare in rural areas as a means to gain freedom from colonial and neo-colonial regimes. Urban guerrillas made their first appearance in Uruguay (Tupamaros)[22,23] and are used to weaken industrial societies in their metropolises.

4.2.2 The placement of war

According to Sun Tzu's "Principles for selecting the battleground"[24], a key element of victory is to ensure that the field situation is more advantageous to one's own army than to that of the enemy. There are two elements to this: one, the need to create specific advantages such as occupying key positions and two, the need to choose battlegrounds that are neglected by the enemy.

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[20] Brockhaus, 19th edition

[21] V.W. Hahlberg (ed.): *Lehrmeister des kleinen Krieges. Von Clausewitz bis Mao tse Tung und Che Guevara*; 1968

[22] The name derives from the Peruvian rebel leader Túpac Amaru II (1738–1781).

[23] Labrousse, Alain: *Die Tupamaros: Stadtguerilla in Uruguay*; Hanser, Munich 1971; ISBN 3-446-11419-X

[24] For the political aspects see Chapter 13.4.2: Characteristics of battlegrounds

During the Vietnam War, the Vietcong seldom attacked American troops on open ground. Sabotage and small raids were used to force the American troops to pursue them into the jungle. The American troops would then walk into an ambush where they were routed and made to suffer heavy losses. By luring the American troops into jungle combat, the Vietcong was able to attack on familiar ground, thereby putting themselves in a position to score decisive victories. They managed this even though they had inferior weapons.

4.2.3 The timing of war

The timing of war relates to the decision as to which results are to take place when. The significance of timing is, in fact, best illustrated during war, particularly when life and death are at stake. This is underlined by the fact that in all military trainings, synchronising watches is compulsory before executing a battle plan. Each movement and each advance of troops and weapons must be planned well and implemented accordingly. When attacking a hill occupied by the enemy, for instance, the air force must know when to begin bombing, the artillery must know how long to carry on firing and the infantry must be aware of the exact moment at which to arrive at the target and begin climbing the hill. Wrong timing of any kind can endanger the lives of troops.

The elements "placement of war" and "timing" depend largely on a subjective assessment of the battle, the strength of the attacking troops relative to one's own troops along with several other factors. It is clear that such decisions hinge on the military instincts of the strategic planner, or in this case the tactical planner.

4.2.4 The weight of the centre of gravity

As mentioned earlier, the centre of gravity, as expressed by Wylie, is the critical point that determines the outcome of a battle. Wylie proposes two strategic patterns to shift the centre of gravity to one's advantage: the sequential and the cumulative. Employed together they have a synergistic effect.

In the sequential pattern, the process of war is considered as a chain. Every link in the chain represents a discrete action that naturally grows out of and is dependent on the outcome of the preceding action. The cumulative pattern, on the other hand, regards war as a collection of lesser actions that are not sequentially interdependent. Each individual action is merely a plus or a minus on the chart of the war command which together add up to the result that determines victory or defeat.

One common error is to believe that the only purpose of conducting war is to destroy the enemy. The misunderstanding arises because war is often confused with battle. War, however, is a military conflict in which two or more countries are involved, while battles are the actual armed combats in which military forces clash with one another. Although a war may consist of many battles, victory in all battles does not necessarily guarantee victory in the war. Victory in war should mean adequate and appropriate

control over the enemy to ensure that the enemy is able to regain its position as a respected member of the international community. If that is not the objective, no conclusive victory can be achieved.

> *The Gulf war and the ensuing sanctions against Iraq have demonstrated where such actions lead. The sanctions were put in place to punish Iraq but not to restore Iraq's standing as a member of the international community. Iraq will therefore continue to be a flashpoint as long as the question of its status has not been positively resolved. This was unequivocally demonstrated with the outbreak of Gulf War II in 2003.*

Similar situations can arise during election campaigns. If one party is able to control the activities of the other party completely and the opposing party allows itself to be manipulated in terms of its actions and issues, the probability of victory is high.

4.3 Corporate planning models

Slower growth rates, stagnating markets and increasingly tough competition create conditions that can threaten the very existence of firms. The growth rates required to ensure survival can no longer be achieved through increases in quantitative units alone. This has an impact on corporate management and especially on corporate planning.

Against the backdrop of these economic developments and the consequent need to evolve new approaches in corporate leadership, strategy, specifically corporate strategy, becomes vitally important. By providing a fundamental philosophy and a convincing core concept, strategy is able to mobilise employees and force a collective focus on a common objective, while at the same time creating competitive advantages.

Corporate planning is the systematic examination and formulation of future goals, responses and options, their optimal selection and the establishment of a set of instructions for their rational implementation.[25]

Product and market strategies follow the classic rules of strategic planning. An excellent example is the development of strategies for the global market by the Japanese, which in almost all respects are based on Sun Tzu's basic principles.

4.4 Political planning models

Two models are primarily used in political planning. The first is the SWOT model while the other is "conceptual planning". The SWOT model is briefly outlined below. "Conceptual planning" and its various aspects are presented in detail in Chapter 5 onwards.

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[25] Brockhaus Encyclopaedia, 19th edition

4.4.1 The strategic planning process using SWOT

According to SWOT, good strategic planning functions at two levels. At the first level, the strategic planner paints a clear picture of where the organisation should head (vision) and what the organisation's purpose and rationale for existence are (mission statement). Proceeding from the vision and the mission statement, the strategic planner develops objectives that represent quantifiable and measurable results. These indicate whether the organisation is moving closer to or further away from the vision or primary goal. The strategies in this case must define the expected key result areas on which all efforts are focused and which can be monitored and assessed using specific performance indicators.

At the second level the strategic planner attempts to position the organisation based on the reality of the environment in which it operates. There are two kinds of environments: the external environment, where other forces or factors influence the organisation or are influenced by it, and the internal environment comprising the resources, energy, opportunities and compulsions of the organisation. The strategic planner must be in a position to recognise and appraise the opportunities and threats in the external environment in relation to the vision, the mission statement and the objectives of the organisation. The strategic planner must also be able to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the organisation in relation to its vision, mission statement and objectives.

4.4.2 Vision, mission statement, objectives, key result areas and performance indicators

A vision is an ideal state or an ideal condition that an organisation wishes to attain. Of course, a vision should not be so ideal as to lose touch with reality. A vision represents a final scenario that can be achieved when the sequential steps of interim scenarios have been completed. It is necessary to describe and present the scenario in glowing and vibrant terms to inspire and motivate those involved. A vision for a development project could be described as follows:

> *Village X is a community that enjoys a peaceful, harmonious and equitable coexistence and is capable of meeting its own basic requirements and employing the necessary resources for ecologically balanced and sustainable development.*

The mission statement gives direction to an organisation and is bound to the vision. It is the primary motivation for an organisation, the true reason for its existence. It must be broad enough to inspire all in the organisation, but narrow enough to be able to focus on operations.

> *A simple mission statement for a non-governmental organisation could be stated as: "Improve the quality of living of the poor in …"*

Objectives are the measurable end results that are derived from the mission statement. These could be:

1. The income of the population is raised from below subsistence level to a level that enables them to meet their own basic needs.

2. Good health care is available to all.

The objectives should be translated into key result areas (KRA). For objective 1, the key result area could be that the community has the opportunity to earn enough money and access adequate external resources to satisfy basic needs pertaining to food, shelter, education, water, electricity etc. The specific performance indicators should emerge from the key result areas. A quantifiable income level that is based on a basket of goods that just about ensures a decent existence must be fixed as a baseline.

The key result area for objective 2 should be good health. This can be measured using specific health criteria (e.g. life expectancy, death rate, incidence of disease, growth charts, child mortality and occupational safety) that can serve as performance indicators.
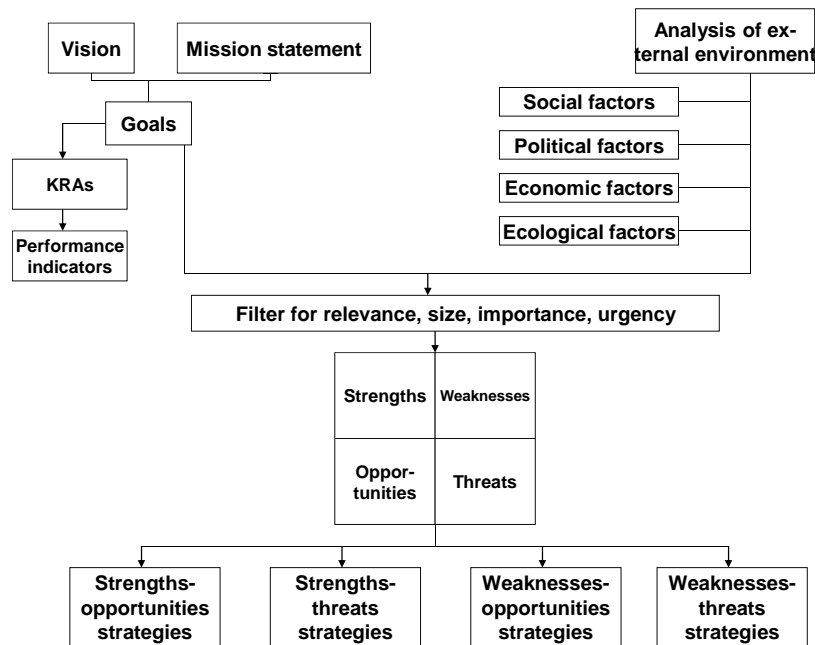
SWOT planning

4.4.3 Factors relating to the analysis of the external environment

The appraisal and analysis of the external environment should take into account four main areas of interest, namely social, political, economic and ecological factors.

Social factors include demographic developments in a society, especially age distribution, mortality and gender parameters. Data regarding level of education and qualifications, health and conditions relating to physical and psychological security are gathered under this head. Social factors necessarily take into account religious values as well as cultural traditions and customs. They factor in the social structure, the relationships and interaction between different social groups and the pecking order of the social hierarchy.

Political factors relate to power structures and forces that influence the internal environment in which governments operate, as also their international links. The structures and forces include the existing power elite, its opponents, religious sects, anarchists, business magnates, activists, reactionaries, the army, revolutionaries, property owners, farmers, managers, labour unions, the electorate etc. These factors weave a web of protagonists and antagonists, a pattern of cooperation and conflict[26]. They are based on certain constitutional or legal frameworks, which are adhered to by some, but which others wish to destroy. These factors deal with the control and management of vital resources including people, natural resources and money. Political forces also keenly attempt to attract resources external to the environment while simultaneously seeking to keep destructive elements away from their borders.

Economic factors relate to all productive forces – capital, land and labour – that are active in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Different forms of investment and their sources lay the foundations for creating and distributing economic wealth. They are shaped by the application of technology, management skills, qualifications, profitability, consumption patterns, investment levels, capital mobilisation and productivity. It is then economic factors that determine the quality of life of citizens in a particular area.

Ecological factors describe how different components of the ecosystem or the ecological environment mutually influence one another. They examine the creative or the destructive impact of these elements. They determine the well-being of those living in a particular environment, whether human, animal or plant, as also the capability to continuously develop. Ecological factors define the quality of the life that is produced by the environment, and this is dependent on productivity or programmes to protect nature. Ecological factors dictate the condition of natural resources and the degree to which these are used and exploited. They underlie the level of pollution that occurs because of economic and social activities.

Social, political, economic and ecological factors are the parameters by which the past, present and future capacity of the environment can be assessed. This assessment can be based on different perspectives, depending on personal attitudes and convictions.

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[26] See also Chapter 16.9: Determining the value preferences of target groups

4.4.4 Internal evaluation (appraisal)

The first exercise when internally evaluating a development mission is to specify performance in view of the given or accepted mandate (vision, mission statement, objectives). The mandate needs to be translated into result-oriented performance indicators that define the impact of the organisation on the targeted recipient. In terms of result-oriented performance, it is irrelevant how good the organisation is at delivering assorted services. If the delivered services do not lead to perceptible and measurable results or advantages, the services are useless.

Thus the first task is to concentrate on comparing actual and planned results.

The second task is to measure the capability of persons within the organisation to implement the strategy. An organisation may have decided to achieve better results, but if the people in the organisation are not competent, it will not be able to achieve them.

The third task is to verify whether enough resources are available to achieve the organisational objectives laid down in the strategy. Strategies may be good and people may be competent, but the organisation may not make the required funding available at the right time and place.

The fourth task is to assess the systems, workflows and procedures that exist in an organisation to determine whether they are suitable for implementing the strategy and achieving the objectives. Systems relating to planning, organisation, human resources, management, finance, appraisal and incentives may actually be focusing on things other than implementing the strategy and achieving the objectives.

The fifth task consists of reviewing the different operative functions of the organisation, its various programmes, projects and support services with a view to determining whether they support the strategy and are focused on the desired objectives. In other words, are functions, programmes and services carried out efficiently, swiftly and effectively?

The sixth task lies in verifying whether management style, attitudes, value systems, relationships, ethics, cohesiveness, client orientation and performance of individual managers and teams fits with the result-oriented criteria.

Seventh, the organisation's structures, environment and working conditions must be examined to see if they meet organisational requirements and lead to good performance.

Eighth, the organisation's external relationships, communications, links, networks and alliances must be analysed to see what role they play in the efficiency of the organisation.

Ninth, top managers and leaders need to be assessed on their ability to elicit support and performance from employees, their ability to take decisions, their policies, their instructions and their overall impact on the organisation.

Tenth, a review must be undertaken to determine whether the strategies employed by the organisation, its structures, systems, resources and personnel are consistent with its vision, mission statement and objectives. Three management processes need to be highlighted here.

1. Does the motivation and appraisal process encourage employees to want to execute strategies and tasks?

2. Do organisational structure, system and resources for planning, decision-making and implementation facilitate achievement of chosen strategies and tasks?

3. Do organisational structure, systems and resources ensure the right leadership, the selection of the right people and an improvement in employee relationships and support?

4.4.5 SWOT analysis

After having passed through the steps of formulating vision/objectives and analysing the environment, the organisation must move on to developing strategic options or alternative paths to achieve the final goal. Comparing the strengths and weaknesses of the organisation with the opportunities and threats in the environment can help develop these options. This is called a SWOT analysis. There are four possible combinations:

1. Strengths-opportunities strategies. Ask: how can organisational strengths be leveraged to derive advantages from opportunities for growth?

2. Strengths-threats strategies. Ask: how can strengths be used to counter threats that would otherwise hinder the achievement of objectives and the pursuit of opportunities?

3. Weaknesses-opportunities strategies. Ask: how can the weaknesses be overcome to derive advantages from growth opportunities?

4. Weaknesses-threats strategies. Ask: how can weaknesses be overcome to counter threats that would otherwise hinder the achievement of objectives and the pursuit of opportunities?

4.4.6 Selection of strategies and implementation

Strategic options are evaluated according to criteria established by the organisation. These in turn emerge from the vision, mission statement, key result areas and performance indicators. A decision needs to be taken, which must be subjected to critical analysis by asking what could go wrong. This allows unforeseen eventualities to be prepared for or for the decision to be changed if need be.

After the strategy has been selected and unforeseeable eventualities factored in, the strategy must be translated into an appropriate organisational structure, systems and implementation procedures. Activities need to be scheduled within specific time frames and tasks are allocated to specific groups or individuals with clear deadlines to be met. The strategy must be monitored and evaluated according to the performance indicators

and key result areas that have been established, both for purposes of management control as well as to facilitate repetition of successful strategies.

4.4.7 Method of conceptual planning

This method is central to the book. It is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 ff. and, in the author's view, it displays the necessary rigour but also the flexibility required by strategic planning to respond to societal changes. The method ensures that changes in the planned strategy are undertaken only when specified threshold values are exceeded. This brings in some calmness. Hectic and consequently over-emotional reactions can be avoided. In addition, conceptual planning regards environmental factors as variables since, after all, the very aim of political strategies is to change the environment – society as well as the legal framework.

5. Conceptual Planning[27]

5.1 Ten steps to planning

Conceptual planning consists of ten steps that need to be completed successively. The steps can be divided into three phases, namely:

1. Mission and situational appraisal
2. Strategic decisions
3. Strategy implementation.

In traversing these ten steps, the following questions must be answered:

1. What is it that needs to be planned and with what strategic objective? (Mission)

2. How do we assess the situation in which the mission is to be accomplished? (Situational appraisal and evaluation)

3. Which strategic decisions need to be taken to successfully carry out the mission in the given situation? (Formulation of sub strategies)

4. Which tactical goals need to be achieved to carry out the mission? (Formulation of goals)

5. How should the internal and external environment perceive us? (Target image)

6. Which groups (internal and external) are important for the achievement of our tactical goals, and which groups develop a specific interest in us because of our target image? (Target groups)

7. Which specific image factors are important for the defined target group? (Target group message)

8. How do we achieve our goals vis-à-vis our target groups? (Key instruments)

9. How do we translate strategy into tactical planning? (Time schedules and operational plans)

10. Which auditing instruments do we use to control the implementation of strategy and for registering changes in environmental data so that strategy can be adapted? (Strategy control)

Once all these ten questions are answered, all elements that have a bearing on strategy and tactics are established and consequently ready to be applied in the operational plans of the tactical unit[28].

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[27] The method was first developed by Bruno Kalusche at the then headquarters of the Institut für Kommunikationsforschung e.V. (Institute for Communications Research). Since 1978 the method has been further developed and refined by the author who took over the institute in 1987.

[28] For a demarcation between strategic and tactical planning steps see Chapter 3.2.1.

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┌─────────────┐         ┌─────────────┐
│   Mission   │─────┬───│    Facts    │
└─────────────┘     │   └─────────────┘
                    │
        ┌───────────┴───────────┐
        ▼                       ▼
┌─────────────┐         ┌─────────────┐
│  Strengths  │         │ Weaknesses  │
└─────────────┘         └─────────────┘
        │                       │
        ▼                       │
   ┌──────────────────┐         │
   │  Sub strategies  │◄────────┘
   └──────────────────┘
        │                       │
        ▼                       ▼
┌─────────────┐         ┌─────────────┐
│Target image │         │    Goals    │
└─────────────┘         └─────────────┘
        │                       │
        ▼                       │
   ┌──────────────────┐         │
   │  Target groups   │         │
   └──────────────────┘         │
        │                       │
        ▼                       ▼
┌────────────────────┐  ┌─────────────────┐
│Target group message│  │ Key instruments │
└────────────────────┘  └─────────────────┘
        │                       │
        ▼                       ▼
┌──────────────┐  ┌─────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│ PR activities│─►│ Controlling │◄─│ Operational plan │
└──────────────┘  └─────────────┘  │   + schedules    │
                                   └──────────────────┘
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Conceptual Planning

5.2 Formulating the mission

Formulating the mission helps describe what needs to be strategically planned. It must include at least three elements:

1. The overall goal, or a description of the position we would like to achieve through strategic planning.

2. Reasons for the need to achieve the overall goal.

3. The time frame within which the overall goal is to be achieved.

The justification for achieving the overall goal is very important, as described in Chapter 3. As stated by von Clausewitz, victory is perhaps the immediate objective of war, yet the true objective of war – which also justifies the overall goal – is peace. This is achieved by defensive war in one's own territory and by a war of aggression in alien territory.

5.3 Situational appraisal and evaluation

Analysis and appraisal of the situation are concerned with the evaluation of the facts that are gathered, their categorisation into strengths and weaknesses and predicting the probability of the mission being successfully accomplished. The facts considered here include facts pertaining to one's own organisation, facts pertaining to employees, if any, and facts relating to the environment in which the mission is to be achieved.

5.3.1 Fact gathering[29]

Fact gathering[30] means collecting internal and external facts that are relevant for the mission. Internal facts are those that pertain to the organisation. External facts relate to employees or to the environment in which the mission is to be accomplished.

It is not always easy to demarcate internal and external facts. This demarcation must, however, be clearly defined before the fact gathering process begins, to avoid misunderstandings.

> *For instance, if the youth wing of a political party plans a strategy for combating unemployment among youth, what should be considered "internal" and what "external"? If the parent party is regarded as "internal", the underlying assumption is that the youth wing has a strong influence on the parent party. If this is not the case, the parent party also needs to be influenced and the reaction to any attempts at influencing is also dictated by the parent party. This implies that the parent party must be classified as an "external" organisation.*
>
> *In another instance, if a party in the governing coalition plans a tax cut initiative, should the government be regarded as "internal" or "external"? In this case it is always recommended that the government be regarded as "external", especially if divergent opinions exist among the coalition parties.*
>
> *If the party is planning an election campaign, the question that arises is whether the party's affiliated political organisations (voters' initiatives, alliance partners, party youth wing, party women's wing etc.) should be regarded as "internal" or "external". This decision must be based on the extent to which the party can exert direct influence on these organisations, even by coercive methods, if need be. If there are clear-cut dependency structures, the organisations are "internal", otherwise they must be regarded as "external".*

Facts relating to competitors pertain to organisations that are either in direct competition with one's organisation, for instance other parties competing in an election, or those which are opponents, such as labour unions during the implementation of privatisation programmes. Facts relating to the environment are facts that emerge from the societal milieu in which the mission is to be accomplished.

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[29] For details on gathering facts see Chapter 7: Fact gathering
[30] See also Chapter 20.1 (Obtaining information and intelligence) on procuring facts.

5.3.2 Identifying strengths and weaknesses

Once the facts are in place, systematically classified and weighted according to relevance, size, importance and urgency, they are correlated to the mission. Each fact is examined to determine whether it is beneficial or detrimental to the accomplishment of the mission.

If a fact is helpful, it becomes a strength. Conversely, if a fact hinders accomplishment of the mission, it is a weakness. Many facts will be neither beneficial nor detrimental. They are then merely the background material that may play a role in the operational plans.

Given the way in which strengths and weaknesses are defined, the strengths of an opponent are weaknesses of our organisation while the weaknesses of an opponent can be our strengths.

5.3.3 Analysing strengths and weaknesses

Once strengths and weaknesses have been determined, they need to be evaluated. After sorting them according to significance, it is important to determine whether we have any influence over the weaknesses in terms of eliminating or mitigating them. Clearly it is easier to influence our own weaknesses rather than the strengths of our competitors – which have become our weaknesses.

Whether we are able to exploit the weaknesses of our opponents depends on whether we possess the suitable means (issues, persons, alliances) – in other words strengths – to attack these vulnerabilities.

When analysing and evaluating our strengths and weaknesses vis-à-vis competitors or opponents in the context of planning political strategy, the following questions need to be asked:

1. Which issues are stronger?
2. Who has better leadership?
3. Who has better human capital?
4. Who has better discipline?
5. Who is better motivated?

The following questions need to be asked when analysing and evaluating the strengths and weaknesses emerging from an appraisal of the environment:

1. Who is more in tune with societal trends?
2. Who is more competent with regard to current issues?
3. Whose value systems are more in sync with those of society or sub societies?

4. Who is better able to grasp opportunities?

Overall, there are three types of weaknesses and three types of strengths.

The weaknesses can relate to:

1. Internal weaknesses that will hinder us in achieving the mission.
2. A weakness that results from a competitor's strength and which will create impediments to achieving the mission.
3. Weaknesses caused by the environment that make it difficult to achieve the mission.

The strengths could be:

1. Internal strengths that can help us to achieve the mission.
2. Strengths that emerge from the weaknesses of our competitors and that we can capitalise on for fulfilling the mission.
3. Strengths emerging from the environment that facilitate achieving the mission.

5.3.4 Feedback

Once the analysis of strengths and weaknesses is complete, the next step is to determine whether the mission can be achieved within the prescribed time frame. If the strengths/weaknesses analysis indicates that distinct strategic advantages exist, that victory appears assured and that vulnerabilities are adequately defended, the mission appears achievable. The situational appraisal is then followed by the formulation of tasks and strategies.

On the other hand, if the analysis reveals that there are weaknesses that cannot be defended, that there are barely any strategic advantages over opponents or competitors and that there is a lack of conviction in victory, there is a large probability that the mission will not be achieved. In this case, an alternative mission needs to be found by modifying the overall goal to set an achievable target. It could also mean withdrawal from the political arena. In each case the results of the situation analysis must flow back into the mission.

Feedback takes place in the following pattern:

```
              ┌─────────────────────┐
              │ Situational appraisal│
              └─────────────────────┘
```

| Facts about own organisation | Facts about competitors | Facts on ext. environment |

Which issues are stronger?
Who has better leadership?
Who has better human capital?
Who has better discipline?
Who has better motivation?
Who has better resources?

Who is more in tune with societal trends?
Whose issues are more current?
Whose value systems are more in sync with those of society?
Who is better at seizing opportunities?

Are there strategic advantages?
Is victory assured?
Can weaknesses be defended?

No

Yes

Find an alternative mission or withdraw

Formulate sub strategies

Feedback diagram

5.4 Formulation of sub strategies

While the situational appraisal step was largely concerned with the existing and past situation, the focus shifts forward with the formulation of sub strategies. Once the situational appraisal is completed, it becomes clear whether the mission is to be carried out as it stands or whether the mission needs to be revised. Consequently certain tasks emerge. These need to be underpinned by strategic decisions.

5.4.1 Setting the tasks

The tasks that need to be addressed emerge from the analysis of strengths and weaknesses. These tasks are:

1. First, we examine our weaknesses. If there are weaknesses we can influence, they must be eliminated.

2. If the weaknesses cannot be fully eliminated, a defence (concealment, diversion etc.) must be built up.

3. Then, we examine our strengths. If there are areas where we enjoy strategic advantages, these should be used to attack the opponent.

4. If the opponent has certain weaknesses that do not, however, correspond to our strengths, we must build up those strengths.

Addressing the tasks in this sequence highlights the significance of attack in strategic considerations. Winning is possible only if one attacks. Defence can perhaps avert defeat, but it can never bring about victory.

> *Sun Tzu said: To secure ourselves against defeat lies in our own hands, but the opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself. Thus the good fighter is able to secure himself against defeat, but cannot make certain of defeating the enemy. Defend yourself if you cannot defeat the enemy, and attack the enemy when you can win.*

5.4.2 Formulating the strategy

Strategy formulation is based on the following principles:

First, selecting the issues on which one wishes to challenge the competitor or opponent. These should either be issues or arguments that carry a distinct advantage or those which have been neglected by the opponent.

The nature of the environment in which the mission is to be accomplished plays a major role in selecting the issues. In other words, the environment in which we wish to operate determines the possibility of using particular issues. If within the environment there is no interest in a particular issue, it is futile to attack our opponents on this front.

In addition we must attempt to be in a position of relative superiority. One way of achieving this is to concentrate our forces and focus all attacks on only one issue at a particular point of time. This is possible only if one attacks areas that the opponent has neglected, or if, by keeping one's strategic plans strictly secret, one is able to trick opponents into concentrating their forces in an area that is not being attacked. This makes the actual attack all the more effective when launched.

The fact that attack is necessary has already been noted above. Nevertheless, attack alone is not enough. Victory must be obtained advantageously. Therefore, there is no point in initiating several small attacks that do not result in any significant advantage. Instead, it is better to focus on decisive issues that will distinctly weaken the opponent or immobilise him in one fell swoop. The idea is to obtain victory in the primary arena rather than winning in ten or more secondary theatres. The main arena in politics is not necessarily determined by us or by our opponents. Often it is the media or societal attitudes – in other words, the external environment – that does this.

If unfavourable circumstances prevent outright victory, the attempt should be to occupy as many niches as possible to achieve at least partial victories. Under certain

circumstances it may even be possible to employ guerrilla strategies. This will be discussed in detail later.

Strategy formulation as a whole should also allow for variation so that it retains an element of unpredictability. "Planned coincidences" should take opponents by surprise and keep them off balance.

> *A good example of this kind of unpredictability was the way in which Japanese companies ventured into global markets. Competitors could never be sure what market entry strategy the Japanese had in mind. The Japanese sold products such as watches, steel and automobiles first in Japan, then in developing countries and later in the industrial countries. They pursued a different approach for hi-tech products such as computers or semiconductors. Here they first supplied their domestic market, then industrial markets and finally the developing markets. However, there was also a third approach. In this case the Japanese first sold their products in the industrial countries before turning their attention to the domestic market and only later proceeding to the developing countries.[31]*

5.4.3 Evaluating strategies

Individual strategies that are chosen to accomplish the tasks must be complementary. They must fit together both at the individual level and in terms of the overall strategy. Therefore it is necessary to evaluate the selected strategies after they have been formulated.

5.5 Formulation of goals

Once the goals are decided, the responsibility for strategy shifts to the tactical units and is implemented by assigning responsibilities.

Strategies, and consequently the approaches for leveraging strengths vis-à-vis the weaknesses of the opponents and for resolving one's own problems (weaknesses) are established. Subsequently the detailed tactical goals are defined.

Goals describe the conditions at the end of a process within a specified period of time. The goals must be attainable and must not be illusory. All goals must be focused towards the overall goal stated in the mission.

Once the goals are formulated, individual strategies get concretised and become operational. Goals need to be individually assigned to the tactical units responsible for

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[31] Kotler et al.: *The New Competition*; Prentice Hall, New Jersey, Englewood Cliffs, 1985

achieving them. Thus quantity, quality, time frame and responsibilities are defined once the goals are formulated.

5.6 Target image

The strategy for public relations activities is formulated and implemented at the PR level once the decision regarding the target image is taken.

> *This is where implementation by governments and executive units often falters. Under the mistaken assumption that they are sufficiently powerful, governments implement issues like tax raises, food price hikes, privatisation etc. without adequate preparation through PR activities. Very often this leads to so much counter pressure being created by the population, supported by the opposition and other vested interest groups, that reform proposals have to be withdrawn.*

The target image describes the desired image that is to be achieved among the target groups through a series of public relations activities. The target image will emerge from strategic decisions on the tasks set and choices made relating to issues, style, type of confrontation and people to be projected.

The target image lays the foundation for PR activities. All public relations activities are directed at disseminating the target image and establishing it firmly in the minds of the target persons.

5.7 Target groups

The target groups are those social groups or their organisations that are important for achieving the mission. They must be communicated with at defined points of time. Target groups are identified by interpreting the strategic decisions, particularly the tactical goals, and by an analysis of the target image.

Once the target groups are defined, the foundation for the communicative implementation of the strategy is established. This is supplemented by the target group message and key instruments.

5.8 Target group message

The target groups described in the previous step require specific information depending on prior strategic decisions to enable them to react as strategically planned. To do this it must first be clear to which aspects of the target image the respective target group will react positively. This summarises all arguments that would motivate the target group.

Sometimes it is possible to include additional information for individual target groups in the target group message over and above the general target image. This information is communicated specifically to the individual target groups and not to all target groups.

> *Campaign strategies are a case in point. During an election campaign, defined voter groups, potential donors and the party membership each play a role as target groups. These three target groups require different information to be able to react adequately in strategic terms.*
>
> *The voters should elect the party or the candidates. This means that they need to be motivated through political vision or by promises that benefit them.*
>
> *Donors should donate money to the party. The party must offer different benefits to this group as compared to what it is offering the electorate in general.*
>
> *Party members should become active and convince voters within their sphere of influence. To do this they need specific information and convictions that go much further than those of the voters.*

It is important that individual target group messages are not contradictory. This means that although specific messages can be assigned to various target groups, these messages must display consistency.

The instrument of the extended message to the target group is frequently resorted to in the final phase of a campaign to make election promises to specific voter groups through closed communication channels that other voter groups should not come to know about. Using the instrument for this purpose needs to be cautioned against as communication channels are usually not closed and it is possible for spillover effects to occur.

> *An example of how the target group message can be used in the closing phase of an election campaign: A political party promises teachers a hefty pay raise if it wins the elections. This is clearly an attractive offer for the teachers. The party will attempt to convey this information through closed channels to prevent other public servants from demanding similar pay hikes. However, if the channels of communication are not closed, the party will in all probability attract the ire of other groups and thereby diminish its electoral prospects rather than enhancing them.*

5.9 Key instruments

The selection of key instruments relates primarily to the actions and means of communication to be employed. The instruments and actions are tailored specifically to the target groups.

> *For instance, when reaching out to the youth and elderly citizens, it is clear that both groups consume different media. Different types of activities must be used to positively address both groups.*

This presupposes, of course, that the target groups are known. Each target group can be reached using specific actions and modes of communication. The selection of key instruments simultaneously results in important decisions regarding the resources used for implementing the strategies and also the effectiveness of the campaign. This decision, coupled with the selection of the target groups, is a precondition for successfully implementing the strategy.

5.10 Strategy implementation.

During strategy implementation, both human and operational factors need to be taken into account. Decisions relating to the tactical goals, formulation of the target image, identification of target groups, target group messages and key instruments must be taken prior to implementation.

Following this, the rules for implementing the strategy must be established. This is an important part of implementation. The following questions need to be answered:

1. Who is responsible for strategy implementation?
2. What influence does the political leadership have on strategy?
3. Who appoints and dismisses persons entrusted with implementing strategy?
4. What qualities are expected of the person heading strategy implementation?

Cooperation between all elements comprising the party's human resources is critical for the implementation of political strategies, i.e. the political leadership, the full-time party leadership and the group of party members or volunteers. The interaction between these three levels, the quantity, quality, education, motivation and ethics are all preconditions for the successful implementation of strategy.

At the operative level of strategy implementation, the principles of speed, flexibility and deception are preconditions for the successful implementation of strategy.

Unnecessary delays can jeopardise any plan since they lead to exhaustion and disappointment within one's own ranks. Delays must therefore be avoided.

5.11 Securing the strategy

Securing the strategy involves two elements and both are essential for the successful application a strategy.

1. The first element is the principle of obtaining intelligence and information. This means that at any point of time, even during the first-time implementation of a strategy, it is necessary to keep tabs on the opponent and organise a constant flow of information. This involves constant contact with members and sympathisers of the opponents and their alliances along with reports and documentation. It also includes surveys, media analyses and, of course, procuring information from the opponent's headquarters. The strategy monitoring process can be regularly carried out using the information thus obtained. This helps avoid unwelcome surprises, misjudgements and wrong decisions.

2. The second element is the principle of security and data protection at our end. In practice this means warding off attempts by opposing organisations to obtain information. To do this, strategic plans must be dealt with very discreetly. In democratic organisations the tendency is to discuss and develop strategic plans too widely and participatively. This, however, jeopardises secrecy. Tight security measures and deterrent punishments for those who reveal strategic secrets coupled with the use of deception manoeuvres round off the list of measures for monitoring strategy.

6. The Mission – What Needs to be Planned?

The mission first of all defines:

What needs to be planned.

It must then state:

Which overall goal or what exactly (X) is to be achieved?

In an election, for instance, this could be the majority of votes, a specific number of seats in parliament, the election of specific persons, etc. etc.

For a political strategy this could pertain to the enactment of a certain law, the resolution of certain issues, the achievement of a political goal, the implementation of decentralisation or privatisation etc. etc.

When planning political careers this could be the attainment of a certain position, participation in a specific assignment, nomination as candidate etc.

The mission must also state for whom the strategy is being planned.

Who (P) wishes to achieve the goal?

Is it a political party or a government or a pressure group or a citizens' initiative or an individual etc. etc.

The mission can set a framework or delineate limits and consequently provide information on the How:

With what means or how (W) is the goal to be achieved?

Should only legal means be used or can illegal methods also be employed, can ethnic or religious sentiments be played on or is that taboo, should the strategy eschew violent means or are all planning options open etc. etc.

The mission must indicate the time frame within which the overall goal is to be achieved.

By when (T) should the goal be achieved?

For example, by the next elections or within the next three years or…

The mission must also clearly spell out why certain things must happen.

Why (Z) should the goal be achieved?

Clausewitz's concept that the ensuing peace rather than victory itself is the actual objective of war must also be applied to political strategies. It forces the client (C) to be clear about his motives. Reasons must therefore be given for why an electoral victory should be achieved or why a certain majority is desired or why a particular law should be passed or why privatisation should be implemented or why one is aspiring for a particular post etc. etc.

A mission statement is usually formulated as:

"Develop a strategy for (C)
to achieve (X)
taking into account (W)
within a time frame (T) in order to implement (Z)."

6.1 Examples with comments

Example 1: Formulate a strategy by which we, the AB Party, will manage to break the absolute majority of Party X at the next elections.

This mission has no positive components. It does not state what "we" wish to achieve. There are also no answers to the "why" and the "how". The mission statement should be on these lines:

Formulate a strategy by which we, the AB party, together with other opposition parties will be able to break the absolute majority of Party X, and consequently its complete dominance, so that we are able to influence government policy through our programmes."

Vice versa, the mission for the strategy of Party X could be stated as:

Formulate a strategy that will consolidate our absolute majority in the next elections so that the objectives in our manifesto can be realised without being influenced by other parties.

Example 2: Formulate a strategy that will ensure the setting up of a private school in city B.

This mission contains no information about "who" the strategy is being formulated for, nor about the time frame nor why nor how. The complete mission statement could be formulated thus:

Formulate a strategy for the **citizens' initiative "Pro Private School"** that will **utilise all legal options** to ensure the setting up of a privately funded school in city B **within**

the next three years so that educational facilities are more geared towards the interests of pupils and parents.

Some correctly formulated strategic briefs drawn from actual experience are reproduced below:

> *Example 3: We formulate a strategy for the federation of cooperatives in country A so that together with, if possible, all political forces in the country, a law on cooperatives can be enacted during the current legislative period, enabling the development of private cooperatives.*
>
> *Example 4: We formulate a strategy for government C in country E to privatise the state-owned telecom company, introduce competition and make telecommunication services better and more affordable before the end of the legislative period.*
>
> *Example 5: We formulate a strategy for Mrs P to become the chairperson of party ABC within three years so that the party becomes more youthful and is able to revitalise its programme under her leadership.*

6.2 The mission – striking a balance between realism, optimism and pessimism

A mission should not be so optimistically formulated as to become unrealistic, since one would then inevitably be forced to scale it down after the situational appraisal.

On the other hand, the mission should not appear too pessimistic. Experienced politicians or office-holders often tend to lower the overall goals either because they have frequently been disappointed by overly high expectations or because their pessimism is a political ploy.

A mission's goals should always be set a little higher than what can realistically be expected. Very often, much to the surprise of the planners, these goals are achievable. Most importantly, a mission should be formulated such that it positively motivates all those associated with achieving it.

6.3 Problems in defining the overall strategic goals

Establishing the goals of a strategy can pose considerable difficulties for the decision-makers, because they must deal with demands that are very difficult to fulfil. This is so

because in politics, as also in the economic sphere[32], we deal with problems that have the following characteristics:

1. Complexity and complex inter-linkages
2. System dynamics
3. Lack of transparency

The decision maker must also deal with the additional problems outlined below:

4. Insufficient information and deficient knowledge of structures
5. Widespread wrong assumptions about how the system works
6. Inadequate formulation of goals

In such a situation, the political decision-maker – be it a member of government, member of parliament or a voter – must arrive at a decision. Research using various simulations has shown that wrong decisions are usually taken because of the inability to cope with the combination of complexity, inter-linkages, dynamics and lack of knowledge.

The person responsible for strategy must therefore deal with these challenges and find solutions that will prevent negative developments as far as possible. We will therefore take up the individual components of decision-making characteristics in greater depth.

1. Complexity and complex inter-linkages

Complexity arises due to the fact that many mutually dependent variables exist even in a selected segment of reality. We therefore do not even attempt to link our actions with all possible variables in a global system and select only a specific segment of reality that we have some control over.

> *Example: When we stipulate quality parameters for imported toys to protect the children in our country against carcinogenic plasticizers, we ignore the impact on the economy of the exporting country and focus only on variables that are influenced in our country.*

Just how wide this window to reality should be opened is often already a point of conflict between political decision-makers. If the window is opened too wide, information gathering becomes so difficult that no agreement is usually possible. Sometimes, therefore, the window is deliberately opened very wide to prevent a decision altogether.

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[32] IBM: *Capitalizing on Complexity*:
http://public.dhe.ibm.com/common/ssi/ecm/en/gbe03297usen/GBE03297USEN.PDF, 2010

Example: Strategic approaches of this nature were evident during the discussions at the Climate Conference in Copenhagen for deciding on suitable and binding measures to prevent global warming and climate change.

Thus, if we regard the complexity of a problem within a selected window, the degree of complexity depends on the number of interdependent characteristics.

Interlinking of variables
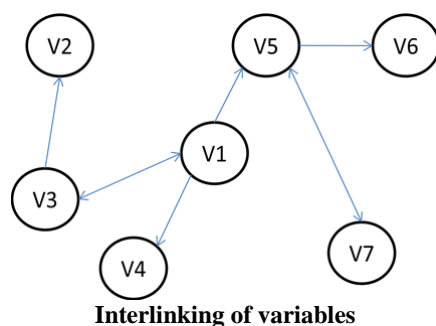
The figure shows that variable V1 is directly linked to variables V3, V4 and V5. However, the figure also shows that a change in variable V1 will influence variables V2, V6 and V7. These changes may have a positive, but also quite possibly a negative impact on the overall system and thereby enhance or diminish the success of a measure. It is very difficult to assimilate these impacts, and this can occasionally lead to unpleasant surprises. Politicians like to block out awareness of such connections because this frees them of the burden of the long term and spillover effects of their actions. Politicians tend to ignore all variables that are not directly linked to the solution they are seeking to a problem. In their arguments they often reduce problems to monocausal linkages.

Example: Increases or decreases in taxation are usually interpreted in terms of their fiscal impact on the budget, seldom in terms of impact on the social fabric and on the economy. In debates between political parties only individual variables are addressed so as to score points among specific target groups.

A further problem relating to the complexity of decision-making is that the degree of complexity is not an objective attribute of a system, rather it is subjectively interpreted. With growing experience, decision-makers develop what are called "super symbols[33]" so as not to drown in information overload. These super symbols collate individual bits of information based on experiences, which are however subjective and may therefore contain interpretation errors.

2. System dynamics

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[33] Human beings are able to consciously combine elementary symbols into super symbols. Elements of information are combined into new units by forming clusters, classes or relationships. Super symbols can be interpreted as compressed information that is activated, e.g. in the cognition of danger.

The system in which desired effects are to be achieved by means of strategic decisions continues to develop on its own without the participation of the decision-maker. Thus, developments in the system and their vectors of change must be factored in during decision-making. This will prevent measures from always coming too late and consequently falling flat because the system at that point can no longer be changed by the selected measures. This phenomenon of dynamism consequently puts decision-makers under time pressure. It is because of this time pressure that the vectors of change can only be estimated, information gathering remains incomplete and, as a result, decisions are taken in a fog of ignorance. This is what makes decision-making a gamble with high risks and potentially high losses.

> *Example: When the 2010 debt crisis in Greece snowballed into a crisis for the European currency, the euro, the Eurozone finance ministers had to take critical decisions on a weekend, at a time when the stock exchanges were closed. There were neither any super symbols nor was sufficient information available that would have afforded some measure of strategic safety for the decision. The time pressure was enormous because the ministers and their heads of government had to reach an agreement before the stock exchanges opened on Monday.*

Such situations are also triggered when information that is widely known is withheld and facts are disguised for political reasons so as not to set events in motion through premature disclosure. In such instances, it is advisable to adopt proactive planning to avert risks by carefully running through different scenarios and then setting the ball rolling in such a way that the system's dynamics develop in the direction intended by the decision-maker(s). While steps of this kind are necessary, they are no longer really feasible in political systems with competing parties and an omnipresent media, unless fundamentally there is a shift towards planning politics more strategically and measures are taken to protect the strategies.

3. Lack of transparency

Another fundamental problem in decision-making is the actual or self-created lack of transparency in the system. The true condition of the system can only vaguely be discerned. This can occur when certain information is either not or only insufficiently gathered and the links between the variables cannot be adequately examined. However, data and information can also be deliberately misrepresented or suppressed for political reasons. This naturally leads to uncertainty in the planning or decision-making process.

> *Example: The decisions of the British House of Commons relating to the deployment of troops in the Iraq war in 2003 were based on a report by the intelligence services and Tony Blair's comment that, "Iraq has chemical and biological weapons, which could be activated within 45 minutes." Today, those involved know that the report was false and that the general public and members of*

parliament were (mis)led into taking a decision brought about by the intransparency of the situation.

4. Insufficient information and deficient knowledge of structures

Another big problem for decision-making is the lack of structural knowledge among decision-makers. This means that there is no knowledge about how the variables in a system are linked. These linkages are, after all, not just linear but also links with complex mathematical functions. There is rarely any awareness of these functions and this consequently influences the model of reality that serves as a basis for decisions. The uncertainties in this model lead politicians to use their own implicit model of reality. In other words, they do not know why they take a decision but take decisions intuitively based on their gut instinct. An explicit model of reality, on the other hand, is verifiable, communicable and known to the decision-maker.

5. Widespread wrong assumptions about how the system works

Such a model of reality can, of course, be "right" or "wrong". However in politics, politicians tend to assess models of reality based not on whether they are right or wrong but according to their own world view, basically their own political ideas and the ideology of their party. Reality is concealed till such time that it can demonstrably be shown to be false. Even then, many decision-makers find it difficult to detach themselves from models acknowledged to be wrong. In social psychology this behaviour is known as "cognitive dissonance[34]".

Such models of reality play an important role in the major debates of the future on energy, climate, natural resources etc. The IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) is a key actor in the preparation of reports on these issues. And it is precisely this Nobel Prize-winning organisation that has been criticised with regard to its Assessment Reports[35]. However, since such Assessment Reports serve as a basis for strategic decisions in the political sphere, controversies about the quality of the analysis once again imply that decisions can only be taken intuitively. This can have a disastrous impact on countries and people. The question about whether the method normally envisaged for this purpose in strategic planning, namely the worst case scenario, should be applied is a highly contentious one given the impact on national economies and societies.

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[34] In Aesops's fable, "The fox and the grapes," the fox wants to eat grapes but is unable to reach them. Rather than admitting his failure, he dismisses the grapes as "sour and not worth the effort."

[35] The work of the IPCC has been criticised in the wake of the controversy on global warming, with some sides accusing it of trivialising the issue and others of exaggeration. Following the revelation of an error in the 2007 IPCC report on the rate of recession of Himalayan glaciers, there was a clamour for reforming the panel and its regulatory mechanisms. In February 2010, the IPCC announced the appointment of an independent committee of experts to review the content of its 4th Assessment Report. The process of formulating reports will also be reviewed to see if it complies with scientific and academic standards.

The issue of conflicts of interest had been brought up earlier following political interference in the final versions of the synthesis reports. In the context of the 4th Assessment Report it was learnt that some governments (among them USA and China) had pushed through a significant dilution of the draft report presented by scientists.

6. Inadequate formulation of goals

There is a series of challenges that must be overcome when defining the overall strategic goal. In the political sphere, politicians and even political activists in NGOs tend to formulate their programme goals in a way as to prevent their own success or failure from being measured against these goals.

We must first distinguish between negative and positive goals. Positive goals clearly describe what is to be achieved. This makes it clear what the objective is. An analysis of the facts then identifies the areas in which strategy must be effective to achieve success. Negative goals are quite different. For instance, they could be directed at removing flaws or shortcomings, such as eliminating hunger and poverty, preventing a rise in global temperature, lowering unemployment, abolishing discrimination against women etc. All these goals come up in public discourse time and again; they are the object of every discussion in global institutions, such as the UN, OSCE etc. They also coincide with the goals of many non-governmental organisations, as was the case, for instance, at the climate change conference in Copenhagen

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg[36] has captured the problem of negative goals in a remarkable sentence. He said, *"I cannot say whether things will get better if they change; what I can say is that they must change if they are to get better."* A negative goal usually has a moralistic undertone, pursued more with the objective of educating or judging, rather than achieving something concrete.

Negative goals tend to be avoidance goals and are often too global and too vague to serve as a guideline for concrete planning and action. They must therefore be translated into positive goals.

Goal formulation can be subdivided into the following categories:

Positive	Negative
Specific	General
Clear	Unclear
Individual	Multiple
Explicit	Implicit

Table: Categories of goal formulation

We have already discussed positive and negative goals in some detail. For developing successful strategies it is always advisable to convert an avoidance goal (negative goal) into a positive goal. The process of conversion will reveal that there is an abundance of positive goals behind every negative goal. These goals must be assigned priorities to make them manageable.

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[36] Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, German author, art critic and physicist, 1742 - 1791

Example: A classic avoidance goal is to reduce unemployment. If we convert this into positive goals, the wealth of opportunities becomes clear. Positive goals (unquantified in this example) could be: create new jobs, attract companies that provide jobs, preserve jobs at risk, distribute work among more persons, train and qualify specific target groups for jobs, reduce legal working hours etc. There are various political concepts behind these positive goals. Consequently decisions about the priorities to be adopted must be taken at the political level.

The second group of goal definitions are the general or global and the specific goals.
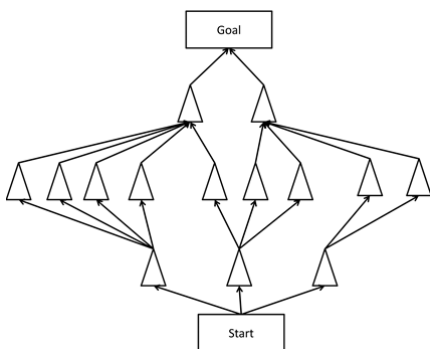
The general goals must be concretized and thus translated into a specific goal. In complex situations this can be quite difficult. For instance, one such goal could be: "We, Party A, want to form the government in country V within the next ten years." The intention is quite specific and is also expressed positively. Yet, this is a long term goal. Such a goal needs to be concretized by setting milestones. Rainer Oesterreich[37] refers to intermediate steps, which must exhibit a high efficiency divergence. This implies that many different options with a high efficiency probability must be created. When individual milestones within a long term strategy are re-evaluated on completion of the planned time frame, the global overall goal serves as a point of reference that can be achieved by different means. This is necessary because it is not only the strategy protagonist who is active in the process of achieving the goal; the environment and the actions of the strategy antagonist are constantly changing as well.

The third group of goal definitions is characterised by clear or unclear goals. This often occurs when the goal is expressed in comparative terms: "more citizen centric administration", "more child friendly city", "more user friendly library", "better internal communication". In such cases, lack of clarity is compounded by the multiplicity of goals (polytely). Such goals cannot be used for good strategy planning and must therefore be broken down. This results in a lot of different goals in different places at different times. Often these goals are interlinked and one only becomes aware of the link after disaggregating them into individual components.

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[37] Rainer Oesterreich: *Handlungsregulation und Kontrolle;* Urban & Schwarzenberg, Munich, 1981.
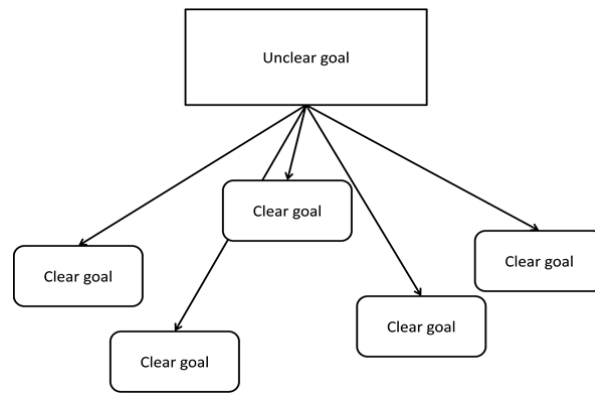
Disaggregation of unclear goals

Once the goals have been broken down, priorities must be set for clear-cut individual goals and a time frame must be developed. This is important especially for goals that are interlinked. It is also necessary to identify the key troubleshooting issues. These must be dealt with first and can sometimes solve many other problems. In this context one also refers to goals with a bottleneck problem. Sometimes the solution to a multi-layered and complex problem hinges on one key issue, the bottleneck.

> *Example: You have a bottleneck problem if, for instance, the executive board of an organisation incapable of action. The organisation is then paralysed and everything is blocked due to the incapacity of the executive body.*

If no bottleneck problems or key issues can be identified, the goals must be classified according to importance and urgency.

The fourth category of goal definitions is associated with individual and multiple goals. For multiple goals, refer to the discussion above on clear and unclear goals. Multiple goals must also be broken down into individual goals. Party manifestos and even declarations by the government or statements by politicians tend to evade clear-cut individual goals and take refuge in vague multiple objectives. There is, after all, the maxim that if specific individual goals are bundled together in one big problem package, approval for the goal is usually assured, while one is simultaneously freed of the responsibility to actually achieve it.

> *Examples of problem package goals: Reducing crime, eradicating corruption, eliminating unemployment. All political parties and society will signal their approval for each of these goals. What is not defined is the approach that will be adopted and which individual goals will be taken up. Consequently there is no pressure for action and results.*

The last category of goal definitions are implicit and explicit goals. While implicit goals are not immediately obvious, explicit goals are easily recognised.

Example: For a healthy person, health is naturally important, but it represents an implicit goal since it is not a critical issue of immediate interest. On the other hand, for someone who is ill, health becomes an explicit goal because it has a key bearing on the person's future life.

The question of implicit and explicit goals comes up especially with regard to post-material values. Naturally, freedom, peace, justice, transparency and participation are important goals; but they are always only implicit unless they are conspicuous by their absence. One sees this problem in many election campaigns when a political party puts forward mainly implicit goals that do not resonate with the electorate, or at best with only a few highly sensitized voters.

7. Fact gathering

A recurrent problem in fact gathering is that either too little or too much information is available or the information is unable to provide enough facts. Fact gathering primarily aims at identifying strengths and weaknesses in implementing a given mission. Clearly then, a fact gathering operation needs to be focused. Attempts must be made to use specific and persistent questions to ascertain facts that are not presented by participants – whether deliberately or due to carelessness – during a planning discussion.

Two methods are suitable for processing information:

> analysis and
>
> synthesis.

Professor Eduardo Morato of the Asian Institute of Management provides a more detailed description of both these methods in relation to strategic planning. According to him:

"Sorting through a pile of information in order to determine what is important for evaluation and decision-making can be difficult without a data filter. Two intellectual exercises are necessary in this process of sifting. One exercise is analysis, which dissects information into parts that are then presented according to their relevance, size, importance and urgency. The other exercise is synthesis, in which individual pieces of information are combined into larger and more visible or more significant units. This allows an overall picture to emerge or for the significance of that information to become apparent. The latter exercise is supported by creating data patterns, connections and trends to determine how the data is inter-related and how future data scenarios would appear. Analysis and synthesis are both a contribution to the art of critical thinking. To put it in simple terms, critical thinking separates the wheat from the chaff. It facilitates a clear focus and the development of insights.

Beginning with **analysis**, the data must first of all be classified accurately. Any order used for collecting data on the general environment can be applied. Once the data is sorted, the data filter can be applied using the parameters of relevance, size, importance and urgency.

Relevance pertains to the relationship between the information and the mission, or the logical explanation on a topic or situation from the perspective of the institution or organisation**.** For example, a group that supports the protection of natural forests and has this as its mission will consider data relevant if it is related to the destruction or regeneration of forest areas, or to government policy on the exploitation of forests or to what forest dwellers do with their property or data on the ecosystem supported by forests. Therefore data is relevant if it is related to the reasons for the existence of the organisation or its basic objectives.

During an election, on the other hand, data related to the electoral system, voter distribution, predominant voting considerations becomes relevant.

Size pertains to the quantitative dimension and to the influence that certain factors have on an issue or a problem. Size or spread are operative instruments of measurement. For example, when assessing the productive capacity of a certain region, the relevant quantity would be the number of people who are able to work and can be gainfully employed. When providing free primary education, the decisive quantity is the number of children who would attend a school at the primary level.

During a political campaign that involves volunteers, the number of volunteers and their distribution across the campaign area would be the significant parameters.

Importance pertains to the qualitative influence certain factors have on a particular situation. For example, religious beliefs can play an important role in a person's value system. The level of disposable income is important for determining purchasing power. Climatic conditions could be very important for the yield of certain agricultural products. Thus, importance is reflected through the significant impact or the depth of influence that one environmental factor has on others.

During elections in a media-oriented society, factors such as "access to media" and "money" are important.

Urgency relates to data that are dependent on when something occurs or which require the answer to a particular problem within a specific time frame. For example, major earthquakes do not occur very often (low frequency), do not constitute a critical factor in the wealth of a nation (low level of impact if occurrences are isolated), and are not the main preoccupation of a government (low relevance); yet an earthquake demands the entire attention of government machinery because of the high level of urgency involved in saving lives and property.

If war breaks out during an election campaign, this fact must be accorded great urgency, consequently making it an important factor.

Synthesis brings these parts together. One instrument to do this is to examine past events, utilise trend analyses and make projections or develop future prognoses. One arrives at a synthesis based on data analyses by developing overall scenarios of the past, present and future. Synthesis helps us create patterns of analysed data, like a mosaic, that lead us to new insights. One begins to recognise cause and effect, correlations or the lack thereof, chains of events and parallels. Syntheses can be arrived at through rational thought processes or through more intuitive approaches. The former requires the application of logic, while the latter consists of intellectual leaps and creative discoveries. The instruments of synthesis therefore include: forecasting techniques, research on cause and effect, data integration through pattern formation, series development for events through time-related parameters or through their level of influence or impact, correlations and creative processes including the development of fresh scenarios, innovative thinking and intuition or psychic leaps."

7.1 Creating pictures

Pictures or formulas are very useful in effectively dealing with data obtained through analysis and help us to understand the system. A clear understanding of cause and effect and interdependencies is essential to be able to adjust the right screws (regulators) for making a strategy successful. Identifying these regulators is one of the most important tasks in the process of arriving at a strategy. Some of the images that were developed in the course of actual consulting assignments are described and interpreted in context below.

7.1.1 Case study 1: Creation of a voter base in South Africa
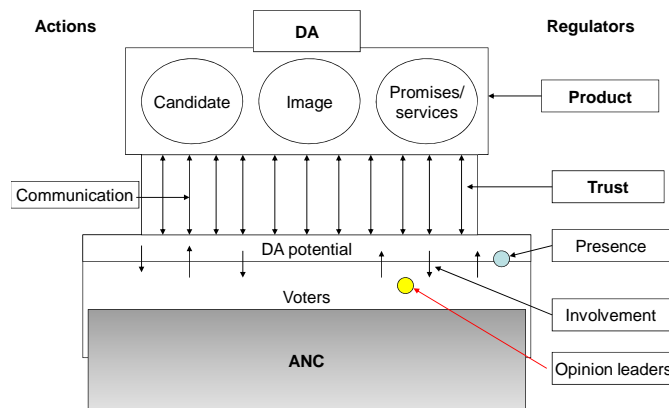
DA position in the electoral market in a South African township

The first case study is drawn from an assignment for the Democratic Alliance (DA) in South Africa. The task was to determine how the DA could increase its voter base in the townships, which had an almost 100% black population. Until then the townships had been the domain of the African National Congress (ANC), while the DA, which as a party had a "white" image, had always fared poorly. The lower part of the figure shows the voters in a township, who have been largely appropriated by the ANC. Dissatisfaction with the ANC government and a relatively shoddy ANC-controlled local administration provide sufficient latent potential that the DA can tap. The upper part of the figure shows the DA and its programme, which comprises the image, the candidates and the promise of delivering certain services. We call this combination the DA's "product". If this product is designed to be attractive for potential DA voters, messages about the product must be conveyed to the voters. In other words, it is essential that communication takes place. However, communication is only useful and effective if a level of trust has been established. This trust must be built up through a regular presence in the constituency, by demonstrating involvement with the problems of the voters and by convincing opinion leaders in the area.

Creating the picture made clear what had so far been lacking. Earlier, the DA visited the constituency only sporadically and had not attempted to build up long term confidence. It had so far pursued an "invader strategy" that could never lead to positive outcomes. This strategy was replaced with a "resident strategy", which significantly improved the results. When the picture was presented to the decision-making body, it became easy for the consultant to convince the decision-makers about the advantages of the resident strategy.

7.1.2. Case study 2: Formula for fighting corruption

In this case a formula is used instead of a picture to represent cause and effect. By using the formula, the points of intervention (regulators) can be identified and the strategy can be applied at these points. The formula describes how corruption can be influenced. It is based on a formula developed primarily by Robert Klitgaard[38], which the author has modified slightly here.

$$C = M + (D - T) - A$$

C = Corruption   M = Monopoly
D = Discretion   T = Transparency
A = Accountability

Modified Klitgaard formula

Thus, the extent of corruption is first a function of the monopoly situation (M) in which the decision-maker is situated. If the monopoly is broken up, the probability that corrupt behaviour will occur diminishes. The discretion enjoyed by the decision-maker (D) also increases the probability of corruption because during the act of corruption, corrupt individuals are able to assert their position due to the discretion available to them. Such situations will decrease as more transparency (T) is introduced in the process. If the process is completely transparent and open, corruption will neither be possible nor required. The likelihood of not being discovered and held accountable (A) plays an important role in corruption. The higher the probability that corruption will be exposed and actually punished, the lower the incentive to indulge in corrupt behaviour.

The author developed an anti-corruption strategy for the finance minister of Macedonia on this basis. The politicians involved in corruption felt so threatened by the strategy that the finance minister was removed from his post.

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[38] Robert Klitgaard: *Controlling Corruption*; University of California Press, 1988

7.1.3 Case study 3: Regulators for combating terrorism

This image was developed and used for advising politicians who wanted to obtain information about effective instruments against terrorism and align their policies accordingly.

Combating terrorism
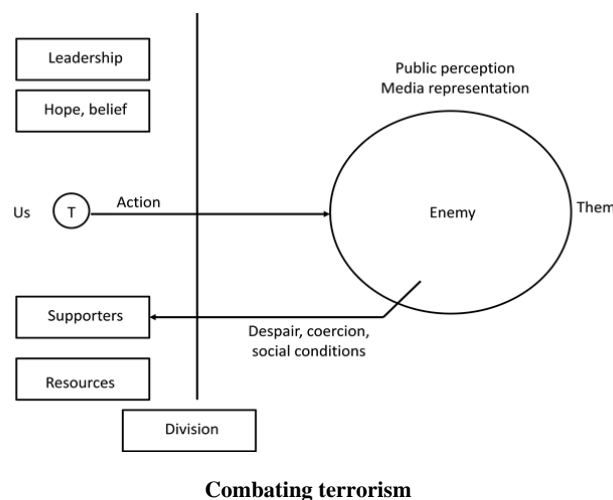
The figure shows regulators for combating terrorism. Exclusion, i.e. the possibility of polarization (us vs. them), is an important regulator. "Us" in this case is the terrorist camp, while "them" is the rest of society. Should this polarization become difficult or impossible, it will have an adverse impact on the terrorist camp. Hope and faith in something or in some teaching and unshakeable loyalty to the leadership represent further regulators. Without these elements the necessary sympathisers of the actual terrorists (T) become unsure and may reject the terrorist camp. The number of sympathisers depends on the social environment. The more an environment is marked by despair, coercion and poor social conditions, the greater the support in society for the terrorist camp and the more adherents it will gain. The amount of available resources is also a regulator. Supplies and reinforcements have a major role in how actions play out. In the societal context, the public perception and media representation of terrorist acts are crucial factors for terrorism to be successful. Without media coverage terrorist acts would not achieve their impact. This impact of "the propaganda of the deed" was understood early on by Mikhail Bakunin, who described it thus: "We must spread our principles, not with words but with deeds, for this is the most popular, the most potent and the most irresistible form of propaganda."[39]

Making pictures of situations facilitates identifying connections and interdependencies in advance. It allows us to avoid shooting in the dark. One can go so far as to say that a strategy planner who is unable to picturise a situation will need a lot of luck to develop a successful strategy. On the other hand, drawing a picture that illustrates the actual cause-effect relationships will lead to a significantly higher success rate.

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[39] Michael Bakunin, anarchist, 1814–1876, in: *Letter to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis*; 1870

The precondition for drawing such pictures, of course, is that a comprehensive fact gathering exercise has taken place and the system is well understood. Sometimes consultants can have completely wrong pictures in their heads, especially when crossing cultural boundaries, and this naturally results in failure.

> *Example: A western consultant who has previously worked with ideological parties in central Europe will fail if he applies this picture in African or Arab countries, where tribal or clan structures predominate, because voting decisions there are influenced by criteria other than programme or ideology. The adjustment to the other picture may sometimes collide with one's own world view. Those who are not prepared to give up their world view and base strategic decisions on the real, effective picture should work as missionaries perhaps, but not as strategic planners.*

7.2 Gathering facts about our own organisation

The process begins with an internal appraisal, i.e. an appraisal of our organisation's situation. There is usually adequate data available about one's own organisation. Problems arise mainly in obtaining information about external perceptions (image) of parties and individuals. This happens when an adequate number of surveys are not available or if the surveys were not conducted properly. In such an event, outsiders (multipliers, opinion leaders etc.) should be involved in carrying out an assessment.

7.3 The product – profile, persons, programmes, competence, performance

> *Quote: The public buys names and faces, not party programmes. A candidate running for public office must be marketed just like any other product. (Richard Nixon, 1957)*

Even when formulating political strategies we speak of a product that needs to be marketed and sold on the electoral market. The same holds true for strategies that are not immediately election-oriented but focus more on the implementation of political activities.

The product comprises several components that are weighted differently depending on the type of strategy being planned and the cultural environment. For a political party, a political group or a person, the product that will compete with other products comprises:

Profile

In many cases the profile matches the image of an organisation or person. It describes typical characteristics that the public recognises and considers important. If no clear

profile has been developed it is difficult for the public to discover elements they can recall and retain. This is the reason why organisations without a clear profile usually remain completely unknown.

Persons

Individuals play an important role in the product description. Their importance depends on the cultural environment or is influenced by the prevailing electoral system. For instance, more emphasis is placed on the individual for product creation during direct election than in party list proportional representation systems. Key personalities can play a decisive role even in strategies that are not directed at elections but at the implementation of certain policies, since they inspire confidence in the proposed measures.

Programme

The product is significantly shaped by the political agenda (party programme, election manifesto) of a political organisation or candidate, or by the package of measures the party proposes to implement, at least in places where the population is receptive to ideological positions.

Competence

During product creation it is important to pay special attention to perceived competence. It is not enough to have a good programme or even to have good candidates if there are doubts about whether the political group will be able to politically implement its programme.

Performance

Performance here refers not to future performance but to the past record of a political group or candidate. This previous record is part of the product, although its impact is often overestimated by political organisations. Past performance can be leveraged as an image factor for building confidence and to project greater competence.

Components of the product
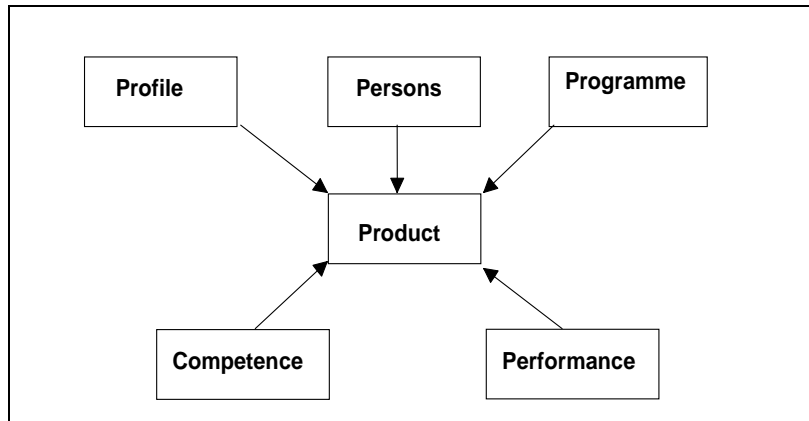
The product of a political party, organisation or candidate therefore consists of five components that will subsequently be assessed and evaluated in the market in which they compete. The evaluation of the product hinges decisively on the advantage that potential voters, buyers or supporters can derive from the product. The product will elicit approval or rejection, will enthuse voters to vote for the party or candidate or reject them, engender sympathy or hatred for the government, mayors, administrations or even unions, the church etc.

A factor that will have considerable bearing on subsequent strategic decisions emerges at this point, namely that a defined product will never elicit the same responses across the entire market. It is judged differently in different market segments.

Strategy thus uses the design of the product to develop something with which it can steer the responses of target persons. Yet this steering, to a large extent, does not take place by means of purely rational arguments since in complex situations the target persons will ultimately make emotional decisions[40]. Their decisions must consequently be supported by emotional arguments.

7.3.1 Profile

Profile encompasses the general image values associated with an organisation. These are usually ascertained through surveys. Image values are frequently presented in pairs. The organisation is then placed on a scale between two extreme positions. Some typical profile pairs are:

Old, new; solid, frivolous; known, unknown; progressive, regressive; socially oriented, no social orientation; reliable, unreliable; honest, corrupt; etc.

	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	
Old		x						New

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[40] See Chapter 15.3 on the issue of intuitive und emotional decision-making.

Solid					x		Frivolous
Known		x					Unknown
Honest					x		Corrupt
Reliable				x			Unreliable
Social orientation			x				No social orientation

Scale matrix for image values

If the result of the survey corresponds to that shown in the table above, the organisation has a clearly defined profile. It is perceived as old, known, frivolous, corrupt and unreliable. In other words, the organisation has a clear-cut profile. Unfortunately, negative factors predominate in this case.

Clear-cut profiles are of interest especially if they can be compared with profiles of other organisations active in the same market. This is illustrated in the graphical representation of a survey below.
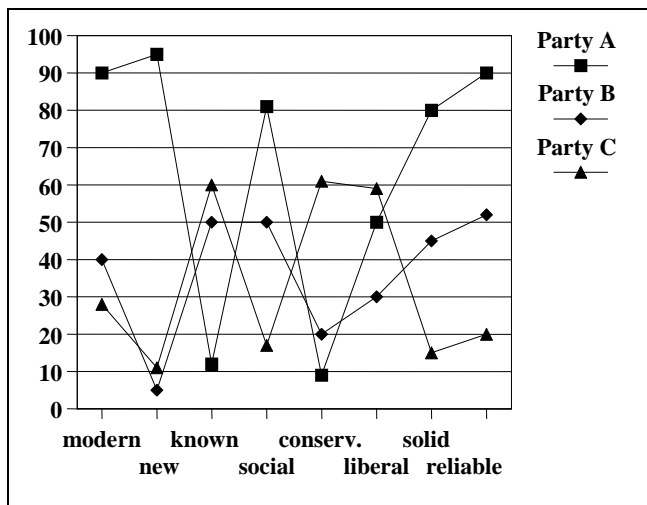
Party C has a profile that is quite different compared with the profiles of Parties A and B. The precise conclusions to be drawn from this will need to be determined through the strengths/weaknesses analysis (refer to Chapter 10.5) in conjunction with information derived from the analysis of the external environment.

7.3.2 Individuals

The role of individuals is quite clear in a head-to-head contest, i.e. direct elections in a constituency. In such cases personalities usually play a decisive role. Other components are subordinate during product creation.

Nevertheless, individuals representing an organisation are an important part of the product even in party list elections. In fact, personalities play an important role in

politics and during elections since they are the ones in whom confidence is reposed. Voting decisions are largely motivated by confidence in the capability, willingness and personal integrity of the persons involved. Naturally these factors are more pronounced in direct elections rather than in list elections. Nevertheless, voters want to see one or several candidates in whom they have confidence even during list elections.

In view of the general disenchantment with politics − which is usually disenchantment with the conduct of politicians rather than with politics itself − the personal component of the product of a political organisation seems to be gaining in importance.

The selection of individuals in democratically structured organisations or parties is usually based on an internal election process, hence there is normally little scope for strategic criteria to influence their selection. This implies that the persons or group of persons elected democratically are the ones that have to be worked with, regardless of whether they would enhance the product's prospects on the market or not[41].

The following information is necessary for assessing individuals:

Degree of recognition

> Here it is necessary to distinguish between degree of recognition among the entire population of an area that is critical to the decision, and the degree of recognition in a particular market segment within this area.

Image

> The image provides information about which characteristics of a person the public perceives. It should be noted that the degree of recognition exerts a major influence on image building and that the image can be very different in different market segments.

> A candidate with a score of 0 on a popularity scale of -5 (rejection) to +5 (approval) could have very high positive ratings in his market segment and high negative ratings in the opposing market segment. This would indicate that the candidate is highly regarded in his core constituency. Of course, a score of 0 can also indicate that the candidate does not have a clearly defined profile and is relatively unknown. Therefore, an aggregated assessment of image factors is insufficient (see also the chapter on surveys). The analysis needs to be extended to different market segments.

> A candidate who has the sympathy of a large majority is, in fact, frequently a bad candidate since he does not possess enough forcefulness to translate these highly diffuse sympathies into voting decisions.

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[41] See also Chapter 12: Strategy selection and formulation of strategic tasks, and Chapter 15: Target image, on ways and means of integrating persons in a strategy.

Many German foreign ministers are typical examples. They usually enjoy a high degree of recognition because they frequently appear on television and other media. However, they are usually not involved in domestic politics in Germany and thus do not take positions in areas that are ultimately relevant for a voting decision. When a foreign minister enters national politics his survey ratings usually fall drastically.

Internal acceptability

The individual's image within the organisation is crucial for ensuring sustained support from among one's own ranks. It also influences the product in the long term. Certain questions need to be clarified:

- Does the individual enjoy the wholehearted support of the organisation or are the members or employees divided?

- Are there internal doubts about the person's reliability?

- Are there doubts about being able to achieve success with this person?

The last question, in fact, can often lead to tricky situations in product creation, for instance if the organisation's members publicly discuss whether a candidate stands a good chance or whether he is a loser.

7.3.3 Programmes

When dealing with political organisations it is assumed that the party's or the organisation's political programme will strongly influence the product. However, this is not always the case. In countries where personalities play a major role, political programmes constitute only an insignificant part of the product.

In countries where the focus is more on platforms and "ideological parties", the party programme is what gives initial shape to the product. Here one would expect to see parties that are socialist, social democrats, liberal, conservative or green etc. In other words, the product has strong ideological overtones. The parties' policies are then formulated on the lines of these political patterns. In political products of this type, individuals act primarily as service providers for achieving the party's political goals.

When analysing facts it is important to examine the political orientation of the organisation, the specific policies it represents and the political problems that are addressed in its programmes.

A political party's platform determines its character. Parties can be categorised as:

- Fascist parties

- Radical right wing parties

- Conservative parties

- Liberal parties

- Social democratic parties

- Socialist parties

- Communist parties

- Green parties

- Religious parties

- Ethnic parties

The demarcations between parties are usually fluid so that it is difficult to establish any clear-cut distinctions[42].

7.3.4 Competence

The competence to resolve problems that are perceived to be important by citizens has a tremendous influence on how a political party or candidate is judged, since competence creates confidence and the degree of confidence in an organisation or person is an important factor in voting decisions.

The competence to solve problems also plays a major role when it comes to supporting initiatives and canvassing for donations. Competence is usually ascertained through representative surveys.

If a party or candidate is not perceived as having any competence in a particular political area it makes no sense to take up this area during an election. If there is a deficit in problem solving competence, this competence can be built through intensive PR activities, however it takes time to achieve and the process must therefore be initiated well in time.

Usually a list of issues is used in surveys on competence perception. The respondent is asked, "Which political party is best suited to resolve this problem to your satisfaction?" Or, "Which politician is most likely to resolve the problem to your satisfaction?" Social research institutes usually concentrate on determining which problems are categorised as very important by the majority.

Example 1: Survey results on important issues:

Question: Which of the issues listed below do you consider very important or important?

Issue	Very important	Important
Secure jobs	78.1	19.5
Stable prices	75.8	21.7
Controlling crime	61.4	20.9
Fighting corruption	50.3	10.8

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[42] See Chapter 26 on parties and party systems where the typology has been further extended.

Education policies	20.9	19.9
Environmental protection	17.9	24.3
Abortion	5.9	14.1

Question: Which political party do you feel is best able to solve the problems associated with these issues?

Issue	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Don't know
Secure jobs	20.5	47.3	3.6	7.9	8.9
Stable prices	55.1	27.2	1.4	9.8	7.5
Controlling crime	49.2	23.1	9.9	14.5	3.3
Fighting corruption	14.1	13.5	4.6	35.7	32.1
Education policies	22.2	23.4	5.6	41.2	7.6
Environmental protection	15.9	31.8	10.7	29.8	11.8
Abortion	2.8	9.6	80.1	0.4	6.9

The first table in Example 1 shows which issues are regarded as very important or important by the population in general. The grading shows that there are marked differences in perception. 97.6% regard "secure jobs" as very important or important, while only 20% rate "abortion" as very important or important.

In the second table the competence to solve these problems is surveyed. This reveals that Party A is seen as possessing a distinct competence in achieving price stability and controlling the crime rate. Both are also issues that have been categorised as important. Party B is seen as being competent in ensuring job security and it also leads with regard to environmental protection. Party C is not seen as having much competence in any of the issues that are regarded as very important or important. Its only distinct competence is with regard to abortion. This issue is viewed as important or very important by 20% of the population. Party D is seen as competent on issues of educational policy and fighting corruption. There is room for improvement with regard to its problem solving competence in the area of environmental protection.

The survey thus provides data on competence perceptions for parties A, B, C and D. All parties, but especially parties A and B, have good prospects in the electoral market. Party C possesses one specific competence in one particular market. It will therefore have to adopt a niche policy[43] in positioning itself to the electorate.

Example 2: Competence of government and opposition
Question: Who is best able to solve the problem to your satisfaction: The government, the opposition, both or none?

Issue	Govt.	Opposition	Both	None
Secure jobs	39.4	27.3	14.6	16.7
Controlling crime	39.1	20.3	23.8	14.9
Promoting the economy	50.3	21.2	18.6	8.1
Environmental protection	27.7	39.8	18.4	12.4
Social security	39.8	26.2	19.8	12.4

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[43] See also Chapter 13.4.4.

Issue	Govt.	Opposition	Both	None
Data protection	32.6	27.8	23.6	14.2
Controlling inflation	47.6	20.2	20.5	9.7
Reducing public debt	49.1	18.7	17.1	13

In a two-party system but also in instances where a coalition is in government or opposition parties have joined forces, competence is divided between the government and the opposition. In example 2 it is apparent that the government is perceived to be more competent in all areas except for environmental protection. On some issues it even enjoys a dramatic lead over the opposition. This kind of result is frequently seen just before elections. The opposition rarely gets an opportunity to demonstrate its competence during a legislative period, while the government is constantly able to project itself in the media on various issues, thus enhancing perceptions of its competence.

7.3.5 Performance

In terms of the product, performance first and foremost demonstrates the ability to accomplish and implement things. Performance per se, i.e. what was achieved, is not what influences subsequent voting decisions. What is important is that performance is recognised as an indicator of competence and thus creates confidence.

> *Example: A party in government was able to implement tax reforms resulting in considerable and perceptible tax reductions for citizens in the preceding legislative period. It now wishes to build its campaign around this achievement.*

It would be a mistake to try and sell tax reduction as an achievement in order to obtain more votes in the next election. Voters are not interested in what they already have. They are only interested in what they can get in the future. Past achievements can only be leveraged to enhance confidence levels and perceptions of competence.

Strategic rule: Voters are not grateful.

This means that when we compile information on performance and achievements during the fact gathering exercise, we do not focus on whether individual achievements are viewed positively by voters in terms of their content. Achievements are relevant only to demonstrate competence and for building confidence. The performance record, though completely superfluous, is difficult to do away with and must therefore be designed with only this objective.

7.3.6 Problem of congruence

All components of the product (individuals, profile, competence, programme and performance) should be as congruent as possible. The type of congruence must be examined during fact gathering. The following questions need to be asked:

1. Does the profile of the persons (candidates) fit with the programme that is presented? Can the person credibly project the programme or does this create problems? For instance, if fighting corruption is one of the planks and the candidate has the image of a corrupt politician, the credibility of any pronouncements is severely jeopardised. Similar problems arise if, for instance, the issue of environmental protection is to be used and the candidate is known to have factories that cause considerable environmental pollution.

2. Does the programme presented by the party fit with its perceived competence and performance? A party whose image is heavily economy-oriented because it is perceived as being highly competent and having a good record with regard to market economic issues will find it difficult to project itself as a "social" party protecting the weaker sections of society, especially if it is also seen as business-friendly.

3. Are the candidates sufficiently competent to represent the party on the chosen issues?

Problems in congruence can have a considerable fall-out as far as credibility on those issues is concerned. They also provide political opponents with opportunities for attack.

7.4 Multipliers and alliances

In the context of political communication, multipliers literally multiply or disseminate a political message.

Alliances are groups or organisations that wish to achieve goals common to our organisation and therefore cooperate with us. The significance of alliances should not be underestimated, and they are playing an increasingly important role, often as "strategic alliances". The most well known are the alliances of international airlines, such as Star Alliance, One World, Skywards or Flying Blue. Today such alliances or networks are categorised as resources and should also be considered under that head.[44]

Multipliers are persons who by virtue of their profession or their membership in organisations such as clubs, associations, churches, unions, citizens initiatives, neighbourhoods, families and collectives or by working with others in a team etc. come into contact with other people and consequently communicate a lot.

Multipliers are also representatives of professional organisations whose job it is to disseminate information or ideas, e.g. media persons or employees of public relations (PR) and advertising agencies.

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[44] See Chapter 7.5.4

However, multipliers can also be representatives of alliances that wish to achieve a common goal together with our organisation and are therefore prepared to disseminate our message. These can include alliance parties but also citizen and voter initiatives.

A list of existing multipliers and alliance partners should be prepared during fact gathering. In most cases it quickly becomes apparent that for many political strategies and even for campaign strategies, the number of truly reliable multipliers is quite small.

The questionnaire given below can be used to obtain a qualitatively accurate assessment of multipliers:

1. Are name, address, telephone (office and home) of the multiplier available? (If not, the multiplier cannot be used.)

2. Is there regular communication with the multiplier? (If not, how is the multiplier nurtured and kept updated to carry out his multiplier activities?)

3. Is a contact person in our organisation responsible for the multiplier?

4. Has the multiplier done work for us in the past?

5. Are there any reports about this work?

6. Were the reports positive?

If questions 1 - 3 can be answered in the affirmative, the multiplier may be included in the list of multipliers. If the subsequent questions can be answered positively, the multiplier is active and effective.

7.4.1 Motivation/Interest

When assessing the multipliers, their motivation should also be examined. If the multiplier is a professional multiplier, the motivation is usually clearly defined in financial terms. This applies to employees of the party, advertising and PR agencies etc.

Motivating factors for other multipliers are not always immediately apparent. Nevertheless, these motivating factors should be more closely scrutinised to determine if the motivation arises from an area that is not conducive to our objectives. The motivation to act as a multiplier may arise because opponents wish to obtain useful information or they wish to have early information about our arguments.

For nurturing multipliers it is important to know if motivation arises from political conviction or from the fact that similar goals are being pursued.

7.4.2 Effectiveness

It is justified to question the effectiveness of multipliers and their organisations. Sometimes a lot of time and money is invested in multipliers who are not or no longer effective.

> *Example: In the 1970s there used to be voter initiatives with a large number of active multipliers for supporting parties during campaigns. These came up in Germany and some other countries. At that time the voter initiatives were quite effective. Today, on the other hand, so much needs to be invested in these initiatives that in Germany, at least, one can no longer call them effective.*

Sometimes the effectiveness of multipliers can also decrease if a particular issue loses its importance and contact with that particular target group is no longer of interest.

> *Example: Structural changes have eroded the importance of the target group of cattle breeders in Uruguay. While earlier no political developments were conceivable without this group and consequently multipliers among the cattle breeders were very important, the structural changes resulting in the emergence of a services and communications society have made the cattle breeding sector so insignificant that multipliers have largely lost their effectiveness.*

7.4.3 Costs

The costs for professional multipliers are easy to understand. They consist of advertising agent and agency fees. These costs must be critically reviewed to see if they are appropriate in relation to the work done by the multipliers.

As far as the media are concerned, there should normally be no costs for multipliers (journalists). However, in a number of countries it has become the practice for parties, governments etc. to provide financial incentives to journalists to induce them to undertake multiplier work. This is an unfortunate development that will, however, be difficult to eliminate now that it has been introduced. It is therefore all the more important to regularly scrutinise costs.

In addition to purely material costs that are reflected in monetary payments, further costs are possible especially in the case of honorary multipliers. These are demanded after elections have taken place. Many activists become active only in the hope of obtaining a better or at least some job after the elections. In other cases, particularly when multipliers belong to organisations with clearly defined interests, a political price is demanded after a successful election, such as pushing certain policies or blocking others, even if this is not in the interest of the party or the politician.

Example: Support for a political party by the Catholic Church has often entailed subsequent demands to adopt the church's position on certain moral or ethical issues such as abortion etc.

7.5 Resources

Resources here are understood as:

1. Human resources

2. Financial resources

3. Organisational resources

4. Networks

In many political activities and strategies, resources determine the chances of winning. At the same time, lack of financial resources is often just an excuse for other weaknesses within the political organisation. Of course money is important, but it does not always determine victory or defeat. More importantly, lack of funds is not an impediment to implementing policy.

7.5.1 Human resources

Human resources comprise the members of the organisation, office-holders, full-time, honorary and part-time personnel. The level of education and motivation are also important in assessing these resources. There is no point in having many members if they are not motivated. And a large number of personnel are of no use if they are not able to fulfil their duties.

Members

During fact gathering one is faced with an unbelievable amount of fudging about money and membership figures. Both these resources therefore need to be discussed in detail and realistically assessed. In many cases, voter statistics – or figures that are even higher – are simply put forward as membership figures.

In extensive discussions with party office-holders we have developed a system of party membership that is best described using the Latin American designations. They have three groups of members: the militantes, the afiliados and the coreligionarios.

Militantes

This group comprises the party activists or the "party soldiers". This group is prepared to carry out any duties assigned to it at any time. The organisation can completely rely on the militantes.

Afiliados

These are members who at some point of time filled out the membership form and now comply with their duties as specified in the bye-laws. In most cases their contribution is restricted to paying their membership dues. Naturally there are many gradations within this group, for instance members who are prepared to occasionally do something for the party or at least communicate the party's message within their immediate environment.

Coreligionarios

In numbers, the coreligionarios correspond to the current voter base of the party. This type of membership is widely prevalent in systems where voters are required to enter their names in an electoral register to be able to participate in the primary elections of a party. They must indicate here which party they are in favour of. This entry in the electoral register is later sometimes compared with the one in the general electoral rolls.

Occasionally, if entry in the main electoral rolls means complying with certain requirements, e.g. presenting personal identification documents, it may happen that there are more members in party registers than later appear in the official electoral rolls.

During fact gathering, it is especially important to determine and record how many such members are entered in the electoral rolls. If members of the party are not entered in the electoral rolls they will be unable to vote and thereby reduce the electoral prospects of the party.

When compiling membership data the following facts are important:

What is the ratio of total number of voters to party members on a regional basis? In other words: where are the blanks on the map and why?

What is the representation of social groups in the party like? Does the percentage of youth, women etc. match this percentage in the electorate? Where are there deviations? Is there an explanation?

What is the religious and tribal composition of the party? Are there any conspicuous features?
Is there heavy fluctuation in membership?

Office holders

Office holders are persons who are elected or appointed (in parties where the organisational structure does not envisage elections for every post) to carry out specified responsibilities for the party. These could be:

- Chairpersons of regional committees

- Members of committees at various levels

- Delegates in parties following a delegate system.

Office holders usually carry out honorary functions within the party. The following factors are therefore significant in assessing them:

1. Are all posts occupied by office holders or are many posts vacant? If so, why?

2. Have the office holders been elected or have they been appointed by the next level in the hierarchy?

3. How active are the office holders?

4. Are opposition forces within the party also present in the executive committees or does the party have different structures depending on its various wings?

5. To what extent are posts clubbed in the most important positions?

When taking stock of the internal situation of the organisation, the national level often points to weak leadership at the middle and lower levels. Such statements must be rigorously scrutinised. There are some typical reasons for weak leadership and they usually reflect the proverb, "A fish rots from the head down." This implies that problems with the quality of middle or lower level leadership are almost always the result of management mistakes at the higher level. Quite often there is weak leadership at the highest level or there are problems in internal communication or the middle and lower level feel abandoned by the top level.

Elected representatives, i.e. members who are in parliament or various levels of government, have a special role among the office holders. The following data needs to be determined in this case:

1. To what extent do elected representatives represent the party at various levels?

2. Is there close cooperation between the elected representatives and the party?

3. Are the elected representatives organised into parliamentary groups and are these functional during decision-making?

The office holders and elected representatives of the party at various levels are extremely important for strategic evaluation since they are able to strongly influence the image of the party. In periods where no campaigns take place they practically monopolise the external image of the party.

Full-time, honorary and part-time personnel

How many full-time, honorary and part-time personnel are available? Where are these personnel deployed? Are personnel under direct contract or are they provided by another organisation? What is the total number of person days available per day or per week?

Here the question arises as to the costs for different personnel. This data will be required later to ascertain if there are enough personnel in the relevant places to carry out tasks.

Educational qualifications

The level of education or professional qualifications play an important role since it does not suffice simply to possess human resources. This applies particularly to part-time or honorary personnel. It may, however, also be relevant for full-time personnel.

Fact gathering at this point must therefore be directed at preparing a list of personnel at various locations along with their educational qualifications. The qualifications that are required usually emerge only after the strategic planning process is completed and it becomes clear what tasks need to be executed. Once this is in place, the list of personnel/qualifications needs to be referred to again to compensate for any shortcomings.

A sample list of personnel:

Personnel Name	Location Department/ Unit	Qualifications Education Training	Availability Person days - month	Status/ Costs	Perso- nnel No.
Heber, Hermann	Regional committee Spokesperson	Journalist Training as radio presenter	Available full time	Full-time party employee € 40,000/year	17-003
Seemann, Frauke	Local committee City xy Office	Secretarial experience	4 hrs/week	Honorary € 5,000/year	356-001
Aller, Klaus	Local committee City xy Spokesperson	Teacher 2.5 days Seminar for spokespersons	Whenever required, approx. 3 hrs/week	Honorary member of the committee No costs	356-002

Political parties often face a severe shortage of professional staff. This has several reasons. For one, staffing of the party headquarters and party offices is not seen as a permanent responsibility. In the eyes of the party leadership this only really plays a rule during elections. During the remaining time the party is managed with a bare minimum of personnel, with the result that ongoing activities are completely neglected, such as strengthening regional structures, fundraising, human resource training and development, membership drives, policy development and market research.

Moreover, after an election, a large number of trained personnel are frequently absorbed by the parliamentary group or the government to be formed. This invariably happens when even party workers regard the party as merely a launching pad for higher positions. Another reason often is the poor financial situation of political parties. As a result, parties cannot afford to have a full-time administration outside of elections. In such cases party management duties are usually shouldered by the party's political leadership. Such persons may well be experienced politicians but they are not experienced managers. The quality of executive party leadership consequently suffers.

The motivation of full-time, part-time and honorary employees is an important aspect in implementing strategy. Fact gathering must include an assessment of motivation. The primary objective of this exercise is to identify motivational problems that must later be rectified as also the degree and type of motivation.[45]

Fluctuation and its causes

Fluctuation in membership can be an indicator of the suitability and motivation of the members of an organisation. High levels of fluctuation in membership and among personnel usually point to problems in leadership, goals or communication.

Low fluctuation levels can have different causes. The organisation in question may be practically inert resulting in no new entries or exits. However, it could also be an organisation in which everything is right, where the members are satisfied and the organisational size is optimum.

The level of fluctuation for full-time and part-time employees can be ascertained through the number of recruitments and resignations over the last 12 months. Fluctuation among honorary workers, who are basically drawn from the party membership, is determined by the number of new members and withdrawals over the last 12 months. The type of withdrawal requires careful analysis.

Was the withdrawal caused by a. shift of residence, b. death or c. by a declared withdrawal from the organisation?

Only an analysis of the reasons for withdrawal can provide an indication about the motivation levels in an organisation.

7.5.2 Financial resources

Lack of financial resources is frequently cited as the reason for political strategies failing to achieve their objectives. Clearly, a lack of financial resources can contribute to failure. However, it is certainly not always the primary reason. There are several political strategies that require no money or which were successful even without funds. On the other hand, strategies with sufficient financial backing have failed because other factors were not conducive.

Many elections have been lost because the party or the candidate were weak and not because sufficient funds were not available. Nevertheless, there is often a correlation here. No one invests in a weak candidate or a party riddled with infighting since no one expects them to win.

The advantage of adequate financial resources is that they can sometimes compensate for other weaknesses. A weak organisation, for instance, can procure external services if it has sufficient funds. If members are poorly motivated, a package of PR activities can compensate for insufficient motivation, provided the organisation has the money.

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[45] See Chapter 19.1.4 on leading and motivating volunteers.

Financial resources are very important today, but they are not crucial. Because they are so important, they need to be examined in greater detail. This is often difficult due to resistance from candidates and parties who do not wish to reveal their hand. Neither the amount nor the sources of funds are openly revealed. This makes it very difficult to plan a good strategy, since critical information for implementing and carrying out the strategy is lacking.

Working with governments, governors and mayors is much easier since the available funds are budgetary resources. Thus even if the desired clarity is not always given, certain verifiable financial resources are nevertheless defined from the outset.

Fundraising

Chapter 24 deals with fundraising and campaign and election financing in detail. We only provide a brief overview that is relevant for fact gathering here.

What are the total assets of the organisation including cash and bank balances?

What is the amount of unutilised credit?

What receipts are expected by the end of the campaign from:

1. Membership dues

2. Joining fees

3. Donations

4. State funding

5. The organisation's own economic activities?

Are there any material donations or inputs? Of what nature? Have personnel been made available?

In the first step, only facts that relate to raising financial resources are determined. As mentioned earlier, there may be difficulty in gathering facts if sources refuse to disclose facts or prevent this information from being passed on. In such cases one ascertains only what is specified in the bye laws (e.g. the amount and utilisation of membership fees, joining fees, funds from elected representatives or members of government) or what is in any case open knowledge through laws on funding for political parties.

Legal framework

Laws pertaining to political parties and elections should be thoroughly analysed so that there is absolute clarity regarding financial implications. The laws contain regulations relating to permissible means and restrictions on funding for political parties. In some countries there is generous state funding for parties or the parliamentary groups of parties, while other countries provide absolutely no state funding.

Such countries provide political parties with the possibility of engaging in economic activities, conducting lotteries etc. The multiplicity of funding possibilities naturally has an impact on the public conduct of parties and therefore influences the strategic framework.

The facts documented should not be restricted to purely financial provisions but also include the right of political parties to free broadcast time on radio and television, free access to certain media, free advertisements and space for posters etc.

Fund utilisation

The utilisation of funds is the third aspect that needs to be examined from a strategic perspective. What does the organisation spend its money on? Does it go mainly towards fixed costs such as personnel, administrative or miscellaneous expenses (e.g. interest and repayments etc.) or are funds also utilised for campaigns? How high were expenses during the last campaign? What costs were incurred on events, campaigns and printing?

When reviewing fund utilisation, one should also try to determine whether changes in the composition of costs are possible or not.

Financial administration

The fourth aspect that requires detailed examination relates to how the financial administration is organised. Is there a centralised or decentralised finance administration? What responsibilities does it have at various levels?

Does financial administration include the components

1. Acquisition
2. Budget planning
3. Accounting?

7.5.3 Structure

What is the structure of the organisation for which a strategy needs to be planned? One needs to distinguish here between the administrative structure and the political structure. Structure in this case refers to the political organisation.

It includes issues relating to organisational hierarchy, rights of participation within the organisation, identification of the organisation's power centres and the structure of mechanisms for decision-making and elections.

This data provides some information for implementing strategy, or for the need to include or exclude specific persons or functions in the planning process.

Organisation

Organisation refers to the administrative structure, which includes the physical administrative set up, offices, departments and functions as well as their scope and depth.

The administrative structure is used for implementing the planned activities. If this is not possible, the activities must be delegated. In such cases the absence or non-functioning of an organisational structure is compensated through money.

Organisational set-up

An analysis of the organisational set-up must begin with determining the depth of the organisation. The following questions are relevant:

How many hierarchical levels are there?

How are the levels connected?

Are there clear superordinate and subordinate structures?

Is the structure accepted as such by different levels?

Umbrella organisations often pose a special problem since they consist of independent organisations that come together under one umbrella, usually to represent their interests. Umbrella organisations have traditionally been weak in implementing goals in their member organisations. Frequently, the plans of umbrella organisations are subverted, or even boycotted, by member organisations. Where such structures are present, internal persuasion activities need to be more intensive.

In classic organisational structures it is very important to examine whether the span of control is optimally spread, in other words, how many employees or departments are headed by one person. If this figure exceeds eight one can safely assume that the person at the top is probably overburdened. Activities are neither being rationally delegated nor is there adequate monitoring of what is delegated.

Political parties present a specific organisational problem. This is related to intra-organisational democracy. Parties with an authoritarian set up have fewer problems with leadership than parties with effective internal democracy. If an organisation is internally democratic, the executive committees of one level will be elected by the general body of members of that level. The election of the top leadership takes place at a party convention which comprises delegates from various subordinate committees. These delegates also have the right to elect committees, set political priorities and propose candidates for election etc. In such organisations, power develops bottom up. It is difficult to lead such organisations since there are specific stages during campaigns when commands (from above) must be carried out without question (from below). Strategic and tactical goals are set which the next immediate level must achieve. Broadbased discussions are no longer possible at this stage. Everything must be geared towards achieving the goals. (After all, who has ever heard of a democratic fire-fighting

operation, in which the firemen first discuss and then democratically decide how to put out the fire?) Similarly, when implementing a strategy, there is no room for debate or majority decisions. The principle that must apply here is that the leadership decides and takes responsibility for its decisions once the strategy is concluded. This contradiction between phases of democratic opinion building and phases of subordination tends to paralyse many parties.

Operational flows

The organisation of various processes such as assigning duties, allocating authority, operational and communications processes is important for successfully implementing strategy. Additional and specific demands are placed on operational flows during campaigns, implementation and elections. This is also where most classic organisational structures fail since they are geared towards routines. However, activities arising from political strategies are rarely routine. As a result, project organisations[46] will often need to be involved. It is important to take stock of all processes and work flows to ensure that operational processes run smoothly. Disruptions can lead to critical delays and loss of information.

7.5.4 Networks

Networks have recently been included among resources. This does not refer to "social networks", which are discussed subsequently in Chapter 16.7. The networks described here comprise non economic cooperation between different organisations.

A strategic network is formed as a result of the differentiation and integration of activities cutting across individual organisational boundaries by the institutions organised in the network. The underlying concept is to focus the organisations on their core competencies. All activities that lie outside their domain of core competence are undertaken by network partners. The primary motive for cooperation in strategic networks is to tap financial and functional synergies while maintaining a high degree of flexibility so as to be capable of responding swiftly to the changing competitive environment. A high level of formal organisation and dependence within a network would restrict flexibility.

The participating organisations take on different roles within the network. There may be one or more organisations that serve as "focal organisations" and assume strategic leadership. These organisations have a stronger influence than others on

- The market in which the network is active
- The form and content of the common vision and specific goals
- Market development strategies
- The form and substance of inter-organisational links.

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[46] See also Chapter 23.4

Effective forms of strategic networks are really only found when a focal organisation of this kind is active. The plethora of networks among non-governmental organisations, all cooperating under the motto of "networking", are usually nothing more than a group of organisations that share information amongst each other but which cannot be brought together as a powerful umbrella organisation.

A total of seven steps are required for building up a network, as shown in the figure below:

What is our goal? 1 Self analysis	What do we need from a partner? 2 Requirement profile	Who has what we need? 3 Pre-selection	Is the partner a good fit? 4 Analysis of partner	What are our mutual expectations? 5 Defining of objectives	How do we propose to work together? 6 Process modelling	7 Implementation

Steps for building a network
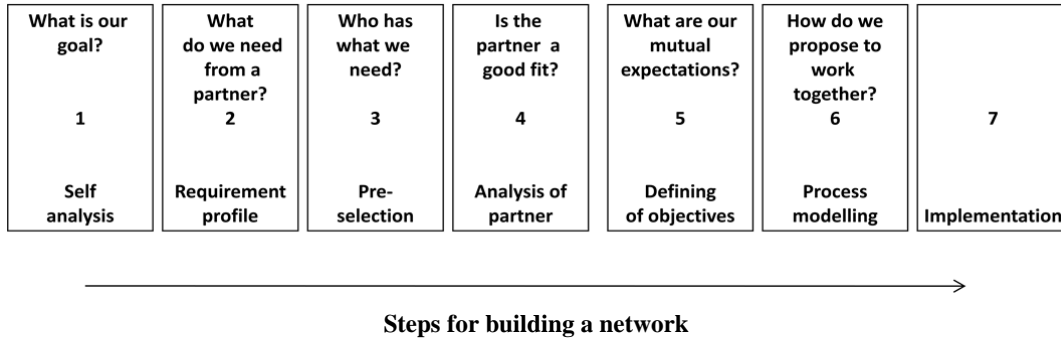
The first step is to clearly define the goal to be achieved by the focal organisation. This can usually be derived from the overall strategic goal. Subsequently, the deficits in our own organisation must be listed so as to obtain clarity about the organisation's requirement profile. Usually the deficits are in areas that lie outside the organisation's core competencies. Think tanks, service providers, associations, societies, affiliated organisations, educational institutions etc. may possess the required competencies. Organisations that have something relevant to offer are then identified. The objective is not to buy services, rather the objective is to locate organisations that also stand to gain by working together with the focal organisation for mutual benefit. If the services that the cooperating organisation undertakes were to be compensated monetarily, we would have an outright market relationship between a supplier and a customer. Mutual benefit must be a constant consideration when building networks.

Once identified, potential partners must be evaluated to determine whether they actually fit with our organisation in terms of how they define themselves, the image they project and their objectives. Subsequently a comprehensive exercise must be undertaken to determine the intangible and tangible advantages the partner would derive from being part of the network. Here too, we must bear in mind the guiding principle of generic marketing, "*There's no such thing as a free lunch.*" In networks it is especially important to identify intangible benefits and synergies that make the partnership worthwhile for both sides, because it is only in exceptional cases that there is a direct economic link with the partner.

Once all preliminary issues are clarified, it is important to define the type of cooperation and to model the network with its procedures and rules. It is at this stage that the partners spell out how they will cooperate, how closely and where the limits are, i.e. when it is best to go separate ways again.

7.6. Leadership

Leadership plays an enormous role in implementing a political strategy. Weak leadership leads to hesitant implementation. This can have severe repercussions on timing as also on the motivation of those who are led. Loss of confidence in the leadership can destroy all strategic efforts and inevitably lead to failure of a planned activity or to losses in an election.

It is therefore important to examine whether the leadership has the managerial capabilities to lead the concerned tactical unit. Moreover, one must find out whether the tactical leaders possess the required leadership skills as well as the professional background to be accepted.

Sun Tzu mentions five qualifications for leaders and five negative qualities that are harmful. An evaluation using these criteria can be helpful in assessing the organisation's leadership.

Sun Tzu refers to the positive qualities as five virtues, namely wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage and strictness.

1. Wisdom

   Wisdom in this context is not merely having knowledge of the situation in which one must act, but being in a position to grasp things and predict how the strategy will develop going ahead. To do this the pictures and scenarios mentioned in an earlier chapter are important. On the other hand, understanding and experience are a prerequisite for building trust among colleagues. There must be a readiness to spend time with equals and subordinates and gather information. The idea is to understand how colleagues feel and to have an early warning system that enables management to take action proactively.

2. Sincerity

   A manager must try and motivate employees to achieve the goals they have set and not demotivate them with threats. It is therefore essential to take note of and integrate persons who have reservations or actively oppose a strategy, and make greater efforts with them than with others to bring them on the same page. This means collating and utilising information that a manager receives from different channels. Such information must always be used to ensure implementation of the strategy and not to threaten employees or harass them. However, sincerity also entails being open about letting employees go if they are not ready to work towards the common goal. It is not an indicator of sincerity for a manager to begin bullying employees.

3. Benevolence

   This aspect deals with friendliness and the manner in which employees are treated. The working environment in a unit for which a manager is responsible should be

positive. This entails that managers must care for employees, must recognise employees as individuals with concerns and problems, but at the same time must not allow themselves to be exploited by the employees. The popular principle of delegating upwards turns managers into clerical staff and employees into bosses.

4. Courage

The ability to say "no" requires courage of managers, many of whom are not always able to summon this courage. Yet, managers who are not in a position to say "no" will at some point or other be overloaded with work and become ineffective or no longer able to achieve their goals.

When Steve Jobs returned as iCEO[47] of Apple in 1997, he found the product line to be too wide and whimsical. He needed to bring Apple back to its core competencies. This required a tremendous amount of courage and above all the ability to say "no" to all the products that prevented focus on a few key segments.[48]

5. Strictness

Employees, both full time and honorary, expect leaders or managers to be clear and straightforward. If managers constantly vacillate or do not display sufficient discipline, this will result in indiscipline in the lower ranks. If instructions are not carried out and no punishment follows, it is a signal that instructions need not be followed. If rules are consistently broken by the management itself, rule breaking becomes the norm in the organisation and becomes part and parcel of day-to-day activities.

The negative qualities are:

1. Recklessness (this causes the leader to endanger the entire strategy and easily be lured into traps).

2. Cowardice (this causes the leader to be at the enemies' mercy because he is constantly trying to evade their attacks.)

3. Hasty temper (this causes the leader to be easily provoked and to make avoidable errors when reacting.)

4. Sensitivity (this makes it easy to insult the leader, who reacts emotionally and thus makes mistakes more easily.)

5. Over solicitude (this causes the leader to be diverted from important things and thus unable to function as a manager).

Political leaders usually do not pursue any long term goals as they are focused on short term success. Human capital is consequently dealt with in a wasteful manner, no effort being made to nurture or qualify it. This is just one more reason why politicians should

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[47] iCEO = Interim CEO
[48] Leander Kahney: *Inside Steve's Brain*; Portfolio, 2009.

not assume charge of a campaign, election or the implementation of policies. It should be examined and ensured that there is a scrupulous separation between political leadership (king, party chairperson, minister) and the leadership for implementing strategy (general, general secretary, official etc.).

7.7 Communication

The condition and mode of functioning of an organisation's internal communications decides how information, orders and feedback are conveyed. In special situations such as elections or other campaigns, vertical communication assumes importance. The following questions need to be asked:

1. Through which channels and at what cost can the next (hierarchical) level be reached?
2. Where does communication extend to (range)?
3. How secure is communication?
4. Are there communication channels that are closed and secure from tapping?
5. Are communication channels tried and tested or do they need to be installed afresh?
6. How direct is the feedback from the grassroots units to the top? Are there filters that do not allow negative feedback to reach the decision-makers, thereby misleading them into making wrong decisions based on wrong information?

Horizontal communication becomes necessary in training networks and when cooperating with alliances. Here the following questions need to be clarified:

1. Are the communication systems of the participants compatible?
2. Are the communication partners (sender and recipient) defined?
3. Do partners also have a secure system of communication?

7.8 Goals

The actual goals of an organisation are already defined in the mission statement[49]. Nevertheless, one needs to determine if there is a hidden agenda, i.e. concealed goals that are not stated openly. If there are such goals they may endanger the entire strategy at a later stage. In politics, and even in business, one comes across this kind of hidden agenda of internal competitors quite frequently. The divergent private goals of various persons in leadership positions impede the overall strategic planning process or result in roadblocks during implementation.

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[49] See also Chapter 6.3: Problems in defining the overall strategic goals

Here is one example drawn from practical experience: the hidden objective in a series of successive elections was to lose one particular election in order to focus member and voter motivation on the next election, which was then to be won with bigger gains for a section of the decision-makers.

This kind of hidden agenda should be suspected if there are constant financial or personnel-related obstructions, if schedules and appointments are not kept or if new arguments are put forward every time against the firm introduction of strategic steps. However, even betrayal of the strategy or leaking parts of the strategy to competitors or the public domain are used as instruments by persons who pursue their own agenda as opposed to the strategic goals. It is clear, of course, that a strategic planner should either withdraw in such a situation or expose the conspiracy. Doing so, however, tends to create so much bad blood within the organisation that it is usually pointless to continue working.

8. Fact Gathering – Facts about Competitors

8.1 Facts about political competitors

First of all we need to be clear about who our competitors are. Competitors are also referred to as "rivals", "opponents" or, in exceptional cases, even as "enemies" The choice of terminology depends on the political climate and can change over time.

During an election it is fairly easy to define competitors. Our competitors in this case are all candidates or groups (parties, voter groups etc.) striving to corner a share of the electoral market. In countries or regions where strong ethnic or racial tensions predominate, church associations, tribes etc. can also act as opponents. They may not come forward as competitors directly, but their hostility can influence the outcome.

The introduction of certain policies can give rise to a great variety of rivals or opponents depending on the issue and the extent of impact.

> *Example: Fighting corruption. The opponents in this case would naturally be those who previously profited from corruption, both actively and passively. However, rival parties or candidates may also become opponents if they wish to prevent government measures from being successful.*

> *Example: Privatisation. The conflict here is ideological and depends on political orientation. One can therefore expect political parties that are against privatisation to come forward as opponents. In addition, trade unions and employees of affected companies who face layoffs or transfers must also be recognised and included as opponents.*

> *Example: Introducing measures for environmental protection. Obviously the opponents in this case would be those who benefited from there being no restrictions on exploiting nature. In instances where the general population is directly affected, competition comes from quarters that are best described using the terms "apathy" and "ignorance".*

> *Example: Increasing the amount of voluntary social commitment on an honorary basis or motivating party members to become more active during elections. There are usually no direct competitors in such cases. One is actually competing against convenience, leisure time, family obligations etc.*

Before deciding which facts are required, the "enemy position" must be identified. The process of considering who will be in favour of or against a particular objective is an

important strategic exercise in itself, since it safeguards against sudden and unexpected attacks of the opponent.

Making a list of all potential competitors, opponents or enemies is a useful strategic exercise, as mentioned. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to obtain facts pertaining to all these groups. Some groups may be ignored because they have no bearing on the outcome.

If a liberal party contests elections in a country where the system is strongly influenced by ideological parties, it can disregard extreme right and left wing parties during fact gathering as they do not address the same market segments that are accessible to the liberal party.

Competitors and enemies
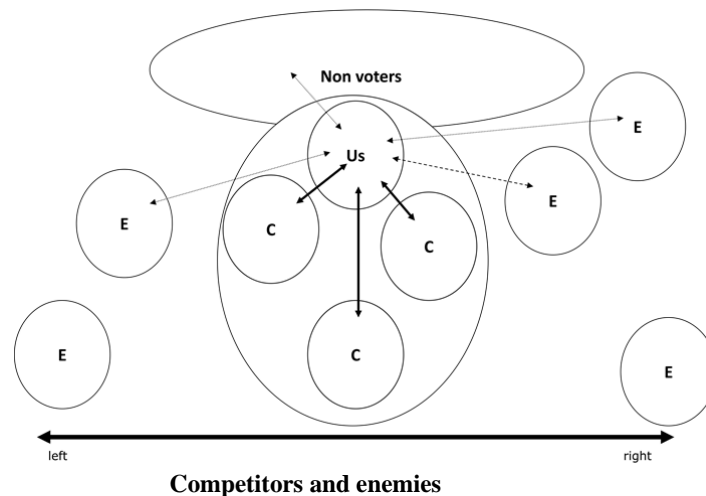
It is essential to reflect on which political party has offers similar to those of our party so as to assess which parties are most dangerous for our position and the outcome of an election. The general rule is that parties and groups that are substantively close in terms of ideology or the issues they address are the most potent competitors (C). This is because voters do not see a big difference in voting for either of two parties that are very similar. Consequently there tends to be considerable voter switching between true competitors. The further apart the parties are on substantive issues, the less such switching occurs. In terms of positioning this implies that we do not enter into confrontations with enemies (E) to avoid giving them additional publicity. Instead, for the target voter group we focus on highlighting attractive differences between us and "near" parties. If voters perceive no attractive differences, they tend to vote for the bigger party because they expect that it will be able to better assert itself.

If several small splinter parties contest an election, they can be ignored if they do not explicitly contest against the party for which a strategy is being developed.

If the implementation of a certain policy is opposed by a number of NGOs and citizen initiatives, it is not necessary to gather facts about all these organisations individually. The endeavour should be to categorise this group of opponents as a unit and identify common facts.

Obtaining facts about competitors follows the same fact gathering structure that was described for gathering facts about one's own organisation or candidate. The facts fall into the following groups:

1. Product

2. Multipliers and alliances

3. Resources

4. Structure

5. Leadership

6. Communication

7. Goals.

8.2 Obtaining information about opponents/intelligence gathering

Obtaining information about competitors is one of the critical tasks in the run-up to strategic planning. Ignorance and erroneous assessments about the intentions, plans, strengths and weaknesses of opponents are alarmingly high in political strategy planning. No company would dare to launch a product in the market without a proper market analysis and information about its competitors. Political parties and governments do this routinely. The reason mainly boils down to one of gross self-overestimation. Naturally, this kind of attitude has to be paid for dearly. It is particularly unfortunate when a government wishes to implement policies that are regarded as correct but is unable to do so successfully because it had insufficient information about its opponents. This also applies to a number of do-gooder NGOs who simply cannot understand how anyone could be against their "good" intentions.

Sun Tzu said: If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle.

The chief methods of obtaining information and intelligence[50] are:

1. Information from the opponent's camp

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[50] For a more detailed discussion on various methods of procuring information see Chapter 20: Strategy control.

2. Espionage

3. Evaluation of surveys

4. Media analysis

5. Information from allies of the opponent.

9. Fact Gathering – Facts on the External Environment

9.1 Social structure

Knowledge of the society within which or together with which activities are to be carried out and goals achieved is a crucial factor in strategic planning. It is therefore important to have data on population, its regional distribution and composition in terms of ethnicity, gender, religion and age, the political situation, the expectations, hopes, needs and behaviour of different social groups.

In actual strategic planning situations one finds, time and again, that there is a lack of information about the state of society, similar to the lack of knowledge about opponents discussed earlier.

> *Inadequate awareness of the popular mood is often revealed during the implementation of International Monetary Fund conditionalities. If prices of foodstuffs are to be raised, governments often realise only after implementing the measure that the popular response is explosive. Many rebellions and uprisings could have been avoided if the situation had been correctly recognised and assessed from the start.*

There is also little awareness about the needs of specific population groups, as these do not emerge from most cumulative survey results. This is due to the fact that sample populations for surveys are becoming smaller and smaller, making it harder to differentiate. In addition, the reduced number of questions makes cross referencing and correlation with other important data difficult. Quantitative surveys are thus no longer able to provide data that is useful for assessing the mood of different social sub groups. They therefore need to be supplemented with surveys that can provide qualitative data for specific population groups (Delphi studies or focus group surveys).[51]

9.1.1 Population/voters

The first objective must be to determine how the population is distributed across the country or campaign area. The ratio of rural to urban areas is significant. Even the concentration of people in a particular region of the country, the distribution of ethnic settlements and religious faiths must be identified if such data is relevant for the mission. For election campaigns, demographic age distribution or the level of registration in electoral rolls is especially significant.

Wherever data is available on occupation, school education, family status and income categories, this should be stated as comprehensively as possible. The selection parameters of the data filter (Chapter 7), namely relevance, size, importance and

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[51] See Chapter 20.1.1 f. on surveys.

urgency, should be kept in mind during data collection. Otherwise the quantity of data may become unwieldy.

In countries where a large number of citizens live abroad, data on these citizens can have a major bearing on elections and also on fundraising. This data must therefore be collected.

9.1.2 Behaviour

Different types of behaviour are relevant with regard to the general population.

During elections, earlier voting behaviour plays a role. This includes:

1. Voter distribution across parties

2. Trends in voter turnout

3. Non-voter behaviour

4. Voter migration

5. Partisan and floating voter behaviour

6. Reasons for voting decisions.

Strategies for policy implementation are concerned with

1. attitudes towards politics;

2. mobilisation potential, i.e. the number of people who can be mobilised for or against the planned policy change such that they could resort to certain actions (demonstrations, strikes, violence);

3. behaviour in conflict situations, ethnic or religious tensions and behaviour in certain political and social situations.

9.1.3. Needs

A need is a condition experienced as a lack of something, and is coupled with actions towards its alleviation (satisfaction). It is a concept from the field of motivational psychology and therefore plays an important role in understanding electoral or social behaviour. Drive theories distinguish between primary or innate drives such as hunger, survival etc., and secondary or acquired needs (admiration, social, religious interests). Maslow developed a hierarchy of needs[52] with the stages:

– Self actualisation

– Esteem needs

---

[52] The application of the hierarchy of needs and its extrapolation to political categories is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 15.4.

- Love and belongingness needs

- Safety needs

- Physiological needs.

Political strategies must identify what it is that people need, especially when planning for elections. Most voting decisions are based on the expectation that needs will be satisfied. For other strategies that have more to do with implementing policy, it is important to recognise well in time how the introduction of a particular policy will impact people's needs, i.e. which needs will be affected and possibly jeopardised and which new needs will be created.

9.2 Societal change

In most countries, society is in a state of constant flux. Sometimes changes are slow and barely perceptible. Sometimes, particularly after revolutions, wars but also decolonialisation, the process of transformation proceeds at a very rapid pace. This can cause considerable turmoil for the populace and the political system. Modern communication technologies have a singular impact on societal change since they make it possible to access information from all parts of the world in a very short time, thereby giving rise to needs and emotions. It is with good reason that some countries attempt to prevent or at least hinder access to the internet or web-based social networks. To recognise such changes at all levels and in all areas well in advance, to be able to leverage them, accelerate or retard them is the domain of an active social policy. By extension, it is also a task that needs to be addressed by strategic planning.

Trends in societal transformation however, also provide a basis for political parties to position themselves along more or less conservative or progressive lines. This is because every change or "modernisation", as it is widely termed, creates winners and losers of modernisation. In the present information age with its tendency towards globalisation, large scale migration and the coalescing of religions and value systems, there is a huge scope for "pro" or "anti" strategies in the field of social change. These are used by different social groups to further their own interests. Various forms of fundamentalism, ethnic and religious wars, violence, breakdown of values, isolation and neglect emerge as a result.

9.2.1 Shifts in values

Value shifts are changes in socially established norms and rules, religious and ethnically influenced dictates as well as personal value systems and ideals.

> *For example, some societies are now questioning the traditional authority structures of an achievement-oriented society, such as the performance principle and quantitative economic growth.*

Instead, socially just and ecologically appropriate ways of living are gaining ground.

In other societies, the socialist system with its planned economy, its idea of internationalism and state-decreed solidarity has collapsed and only partially been replaced by capitalistic structures and the advancement of the individual. Still other societies have witnessed a resurgence of socialism.

Following the global financial crisis, capitalism and its defining elements have come under a cloud. Large social movements are emerging that seek new forms of economic activity, or at least fundamentally reject the capitalist economy.

In some societies, social movements are breaking down old structures, women are establishing their position in society, environmental protection is becoming the benchmark for economic activities.

Simultaneously in other countries, concepts of the nation state are falling apart and there is a reversion to a narrower and tribal mindset. The "old" order is being revived.

The loss of authority of the established churches and the loss of orientation and direction provided by accepted norms leads to refuge being sought in sects and fundamentalist movements, which provide a clear, hierarchical order for their members.

Knowledge of the processes of value shifts taking place in society is extremely important for shaping politics as also for shaping the transformation processes themselves. The inability of governments to deal with fundamentalist movements and the problem of special sects has demonstrated how rarely governments respond strategically to such value shifts. Usually governments merely develop defensive strategies that have proved to be of little, if any, use.

9.2.2 Structural change

While value shifts occur due to changes in societal norms and rules, structural change is usually the result of economic changes. The transformation from an agrarian to an industrial society and the shift towards a service and information society have been the root cause of substantial structural changes. These are associated with massive job layoffs in some locations and the creation of new jobs in other locations.

Structural change can be triggered by global competition and the ousting of domestic production from the world market, as can be observed for textile production, ship building and steel.

It is imperative to react strategically to such processes of structural change. More importantly, production alternatives need to be established in regions that lose out, or at least a party or candidate must position themselves correctly vis-à-vis this process of structural change.

A massive demographic shift due to ageing populations is a looming threat in many societies. This has partly been caused by the one-child policy, as in China for example, or access to birth control. Grave distortions in societal structure have arisen due to the dying off of the middle generation in HIV infested regions. This in turn leads to further problems, such as the rise in the number of AIDS orphans.

9.2.3 Behavioural shifts

There are always causes for changes in voter behaviour. Either the appropriate structures for satisfying needs are not being offered or other groups or parties are able to make offers for satisfying needs that are more competent and confidence-inspiring. Shifts in the voting patterns of specific groups, e.g. youth, certain professions or lifestyle groups, are alerting signals that are either positive or negative. These must be accurately interpreted to be able to take the necessary decisions.

> *Aggressive behaviour towards foreigners and asylum seekers in some societies at a time when there is growing insecurity about jobs and future prospects is a fact that needs to be taken seriously during strategic planning.*
>
> *Another significant phenomenon in societies that have a long tradition of democracy is the weakening of voter loyalties and the emergence of large, volatile sections of voters. The smallest events can become triggers for such voters to beat a hasty exit from parties and then regroup in parties that lack a clear profile, for instance the Pirate Party in the elections to the European Parliament in 2009.*

Behavioural changes relating to crime and violence are a signal for changes in society that groups or parties can exploit. They can also be a reason for governments or other executive authorities to take action.

9.2.4 Changes in needs

Changes in needs depend on the psychological development of individuals and the sum total of social groups. Developments are heavily dependent on changes in the underlying economic structure and social security systems. The better people's basic, security and social needs are satisfied, the more these groups tend to demand post material satisfaction. Such processes should not be disregarded because they result in missed opportunities. At the same time one must be aware that macro data do not adequately describe the actual conditions in a society. A high demand for post material

satisfaction does not necessarily mean that the basic needs of that particular society have largely been met. This is true especially of societies that lack a middle class. In every society there are people who have a status that determines their tendency towards a certain type of need satisfaction. This holds true for developing countries just as much as for industrial nations.

A shift in needs must be closely examined to determine why the change is taking place, what its causes are and to what extent it can be regarded as stable. Stability depends on the triggering factors. Triggers can be recent events (disasters such as Chernobyl, special crimes such as the shooting rampage at an American high school, terrorist attacks, climate disasters etc.) that influence needs over the short or long term[53].

9.2.5 Technological change

Technological changes are most apparent in the field of information technology. Earlier it was enough to capture the radio broadcasting station of a country to gain monopoly over information. That is a thing of the past. It is no longer possible to cut off countries and people from information. Mobile telephones, satellites and the internet have ensured that even regional happenings can attract worldwide attention.

> *Be it a monk uprising in Burma, the suppression of information in China or the attempted "White House" coup in Moscow, mobile phones make it possible to get the news out to the world. Everything becomes a spectacle and the world at large becomes both witness and manipulator of events.*

Modern technologies also serve as a means of internal communication in organisations and parties in countries where the postal system and landline networks are not functional, allowing information to be passed down and to travel from bottom to top. Such technologies are consequently essential for implementing strategy.

9.3 Political trends

Major political trends influence the outcome of an election or other competitive processes far more than a strategy that is formulated as a result of or in response to these trends. In his writings Sun Tzu emphasises time and again that timing and momentum have great influence on the outcome.

> *On timing Sun Tzu said: It is the perfectly timed swoop of a falcon which enables it to strike and destroy its victim.*

> *On momentum Sun Tzu said: The rush of a torrent will even roll stones along in its course because of its momentum.*

---

[53] For a discussion on shifts and to what extent issues can be influenced, see Chapter 15.5.4: Selection of the right issues.

Even a very good strategy will be able to achieve nothing against the political current, correct timing and momentum. So it sometimes makes sense not to doom a goal to failure and make it less credible by attempting to achieve it at the wrong time or against the trend. A trend analysis is therefore crucial for deciding whether a strategy can be successful or not. Sometimes it is better to wait a while and capitalise on the reversal of the trend rather than desperately swim against the tide and lose.

Long term strategies need to be able to forecast expected trends and leverage these optimally.

> *Example: It is a foreseeable trend that a political party in power at the centre usually has poor image ratings toward the middle of the legislative period because many expectations of former supporters are not fulfilled. This foreseeable trend can be capitalised on by the opposition during regional elections held during the middle of the legislative period.*
>
> *Example: A government that is aware that it will soon face problems due to specific events and is liable to lose the electorate's support must prevent this trend from actually materialising. So, for instance, at the right time it must project an external enemy or exploit external events (natural disasters, developments in distant countries) to divert attention from the trend, thereby making it unusable for the opposition.*

One can only successfully make use of trends if they are recognised and analysed before they develop.

9.4 Communication

Fact gathering about communication includes the typical modes of communication with society at large and individual social groups. Possible points of access to the target groups along with their cost and availability at certain times need to be analysed.

These include the following means of access along with their sub categories:

- Media access

    Print media

    Electronic media

    Outdoor advertising

- Formal access

    Associations

    Multipliers

- Informal access

    Activities of opinion leaders

    Face-to-face activities.

- Access to networks

    Activities in social networks

Knowledge of various modes of access and their cost is important for strategic and tactical decisions. If, as is the case in some countries, opposition parties have no access to newspapers, television and radio programmes because these are under state control, alternative modes of access must be found to carry out communication primarily through informal channels.

Knowledge of the cost of various media and their availability in terms of time is critical for financial planning as well as for drawing up timetables and operational schedules.

In addition to popular communication channels, various societies have different systems of informal communication that can be surprisingly effective. Rumours can be spread via certain channels of information that can neither be pinned down nor traced. Being the provider of news within these informal systems can play a very important role in undermining the formal communication system.

9.5 External framework

9.5.1 Laws

Laws significantly shape the external framework. In most countries, practically all decisions that are of strategic relevance are influenced by laws.

If a political strategy on privatisation is planned and needs to be implemented, laws on property, transfer of property, social laws and a number of regulations and legal provisions come into play.

During elections, knowledge of electoral laws, laws on political parties and party funding, media and media utilisation is essential. For all the creative effort that goes into developing a strategy, it is the applicable legal framework that first needs to be examined because very frequently this decides whether a strategy will be a success or failure. Laws correspond to the terrain that is described in many places by Sun Tzu.

> *Example: Strategic planning hinges decisively on whether elections are based on the first past the post system or proportional representation or some other variations of electoral law, what the ballot slip looks like, type of access to the media and the financing possibilities available to parties.*

The following laws are most relevant for political activities:

1. Constitution

2. Law concerning political parties

3. Electoral laws and regulations

4. Press and media laws

5. Other laws that have a bearing on the political strategy in question.

The latest version of the relevant law should always be used when the laws are analysed. For strategic planning it is important that the original versions of the laws are available, not reports or commentaries. The ability to fully utilise legal provisions often lies in the detail. An analysis of the legal situation also involves checking whether the laws are ever actually implemented. Many problems, such as electoral fraud, suppression of opposition parties etc. may emerge.

9.5.2 Threats

It is important to be aware of threats during the implementation of a political or campaign strategy in order to assess potential support or passiveness or even rejection caused by fear.

> *Example: A typical situation arose in the United States with regard to abortion laws. Not only politicians but also employees of abortion clinics and supporters of the abortion law became the targets of massive personal attacks. Ideally, such threats should flow into strategy as part of fact gathering so that these situations can be prepared for in advance.*

During elections there can be many kinds of threats. In some countries members of the opposition are physically threatened by government forces, put behind bars or made to suffer other reprisals. In other countries, different political groups are so hostile to one another that murders regularly take place, for instance between different ethnic groups, religions or even the families of candidates.

The number of political murders during elections in certain countries is a clear indicator of such threats. The situation pertaining to the safety of campaigners, voters and candidates must therefore be clarified in advance so that necessary steps can be taken or a security force built up by the organisation.

9.5.3 Interventions

In terms of political strategy, threats are defined as those that emanate from within the country, while interventions are external. Usually interventions are by neighbouring countries, but often even by countries that wish to exert influence over others.

Interventions have been taking place since time immemorial and have all too often led to armed conflicts. Sometimes the interventions are open and the threat is direct.

> *Example: The Japanese describe excessive US pressure to open up Japanese markets for American goods as the "second coming of the black ships". This goes back to 1853 when Admiral Matthew C. Perry and his black warships persuaded the shogunate to open the Japanese market to American commerce.*

Sometimes the threats are hidden and not apparent at all. And yet forces are able to influence events so that the desired result is achieved. This is true both of elections and the introduction of certain policies.

> *Example: During presidential elections in Guatemala the members of a planning group informed me that only someone who enjoyed the support of the American embassy, the army and the "sector privado" would be able to become president. I had to come around to that view during the course of the election.*

> *Example: When the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) candidate contesting the presidential elections in Taiwan in 1995 pursued a policy that was opposed to reunification with mainland China, China despatched several warships to the Formosa Straits, thereby creating so much panic in Taiwan that the Kuomintang candidate was re-elected.*

9.5.4 Fixed dates

Fixed dates do not have any obvious influence on political strategy. Nevertheless, they are important and can naturally encourage or obstruct the presence of particular political groups. In certain countries they also offer an opportunity to do things that would otherwise be impossible. Such dates can be events in which the world's attention is focused on a particular country, as during the Olympics or the football World Cup.

> *The unrest in Tibet before the summer Olympic Games in 2008 is a case in point. Were it not for the Games, the response of the Chinese leadership is likely to have been much harsher. More importantly, media coverage would have been much less had it not been so soon before the Games.*

Fixed dates can be holidays that are likely to influence strategy.

> *Example: When there are a number of successive holidays, e.g. around Christmas and New Year, political campaigns face interruptions and may suffer severe setbacks unless there is advance planning to ensure that the campaign is not disrupted. In Germany this happened when general elections were once held in*

January. Steps needed to be taken to ensure that the orchestration and build up of the political campaign moved towards the desired objective.

Similar situations arise in Islamic countries during Ramadan.

In addition to fixed dates of this nature that occur due to holidays or vacations, political strategies must also take into account sporting events, political mega events etc. Sometimes such dates are disadvantageous because political opponents are able to better exploit them than our organisation or because large sections of the population are distracted and would rather be diverted by football, NBA playoffs, cricket world cups or basketball championships than politics. On the other hand, such events also provide opportunities that should not be wasted.

10. Identifying Strengths and Weaknesses

The facts obtained during fact gathering are correlated with the mission to determine strengths and weaknesses. This implies that every documented fact is examined in the context of the mission by asking, does this fact favour achievement of the mission's overall goal or not?

10.1 Strengths

If a fact is favourable it becomes a strength. Conversely, if a fact hinders accomplishment of the mission's overall goal, it is a weakness. Let us first address the strengths. Strengths can fall into different categories. Some examples:

> *If the organisational set-up of our party is extremely efficient and functions well, this is a strength the party enjoys.*

A strength of this type emerges from within the organisation and cannot be taken away. At most, the opposition can attempt to match us by improving their own organisational set-up. Our strength, however, remains intact.

> *If we can rely on an active member base and volunteers with high levels of enthusiasm during election campaigns, this is a strength that emerges from within our organisation.*

We can leverage this strength. However, we will also need to nurture this strength since member motivation and volunteer groups can be undermined by activities of opponents. If our strength in this area represents a real weakness for our opponents we can expect that they will employ specific strategies to destroy our advantage.

> *If our party programme is better and more comprehensible on an issue that is of interest to a particular target group, this is a strength that derives from a comparison with the opponent.*

Such strengths should be leveraged for as long as possible in confrontations with political rivals. After all, no one can prevent our opponents from making their programme more attractive.

> *If the ruling party is our opponent and has performed badly, receiving poor ratings in surveys, this is a weakness for the ruling party and a strength for us.*

In other words, the weaknesses of our opponents become our strengths. Thus we can obtain strengths from our weak opponents, but we must be in a position to exploit these weaknesses. This is an area that is especially prone to wrong estimations. For instance, when a ruling party makes mistakes, these obviously represent weaknesses. And yet, if the opposition parties are not in a position to capitalise on these weaknesses by offering more attractive solutions to the electorate, the weaknesses will not be exploited. Merely

criticising policies that represent a weakness for the opposing side does not result in a strength for us.

10.2 Weaknesses

We now turn to our weaknesses. Just as with strengths, weaknesses too can be categorised. Some examples to illustrate this:

> *If our internal communication systems do not function we have a weakness that will hinder achievement of our goals. We must therefore attempt to remove this weakness.*

This weakness emanating from within our organisation can be removed by us alone and is not influenced by our opponents. Our opponent will also not be able to obstruct this process.

> *If there are conflicts about a political issue within our organisation, opponents will always be able to turn this conflict against us and damage our public credibility on the issue.*

This weakness can provide the opponent with a strength – if he is able to exploit it. In such cases strategic solutions to the problem need to be found to ensure that the opponent cannot attack this vulnerability.

> *If our political rival has good contacts with trade unions and the support of trade unions is important, we have a weakness that emerges from the strength of our rival.*

This weakness can be eliminated only by diminishing the opponent's strength or, in a best case scenario, by destroying it.

10.3 Facts that are neither strengths nor weaknesses

Of course, there will also be a number of facts that represent neither a strength nor a weakness. Such facts frequently pertain to the external framework and conditions and may be relevant later when tactics or timetables and operational schedules are being drawn up. They are thus not pointlessly collected.

> *If elections are held at a time when the Olympic Games are taking place, this fact in itself does not constitute a strength or a weakness in terms of achieving the overall goal of the mission. Nevertheless, important events during the Olympic Games will need to be considered during planning because they may distract voters from the political confrontation.*

10.4 Existing weaknesses that are either not relevant for the mission or which cannot be changed.

Weaknesses can be significant, but they can sometimes be ignored if they are not important for our mission.

> *Example: "Lack of funds" is not a significant weakness if a party intends to rework its political platform. On the other hand, lack of funds can be a major weakness in conducting an election campaign.*

Other weaknesses may be relevant, but cannot be remedied. This implies that the degree of influence over a weakness can vary.

> *Example: The intention of eliminating the weakness of "undemocratic organisational structures" through "democratic reform" is something that lies within our sphere of influence, meaning we can change it.*
>
> *The intention of an opposition party to amend unfavourable electoral laws by the next election is not something that the party can influence, meaning no change is possible here.*

When analysing strengths and weaknesses we must first review whether the established strengths and weaknesses are at all significant for achieving the overall goal, whether the weaknesses can be changed by us and whether our strengths can be modified by others.

10.5 Strengths and weaknesses matrix

To determine where we stand it is useful to classify:

1. Strengths in one grid in which the x axis represents the influence that our opponents have on our strengths, i.e. the degree to which our strengths are threatened; and the y axis represents the significance of these strengths in achieving our mission;

2. Weaknesses in a grid where the x axis represents the influence we can exercise on changing a weakness and the y axis represents the significance of that weakness vis-à-vis our mission.

The strengths are assigned to the fields such that:
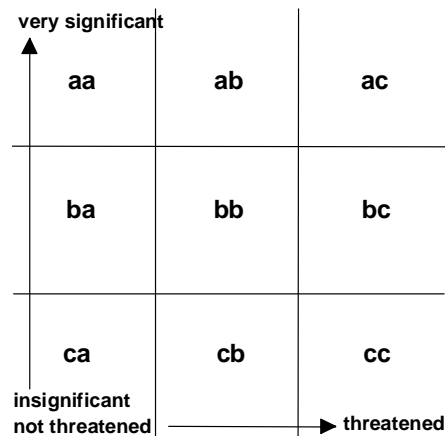
Field aa represents: very significant strengths over which the opponent has no influence (not threatened)

Field ab: very significant strengths over which the opponent has limited influence (partially threatened)

Field ac: very significant strengths over which the opponent has complete influence (threatened)

Field ba: significant strengths over which the opponent has no influence (not threatened)

Field bb: significant strengths over which the opponent has limited influence (partially threatened)

Field bc: significant strengths over which the opponent has complete influence (threatened)

Field ca: insignificant strengths over which the opponent has no influence (not threatened)

Field cb: insignificant strengths over which the opponent has limited influence (partially threatened)

Field cc: insignificant strengths over which the opponent has complete influence (threatened)

The weaknesses are now assigned to the fields as follows:

very significant

AA	AB	AC
BA	BB	BC
CA	CB	CC

insignificant

much influence → no influence
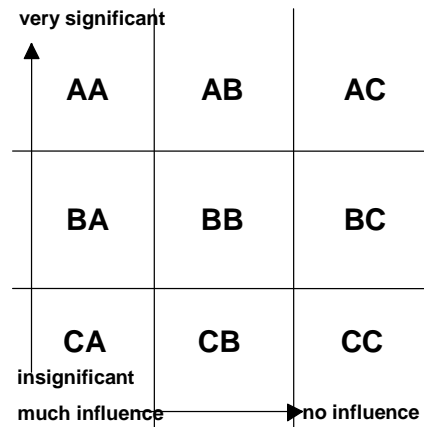
Field AA: very significant weaknesses that can be influenced to a large extent.

Field AB: very significant weaknesses that can be influenced to a limited extent.

Field AC: very significant weaknesses that cannot be changed.

Field BA: significant weaknesses with large scope for influence.

Field BB: significant weaknesses with average scope for influence.

Field BC: significant weaknesses that cannot be changed.

Field CA: Insignificant weaknesses with large scope for influence.

Field CB: Insignificant weaknesses with average scope for influence.
Field CC: Insignificant weaknesses that cannot be changed.

The grid used during fact gathering is quite useful when analysing strengths and weaknesses. Accordingly, weaknesses are assessed with regard to their significance using the parameters relevance, size and urgency and then inserted in the weaknesses matrix.

10.6 Analysis of the grids

If analysis reveals that the number of weaknesses that cannot be changed is very large and also significant for achieving the mission (i.e. fields AC and BC), we will not be able to achieve the goal of our mission. In such cases the overall goal will have to be modified or at least scaled down. This in turn affects the weaknesses. Some weaknesses will consequently be omitted, while the significance of other weaknesses will be affected, making them irrelevant.

very significant		
4	17	1,2,3,5,7, 16
18	9,10,13	6,8,12,15, 19,20

insignificant
much influence → **no influence**
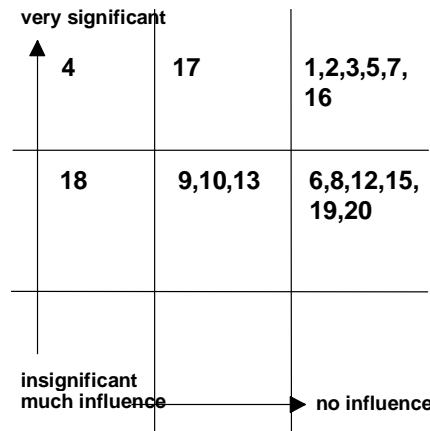
The above figure illustrates such a situation. There are many weaknesses that cannot be influenced by our organisation. (Weaknesses 1,2,3,5,6,7,8,12,15,16,19,20,). At the same time these weaknesses are significant. Thus an initial analysis of weaknesses already puts us in a position to determine whether the defined overall goal of the mission can be achieved or not. If the goal cannot be achieved, discussions on this issue must be frank as resources may otherwise be needlessly wasted. If the situation corresponds to the one shown in the grid, the mission should be scaled down. It would be irresponsible to adhere to the mission in full knowledge of the situation as revealed through analysis of the grid. Sensible leaders would therefore be prepared to scale down goals in such situations so as not to suffer any unnecessary losses.

However, the assessment described here is applicable only if the organisation complies with laws and agreed rules. In some countries and under certain circumstances, organisations can be more than ready to break rules and laws to attain an overall strategic goal. It is thus quite possible and also acceptable that the rules prevailing in a dictatorship will have to be broken to fight the dictator and overthrow him if possible.

> *The Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany describes the right to resistance as follows in Article 20 (4): "All Germans shall have the right to resist any person seeking to abolish this constitutional order, if no other remedy is available."*

In a number of countries, however, violent means – such as murder, arson, attacks etc. – are also employed, for instance during elections. Such means are not legitimate. How far a party may go in a repressive system is something that the party leadership must decide after intensive debate.

On the other hand, if analysis reveals that the organisation can influence significant weaknesses while not being able to change insignificant ones, the probability that the mission goal will be achieved is quite substantial. This situation is represented in the grid below.

```
very significant
     ▲
     │  1,2,3,12   4,6,13,18
     │  16
     │
     ├───────────┼───────────┤
     │
     │  5,14,19    9,10,11,20
     │
     ├───────────┼───────────┤
     │                        7,8,15,17
     │
insignificant
much influence ──────────────►  no influence
```
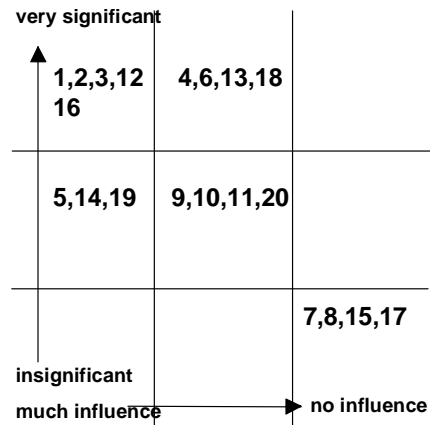
All significant weaknesses are within the scope of influence of the organisation. This implies that the mission can be accomplished. One could go so far as to say that if the mission is not accomplished, the fault lies squarely with the organisation because it either did not have the will or was not in a position to eliminate these weaknesses.

However, the picture is rarely as clear as depicted in the grids above. Often there is a mixed picture and it is left to the subjective assessment of the strategic planner to recommend either a scaling down of the mission or retaining it as is.

```
very significant
     ▲
     │  1,4,8,15   9,10,18    2,3,13,14
     │
     ├───────────┼─────────┼────────────┤
     │
     │  7,16,17    5,6        11,12
     │
     ├───────────┼─────────┼────────────┤
     │  19         20
insignificant
much influence ─────────────►  no influence
```
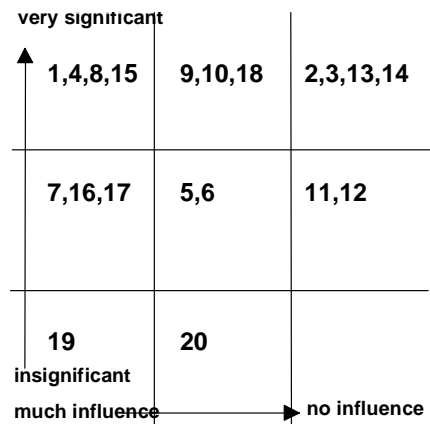
In the above grid the decision could go either way. There are some significant weaknesses over which the organisation has no influence. Whether these are decisive or not must be left to the assessment of the planners. No one can be certain in this case whether the mission will be achieved or not.

In cases where the outcome is not certain, the strengths matrix should also be analysed. If there are strengths in an area in which our opponent has no, or only limited, influence and if our significant strengths are not threatened, the chances that the mission will be successful increase. On the other hand, if many of our strengths are threatened, the probability of success also drops.

A good distribution of strengths for achieving the overall goal:

very significant

1,3,7	8,11	10
2,4	5,6,9	

insignificant
not threatened ⟶ threatened

Poor distribution of strengths for achieving the overall goal:

very significant

		1,3,4,6, 10,11
	7,9	2,5,8

insignificant
not threatened ⟶ threatened
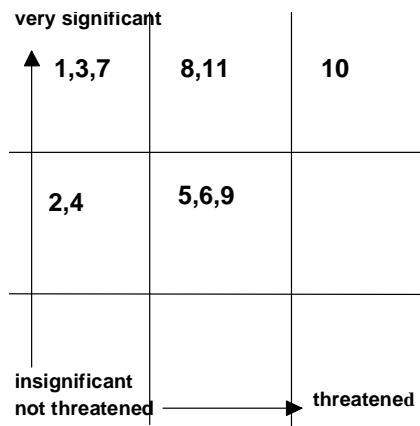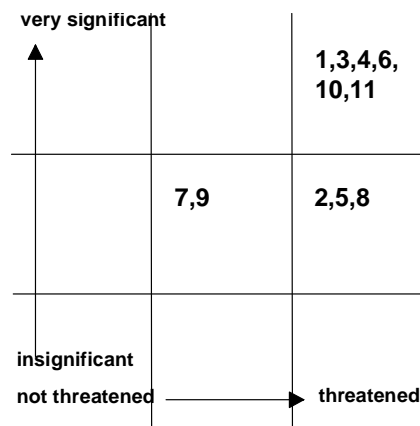
A series of successful strategies may have the effect that the weaknesses over which we have much or average influence completely disappear over time. All weaknesses would then only be found in areas that we cannot influence. An analysis of only the weaknesses matrix would lead to the mistaken assumption that the overall goal is not achievable. Usually the contrary is true, since all weaknesses that could be influenced have now been eliminated. This demonstrates the necessity of including the strengths matrix in the situational appraisal.

Weaknesses matrix:

```
very significant
     ▲
     |              | 1,2,3,5,7,
     |              | 16
     |--------------+------------
     |              | 6,8,12,15,
     |              | 19,20
     |--------------+------------
     |              |
insignificant
much influence ───────► no influence
```

Strengths matrix:

```
very important
     ▲
     |  1,3,7  | 8,11 | 10
     |---------+------+-----
     |  2,4    | 5,6,9|
     |---------+------+-----
     |         |      |
unimportant
not threatened ───────► threatened
```
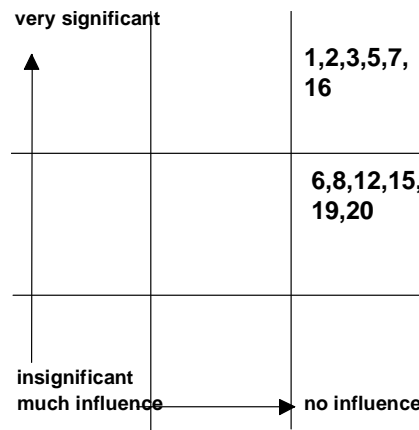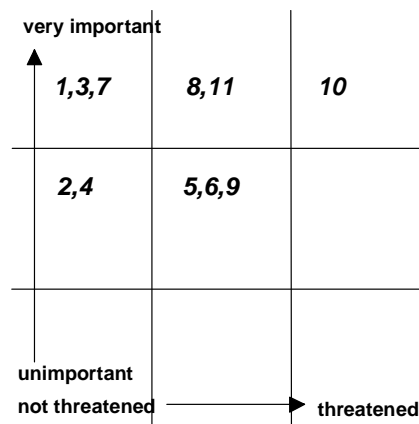
10.7 Strategic advantage based on strengths is relative

Our own strengths provide us with the opportunity to attack the opponent. We can only do so if we enjoy a strategic advantage over our opponent, i.e. if we are stronger (than our opponent) in the relevant area. If our opponent also possesses a strength in this area or is able to put up a good defence, confrontation is not worthwhile as our strength is balanced by that of the opponent and would therefore be useless in competition.

A strength that emerges from an opponent's weakness always implies a strategic advantage. This strength must be exhaustively leveraged and must not remain unused.

> *Example: If we know that there are internal differences in our political rival's camp in a political area where we are strong, we must always attack. This kind of strategic advantage must not be frittered away.*

10.7.1 Analysis of strengths to determine their strategic utility

All strengths identified by us must be analysed to determine if they are suitable for strategic employment against opponents or rivals. We must first establish if there is a strategic advantage and if so, where it lies. The questions – based on the type of strength – that need to be asked are:

Whose organisation and leadership are better?

Which issues are stronger and who is more competent with regard to issues?

Who has more stable alliances?

Who has a better team with better qualifications?

Who has better discipline?

Who is better motivated?

Whose issues are more in tune with societal trends?

Who is better able to grasp opportunities?

The comparison below illustrates the problems in analysing strengths:

Strength through opponent's weakness	What can we do?	Advantage?
Opponent has a weak candidate	Do we have a better one?	?
Opponent is divided on an issue	Are we united on this issue?	?
Opponent is undergoing a leadership crisis	Do we have a united leadership?	?
Opponent has lost an alliance partner	Can we ally with the partner?	?

Strengths that emerge from an opponent's weakness can be leveraged only if our organisation does not also display a weakness, or at least if there are some strategic advantages.

Our organisation's strengths	Situation in opponent's camp	Advantage?
We have a good candidate.	Does the opponent have a weaker candidate?	?
We are strong in city X.	Is city X also our opponent's stronghold?	?
We have a good, new party programme.	Are there any weaknesses in the opponent's programme/platform?	?
We have motivated campaigners.	Are the opponent's campaigners not motivated?	?

This compilation demonstrates that our strengths are useful only if they coincide with the opponent's weaknesses. It is not advisable to count on strengths that are matched by strengths of the opponent.

Our strengths and those of the opponent are therefore far less significant for strategic planning than our weaknesses and those of our opponent.

> *Sun Tzu said: To secure ourselves against defeat lies in our own hands, but the opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself. Thus the good fighter is able to secure himself against defeat, but cannot make certain of defeating the enemy.*

Consequently, our first efforts must be directed at eliminating our weaknesses to avoid being exposed to unnecessary attacks and to "secure ourselves against defeat". Subsequently we must utilise those strengths that are suitable for exploiting the opponent's weaknesses. Clearly then, obtaining information about the opponent is a prerequisite for utilising strengths in a strategically appropriate way. It is not possible to effectively utilise strengths without knowing the opponent's weaknesses.

11. Feedback and the Mission – a Critical Phase in Planning

One of the most difficult tasks a strategic planner faces is to feed the results of the situational appraisal back into the mission and determine:

1. if the mission can be achieved or not,

2. to what extent changes are necessary to enhance the prospects of success,

3. whether it would be better to transfer the original overall goal of the mission to a long term strategy and to modify the mission for the existing strategy.

The methods described in Chapter 5.3.4 are, of course, helpful in arriving at a better assessment of the situation. Nevertheless, many assessments remain subjective – on the part of both the strategic planner and those for whom the strategy is being developed. In other words, despite careful analyses one cannot predict victory or defeat with a hundred percent accuracy. There may be certain indicators favouring one outcome or the other, but there can never be absolute certainty.

11.1 Role of the strategic planner in this process

Although strategic planning can ensure greater certainty, ultimately it also requires intuition and a bit of a feel for the situation. These very subjective yardsticks are what make a mechanical "strategic planning technocrat" into a successful strategic planner, someone who is at the same time influenced by feelings and emotions.

"Conceptual planning" may help in logically planning one step after another, many steps, in fact. However, the stages of evaluation, strategy formulation and this step of feedback following the situational appraisal depend more on the instinct or the gut feel of the planner.

This step is very difficult for another reason as well. Frequently it serves to make clients, particularly highly committed ones and the "do gooders" in the development NGO sector, aware of the reality of their situation. It suddenly becomes clear to many organisations that the work they have been doing for years has not served any purpose and most importantly, that it was aimless. Many organisations that formulate their goals in terms of what they want to do rather than what they want to achieve through their actions are completely overcome by their own ineffectualness and impotence.

When feedback to the mission is being incorporated, it is a useful exercise to first ask the involved persons to assess the situation themselves and propose how they would modify the mission if needed. If they are unwilling to undergo this process of introspection and reflection, it is the job of the strategic planner to knock down fallacies, pinpoint fanciful illusions and make recommendations. This may well shake the organisation to its core and can naturally lead to conflicts between the strategic planner and other participants. If such a conflict does occur, the planner must review his

role in the planning process and may need to step out of the process entirely, especially if basic confidence in the planner is lost.

Many parties, governments and other organisations tend to bring in a strategic planner only when they find that they are unable to achieve certain goals or if their very existence is at stake. Very few organisations in the political sector consciously chart out their future course and plan specific goals for the future. The strategic planner is often expected to "rescue" the organisation from a difficult situation. No wonder the planner acquires the status of a guru, an image several colleagues enjoy. This is actually a pernicious development since it gives rise to the expectation that simply bringing in a successful planner will achieve miracles, when in fact it is only the organisation's own actions that can bring this about.

Another problem we must touch upon here is the possibility of planners identifying themselves too closely with the plans (mission) of the client. If the necessary distance is not maintained, the planner will be unable to guide the process objectively and instead becomes the protagonist of an idea. This will always impair his ability to judge, which is hazardous precisely when assessing the probability of achieving the overall goal of the mission.

12. Strategy Selection and Formulation of Strategic Tasks

The most important step in planning political strategies is the selection of sub strategies to counter our identified weaknesses and the selection of strengths for attacking the weaknesses of political rivals. As a rule, one sub strategy is developed for every weakness. Of course, there are several solutions for each identified weakness, so there is not just one strategic response but several alternatives.

Strategy selection revolves around finding effective, resource-conserving solutions that have a high probability of being accomplished in practice. Moreover, it should be possible to combine these sub strategies into an overall strategy without any internal contradictions.

12.1 Formulation of tasks (sub strategies)

In seeking solutions for weaknesses that our organisation can change, we should utilise our strengths wherever possible. The weaknesses that we can change are located in fields AA, AB, BA and BB of the weaknesses matrix[54]. The weaknesses in fields AC and BC cannot be changed by us as we have no influence over them. We will therefore not attempt to find a solution for these weaknesses. The weaknesses in fields CA, CB and CC are insignificant and not a priority, hence solutions do not need to be found immediately.

Formulation of sub strategies
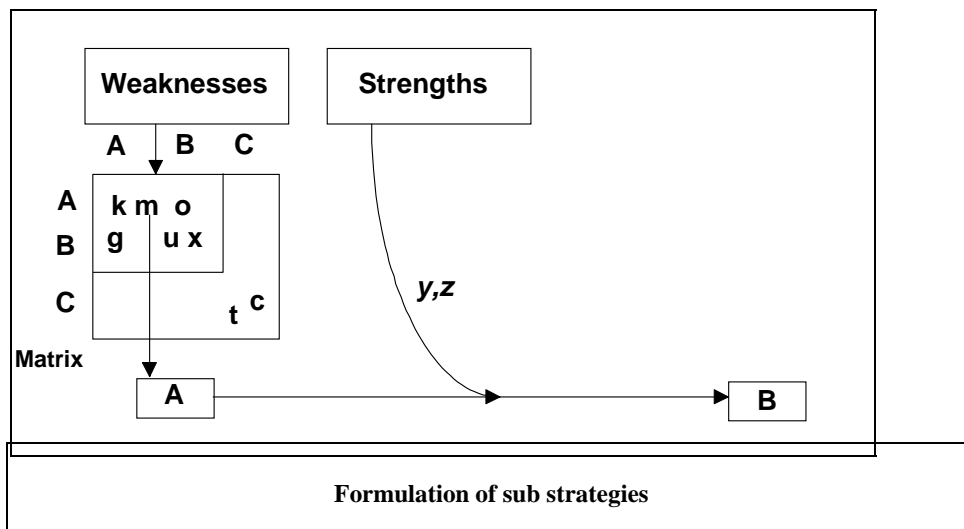
When formulating the task, we specify in which direction we wish to move condition A of weakness m to condition B by using strengths y and z.

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[54] See Chapter 10.5: Strengths and weaknesses matrix.

If, for example, the weakness is, "too few financial resources", there are many ways in which the task can be formulated. The basic task could be stated as: "adequate financial resources". There are many ways of going about this task. For instance:

1. We tap our contacts in the business world for procuring adequate financial resources (external funding strategy).

2. We procure adequate financial resources from the contributions and donations of our members (internal funding strategy).

3. We reallocate our previous expenditure to free up resources (restructuring strategy).

4. We obtain state subsidies to finance ourselves (state subsidy strategy).

5. We discredit other competitors by utilising the media to question their sources of funds (discrediting strategy).

These solutions are all legal in their approach. Experience has shown that some parties or political organisations find other means of strategically resolving their financial difficulties. These include:

1. As the ruling party, we help ourselves to state funds to ensure adequate financial resources.

2. We resort to criminal activities to procure funds.

3. We accept funding from the drugs trade and the mafia.

This example illustrates that illegal solutions for weaknesses also exist. The extent to which such solutions are applied depends on the group formulating the plan, and the way it perceives itself, which in turn is influenced by the political culture of a country.

12.1.1 Formulating tasks for weaknesses that require outward communication

Working with political parties, NGOs and governments on strategic planning has shown that there are some recurring and common weaknesses. Some standard solutions have been developed for these weaknesses. All illegal solutions were first eliminated and only solutions that did not have a lasting negative impact on the political culture were included. This implies that in certain situations other solutions may be better and more useful. Sometimes legal solutions also exist but have not been mentioned here as they are not widely prevalent. In the column for serial numbers, "I" denotes an internal weakness, "K" a weakness emerging due to the strength of an opponent and "E" a weakness caused by the environment.

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the strategic task
I-001	Party programme has shortcomings	We publicise only those aspects of our programme in which we are strong. Alternative: We rectify the shortcomings in the programme if that is what our target groups expect.

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the strategic task
I-002	No clear image or negative image components	We create a better image. Alternative: We do nothing about a negative image that finds favour with our target group (niche strategy). Alternative: We accept a diffuse image to avoid differences being highlighted (defensive strategy).
I-003	No motivation	We develop motivation among members and office holders. Alternative: We plan a campaign that does not require members or office holders to be motivated.
I-004	Too few human resources (members)	We attract new members and increase volunteer commitment levels. Alternative: We plan a campaign that does not require members or office holders.
I-005	Members and office holders are not trained	We train members and office holders. Alternative: We plan a campaign that does not require members or office holders.
I-006	Inadequate financial resources	We create adequate financial resources. Alternative: We improve the cost-benefit ratio. Alternative: We position the funding received by opponents as having criminal sources.
I-007	Organisational set-up does not function	We make the organisational set-up functional. Alternative: We outsource organisational activities. Alternative: We create a new organisational unit.
I-008	No leadership or weak leadership	We change the leadership. Alternative: We educate the leadership. Alternative: We transfer decision-making to party organs or persons willing to lead.
I-009	Internal power struggle at the top	We create a clearly recognisable foreign enemy Alternative: We transfer decision-making to party organs or

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the strategic task
		persons capable of leading. Alternative: We eliminate a part of the leadership.
I-010	Lack of homogeneity in the rank and file.	We create a clearly recognisable foreign enemy Alternative: We integrate the party wings (by distributing the spoils, if necessary).
I-011	Lack of democratic internal structures	We create democratic internal structures. Alternative: We do not change the structures but create pseudo participation. Alternative: We put up a compelling, charismatic leader.
I-012	Internal communication systems do not function	We build up a functional internal communication network. Alternative: We plan a campaign that does not focus on members or office holders.
K-001	Opponents have better political programmes	We develop a new programme. Alternative: We publicise only those aspects of our programme in which we are strong. Alternative: We contend that our opponent's programme is against the interests of our target groups.
K-002	Rival parties have better people	We change our people. Alternative: We change the image of our people. Alternative: We ensure that the rival's image is discredited through other channels (indirect forces, negative campaigning). Alternative: We build up a counter image that is accepted by our target group.
K-003	Opponents possess greater competence	We build up an image of being competent. Alternative: We question our opponent's competence (ideally through other channels). Alternative: We build an image representing "sound common sense".

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the strategic task
K-004	Opponents have a better image	We build a better image (in terms of our target group). Alternative: We ensure that the rival's image is discredited through other channels (negative campaigning). Alternative: We project positive image factors against image weaknesses of the opponent.
K-005	Opponents are more in tune with new trends	We ignore new trends; instead emotionalise issues that are unrelated to trends. Alternative: We, like our target groups, do not bother about new trends. Alternative: We develop a high degree of competence in one segment of new trends.
E-001	Poor performance in surveys	We question the credibility of the surveys. Alternative: We intensify and focus our PR activities on the target groups. Alternative: We organise our own surveys with better results.
E-002	No access to media	We build up contacts with the uncontrolled media and utilise these. Alternative: We utilise the controlled media. Alternative: We plan a campaign that does not require the media. Alternative: We create our own media channels.
E-003	No access to associations and organisations	We build up contacts with associations and organisations. Alternative: We break up opposing alliances. Alternative: We project our "independence" from affiliations.
E-004	No potential voters	We define our potential voters and develop this potential. Alternative: We alter our mission and do not, for example, contest the next elections.
E-005	No voter base	We step up our activities amongst our target

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the strategic task
		groups and provide compelling reasons for them to attach themselves to our organisation. Alternative: We seek out floating voters.
E-006	Restrictive legal regulations (party law, electoral law)	We change the legal regulations. Alternative: We circumvent the legal regulations. Alternative: We apply external pressure on the law makers. Alternative: We attempt to identify niches in the system.

12.1.2 Formulating tasks for recurring weaknesses that do not require outward communication

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the task, new situation
A-001	No clear image or negative image components	We create a better image. Alternative: We do nothing about a negative image that finds favour with our target group.
A-002	Employees are not motivated	We motivate employees. Alternative: We replace unmotivated employees.
A-003	The leadership is not motivated	We motivate the leadership. Alternative: We modify the mission.
A-004	Too few human resources (members, personnel)	We attract new members and increase volunteer commitment levels. Alternative: We attempt to cooperate with other organisations. Alternative: We outsource activities.
A-005	Members and employees are not trained	We train members and employees. Alternative: We plan a campaign without members and employees.
A-006	No discipline	We introduce a system of incentives and disincentives. Alternative:

S. No.	Description of prev. situation	Description of the task, new situation
		We create high motivation levels. Alternative: We introduce a system of checks and controls.
A-007	Inadequate financial resources	We increase revenues. Alternative: We improve the cost-benefit ratio. Alternative: We concentrate funds on the campaign. Alternative: We modify the mission.
A-008	Organisational set-up does not function	We make the organisational set-up functional. Alternative: We outsource organisational activities. Alternative: We create new organisational units.
A-009	No leadership or weak leadership	We change the leadership. Alternative: We educate the leadership. Alternative: We transfer decision-making to party organs or persons willing to lead.
A-010	Internal power struggle at the top	We transfer the decision to a party organ or person willing to lead. Alternative: We modify the mission. Alternative: We ensure that the leadership issue is decided.
A-011	Lack of flexibility	We implement a catalogue of goals and a strategy control audit. Alternative: We dispense with planning altogether. Alternative: We reduce over-regulation.
A-012	Target group displays apathy	We generate interest among the target group. Alternative: We change the target group. Alternative: We modify the mission.

12.1.3 Sequential steps for formulating the task

Since it is not always possible to immediately have a strength at hand for eliminating a weakness, it is sometimes useful to proceed along several interim steps. Specific time periods should be reserved for implementing the concepts emerging from the task, and a sensible timetable must be drawn up. It does not make sense to start working on positively changing the image if the degree of recognition is still too low. A sensible timetable in this case would therefore be:

   1. increase degree of recognition, and then

   2. improve image factor Z.

The way in which we formulate the task therefore, also dictates the type of solution to existing problems. As mentioned earlier, there are always at least two alternatives, often there are more. The real strategic input of the strategic planner is to advise on the selection of the right possibilities and provide several potential solutions.

The targeted solutions for our problems must be realistic in terms of scope, type and time scale. Every mistake, especially when overestimation creeps in, can have disastrous consequences at a later stage.

12.2 Basic principles of strategy formulation

In his writings on formulating strategy, Sun Tzu points out that strategy selection must be based on certain priorities.

> *Sun Tzu said: "The highest form of generalship is to attack the enemy's strategy. The next best policy is to disrupt his alliances. The next best is to attack his army. The worst policy of all is to besiege walled cities."*

In order to attack an opponent's strategy it is necessary first to know his strategy. This is why it becomes so important to obtain information from the rival camp. How else will we find out what the strategy is? Attacking the opponent's strategy means disrupting the opponent's strategic steps so consistently that he is unable to implement his strategy. In soccer this is called closing down and it is aimed at preventing the rival team from building up its play.

If no information can be obtained on the strategy or if the information is too uncertain, the opponent's alliances should be destroyed, or at least disturbed. If the opponent has established close and effective contacts with social groups (trade unions, churches, industrial associations, armed forces, other parties etc.), these contacts must be loosened. Making attractive offers, discrediting the opponent or creating mistrust amongst alliance partners are various means to achieve this end.

Actual confrontation on the political battlefield (issues, personalities) should be chosen only if the other steps are ineffective, i.e. neither the opponent's strategy nor his alliances can be shaken. The issues we select should either be those where we enjoy a distinct advantage or those which have been neglected by the opponent.

The worst option is to lay siege to one of the opponent's bastions. One should never attack on an issue which one is aware is one of the opponent's major strengths.

12.3 Types of strategies

Making the right strategic selection involves being able to recognise the basic type of strategy required. Once the basic strategic pattern is established, there is a choice of a number of individual strategies. This choice is influenced by the underlying conditions, the desired image and the organisation's goals. One generally distinguishes between offensive and defensive strategies. Offensive strategies can be subdivided into strategies for expanding the market and strategies for penetrating the market. Defensive strategies are strategies to retain a market and strategies to exit a market.

Offensive strategies	Defensive strategies
Strategies to expand the market (competitive strategy)	Strategies to retain the market (client strategy, multiplier strategy)
Strategies to penetrate the market (client strategy)	Exit strategies (environment strategy)

Strategy matrix

12.4 Offensive strategies

Offensive strategies are invariably necessary when a party campaigns to increase its share of voters or if an executive organ wishes to implement a project. In both cases the campaign can be successfully concluded only if a greater number of people than before develop a positive impression about the party or the project.

"Market expansion strategies" and "market penetration strategies" are considered offensive strategies. The underlying principle of all offensive strategies employed during elections is to highlight and attractively position one's differences vis-à-vis the parties whose voters one wishes to acquire. Offensive strategies that are directed at implementing policies must sell the difference vis-à-vis the status quo and highlight the expected advantages.

12.4.1 Market expansion strategy

1. During elections

An offensive market expansion strategy during an election aims at tapping new voter groups in addition to the existing voter base. Voters who formerly voted for rival parties

must be wooed away with new or better offers. The strategy employed is thus an out-and-out competitive strategy, where different parties compete for segments of the voting population.

The application of this strategy requires some initial groundwork by way of an introductory campaign that highlights the new and better programmes the party is able to offer the public (in comparison with other parties). Value shifts or structural changes in society provide a useful foundation for formulating new offers. You cannot expand the market with issues that do not sell.

The party itself must create the following conditions and reflect on the consequences:

1. The party platform must be supplemented with new programmes.

2. By projecting new programmes, the profile of the party will change. The new profile should be acceptable to the former voter base, otherwise an increase in new voters may be offset or possibly even exceeded by a loss of old voters.

3. Specific persons must be assigned to specific programmes. These persons must display programme/person congruence.

4. The new programmes or issues cannot be announced out of the blue. The office holders and elected representatives must be prepared through HR development activities.

> *Example: In one actual case, the general secretary of a political party publicly announced a new concept in the party programme. The concept was taken up with great interest and widely published by the mainstream media. Unfortunately, the members and office holders of the party were completely unprepared. There was resistance by the office holders since they had not been taken into confidence. Moreover, the members were not in a position to mobilise support in their social environment since they did not possess sufficient information. The whole matter finally ran aground and could never subsequently be revived.*

A market expansion campaign always provides opportunities to acquire members. The organisation must therefore be prepared to deal with the new target groups. It must ensure that new members are nurtured and are able to participate. Investments are necessary in development (programme), human resources (training) and PR.

2. During policy implementation

The new product, i.e. the new policy or rather the advantages of the new policy, must be advertised. The first prerequisite is that the policy needs to be thought through and clearly formulated. An unfinished policy is just as difficult to sell as an unfinished product. Executive organs frequently fail at this point since they are unable to lucidly present the product and its various advantages, which are then obviously not comprehended by the citizens. Implementation should be preceded by adequate PR activities. Failure to do so can result in prejudices arising against the project.

There are numerous instances of failed policy implementation by governments or other organisations. One need only recall various failed privatisation attempts, the failure of the IMF strategy to eradicate poverty or the failure of the United States' drug policy. The policies were never properly introduced, only partially implemented and, bowing to the ensuing resistance, modified in parts or completely withdrawn.

Market expansion is not possible with old wine in old bottles. Products or policies that have been on the market for a long time but not successfully implemented, or in fact failed, cannot be sold under the same name. They need to be packaged afresh with new faces, new names[55] and a new portrayal of their advantages. Internal pockets of resistance should be kept away from the public campaign as far as possible.

During market expansion it is very important that the target persons understand what is being offered and recognise the advantages. Attempts at expanding the market by political parties and by governments suffer from a serious lack of quality. There is frequently no clarity about what is being offered; new offers are often positioned against old concepts without first reflecting on how target persons will react to the offer. Overall it is safe to conclude that the quality of programmes offered by political actors leaves much to be desired. During market expansion it is especially important to focus on quality management.

12.4.2 Market penetration strategy

A market penetration strategy is not concerned with tapping new market segments by making better offers to voters of rival parties or to citizens who had so far not been activated. It aims at better utilising the potential that already exists or gaining greater dominance in target group segments where we are already successful. A possible goal could be to increase target group share from 30% to 50%. This entails better marketing of existing programmes and improving congruence between programmes and persons. It also involves increasing pressure on the target group. For the organisation this has certain implications:

1. Improving motivation levels of multipliers and office holders by better marketing the advantages.

2. Employing new channels of communication.

3. Providing training so that our sales pitch improves.

4. Emotionalising the target groups by exploiting a certain atmosphere or by creating an "enemy".

5. Investments are mainly required for PR and training.

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[55] In Sri Lanka in the 1990s, the tainted word "privatisation" was successfully replaced with "peoplelisation".

12.5 Defensive strategies

Defensive strategies come into play if, say, a ruling party or a ruling coalition comprising many parties wants to defend their majority, or if market share is to be preserved. Defensive strategies are also relevant when a market needs to be exited and as much benefit as possible reaped from the withdrawal.

12.5.1 Strategy for retaining a market

This is a typical strategy used by governments to defend their majorities. The party will concentrate on nurturing its partisan voter base and attempt to reinforce the decisions of floating voters, who had earlier voted for the party. In response to offensive opposition parties, the ruling parties will attempt to blur any differences or to make these differences unrecognisable. Many detailed strategies are employed to this end, among others a strategy of disinformation[56]. Thus parties that wish to retain the market will behave in a way diametrically opposed to parties with offensive strategies. While these parties attempt to highlight differences so as to make their offer more attractive, parties with defensive strategies attempt to prevent precisely these differences from becoming apparent.

In their dealings with multipliers and alliances, parties employing defensive strategies will focus on intensive interaction with their multipliers and offer incentives. Data underlining the party's successes will be disseminated. Investments are primarily in PR activities. Within the organisation, processes are simplified and routines developed to reduce costs.

12.5.2 Strategy for exiting the market

There can be two interpretations of a strategy for exiting the market. One, a party may really wish to relinquish a market and perhaps merge with another party. This does not occur very often. The second case is much more common. In elections with ballotage, i.e. where a second round of elections takes place in which only candidates obtaining the largest number of votes in the first round can participate, giving up markets temporarily is a very common occurrence.

If the second round of elections takes place two weeks after the first round and only two candidates with the largest number of votes can participate in the second round, the other candidates must decide on their strategy during those 14 days. There is no market to be retained and no offensive strategy to be employed. Since the candidates are forced to relinquish the market, they must clearly state and justify their non participation and then recommend another choice to their voters. It is this recommendation that provides the strategic lever. The recommendation can naturally be used as a bargaining tool with the other candidates. The conditions can range from political concessions to power sharing. Any such move must be accompanied by an information campaign for multipliers. If the exit is absolute and the purpose is a merger, issues like taking over

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[56] See Chapter 13.2.10: Disinformation strategies

members, marketing the residual resources, winding up the organisation or handing over need to be strategically planned.

A market may also be exited under different circumstances. The state, at any level, may decide to withdraw from an activity that was previously its domain. Privatisation in its typical form is one such example. The very fact that corruption has acquired gigantic proportions when such measures are implemented illustrates the absence of any strategic planning. In many cases this has resulted in the entire process getting discredited.

Privatisation is thus not just the sale or relinquishment of an activity; it is the exit from a market or market segment, which must be strategically planned in accordance with certain rules.

12.5.3 Review of approaches to different strategies

Factors influencing behaviour	Offensive strategy Market expansion	Offensive strategy Market penetration	Defensive strategy Market retention	Defensive strategy Market exit
Voters	Tap new voter groups	Utilise potential more effectively	Nurture voter base, reinforce floating voter decisions	Justify non-participation, recommend another choice
Rival parties	Better (new) offers for voters of rival parties	Tap voters of rival parties	Blur the differences	Negotiate conditions for endorsing candidates
Multipliers, canvassers/ advisors	Conduct introductory campaign	Set targets for voting share, performance incentives	Incentivise, nurture multipliers	Information campaign for multipliers
External environment	Exploit value shifts, structural changes, new communications technologies	Apply new communications technologies, exploit prevailing climate	Utilise data on partisan voter base, utilise data on successes	
Product/ profile Persons	New, additional programmes, changes in profile, create programme/ person congruence	Market existing programmes, intensify programme/ person congruence	Market existing programmes, demonstrate programme/ person congruence	Set dates for withdrawal stages or limit the time frame for withdrawal
Members/ Office holders	Member acquisition/ human resource development	Conduct training, improve motivation	Compensate for member erosion	Ensure transfer of members or pacify members
Finance	Investments in development and PR	Investments in PR	Investments in PR	Stop investments, market residual resources as best as possible
Organisation	Prepare the organisation for new target groups, facilitate participation of new target groups, nurture new members	Optimise operational flows, expand IT applications	Simplify processes, develop routines, reduce costs	Wind up the organisation in a phased manner

12.5.4 Mix of defensive and offensive strategies

Under certain circumstance it is possible that a political party employs both an offensive and a defensive strategy. In strategic terms this is always risky, but it can occasionally pay rich dividends. There are some important prerequisites when mixing such strategies, however. The strategic stance towards one defined party at a time must be unambiguous, i.e. either offensive or defensive.

A mix may occur if one of the parties in a ruling coalition employs a defensive strategy against the opposition parties and simultaneously adopts an offensive strategy within the coalition against the coalition partner. This "internal election strategy" within a coalition is favoured by junior coalition partners against the senior coalition partner and usually pays off for the junior partner. Problems may occur if the efforts are too inwardly focused and the campaign against attacking opposition parties is neglected.

> *The ley de lemas[57] electoral law represents a special example here. Following this law, a party can put up several candidates for the same post, e.g. that of president. The votes are counted to first determine the number of votes obtained by each party, which is the total of votes obtained by all the party's candidates. This count determines which party will nominate the president. It is then determined which candidate of that party has obtained the largest number of votes. This candidate becomes the president. In such cases the confrontation is both external and internal. In the external clash, the ruling party will be defensive while the opposition is offensive. But internal manoeuvring is also necessary, and all candidates, except the incumbent president (if re-election is permitted), will employ offensive strategies against one another.*

12.6 Working with push-pull factors (positive and negative campaigning)

The question of offensive strategy is closely linked with the question of how to draw away the voters or supporters of other parties or organisations. As discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, this mainly involves making attractive offers to voters, which in turn emerge from market expansion or market penetration strategies. This strategy is consequently based on pull factors that attract the voter. Quite often in head-to-head contests, efforts are directed not at obtaining the maximum votes but at ensuring that the opposing candidate or party receives fewer votes than we do. This can be achieved, for instance by putting up a bogus candidate, whose programme is more or less the same as that of the candidate we wish to defeat. In such situations the bogus candidate will split some votes away from the other candidate and thereby weaken him.

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[57] See Chapter 27.2.6 on ley de lemas.

If this strategy succeeds, it is possible to become relatively stronger than the opponent even with a weak result.

A more frequently used method, however, is negative campaigning, also known as "mudslinging". This involves making true and untrue statements about the opposing candidate. The aim is to damage the candidate's image and alienate or chip away at his or her voter base. Negative campaigns are effective because the media, and voters, have far more interest in negative than in positive news. The maxim in journalism that "bad news is good news" comes into play here. Parties that wish to adopt this kind of campaign style must put their opponent under surveillance and ferret out information, sometimes even delving deep into the past. A "joint" in school has ended many a political career.
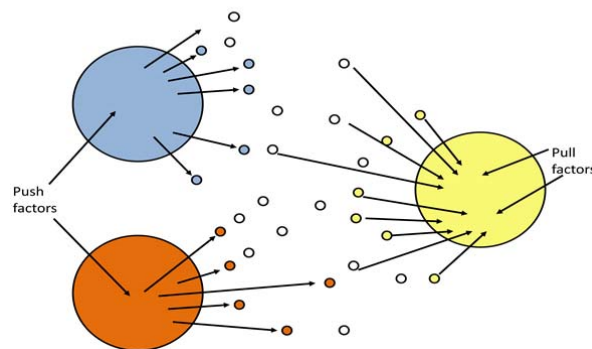
The impact of push and pull factors

The push factors consequently drive voters away from competing parties or candidates, but it is not clear how such voters will behave subsequently. They may become non voters because the party they formerly supported has been made unattractive by push factors. Or they may vote for another party. It is important to note that these voters will not automatically vote for the party that applied the push factors. This implies that no election can be won without pull factors.

A further problem is that the initiators of push factors may themselves play a role in the result. If push factors (negative information or even just rumours) are initiated by an opposing party or candidate, they can lead to some very undesirable outcomes. The best known is the "circle the wagons" effect.

> *To understand this effect we must think back to the old Westerns. These movies were about the great wagon trains from the east coast to the Wild West. During the journey there were all kinds of conflicts within the group. There was thieving and fights over leadership and women. The wagoneers were often hostile towards one another. And yet, when the wagon train was attacked by Indians, the wagons would be pulled into a circle to form a barricade and everyone would unite to fight back. Suddenly all*

internal frictions would be forgotten as they closed ranks against the external enemy.

In politics this happens when a party is attacked through a negative campaign run by another party. Party members and voters immediately close ranks and defend the party, even if many were previously dissatisfied with the performance of the party and were actually contemplating shifting their allegiance elsewhere. For the Indians, just as for the attacking political party, a much better stratagem would be to display what one has to offer (the Indians had fresh meat, fresh water and other products that were attractive for the wagoneers) and thereby entice voters (and the wagoneers).

Consequently, if we want to run a negative campaign, which can certainly be successful as some recent elections have shown, the party itself must not be openly involved. The party should create something like a "special task force" that gathers rumours and negative information and steers their dissemination. The party leadership must at all times be in a position to distance itself from such activities.

How does one respond to negative campaigns when one is the target?

The normal reaction of parties and candidates is to issue denials. That is most certainly the wrong approach because the negative information is repeated and no advantage is gained by going on the defensive. Most citizens have a fundamentally negative perception of politicians, thus the credibility of the denial is weaker than the negative rumour itself. The best option is often to remain silent. In some instances it may even be better to admit to the accusation. See also Chapter 13.2.11, "The strategy of admission – the clearance."

Although it may sound politically incorrect, as a strategic planner one knows that the best strategy against a negative campaign is to have a better negative campaign. This means that to be on the safe side, data on the opposing candidate must be gathered early on and employed in the event that we become the target of negative campaigning.

Strategic Rule: The best strategy against negative campaigning is to be better at negative campaigning.

The method of fighting negative campaigns with negative campaigns is akin to fighting fire with fire. Setting counter fires consumes the fuel needed by the fire we want to suppress. The method is dangerous, but it is the only one that is effective.

We must remember, however, that negative campaigning damages the political culture of a country in the long term and should therefore be avoided. On the other hand, it would be foolish for someone not normally inclined to initiate a negative campaign to simply surrender to the user of such a campaign and in consequence lose an election. The real problem in this case are the voters, who have a far greater emotional interest in rumours and smear stories than in carefully weighing up programmes and rational arguments.

13. Special Strategic Patterns

In certain situations only specific strategic patterns are possible, which in turn are determined by various strategic considerations. Game theory[58] is of special relevance in this process.

13.1 Strategies for leaders and followers

Winning strategies for leaders and followers can be restricted to the following rule when there are two competitors:

Strategic Rule: The leader should copy the follower and the follower should do something different from the leader.

> *Example: A leading candidate should not give his trailing opponent the chance to exhibit any differences since it is only these differences that can pose a threat to him. He should claim, as far as possible, that his offer covers whatever the opponent offers.*

A candidate who is trailing must be able to demonstrate that there are attractive differences between him and the leader, otherwise the leader would continue leading till the end. If the leader attempts to imitate the follower, the follower must constantly find new areas of distinction. He may even need to take up extreme positions that make it impossible for the leader to copy him without alienating his own voter base.

In reality we often find that the follower tends to conform to issues and approaches of the leader because he hopes to increase his electoral prospects in this way. In fact, exactly the opposite approach would lead to greater success.

The above is true as long as there are only two significant competitors. Where there are more than two roughly equal opponents, imitating followers is often not possible because both followers may decide to pursue different paths.

> *Example: A liberal candidate leads the field during a campaign. His followers are a conservative politician and a socialist politician and both attempt to demonstrate differences in their respective fields. Thus market economy could be positioned against a planned economy and the private sector against a public sector approach. The leader in this case will find it difficult to copy both followers.*

In such a situation it is best to adopt another strategy, namely the strategy of disinformation[59].

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[58] Easily accessible literature on otherwise complex game theory: Dixit, Nalebuff: *Thinking Strategically, The Competitive Edge in Business, Politics and Everyday Life*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York.
[59] See Chapter 13.2.10: Disinformation strategies

13.2 Strategies that depend on the sequence of events

In certain situations, the protagonists proceed one step at a time in an alternating sequence. They have the opportunity of evaluating the prior step of the person moving before them and can allow this to influence their decision. These are known as decisions with sequential moves. On the other hand, if both moves are carried out at the same time with neither side being aware of the other side's moves, these are strategic decisions with simultaneous moves

13.2.1 Strategic decisions involving sequential moves.

The general rule for strategic decisions involving sequential events is that each participant must attempt to ascertain the response of his opponent. Once he knows this, he can decide on his best move in the given situation.

Thus the ground rule is: look ahead and reason back

In other words, if we know how the opponent will react in a particular situation, we will be able to better plan our own actions.

For clarity, sequential decisions are sometimes schematically represented as decision trees in which the decision points or nodes are indicated along with the possible decisions (sometimes with a probability assigned).

A typical example involves electoral arrangements between different factions in parliament. In consecutive elections, two partners enter into a temporary alliance for mutually assisting one another to achieve majorities in parliament.
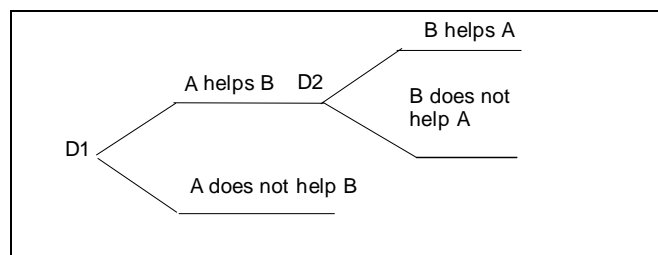
Decision tree

The sequence of decisions is shown in the figure above. At D1 Party A must decide whether or not it will assist Party B in obtaining a majority. It must consider what will happen if it does this because at D2 Party B must decide whether it will reciprocate and assist Party A. If no further cooperation is planned and no further elections to which the arrangement pertains are due, there is a high probability that Party B will not keep its side of the bargain because it has already achieved its goal of getting its candidate elected. The probability that Party A will also get its candidate through under these circumstances is very low. Therefore at D1 Party A should either decide that it will not assist Party B or it must take some steps that would force Party B at D2 to help elect the candidates of Party A. This could be achieved by agreeing on some future arrangement where Party B would again stand to gain.

13.2.2 Strategic decisions involving simultaneous moves.

The prisoners' dilemma is the most famous example involving simultaneous moves. The remarkable feature of this situation is that the rational actions of each individual aimed at maximising their individual benefits result in the worst possible of all overall outcomes.

> *This is how the situation goes: Two prisoners are accused of having jointly committed a crime. The maximum punishment for the crime is five years. The judge makes each of them the following offer: "If you confess and implicate your partner you will get off without a sentence and he will serve out the full prison term of five years. If both of you remain silent, we have enough evidence to put you both behind bars for two years. If you both confess you will have to spend four years of your life in jail."*

The prisoners have no opportunity to communicate and coordinate their actions. What will they decide?

Each prisoner has two possibilities: to remain silent or to confess. From the perspective of the other prisoner this would mean either cooperation, i.e. remaining silent, or defection, i.e. confessing. The prisoners' situation can be better understood by depicting it in a payoff matrix commonly used in game theory.

A/B	B is silent	B confesses
A is silent	(-2, -2)	(-5, 0)
A confesses	(0, -5)	(-4, -4)

The table represents the payoff matrix for the situation described above. The number of years to be spent in jail is expressed in negative figures. If we put ourselves in the role of the prisoners we will understand why the results predicted by game theory occur.

Prisoner A knows that Prisoner B can either confess or remain silent. If B confesses, A will be sentenced to five years if A himself remains silent. However, he will get only four years if he also confesses. In either case it is better for him to confess. If B remains silent, A receives two years if A is also silent. But he will be released if he confesses. Again it would be better for A to confess. A's dominant strategy is thus to confess. Dominant strategies are those that place the player in a better position in every case.

In the other cell, B thinks along similar lines and reaches the same conclusion. The result will be that both confess and thereby do not achieve the best possible outcome (namely two years each). They both obtain the second worst result which is four years imprisonment, and in fact the worst outcome if we take into account the sum of both their years in prison.

> *A typical example of the prisoners' dilemma occurs during disarmament negotiations. Each side would naturally prefer the other side to disarm while retaining its arsenal for 'security reasons'. The worst outcome for one side would be to disarm while the other side remains armed. That is why such negotiations do not usually lead to disarmament. The outcome will have countries retaining their weapons systems or sometimes even competing in an arms race. Both sides are usually unable to select their second preferred strategy.*

The nuclear disarmament agreement between NATO and the former Soviet Union was not the result of negotiations involving simultaneous moves. Rather, it was caused by the economic inability of the Soviet Union to follow the two track offensive of the West. In this case a decision involving simultaneous moves was changed into a decision with sequential moves.[60]

The classic prisoners' dilemma is characterised by four restrictions:

1. No communication between the players
2. The one-time nature of the game
3. Only two alternatives for action (cooperation or defection)
4. Two players.

These restrictions can be changed under real conditions.

Variation 1:

Communication is permitted. If the players are allowed to communicate it is likely that the prisoners will agree to cooperate, that is both will deny the accusation. It is, however, also very likely that one or even both will break this agreement.

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[60] See Chapter 13.2.4: Strategic moves

> *In the history of OPEC there have been a number of agreements to restrict oil output in order to stabilise or raise oil prices. Most of these agreements have been repeatedly broken by individual member countries when they stood to gain.*

Thus according to Rapoport[61], cooperation must be enforceable. The punishment must alter the payoff matrix such that the payoff for the side breaking the agreement becomes lower than the outcome if the agreement had been respected.

Variation 2:

If the restriction on the number of games is lifted, indirect arrangements become possible since each player has the possibility of drawing conclusions based on the other players' moves in a previous game. In this recurring prisoners' dilemma (iterative prisoners' dilemma) the responses of the individual players are assessed while future game situations must simultaneously be considered.

> *The classic example of an iterative multi-player prisoners' dilemma is the use of free goods. In an article in "Science" magazine the biologist Garret Hardin[62] wrote: "Picture a pasture open to all (commons). It is to be expected that every herdsman will try to keep as many cattle as possible on the commons. ..... Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit -- in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the common."*

This situation is called an ecological-social dilemma. It occurs quite frequently and can be seen in many spheres – environmental pollution, overpopulation, overfishing, exploitation of finite resources etc.

Since economic players are constantly making decisions in these areas, we can assume an iterative prisoners' dilemma. New strategic decisions that take into account the moves of other players must constantly be made. Rapoport and others[63] have collected and commented on a set of standard strategies.

Variation 3:

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[61] Rapoport, Anatol and Chamnah, Albert M.: *Prisoners Dilemma*; Michigan, 1963, p. 25 and 26.
[62] Hardin, Garrett: *The Tragedy of the Commons*; Science, 162 (1968), 1243-1248.
[63] Axelrod, Robert: *The Evolution of Cooperation;* (Basic Books, New York, 1984);/Mathieu, P.;/Delahaye, J.P.: *Our Meeting with Gradual: A Good Strategy for the Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma.*

The restriction to just two alternatives for action serves only to simplify the thought processes involved. Increasing the number of possible actions does not alter the methodology.

Variation 4:

The restriction on the number of players to two is essentially the core restriction if one wishes to transfer the prisoner model to real life. With larger groups we face the problem of freeloaders. Problems always occur when the benefit for every individual can be increased by actions of the group. Each person within the group will consider whether he should voluntarily contribute to the collective action because he stands to benefit even without making the contribution. Of course, if each one thinks this way, no one will contribute.

> *Example: A neighbourhood is suffering from a pest menace. The neighbours agree to fight the scourge together. Everyone is required to contribute a certain amount into a common fund. There is one neighbour who refuses to pay his contribution. Since the entire project cannot be put at stake because of a single rejection, the others will continue to cooperate and accept the defection of one neighbour. In actual fact what will happen is that other freeloaders will emerge and eventually it might lead to no one paying their contribution.*

13.2.3 Strategies emerging from the prisoners' dilemma

The ways out of the prisoners' dilemma involve the following strategic steps:

1. Achieve cooperation
2. Unmask deception
3. Punish the deceiver
4. Tit-for-tat.

An agreement to cooperate is usually achieved through negotiation. International conventions on the protection of certain species, on banning certain substances, on embargoes, on duties etc. are typical examples of agreements to cooperate. The biggest problem lies in trying to detect those who breach the provisions of an agreement.

> *Example: Every embargo, particularly involving a ban on the supply of weapons, has been violated. Direct supplies of weapons may no longer take place, instead entire weapons factories are exported – under a different label, naturally.*

> *Example: Every agreement aimed at removing protectionism by reducing duties has been circumvented. Monitoring is frequently difficult. There is no visible infringement of the duty regime but in*

response to pressure from certain lobbies, other trade barriers are built up ranging from technical restrictions to standards, bureaucratic procedures, quota arrangements etc.

Agreements, contracts, laws and ordinances that should result in cooperation are always under threat because there is a great tendency to cheat and attempts are constantly made to break the law or the agreement. Many agreements simply break down as a result of the tit-for-tat strategy commonly employed in the prisoners' dilemma and because of freeloaders. Or laws are passed, but never executed. The problems of combating large scale corruption are also rooted in this syndrome. In such a scenario, the wholesale violation of rules is generally regarded as a trivial offence. In general one can say that there is no solution in cases where one-time cooperation needs to be established. Only in ongoing relationships can one institute punitive measures or raise the expectation of further cooperation.

Thus, building trust and credibility among the participants and consistently punishing deceptions and infringements is a prerequisite for long term cooperation. A breakdown in cooperation automatically leads to a loss in future profits (costs). If these costs are high enough to hurt, the intention to deceive is suppressed and cooperation is upheld. But this works only if loss of cooperation is associated with very high costs.

Example: Daimler Benz agreed to pay a fine of USD 185 million imposed by the US Department of Justice on charges of corruption in 22 countries. This allowed the company to maintain its listing on Wall Street. Being listed on the stock exchange was so important and profitable for Daimler that it compensated for the magnitude of the fine.

Free (common) goods are largely exempt from such considerations, so the rules we have drawn up here do not apply. Even the general principle has two caveats:

1. If the relationship has a foreseeable end, for instance the end of a legislative period. This means that the number of interactions is finite, or in other words there is a point where it is no longer possible to punish.[64] Defection is then possible, at least at this stage. The last game will therefore end with "no cooperation". If the outcome of the last game cannot be influenced, the second last game automatically becomes the last game. Cheating or defection now takes place here and so on and so forth.

2. If the advantages of deception accrue before cooperation breaks down, that is before the costs kick in. One is the present, the other the future. In politics, weighing the present against the future is a subjective exercise. Usually one prefers to capitalise on current advantages for the immediate elections and is not so concerned about future advantages after the election. It is difficult to achieve cooperation under these circumstances. Coalition governments know a thing or two about that.

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[64] See example in Chapter 13.2.1: Strategic decisions involving sequential moves.

If the issue revolves around the commons, that is public goods like air, water, fish stocks, accessible raw materials, etc., cooperation is further constrained by the fact that a breakdown in cooperation is not associated with costs. The ecological social dilemmas arise precisely because individual profit is achieved by not cooperating. Of course, that is true only as long as the resource is not exhausted.

There are two sides to the coin in ecological social dilemmas. On the one hand, the participants usually use a natural, self-regenerating resource. The resource multiplies according to rules that the participants do not know in advance. Exploitation of the resource is limited only by its capacity to grow. If the resource is used too extensively, it can be seriously, sometimes irrevocably damaged. A further factor is that the profit from using the resource is immediate, while the losses caused by damaging the resource's ability to regenerate often become apparent only after a considerable time lag. This time lag in the reaction to one's actions makes it difficult for people to understand the situation and provokes inappropriate behaviour.

There is another aspect to consider. The profit from using a resource accrues directly to every individual. The loss through over-exploitation, on the other hand, equally affects all those involved. In general, the profit obtained by an individual is more than his share of loss, at least in the short term, so that certain actions that are problematic with regard to the environment or society may appear attractive to individuals precisely when faced with competition.[65][66]

Hardin arrives at the conclusion that the only counter strategy is the realisation that it is necessary to curtail the freedom of individual decisions and to accept instead the social constraints that one has jointly agreed on.

Economists favour a solution of property rights. Other solutions involve internalising external costs, as in an ecological market economy[67]. However, here too, it is first necessary to agree on common principles as put forward by Hardin above.

13.2.4 Strategic moves

Strategic moves serve the purpose of changing the beliefs and actions of others in a way that is favourable to us. It is typical of strategic moves that they limit our own freedom of action.
There are three types of strategic moves:

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[65] Ernst, Andreas M. & Spada, Hans: *Ökologisches Handeln im Konflikt. Die Allmende-Klemme*; in P.Day, U.Fuhrer & U.Laucken (Ed.) *Umwelt und Handeln* (p. 63-85) Attempto, Tübingen.
[66] Spada, H. & Ernst A.M.: *Wissen, Motivation und Verhalten in einem ökologisch-sozialen Dilemma*; in K. Pawlik & K.-H. Stapf (Ed.): *Umwelt und Verhalten;* Huber, Bern, 1991.
[67] Knüppel, Hartmut: *Umweltpolitische Instrumente: Analyse der Bewertungskriterien und Aspekte einer Bewertung*; Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden.
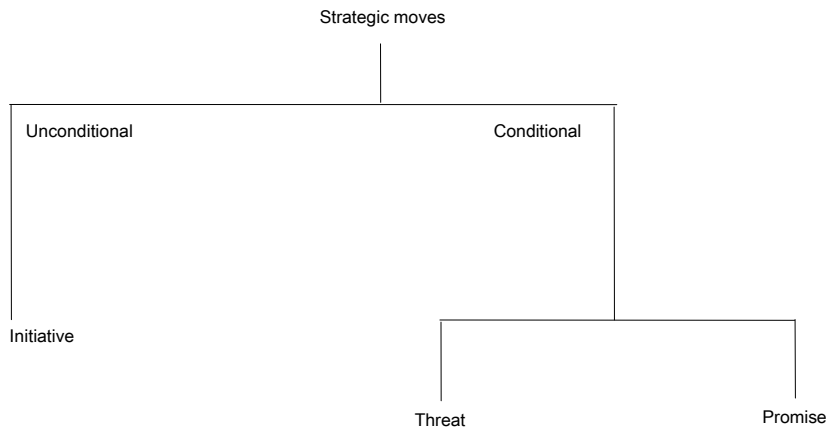
Diagram for strategic moves

The unconditional move:

The unconditional move is a response rule (what will I do, if…), where we make the first move. Therefore we also call this move 'initiative'. The move changes a simultaneous situation, in which the players can begin their actions at the same time, to a sequential situation, in which we take the initiative in order to make the other side react.

> *In an unconditional move, a presidential candidate A may commit not to increase but to decrease taxes if he is elected. The offer is made without any conditions. It leads to widespread debate, and a lot depends on the response of the rival candidate. At any rate, by making an unconditional move, candidate A has put candidate B in a position where he is forced to make a move. If taxes are one of the issues in the election and Candidate A is leading, Candidate B will be left with no option but to similarly promise a tax cut. By doing so he would commit a strategic mistake because he is copying instead of differentiating himself. This will reduce the electoral prospects of Candidate B because he is not able to demonstrate an attractive difference between himself and Candidate A. So Candidate A's unconditional move helped him to improve his position.*

The problem with unconditional moves in such situations is that politicians lack credibility. Although the politician makes the statement unconditionally, there is nothing to prevent him from going back on this promise once elections are over. To make strategic moves more credible, further steps need to be taken. In the present case this could be achieved by appointing an expert committee on tax relief which would at least make it appear that the candidate is serious.

Another example in this context pertains to the German Bundestag elections in 2002. Federal Chancellor Schroeder took the initiative of declaring, entirely unilaterally, that he categorically ruled out Germany's participation in the Iraq war. This put his opponent Stoiber in a very difficult strategic position, as he ought to have projected a difference in standpoint vis-à-vis the Chancellor. However, this would have meant participation in the war, which was rejected by over 80% of voters.

Threats and promises

Threats and promises come into play when we wish to move second but communicate a response rule to our opponent in advance. (I will do this if you do that). We all remember such strategic moves involving promises as well as threats from our childhood and employ them on our children as well. "If you eat up your soup now we will go swimming later." Or, "No dessert unless you eat up your spinach." In other words, there is commitment to a response rule even before the opponent takes and carries out his decision. When the other side moves, we react in accordance with our rule.

During the Cold War, the US threatened to employ nuclear bombs against the Soviet Union if it attacked a NATO country.

This threat, which was simultaneously made by the Soviet Union as well, helped avoid a military confrontation over the years. (Strategy of deterrence and equilibrium of threat perception)

Example: Terrorists usually use hostage taking as an instrument to make threats. They threaten that if certain actions demanded by the hijackers are not carried out by a certain time, they will shoot the passengers on a hijacked plane.

This strategy of threat can be offset or even thwarted by another strategy. In the hijacking case the government can declare that it will attack and destroy the hijackers irrespective of the potential losses. The state is employing a stronger threat versus a weaker one. However, this can only work if the government's threat is credible for the hijackers. There have to be precedents that have demonstrated the seriousness of the threat.

Promises are the other category of response rules. We let our opponent know what we will give him if he responds in a certain way.

Example: This is the strategy employed with state witnesses. If an accused turns approver and his statement helps resolve a case, he may be let off with no punishment or given a light sentence.

Even here, credibility is paramount, which is why there are usually legal safeguards. Strategic moves thus always contain two elements: a plan of action and a commitment.

In some cases threats and promises are made simultaneously without it being clear which will actually be used.

> *A typical case is the extortion of protection money. Here one side communicates to the other that it is prepared to protect its property, e.g. a restaurant, from the attacks of an unspecified group against regular payments of a certain sum.*

The contours of threats and promises are blurred in such cases because both are contained in the response rule.

13.2.5 Scorched earth strategy

The scorched earth strategy is a famous example of "strategic moves".

> *"We must organise a merciless fight. The enemy must not lay hands on a single loaf of bread, on a single litre of fuel. Collectives must drive their livestock away and remove their grain. What cannot be removed must be destroyed. Bridges and roads must be dynamited. Forests and depots must be burned down. Intolerable conditions must be created for the enemy." (Joseph Stalin proclaiming his scorched earth strategy on 3 July 1941.)*

Stalin's strategic commitment to leave the German troops only scorched earth was made credible because fields were actually burnt.

Even in the corporate arena many attempts are made to leave behind scorched fields, especially during hostile take-overs. A company's management will attempt to fight the take-over by destroying the attractive assets of the company (for instance, contracts with authors in the case of publishing houses) so that the invader is unable to benefit from them.

13.2.6 Strategy of moving in small steps

A strategy of small steps focuses on planning activities such that the number of opponents remains manageable and the steps can be carried out one by one without generating large scale resistance.

> *Example: A government plans a massive dismantling of subsidies. If it were to do this in one step, almost every citizen would be affected and it would be practically impossible to execute the plan.*

The strategy of moving in small steps would approach the dismantling of subsidies in a phased manner. First, minor subsidies pertaining to groups with no common interests are removed. Since the groups have no common interests they will not put up a combined front. Then the second wave of subsidy reduction follows and so on and so forth. The closer one gets to the really big subsidies with strong lobbies, the more support one has from those who have already suffered and who now think it is only fair that subsidies to other groups are also reduced.

One can proceed similarly when raising taxes. As long as the increases are incremental, the potential to protest remains limited and is not sufficiently emotionalised to put up an effective defence. No one will take to the streets to protest a tax increase of €10 per month. On the other hand, if the hike amounts to €100 every month, many more people can be motivated to protest.

If the price of foodstuffs increases by 2% a month, it is unlikely that there will be a revolt. This works out to an increase of over 26% in 12 months. A one-time increase of this magnitude cannot be implemented without protests and demonstrations.

> *Example: Many countries such as Tunisia, Indonesia, Thailand etc., bowing to pressure from the IMF or the World Bank, have experienced what a radical increase in the price of foodstuffs can lead to. A strategy of moving in small steps could have avoided the riots and confrontations.*

13.2.7 Brinkmanship − the game at the abyss

> *The most famous case of brinkmanship is the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. John F. Kennedy announced a naval blockade of Cuba after reconnaissance reports confirmed that the Soviet Union intended to station nuclear missiles in Cuba and that missile sites were under construction.*

Had the Soviet Union under Nikita Khrushchev taken up the challenge, the crisis could have escalated into an all-out nuclear war. There were several options open to both sides. Some options were safe, such as the United States doing nothing or Russia removing the missiles in Cuba. Other options were progressively risky, such as stopping the ships carrying the missiles in the Atlantic, breaking through the sea blockade or launching a pre-emptive strike against the US. No one could predict where the critical point of these actions would lie.

The idea behind a strategy of brinkmanship is to lead the opponent to the brink of a disaster in order to force him to pull back. The key to understanding brinkmanship lies in recognising that the abyss we are leading the opponent into has no sharp precipice. Rather, there is a slippery slope that becomes increasingly steep. Once you start slipping you can fall into the abyss with your opponent.

The essence of brinkmanship is to deliberately create a risk. The risk should be sufficiently intolerable to the opponent to induce him to avoid the risk and modify his actions. A threat alone cannot have the impact of brinkmanship because it is the incalculable risk of human failure or actions influenced by emotions that make the risk real.

In fact, brinkmanship can now and then lead to a disaster, a plunge into the abyss.

> *The massacre of Chinese students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 was one such example. The students and the hardliners in the government were on a collision course. Either the hardliners would lose their power or the students would have to compromise on their demands. The outcome is history.*

Similar democracy protests in the GDR and Czechoslovakia led to different results. The political leaders in these cases decided to give in. However, as subsequent information has revealed, the decisions on how to handle the demonstrations in Leipzig hung by a thread and could well have ended going over the brink.

> *Another example of successful brinkmanship is the French gamble over the post of the president of the European Central Bank. At the last moment the French put the introduction of the euro at stake in order to cut short W. Duisenberg's term of office.*

There are many instances of brinkmanship, even if the stakes are not as high as the annihilation of the world or the introduction of a European currency. Some examples:

- The management and labour unions face a strike with devastating consequences for both sides.
- Stubborn spouses refuse to compromise and risk divorce.
- Parliament stymies the government and risks state insolvency.

In each of these cases the participants deliberately create and manipulate a risk that can lead to a mutually unfavourable outcome to induce the other side to compromise.

13.2.8 Strategies for zero sum games and non zero sum games

Many political situations can be viewed as zero-sum games. This means that if one wins, the other loses. If one gains power, the other must relinquish power. If one pays fewer taxes, the other must pay more taxes (at least if the budget is to be balanced). If a new project is pushed through, funds must be saved at some other point or someone must pay more or one must take on a debt, which would mean that future generations must pay.
Campaigns are unquestionably zero sum games. Policies can be regarded differently. If we take a sectoral approach to policy, many political processes are zero-sum games.

Yet, many zero sum games change into non zero sum games if we adopt a holistic approach that takes into account the external environment or the social structures. This is demonstrated by the problem of the ecological social dilemma.

Strategies for zero sum games are simpler than for other cases. The aim in a zero sum game is simply to win. This means depriving the opponent of something (votes, power, influence, money etc.). In non zero sum games the aim is to arrive at the optimum outcome for all concerned. This implies cooperation, negotiation, consensus building. Most important here are the win-win type negotiation strategies.

13.2.9 Strategy of unpredictability

A strategy of unpredictability is successful because it surprises the opponent with something he did not expect. The strategy of unpredictability is therefore a strategy for countering sequential move strategies or strategies of looking ahead and reasoning back.

> *Example: Let us assume that the government is planning a major privatisation move. It can be assumed that this will lead to conflict with the unions and that this will be exploited by the opposition parties. In other words, the opposition looks ahead, expects a conflict, then reasons back and prepares itself for this conflict.*

Strategically the government would be well advised to enter into an "alliance for jobs" with the unions and integrate them so deeply that they will find it difficult to pull out once privatisation begins. The opposition cannot predict this development and will, in all likelihood, be forced into a strategically wrong decision.

Other examples demonstrate that unpredictability can lead to such delayed responses that the goal is achieved before resistance to it can build up. In a military context, this would be akin to a surprise attack.

> *Example: When Tony Blair assumed office, he increased tuition fees. Since this move was perceived as being against Labour interests, it was the last thing one would have expected him to do. No conservative government could have managed to take this step without encountering massive protests. Tony Blair did it with consummate ease.*

13.2.10 Strategy of disinformation

The strategy of disinformation can be used both offensively and defensively. When defending, the strategy adopts two approaches: one, it provides false information (deception) and two, it provides so much information that it becomes difficult to verify what is true and false (information overload).

Offensive approach – supplying false information

False information is spread deliberately with the aim that it will be wrongly interpreted by the population and by the opposing side, which consequently takes up the wrong issues.

The strategy has been made famous through the techniques employed by the secret services. Forged documents, letters, photographs, rumours and false reports are used to exacerbate domestic political tensions in certain countries with the intention of removing unpopular governments or setting revolutionary trends in motion. The KGB, the FBI, the CIA and several other secret service agencies have all distinguished themselves in this field.

Providing false information is also a popular device in everyday party politics. In some countries this is a constant feature of any election. These are "black" campaigns.

Defensive approach – supplying false information

This strategy serves to conceal discomfiting information and to eliminate strategic disadvantages. Employed in this manner, disinformation becomes a defensive strategy that is used to counter an opponent's attack.

> *Example: In the course of his political career, a politician once accepted money for a political favour. The opponent has managed to obtain this information and now intends to milk it publicly for what it is worth.*

The facts correspond to what is commonly understood as corruption. If it appears that this one-time occurrence will "unfortunately" become public, a disinformation campaign must be launched. The public is bombarded with fictitious corruption cases that never took place. There is prepared material that proves that the accusation of corruption was unfounded in each case. The only "truth" gets completely submerged in this barrage of information.

The film "Wag the Dog" with Dustin Hoffman and Robert De Niro depicts a highly successful disinformation strategy. After a school girl threatens to reveal that the president of the United States made a pass at her during a tour of the White House, a war with Albania is stage managed in the media, although no such war actually takes place. As a result the candidate wins his election. The bombing of Iraq by US troops at the height of the Lewinsky affair was commented upon by some journalists with references to "Wag the Dog".

Defensive approach – supplying too much information

Disinformation can also be used as a defence against an issue that places the opponent at a strategic advantage.

> *Example: A candidate in an election acquires a strategic advantage by taking up an important issue. It is foreseeable that*

> *the strategic advantage may be significant enough to win the election.*

In such a case the strategic advantage must be neutralised by the device of a "technical debate". The opposing party or candidate is forced to enter into a debate on technical details, successes and failures, the possibilities and impossibilities of implementation, the necessary legal regulations, the people to make it happen etc. so that this entire flood of information obscures the strategic advantage in the eyes of the voters.

13.2.11 Strategy of admission – the clearance

The strategy of admission or the clearance kick is a defensive strategy. It is employed to put an end to unpleasant debates. Often during "black campaigns" accusations are made that are very difficult to refute.

> *One popular accusation is that the candidate has illegitimate children or several extramarital affairs.*

Usually the accusations are kept vague so that it is difficult to deny them or to present any conclusive evidence. Sometimes, if the target group of the candidate would not be too shocked, it is actually best to admit to the accusations because this effectively ends the debate. In Latin America, accusations of this nature certainly do not harm a candidate. In North America, which is much more prudish, one has grown accustomed to such accusations after Clinton. It is important to accurately estimate whether the accusation is acceptable to the target group or not. In many countries the insinuation that a candidate is homosexual has negative repercussions and a strategy of admission would be completely misplaced, whereas in Germany, coming out actually tends to have a positive effect on politicians' careers.

It is a different case if a ruling party's misguided policies are the subject. Then the strategy of admission can be liberating. In fact, it makes sense to draw up a list of all mistakes that need to be admitted, own up to them publicly while adding that one has recognised these mistakes and will not repeat them. This takes the wind out of the opposition's constant attempts to highlight the mistakes and hold them up for debate.

Voters are always more interested in the future than in the past, so acting in this way also meets voter expectations. Unfortunately, it is difficult to convince politicians to adopt this strategy.

> *In the business world an increasing number of campaigns are leveraging admission as an instrument to build trust. In Germany the campaign of a well known car manufacturer with the slogan "We've got the message" is typical in this regard.*

13.3 Priorities for sub strategies

The priorities for sub strategies are shaped by the mission. The objective is to combine all forces so that the mission can be achieved without heavy losses and by investing as few resources as possible. The idea is to win and to win profitably.

> *Sun Tzu said: The best thing of all is to take the enemy's country whole and intact.*

Extrapolated to political strategies this means that the political culture, for instance, should not be destroyed during an election. This would make it difficult to govern the country democratically later. Therefore we must always opt for strategies that have the least negative impact on the political culture.

> *Sun Tzu also said: The skilful leader subdues the enemy's troops without any fighting; he captures their cities without laying siege to them.*

Central to this is the use of resources. The goal must be achieved by utilising the minimum resources. By implication, one should act in areas where one has prospects of achieving actual results in the short term. It also means that one should focus on the path leading to the simplest victory rather than employing all possible means.

It follows that the sub strategies, or the solutions for identified weaknesses and the areas of attack, need to be classified and assessed according to certain priorities. The (sub) goals of these strategies must be practically achievable. Each strategy must individually lead to some benefit or success that is important for achieving the overall mission.

How do we set these priorities?

> *Sun Tzu said: The highest form of generalship is to attack the enemy's strategy; the next best policy is to disrupt his alliances; the next best is to attack his army; and the worst policy of all is to besiege walled cities. Do this only when there is no other option.*

13.3.1 Attack the opponent's strategy

What implications does this have for practical strategic planning? The first question is, how should one attack the strategy of the opponent? Naturally, one must first know what his strategy is. Knowledge of the opponent's strategy can be acquired by observing the opponent or through espionage[68]. But it is also quite often possible simply by thinking ahead and reasoning back[69]. If the opponent's strategy is known or can be guessed with reasonable certainty, his strategy becomes easy to attack. The objective of attack is to disturb the opponent in the build up to his strategy so that he cannot bring his strengths into play.

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[68] See Chapter 20.1.5: Espionage.
[69] See Chapter 13.2.1: Strategic decisions involving sequential moves.

Example 1: The opponent intends to launch an attractive new product as part of his strategy to change his product range. We should counter by launching the same or similar product ten days before the opponent's intended launch. The opponent is then left with only two options – to launch the copy or decide against bringing the product on to the market at all.

Note: There is always a risk that the opponent has deception up his sleeve. We must be certain that we are responding to the actual strategy and not to a deceptive manoeuvre intended to mislead us into taking the wrong steps.

Example 2: If we learn that the opponent intends tapping a new target group, we should enter this market segment sooner than he does. The earlier we enter, the more difficult the opponent will find it to subsequently position himself in that market.

Sun Tzu said: Whoever is first in the field and awaits the coming of the enemy, will be fresh for the fight; whoever is second in the field and has to hasten to battle will arrive exhausted.

Example 3: If we know the opponent intends to attack us at a specific point, we can improve our defences at this point or perhaps even withdraw from a battleground that is not very important for us and allow the opponent to have an empty victory.

A good system of observation is a prerequisite for attacking an opponent's strategy. The organisation or the party must act proactively. Since most political parties tend to be reactive, proactiveness is especially effective. Unfortunately this is also very difficult to implement in politics.

13.3.2 Destroy the opponent's alliances

In politics there are many kinds of alliances[70] ranging from covert cooperation between influential personalities to declared support for parties or candidates by churches, unions, heads of important organisations etc.

Church backing for certain candidates can greatly swing an election outcome. It is not only the big churches, small sects and groups of sects can be equally effective.

During the presidential elections in Guatemala, Serrano, who was not placed very highly in pre-poll surveys, was able to become president with the backing of Protestant sects in the country.

The influence of unions on elections is clearly discernible in several countries.

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[70] See also Chapter 7.4: Multipliers and alliances

During the 1998 elections in Germany, the unions openly came out in support of the Social Democrat chancellor candidate and substantially contributed to the party's victory.

Unions are also known to wield influence in preventing the implementation of certain policies, such as the privatisation of public enterprises in Uruguay under President Lacalle.

Political alliances also include organisations like OPEC. This alliance has been consistently weakened since it has been possible to play off individual members against one other or to induce individual members to betray the alliance by promises of massive gains. OPEC, of course, also suffered from problems arising out of the prisoners' dilemma[71].

Alliances are often critical when it comes to funding campaigns. At the same time, they can undermine the capability to carry out one's political intentions.

The National Rifle Association's[72] connections with certain politicians in the USA are a case in point. Various governments have time and again met with resistance from the National Rifle Association when trying to restrict the possession and carrying of firearms. Yet the Rifle Association is able to exert influence on political decision making because of its alliance with certain politicians.

The only counter strategy in this case would be to build up an even more powerful alliance of weapons opponents that can loosen the grip of the Rifle Association through new sources of funds and voters.

Here are some strategies that can be adopted in response to alliances:

1. Prevent the formation of the alliance through disruptive actions, by discrediting and by making better or more attractive offers to the proposed alliance partner. This can go to the extent of attempting to divide the potential partner on the issue of the alliance, thereby making him so weak that he decides against entering into the alliance.

2. Disrupt mutual understanding within the alliance. This is achieved by planting disruptive elements, by rumours and by discrediting leading personalities of the alliance. Other means include making lucrative offers to the leaders of the alliance partner. In olden times, the instrument of marriage was used to cement

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[71] See also Chapter 13.2.2: Decisions involving simultaneous moves.
[72] On 19 October 2005 a new gun law became effective in Alaska that liberalises possession of handguns and keeping firearms in vehicles. The law was passed at the instigation of the National Rifle Association to preempt more restrictive municipal and county laws. According to the NRA, Alaska should serve as a role model for other states.

alliances against such disruptive attacks. The alliance partners did not only enter into a contractual arrangement but were also bound by family ties. "Tu felix Austria nube[73]" is perhaps the most famous statement made to underscore this principle.

3. Form an alliance ourselves to undermine the impact of another alliance

> *Some of the most recent strategic alliance developments have been in the field of aviation. In addition to the Star Alliance comprising Lufthansa, United Airlines and others, similar strategic alliances were also established by Air France or KLM etc. Disruptive and obstructive tactics have been part and parcel of such alliances.*

13.3.3 Attack the opponent.

In the context of political strategies, attacking the opponent means:

1. Depriving the opponent of his resources
2. Poaching the opponent's voters through better offers
3. Undermining the morale of the opponent's supporters.

There are various ways of depriving the opponent of resources:

− Poach important employees and experts. Headhunting firms are entrusted with this job. Often alliance partners are used for the purpose, since a direct switch to the opposing side is usually a step too far. Even poaching spokespersons, strategists, logisticians as also key people specialising in specific political issues can weaken the opponent. Horse trading in parliament is another popular method.

− Disrupt the flow of funds to the opponent. Again, there are many ways to do this − exert pressure on banks and other financial backers, unearth financial mismanagement and scandals, cast doubts on the opponent's creditworthiness and put a question mark over the likelihood of his winning the election.

> *During its first presidential campaign, the Clinton team experienced a resource crunch when their chances of victory visibly diminished after Ross Perot announced his candidature. For the first time in the history of US elections, Clinton was forced to take loans from banks to keep his campaign going.*

Make a better offer

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[73] "You happy Austria, marry!"

Making better offers to woo away voters is the most honest form of attack. Different products simply compete against each other on the electoral market. The voters have a choice and he who makes the best offer to the right target group wins.

But there are nuances here too. Sometimes candidates wishing to make better and more attractive offers forget about reality and promise anything under the sun, knowing full well that those promises can never be kept.

This is a populist strategy.

What is populism? The term is contested among political scientists, and because it lacks a clear definition it is often used pejoratively to refer to disagreeable political opponents. Populist is also a tag used for politicians who may not actually follow a populist approach but are a thorn in the flesh of opposing parties. In this sense the word populist is used to derogate.

Irrespective of the differences in definition, there is a certain discernable pattern of political communication that we will refer to here as populism.

Thus populism is a style of politics that attempts to be "with the people" and exploits popular discontent, fears and actual conflicts for its own ends. In doing so it appeals to people's emotions, offers simple solutions and creates clear-cut bogeymen. Scant attention is paid to what is realistic and implementable. In societies undergoing rapid transition and facing complex problems, this strategy coupled with a charismatic leadership has made populism highly successful. The target groups of populism tend to be social classes and groups that perceive themselves to be at the receiving end of the existing or emerging social, economic and political order.

In the new political economy, populism is described as a tendency of parties and politicians to gravitate towards the political centre. This tendency arises when solutions to problems are reduced to simple alternatives and the adversaries can achieve majorities only by occupying an ideal middle ground (median voter model). [74]

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[74] Roger Congleton: *The Median Voter Model* ; In: Rowley, R. K.; Schneider, F. (ed.): *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*. 2002.
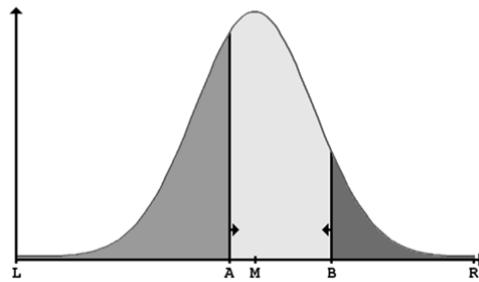
Median voter model[75]

The median voter model poses a problem for politicians when they must first contest preliminary elections.

> *Example: Democratic Party candidates in the United States are forced to portray themselves as being more left wing during the primaries than during the main elections. This is because the median of Democratic Party members and supporters is more left leaning than the Republicans. Once the candidate is through the primaries, he must make a swing to the right so that he is able to attract median voters from society at large. The median shifts to the right due to Republican voters.*

An examination of populist strategy reveals its two cornerstones: communication and content. Populist strategy is on emotional responses and the simplification of complex issues. We will discuss this problem in greater depth in Chapter 15.3, which deals with the processes leading to voting decisions by individuals. It also provides us with an answer to the success of populist strategies. In complex situations and especially if fear plays a role, decisions are always influenced by emotions rather than rational thought. There is therefore no strategy that is really successful at stopping populist politicians and parties during an ongoing campaign. The media interest in populist politicians and parties has devastating consequences, since it showers them with disproportionate coverage.[76] The only effective response to populist parties and politicians is a long term strategy of awareness building and political education aimed at enabling people to understand complex systems and not view politics in simplistic, monocausal terms. Currently over 95% of voters worldwide are far removed from this ideal. At the same time, non populist parties must also take a self-critical look at their political communication to see if it is comprehensible.

Experience shows that the populist usually wins. This forces other parties and candidates who may not wish to adopt this strategy to promise more than they can actually deliver.

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[75] http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Median_voter_model.png#file
[76] Thomas Meyer: *Populismus und Medien;* VS-Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2006

Undermine the morale of the opponent's supporters

Destroying the morale of the opponent's supporters is an important instrument if the opponent is very reliant on their members and supporters. Such moves are often seen in countries where the media is government-controlled. Opposition parties consequently use their members to run a campaign that bypasses the official media. This has the added advantage of being inexpensive.

In such situations the ruling party will then usually resort to intimidating supporters of the opposition parties to destroy their support base.

> *Example: In Kenya the ruling KANU party of President arap Moi attempted to intimidate the supporters of opposition candidates by threatening to cut off all government support to constituencies that elected an opposition candidate. This would result in the collapse of their education, health and social security systems.*
>
> *In other countries, such as Slovakia under Meciar, opposition supporters faced such severe threats that it became difficult for the opposition to make public appearances.*
>
> *In Cambodia the houses of known opposition members are burnt down or the members are simply murdered.*

In some countries there are consequently campaigns to implement free and fair elections that are not affiliated to any political party. Using alternative methods they are able to ensure – not always, but more and more frequently – that the opposition succeeds despite threats.

Discrediting a party's leadership is another way of undermining the morale of supporters. Many campaigns, usually black campaigns[77], are conceptualised to this end.

13.3.4 Lay siege to the opponent's strongholds

Sun Tzu considers this the worst form of strategy. It should be avoided unless there is no alternative.

Strongholds can be political issues where the opponent enjoys a high degree of problem-solving competence and strategic advantage, and which he will defend with all the means at his disposal. Strongholds can also be specific target groups that are loyal to the opponent and where he is well organised. He will defend this target group to the last, and he has some strategic advantages in doing so.

If these strongholds are nevertheless attacked, a lot of resources will need to be deployed and one must be prepared to settle in for the long haul as much time may elapse before the first successes become apparent. Most political organisations do not

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[77] See also Chapter 13.2.10: Strategy of disinformation.

have the stamina for this. Consequently the whittling away of strongholds is not an instrument to be employed during election campaigns; it must be taken up in the goals of a long term strategy.

If, despite these apprehensions, it becomes necessary to take to the offensive as far as an issue or the target group are concerned, we should avoid an open confrontation since we would inevitably lose. This is a case for the employment of infiltration strategies and guerrilla tactics. Additionally, selected persons are planted in the opponent's system (stronghold) to carry out sabotage, espionage, disinformation and destruction.

13.4 Formulation of strategies

Four principles need to be borne in mind when formulating strategy.

1. The principle of choosing the battleground, i.e. selecting the issues on which we wish to confront the opponent. This means identifying the areas in which we have clear strategic advantages or areas that the opponent has neglected. It is also important to be able to recognise the specific characteristics of battlegrounds.

2. The principle of concentrating one's forces. Forces are concentrated to achieve relative superiority, to deceive the opponent into deploying his forces at the wrong place and to safeguard one's actual battle plan.

3. The principle of attack. If a confrontation is unavoidable, i.e. if other means, such as attacking the opponent's strategy or destroying his alliances have failed, it is necessary to establish the need for and the type of attack. This includes finding niche strategies in order to survive.

4. The principle of utilising direct and indirect forces. In addition to a party's or organisation's visible forces, there are invisible forces not directly linked to the party or organisation, which can, and in fact must exert an influence. They can intervene during a battle and change the focus, shift the attack and relieve the defence.

13.4.1 Selection of issues

The strategic selection of issues takes place over several stages. The first step is to collect all issues that the party can campaign on in the election. These should be in tune with the party's basic principles. The party's programme can also form the basis of selection. If the situation involves the implementation of policies by an executive organ such as the government or a mayor, the issues that are compiled should be related to the main issue at hand.

If a decentralisation project is to be implemented, the compilation could look like this:

– Proximity of administrative apparatus
– Quicker decision-making

- Lower costs

- Greater participation by citizens and more opportunities to influence processes

- Etc.

For a privatisation project, the list could include:

- Balancing of the budget through the sale of public sector entities

- More efficient services provided by the private sector

- Withdrawal of the state from areas that are outside its intended purview

- Favourably priced services

- Greater flexibility of supply and creation of competition

- Strengthening of the middle class or the private sector

- Improving the future viability of the sector.

Once the issues are collected, four filters are applied. These are:

Filter: **Interest:** Is the issue of interest to the general public or to a specific target group, or is the issue of interest only to the planners? Issues should relate to the interests, areas of concern and the needs of the communities. Bear in mind that the fish, not the fisherman, should find the bait tasty.

Filter: **Strategic advantage:** Since it does not make sense to compete in areas where we have no strategic advantage, issues that have no prospect of success should be excluded, since we ourselves are too weak in those areas. A strategic advantage exists if the issue itself is inherently advantageous, or if it is an issue that has been neglected by our opponents, or if the terrain in which the confrontation takes place is advantageous to us.

Filter: **Differentiation:** Offensive strategies are concerned with demonstrating the differences between us and our competitors. If no differences can be shown, we should select another issue or change the presentation of the issue so that differences can be made apparent.

Filter: **Comprehensibility:** The arguments on an issue should be readily understandable. This is another important criterion for selection. The citizens, for whom the message is intended, should be in a position to understand the reasoning or what the issue is all about. If an issue cannot be presented in a comprehensible manner it is not suitable for use. Of course, emotionalising an issue can compensate for lack of comprehensibility. In other words, don't appeal to "homo sapiens" but to "hormo sapiens". See Chapter 15.3 for a detailed discussion on the emotionalisation of arguments.

The steps for reviewing the suitability of an issue are listed in the table below.

Issue (x)		
Is the issue specific and of interest to certain civic groups?	Yes/No	Civic groups, for and against
How do citizens benefit?	Benefit 1:	Benefit 2:
How and from whom does the issue or the solution differentiate us?	Competitors:	
Can our issue be presented in a credible, emotional and clearly comprehensible way?	Yes/No	

Issues with clear strategic advantages

Issues can be said to have clear strategic advantages if:

- We were the first to take up the issue, thereby acquiring competence and the status of an opinion leader.

- We are able to address the needs of the population with the issue.

- We can demonstrate special and stable alliances with social groups, which entrench us firmly in society.

- We have reputed, competent experts to work on the issue and expert groups capable of implementing the issue in a publicly effective manner.

- We are able to attract funds and human resources with the issue.

- The issue is being promoted by the media, usually because of a current event.

Issues that are neglected by opponents

Issues that have been neglected by opponents are different from issues with a strategic advantage. We can be certain that issues offering a strategic advantage will always involve a confrontation as our rivals equally attempt to jockey for position. On issues that have been neglected by our opponent, this kind of confrontation is unlikely, at least initially. These are issues that are of interest to some target groups but have not been taken up so far for some reason or the other. Not much effort is required since we have the field to ourselves and a relatively small investment can reap dividends.

> *Sun Tzu said: If our troops are no more in number than the enemy it does not matter. You can be sure of succeeding in your attacks if you only attack places that are undefended.*

13.4.2 Characteristics of battlegrounds

A clear understanding of the terrain on which confrontation will take place is essential for choosing the field on which to engage a political opponent. Terrain here is used synonymously with the area of political activity. The nature of the terrain may strongly influence strategy. There are distinct strengths and weaknesses, and these can be influenced by our decisions. The decisions relate to whether it is possible to be on the offensive, whether it is possible to obtain victory alone or if the assistance of others is needed, and whether there is any point in a confrontation on that terrain. A reconnaissance of the terrain is consequently one of the main tasks of political strategy.

In his book the "Art of War", Sun Tzu defines various types of terrains or grounds. These can be extrapolated to economic market processes and to political confrontations.

Dispersive ground

> *Sun Tzu said: When a chieftain is fighting in his own territory, it is dispersive ground...On dispersive ground, therefore, fight not. And: On dispersive ground, inspire the men with unity of purpose.*

Sun Tzu's teachings state that one should avoid fighting within one's own territory, and move the battle into hostile territory instead. This way one can employ an offensive rather than defensive strategy. In practical terms this means tapping new sections of voters or achieving more depth among existing target groups. This is taking the battle away from our own ground.

Naturally, this is not always possible, particularly in situations where we are the ruling party and automatically assume a defensive role.

Moving the confrontation to foreign ground is even more important if our ground is dispersed, e.g. if there are divisions within our party on an issue. In real life politics this is often the case. There is no dearth of examples.

> *In 1994 the liberal party in Germany was divided on the issue of bugging private homes to investigate crime. The party was not united on this point and thus lacked the credibility to represent one of its traditional electoral planks (its ground), i.e. the entire rule of law issue. Sun Tzu said that in such cases there must always be unity of purpose in the army.*

Attempts by a government to implement anti-corruption programmes are another example. Such attempts are usually doomed to failure if a government has been in office for some time, since the battle is taking place in its own territory and because the organisation is divided. Many beneficiaries of corruption will be in the party's own ranks and not united by a common purpose.

Battles on dispersive ground are typical of elections in parliamentary systems, of coalition governments and recently even of presidential systems with coalitions or similar devices. For the same reason we see coalition governments going into elections

with the primary objective of extending the coalition, while at the same time within the coalition there are attempts to set oneself apart. This can lead to heavy losses for individual coalition partners.

Accessible ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Do not allow your limbs to be separated. Strictly observe your defence. Be before the enemy in occupying the raised and sunny spots, and carefully guard your line of supplies. Then you will be able to fight with advantage.*

Grounds that are easily accessible to all and which can also easily be withdrawn from essentially include popular issues that address the needs and concerns of the majority, such as basic needs, social security etc. All parties make promises on these issues. Social policy, in particular, plays an important role here. The offers of various parties are usually very similar and there is fierce competition, which may lead to some parties being displaced from the market.

But what does occupying the raised and sunny spots mean? It means that whoever is in a position to align with major social groups such as the unions, churches or other significant groups, acquires a favourable starting position. The lines of supply (multipliers) and defence assume critical importance.

Translating this into an offensive strategy would imply that the links between the opposing parties, their multipliers and alliance partners should be weakened and broken. This may even lead to a split in the parties. On the defensive front the implication is that these links must be nurtured and safeguarded.

Other areas that form a part of this complex are religious beliefs, nationalism, upholding traditions. Conservative parties tend to be strong in these areas and also secure their activities through close ties with social groups.

Facile ground

> *Sun Tzu said: On facile ground in hostile territory, halt not. See that there is close connection between all parts of the army.*

New political areas and new approaches to political problems should first be tested regionally or on specific target groups. This is possible through selective, local efforts to build bridgeheads, away from the national gaze. Another method is to specifically address one target group, initially on a few selected areas. Once the bridgehead is ready, the party or the government puts its full force behind the effort and moves in to take over the entire area, utilising the communication channels and contacts that have already been established.
New political solutions for environmental problems or the replacement of old social transfer structures with new ones such as negative income tax are some areas where this approach can be applied. If three or four local problems exist, it is even possible to test different ways of presenting solutions.

For political strategies of this kind it is critical firstly, that the product (the new political idea) is ripe and not in the development stage. Secondly, the entire organisational apparatus must be prepared and ready to move swiftly at the decisive moment to extend the bridgehead. Of course, it is also important that the party acts in unison, does not hesitate and does not get divided over the new demands.

Entangling ground

> *Sun Tzu said: But if the enemy is prepared for your coming, and you fail to defeat him, then, return being impossible, disaster will ensue.*

At the macro level, some welfare programmes of governments are traps that prevent them from retreating. Societies in Europe and North America are replete with such examples, especially those related to welfare programmes. When attempts were made in the United States to reduce state expenditure, despite Reagan's tenacious attempts there was resistance to reducing expenditure on welfare programmes, especially for older citizens and the unemployed. In England, it took Margaret Thatcher years before she was in a position to cut back on welfare expenditure. In France, the government's attempts to reduce welfare programmes were met with a general strike lasting several weeks. It is undoubtedly easy to initiate welfare programmes, but difficult to dismantle them without losing out on widespread political support. A similar situation arose in Greece after it attempted to reduce state welfare spending when faced with impending bankruptcy.

Hemmed-in ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Ground that is reached through gorges, and from which we can only retire by tortuous paths, so that a small number of the enemy would suffice to crush a large body of our men: this is hemmed-in ground. On hemmed-in ground, resort to stratagem.*
> *On hemmed-in ground, block any way of retreat.*

Hemmed-in ground is difficult to get into but also difficult to retreat from. This always happens when a new political issue is taken up and solutions to problems need to first be developed. Parties invest enormous personnel and even financial resources to come up with solutions that are still new and untested. Currently such issues include genetic engineering, the perils of an open information market, climate change etc. These are frontier issues in that there is no previous experience to fall back on. Acquiring the technical expertise and knowledge is a resource-intensive process. It is difficult to enter this territory, but once parties have made the necessary high investments, it is difficult to withdraw from this market as well. There is also the danger that small units (expert groups, technical committees) arrive at radically new and better solutions, thereby wiping out the competitive advantage of older solutions – and the investments made.

To survive in such terrain one must constantly find new and creative solutions. One way to do this is to continue working on the issues with small units (think tanks). Sun Tzu recommends war stratagems, such as spying on the solutions of opponents and publicising these. Again, intelligence gathering in the enemy camp and from allied organisations plays an important role.

It is also recommended that the opponent should not be attacked if he has a competitive advantage that cannot be offset through a better or more convincing solution. Therefore, the opponent should only be attacked if his defences are weak, meaning that his solutions are spent or less effective than ours.

Contentious ground

> *Sun Tzu said: With regard to precipitous heights, if you are beforehand with your adversary, you should occupy the raised and sunny spots, and there wait for him to come up. If the enemy has occupied them before you, do not follow him, but retreat and try to entice him away...On contentious ground, attack not...On contentious ground, speed up your rear.*

Ground which competitors believe will also offer them an advantage is contentious ground. These are usually issues that suddenly take centre stage due to some major event (Chernobyl, environmental disasters, climate change etc.) or because they are hyped up by the media and have special emotional connotations. Such events or reports tend to change the value constellations of citizens for a certain period of time. Virtually all parties tend to flock to these issues since they hope to obtain an advantage by tapping this new market. Sun Tzu's advice is not to attack opponents who have already cornered certain issues and are therefore at a competitive advantage. If the issue happens to be one of the opponent's core planks, he will defend his position with all means at his disposal. This implies large scale losses and an uncertain outcome. The best strategy in such cases is not to attack but to retreat in order to divert the opponent and perhaps lead him to commit mistakes.

Whatever the strategy adopted, it is important to simultaneously work on factors relating to the issue, such as making the proposal more specific, easier to understand, more closely linked to actual citizen concerns, so that the product and the message are enhanced and optimised for the electoral market. In this way at least some market segments (niches) can be successfully addressed.

Encircled ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Make peace with neighbouring states. And: Consolidate your alliances.*

Situations like this exist in several countries with repressive systems or in those where opposition parties are suppressed. They are especially common in countries where the ruling parties have been forced by world opinion to adopt a pluralistic party system.

Politicians from opposition parties, and the parties themselves, are prevented from undertaking any political activities through repressive measures by the state and interventions of the army and executive. They are encircled and isolated so as to make them incapable of acting.

In such situations the first move is to make peace with social groups (neighbouring states) so that they desist from aggressive actions against the party and agree at least on a moratorium. It is even more important to find allies. These can range from international organisations such as Amnesty International, the World Bank, UN organisations, ambassadors of countries that have distanced themselves from the regime, exile groups etc. Contacts with the international press, radio and television are of course, also important. If these organisations become our supporters, the pressure of isolation is relieved somewhat. It also becomes easier to access the required resources.

Difficult ground

> *Sun Tzu said: March rapidly... Do not encamp... Keep pushing along the road.*

On difficult ground the party is exposed to unknown hazards. One does not enter into such situations with circumspection, as in the case of hemmed-in ground, but by accident, by movements that suddenly lead one into that territory.

The danger posed by the terrain comes without warning, giving no time for preparation. In a discussion involving politicians one may suddenly realise that one is insufficiently prepared and does not possess enough information. One is then liable to fall into traps and is unexpectedly vulnerable.

Alternatively, an issue that the party had not paid much heed to may suddenly catch the public eye. At such times the sole focus should be on changing the issue as quickly as possible. Sun Tzu advises that one should not encamp (not linger over an issue for too long) but push ahead rapidly along the road.

Difficult ground should not necessarily be avoided. A better approach is to develop the issue through observation and by obtaining information so as to improve on one's initial position.

Desolate ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Do not linger in desolate ground.*

Terrain of this nature emerges when issues lose their relevance or problems are resolved as a result of political actions or societal change. Sometimes parties fail to recognise this transition in time or continue to linger over certain issues for nostalgic reasons even though the issue is no longer of interest to anyone other than perhaps small minorities (especially within the party).

A typical case is the transformation from an agrarian society, which placed a high value on cattle breeding, to an industrial society, a service society or even an information society. In a modern society, anyone fighting for cattle breeder causes is fighting on desolate ground and will lose since he is fighting for the interests of a minority versus the majority.

> *In Germany, the "reunification policy" presented a similar example. When the Wall fell and reunification took place, politicians who had specialised on the issue became irrelevant and either had to reorient themselves or drop out of politics.*

Dangerous ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Plunder the resources of the enemy, and carefully guard your lines of supply to ensure regular reinforcements.*

This situation occurs when a political organisation has ventured into hostile territory, in other words issues that are an opponent's preserve. The important aspects here are to maintain a strong link with the party rank and file and to poach experts who previously worked for the opponent, thereby depriving him of his expertise.

For instance, a party that so far focused almost exclusively on rule of law and human rights issues and now wishes to venture into economic policy, must make sure that party members understand this move (ensure reinforcements). It must also weaken the opponent by poaching some of his experts or popular figures (plunder resources) so as to appear as a force to be reckoned with in that field. One may also attempt to get opinion leaders and multipliers to defect.

Sun Tzu goes a step further when he states that a wise general forages provisions from the enemy since reinforcement over long distances leads to impoverishment. Again, transferring these insights to the political arena, it means that if a new area is far removed from our previous activities, the expertise, personnel and other resources should be acquired "locally", i.e. emanating from the issue itself rather than diverting our own resources.

If a party is not successful in its new activities it will have to retreat to its main issues (home terrain). But such a move will entail a considerable loss of image. That is why this is known as dangerous ground.

Distant ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Avoid fighting at great distances since it can only bring small advantages to either side.*

On distant ground, both sides are away from their home base. It is wiser to avoid a confrontation in such cases. This can happen when two or more parties are fighting against a much more powerful party, as actually happened in Chile when Pinochet was

being removed. Opposition parties attempted to minimise their mutual conflicts to come together in a "Commando por el no" alliance that could present a combined front. Although every party could have achieved some minor advantages by opting out of the alliance, the big goal would not have been achieved. The formation of the opposition UNO alliance in Nicaragua against the Sandinistas and of the SDK to remove Meciar in the Slovak Republic are similar stories.

Deadly ground

> *Sun Tzu said: Fight...and make it known that there is no other means of surviving but to fight.*

This is not a situation that normally occurs. Given that the option of deserting or fleeing usually exists, there are few conceivable situations where it becomes necessary to move into such terrain. Under certain circumstances, however, pressure on political activists may be so great that there is no possibility of flight and the only option left is direct confrontation.

Repressive systems with restrictions on travel, dictatorships and other forms of suppression can collide with the right to resistance. Violent means may have to be used to bring down the regime.

13.4.3 Concentration of forces

For an offensive strategy to be effective, it is essential that one's forces are concentrated on a few but potent issues, rather than being dispersed by attempting to attack or defend many areas simultaneously. Usually there are not enough resources to do this. Concentrating on three to four areas of attack on one or more rivals makes it easier for voters to understand and keep track of the issues. A side benefit is that resources can be utilised according to plan.

Winning relative superiority

Once the issues have been whittled down, it is important to obtain relative superiority in each of the individual issues. Relative superiority can be planned. The issue itself can provide us with the edge, as can the selection of battlegrounds or even deception.

If the opponent is so tied down on certain issues that he is unable or unwilling to make any changes, one of these issues can be selected if we possess advantages in that area.

> *One very pertinent example involves the federal elections in Germany in 1998. The Social Democrat's chancellor candidate Schröder ran against the incumbent Christian Democrat, Kohl. After 16 years with Kohl at the helm, German voters wanted a change. Once the CDU decided to stay with Kohl, the SPD concentrated all its efforts on projecting the "new" and "youthful" chancellor to replace the "old" one. The SPD hardly bothered about any other issues. It had recognised its relative superiority in*

that one area and exploited it to the hilt. The SPD won the elections.

One can also achieve relative superiority by selecting the right battlegrounds. These are areas in which one has strong alliance partners or areas that one was the first to take up or possess competence in.

> *Example: If we are natural alliance partners of the trade unions, we will be in a position of relative superiority when entering the fray on issues such as "fighting unemployment". At least the normal voter would interpret it this way.*

> *Example: On the issue of "creating new jobs", it is helpful to be a partner of industry since this provides relative superiority.*

> *Example: On an issue such as the "decommissioning of nuclear power plants", a party that has a long and competent record on dealing with alternative sources of energy and their promotion has a relative edge in comparison with other parties that have no expertise in the field.*

Relative superiority is achieved by not letting rivals know, and in fact deceiving them about the area in which one intends to launch an offensive.

Safeguarding battle plans and creating diversions

Feints divert the opponent's defence to an area we have no intention of attacking. Naturally, we can only deceive an opponent if he is not aware of our actual intentions.

> *Sun Tzu said: The spot where we intend to fight must not be made known; for then the enemy will have to prepare against a possible attack at several different points; and his forces being thus distributed in many directions, the numbers we shall have to face at any given point will be proportionately few.*

Keeping battle plans confidential is a major problem for democratic parties and governments. Plans are often drawn up in a process that is substantially democratic or at least legitimised through the resolution of a party organ. Many people are thus aware of what is being planned. Therefore there can be no question of confidentiality.

> *Sometimes one can read about a party's strategy in the newspapers. This of course provides opponents with ample opportunity to nip the strategy in the bud since they will attack and destroy the strategy rather than confront the party.[79]*

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[78] See also Chapter 20.3: Security and safeguarding information.
[79] See also Chapter 13.3: Priorities for sub strategies.

The politician's habit of making announcements poses another kind of problem. Governments also tend to favour this approach. A policy is not implemented, it is only announced. Nothing much tends to happen after the announcement. At any rate, the announced strategic move is usually never implemented.

> *Example: A party announces that in future it will distance itself from former coalition partners. It then takes this announcement as fact and does nothing further to distance itself. The intention is mistaken for the deed.*

It is safe to say that it is the exception rather than the rule for political strategies to really remain secret. The reasons have already been discussed and relate to quasi democratic processes of strategy formulation involving far too many people. A second reason is the internal pressure exerted by politicians to feed the media stories about these strategic deliberations. A third reason is that there are always deviating opinions within a party or government and internal opponents divulge the strategy to opponents in order to undermine it. Party rules and discipline are usually not stringent enough to provide deterrent punishment to the renegades.

13.4.4 Policy of offence

> *Sun Tzu said: Those who cannot win must defend themselves, those who can win must attack.*

> *To secure ourselves against defeat lies in our own hands, but the opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself.*

This makes it clear that victory cannot be achieved without attacking the opponent. Many social and political groups continue to believe that they will be able to bring about changes in society without confronting their opponents. This attitude is widely prevalent among non-governmental organisations who aim to do "good" work in a defined area. It is also found among certain parties who reject methods that employ the creation of enemies or bogeymen, believing that the "goodness" of their party programme will allow them to prevail over opponents without a fight.

In cases where this has actually happened, it was others who fought and the NGOs and parties who profited. In real life, the losers are usually those who do not want to attack.

> *An example drawn from outside the political sphere that demonstrates the need to attack is a game of football. One can only win the game if one attacks and attempts to land the ball in the opponent's goal. Simply defending one's own goal will not fetch that result.*

Various changes – in production methods, producers, balance of trade, import and export flows – require an aggressive approach by governments. However, this response is inadequately developed, resulting in defensive postures that lead to negative outcomes for a country.

> *The defensive responses of governments are in full evidence when trade barriers, duties and other obstructions are put in place to counter import flows, as the EU did in the agricultural sector or when it introduced export subsidies to tide over difficulties in exports. By adopting such measures, governments are reacting defensively instead of taking to the offence and demanding new and more competitive products from producers of export goods.*

> *The same attitude is displayed by parties developing new policies that amount merely to tinkering with the social security system instead of having the courage to deal with the problems offensively by proposing a sweeping general reform.*

New products that are suitable for offensive policies can only be created through innovation. Old products and political solutions are automatically pushed on the defensive as time passes. "Old" and "new" here are not references to the date of manufacture or development. Old means already introduced and no longer successful, while new means not yet introduced and put into practice. The product itself can be chronologically old.

The need to attack is often misunderstood to mean that the opponent should be maligned and a negative campaign initiated. This is a big mistake. In politics, attack could mean wooing away an opponent's voters or supporters. This cannot be achieved by a negative campaign. Even if the campaign manages to break voters away from the opponent's party it does not mean that those voters will switch to us. Usually, negative campaigns lead to a "circle the wagons" effect. See also Chapter 12.6.

13.4.5 Niche strategies

Instead of offensive strategies that are aimed at direct confrontation with political opponents, small parties can also pursue strategies to avoid direct confrontations. These are called niche strategies. The small party in such cases identifies a niche that is considered highly significant by a defined and restricted segment of the population, but which is of no interest to the larger parties. Such niche strategies are well suited to enable certain parties to survive major upheavals.

> *The Democratic Party (DP) in South Africa was one such party following the end of apartheid. The DP, a predominantly white party that consistently opposed apartheid, had to accept a poor and disappointing showing although it had believed it could win handsomely. This never happened because the black population*

preferred its own black parties (ANC and Inkatha), while the white population was more attracted by parties that promised to defend its interests. Liberal and democratic values were not an issue at the time since they appeared to have already been achieved. The DP then opted for a niche policy focusing on these very values and was thus able to survive. In the 1999 elections it grew to become the strongest opposition party against the ANC.

13.4.6 Alternation between direct and indirect forces

When planning strategy we distinguish between direct and indirect forces. Direct forces are the activities and moves of the party or organisation that are also recognisable as such. In addition, there is the opportunity of utilising indirect forces. These refer to actions and moves by organisations that are not directly attributable to them.

Such actions are carried out by affiliated organisations, for example voter initiatives, alliance partners, youth organisations and occasionally clubs and associations that were founded with this purpose much earlier and are revived during elections.

As mentioned in the previous section, there is no point in a political party directly attacking another party through a negative campaign. But negative or smear campaigns can be carried out through indirect forces that cannot be linked with the attacking party.

Names such as "Association for clean politics," "Association to fight corruption," "Foundation for morals and ethics in politics," "Movement for greater democracy," etc. are examples of such indirect forces.

These organisations are covertly managed by forces within the party. They begin circulating certain issues, initiate negative campaigns against politicians and parties and, in general, are available for all activities that the party does not wish to carry out itself for fear of negative repercussions.

Sometimes this deception goes so far that the attacking party (direct force) publicly stands up to defend politicians attacked by the cover organisation (indirect force), while it actually initiated and is responsible for the attack.

The interaction between direct and indirect forces is very varied and fluid so that citizens remain unaware that the two are actually linked.

13.5 Evaluating strategy formulation

Once strategies have been selected and properly formulated they must be evaluated. The first step is to evaluate whether the selected strategies directly contribute to winning or achieving the mission, or if certain strategic steps have nothing to do with the mission.

During the process of developing and formulating strategies, quite often strategies emerge that are not effective for the main issues, but which are relevant for secondary issues or the fancies of some planners.

> *Example: Attempts are often made to reorganise a party during an election campaign. Yet the one has little to do with the other and should be carried out as part of a separate strategy when there are no elections.*

> *Example: Attempts are constantly made to link general educational programmes for citizens with elections. In many cases this is actually counterproductive since voters do not like to be "taught" by those whose fate they will decide (elections are a time when the tables are turned and voters feel they have the power over politicians). Instead, efforts should be focused on the mission and goal.*

> *Example: Frequently attempts are made to orchestrate solutions to problems as an election campaign. Example: Party X builds a children's' playground. In reality, the objective is to inspire hope that solutions will be found and to entice voters with the hope rather than the deed.*

It is therefore important to verify whether all the selected strategies are directed at the overall goal of the master strategy or also at other undefined goals.

13.5.1 Subjective evaluation to determine accomplishment of the mission

A subjective evaluation of whether the mission was achieved or not depends on the subjective assessment by the strategic planner of whether the individual strategies fit together, whether strategic advantages exist and if the timing is right. These evaluations cannot be carried out scientifically. There is a confluence of many factors that aid the strategy planner in arriving at an assessment. Experience, intuition, the ability to "sniff" out the right strategy and the opportunity to implement it, all play a role here along with the ability to read the reactions of the opposing side and all participants.

Subjective evaluation cannot be described more closely here since it depends entirely on the situation at hand and on the intuition of the strategic planner. There may well be strategies that a planner has employed successfully before but suddenly feels will not work in the context. Or he may always have hesitated to employ a certain strategy but is convinced of its feasibility in one particular case.

Subjective evaluations should answer the following questions:

1. Is there a fit between the individual strategies?
2. Are there any strategies that possess a strategic advantage?

3. Can the individual strategies be coordinated in terms of time, and is the time frame suitable in relation to the external environment?

13.5.2 Objective evaluation

Objective evaluations are based more on measurable data. The strategic planner's subjective instincts play no role here. The following questions need to be asked:

1. Do we know how much leeway we have on each of the selected issues?

2. Are the financial costs reasonable in relation to the desired result?

3. Are the personnel costs reasonable in relation to the desired result?

4. Are the relative strengths of the competitors distributed such that winning is more or less assured?

5. Can the selected strategy actually be implemented?

If the questions relating to the subjective and objective evaluations receive positive responses we can take it that the selected strategies will be effective and the mission will be achieved. If, on the other hand, the evaluation gives rise to grave doubts and the answers to important questions are inadequate, the strategy should be formulated afresh.

If even reformulation does not result in a satisfactory response to the questionnaires, we can assume that the mission will not be achieved. If this occurs, mission feedback is necessary and the mission must be reformulated.

It is the responsibility of the strategic planner at this point to advise against obduracy or a "close your eyes and soldier on" approach, as too many financial, personnel and image-related resources are at stake if a strategy recognised to be defective is implemented.

> *Sun Tzu said: The art of war is of vital importance to the State. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected.*

Following the selection, formulation and evaluation of the sub strategies, the next important step is to implement them. There are two options for implementation. Option 1 is implementation based on the goals from which the activities are subsequently derived (see Chapter 14). Option 2 is implementation based on the target image (see Chapter 15).

14. Defining the Goals

Sub strategies are implemented using goals that are developed from the sub strategies themselves. A sub strategy can be broken down into many goals. It is important that the targeted goals are truly along the same lines as the sub strategies.

14.1 Formulating the goals

Sometimes there is difficulty in formulating goals, although the principle itself is quite simple. A goal is the description of a state that is achieved after completion of some activities. A goal contains a quantitative component that is accompanied by a deadline. It is also essential that the quantitative component is measurable. Goals that cannot be measured are not acceptable as goals. Moreover, the planner should only formulate goals for which it is possible to assign responsibility. The tactical unit responsible for the goal must therefore be mentioned.

Goals are derived from the sub strategies. And, as discussed earlier, sub strategies are derived from strengths or weaknesses. We obtain the following table:

Weakness	Sub strategy	Goal
Insufficient funds	We obtain donations from companies/industry by leveraging our competence on economic issues.	By 1.10.xx we have received US $ 200,000 in donations. (Fund raising group).
Members are not sufficiently motivated.	We develop motivation among members.	By 1.7.xx 40% of our members have enlisted for voluntary campaign work. (Internal communications department).
Our programme is outdated on health issues.	We develop a modern health programme.	By 1.3.xx a modern health programme has been developed and approved. (Programme department)

The table illustrates how a sub strategy is developed from a weakness and how it is then transformed into a tactical goal. In the chosen examples, all goals were simple to measure. In practice, one sometimes comes across situations where this is more difficult or requires considerable effort.

Weakness	Sub strategy	Goal
Poor media presence resulting from poor media relations.	We improve our media relations.	Option 1: two press releases a day are issued with immediate effect. (Press department). Option 2: we appear in

Weakness	Sub strategy	Goal
		newspapers A, B,…E at least thrice a week in reports that we have initiated with the media. (Press department). Option 3: we appear in reports in newspapers A, B,…E at least thrice a week. (Press department).

Discussion of the options:

Option 1 sets a goal for our work. We can verify whether two press releases have been issued every day by those responsible for media relations. This, however, provides no information on quality and the success rate. None of the press releases may ever actually be published.

Option 2 is success-oriented. The quantity of releases published in certain newspapers is measured, as also where they originated from. This is a correctly formulated goal and when accomplished provides information on whether the weakness has been eliminated.

Option 3 focuses on the quantity of articles, without being concerned about their source. This would imply that a political party undergoing internal power struggles and consequently receiving negative coverage in the media on a daily basis would have achieved its goal. However, this would not reflect the intention of the sub strategy nor eliminate the weakness. It is also clear that the press department, which is the tactical unit in this case, only has limited influence and can therefore not be held responsible.

Weakness	Sub strategy	Goal
We have a negative image component, i.e. "disputes within the party"	We change our image to "united".	Option 1: by 1 1.9.xx, 40% of voters believe that we are a united party. (PR department). Option 2: by 1.9.xx, 80% of our potential voters believe that we are a united party. (PR department). Option 3: by 1.5.xx, all disputes within the party are resolved. (Party executive committee).

Option 1 delineates the correct direction. The "unity" component is accepted by 40% of voters. If this is an improvement vis-à-vis earlier figures, the goal in terms of the sub strategy can be considered to have been accomplished.

Option 2 has a goal that involves a better implementation of the sub strategy since the actual potential voters of the party, who are the ones who really matter in the end, are used as a baseline. However, it is difficult to get such results confirmed through simple surveys. Option 1 is therefore preferable if no elaborate survey was planned.

Alternative 3 is not a goal in terms of the sub strategy. The sub strategy is directed only at changing the image and not the reality. One can project the party as united even if it actually is not. (It is not the actual situation that is important, but what people believe.) The other point to be borne in mind is that while a party may manage to resolve internal conflicts, its image may not improve merely by doing this.

Weakness	Sub strategy	Goal
We have insufficient potential voters.	We improve our potential by stepping up our activities in the area of "social policy".	Option 1: by 1.8.xx, our potential voters have increased by 10%. (PR department). Option 2: by 1.8.xx, our potential voters amount to 60% of total voters. (PR department). Option 3: by 1.8.xx, 30% of voters have acknowledged our commitment in the field of social policy. (PR department).

Option 1 focuses on increasing the number of potential voters. Although the potential is increased, there is no indication whether this is sufficient for our strategy. There is also no link to "social policy".

Option 2 specifies a target of 60%. This can be measured through surveys. The goal is thus correctly formulated in terms of the sub strategy, but it does not link up with activities in the area of social policy as required in the sub strategy.

Option 3 provides feedback on our visibility in the area of "social policy". This goal is therefore correctly formulated in terms of the sub strategy.

14.2 Goals as the transition from strategy to tactics

Goals are the link between strategy and tactics. We often speak of "tactical" goals. Thus, when a goal is formulated, a task is simultaneously assigned to a tactical unit[80]. The tactical unit is the organisational unit that is responsible for achieving the goal. In exceptional cases, where it is not possible to list a unit, project groups can be used. In organisations that have specific departments, tactical units are defined through their job

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[80] See also Chapter 3.2.1: Demarcation between tactical planning and strategic planning.

description[81]. Areas of responsibility include logistics, finance, media, PR, programme development, materials management etc. All these units are assigned tasks depending on the tactical goals. For planners this means that the goals must be sliced up such that they can be accomplished by one tactical unit alone. A situation in which several tactical units are responsible for one goal needs to be disentangled, so that responsibility is unambiguously defined. In smaller organisations, several tactical units may be combined and placed under the charge of one person.

At a later point, operations and activities are derived with reference to other specifications such as target groups, key instruments and communication channels. This finally results in a complete timetable of operational plans (master plan)[82].

14.3 Evaluating the formulation of goals

Just as the sub strategies, the formulation of goals too, must be subject to evaluation. The main issue here is to maintain a realistic perspective.

The following questions should be answered:

1. Is the goal correctly formulated? Is there a deadline, a measurable quantitative component and a designated tactical unit?
2. Can the goal realistically be achieved in the specified time?
3. Can the quantitative aspects of the goal be achieved?
4. Can the goal be achieved by the tactical unit alone without assistance?
5. Has the goal deadline been realistically incorporated in other time schedules?
6. Has the goal been assigned to the right tactical unit?

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[81] See also Chapter 22: Organisation of political parties, campaigns and election campaigns.
[82] See also Chapter 21: Deriving activities from goals.

15 Target image

The second way of implementing strategy is to go the target image route. This mainly involves focusing on the selected issues and battlegrounds, i.e. the strengths. In other words, we plan our attack based on the target image. We want to build an image of ourselves in the minds of our audience that is better than that of our competitors, with better issues, better solutions, better individuals and greater competence.

15.1 Function of the target image

Every organisation, every political party, every candidate has a certain image in the environment in which they operate. This image is the picture of an organisation that people or voters have in their minds at that particular moment. Sometimes that picture is still blank. This means that people do not know the organisation or person and are hence unable to form an impression of them in their mind.

Familiarity is thus a precondition for creating an image. It is possible, of course, that the public perception of a known person or group may not be positive. Rightly or wrongly, certain elements that are disadvantageous for an individual's or organisation's future activities may have become part of the picture.

> *A candidate whose image is that of a ruthless careerist will find it hard to sell himself as a caring and earnest politician.*
>
> *An organisation with the image of having close links to scandals and criminals will find it difficult to project itself at the forefront of a crusade against corruption.*

The target image, or the desired image, is thus the image that we wish to create in the minds of our clients, voters or specific target groups. It is distinct from the actual or current image in that it contains no negative image components.

The target image is therefore the picture that is sought to be created in the minds of the target persons through a host of activities and public relations work. It must be positive in that it must promote achievement of the mission, but it must not be so far-fetched and removed from the actual image of a candidate or organisation as to become illusory. Changing images in the minds of people is a very difficult operation. A change can only be achieved through persistence and by repeatedly hammering in the same messages with sustained tenacity.

Creating a first time image involves establishing a certain amount of familiarity and building specific image components. At this stage it is important not to paint a wrong picture simply to enhance the degree of recognition. This is a mistake often made in practice. Organisations or candidates are initially only concerned with becoming known and practically any means to that end are acceptable. They thus choose highly controversial issues on which their statements are sure to be reported by the media or

perform activities that are certain to result in pictures in the press. The issues or activities are often not in tune with the desired future image of the party or candidate.

> *A political party in Turkey led by a prominent businessman quickly caught the attention of large sections of the population by focussing on issues such as the army, the Kurds etc. Although this resulted in a clear positioning and image for the party, it was detrimental as far as its electoral fate was concerned. This focus gave it the image of being sympathetic towards the Kurds while not being a Kurdish party, and this fact simultaneously made it "suspect" for the Turkish population.*

15.2 Positioning

The target image must clearly position the organisation or candidate in their environment. In other words, the person or organisation that requires positioning must become recognisable through the target image. There are three aspects to positioning:

1. **Broadly situating the party or candidate.** Here it is important to clearly identify the organisation, its values, whether it is in the government or opposition or whether it is a group outside the political sphere.

2. **The vision** describes the future. It is restricted to a few key elements (four political areas at most) and contains a clear-cut differentiation vis-à-vis opponents when on the offensive**.** The vision describes the state that the organisation or candidate wishes to achieve. The vision must support voting decisions or decisions for political action. This means that the advantages must be made apparent to the person who is making the decision.

3. **Creating personal trust.** This aspect involves projecting the active persons, groups or individual candidates. The description must inspire confidence in the persons and their competence.

In attack mode, all elements of the target image must be geared towards highlighting differences vis-à-vis the opponent, but without showing the opposition in a negative light. The focus must only be on positioning oneself positively as opposed to other competitors or rivals.

15.3 Decision-making: rational or emotional

We use the target image to influence decisions by the decision-maker. But we must first understand how decisions come about, what the process leading up to a decision involves, how the final decision is taken in an individual's brain and how this decision is then translated into action.

15.3.1 Voting decisions

The view that man's decisions and actions are guided by reason and intellect is propounded in numerous publications. According to this theory, also referred to as rational choice theory, man balances costs against benefits and is guided by the principle of maximising personal advantage. He attempts to obtain a maximum of success, benefit or pleasure.

While humans act according to cost-benefit calculations, their decisions are also influenced by rationality and emotion. Consequently, in his decision-making, man partly behaves as a *homo economicus*[83], although the final decision is, in effect, emotional in terms of the endowment effect and risk aversion. The decision-maker who is guided only by considerations of utility thus no longer exists in pure theory. Yet the utility function continues to be an important factor, though not the only one.

The endowment effect[84] relates to the value of a good that one owns being perceived as higher than the value of a good one does not own, even though the objective value is the same. As a result, owners tend to strongly defend their property. In political situations involving a reduction in subsidies or tax hikes, the ensuing response is a disproportionate, emotional rejection that is not commensurate with the true value of the issue.

An additional factor is the fear of risk. This implies that persons will continue to behave in a certain way even if costs increase if they perceive an incalculable risk in relation to their behaviour. This is due to the short-sightedness of human behaviour, which prefers to maintain the status quo. Much greater importance is attached to events that are nearer in time than those that are further away. This is the reason why immediate goals are pursued more readily than long term ones, regardless of how convincing the arguments are for the long term goals. In the same way, tangible rewards or promises outweigh long term ones, even though these may be much bigger. That is why we have the popular saying, "A bird in hand is worth two in the bush."

This behaviour assumes dramatic proportions at the political level when it comes to major reforms with slow and difficult adjustment processes. It is usually more or less impossible to implement such reforms in a participatory society with regular elections, unless all parties agree to bypass the citizens to implement a necessary reform. This would, however, be an absolute exception because all parties have their eyes on short term electoral gains and lose sight of long term societal goals.

> *Example: We have a poorly developed ability to envision a future*
> *with radical changes. Even Henry Ford complained that had he*

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[83] In his book "*Types of men: the psychology and ethics of personality*" (1914), Eduard Spranger used the term *homo economicus* to describe a type of *homo sapiens*, who in the broadest sense values utility most in all relationships. "He sees everything as a means for self-preservation, an aid in the natural struggle for existence and. a possibility to render life pleasant."

[84] Jack L. Knetsch: *The Endowment Effect and Evidence of Nonreversible Indifference Curve.* In: *The American Economic Review;* Vol. 79, No. 5, Dec. 1989, p. 1277–1284

asked the people what they wanted, they would have said "faster horses" but never "a car."

To understand the fundamental difference between cars and horses the customers had to stop comparing both with one another. Only then were they in a position to really understand the advantages that both offered. The fact that horses have not become extinct goes to show that cars are not better horses, they are simply cars[85].

We have a similar situation today with politicians who want to replace a highly complex and unwieldy system of taxation involving several social transfers with a system of "negative income tax". This is inconceivable for citizens because their first response is to protect their property, i.e. all possible social transfers. The system of negative income tax is not comparable with the complex taxation system and social transfers; it is a new concept. However, as long as citizens (and even politicians) are not prepared to stop comparing, implementation will be impossible due to the reasons cited above.

In his book *Aus Sicht des Gehirns*[86] (From the perspective of the brain), behavioural psychologist Prof. Gerhard Roth says that rationality is embedded in the basic affective, emotional structure of behaviour. The limbic system decides the extent to which intellect and reason come into play.

Limbic system[87]

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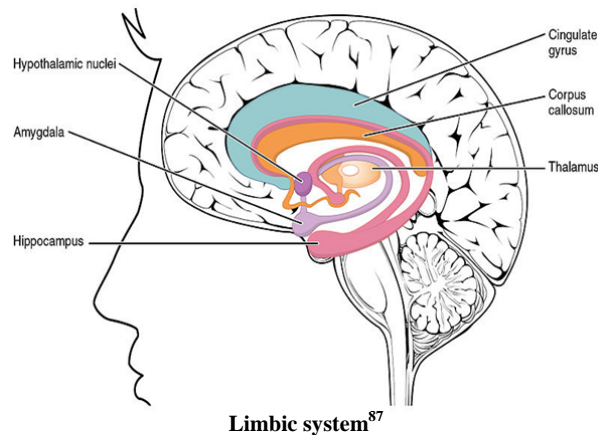
[85] Jörg Gerschlauer in http://www.boersenblatt.net/350172/template/bb_tpl_blog_libreka/

[86] (2009) Gerhard Roth: *Aus Sicht des Gehirns.* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt ISBN 978-3-518-29515-1

[87] Source of the picture: The Limbic Lobe by OpenStax College CC BY 3.0, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1511_The_Limbic_Lobe.jpg#metadata

Cost-benefit optimisation is not the most important criterion for human decisions and actions; rather these are determined by the acting individual's desire to maintain an emotional state that is as stable and internally consistent as possible.

If we transfer these insights to electoral behaviour and to formulating our offer in terms of a target image, we come to the following conclusions:

1. We must make concrete offers because cost-benefit considerations are always present at a fundamental level. If the offer lacks clear goals, it will not even be weighed up rationally, which is the first step towards an emotional evaluation.

2. If we intend to change a status quo, we must first find out if the change will threaten voters in terms of what they "own". Such changes must be formulated in a way that they highlight immediate advantages, even if these are small.

3. The overwhelming majority of voters have no, or at best a low appetite for risk. Consequently offers associated with incalculable risks for ordinary citizens are not attractive. In the event that the risks are obvious, the party or the politician must prominently highlight their competence in resolving the problem without risk. When voters make voting decisions, they want to feel they are in safe hands. For that they need safe orientation points and leadership personalities, who they believe will be able to lead them through the complex problems of a society they no longer understand. These considerations create a desire for safety, which includes the following elements:

   a. Trust

   b. Reliability

   c. Credibility.

Under ordinary circumstances voters tend to feel that they lack the necessary knowledge base (information, linkages, awareness of alternatives and impact on the social environment) for taking decisions on complex issues. One option therefore is to simplistically and radically narrow down various alternatives so that voters with all their prejudices and prior perceptions – however wrong these may be – can take refuge in a stable world view that is free of contradictions. Simplistic solutions of this nature are offered by parties that are radical, xenophobic and hostile to minorities. They put up scapegoats, making them responsible for all problems, and establish deterministic, monocausal relationships. Once voters are at this stage it becomes very difficult to reach out to them through more sophisticated communication between political actors and citizens, and the content of the target image will hardly convince them to realign their actions.

A second option is to reach out to opinion leaders. Such persons support the general process of mass communication as "experts" (see also Chapter 16.8). These opinion leaders are sought out for their views by voters from their own social milieu, who are looking for direction. Their opinion is received and accepted as a recommendation for action. If we nurture a dense network of opinion leaders, it is possible to create orientation points for action even among groups that no longer understand the linkages

in a complex system. Such networks of opinion leaders play a very important role in countries with high illiteracy or in countries lacking open communication or access to information. In such cases parties and politicians must build up networks of opinion leaders and nurture these closely and over long periods of time.

15.4 Supporting the motives for decisions

Anyone who decides on a certain course of action, whether it is supporting or perhaps becoming a member of an organisation or voting for a party or candidate, has reasons that motivate him or her to take this decision. It is irrelevant here whether individuals are aware of their motivations. In fact, as the previous chapter demonstrates, voting decisions are more likely to be emotional rather than rational.

The target image must provide clear reasons for political action or voting. This implies that the motivating factors must be carefully analysed beforehand by addressing these questions:

1. Which reasons make a citizen decide to vote for a candidate, political party or organisation?
2. How can these reasons be supported?

The motivating factors for political action are usually to be found in the areas outlined below. One can distinguish between behaviour which is externally influenced and that which is self-motivated.

1. Traditional attitudes resulting from established patterns in the social environment. (Family, tribe etc.).
2. Attitudes influenced by multipliers or leading figures.
3. Opposition towards social structures and iconic figures or the social environment. (Protest voters).
4. Confidence in the competence of a person or organisation to solve problems that are of concern to the target individual.
5. Material profits for oneself or the immediate social environment.
6. Image enhancement in the social environment through specific actions.
7. Heightened self esteem when there is agreement with internalised orders and prohibitions.
8. Approval of one's self image.
9. Recognition for the achievements of the target person.
10. Fear of pressure.

Motivations for decisions in favour of a particular person, political party or organisation or for certain actions differ widely in different cultures and societies due to differences

in education, experience and social ties. Determining the motivating factors is thus an important analytical exercise prior to planning and implementing political strategies.

The analysis of motivating factors is often kept secret particularly in political processes that are directed against a political ideal that is new and alien. The alienated elite either conceal the cultural barriers to this ideal or are unwilling to discuss them openly.

> *This may happen if, for instance, a pluralistic party system is undermined because decisions are based on tribal ties, or if buying votes is a culturally accepted - or even imperative - practice, or when the introduction of a market economy fails due to the absence of the profit motive.*

Surveys and discussions with Western educated elite are thus not particularly conducive to uncovering the motivations for decision making in other societies; in fact, they can even prove counter-productive. Such an understanding can only grow by immersing oneself in the society in question and through frank discussions with analysts of the local situation – not sociologists and political scientists but rather taxi drivers, doctors, waiters etc.

15.5 Need satisfaction arguments

Satisfying needs is an important reason for taking decisions. People who are to be persuaded to act politically (elections, commitment, participation etc.) have different needs. These needs in turn are dependent on upbringing, education, social circumstances and many other conditioning factors. One can generally state that all humans are individuals with different needs of differing intensity. Within society there are groups that have similar need structures. These can be addressed with arguments that satisfy their needs.

15.5.1 Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Maslow[88] developed a hierarchy of needs model, at the top of which is the need for self actualisation. Sheer survival, or the need to satisfy physiological needs, is the lowest in the hierarchy. Once the needs of one level are satisfied, the needs at the next level are given priority. There are different theories on the structure of needs ranging from assumptions of a mosaic like composition of individual needs to a holistic individual needs system in which needs are viewed as discrete elements of an existing need orientation. Maslow postulated a hierarchy in the shape of a pyramid.

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[88] Prof. Abraham Harold Maslow (1908-1970): *Hierarchy of the Prepotency of Human Needs*; USA; *Motivation and Personality*; New York, 1970; *Psychologie des Seins*, Munich, 1973.
[89] Clark Leonhard Hull, American psychologist, 1884-1952.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs
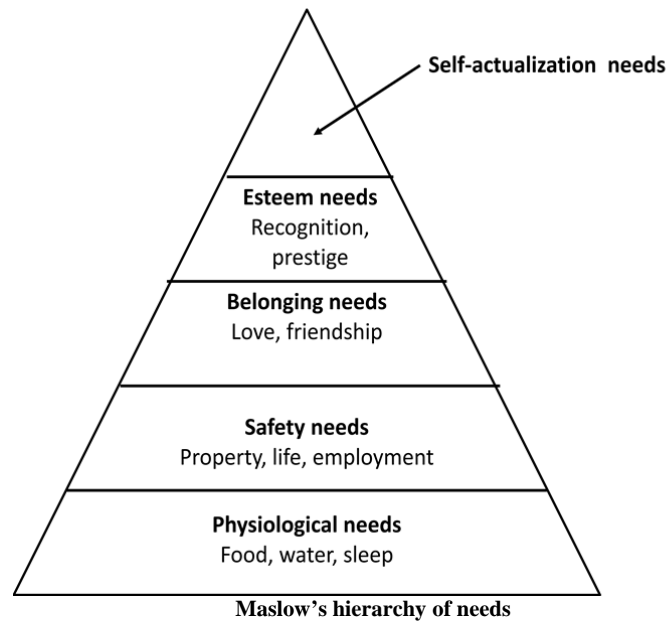
The lowest level comprises the **physiological needs,** namely eating, drinking, sleeping, sex and everything that is related to physical existence. At the second level are the **safety and security needs**. This means having shelter, being physically comfortable and secure. At the third level are the **love and belonging needs**, in other words, friends, belongingness, acceptance. These needs are closely linked to other needs that are needed for psychological survival. At the fourth level are the **esteem needs**. These include recognition, power, prestige and status. Only once these needs are fulfilled, do higher human goals such as **intellectual, aesthetic and self actualisation needs** come up. These include needs such as knowledge, learning, understanding, beauty, creativity, self-actualisation and self determination.

15.5.2 Focus on three levels of political needs

It is useful to reduce the hierarchy of needs to three levels if we apply it to needs that can be fulfilled through political actions and programmes. This makes the picture simpler and easier to implement in strategic planning, while not leading to any significant loss in the application of Maslow's framework.

In terms of what can be politically achieved, needs can be divided into three main categories: basic needs, social needs and post material needs.

Basic needs

Basic needs designate all vital needs that directly or indirectly contribute to a person's survival. The primary basic needs are:

1. Eating

2. Drinking

3. Sleeping.

In a society based on the division of labour, as it exists today, the following aspects are added to the basic needs:

1. Employment as a means of earning and thereby a means of survival for a person or the family.

2. Housing as a place to live and to sleep.

3. Protection against attacks on life and property (which man needs to survive).

The political key words relating to these basic needs therefore are:

1. Provision of food at prices and locations accessible to all.

2. Provision of water in adequate quantity and quality at prices and locations accessible to all.

3. Provision of housing in adequate quantity and quality at prices and locations accessible to all.

4. Poverty alleviation, if the non fulfilment of basic needs is due to poverty.

5. Provision of jobs for those seeking employment.

6. Prevention of crime to protect life and property.

If there are problems in meeting the basic needs of a society or those of a significant section of that society, these problems must at the very least be recognised and their articulation should receive priority.

Social needs

Social needs cover all those needs that are associated with co-existence in a society. Being part of a community provides a certain amount of security for people not living in a modern state with a social security system. The following questions need to be asked with regard to the fulfilment of social needs:

1. What happens when people grow old and are no longer able to fend for themselves?

2. What happens when people become sick or have an accident and are unable to look after themselves any longer or for a certain period of time?

3. What happens when people are unemployed and are therefore unable to fend for themselves?

4. What happens with regard to medical treatment when people are ill?

5. What happens when single parents have to bring up children because one parent has disappeared or sought divorce?

The answers to these questions will vary diametrically in different societies. They will depend partly on whether the family structure is still intact or whether there are social security systems within tribes or guild-like organisations. In societies with functioning social sub systems like extended families or effective structures within the tribes, usually only the healthcare system needs to be addressed at the political level.

On the other hand, if such systems have largely been broken up or are slowly dying out due to competing systems offered by the state, the questions posed above will require a political response.

The political key words relating to social needs therefore are:

1. Old age provisions, pension and care for the aged
2. Medical insurance, accident insurance or healthcare systems
3. Unemployment insurance, welfare aid, employment generation measures
4. Public health systems, public hospitals
5. Assistance for single parents, legal safeguards

Despite the importance of social needs in many societies, the fulfilment of basic needs assumes priority. This merely means that for societies grappling with enormous problems in meeting basic needs, social needs are secondary in people's consciousness, unless the social system (public or private) is able to satisfy these basic needs.

> *The following example illustrates this: For a starving person who can expect to die soon unless he gets something to eat, the functioning of a healthcare system is absolutely secondary since it does not help him satisfy his pressing basic needs.*

Post material needs

Post material needs are those that arise after physiological and psychological survival have been ensured. Many issues, which are mainly raised by liberal parties, are covered under this:

1. Rule of law
2. Constitution
3. Peace
4. Freedom

5. Justice

6. Protection of natural resources since they are the basis of life

7. Participation

8. Education

9. Self actualisation

10. Democracy

The list can go on. A curious fact about post material needs is that under certain circumstances they can shift along the hierarchy and sometimes even become basic needs. In some cases this is fairly straightforward, in other cases it is more difficult to follow.

Peace is an obvious case. The absence of peace, in other words armed conflict and war, becomes a serious problem for people if their lives are directly endangered. In such a situation, the post material need for peace turns into a basic need. This does not apply to all who are affected, however. If it did, we would not see confrontations lasting for years and there would be no political support for warring parties.

A more complex issue is the protection of natural resources, including environmental protection.

> *If environmental degradation is so advanced that it becomes impossible to obtain drinking water, environmental protection in that particular region shifts to the level of a basic need since an important prerequisite for life is no longer available.*

It is a different story as far as poor people in the rain forest are concerned. It is difficult to convince them of the need for environmental protection since their concern is their survival and that of their families. This basic need is more immediate for them than environmental protection.

A similar problem arises if a company has to be closed down because it causes too much environmental damage. Employees who face unemployment, and sometimes trade unions too, try and defend their basic or social needs by protesting against such environmentally beneficial measures.

There are also interesting aspects to basic need fulfilment in situations where there is a struggle for freedom and democracy against a dictatorship. People participating in struggles against dictatorships usually have very personal reasons related to protecting their lives and property. Their struggle for freedom and democracy at first sight appears primarily to be a struggle for post material needs. In fact, however, these apparent needs often obscure other material or social needs. Once the dictatorship has been removed the picture changes immediately. Democracy and freedom once again revert to being

post material needs and the struggle for basic and social needs once again gains primacy.

Communication and needs

Need structures are significant for political communication. Vera F. Birkenbihl has extensively discussed the link in several of her books[90]. As long as needs at a lower level are not met, attempts to communicate at one of the higher levels are difficult or even impossible. This simply means that it is very difficult to communicate about democracy and franchise with someone who is hungry, because survival issues are more important to him.

Communication with voters must be planned according to their need structures and harmonised with one's own intentions (party programme or candidate's leanings) if one is to stand any chance of being able to communicate in political processes, political debates and during elections.

15.5.3 Problem of heterogeneous societies

As discussed above, needs change over time as social structures change. Such changes do not always affect all social groups equally. These factors coupled with the cultural differences in different societies result in a range of need combinations for different countries. This implies that in every society there will always be groups that are more focused on their basic needs, others that will be interested in meeting their social needs while still others will wish to satisfy their post material needs. Campaign strategy planning therefore has to contend with the fact that different needs will coexist in every society. A few typical examples of different societies are discussed below.

Example 1:

Highly underdeveloped country with classic and functional extended family and tribal/clan structures; predominantly rural and agrarian; low degree of urbanisation; services, trade and administration mainly in urban regions. Migration to urban centres is on the rise due to a growth in population in rural areas.

The following need structures will be found in such societies:

1. Heightened focus on basic needs in rural regions and in urban areas where migration is taking place.

2. Low priority accorded to social needs (except for the healthcare system) in rural areas since extended family and tribe structures prevent social deficits from becoming apparent. Heightened focus on social needs in urban areas due to high unemployment and the lack of social security systems where contacts with the tribal structures have broken down.

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[90] Vera F.Birkenbihl: *Kommunikationstraining*, moderne verlagsgesellschaft mbH.

3. Post material needs predominate among the administrative and economic elite in the cities. Very low, nascent post material needs orientation in rural regions spurred by criticism of the educational system and infrastructure by NGOs.

Example 2:

Highly industrialised country with effective social security system but rising unemployment, high social transfers, heavy tax burden, social security system at risk due to overburdening. Highly urbanised but no regional, social flashpoints. Small families and single households predominate.

The following need structures will be found in such societies:

1. Low focus on basic needs, existing primarily among social fringe groups and the unemployed and reflected primarily in the housing situation.

2. Highly developed social needs which take on existential connotations since the social security system is at risk – posing a threat to basic needs. High taxes and the threat to old age security provisions affect a large section of the population.

3. There is highly developed post material focus among groups which are not threatened or affected by social fringe groups or by unemployment. These groups include public officials, self employed professionals and a large section of the youth.

Example 3:

Former socialist country in transition.

The following need structures will be found in such societies:

1. Heavy orientation towards basic needs due to high unemployment and collapse of social security systems.

2. Strong tendency towards satisfying social needs due to the collapse of all institutionalised social security systems and the lack of family structures which were deliberately broken down during socialism.

3. Low focus on post material needs, usually only among a small political, administrative or an economic elite that is in the process of establishing its position.

Example 4:

Under-developed country with massive urbanisation, numerous slums due to urban migration, over population and high unemployment.

1. Strong prevalence of basic needs, particularly in the slum areas of cities and in rural regions.

2. Strong prevalence of social needs due to the absence of natural social security systems such as the family etc. in the slum areas of cities.

3. Barely developed post material needs other than among a small mini elite.

15.5.4 Selection of the right issues

a. Civic issues

Various criteria influence the selection of issues to be incorporated in the target image. For one, issues are determined by the perceived needs of the population. Due to differing perceptions of different population groups, the selection of issues will naturally have a bearing on the selection of target groups and how to access them. The ability to communicate selected issues to the target group in a way that inspires trust will determine to what extent one is able to influence these groups. The issues involved here are general civic issues or at least issues of concern to groups of citizens.

> *Example: A political party that projects tax cuts as an important issue must be aware that this will obviously address only tax payers. Other citizens will not be interested or may even be against the cut because they will have apprehensions about how state services for them will continue to be financed. To give an idea of the dimensions, in Germany only about a quarter of a population of 84 million pay income tax.*

b. Media issues

The second potential group of issues is determined by the media. These issues are often not related to the actual needs of the population but are considered important and lead to attitudinal changes among the population due to constant reiteration through the media. Empirical studies in the US[91] demonstrated that long drawn out crises (Afghanistan, Iraq, race conflicts), symbolic crises (Watergate, drugs, environmental pollution and poverty), problems that strongly affect people (inflation, unemployment) and sustained deviant behaviour (crime) enjoy the maximum public attention and are therefore considered permanent front runners of the public agenda[92].

Issues have a "career graph", which in American literature is referred to as the "issue attention cycle"[93] . According to this model, an issue undergoes

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[91] W. Russell Neumann: *The Threshold of Public Attention*; in: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54 (1990).

[92] Barbara Pfertsch: *Themenkarrieren und politische Kommunikation;*in: *Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B39/94, 30.9.94.

[93] Anthony Downs: *Up and Down with Ecology: The Issue Attention Cycle;*in: *The Public Interest* 28 (1972).

1. a preliminary phase in which the issue is thematised;

2. a discovery phase;

3. a climax;

4. a winding down phase and

5. a post problem phase.

Phases of attention
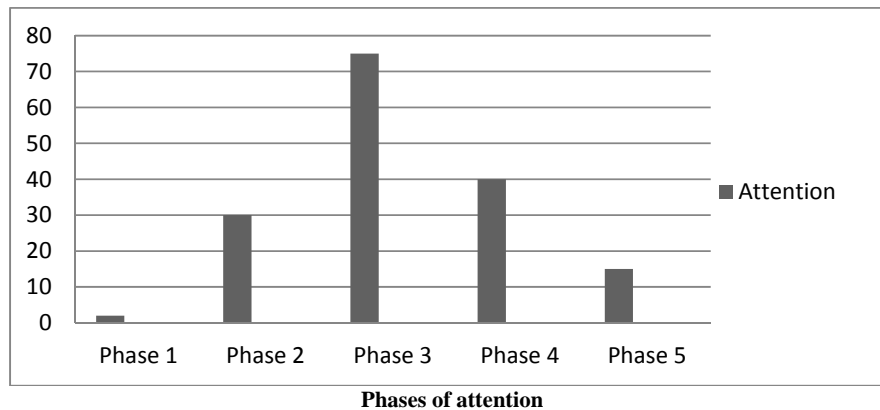
It is the job of strategic planning to identify such issues as early as possible and to seize control of them. "Whoever is in command of issues that have political currency is one step ahead of his opponents. He has the greater opportunity to make his assessment of the debated issues the opinion of the majority." Political figures are often found wanting in this regard.[94] Many politicians latch on to an issue when it has already been taken over by others and has passed its prime. In such an event it is strategically important to find "new" issues rather than hang on to an issue on the downswing.

The process whereby a political party, candidate or group is able, through its own strategic actions, to get the media to take up issues of public debate and thereby shape the discourse is known as agenda setting. Agenda setting is usually ascribed to the media. However, it may also be possible for a party or candidate to influence agenda setting by the media in a direction desired by them.

c. Party issues

The third group of issues are those that are taken up by the government or the opposition or by active parties. This third group again is often not related to the needs of the population (citizen issues) nor to issues launched by the media (media issues), but consists of issues perceived to be strategically advantageous by political players (party issues). Occasionally these can even be issues that have been brought up only to divert attention from other issues.

Ruling parties and their government do not play a passive role in introducing new issues. In fact, in their attempts to set the political agenda they usually enjoy strategic

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[94] Wolfgang Bergsdorf: *Probleme der Regierungskommunikation;* in: *Communications*, 12 (1986) 3.

advantages. They have greater material resources than opposing parties and coupled with their powers in government they are in a superior position when it comes to determining issues.[95] Of course, this presupposes that the political agenda of the government is planned strategically. Opposition parties, clearly, are at a strategic advantage when it comes to creating issues since their issues do not represent any binding decisions. At most they represent political alternatives. The situation is different if the opposition has the majority in parliament or any other chamber in presidential systems of government or if it is in power in the majority of provinces in a federal parliamentary system.

Issues for which there is no popular demand, that is those for which no need exists or for which no need can be created, are unsuitable for communicating with the population. Strategic decisions should be taken based on existing constellations, unless of course the overall goal of strategy is to educate and develop political beings (voters). Optimal results can only be achieved if strategic planning considers the people it is addressing as they are at that point and does not first try to re-educate them before they are able to recognise and appreciate what the party or candidate is offering. It is always amazing how parties and candidates are disappointed when their pet issue (democracy, market economy etc.) elicits no response from voters. One is forced to question here how little these politicians know their citizens, how enormous the gap is between supply and demand.

15.6   Competence and trust arguments

Even when a party or candidate is able to arrive at the right issues on which to communicate with voters after studying the need structures in a society, they need to do much more to make a strategy successful. Awareness of needs must be combined with demonstrated competence to solve the problems. This implies that the image of a party or a candidate must also demonstrate problem solving competence.

One would hardly ascribe competence in market economy to a party that was formerly communist or socialist. A party whose politicians were enmeshed in solid corruption scandals will hardly be regarded as competent to fight corruption. A candidate whose company has just gone bankrupt will not be regarded as competent on issues of economic policy. One will not associate competence in humane social policy with a businessman who is known for his anti-social stances.

The competence argument is thus closely associated with the previous image. This image may partly be justified, but it may also contain an unjustified assessment of competence. Why can a teacher not become a minister for economics, or a farmer a minister for technology and research? Since citizens generally have had poor experiences with representatives of government, their assumptions about politicians' competence are usually also negative. Therefore, it is important for parties and politicians to build up competence in different political areas. The population will

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[95] Franz Ronneberger: *Die Rolle von Public Relations im politischen Entscheidungsprozess*; in: Frank E. Böckelmann (Ed.): *Medienmacht und Politik*; Berlin, 1989, p. 151.

otherwise lack the necessary confidence in the ability and willingness of a candidate to perform.

Globally, there is a perceptible trend characterised by a loss of trust in political parties and politicians. Voters are disappointed in politicians, who they had hoped would resolve their problems. Political performance has been steadily declining. This is partly because problems are becoming more and more complex. Solutions can no longer be found at a national or local level alone. Issues are increasingly interlinked and influenced by international events, as the triggering of the global financial crisis due to the real estate bubble in the USA showed. Voters start believing that their politicians are incapable or, in the worst case, even unwilling to deal with the problems people face.

Compounding this is the fact that some politicians are actually interested less in dealing with problems and shaping policy than in exercising unchecked power and accumulating wealth.
Cumulatively this poses a huge threat, especially to representative democracies. When disappointed voters turn away from political parties and politicians, such democracies can no longer function. Politics then breaks away from institutions, where the balance of power is defined in respective constitutions, and occupies spaces that are not constitutionally structured or regulated. We see examples of constitutional violators who have gone on to become dictators, or presidents who covet lifelong power[96]. We are now also witnessing a transition to cyber dictatorship, which means seizing power through mass movements on Web 2.0[97][98].

Functional communication between political actors and voters is thus contingent on building trust, because any communication to convey a target image is doomed to failure if the target persons are already inclined to dismiss this message as untrustworthy and a lie.

The sociologist Niklas Luhmann theorises that trust is "a mechanism to reduce social complexity" and is also a "risky investment"[99]. In situations where it is not possible to consider information rationally, either because of high complexity or lack of time or if information is entirely absent, trust is what allows a person to nevertheless arrive at a decision, which is then based on intuition and emotion. The trusting person expects that those in whom he has reposed trust will treat his freedom, his potential, and his options for action in terms of what they promised. In other words, the trusting person need not then consider things for himself, but leaves this to someone else. This is where Luhmann's risky investment comes in, because, of course, the trusted person may exploit the trust placed in him and act contrary to earlier promises.

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[96] Oliver Diehl, Wolfgang Muno (Ed.): *Venezuela unter Chávez – Aufbruch oder Niedergang*? Vervuert, 2005.
[97] Minha Kim: *Cyberculture of Postmaterialism and political participation*; Review of Korean Studies, Vol. 10 No. 4 (December 2007)
[98] Dalton, Russell J.: *The Decline of Party Identifications;* In: *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford University Press, 2000
[99] Niklas Luhmann: *Vertrauen. Ein Mechanismus der Reduktion sozialer Komplexität*; UTN, Stuttgart 2000, ISBN 3825221857, p. 27

Yet, as mentioned earlier, trust is the foundation of a representative democratic system. One of the central goals of parties and politicians must therefore be to create and maintain trust. Reliability and credibility are both elements of trust. One must be able to rely on actions taken. To be able to do this one must know, or at least feel one knows how a person or a political party will act in certain situations. If such actions are not clear and easy to understand, it is the duty of those in whom trust has been reposed to make their actions transparent and to explain them.

15.7 Functional arguments

A further factor influencing voters' decisions could be a party's function in the future political landscape. In parliamentary systems, especially, coalition considerations play a very important role. Some voter segments vote very tactically with this factor in mind. Thus voting depends on the role the party being elected will play in future and whether this party will support the party that is actually preferred in coming to power or stabilising its position. Such coalition or situation-based voters do not vote according to political conviction but with an eye to coalition arithmetic.

Considerations of this nature could vary:

1. I vote for Party X to help it cross the cut-off mark because this party will support my favourite party.

2. I will vote for Party X since it will enter into coalition with my favourite party and thereby prevent the complete dominance and potential misuse of power by my party.

3. I will vote for Party X since it plans to enter into a coalition with Party Y, which I detest, and can thereby prevent Party Y from achieving its worst objectives. I am voting this way because I know that my favourite party cannot attain the majority.

Functional arguments of this nature mean that there are no real ties with the party being voted for. The same arguments may become irrelevant under different circumstances in a subsequent election and result in heavy losses for the party. This means that while the functional argument can play a very significant role, it is necessary to tie stable voters to the party by using the need and competence arguments and by building confidence in the party/persons, and not by appealing to them with functional arguments. Nevertheless, the functional argument can play a very important role in improving results, especially in the closing stages of a campaign.

15.8 Personality arguments

Personalities can often clinch voting decisions. This is especially true in societies where politics is viewed as a product of different personalities.

In these countries the person takes precedence over the programme and the party – and this includes practically all countries with presidential systems, but also many countries where personalities play an important role at the regional and local level. In such systems the main focus has to be on positioning the candidate positively. The functional argument can be completely dispensed with here and even the need argument becomes largely irrelevant. Competence, on the other hand, plays an important role, though not to the extent that it does in combination with other programme elements. The competence at stake here is more by way of a general competence. The politician should be regarded as competent to govern the country and worthy of trust.

Personality arguments revolve mainly around the confidence and trust a candidate can inspire. The target image must therefore contain all components that are necessary to build trust and confidence.

Personality arguments in the target image are used to position the candidate against opposing candidates. Strategic rules for offensive and defensive approaches are applicable here. In offensive cases the features distinguishing our candidate from other candidates must be clearly highlighted. In defensive cases the distinguishing features of the opposing candidates must be copied as far as possible. Important personal characteristics include:

Competence

Integrity

Solidarity

Personal traits

Special skills

With regard to competence it is necessary to decide what kind of **competence** is to be highlighted: professional, managerial, inter-personal, communications-related or competence in applying common sense. It is irrelevant whether the candidate actually possesses this competence or not because it is relatively easy to project competence through PR activities.

The issue of **integrity** is much more problematic. This is primarily because politicians are largely perceived as dishonest, corrupt and interested only in selfish gains. Politicians generally have a poor image in the minds of most voters. This is also the reason why anti corruption arguments of parties and politicians in an election campaign are usually not taken seriously and why they are useless as a voting argument. Of course, voters want to have honest and uncorrupted politicians. That is why it is important to have a statement on integrity, although most voters will not believe it. It is therefore also not advisable to use issues of corruption and dishonesty against opposing candidates.

During several presidential campaigns in Venezuela it was absolutely clear and proven that one of the candidates had

> *plundered the country and made a lot of money through corruption. The candidate was re-elected nevertheless.*

In contrast, **solidarity** with a particular population group or constituency plays a very important role. Many voters want a candidate who is one of them. He should know the problems a group or region face; he should have empathy with the voters. In direct election constituencies it is therefore always disadvantageous to have candidates from outside a constituency. If this is unavoidable, attempts must be made to project some link with the constituency (former place of residence, place of work, relatives, membership in clubs etc.).

As far as **personal traits** are concerned, it is essential to decide the target groups that are being addressed and what their impressions of an ideal candidate are. Elements such as "family man" (who hasn't seen pictures of candidates with wife and children), "athletic" (who hasn't seen pictures of Clinton jogging), "rooted in local traditions" (who hasn't seen pictures of Bavarian candidates in traditional costume or lederhosen) or "brave", "experienced", "successful", "always impeccably dressed" etc.

In addition there may be some **special characteristics or skills** that can tilt the balance for voters with no particular interest in politics or if there is nothing much to distinguish the candidates.

> *This can be achieved either through fame, e.g. as a singer (Rubén Blades as candidate in Panama), actor (Ronald Reagan in the US), Formula One driver (Reuttemann in Argentina) or as astronaut, tennis player etc. Belonging to a particular family may also suffice.*

Family names are often brand names, particularly in countries with dominant political families.

> *There is the Gandhi family in India, the Bandaranaike family in Sri Lanka, the Zavalia family in the Santiago de Estero province in Argentina, the Bhutto family in Pakistan.*

In some countries, such as South Korea or the Philippines, family names may not be as well known, but are sufficient to win elections in a constituency. Being a member of a tribe or clan may also suffice. In any country that is characterised by ethnic groups – not just African and Arab countries – being a member of a tribe, clan or ethnic group is all that is required to be elected; or, vice versa, never to be elected if the tribe is too small. Ethnic ties are dominant in many societies and cause political differences to take a back seat. Thus despite massive external support for multi-ethnic parties in Bosnia Herzegovina it has not been possible to successfully establish such a party.

15.9 Adjusting the image to the popular ideal

Surveys can be conducted to ascertain the personal image requirements of the population and to obtain better information on the image factors of the candidates. These surveys usually show satisfactory results if the candidate is well known enough.
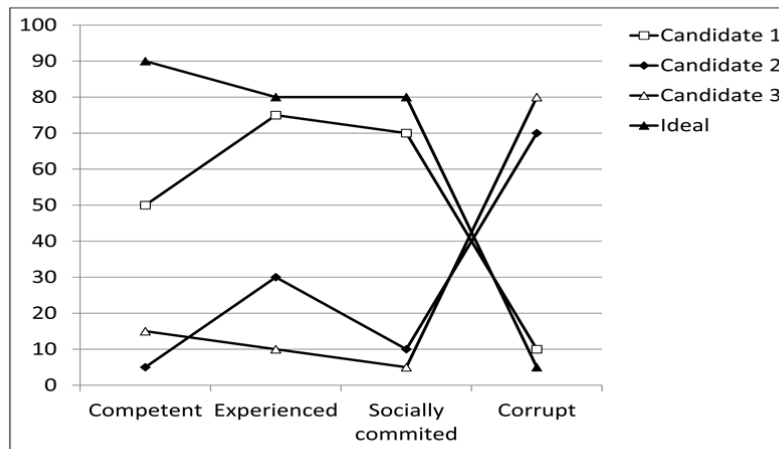
Results of image survey

The figure above represents the results of a survey during a presidential campaign. It is clear that for Candidate 1, only lack of perceived competence prevents him from being the population's ideal candidate. Image correction will have to improve the perceived competence. The other candidates are far removed from the ideal on all counts. They would be well advised to adopt a strategy of focusing on personal image during the campaign.

15.10 Internal target image

An internal target image also needs to be developed in addition to an external target image. This caters to the requirements and expectations of the members and party office holders or the needs and expectations of employees of organisations and government.

Clearly, the external target image cannot deviate so radically from the internal image as to contradict it. The internal target image supplements the external target image. It should be used as part of an internal campaign and describes the organisation's goals, the atmosphere within the organisation, cooperation with the leadership or the candidate and management style. The internal target image thus focuses on areas such as organisational culture, style, participation, discipline, remuneration and rewards, confidence in victory, affirmation of self esteem etc.

The internal target image, just like internal motivation campaigns, is often neglected in political activities, to a party's own detriment. This is even more important in parties that either wish to or are obliged to have open internal elections. Getting different wings

of the party to cooperate again after such elections is a very important activity that can only be carried out successfully via an internal target image.

15.11 Evaluation of the target image

It is necessary to evaluate the target image, and this evaluation is similar to that of the sub strategies and the goals. There is a method of evaluation that determines the fit between the target image and the overall strategy. The following checks need to be carried out:

1. Does the target image fit with the strategic mission?

2. Are the areas of attack established by the sub strategies firmly established in the target image?

3. Are the points of attack associated with strategic advantages and do the arguments focus on need satisfaction, competence, function or on the person?

4. Can the target image be established within the planned campaign period? Here it is necessary to check how far removed the target image is from the actual image of an organisation or person. If there is too big a disconnect, it will be impossible to establish the desired image during the planned campaign. In such cases it is advisable to shift the target image closer to the actual image.

The second evaluation of the target image concentrates more on formal questions.

1. Is the target image (description) too long or too short? The target image should occupy roughly one typewritten page. If the internal target image is attached it should not exceed one and a quarter pages. An excessively lengthy target image contains too much information to transfer to the minds of the people or voters during a campaign. If the target image is too brief (less than half a page) one may assume that the arguments have been insufficiently presented.

2. Is the target image formulated through the eyes of the recipient? The target image must be formulated as if an ordinary citizen were describing the party, the government or the candidate.

3. Is the language of the target image comprehensible? Has everyday language been used or is the language typically politician speech, bureaucratese or party jargon? This needs to be checked to ensure that every single term is universally comprehensible and that no jargon has crept in.

4. Is the target image emotionally charged? The target image must not appear cold, rational and technocratic. It must, as far as possible, contain emotional elements. Most human decisions and particularly voting decisions are not taken by rationally weighing pros and cons but are highly emotional. The emotion must be palpable in the target image so as to be able to tap into that level of decision making.

5. Does the target image use the correct designations and titles and does it avoid discriminatory terms or terms with unpleasant connotations[100]? Here it is important to evaluate individual words. Are titles used, are these the correct ones? Are the names of organisations and acronyms, if used, correct? Is the choice of words unintentionally discriminatory towards anyone? Do any words have connotations that could lead to negative reactions in the given cultural environment?

There can be no compromises in evaluating the target image. Since the target image is the foundation of all PR activities, a faulty target image can destroy the entire campaign.

15.12 Examples

The following examples present four target images drawn from the author's professional experience. The names of persons, places and organisations have of course been altered. The individual target images will be commented on and explained.

15.12.1 Example: Target image for the NP party

The New Path Party (NPP) is the leading party in the coalition government and a stabilising factor in Nordland. In all governments formed after independence, the NPP assumed responsibility for freedom, progress and a successful transition from a communist state. The NPP is an active party that has recently revitalised itself through creative ideas and a young and dynamic leadership.

The NPP wishes to lead Nordland towards a prosperous future. The NPP therefore wishes to invest in all areas that will create better living conditions for the people of Nordland. Better education with better opportunities for finding attractive jobs. Better opportunities for people to be able to provide for themselves and their families. Better infrastructure and investments to close the gap between earnings and cost of living. The NPP is also prepared to accept budgetary deficits to be able to create these future opportunities.

The NPP is the only party that desires integration with the European Union. It aims to provide the people of Nordland with the opportunity of enjoying the benefits of European security and protection, a larger market and more opportunities to create new and better jobs.
The NPP will introduce a political system that is more transparent, open, participatory and just. The NPP is fighting against unbridled state monopolies that are destroying prosperity and growth.

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[100] In semantics, connotation is the association a word evokes. "Dog" and "cur" are one example, where "cur" has a negative connotation. Special attention must be paid to these connotations when working in different cultural environments.

The NPP is convinced that one person alone cannot fulfil the aspirations of the people of Nordland. The NPP is aware that all citizens and political forces must work together to achieve a better life for the people of Nordland.

The NPP is an open, dynamic and clean party with reliable, professional, experienced and competent candidates. The NPP has experts in all areas of politics and is ready to assume government.

The NPP has a young, creative and experienced team with new ideas comprising Harald Haraldsen as candidate for prime minister, Knut Knudsen as party chairperson and Christa Christensen as candidate for president of the parliament. With this team the NPP will be able to solve the problems of the people of Nordland. This team will lead the NPP to electoral success.

All citizens of Nordland who want a better future and a better quality of life must therefore vote for the NPP and its candidates.

Discussion

> *Preliminary comments: This was the target image of a party that was facing a severe crisis. There were internal leadership conflicts and there had been a dramatic drop in the number of voters ready to vote for the party. There was a risk that the party would fall below the 5 % cut-off clause. The electoral system is based purely on proportional representation.*

The New Path Party (NPP) is the leading party in the coalition government and a stabilising factor in Nordland. In all governments formed after independence, the NPP assumed responsibility for freedom, progress and a successful transition from a communist state. The NPP is an active party that has recently revitalised itself through creative ideas and a young and dynamic leadership.

> *The first paragraph describes the party. It is the ruling party and has been represented in every government since independence. This is why the image component "factor of stability" is used for the party. At the same time, the word "responsibility" is associated with the party.*
>
> *Constant participation in government has of course led to a certain amount of wear and tear within the party. Simultaneously, internal conflicts broke out. Something needed to be done to counter these negative image factors. It is for this reason that "revitalisation" with a "young and dynamic leadership" and "creative ideas" are mentioned.*

The NPP wishes to lead Nordland towards a prosperous future. The NPP therefore wishes to invest in all areas that will create better living conditions for the people of

Nordland. - Better education with better opportunities to find attractive jobs. - Better opportunities for people to be able to provide for themselves and their families. Better infrastructure and investments to close the gap between earnings and cost of living. The NPP is also prepared to accept budgetary deficits to be able to open these future perspectives.

> *The key message here is the willingness to accept "budgetary deficits" if this will result in "better living conditions for the people of Nordland". The party is taking an opposing stance to other parties who have accepted the dictates of the IMF and the EU to avoid budgetary deficits. Thus the party is taking a position that is distinct from that of other parties. To make this position attractive, the proposal is associated with some advantages ("future opportunities") for citizens, such as "better education with better opportunities of finding attractive jobs," "close the gap between earnings and cost of living".*

The NPP is the only party that desires integration with the European Union. It aims to provide the people of Nordland with the opportunity of enjoying the benefits of European security and protection, a larger market and more opportunities to create new and better jobs.

> *This paragraph contains another feature that distinguishes the NPP vis-à-vis other parties. EU integration is associated with advantages of "European security and protection", "new and better jobs" for citizens. EU integration by itself is too weak to be attractive to voters. The advantages therefore need to be spelled out.*

The NPP will introduce a political system that is more transparent, open, participatory and just. The NPP is fighting against unbridled state monopolies that are destroying prosperity and growth.

> *With this paragraph the party is attempting to distance itself from its present coalition partner, i.e. initiate an internal campaign. This is important because a referendum on a law to integrate a foreign ethnic group will be held at the same time as the elections. By advocating "participation" and taking a stance against "injustice" the party is taking a position against the referendum that is partly being supported by coalition partners.*

> *By referring to "unbridled state monopoly" the party is distancing itself from the foot-dragging privatisation policy of one coalition partner and is placing the blame for "destroying prosperity and growth" squarely at that party's door.*

The NPP is convinced that one person alone cannot fulfil the aspirations of the people of Nordland. The NPP is aware that all citizens and political forces must work together to achieve a better life for the people of Nordland.

This paragraph serves to demarcate the party against a newly formed party with a charismatic leader who is known for not being able to work with others and constantly overestimating his abilities.

The NPP is an open, dynamic and clean party with reliable, professional, experienced and competent candidates. The NPP has experts in all areas of politics and is ready to assume government.

This paragraph highlights the competence aspect and stakes a claim for leadership of the coalition. "…is ready to assume government." This claim can be made realistically only because the party is in government but does not head it. The claim for leadership then becomes more credible as more survey data comes in.

The NPP has a young, creative and experienced team with new ideas comprising Harald Haraldsen as candidate for prime minister, Knut Knudsen as party chairperson and Christa Christensen as candidate for president of the parliament. With this team the NPP will be able to solve the problems of the people of Nordland. This team will lead the NPP to electoral success.

The negative image of a party riddled with infighting is countered by presenting this triumvirate (all people who earlier could not stand each other and feuded internally) and by positioning the team as "young, creative and experienced". This paragraph was best exemplified by a joint poster of all three candidates.

All citizens of Nordland who want a better future and a better quality of life must therefore vote for the NPP and its candidates.

The target image concludes by calling upon voters and reiterating the qualitative aspect of the strategic mission. This kind of call to vote must always be formulated in a campaign target image since it is an important part of the message.

15.12.2 Example: Target image for a mayor in Herwald.

The Free Voting Association Herwald (FVA) is an independent group representing the citizens in the Herwald city council. It is open to all citizens. The FVA is participating in the next municipal elections and has put up its chairperson, Heinz Roser, as candidate for the post of mayor. Its purpose is to clean up the mess of nepotism in Herwald and to prepare the city with its districts for the future.

Heinz Roser and the FVA will liberate the citizens of the city from bureaucratic shackles and unnecessary regulations, leaving the citizens free to act in a way that will benefit both them and the city. Heinz Roser and the FVA intend to modernise the administration, making it citizen-friendly and financially prudent, thus enabling it to reduce taxes and levies.

Heinz Roser and the FVA will put an end to ecological dictatorship, allow traffic to flow freely and trade and economy to flourish, once again making Herwald an attractive location for work, shopping and living. To achieve this, Heinz Roser and the FVA will also take up the issue of greater cleanliness and security for citizens.

Heinz Roser and the FVA will provide better opportunities and future prospects for the youth by ensuring less cancellation of classes, by increasing opportunities for sports, culture and leisure activities and by creating more training vacancies and jobs.

Heinz Roser, the mayoral candidate, was born in Herwald. He is a successful businessman. With his knowledge of law and management skills, he possesses all the qualities required of a competent administrative head. He also has a long background in social and volunteer work and enjoys the confidence of all those who require professional assistance.

The candidates of the FVA are competent and committed representatives of their districts. Therefore, all citizens wanting a better future for Herwald and its citizens must elect the candidates of the FVA to the council and Heinz Roser as mayor.

Discussion

> *Preliminary comments: To win, a candidate either needs over 50 % of the votes in the first round or over 50 % of the votes in the second round which is a face-off between the two candidates who obtained the maximum number of votes in the first round.*

> *The FVA is not an established party. It is a municipal association similar to a party and is already represented in the city council, where it is in the opposition.*

The Free Voting Association Herwald (FVA) is an independent group representing the citizens in the Herwald city council. It is open to all citizens. The FVA is participating in the next municipal elections and has put up its chairperson, Heinz Roser, as candidate for the post of mayor. Its purpose is to clean up the mess of nepotism in Herwald and to prepare the city with its districts for the future.

> *In the first paragraph the candidate is introduced along with the qualitative overall goal derived from the strategic mission, i.e. "clean up the mess of nepotism" and "prepare the city for the future". An issue (nepotism) is taken up which is normally*

associated with political parties. A voters' association is thereby clearly delineating itself from established parties. The second issue (city districts) demonstrates the Association's orientation. It is interested in representing citizens' issues in city districts and not in party oriented politics – another clear delineation.

Heinz Roser and the FVA will liberate the citizens of the city from bureaucratic shackles and unnecessary regulations, leaving the citizens free to act in a way that will benefit both them and the city. Heinz Roser and the FVA intend to modernise the administration, making it citizen-friendly and financially prudent, thus enabling it to reduce taxes and levies.

This paragraph goes straight to the issue of "deregulation". With expressions such as "liberate the citizens of the city from bureaucratic shackles and unnecessary regulations", it directly addresses the citizens. To make the advantage even clearer, it announces an administrative reform. This is further packaged as being "citizen friendly", and in an even more effective move, the intent to "reduce taxes and levies" is linked to the reform. These issues allow the Association to present itself as distinct from the ruling parties because these are obviously responsible for the high levels of bureaucracy and taxes.

Heinz Roser and the FVA will put an end to ecological dictatorship, allow traffic to flow freely and trade and economy to flourish, once again making Herwald an attractive location for work, shopping and living. To achieve this, Heinz Roser and the FVA will also take up the issue of greater cleanliness and security for citizens.

The term "ecological dictatorship" is an unusual one and therefore arouses interest. This paragraph is directed against a coalition of two parties in which the ecological party pushed through a number of regulations that led to a breakdown in the traffic situation and also resulted in problems for trade and industry. The "ecological dictatorship" needs to be removed to make the city "attractive to live in" and to "shop" and "work" again. This achieves an emotional demarcation vis-à-vis both responsible parties.

Heinz Roser and the FVA will provide better opportunities and future prospects for the youth by ensuring less cancellation of classes, by increasing opportunities for sports, culture and leisure activities and by creating more training vacancies and jobs.

The key term in this paragraph is "cancellation of classes". This issue has a very emotional impact on parents because they see this as a threat to their children's education and consequently their future. All opposing candidates happen to be "teachers" and are thus accused of being partly responsible for the cancellation of classes.

Heinz Roser, the mayoral candidate, was born in Herwald. He is a successful businessman. With his knowledge of law and management skills, he possesses all the qualities required of a competent administrative head. He also has a long background in social and volunteer work and enjoys the confidence of all those who require professional assistance.

> *The paragraph first establishes the candidate's closeness to the city with his being "born in Herwald". The rest of the paragraph promotes his competence and confidence in his abilities.*

The candidates of the FVA are competent and committed representatives of their districts. Therefore, all citizens wanting a better future for Herwald and its citizens must elect the candidates of the FVA to the council and Heinz Roser as mayor.

> *This paragraph again makes the necessary appeal to voters and includes candidates for the districts in the mayoral election.*

15.12.3 Example: Target image for the city of Santa Mar

Santa Mar is the capital of Surland. Surland, the heart of Mercosur, offers the most open and least regulated economy, unlimited opportunities for business with extensive financial assistance programmes and low taxes. Surland offers low employment costs, a safe social environment and the lowest energy prices.

Santa Mar is a safe city without any ethnic unrest. It has a well developed communications network, an excellent school system and good transportation facilities.

The city administration of Santa Mar has interesting projects for investors, companies and NGOs from all over the world including Surland. The projects are focussed on creating a better infrastructure and raising the standard of living of the citizens of Santa Mar.

The city administration of Santa Mar is a corruption free zone. It helps investors and companies navigate the jungle of bureaucratic red tape created by the central government. The investment promotion office is efficient and well informed. Any questions or problems relating to projects can be answered and resolved on the spot.

The mayor of Santa Mar and his team are open, creative and modern. Their pragmatic view of the future paves the way for uncomplicated, unbureaucratic and speedy decisions.

It is always a good idea to acquaint yourself with incentives and programmes offered by the city administration of Santa Mar and to act on them. You can be sure of good results and private investors will find it worth their while.

Discussion

> *Preliminary comments: This target image was developed for a city attempting to address a specific target group, namely potential investors. The city's objective is to attract investors at national and international presentations. An offensive strategy was developed for this purpose.*

Santa Mar is the capital of Surland. Surland, the heart of Mercosur, offers the most open and least regulated economy, unlimited opportunities for business with extensive financial assistance programmes and low taxes. Surland offers low employment costs, a safe social environment and the lowest energy prices.

> *First the city and its location are introduced. It is a city in a Latin American country that is a member of Mercosur. Right from the start, attractive features for the target group, such as "capital", "least regulated economy", "low costs and energy prices" are mentioned. A clear distinction is being drawn in comparison to other competitors.*

Santa Mar is a safe city without any ethnic unrest. It has a well developed communications network, an excellent school system and good transportation facilities.

> *This paragraph positions the city as distinct from other cities with references to it being "safe" and having "no ethnic unrest". Positive features are highlighted, such as the "communications network, …school system and …transportation facilities."*

The city administration of Santa Mar has interesting projects for investors, companies and NGOs from all over the world including Surland. The projects are focussed on creating a better infrastructure and raising the standard of living of the citizens of Santa Mar.

> *In this paragraph the investors are directly associated with projects that will have a positive impact on the people of the country. This addresses a need of several investors who while wanting to invest in profitable ventures also want to have an image of "doing good".*

The city administration of Santa Mar is a corruption free zone. It helps investors and companies navigate the jungle of bureaucratic red tape created by the central government. The investment promotion office is efficient and well informed. Any questions or problems relating to projects can be answered and resolved on the spot.

> *Important requirements of investors are addressed here, such as "corruption free zone", leading the way through "bureaucratic red tape" and being a competent partner.*

The mayor of Santa Mar and his team are open, creative and modern. Their pragmatic view of the future paves the way for uncomplicated, unbureaucratic and speedy decisions.

> *Here investor needs are supplemented with the personal component. The "mayor and his team" are "pragmatic" and "pave the way".*

It is always a good idea to acquaint yourself with the incentives and programmes offered by the city administration of Santa Mar and to act on them. You can be sure of good results and private investors will find it worth their while.

> *This paragraph contains an appeal to act, similar to voting appeals. This is important since it does not suffice merely to publicise a good image if the target group does not really know what it should do.*

15.12.4 Example: Target image for a government

The Government of Alberto Rubin (GAR) is the democratically elected, legitimate government of Mittelland. The government of the national alliance led by the reconstruction party desires national unity and reconciliation. GAR welcomes anyone wishing to help in the reconstruction of the country and turns back no one.

The GAR is committed to freedom, tolerance, personal initiative and fairness for the peaceful development of this country that has been abused through exploitation, self interest, persecution and subordination.

GAR is fighting to eradicate corruption and protect private property in Mittelland. It is introducing the rule of law after many years of injustice and inaction and is thereby bringing safety and justice to the people of this country.

GAR is using economic progress and the extension of social services to provide more security to the families in Mittelland in their daily struggle for survival and to improve the quality of life of the people.

GAR is aware that the former ruling class will fight our attempts with all means at their disposal. They are concerned only about protecting their privileges and further exploiting the people of Mittelland for their personal interests.

GAR is courageous. It does not allow itself to be cowed down by violence, threat and manipulation in its fight to remove privileges, dismantle exploitative monopolies and creating an environment of security and justice.

In Arturo Rubin the GAR has a president who is with the people despite all hostility towards his government. He along with his competent and honest ministers will lead

Mittelland to a better future. GAR deserves the support of the people in its daily struggle against the representatives of the past and in all elections in the future.

Discussion

> *Preliminary comments: This target image was developed for a government that was under severe pressure from the former government. It is a presidential democracy in which the president was elected through an alliance of several parties to remove the former power clique. The government is showing signs of cracking under the pressure and threats from the former ruling class.*

The Government of Alberto Rubin (GAR) is the democratically elected, legitimate government of Mittelland. The government of the national alliance led by the reconstruction party desires national unity and reconciliation. GAR welcomes anyone wishing to help in the reconstruction of the country and turns back no one.

> *This paragraph sets out to clearly establish that the government is the legitimate "democratically elected" government. It also makes clear that no one is being alienated and that the arms of the government are open to all. This contrasts with the stand of the former regime which witnessed exclusion and persecution.*

GAR is committed to freedom, tolerance, personal initiative and fairness for the peaceful development of this country that has been abused through exploitation, self interest, persecution and subordination.

> *This paragraph focuses on a series of keywords that were identified as being particularly important for the population during a survey. "Freedom", "tolerance", "fairness", "peace". The terms "exploitation", "self interest", "persecution" and "subordination" were regarded as very negative with reference to the past. This comparison clearly distinguishes the new government from the old.*

GAR is fighting to eradicate corruption and protect private property in Mittelland. It is introducing the rule of law after many years of injustice and inaction and is thereby bringing safety and justice to the people of this country.

> *Here again the advantages for the citizens are highlighted. The main focus is on the term "safety" which is an important requirement for many citizens.*

GAR is using economic progress and the extension of social services to provide more security to the families in Mittelland in their daily struggle for survival and to improve the quality of life of the people.

The government here explains how it will satisfy the basic needs of the population. It introduces a dramatic note with the phrase "in their daily struggle for survival", which highly emotionalises the issue.

GAR is aware that the former ruling class will fight our attempts with all means at their disposal. They are concerned only about protecting their privileges and further exploiting the people of Mittelland for their personal interests.

This paragraph is used to portray the enemy. The intention is to position the government and the citizens as being in the same boat while ascribing the blame for all aggressions on the old forces.

GAR is courageous. It does not allow itself to be cowed down by violence, threat and manipulation in its fight to remove privileges, dismantle exploitative monopolies and creating an environment of security and justice.

This paragraph is the answer to the aggression. The government is "courageous", it does not allow itself to be "cowed down". The message to the citizens is that no one needs to feel fear. The government is "fighting" and will beat back all attacks.

In Arturo Rubin the GAR has a president who is with the people despite all hostility towards his government. He along with his competent and honest ministers will lead Mittelland to a better future. GAR deserves the support of the people in its daily struggle against the representatives of the past and in all elections in the future.

This paragraph once again reiterates that the people and the government are on the same side. And also that a "better future" awaits the people. This however means that the people must "support" the government.

15.12.5 Example: How not to compose a target image.

The LFP is a party in Muelldorf. It is a party that will rouse the citizens of sleepy Muelldorf so that the city is finally able to catch up with other cities in terms of development. The LFP's candidate is Ronald Mayer.

He is a self-employed management consultant who knows what needs to be done in Muelldorf to get the municipality back into financial shape. With his experiences in management and rehabilitating bankrupt companies he has demonstrated that he knows how to assert himself.

Ronald Mayer is familiar with the concerns and requirements of the city and knows how important decisions taken today are for the future of the city. With Ronald Mayer, Muelldorf will create a stir in the entire district and state.

Ronald Mayer and the LFP want to put an end to the nonsense of nature and monument conservation that is only holding up the reorganisation of the city.

Ronald Mayer and the LFP intend to bring back a balanced budget. They will use funds from the state compensation fund and simultaneously introduce a strict austerity drive for Muelldorf. This will entail raising taxes and other levies. The ambitious plans of the previous coalition comprising the SWP and ARD to build an elaborate sports complex with swimming pool, gymnasium and sports halls must therefore be stopped on priority.

We want to demonstrate to the citizens that they can take care of themselves and do not constantly require aid from society.

The candidates of the LFP are competent and committed proponents of the idea of scaling down citizens' demands vis-à-vis the city. Therefore, all citizens wanting a realistic future for Muelldorf and its citizens must elect the candidates of the LFP and Ronald Mayer as mayor.

Discussion

> *This example is entirely fictitious and has been used only to highlight mistakes in formulating the target image.*

The LFP is a party in Muelldorf. It is a party that will rouse the citizens of sleepy Muelldorf so that the city is finally able to catch up with other cities in terms of development. The LFP's candidate is Ronald Mayer.

> *The positioning of the LFP goes wrong in the very first sentence. "A party" is too imprecise and contains no distinguishing features.*
>
> *The second sentence attempts to describe the party more clearly. However it does this by attacking the citizens and the city with*

phrases such as "sleepy" and "rouse the citizens". This is bound to offend the pride of many citizens, leading to negative reactions.

Even the remark that development finally needs to catch up with that of other cities does not promote feelings of self esteem and pride.

The candidate Ronald Mayer is introduced in the last sentence. But for which post?

He is a self-employed management consultant who knows what needs to be done in Muelldorf to get the municipality back into financial shape. With his experiences in management and rehabilitating bankrupt companies he has demonstrated that he knows how to assert himself.

This paragraph describes the candidate in greater detail. However, his competence is portrayed as a threat to the populace. "He knows what needs to be done". What exactly needs to be done is not clarified so that the future remains unclear. He can also "assert himself". The question that arises here is, against whom? Possibly against the citizens?

Ronald Mayer is familiar with the concerns and requirements of the city and knows how important decisions taken today are for the future of the city. With Ronald Mayer, Muelldorf will create a stir in the entire district and state.

The paragraph focuses on the future of the city and not that of the citizens. He is not concerned about the welfare of the citizens but the "stir" that will be "created".

Ronald Mayer and the LFP want to put an end to the nonsense of nature and monument conservation that is only holding up the reorganisation of the city.

This is a direct and negative attack on certain citizens' groups. However, there is no positive portrayal of what will really happen afterwards. Where is the advantage for the citizens? The phrase "reorganisation of the city" does not contain any qualitative attributes and the formulation is too cold.

Ronald Mayer and the LFP intend to bring back a balanced budget. They will use funds from the state compensation fund and simultaneously introduce a strict austerity drive for Muelldorf. This will entail raising taxes and other levies. The ambitious plans of the previous coalition comprising the SWP and ARD to build an elaborate sports complex with swimming pool, gymnasium and sports halls must therefore be stopped on priority.

A very frequent mistake is to be found in this paragraph. Getting the budget back in shape is surely a positive thing. But it cannot be positively sold with "raising taxes and other levies" and

stopping the "sports complex". Despite the honesty of this paragraph it only spells out the negative aspects. This will result in the voters not voting for a party that promises to raise taxes and not fulfil their needs.

Another mistake is to use words that mean little to the citizens, such as "state equalisation fund".

One ground rule is to avoid mentioning opposing parties in one's own target image. In this case the lapse is even worse because the parties are mentioned in connection with a sports complex that is evidently desired by the citizens.

We want to demonstrate to the citizens that they can take care of themselves and do not constantly require aid from society.

Two classic mistakes: firstly, this paragraph is no longer formulated from a citizen's perspective. The "we" should be replaced by "Ronald Mayer and the LFP". Secondly, by using phrases such as "constantly require aid from society" the paragraph manages to portray the citizens so negatively as to alienate them and drastically reduce the probability of being elected.

The candidates of the LFP are competent and committed proponents of the idea of scaling down citizens' demands vis-à-vis the city. Therefore, all citizens wanting a realistic future for Muelldorf and its citizens must elect the candidates of the LFP and Ronald Mayer as mayor.

This paragraph once again reinforces the negative attitude of the candidates towards the citizens. They are "competent" in "scaling down citizen demands".

It is only in the very last sentence that it transpires that Ronald Mayer is candidate for the post of mayor.

How should this target image be correctly and positively formulated without altering the political agenda?
The Liberal Freedom Party (LFP) is a party of independent citizens in Muelldorf. It is the party that aims to ensure that Muelldorf receives the recognition the city deserves. Together with the citizens it will take the initiative in getting the city to assume a leading role in the region. The LFP's candidate for the post of mayor is Ronald Mayer.

He is a self-employed management consultant who knows how to create jobs, raise incomes and is aware of how the municipality can be financially rehabilitated through administrative reforms. With his experience in management and in successfully

rehabilitating companies in danger of closure he has proved that rehabilitation can be carried out in a humane and socially sensitive way.

Ronald Mayer is familiar with the concerns and requirements of the city and knows how important decisions taken today are for the future of the city, its citizens and especially the youth. With Ronald Mayer as mayor, Muelldorf will achieve recognition, allowing the citizens of Muelldorf to be proud of their city.

Ronald Mayer and the LFP want to put an end to excessive regulations that prevent the citizens and the administration from reorganising the city so that traffic can once again flow smoothly, industry and trade can prosper and the people of Muelldorf are able to work, shop and live in an attractive environment.

Ronald Mayer and the LFP intend to reform the budget through higher income from the state, more tax revenues from a flourishing industry and through adequate pricing of efficient and high quality services in the city. At the same time they wish to distance themselves from prestige projects that only serve to enhance the reputation of politicians and not that of the vast majority of citizens in Muelldorf. This will give Muelldorf the necessary financial reserves for tasks that the city really needs.

Ronald Mayer and the LFP want to free the citizens from being subordinated to the administration and the bureaucracy. They will give the citizens the freedom they need to develop their initiative for the benefit of themselves and their city districts and neighbourhoods.

The candidates of the LFP are competent and committed representatives of the citizens who are prepared to assume responsibility for a dynamic development of the city. Therefore, all citizens wanting a better future for Muelldorf and its citizens must elect the candidates of the LFP and Ronald Mayer as mayor.

16. Target groups

Target groups are defined as sub groups of the general public. They are used to steer the process of communication so that a broad reach is achieved with minimum scatter losses.

"The public" is too broad a term to be useful. A party's message (target image) is never of interest to everyone, consequently it is pointless to attempt to reach everyone.

Children and young adults who have not reached voting age or foreigners with no voting rights do not represent suitable target groups for a party formulating a campaign strategy. Issues relating to these groups may, of course, play a role but they themselves cannot be considered target groups.

Political organisations and candidates should be aware that each of their proposals will attract approval as well as fierce rejection.[101] Groups that are negatively inclined towards a party's political ideas cannot be regarded as target groups during an election. The situation is different for long term strategies and campaigns that aim to persuade and convert. Such groups can then be considered target groups because we will attempt to influence their perceptions by educating them.

Therefore, communication with target groups involves concentrating our energies and forces in areas where there is a probability of success in order to conserve resources.

How do we identify our target groups? Who has a specific interest in statements that the organisation wishes to disseminate? Who has an interest in the products that the party, candidate, government or organisation offer?

One way of determining this is to examine which social groups are particularly attracted by a statement in the target image. This is the job of market research[102], which needs to be carried out on a continual basis.

Target groups are always groups of people with distinct and clearly defined characteristics. We call them social or even life-style target groups. There are primarily three modes of access to such target groups.

1. Formal access (organisations, associations, clubs etc.)

2. Informal access (places of assembly)

3. Media access (media)

4. Access to electronic networks (internet, Web 2.0, social networks).

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[101] See Chapter 3.1: Struggle for power and influence.
[102] Instruments of market research are described in detail in Chapter 20.1: Obtaining information and intelligence.

Groups that regulate this access can themselves become target groups. Thus, formal access concentrates on activities relating to clubs and associations, informal access uses public relations activities while media access involves maintaining contacts with the media. Access to electronic networks involves direct contact with social networks through the internet, email, text messages and well-known networks, such as Facebook, twitter, Xing etc.

Target groups: types and access
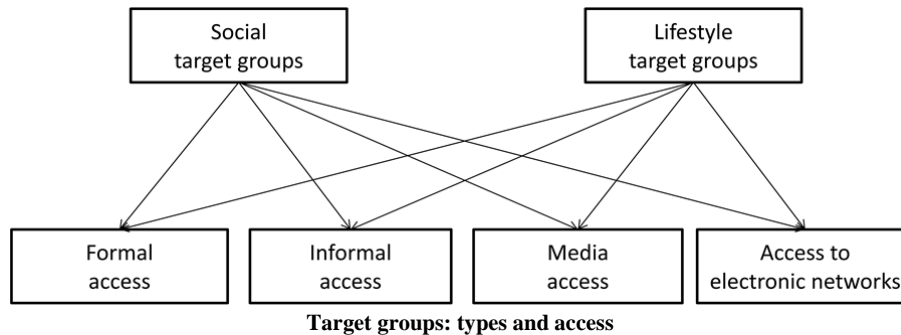
16.1 Social target groups

Social demographers divide society into socio-demographical sectors. The sectors represent social target groups. They can be bigger or smaller depending on the parameters applied. The criteria for such sectors could be:

- Differentiation based on gender: men, women

- Differentiation based on age: persons in specific age groups such as 11-20 year-olds, 21-30 year-olds etc., or general categories such as children, young, old

- Differentiation based on place of residence: persons living in rural areas, big cities, small cities, suburban areas.

- Differentiation based on occupation: occupational groups, unemployed, under employed, part time employed, workers, employees, civil servants, self-employed, contributing family members.

- Differentiation based on income: income categories.

- Differentiation based on religion: Christian, Muslim, Buddhist etc., Protestant, Catholic etc., members of sects, non-believers.

- Differentiation based on personal status: married, single, divorced, widowed, with children, without children.

- Differentiation based on memberships: trade union members, party members, members of clubs and associations

- Differentiation based on level of education: school leaving, vocational training, higher studies.

The groups can be made smaller and further narrowed down using Boolean AND operators to combine sectors. A narrowing down process would look like this:

Stage 1: Woman

Stage 2: Woman, divorced

Stage 3: Woman, divorced, with 1 child

Stage 4: Woman, divorced, with 1 child, part-time civil servant

Stage 5: Woman, divorced, with 1 child, part-time civil servant, living in big city.

This enables us to develop very specific target groups with correspondingly specific needs. If we are able to reach such target groups precisely, messages directed at them can be sent without dispersion losses.

Boolean OR operators can be used to combine target groups with similar needs. Sometimes doctors, pharmacists and other medical professions have common interests and needs. Even self-employed professionals in specialised fields can be clubbed together if they have similar requirements. For instance, a group comprising lawyers, architects and doctors might have similar problems on tax issues, but cannot be subsumed in the overall category of self-employed, as other sub groups, like artists, will have different concerns.

We can assume that clearly defined target groups will have similar or even identical need structures or they will have certain common expectations of the future or of politicians or governments. Larger target groups tend to have more divergent need structures and expectations. Large social groups are therefore not suitable as instruments for disseminating messages relating to satisfying needs or meeting expectations.

> *Example: The overall group of women is widely divergent in its needs and expectations. There are big differences in value perceptions which in turn are influenced by social environment. Women at universities will respond very differently to equal rights issues as compared to women living in traditional, rural societies. Something that one group may find easy to accept and approve of may inspire fear and rejection in other groups.*

The same problems would crop up if one considered "youth" as one group. Factors such as social standing, education, work, social milieu etc. greatly influence perceptions of politics and political decisions. Given the great disparities in this target group – similar problems would occur if one considered all older citizens as one group – mass campaigns such as women's campaigns or youth campaigns have always turned out to be big disasters for parties and governments. The targeted results are never achieved because the message is too unfocused and the need structures of only one sub group of the main target group are completely met in a positive sense.

16.2 Lifestyle target groups

The problem of different value perceptions within large social target groups is resolved through the concept of lifestyle target groups.

Lifestyle and milieu studies represent a relatively recent approach in research and are suitable for examining issues in a diverse and pluralistic society. This approach has extended research on social classes to include orientation. The concept of lifestyle can be traced back to Max Weber. The modern definition of lifestyle[103] put forward by Sefan Hradil assumes that milieus can be distinguished according to lifestyles.

Social milieus such as lower class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class and upper class are associated with value orientations such as the basic traditional tendency to "preserve", materialistic tendencies of "possessing", the hedonism of "enjoying", post materialist "being" and post modernist "having, being, enjoying"[104].

This model has the following milieu descriptions:

Milieu description

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[103] Andreas Klocke: *Sozialer Wandel, Sozialstruktur und Lebenstile in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland;* 1993.
[104] Source: Sinus Heidelberg 1994.

These milieus help us to better assign political issues to the right target groups. The lifestyle categories depicted here are only intended as examples. Other institutions use other ways to describe lifestyle. Thomas Gensicke[105] distinguishes between the following lifestyles:

- Professionally-oriented materialist. This category is completely focused on professional success, which is achieved through self employment and climbing up the professional ladder. High incomes are supposed to provide security in old age. Self development, hedonism, family life and children are secondary in this pursuit.

- Committed idealist. This category is motivated to participate intensively in political and cultural activities. This compensates for its lower living standards while it attempts to make social conditions more humane and worth living.

- Individualistic hedonist. This category has a tendency towards territorial and occupational mobility. The intention is to get above average increments in income rather than moving up the social ladder. This is essentially a strategy for avoiding problems without increasing professional efforts and demands. Private space and hedonistic approaches are defended.

- Hopeless and resigned. This category displays withdrawal from public and professional life and lower demands, except when there is expectation of transfer payments.

- Active realist. This category displays heightened activity in all areas. Professional, cultural, political and leisure commitments go hand in hand. Personal responsibility and self development are the primary needs.

Another classification of lifestyle groups is more or less based on age groups within society. The following types are identified:

- Upwardly mobile young people

- Leftist, liberal minded, integrated post materialists

- Inconspicuous employees tending towards passivity

- Open-minded and adaptable normal citizens

- Upper class conservatives

- Integrated older people

- Post-material, alternative left leaning young people

- Duty minded employees with conventional mindsets

- Isolated older people.

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[105] Thomas Gensicke: *Lebenskonzepte im Osten Deutschlands;* in: BISS public*: Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus dem Berliner Institut für sozialwissenschaftliche Studien*; 9/92.

A survey[106] of lifestyle groups to whom certain preferences could be assigned based on market surveys was conducted in Germany by the RISC Institute for Research in Sociocultural Change. The following lifestyle groups were determined:

- Culture aficionados: balanced, independent, ethically committed, overwhelmingly self-employed, managers and senior civil servants, income on the higher side, 6.2% of the population.

- Sons of the soil: strong ethical values, overwhelmingly self-employed, managers and senior civil servants, income middle to high, 8.7 % of the population.

- Connoisseurs: hedonistically individualistic, overwhelmingly self-employed, income on the higher side, 3.2 % of the population.

- Nouveau riche: conventional, bourgeois, management employees, civil servants, self-employed, income middle to high, 13.2 % of the population.

- Trendy crowd: impulsively hedonistic, school going youth, students, small and middle level self-employed, medium income, 5.4 % of the population.

- Seekers: anomic (lawless), uprooted, no clear professional focus, middle income, 16 % of the population.

- Moralists: rigidly traditional, overwhelmingly low level employees and workers, income generally low, 14.9 % of the population.

- Unpretentious types: isolated, craving security, overwhelmingly workers or pensioners, income low to middle, 32.4 % of the population.

As is clear from the German examples, the classification into lifestyle groups is still quite arbitrary and subjective even in the field of sociology. There is no standardised classification of lifestyles.

While lifestyle target group analyses exist in some countries, no such studies are usually available. This in itself is not a significant problem if one wishes to use such lifestyle concepts. An intensive study of different lifestyles in society and assigning basic, social and safety needs to these lifestyle groups is relatively easy if one is familiar with a society. What is more difficult is to ascertain the behavioural patterns of these groups and post material need structures.

16.3 Deriving the target groups from the target image and the goals

Target groups are not indiscriminately selected. They are logically derived from the target image and the goals. When deriving from the target image, each sentence of the target image is analysed to determine which population group it would interest. When deriving from the goals, each goal is analysed to determine who will play a role in achieving it. This analysis results in the identification of the target groups.

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[106] Source: *Typologie der Wünsche;* Intermedia 96/97 II. Published in Focus 50/1996.

16.3.1 Examples illustrating how to derive the target groups from the target image

Let us examine a few sentences from the target image of the mayoral candidate in Herwald.

Sentence from the target image	Target groups
Heinz Roser and the FVA will liberate the citizens of the city from bureaucratic shackles and unnecessary regulations, leaving the citizens free to act in a way that will benefit both them and the city.	Citizens who have had bad experiences with over regulation. These primarily include: those wanting to construct or in the process of doing so, the self-employed and entrepreneurs, land owners, visitors or users of public facilities, tax payers
Heinz Roser and the FVA intend to modernise the administration, making it citizen-friendly and financially prudent, thus enabling it to reduce taxes and levies.	Users of public facilities, tax payers, people paying various fees, entrepreneurs and self-employed
Heinz Roser and the FVA will put an end to ecological dictatorship, allow traffic to flow freely and trade and economy to flourish, once again making Herwald an attractive location for work, shopping and living.	Car drivers, residents of roads that are affected by traffic jams, traders, entrepreneurs, shop owners, unemployed, shoppers
To achieve this, Heinz Roser and the FVA will also take up the issue of greater cleanliness and security for citizens.	People residing near parks and roads where the homeless loiter, property owners
Heinz Roser and the FVA will provide better opportunities and future prospects for the youth by ensuring less cancellation of classes, by increasing opportunities for sports, culture and leisure activities and by creating more training vacancies and jobs.	Future oriented youth, students of school leaving age, parents, teachers, members of sports clubs, cultural and leisure facilities

16.3.2 Examples illustrating how to derive the target groups from the goals

The goals defined in Chapter 13.1 are used as an example.

Goals	Target groups
By 1.10.xx we have received US $ 200.000 in donations. (Fund raising group).	Entrepreneurs, former contributors
By 1.7.xx 40% of our members have enlisted for voluntary campaign work. (Internal communications department).	Internal target group: inactive members
By 1.3.xx a modern health programme has been developed and approved. (Programme department)	Professionals in the field of health policy, members who are interested in working on health policy.

Once the target groups have been derived, the method of reaching them needs to be decided on. There are four means of access:

♦ Formal access

♦ Informal access

♦ Media access

♦ Access to electronic networks.

16.4 Formal access to the target groups

Formal access to the defined target groups takes place via organisations, institutions, associations, companies etc. that have a constitution or statutes, a clear structure, a contact address or defined areas of responsibility etc. These formal target groups can be found at all levels, i.e. at the national, regional and often even at the local level; sometimes at the international level too. In other words, access to these target groups is not restricted to specific levels. This means that a candidate will have opportunities to communicate with formal target groups in his constituency similar to those the national party has at the national or perhaps even the international level.

Formal access points can be identified by analysing the defined social or lifestyle target groups to determine which organisations they are represented in:

Social or lifestyle target groups	Formal access
Tax payers	Association of tax payers, association of property owners, tenants' association, employers' association, chamber of industry and commerce, consumer organisations etc.
Entrepreneurs, the self-employed	Chamber of industry and commerce, trade corporations, traders' association etc.
Car drivers	Automobile clubs, taxi operators associations etc.
Teacher	Teachers' associations, trade union for education and science etc.

The classic formal target groups include:

♦ Government, parliament, administration

♦ Military organisations

♦ Embassies

♦ Parties, political movements

♦ International organisations (Amnesty International, Green Peace, UNO etc.)

♦ Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

- Churches and other religious organisations
- Organisations for science and research
- Organisations for education and training
- Organisations for art and culture
- Trade unions
- Professional organisations
- Employer's associations
- Associations of civil servants
- Consumer organisations
- Women's' organisations
- Youth organisations
- Ethnic organisations
- Social organisations

Every political organisation and candidate should prepare a file of such formal target groups containing the names, contact persons, addresses and telephone numbers. Usually it is necessary to nurture and build up a relationship over many years before any advantages can be derived from these contacts. Regular exchanges of information and interaction are a precondition for being able to optimally leverage these target groups.

The outcome and advantages of effective work with formal target groups lies in the following areas:

1. Identification of opinion leaders and multipliers who can pass on messages directed at them.
2. Access to events and meetings of the associations and organisations which enables direct contact with members of the organisations.
3. Access to the organisations' media to disseminate messages through this channel.
4. Utilisation of the communications channels and logistics of such organisations.

In some cases such contacts are necessary for very different reasons. For instance, in countries where the armed forces play a dominant role, contacts with military organisations are important simply to be aware of the tolerance limit of the ruling military class and to what extent demands can be raised without running the risk of a military coup when attempting to assume power.

In other cases it may be necessary to document political activities at the international level. This not only builds up an international reputation but can also act as an

international safety shield for one's own politicians in a crisis situation. Contacts with international party organisations can achieve this as well as contacts with embassies in one's own country.

Formal target group access is very suitable for low budget campaigns since it is often sufficient to inform the multipliers in an organisation who then in turn inform the members.

16.5 Informal access to target groups

Informal access to target groups means to concentrate on places and groups that are united by a common interest which brings them together at the same place at the same time. These groups are difficult to reach at places other than these meeting points and therefore need to be addressed at these locations.

Informal target groups are almost invariably target groups with a local or regional character and can therefore only be accessed locally. As a rule, local organisational units are responsible for addressing such informal target groups.

Informal target groups could be spectators at a sports event. They all assemble at the same place at the same time and have similar interests.

Informal access points are derived from the social target groups in the same way as formal access was.

Social or lifestyle target groups	Informal access
Tax payers	Visitors to the tax office, demonstrations by fee payers, tenant meetings etc.
Entrepreneurs, the self-employed	Meetings or events of associations, Rotarians etc.
Car drivers	Traffic jams, petrol pumps, taxi ranks, automobile showrooms etc.
Teacher	Schools, teacher meetings, teacher training programmes etc.

16.6 Media access to target groups

Access to target groups via the media is a widely prevalent form of access. There is paid for and unpaid usage of the medium which offer different levels of control over the outcome. Unpaid access attempts to influence editorial content in the media. Paid for access is used to disseminate one's message by means of bought time or space.

We now look at how to access the same social groups as above through the media.

Social or lifestyle target groups	Media access
Tax payers	Property and real estate newspapers, newsletters

Social or lifestyle target groups	Media access
	of building societies, consumer protection magazines, TV and radio programmes dealing with tax issues etc.
Entrepreneurs, the self-employed	Financial newspapers, newspapers with an extensive financial section, financial programmes on radio and TV, newsletters of chambers of industry and commerce and trade corporations
Car drivers	Newsletters of automobile clubs, auto magazines, radio and TV programmes on cars and related topics etc.
Teacher	Magazines with information on education, school newsletters, newsletters of associations etc.

16.7 Social networks and Web 2.0

In recent years there has been a steady evolution in electronic communication, facilitating access to target groups directly through social networks. There are far in excess of 150 large networks. The most well known amongst these are e.g. Facebook, myspace, Xing, Stayfriends, classmates.com, Tumblr and Twitter. Within the large social networks there are sub groups that can be assigned to specific target groups. In smaller, isolated networks, the network already comprises the intended target group.

Social or lifestyle target groups	Access to electronic networks
Tax/fee payers	Sub groups that are part of larger networks, such as Facebook, Xing, even regional tenant networks etc.
Entrepreneurs, self-employed persons	Xing.com, LinkedIn, yelp, regional business networks.
Car drivers	Car driver blogs, auto sports networks etc.
Teachers	Sub groups in big networks, e.g. Facebook, LinkedIn, academia.edu, Twitter (@TeacherNetwork), but also online teacher forums etc.

16.8. Multipliers and opinion leaders

Multipliers and opinion leaders play an important role in influencing target groups both through formal as well as informal channels.

The debate on the concept of opinion leadership was initiated through a survey on the influence of press and broadcasting media on voter opinion during the American presidential elections in 1940. Contrary to popular perception, the impact of the mass media on voter behaviour was significantly lower than that of friends, acquaintances

and colleagues. It also emerged that the opinions, advice and attitudes of certain persons could greatly influence the opinions of persons in their circle. Lazarsfeld[107] coined the termed opinion leaders for such people. These findings then led to the two step flow model of communication. The model states that information from the mass media is absorbed by opinion leaders in the first stage and then transferred to less active members via personal communication in peer groups.

```
┌──────────┐        ┌──────────┐              ┌──────────┐
│  Mass    │        │ Opinion  │         →    │  Less    │
│          │   →    │          │              │          │
│  media   │        │ leaders  │         →    │  active  │
│          │        │          │              │          │
└──────────┘        └──────────┘         →    │recipients│
                                              └──────────┘
```

Two step flow of communication
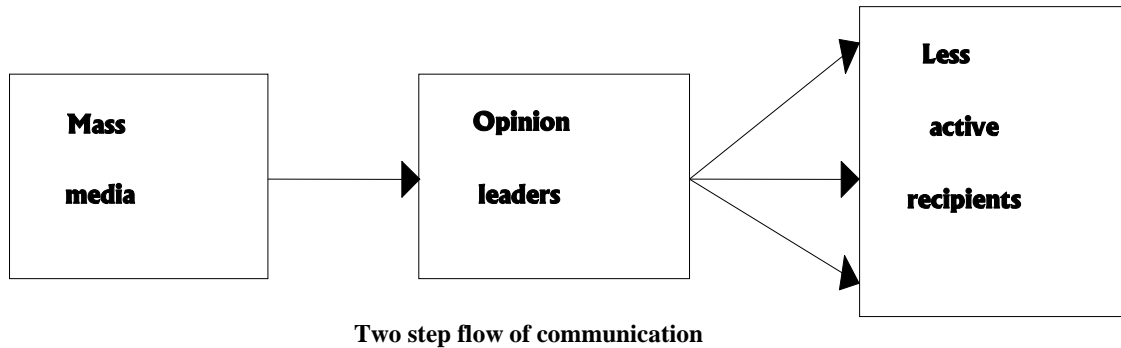
The concept of opinion leadership first of all recognises that individuals are members of primary groups and are integrated in a network of social interactions that in turn greatly influence the impact of the mass media.

Other terms used synonymously with opinion leader reveal the scope and spread of this type of communication, for instance, there are opinion makers, opinion givers, advisors, multipliers, influencers, persons with strong personalities, gate keepers, innovators, trendsetters, fashion leaders, tastemakers, inductors and exchangers.

Research on this type of communicative behaviour relating to public opinion has led to the following (summarised) insights:

1. There is no explicit correlation between demographic and psychological traits and opinion leadership. Opinion leaders are differentiated according to product segments and do not generally have a different social status or age profile from opinion followers.

2. Every product and service segment has its own structure of opinion leaders.

3. Opinion leaders play a role in product segments that are associated with a relatively high purchase risk or where the products are associated with certain values. This could include membership in a value oriented organisation (party) or voting for a particular party. The different types of competence that can be assigned to the opinion leader play a role here, namely practical (technical and functional) or social (norms and value related) competence.

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[107] Lazarsfeld et al.:*The people's choice*; New York, 1948.

4. The process of information dissemination and influencing is not directed from top to bottom. It is generally wrongly assumed that persons of a higher social status influence people of lower social standing. The social distance between opinion leaders and opinion followers is actually small. Inter-personal communication primarily takes place between persons with a similar social status.

5. Opinion leaders tend to be evenly distributed within all demographic segments of a population.

6. Opinion leaders are not the same as innovators, i.e. persons who are the first within a society to latch on to a new idea.
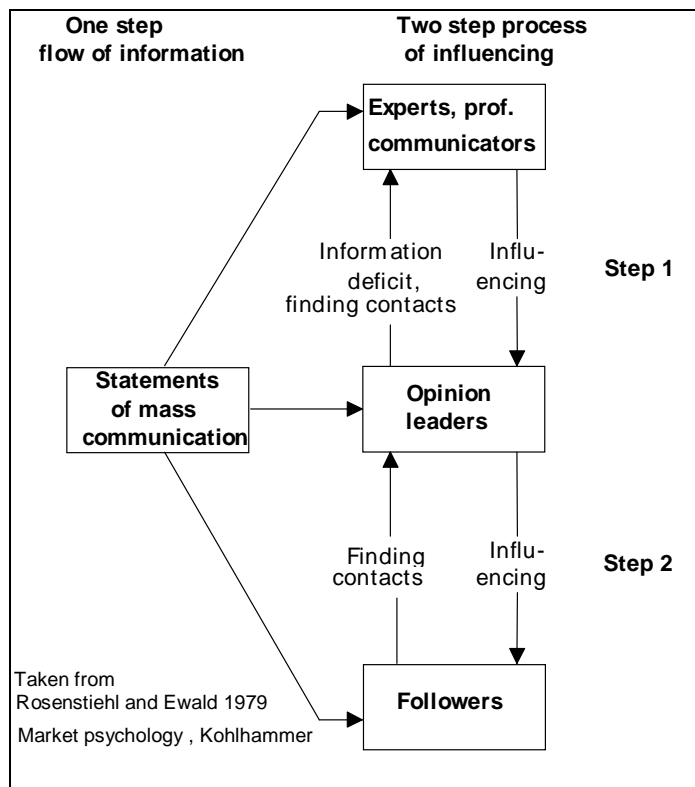
Two step flow of communication 2

The hypothesis of a one-way information flow in a two stage communication process needs to be narrowed down (opinion leaders). The opinion leader cannot be regarded as a unilateral multiplier because he is an information disseminator and information seeker in almost equal measure. This very important link is illustrated in the figure. It is clear that the opinion leader in turn is influenced by "experts" or "professional communicators". Consequently, to influence the communication process with a broad target group over a sustained period of time, an organisation should identify opinion

leaders for this target group, bind these opinion leaders to its experts and steer them in this way. It does not make sense to induct the opinion leaders as party members. They would then no longer be regarded as neutral and credible, and would lose influence among their followers. At the same time, bear in mind that opinion leaders lose credibility and consequently influence among their followers if they make wrong recommendations. The party must therefore never ask the opinion leaders it has identified to promote something that later turns out to be misinformation. Opinion leaders are not multipliers who commercially disseminate a message; they must be convinced of their message.

16.9 Determining the value preferences of target groups

Politics in the form of party politics or as practised by governments is always related to value perceptions and expectations. It may happen that certain policies or advantages that are offered will appeal to a certain group, but this group must be excluded as a target group because its overall values do not fit in with those of the party.

> *Example: A socialist party with a classic orthodox and rule oriented outlook takes a liberal stance on a particular issue (e.g. same sex marriages). Although this stand would be positively viewed among certain liberal target groups, these groups will nevertheless not become addressees of a socialist party since on other issues (e.g. economic policy) its values are too removed from those of the liberal target groups.*

Therefore it is advisable to subject the target groups selected through the processes described above to further scrutiny. This process used to determine the match in value preferences is called a stakeholder analysis.

Positive attitude   **Negative attitude**

Category 1
Complete
approval

Category 2
Strong
approval

Category 3
Partial
approval

Category 4
Weak
approval

Category 5
Neutral

Category 6
Weak
rejection

Category 7
Partial
rejection

Category 8
Strong
rejection

Category 9
Total
rejection
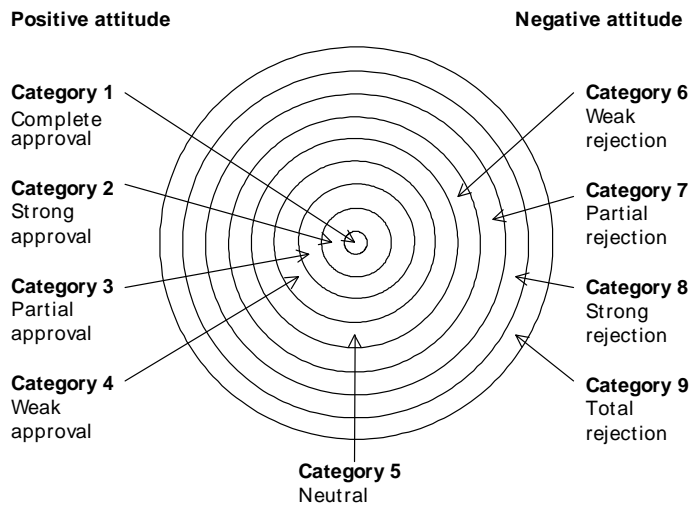
Determining value preferences through concentric circles

This analysis is used to estimate the proximity between the value preferences of the target groups and of the government or political party. It is then possible to determine whether the target groups are suitable addressees or if the organisation's overall position elicits strong rejection in the target group.

A bar chart can also be used to depict approval and rejection.
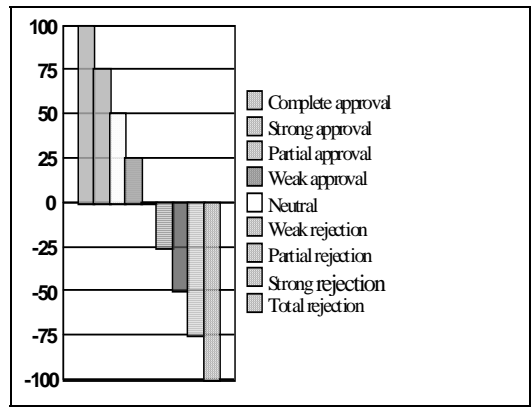
If the analysis reveals that a target group tends largely towards rejection but approves of some offers, one should review whether the target group should be involved in the communication process or not.

The stakeholder analysis, which is a method to identify groups that approve of specific projects, is also suitable as a method to describe situations and can be used as part of the situational analysis.

16.9.1 Problems of intersection

Another phenomenon that occurs in conjunction with the stakeholder analysis is the incompatibility of issues and/or target groups.

> *Example: A political party wishes to make the protection of minorities a campaign issue. This is not a problem as long as the party does not specify any particular issues or groups. But the issue itself lends itself to being made more specific. If the party now decides to take up three main issues relating to minorities, such as protection for homosexuals, improvements in the penal system and legalisation of drug usage, the problem of interference occurs.*

Since not all homosexuals accept drugs, not all prisoners accept homosexuality and not all drug users are in favour of liberal clauses in the penal code, these minorities cannot be combined. It becomes clear here that it is always only a subset of a minority that accepts the interests of another minority. This is illustrated below:

Approve of drugs

Approve of homosexuality

Approve of a better penal code

Overlap quantiy 1:
Approve of
a better penal code

Overlap quantity 2:
Approve of
and drugs

Overlap quantity 3:
Approve of drugs and
a better penal code

Overlap quantity 4:
Approve of drugs,
penal code and homo-
sexuality
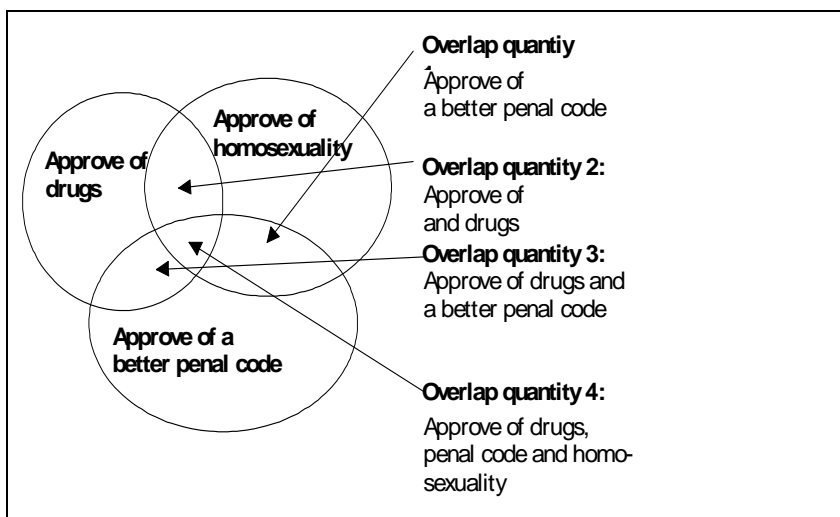
Problems arise for the party because by applying the Boolean operator AND, approval among the three minorities is reduced to overlap quantity 4, which is much smaller than the sum of the individual minorities.

16.10 Accessibility of target groups

The accessibility of target groups is occasionally a problem in itself. Many target groups defined through the target image analysis cannot be identified or accessed.

> *Example: Supposing security in a city is to be made an issue, target groups will need to be identified. The target group "people who are afraid" is of course a suitable target group, but the description of the target group is inadequate because it does not display any common, visible features. It cannot be reached through formal, informal or media channels or through electronic networks.*

Target groups need to be defined and selected in a way that makes it possible to reach them. In the example above, these could be old people who tend to feel insecure easily, or home owners who are afraid of burglary. This is a more clearly defined target group that can consequently also be accessed.

The basic rule is that a target group that cannot be reached is not a target group.

16.11 Evaluation of target group selection from the target image

As in all strategic steps, the target group selection must also be evaluated. The following questions should be answered:

1. Are there enough advantages for the target group?
2. Does the target group lie within the value proximity categories 1 – 6?
3. Can the target groups be accessed?
4. Are there sufficient access channels to the target groups or can the target group only be accessed through one channel (informal, formal, media, electronic networks) and are these channels open to us?
5. How large are the target groups?
6. How significant are the overlaps between target groups? Is there an intersection problem between target groups and issues?

16.12 Feedback on the goals

When target groups are derived from the goals, it is again necessary to evaluate whether the target groups are mutually compatible and also if PR activities based on the target image are compatible with target groups derived from the goals.

> *Example: If we wish to tap entrepreneurs for funds but our target image states that workers will get tax relief as a result of increased corporate taxes, we will find it practically impossible to get money out of businessmen.*

The statement in the target image is therefore not compatible with the target group of entrepreneurs.

During this evaluation we need to ask ourselves:

1. Are the statements in the target image compatible with the target groups that were derived from the goals?

2. Once the target groups have been established, are the goals realistic in terms of scope and time?

16.13 Feedback on the mission

Feedback on the mission is done primarily to determine whether the defined target groups, which naturally represent the potential numbers we are trying to reach, will be adequate to achieve the quantitative goal of the mission, assuming realistic success rates.

If a candidate has defined his target group such that he can potentially reach a maximum of 40 % of voters, he will hardly be able to get 51 % of voters to vote him in as president. It is important here to assess whether the target group size is compatible with the goals of the mission.

17. Target group message

17.1 Defined message for individual target groups

When selecting target groups, certain parts of the target image are analysed to ascertain which parts appeal to which sections of the population. This means identifying which advantages are perceived very positively by certain groups.

If components of the target image are now categorised according to target groups, distinct target images for individual target groups can be obtained.

In Chapter 16.3.1 we were able to derive target groups from the target image of the mayoral candidate in the city of Herwald. One of the target groups was that of "entrepreneurs". This chapter will discuss which target image should be activated for this target group.

We first look at the general paragraphs, i.e. paragraphs 1, 5 and 6.

Paragraph 1:

The Free Voting Association Herwald (FVA) is an independent, non-partisan group representing the citizens in the Herwald city council. It is open to all citizens. The FVA is participating in the next municipal elections and has put up its chairperson, Heinz Roser, as candidate for the post of mayor. Its purpose is to clean up the mess of nepotism in Herwald and to prepare the city and its districts for the future.

Paragraph 5:

Heinz Roser, the mayoral candidate, was born in Herwald. He is a successful businessman. With his knowledge of law and management skills, he possesses all the qualities required of a competent administrative head. He also has a long background in social and volunteer work and enjoys the confidence of all those who require professional assistance.

Paragraph 6:

The candidates of the FVA are competent and committed representatives of their districts. Therefore, all citizens wanting a better future for Herwald and its citizens must elect the candidates of the FVA to the council and Heinz Roser as mayor.

These paragraphs contain general information about the FVA and Heinz Roser. The following paragraphs (analysed in Chapter 16.3.1) are of special interest for entrepreneurs.

Paragraph 2:

Heinz Roser and the FVA will liberate the citizens of the city from bureaucratic shackles and unnecessary regulations, leaving the citizens free to act in a way that will benefit both them and the city. Heinz Roser and the FVA intend to modernise the administration, making it citizen-friendly and financially prudent, thus enabling it to reduce taxes and levies.

Paragraph 3, sentence 1:

For the target group "car drivers", paragraphs 1, 5 and 6 are of a general nature and paragraph 3, sentence 1 is especially relevant.

For the target group "parents", paragraphs 1, 5 and 6 are again valid in general, while paragraph 4 is directed specifically at them: *Heinz Roser and the FVA will provide better opportunities and future prospects for the youth by ensuring less cancellation of classes, by increasing opportunities for sports, culture and leisure activities and by creating more training vacancies and jobs.*

17.2 Target group messages derived from the goals

Target images also need to be developed for target groups that are derived from the goals. These can simply comprise certain components of the target image, or they can be tailored more specifically to individual target groups.

Continuing with the example of entrepreneurs: on the one hand they constitute the target group of voters; on the other hand, this target group is also derived from goals, namely when the focus is on fundraising[108].

In addition to the target group messages for entrepreneurs presented in the previous chapter we also need specific messages to enhance donations from entrepreneurs. Consequently it is necessary to add on a special message, such as the following:

The FVA and Heinz Roser require funds for their election campaign to enable them to fulfil the important task of serving the entrepreneurs of this city. Without financial resources there is every danger that the ABC Party may win a majority, which would prove detrimental to entrepreneurs of the city. Heinz Roser is himself an entrepreneur and deservers the solidarity of entrepreneurs in Herwald.

17.3 Problem of additional incentives and the overlapping information market

The more elements there are that are relevant and offer advantages to a target group, the stronger the support a government, political party or candidate enjoys in this group. Consequently, there is often the temptation to develop additional advantages by making promises to only a particular target group. As discussed earlier in the example of

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[108] See Chapter 16.3.2.

"separate" pay hikes for teachers in Chapter 5.8, offering incentives of this kind can be risky if, for example, other public servants learn of the promise and also demand a raise for themselves. Thus one very quickly runs the risk of promising everything and finally not being able to fulfil anything.

Creating additional incentives – "election gifts" for specific target groups (retired persons, civil servants and public sector employees are especially favoured) – during the final phase of elections is a normal occurrence. However this does not always pay off because rivals also follow suit, thus restoring parity.

Parties and politicians therefore try to use closed channels with regard to certain incentives. These are used when making promises about which the other target groups are to be kept in the dark or which the other target groups may be upset by[109].

> *Example: During campaigning for elections to the German federal parliament in 1980, one party sought to woo the target group of homosexuals (approx. 6-8 percent of voters) by promising to amend the Criminal Code. This was advertised only in the homosexual media. It was assumed that this message would be restricted to homosexuals and hence the majority heterosexual population would not get agitated. However a few days prior to the elections the story broke in a widely circulated tabloid, with headlines about this covert campaign. An outraged priest had set the cat among the pigeons.*

This example clearly demonstrates that one cannot rely on closed channels or modes of communication. Access to information is always possible. In the age of computers it could even mean occasionally becoming a hacker. Normally, one must reckon with a spillover effect.

17.4 Evaluating target group messages

The evaluation of target group messages is relatively simple. The following questions should be asked:

1. Are the messages complete?

2. Are there different messages for different target groups? If not, it is not necessary to conduct separate campaigns for the target groups; the target groups can be combined using the Boolean operator OR.

3. Are additional incentives incorporated in the message only when there is no other possibility of enhancing attractiveness (of the party, candidate, policy etc.)?

4. Is the sum of incentives and messages compatible with the target image?

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[109] See Chapters 16.8 and 16.8.1 on the incompatibility of target groups.

18. Key Instruments

In this planning step we specify the instruments that will primarily be used to achieve our goal. We establish the degree of aggression to be adopted, which typical actions are planned, how communication will take place and which means of communication we will employ. The instruments thus comprise both actions and means.

They cover a wide spectrum ranging from distribution of information material and the use of mass media, personal meetings, demonstrations, strikes and the occupation of buildings to militant activities and civil war.

We distinguish between

1. Instruments of communication

2. Non violent action

3. Violent action

18.1 Communicative behaviour of political groups

Communication[110] between political groups (parties, legislative bodies, different levels of the executive, citizen initiatives, NGOs etc.) on one side and citizens and voters on the other takes place according to various models and is sometimes planned, but frequently unplanned. Intra-group communication, that is communication within political groups and amongst citizens and voters, also follows a similar pattern. In political communication we distinguish between three basic forms:

1.   Propaganda

2.   Advertising

3.   Public relations

18.1.1 Propaganda

The term propaganda can be traced back to "congregatio de propaganda fide"[111]. According to the Brockhaus encyclopaedia, propaganda is a form of advertising certain spiritual objectives and political and religious beliefs. The term with its initially positive connotations gained political relevance during the course of the French Revolution, when it acquired increasingly negative overtones. After 1848, propaganda became a slogan of political anarchism. During World War I, "war propaganda" (atrocities propaganda) became a key instrument in waging war. The National Socialist regime in Germany used propaganda as a means of indoctrination to keep citizens in line once public channels of communication had been brought to heel.

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[110] There is extensive literature available on the theory of communication. One recommended work is: J. Habermas: *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*; 2 Vols. 1982.
[111] Congregation for propagating the faith, established by Pope Gregory XV.

An organisation using propaganda defines itself as being outside the system and attempts to influence public opinion towards a certain direction. Any information given to the system is intended to serve only this purpose. There is no possibility of feedback and discussion[112].
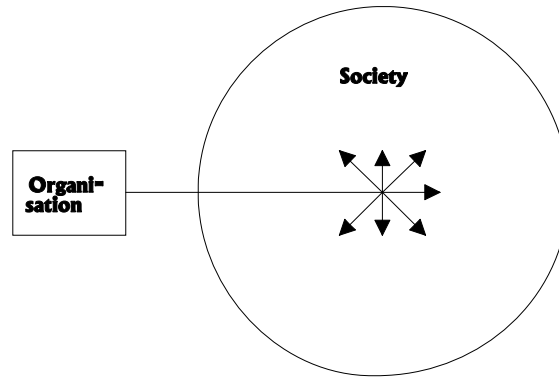
How propaganda works

18.1.2 Advertising

As with propaganda, in advertising, too, the organisation defines itself as being outside the system. Here again there is no possibility of discussion about the product. Feedback does take place but no longer impacts the message once the advertising phase commences. As opposed to propaganda, however, advertising does not attempt to manipulate society as a whole. It attempts to influence the buying or voting decisions of specific target groups or their decisions regarding commitments or financial contributions to the organisation. This form of communication is employed in the closing phases of any campaign. The only objective is to mobilise the potential that has already been created.
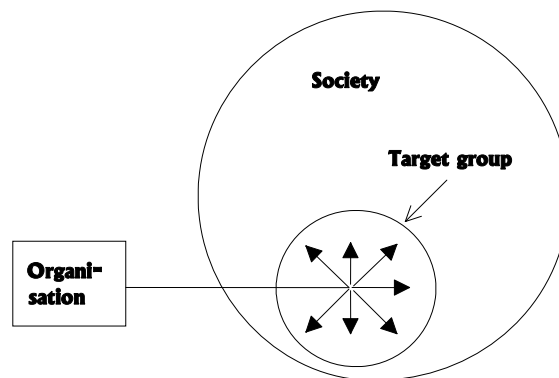
How advertising works

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[112] See also Chapter 24.1.1: Totalitarian regimes

18.1.3 Public relations

PR activities are used by the organisation to define itself as being part of the system. The organisation transmits information outwards, but is also open to external feedback and thus undergoes continual change during this communication process. This type of communicative behaviour makes sense in the pre-campaign phase but not in the hot phase, because one cannot sell a constantly changing product.
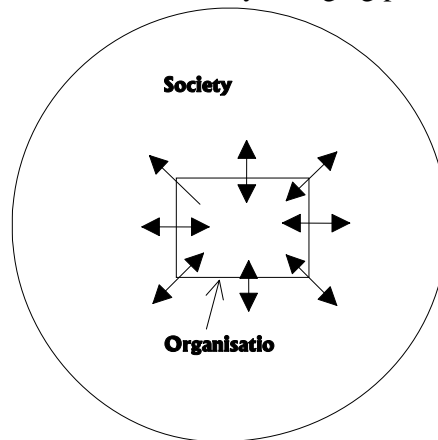
How public relations works

18.2 Medium of communication

There are many different kinds of communication media and their effectiveness is influenced by a variety of factors. Communicative behaviour in different cultural settings plays a role, for one. In many countries communication tends to take place very directly, that is mainly through face-to-face contact. In other countries the print media play a more important role. Their effectiveness is largely dependent on the literacy rate. In still other countries, electronic media, such as television, radio and the internet have a decisive influence on communication. Of course, there are also all possible combinations, permutations and transitions between these media. Another factor is the cost of various communication media, which naturally differs. Moreover, laws regulating access or restrictions are very country-specific.

It is therefore impossible to make any fundamental or universally applicable statements regarding efficacy, useful advertising channels or the selection of advertising and communication instruments or combinations of instruments.

However, while this may not be possible for individual forms of media, it is possible to make statements on certain categories of media. In communication one distinguishes between controlled and uncontrolled media.

18.2.1 Controlled media

Controlled media reproduce exactly what we, the sender of the message, put out. Some examples of this are advertisements, TV and radio spots, posters, brochures, own websites, emails, blogs and any medium where we can formulate the message ourselves. Clearly the advantage these media offer is the accurate transmission of the message. The disadvantage is that they are expensive and lack credibility among target persons.

18.2.2 Uncontrolled media

Uncontrolled media are editorial contributions in newspapers, television and radio news, statements made by multipliers and opinion leaders and the communications of members of political parties within their social environment. More recently, they also include the array of possibilities offered by electronic communication, since persons who can be reached through electronic means and social media would be considered part of the members' social environment.

The advantage is that these media are quite cost effective and simultaneously possess higher credibility. A voter will have much less faith in a newspaper advertisement than in an editorial article printed right next to the advertisement. The disadvantage is that we can never be sure that our message will be accurately conveyed.

In general one may say that the media mix shifts towards uncontrolled media when an organisation has fund constraints and when there is difficulty in accessing formal media such as newspapers, television and radio.

18.2.3 Mixed forms

The emergence of diverse electronic mass media, such as the internet, Web 2.0 and similar interactive forums, has resulted in combining controlled and uncontrolled media so that we now have a hybrid. An example of this is viral marketing. It is a form of marketing that uses social media to direct attention towards a brand, product or a campaign, usually by employing a very unusual message. The objective of a viral marketing campaign is to motivate users to share it with their friends and other contacts, who in turn share it with their contacts etc. This explains the term viral[113]. Of course, the campaign must offer some entertainment value so that users have a reason to spread it[114].

The epidemic-like spread of the message is similar to that of word-of-mouth, although this cannot be compared to the principle of viral marketing. Word-of-mouth is usually initiated by neutral participants. On the other hand, there is always an organisation and

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[113] In his book, *The Tipping Point: How little things can make a big difference*, Macolm Gladwell examined the impact of messages that spread like viruses even before advent of the electronic component. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, New York, London.
[114] Deutsche Telekom no longer found it entertaining when the advertising character Chad Kroski created by T-Mobile took on a life of its own, with internet users adding some rather unlikeable characteristics.

strategy behind viral marketing. The information in viral marketing is transferred very rapidly, like a biological virus, from one person to another. The process of disseminating the information begins with "seeding", or the strategic and target group focused placement and dissemination of viral messages in a relevant online forum or interest group. The placement of the message is done through videosharing or picture sharing portals, such as YouTube and Flickr, and blogs, forums and internet sites relevant to the issue. Real-time media, such as chats, Instant Messenger and emails, are most commonly used for dissemination.

18.3 Instruments of communication

Individual instruments of communication are listed below. The list is not indicative of any priorities.

18.3.1 Direct or one-on-one contact with citizens

The personal interaction between representatives of a political party (candidate, office holder, ordinary member) and citizens or voters is qualitatively the best form of communication. There are a variety of opportunities and methods to apply this.

– Everyday social interactions

One way of enhancing communication, irrespective of whether the media have a positive or negative stance, is to involve party members in communicating with voters. If the party allows, its members can play the role of salespersons or ambassadors. Socially, they are in touch with a large number of people: daily conversations with neighbours, interactions with the hairdresser or the baker, discussions with colleagues or clients and social occasions with friends and relatives. On average, everyone has about 20 to 30 social interactions a day. Naturally it is not possible to turn all of these interactions into a political discussion. Nevertheless, many opportunities do present themselves to drop a word about the party. As Election Day approaches, the likelihood of talking about political issues increases.

So what should the member talk about? Many members are hesitant to talk about specific issues. Others have no problem with the issues but their ramblings may not always be in tune with the intentions of those who devise the strategy. A small tool known as a "five point card" helps members to be strategically prepared during an election. The card is a small paper, the size of a visiting card, which contains five short reasons in favour of one's own party on one side. On the other side there are five points against the other party, or at least the main rival. The card can have the following format:

I do not support or vote for a political party that is:	I support and vote for Party A because it aims to:
• Responsible for mismanagement and bad investments and whose reckless policies have led city X into a debt crisis	• Put an end to mismanagement and bad investments and rid city X of its huge debt burden
• Continuously raising taxes and other charges and ripping us off in all possible ways	• Keep taxes and other charges in check, and not impose a very high financial burden on us citizens
• Incapable of attracting investors who will create new jobs and instead is blocking new building zones and the establishment of discount stores in city districts.	• Increase revenues rather than expenditure by designating new building zones, making better shopping options available within city districts and attracting investments that will create new jobs
• Obsessed with investing in prestige projects resulting in mounting debt rather than providing more opportunities and greater safety for our children.	• Prioritise investment in children and young adults, rather than being obsessed with building prestige projects
• Threatening the future of our city.	• Lead our city towards a secure future.

On the right are arguments in favour of one's own party. These correspond to the planned strategy and highlight the positive offers of the party. On the left are the matching arguments against the rival party. The five-point card is like the two sides of a coin.

There are several advantages to this "advertising tool". First, it provides an orientation to party members about the issues the party needs to highlight in the election and on how to differentiate it from other parties. The second attractive element is its brevity. There are no long drawn explanations over several pages; the card comes straight to the point. This is especially important for those who are involved in political communication more or less by chance. The third element of advantage is that members can adapt the contents of the card depending on their audience. A university professor will formulate the points differently in a discussion with his colleagues as opposed to a hairdresser making small talk with his customers. Ultimately, of course, they are all talking about the same content.

Communication through members acquires great importance because it takes place through the medium of a personal conversation, which is always much more effective than any poster or pamphlet or even TV spots and other advertising. Exchanging information face-to-face builds trust and credibility.

If it wishes its members to play a significant role in election campaigns, a party must ensure effective internal communication between the persons deciding the strategy and the members who are sellers of the product. Most importantly, the party should not expect too much of its members. If the issues are highly complex, these should be explained in a way that everyone understands, or the issues must be simplified. Successful communication is not about having the most complex chain of arguments but about being able to explain the essential ideas concisely.

– *Canvassing, home visits*

Canvassing is one of the traditional methods of direct interaction with citizens or with voters during elections. Canvassing actually means "to solicit support" for something or to "work a constituency". There are different forms of canvassing, which can vary

considerably depending on daily routines and on prevailing habits and customs in different cultural environments. The forms of canvassing listed here are typical for central European regions. The style of canvassing may also depend on the type of electoral law and must be adapted accordingly.

House-to-house canvassing

Even house-to-house or door-to-door canvassing can be undertaken in different ways. It depends on the objective that is being pursued.

Traditional

Traditional house-to-house canvassing has the objective of spreading awareness about the candidate and establishing direct contact with the voters. It is a relatively easy process. First we identify the area where we want to establish contact with voters. It makes sense to select areas that have delivered good results for the party in the past or that are representative of our voter base in terms of social composition. Once the area is identified, we work on developing the message. We need to ask ourselves, what should the persons I meet think of me later and what should they remember?

For most candidates this will be their first interaction with the voters. Consequently the priority is to enhance recall. Thus an introduction with name and position or designation must be the first message to bring across. To reinforce this message it is very important to hand over a visiting card – with a photo or without. The candidate may also carry a small flyer stating his political objectives and hand this over if campaigning is at an advanced stage. The visiting card is especially important because the candidate should offer to the people he meets that they can contact him if they have any problems. Thus, contact details like the telephone number, email and of course, the postal address are required. A word of caution: such an offer should be made only if we really will be available later.

If the candidate is someone who is already relatively well-known, it is important to convey a message specifically for that city district or even street. Essentially, the candidate should be familiar with the situation in his canvassing area and not go entirely unprepared.

Apart from establishing contact, the most important part of canvassing is to win trust. This means that the candidate must be in a position to create this trust, be it through his external appearance, body language or what he says. The ability to listen is a very important aspect here. The candidate must give citizens the impression that he will take care of everyone in the same way, that the people are important to him and that their problems are his chief concern. At no time should the candidate take on the role of a missionary or a carpet dealer and attempt to sell something that the people do not want to have.

The next step is to determine a suitable time for canvassing. This should depend on people's daily routines in the selected area. Sometimes a Saturday morning is good

because many people might be working in their front gardens. In other cases a Saturday morning is in fact bad because people want to sleep late. The following general rules should be adhered to, at least in central European regions. In other cultures the rules could, of course, be completely different.

1. Only canvass during daylight hours and not when it is dark or after sunset.
2. The best time is between 5 pm and 8 pm. Avoid the evening news. People find it very disturbing to be called on at that time.
3. On weekends, focus on Saturdays, not on Sundays.
4. Try not to tour the area during bad weather because it then becomes difficult to refuse invitations to come inside people's homes.

This list makes it clear that the time for canvassing is fairly limited and must therefore be used optimally. This in turn implies that one must avoid entering the apartment or house that one is visiting. It takes too long and the people being visited are on home ground and consequently have too much control over the visit. Moreover, there are always people with limited social interaction who will attempt to monopolise the candidate for themselves and take up as much time as possible. To keep all this in check the rule is to speak to people at their doorstep and not unduly prolong this conversation, which means sticking to more or less 4-5 minutes per conversation.

Canvassing as an area leader

Since the party's area leader (also known as a precinct or block captain or neighbourhood coordinator) is a long term post, he can conduct canvassing over a longer period and is under less time pressure than a candidate. During canvassing the area leader should highlight his function of serving the citizens. This means he is the contact person in that city district or borough or precinct, which can be large or small depending on the number of area leaders. The objective is to familiarise the citizens and voters with the area leader so that by the end of a defined period he can stand as candidate and enjoys a high degree of recognition and trust in his area.

Canvassing with a team

This is the version that requires the most work, but it also has a sustained impact. This type of canvassing is done by three persons: the door knocker, the candidate and the note taker.
The door knocker initially goes alone and makes first contact. He is the one who gets the door opened, the one who rings the bell and announces the candidate. Once he has got the door opened, the candidate appears, briefly introduces himself and asks the residents about their problems and about negative or positive developments in the area. Meanwhile the door knocker has already left the doorstep and the note taker comes in his place. He notes down any complaints, requests and suggestions of the residents.

After listening briefly the candidate takes his leave, pointing out that the residents are in good hands with the note taker, who will note down their complaints. He also assures

them that he will look into the concerns and problems that are noted down. Experience shows that residents tend to become much less chatty once the candidate leaves, and the note taker is soon able to follow the candidate to the next open door.

Once a selected area has been worked in this way, the door knocker, candidate and note taker sit down together and discuss what to do with the gathered information. Here are some possibilities:

The residents expressed a desire for more information, for instance about the party's programme. They will then receive the programme along with a brief letter from the candidate thanking them for their time and attaching the programme or other desired document.

If the residents had complaints, the canvassers write letters to the concerned authorities and forward the complaint to the appropriate agency. In the letter they indicate that they will continue to follow up on the matter. A copy of this letter along with a letter from the candidate thanking the resident for his or her time and mentioning the candidate's initiative in writing to the authorities is sent to the concerned resident.

If residents offered some suggestions, they receive a letter stating what the candidate plans to do with regard to those ideas.

Thus in all cases a letter is written and distributed in the canvassing area the next day. This follow-up is what makes canvassing a success since it demonstrates the candidate's reliability and consequently builds trust among the citizens. If the candidate is not prepared to undertake the second part of this type of canvassing, i.e. put in hard work later, it is better to canvass according to the traditional method.

Citizens' open house

If the party has an office or the parliamentary party has rooms available, it is recommended that fixed open house timings should be announced for citizens to discuss their concerns and grievances. This only requires that the open house timings are announced through the appropriate party communication channels. Local factors will determine whether the party opts for the local newspaper, website or posters for this purpose. Such open houses are a good instrument for members of parliament to stay in touch with citizens and to build and stabilise trust.

Street meetings

Street meetings are about politicians or political parties seeking out areas where they expect voters to be present. Such opportunities are afforded e.g. by weekly markets, where the candidate or local party unit attempt to establish contact with the community, or simply public spaces where there is a likelihood of encountering people in large numbers. Or the candidate can simply go to a well frequented park on a weekend and strike up conversation with people.

Information booths on the street and at exhibitions

An information booth is an ideal instrument when we want to interact with citizens on a specific issue or even just to reach out. However, for it to be effective we have to be where it hurts. For instance, if the issue is traffic noise pollution, we should be at the place where there is traffic noise; for recurring traffic jams at the spot where traffic jams occur; for problems at a school outside the school and not in front of the railway station or a market place. Many times the information booth is at the wrong location because the authorities grant permission for that location and not for the area where there is a problem. When booths are set up at the wrong place, inability to obtain official permission is often cited as a reason. This may very well be the case, but does an information booth really have to look the role, with a table, sun umbrella and information material, or is it not sufficient for some members to stand in front of a car with some posters on it? That can definitely not be considered an information booth that requires permission.

Another type of information booth is the presence of a political party at trade fairs, exhibitions and other events. During such occasions the party rents a stall and mingles among the exhibitors or sellers. Such information booths require some advance preparation because the visual appearance and distributed messages and material need to be of a higher quality.

Neighbourhood celebrations

There are two types of neighbourhood celebrations or social gatherings. The first is the type in which celebrations (birthdays, anniversaries) that are taking place in any case are used to invite the candidate or get the candidate to be invited and ensure during the party that the candidate is able to interact with people. This is done without any official speech, perhaps with a discreet hint about the candidate's presence by the host. Apart from this the candidate must negotiate the party himself by way of small talk and perhaps a political discussion here and there.

The second type is the orchestrated version. Here the political party invites the community to a celebration for some or the other reason and attempts to market its candidate and programme. The first type seems to be more attractive from the perspective of efficiency and in view of the fund crunch typically faced by political parties.

Tables for regulars in pubs

A regulars' table refers both to a group comprising several persons who regularly meet at a pub as well as the (usually big and often round) table at which this group sits. Regulars' tables are not organised meetings and are thus only voluntary get-togethers for participants, while also having an element of commitment. The table is traditionally marked with a more or less elaborate card showing that the table is reserved for the regulars' gathering, which meets there at periodic intervals.

In rural areas and small communities, belonging to a regular's table was linked to high social status. For instance, until well into the second half of the 20th century, a village regular's table mainly had local dignitaries like the mayor, doctor, pharmacist, teacher, forester and well-to-do farmers. An invitation to someone from out of town to take a seat at the regular's table was considered a sign of high esteem and was not extended to everyone. In the Ibero-American region (Spain, Portugal, Latin America and Brazil) this tradition has been preserved till date in the "tertulias".

Wherever such traditional forms are available, they afford an opportunity for political parties to establish their presence and initiate contact with citizens. However, the old regulars' tables are on their way out in many countries. There are few regulars left and the benefits for the party are minimal. But there could be a new form of informal get-togethers that satisfy the need many people feel to interact casually in a small gathering after work. These are after-work hangouts. If some party members are able to become regulars at such an after-work hangout, it can quickly develop into an interesting meeting point for candidates, citizens, colleagues and friends. The informal style of communication about political and semi-political topics is an ideal way to supplement information programmes on radio, television and the internet.

18.3.2 Events

Rally

Rallies make sense only if we can offer really big, high profile names. A rally with few spectators is an embarrassment and should be avoided. A rally in its classical form is a one-way communication event. In other words, there is no discussion or dialogue between the audience and the main speaker. Therefore such events are regarded as a form of advertising. In political communication they are used at the end of an election campaign.

In many countries this type of event is part of a series of campaign rallies featuring a prominent politician, who in this way is able to be present at several events on one day. His presence is the highlight of various local events.

Target group programmes

If the target groups have been accurately defined when planning the election campaign, events on issues of interest to the target group will be successful. A visitor from the target group will be interested in obtaining new and interesting information. There should be a reference to this on the invitation.

Panel discussions

A panel discussion brings experts or representatives of interest groups together for a debate before a larger audience, allowing them to present and compare their views. The audience often has misplaced expectations at such events and are therefore disappointed. This is because the audience expects that the discussion will result in an

outcome and help in resolving certain problems. At best, this could be achieved if experts on the podium have the common objective of jointly tackling a problem. Representatives of interest groups and parties, however, have another objective altogether, which is to pitch for their organisation and, during elections, to set themselves apart from other panellists. The situation is like coming together to take each other apart. In strategic terms, participating in a panel discussion only makes sense for a party if it is able to sharpen its image and is positively perceived by a section of the audience.

Political parties should therefore refrain from organising panel discussions involving representatives from organisations close to the party because these always tend to be boring, are frequently poorly moderated and of a perceptibly lower standard than panel discussions on television. On the other hand, if a panel discussion is organised by a newspaper or an adult education centre or any other largely neutral organisation, it will hardly be possible to avoid it. Here, similar to an election campaign, the rule is to divide the audience. We must be noticeable enough for the audience to subsequently talk about our contribution. We can achieve this either by having an opinion that deviates substantially from that of other panellists, or by declaring an issue to be insignificant and talking about another issue important to the party, even if the moderator is unlikely to be happy about this. The point is not to make the moderator happy but to sharpen our own image.

Conferences

Conferences on specific topics can be useful events if we are able to convince an expert audience and media representatives of our competence in a particular area. The success of such conferences hinges substantially on the quality of the speakers, whose presence at the conference allows the party to claim professional competence by dint of association.

Tours and site visits

Undertaking visits to sites of interest and allowing citizens to look behind the scenes is an attraction, especially at the local level, because many citizens feel excluded even when they live near a site of interest. By organising such visits for certain groups or on certain topics, the party can facilitate positive as well as negative feedback. Why not visit a cultural monument in the city together and later talk about funding for culture? Why not visit the areas worst affected by graffiti and discuss how the problem can be tackled with those who are responsible? Why not organise a site visit to a wastewater treatment plant and present benchmark comparisons and fees for other cities? These tours bring citizens closer to the problem areas and can be a good way of clarifying a party's priority issues.
Such visits can also be undertaken together with a politician or a public figure. Visits to facilities, companies or other areas that can result in positive or negative statements are invariably also media events. The real objective in this case is to create an event for the media to publicise.

Signature campaigns

A signature campaign is always an expression of protest for or against something. For political parties it offers an adequate means of action when the party is in the opposition or is very small. It is a means of motivating citizens to engage with an issue and/or with a political party. Signature campaigns are less suitable for parties in government because they tend to demonstrate weakness.

18.3.3 Print media

Some print media are uncontrolled, such as editorial content in newspapers, and some are controlled, e.g. flyers or letters. The impact of print media largely depends on the literacy rate[115]. Print media obviously cannot have the desired impact on those who are illiterate, although even in countries with high literacy we need to consider the secondary illiteracy rate[116].

Editorial content

Editorial content is by far the most important means of communication for a political party. Therefore the party's media relations must be very well organised. See also the chapter on the role of the media. One big problem in many countries is the consolidation of the newspaper market, leading to the decline of local newspapers. As a result, local news reporting is finding less and less space. This gap is being filled by advertising supplements that also carry advertisements of local companies. These appear once or even several times a week. Such papers usually have a very small editorial team and are therefore grateful for short, well written articles. Political parties tend to underestimate the impact of these media as well as that of small neighbourhood papers.

Advertisements in newspapers and magazines

Advertisements are an expensive instrument and lack credibility, but are easy to manage. They provide wide dissemination without having to do much. People rarely take note of advertising content, but reminder advertising is an important instrument to ensure recall that the party exists and is participating in the elections.

Does advertising register at all in the minds of the audience? This depends on the design, a prominent and memorable headline and placement. A general political advertisement in a non political section, such as the sports, obituaries or the feature section will not be noticed because there is no background to the topic. On the other hand, the same advertisement can have an impact in the political section of the paper, but it is usually eclipsed by editorial reports, which carry much more credibility.

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[115] Kress, Gunther R: *Literacy in the new media age*; New York: Routledge, (2003). ISBN 0-415-25356-X.

[116] Secondary illiteracy refers to individuals who acquired reading and writing skills during their childhood and adolescence, but lost these skills over a period of time due to the lack of opportunity to use and apply them.

Leaflets and flyers

Leaflets and flyers are controlled media instruments with which the party or the candidate can target specific issues and even control distribution to the desired target group. Today media of this kind, which can be created quite easily and with good graphic quality on any PC, are the most flexible media format and can be used to position the party as a viable option for voters during election campaigns and also during non-election times.

Experience with the use of these media has shown that a focus on one issue is important. Only then will the leaflet or flyer arouse sufficient interest for the target group to really notice it. General leaflets and flyers featuring several issues lose their value in conveying a key message and, like general advertisements, merely serve to remind that the party exists and is participating in elections.

Brochures and books

The production of books and brochures is generally quite a resource consuming exercise. The cost is substantial and with mass distribution the wastage factor is too high. If there really is enough material for a brochure or a book, the medium should not simply be gifted away but marketed and subsequently sold at a price that covers the costs. It is quite possible to get the book trade to sell good books by reputed authors. Generally the target group is not large, usually just some intellectuals or media representatives, but they in turn are important as opinion leaders. Books are appropriate when groups with different levels of education need to be simultaneously addressed during an election campaign and convinced to act at a specific point in time, e.g. Election Day. A flyer that addresses the general public is not adequate for groups with a high level of education and can have more of an off-putting effect. A book or brochure brought out as a flanking measure and to raise awareness about issues, which also scores well in terms of its information content and expert knowledge, can help to successfully address different levels simultaneously.

Newspaper advertising supplements

Newspaper supplements in the form of flyers and leaflets lose their impact in an environment where there are already several advertising supplements from furniture companies, departmental stores and so on. Usually a political party cannot match these lavish publications and loses the competition for eyeballs. On the other hand, it faces the same problem that all advertising supplements do, namely that the first thing a potential reader does is to remove and throw away all supplements, which makes capturing attention impossible from the outset.

Direct advertising

Direct advertising consists of correspondence that is personally addressed to selected persons. Usually these are letters, but of late personally addressed emails and text

messages are also included. The latter will be dealt with again under electronic media; here we discuss letters. A personally addressed letter after a personal interaction is a very efficient form of communication. Of course, the advertising nature of such a letter should not be too obvious. We first need to ask ourselves: to whom am I sending the letter? Direct advertising is a form of target group advertising and is thus always directed at a defined target group. Before considering whether this particular medium should be used, we first need to ask what the message is. Is there an attractive message for a specific target group? If not, we should not write a letter to this target group. If there is, we should try to acquire good mailing lists. Mailing lists can be accessed through address publishers or by building up our own lists. For a politician, for instance, it is a good investment to create a file of all the persons one has worked with during a legislative period or for whom one has done something and to use this for a personal letter shortly before the elections.

In other cases, for instance addresses that have been bought or taken over, the impact depends largely on how personalised the letter is. Letters that have address labels on the envelope and no address or salutation in the letter, beginning instead with, "Dear young voter" or "Dear Sir/Madam" are much less effective than a window envelope with the correct address and the personal salutation, "Dear Ms. Doe". Direct advertising is able to unfold its real impact when the addressee receives a second letter just before Election Day.

18.3.4 Media for outdoor advertising

Visibility is always and especially important during election campaigns. In most countries this visibility is achieved through outdoor advertising. During election campaigns, posters of different sizes that are put up on the streets tend to dominate.

Posters in different formats

Posters are an important campaign tool. A single poster, regardless of its size, perceived in isolation by the citizen is able to create an impact if harnessed to other measures. In contrast to print and television advertisements, a poster is not an advertising medium that is suitable for transmitting complex messages and consequently for building a long term image.[117] The strengths of a poster lie in directly advertising political products and brands. Posters must be able to communicate the advertising message within 1.5 to 2 seconds.[118] While advertisements tend to be more of a reading medium, a poster is a visual medium. Posters are not read, they are watched.

The following elements should be kept in mind for posters:

Punchiness

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[117] Astafi ev, S.V./Shulman, G. L./Stanley, C.M./Snyder, A.Z./Van Essen, D.C./Corbetta, M.: *Functional Organization of Human Intraparietal and Frontal Cortex for Attending, Looking, and Pointing*; in: *Journal of Neuroscience*, June 1, 2003; 23(11), p. 4689–4699
[118] Barber, P. J./Cooper, S.: *Poster Visibility*. Technical Report for POSTAR UK Ltd., 1996

Posters must be able to attract attention within split seconds in an outdoor environment where thousands of other stimuli divert the consumer's attention.

Comprehension

For the poster's message to come across quickly, the viewer must be able to comprehend the poster instantly and in the intended way.

Cognition

Posters must efficiently utilise the short viewing time available to them. Key information must be conveyed quickly and simply so that the message is understood.

Emotion

Emotional imagery has a positive influence on attention and brand recall. Consequently emotion plays an important role in outdoor advertising.

Branding

Posters must put across the advertised brand clearly and precisely, faster than any other medium. And they must do this without cannibalising other content in that brief duration.

Activation

The attention generated by posters must ultimately always be geared towards enhancing the attractiveness of the advertised political product. It is therefore important to verify that the advertising medium is able to activate the target group.

Posters have an optimum impact at a density of approx. 800 posters for every 100,000 persons, or 100 posters for 10,000 persons or 15 posters per 1,000 persons. In rural areas with far-flung districts, the number of posters should be revised slightly upwards.

Banners

Banners strung across the street are no longer very expensive. They are now easier to produce and printing can be done at low cost. However, it is relatively complicated to get permissions to put up banners, which is why they have so far not been able to establish themselves as an advertising medium. They are more effective than posters, and a combination of posters and banners can help achieve an optimum outside advertising impact.

Transit advertising

Visual advertising on public transport, e.g. on buses, trains and taxis is very effective. This kind of advertising is not cheap, but it is very noticeable.

Graffiti on houses, walls, bridges

In many countries, graffiti on houses, walls and bridges is commonplace for outdoor advertising. In some countries, e.g. in Uruguay and Paraguay, the houses themselves are painted in the colours of the parties the residents prefer. In central Europe graffiti on walls and bridges is either prohibited or rarely used. The impact of graffiti is however undisputed as it has the effect of big posters.

Campaign stickers, merchandising products

The willingness to publicly acknowledge allegiance to a party by sympathisers and members varies from country to country. It can sometimes be dangerous if violent assaults on persons or property are to be feared. In other countries the image of political parties is so poor that only very few publicly acknowledge which party they prefer. Nevertheless, the willingness to paste party stickers on one's car or other property, displaying the party flag in windows etc. are all part of outdoor advertising. The readiness to do this also depends on the situation and on how emotional the message is. The same is true of T-shirts and other products that are nowadays easy to print on and produce. Merchandising as practised by many branded articles and sports clubs can be significant for the party in two ways. Firstly as an instrument of sales promotion and secondly as a means of campaign financing.

Ambient media

Ambient media is a special form of outdoor advertising placed in the target group's immediate environment. The definition that best captures this form of marketing is that ambient media are media formats that are consumed in a predictable way in the out-of-home (OOH) environment of the target group. The term "ambience" describes the specific spheres of life of the target group. Ambient media is particularly suitable for lifestyle target groups (see also Chapter 16.2). At a time when it has become increasingly difficult to access target groups through standard channels, ambient media finds a way to connect in the right place. The right place can range from public transport, the supermarket or the delicatessen to the gourmet restaurant and young people's pubs. Its categorization in the out-of-home segment distinguishes ambient media from telephone canvassing, door-to-door selling and new media. Well-known media strategies include free postcards at restaurants, beer lids in pubs, advertisements on pizza boxes, pump nozzles at petrol stations, toilet signs in the washrooms of pubs and discotheques, locker and shower signs in fitness studios.

18.3.5 Electronic media

There has been a rapid surge in electronic communication in recent years. Who would have imagined 20 years ago that we would be able to call and message friends with a mobile phone? Who would have thought that we would be able to send letters over the internet and use the internet as a widely accessible system of information.

Communication has changed dramatically in these years and is continuing to change through audiobooks, podcasts and blogs. It is not just about new instruments; electronic media that have been around for some time can today be used for campaigning due to lower price structures and increased competition.

TV advertising and editorial content

For political communication today, editorial coverage on television plays a key role in national and international politics. The more local the level, the more difficult it becomes to access these media. This is because there are few slots for regional or local programming on television. Consequently it is tough for local reporting to make the cut. However, when local or regional stations exist, our objective must be to ensure permanent presence in the coverage. If there are no such stations, television must remain a medium for the national level party. News programmes are crucial in this respect. While there is an increase in the number of talk shows and similar events, the news is still regarded as a purveyor of the "truth".

Television advertising can be used in different ways. Some countries have very restrictive rules, while other countries are quite liberal, but the cost is very high. Notwithstanding this, the backbone of many campaigns is television advertising. Since audio-visual information is transmitted, two channels are used: the eyes and ears. To understand the impact of television it is important to realise that the image dominates the audio information. The accompanying text need not even be congruent with the image. It is the visual information that is absorbed. Consequently the focus must be on the image during the production of television advertising.

Radio advertising and editorial content

Radio plays a critical role in all countries where the entire country cannot be covered by television. It is a typical medium of information in regions with a high illiteracy rate and also an instrument for catering to local dialects. Radio is a typical secondary medium, which means that radio is usually listened to while doing something else; we allow the sounds of the radio to flow over us.

For this reason, editorial content like news is frequently repeated so that it is able to penetrate the listener's consciousness. For radio advertising, which is broadcast at irregular intervals, either the frequency of transmission needs to be high or signals (jingles) should announce the party acoustically before the actual message is transmitted.

Advertising on the internet and websites

Websites are a widely used advertising instrument for political parties, although they are often poorly updated. We must understand that websites are a passive instrument. The voter has to visit the website before contact can be established. In practice this means that the website must first be advertised through print and other media. The advertising must generate so much interest that the internet user is actually motivated to visit the website. Another requirement for a good website is that it must constantly be updated so

that users visit the site frequently or even regularly because they perceive a benefit in doing so.

Internet advertising means placing advertisements on other internet sites using banners or similar tools, such as Google AdWords. These advertising media are often surprisingly cheap and boost traffic to our website or to specific content on our website.

Podcasts

Internet presence can now be expanded with podcasts – media files (audio or video) – on the internet. A single podcast is a series of media episodes that can automatically be downloaded through a feed. Podcasts can be regarded as radio or television programmes that do not need to be consumed at a fixed time.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel has been publishing a podcast every Saturday since 2006. Even American President Barack Obama uses this instrument, although downloads account for only a fraction of internet users.

Weblog

Another new development is the weblog, also called blog. It is something like a digital diary. It is written on the computer and published on the internet. So it is a website that periodically gets new entries. A blog is a medium to portray the life of the candidate, his opinions on specific subject areas and the approach to issues by his own party and other parties. It can go deeper and be used to share information, ideas and experiences and also to communicate, and to that extent it is quite similar to the internet forum.

Internet forums

An internet forum, also known as a discussion group, is a virtual space for exchanging and archiving ideas, opinions and experiences. Communication takes place asynchronously, i.e. not in real time.

Generally an internet forum has a main subject, or it is divided into sub groups according to topics and sub topics. Users can post messages (*posts*) that anyone interested can read and respond to. Similar to Usenet, several posts on the same issue are compiled as *threads* or *topics*. By opening a new thread, a new topic can be made available for discussion.

There are numerous political topics in internet forums. If a political party wishes to influence a discussion, its representatives or supporters must be present in the forums in large numbers and voice their opinion. An example is the way Obama's team used internet forums in the US for its campaign.

Email

Email is a very efficient and, more importantly, a very cost effective means of communication. Spammers have unfortunately discredited the medium. If we are able to motivate email users to include the party's email address in their address book, our

emails will usually be able to escape the spam filter. E-newsletters and e-information on certain topics can then be sent quickly and cost effectively.

18.4 Non violent action

Non violent action is usually directed at opponents who are prepared to use violence or to demonstrate the state's monopoly over violence to citizens and citizen groups. It is thus used by all those who favour non violent action over violence and who have recognised that normal forms of communication are inadequate to achieve the set goals.

Non violent action also plays a role between different states and is thus used at the international level as well. It is of significance for suppressed groups within a system and is a means to remove authoritarian rule. Finally, it is also an expression of routine power conflicts that are not normally resolved through violence. This can hold true for both sides.

There are three types of non violent action:

- Protest and persuasion
- Non cooperation
- Non violent intervention

18.4.1 Methods of protest and applying pressure

These methods largely rely on symbolic acts that often have no direct impact. Cumulatively, however, they do leave their mark and can force opponents to explain their actions, particularly in the international arena. These are typical public relations activities that are intended to attract attention.

Formal statements
- Public speeches
- Letters of opposition or support
- Public declarations by organisations and institutions
- Signature campaigns
- Public interest litigation
- Petitions

Group action
- Deputations and delegations

- Representation of interests/lobbying

- Vigils

- Flash mobs (the term flash mob is used to define a brief, apparently spontaneous gathering of people, usually complete strangers, in public spaces to perform an unusual act. Flash mobs are organised through online communities, weblogs, newsgroups, email, chain mail or mobile phone. Flash mobs are considered a special manifestation of virtual society, which uses new media like mobile phones and the internet to organise collective direct action)

Symbolic public acts

- Wearing buttons and badges

- Destruction of own property, such as burning documents

- Wearing symbolic colours, e.g. colours of mourning

- Symbolic lights, e.g. "1000 candles for...", torchlight processions

- Symbolic reclaiming of land or buildings

- Symbolic sounds such as bells, whistles, sirens

- Observing a minute of silence

- Religious services and public prayers

- Homage at burial places

- Mock funerals

- Street plays

- Painting of streets

- Singing (this is how the Estonian liberation began)

Pressure on individuals

- Stalking officials by following them, addressing them in public

- Taunting officials

- Holding vigils in front of buildings

- Day and night telephone blitz

- Handing over symbolic gifts (lemon, cactus)

- Turning one's back or behind in public

Processions

- Marches
- Parades
- Religious processions
- Pilgrimages
- Car and bicycle rallies

Public assemblies

- Protest meetings
- Camouflaged protest meetings
- Teach-ins
- Walk outs

18.4.2 Methods of non cooperation

Methods of non cooperation are much more effective than those of public protest. They were a favoured approach of Gandhi and his supporters. One can distinguish between social non cooperation and economic non cooperation that is manifested in boycotts and strikes.

Ostracism

- General or selective social boycott
- Excommunication (exclusion from a religious community)
- Denial of conjugal rights (on the lines of Lysistrata)
- Banning contact
- Exclusion from activities (sports, social events)

Boycott of events

- Boycott of programmes, elections, social events
- Rejection of invitations
- Social disobedience such as refusal to take orders, refusal to appear for work, tax rebellion
- Withdrawal from social institutions, mass resignations

Withdrawal from the social system

- Stay at home
- Total personal non cooperation
- Mass exodus from regions or residential areas
- Sanctuary in religious places, church asylum etc.
- Protest emigration

18.4.3 Methods of economic non cooperation: boycotts

This involves a refusal to buy, sell, deal with certain goods or provide or accept services.

Actions by consumers

- Consumer boycott of certain products or companies
- Non consumption of certain products
- Withholding of rent
- International consumer boycott of goods from certain countries (directed against South Africa under Apartheid or the boycott of wine from France after nuclear tests)
- National consumer boycott of goods from other countries (British first campaign)

Actions by producers, workers, traders etc.

- Refusal by producers to sell or deliver their products (can be directed against certain groups such as foreigners, certain ethnic groups or persons of a particular religion)
- Refusal by workers to work with the products of certain companies
- Refusal by workers to unload or ship certain products (coffee shipping boycott)
- Refusal by traders to buy or sell certain products
- Exclusion of workers as counter actions to strikes or threats of strikes

Actions by holders of financial assets

- Withdrawal of bank deposits
- Capital flight from a country
- Refusal to pay revenues and taxes
- Refusal to pay debts and interest
- Cancellation of loans

– Refusal to accept financial support from the government

Actions by governments
– Embargo
– Blacklisting of traders

18.4.4 Methods of economic non cooperation: strikes

Strikes are an attempt at non cooperation in the field of labour. The term strike has, however, also been extended to other areas:

– Protest strike
– Lightning strike
– Warning strike
– Sympathy strike
– Special demands strike
– Mass sick leave
– General strike
– Student strike
– Teacher strike
– Prisoner strike

18.4.5 Methods of political non cooperation

This involves citizens' non cooperation with political organisations and civil disobedience but also includes actions by the political establishment against citizens and actions by political organisations against other political organisations at the local, national and international level.

Actions by citizens against the state
– Renunciation of loyalty
– Public refusal of support for the regime and its policies
– Calls for resistance through literature and speeches
– Boycotting of cooperation with the government at all levels of administration, legislature and during elections
– Work-to-rule
– Stop work when no supervision, go slow

- Sit ins

- Courting arrest

- Non attendance of official functions

- Disinformation

- Civil disobedience against "illegitimate laws"

Actions of governments against citizens

- Withdrawal of state support (general cancellation, non payment or delay)

- Removal of subsidies

- Increasing pressure through more regulation

Actions between political bodies

- Deadlock between legislative chambers

- Legislature blocking the executive (not passing the budget)

- Executive blocking the legislature (non payment of the remuneration due to members of parliament)

Actions between governments

- Changing diplomats and other representatives

- Withholding diplomatic recognition

- Withdrawal from international organisations

- Expulsion from international organisations

- Refusal of membership in international bodies

- Exclusion from international meets

18.4.6 Methods of non violent intervention

These methods are suitable when one seeks to influence a situation directly. Negative interventions can change certain attitudes and disrupt behavioural patterns and institutions. Positive interventions can create new behavioural patterns.

The methods listed here are more hard-hitting and direct than those discussed so far. They are more difficult to implement and especially difficult to sustain.

- Self exposure to the elements

- Hunger strike

- Tribunal

- Non violent harassment

- Sit-ins, go-ins etc.

- Non violent attack

- Non violent invasion

- Non violent disruption of water and power supply

- Non violent occupation

- Establishment of new social patterns

- Establishment of new social institutions

- Establishment of new communications systems

- Agitprop games

- Counterfeiting (money, documents etc.)

- Non violent seizure of land

- Street blockades

- Establishment of a black market

- Creation of alternative transportation systems ('Rote Punkt' (red dot) campaign in Germany against fare hikes for public transport in the 1960s)

- Paralyse the administration

- Provoke mass arrests

- Civil disobedience even for normal laws

- Establish a parallel government

- Establish a government in exile

18.5 Violent actions

Clausewitz states that, "War is nothing but a continuation of policy by other means.[119]" In his letter to Major i.G. von Roeder dated 22.12.1827, he explains this contiguity of politics and war in greater detail. Lenin[120] was particularly interested in this chapter of von Clausewitz's book.

Mao Zedong, with his theory of guerrilla warfare, went one step further in using violence as a policy tool. The development of this type of warfare into urban guerrillas and into a strategy of the Third World is indicative of the importance of violence for implementing political objectives.

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[119] v. Clausewitz: *Vom Kriege (On War)*, Chapter 6 B.
[120] V.I. Lenin: Clausewitz*: Vom Kriege;* extracts and notes, op. cit. p. 35 ff.

Terrorism is a form of politically motivated violence by groups or individuals that is particularly difficult to judge in moral terms. For example, where does one draw the line between a terrorist and a freedom fighter who is using his right of resistance against the violence employed by the state?

Regional conflicts, explosions of violence between ethnic groups and religions along with the use of violence by fundamentalist groups merely serve to underline that violence today has become a routine instrument for asserting political ideology and claims to power.

The culmination of this development has been the change in NATO's strategy. From a defensive alliance with support functions it has evolved into an offensive organisation that is prepared to employ violent means to maintain or enforce human rights.

Rather than becoming an outdated model of political strategy, violent action is growing more and more frequent in recent times.

Violent actions include:

- Attacks
- Extortion
- Kidnapping of persons or means of transport
- Bombings
- Political assassinations
- Displacement
- Civil war
- Clandestine, undeclared war or openly declared war.

18.6 Evaluating the selection of key instruments

As the listing of key instruments shows, there is a wide range available with vast differences in impact. A personal chat with a neighbour at one end and openly declared war at the other illustrate how important it is to carefully weigh and choose the instruments.

The evaluation of instruments employed should therefore include the following questions:

1. Is the scope of instruments reasonable in relation to the mission?

2. Is the combination of instruments compatible?

3. Are the employed instruments culturally acceptable?

4. Is the combination of instruments compatible with the target image?

5. Can the target groups be reached with the selected instruments?

6. Do the instruments conserve manpower and resources?

19. Strategy Implementation.

Strategy implementation is carried out according to plan parameters based on the definition of tactical goals and the target image. But implementation is also the result of actions taken when executing operations and activities. Consequently successful strategy implementation depends on the actions of the people executing these tasks. Human and operational factors thus play an important role.

Often, the execution of excellent strategies has been handed over to people who have been unable to implement them or who made avoidable mistakes – leading to the eventual failure of the overall strategy.

19.1 Human factors

As far as human factors are concerned, the persons responsible for political leadership, for campaign management as well as those working with local activists have an important role to play. Here the party structure with its internal democratic organisation often leads to confusion. Who constitutes the real political leadership? Is it the democratic institutions of the party, such as the party convention or the party congress, which take important strategic decisions for the party through public debate? Or is it the party president or the candidate with a select group of office holders? Who shall assume the role of general staff? Is it the general secretary of the party with a full-time team? Or is it political appointees (whether appointed by the candidate or party leaders), who themselves play a role in the political leadership and have their own power base? And who are the activists? Are activists the local leaders and members who in their capacity as decision makers are also members of the party convention and hence decide on issues of political leadership? Who occupies the top rungs and has the power to issue instructions and orders, and who constitutes the base and has to carry out the instructions? All this is not clear in the case of political parties and is one of the reasons for the usually poor functioning of campaigns.

This chapter presents some basic ideas regarding the organisation of a campaign and details some principles that need to be observed.

19.1.1 Political leadership

The political leadership – irrespective of whether it is a government, minister, the party leadership, mayor or head of an NGO – must either carry out the tasks assigned to it by the constitution, the electoral law, statutes or other regulations, or ensure that these are carried out. The political leadership is responsible for the programme, for the selection of candidates, for setting the budget guidelines and for sanctioning the policy underlying the strategy. Once these decisions have been taken, the political leadership should keep out of any further decisions pertaining to campaign management, unless campaign managers themselves want to get the leadership's backing for particularly important decisions.

The political leadership should, and must, appoint professional campaign managers; it should not presume to take all the necessary professional decisions by itself. Many politicians tend to overestimate themselves in this regard. They want to decide everything themselves, from designing posters to bumper stickers, from scripting television campaign advertising to planning the media mix. Yet in most cases they are neither strategy planners nor communication experts and have no idea about reach or trends in advertising etc.

> *In this context Sun Tzu said that there are three ways in which a ruler can bring misfortune upon his army: when ignorant that the army should not advance, to order an advance or ignorant that it should not retire, to order a retirement; when ignorant of military affairs, to participate in their administration; when ignorant of command problems to share in the exercise of responsibilities.*

Interventions of this nature, however, are routine not only in the case of election campaigns but also with regard to other political strategies. Such actions demoralise the campaign managers and at the same time undermine the confidence of party workers in the campaign managers.

> *Sun Tzu said: He will win who has military capacity and is not interfered with by his sovereign. Hence, the enlightened ruler lays his plans well ahead; the good general cultivates his resources.*

Consequently the following principle holds good for political leadership:

The political leadership must discharge its responsibilities completely and punctually. Subsequently it should not interfere in the details of campaign management.

Another problem arises with regard to the appointment of campaign managers. All too often, political appointments are made, which do not take into account the ability of the appointee to manage campaigns. Instead, other criteria such as "unconditional subservience", "absolute loyalty", "family ties", "friendship", etc. play a major role in the choice of appointees. If such appointments are made, the efficacy of the campaign will be limited from the very outset. The author has been a part of many campaigns in which the candidate appointed family members for all tasks of campaign management. Despite the visibly poor performance of these "party workers", it is not normally possible to change even one such functionary because the candidate does not want to run the risk of a family quarrel, which would add to the general pressure he is under. This is equally true of good friends or acquaintances when they are made responsible for campaign management.

The appointment of professionals as part of the team has several advantages. The most important of these is that it is possible to part ways if their performance is not up to expectations or if "the chemistry is not right". At the same time it is obvious that such

actions have to be well-considered, because a campaign manager who has been thrown out can naturally be very dangerous since he knows the strategy.

Consequently the following principle applies to the political leadership:

The political leadership must select campaign managers very carefully and demand high standards. The leadership must, at all costs, avoid appointments that are politically or personally motivated.

19.1.2 Election or campaign management

What qualifications should a campaign manager possess?

1. A campaign manager must be capable of strategic and political reasoning and decision-making. A campaign manager is responsible for planning, but especially for taking decisions. Therefore, the willingness to take decisions, judiciousness and clarity are necessary qualifications. Decisions marked by hesitancy and lack of clarity can jeopardise the entire project. Deferring and delaying decisions due to endless data collection prior to taking a decision are behavioural patterns not suited to a campaign manager.

2. A campaign manager should be capable of implementing planned measures. The plans decided on should be effectively put into practice. This means interacting and cooperating with the right people in an orderly process and giving clear directions. Hesitant and half-hearted implementation and unclear instructions are not compatible with the required qualities of a campaign manager.

3. A campaign manager must be capable of motivating and managing both his organisation and those sections of the organisation subordinate to him. This requires the ability to delegate and at the same time to control. The ability to judge fairly, and to handle both praise and criticism, are further essential qualities of a campaign manager.

These three criteria are best assessed by analysing what the applicant has achieved in the past. Strategic and political reasoning, the determination to implement and management capabilities are not qualities that can be acquired theoretically. Practical experience is indispensable. This means verifying the applicant's previous track record and also the outcome of his efforts.

In order to meet the aforementioned requirements, the campaign manager needs certain qualities, which will enable him to act in the desired manner. Assessing whether he possesses these qualities is much more difficult than verifying his practical experience. For more details refer to Chapter 7.6 on leadership.

19.1.3 Activists

Activists constitute the backbone of any campaign that is broad-based and not merely a controlled media event. They include campaigning party members, volunteers

supporting the campaign and lower level functionaries who work directly with the target groups.

To assess the impact of activists it is necessary to first examine **quantity**. The number of party workers and supporters can be crucial for the effective implementation of a campaign. For example, if a campaign is intended to undermine the media dominance of the government, the success of mass communication depends on the number of party workers and supporters available to undertake face-to-face interactive communication.

Apart from quantity, **quality** is equally important. Face-to-face communication, for example, will not be effective if supporters are not trained and prepared for the job. Experiences in political campaigning have often shown that while it is expected that certain people will start interacting with their neighbours, relatives and colleagues at some point, this fails to happen because the party workers have not been trained to do so.

Consequently it is very important to devote attention to organising these activists. At the beginning, the focus is on **managing** these units. The units can however only be managed successfully, if discipline is introduced or if motivational goals are set and distinct images of rivals are created to motivate party workers and achieve discipline without the use of threats. At the same time it is important to keep activists constantly busy, because those with time on their hands automatically become undisciplined and lethargic.

The biggest mistake committed in an election campaign is to call for party workers and volunteers to help out and then have no work to assign to them. The principle in such a case is always to create work, and as a last resort, to create work that it not really necessary, but which will keep party workers and volunteers occupied.

Another important prerequisite for good leadership of activists is **communication**. The focus here is on internal communication, which has to ensure that information percolates from the top to the bottom, but also opens up channels for feedback from the bottom to the top. It is essential for the leaders of activists to be able to procure at any given time information needed by them, or at least to know where they can procure such information. A local unit which is poorly informed cannot be effective.

In implementing political strategy one will observe time and again that when unpleasant situations occur, the leadership "goes underground", that is, it withdraws from communicating and no information – or wrong information – is transmitted. The automatic result is wrong action on the part of local units who are dependent on this information. This provides grist for the rumour mills, which then discourages and dampens the motivation of the activists.

A further component necessary for the leadership of activists is "conviction", the "belief in victory" or the "**morale**" of the group. The setting of sub goals and their achievement is therefore an important task for the leadership. The overall strategic goal generally appears too vast and unattainable for the active rank and file; thus it is desirable that it is

broken down into more comprehensible chunks. These must be transferred to a smaller scale and placed within a time frame so that success at each interim stage gives cause for cheer and provides renewed motivation for the next stage.

19.1.4 Motivating volunteers

Below are some possible factors for low motivation caused by lack of leadership.

Lack of realistic goals that coincide with members' goals

If the leadership has no goals it will find it difficult to carry people along because no one knows where they are headed. So to begin with, it is essential to have clear objectives. Without a destination there is no motivation to move.

Solution: How do we establish goals that coincide with the goals of our members?

We must again convert the goals that underlie our main tactical and strategic objectives into problem-solving goals. Apart from their political orientation, our party members are not very different from non members in terms of their thinking. We must treat them as we would treat citizens who are not our members. Citizens primarily want politics and politicians to find solutions to problems, and our voters want the same. However, the party organisation first wants to achieve "better election results", "more elected representatives" etc. So the objectives of the party organisation differ from the political objectives of members and voters, even though the organisation campaigned with an election manifesto and promised solutions. During party leadership meetings there is hardly any discussion about finding solutions to problems. Policy making is banished to the parliamentary group – if there is one. Party executive and general body meetings are concerned with crisis management related to the party unit or party association, and the members and other volunteers are expected to help. But this does not match with their motivation.

Lack of internal communication

If members and other volunteers are not aware that they are needed to achieve certain objectives, how will they contribute? If they are made to feel that their actions have helped to achieve something, their self esteem rises and this usually has a positive impact on their attitude towards the organisation. You have to shout for help if you want to get someone to save you.

Solution: How can we design our communication to be motivational?

Communication must take place regularly and its content must be informative. It must convey to the volunteers that the party leadership is keen on keeping them in the loop so that they are in a position to decide how they wish to get involved. To achieve this, communication must address the following:

What do we want to do, when and why? What help do we need?

The details of how communication should be designed must depend on local circumstances and the type of communication typical to the organisation. Communication within the organisation should be examined to determine whether it fulfils the requirements of being motivational for volunteers or not.

Expecting too much or too little

All volunteers have a certain amount of knowledge, experience and skill. If they feel the party leadership is expecting them to do too much, they will refuse and back off.

> *Example: Manning an information booth. For many members this is very taxing because they feel they understand too little about political background issues and are not clear about the message. They are apprehensive about having to engage in discussions with citizens.*

On the other hand, if they feel they are doing work that is not intellectually challenging, like labourers performing lowly jobs, this will injure their self esteem. They will not feel motivated to do what they consider "undignified" work.

> *Example: Manually putting up posters. Some members reject this kind of work because they do not consider it appropriate to work with their "hands" rather than their "heads". In reality, the manual work is frequently beyond their manual abilities, in which case this would again fall under the category of "expecting too much".*

Solution: How can we manage to have the "right" people at the "right" place?

To do so we must know the "people", their experiences, their abilities but also their fears, things we need to make allowance for etc. In practice, the leadership team is happy if it knows people's names, where they live and sometimes what job they are doing. This is akin to the iceberg phenomenon. We only see the tip of the iceberg, but know very little about what it looks like under the surface. Yet it is under the surface that we must look to find reasons for cooperation or recalcitrance.

Party functionaries know many members only on paper, from their membership applications, and perhaps from some or the other meeting. Hardly anyone really makes the effort to get to know the individual behind the volunteer. As long as we do not do this we will not be able to motivate the individual and ensure that the right person is working at the right place.

To overcome this weakness, leaders in the organisation must communicate directly with their members. They must make the attempt to step outside their own circle and understand the personality of others. Based on these insights they must then try to

jointly agree on a plan for integrating the volunteer and charting a possible career path within the organisation.

Power games

Sometimes leaders try and use members for their own power games, such as getting majorities at general body meetings, sounding out other leaders etc. Getting caught up in these games causes members – who are really there because they are seeking solutions to societal problems – to lose track of their real concerns. After some time they will extricate themselves from these power games by withdrawing altogether.

Those who misuse others for their personal gains will ultimately lose their support.

Solution: How do we insulate our members from intrigues over power and ambitions to rise?

This is one of the most difficult challenges because all organisations are also human entities. Power and influence are part of the fundamental needs of every individual, more pronounced in some, less so in others. The best solution is to foster a feeling of identity with the organisation through its ideology and approach to issues. Members can then identify with the organisation rather than just being connected through leading personalities.

Ignoring the skills of volunteers

A crucial difference between full-time party workers and volunteers working on an honorary basis is that full-time workers first focus on achieving targets. They are target-oriented in terms of the strategic or tactical goals of the organisation. Volunteers working in an honorary capacity are issue or problem-oriented. Their purpose is to resolve problems or contribute to their solution. They take this up in a holistic way, bringing in all their skills and abilities. And they want to feel good about solving problems. Their interest is consequently directed not just at the goal but also at the entire process. Thus they are also process oriented. If we treat others as though they are immature and ignorant, we should not be surprised if they act accordingly.

Solution: How should we manage volunteers so that they are able to utilise their skills?

In fact, the volunteers' process orientation requires that the leadership must demonstrate management skills directed at delegating tasks in a responsible way. Consequently volunteers should not be used for donkey work; they should have control over the process. At the same time, this method of "management by objectives" requires an instrument that is under-developed in politics, namely controlling. Controlling can also make the work of the party executive and the organisation more efficient overall, which is what a motivated membership ultimately wants. Members want the time that they spend to be used productively and to bear results.

Apathy of the leadership

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Quite often the leadership does not have a genuine interest in motivating its members. Motivated members regard themselves as part of the system. They feel this gives them the right not just to work but also to critically examine the results of their work. Moreover, motivation cannot simply be switched on and off. Once awakened, motivation is a state of mind that must be fostered. So the party leadership should not expect members to get motivated at the drop of a hat and then revert to a lethargic state once the job is done. Very often the complaints of the party leadership about lack of motivation among members are groundless and just an excuse.

19.2 Operational factors

Apart from the human factors necessary for successful implementation, there are also some operational factors that have to be taken into account for strategy implementation.

19.2.1 Principle of time constraint

The first priority is the principle of **speed**. As opposed to the planning process, which can be protracted and requires careful consideration, implementation should be quick. The longer the implementation of a completed plan is delayed, the less it will cater to current developments. Additionally, the likelihood of information leaking out and parts of the plan becoming public also increases, and this can hinder the planned actions.

A further factor to be taken into account is **timing**[121]. Successful implementation hinges vitally on selecting the right time. To begin with, it must be coordinated with other planned actions and also with implementation by other tactical units. At the same time, dates extraneous to the campaign also have to be taken into account, such as Ramadan in Islamic countries and Christmas in Christian countries, or the Olympic games, vacations etc.

A third factor is the role of **trends**. If one succeeds in being swept with the tide of a movement and is carried along in the right direction, it is possible to save a lot of resources. Success becomes apparent quickly without having to put in too much effort. If however the trend is in the wrong direction, no amount of effort will allow us to achieve success. Therefore, social trends have to be closely observed and incorporated into the process of strategic planning. This factor needs to be accorded special consideration during the phase of tactical implementation.

A development that needs to be avoided at all costs during implementation is having drawn out campaigns or continuing with certain actions for an excessive duration. It is important to focus on a definite time frame and to achieve the goal(s) within the set deadline. When plans are delayed for too long or there is prolonged campaigning, fatigue sets in both among activists and within the organisation. In addition, if the campaign goes on for too long, even the public becomes fatigued and exhausted and eventually turns its attention to other things.

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[121] See also Chapter 4.2.3.

19.2.2 Principle of flexible adaptation.

Flexibility implies the ability to take cognisance of specific local opposition or opportunities and being able to adapt to those conditions. Flexibility is not arbitrariness. We must adhere to and implement the strategic and tactical plan to the maximum extent possible. However, certain events or local circumstances may necessitate deferring implementation or adapting it to local cultural factors or taking into consideration the prevailing "climate". Against this backdrop, flexibility may be defined as fine-tuning the campaign to local conditions within the framework of the overall goal.

> *Sun Tzu said: Military tactics are like unto water; for water in its natural course runs away from high places and hastens downwards. So in war, the way is to avoid what is strong and to strike at what is weak.*

Another element of flexible adaptation is **innovativeness** during implementation. Actions that have been successful in the past should not be thoughtlessly copied, since conditions differ from place to place and time to time. Thus, the form of event that was successful last year may fail this year because, for example, there are competing offers that interest the target group more than our product.

Innovative action is called for because the continuous repetition of certain actions and measures make them predictable. This enables the rival party to prepare itself and pre-empt planned measures, or even scuttle them altogether. A typical habit of local election campaign activists is to consistently repeat the action plan of the previous year. This is doomed to failure in the long run because attitudes, media consumption and technologies are all continuously changing. Consequently, new trends must be incorporated and the planned action must arouse interest, even if only for the novelty factor.

Despite farsighted planning, there will always be situations in which the rival party undertakes certain steps that will surprise us in the same manner as we seek to surprise them. In such a situation, it is necessary to have a flexible response. This calls for **resolve and determination** on the part of those bearing responsibility. Sometimes it may become necessary to act against the instructions of the political leadership to avoid letting opportunities slip by; or equally, it may become necessary to avoid a confrontation so that the overall strategic goal is achieved or at least is not jeopardised. If there is no time to consult and coordinate with the party leadership, decisions have to be taken at the place where they are best taken, namely locally.

19.2.3 Principle of deception

Feints can also be employed to achieve strategic advantages. Deception serves to distract attention from areas that are not advantageous to us. Deception also causes the

rival party to build defences where we have no intention of attacking in order to weaken its defence in other areas.

20. Strategy Control

Strategy control involves completing strategy planning, commencing a review of old strategic plans and developing new strategic plans. Each time a strategy is implemented, it is necessary to collect new data for assessing the impact of the measures taken on the tactical and strategic goals. The data collected may necessitate some modification of the strategy.

Thus only strategy control can provide assurance that we are on the right track. Societal changes are recorded and documented through the instrument of strategy control. If the changes result in altering the strengths and weaknesses that underlie our strategic planning, the strategy will also have to be modified accordingly. If, on the other hand, the changes are insignificant or not strategically relevant, the strategy should not be changed arbitrarily.

20.1 Obtaining information and intelligence

Information and intelligence are important prerequisites for a successful strategy. It is not possible to plan strategies without having knowledge of ourselves, knowledge of the opponent and knowledge of the society in which the strategy is to be applied.

> *Sun Tzu said: If you know the enemy and know yourself, your victory will not stand in doubt; if you know Heaven and know Earth, you may make your victory complete.*

There are many ways of obtaining the information we need. The following methods are used for this purpose:

1. Representative surveys (quantitative field studies)
2. Delphi surveys or focus groups (qualitative target group surveys)
3. Omnibus surveys
4. Media analysis
5. Espionage
6. Obtaining information from allies of the opponent.

20.1.1 Representative surveys (quantitative field surveys)

Representative surveys of the population are classic instruments of data collection. Whether and to what extent the results of such a survey can be useful for developing strategy depends on numerous related factors. Consequently, the published data of a survey alone are not sufficient for assessment.

The problem with published surveys is that they are themselves used as an instrument to bring about change in attitudes and expectations. Surveys are therefore a means of

influencing politics. Consequently some countries have decided to ban the publication of surveys for a certain period prior to elections. The impact of this policy however, has been very varied because during the period of the ban rumours spread like wildfire. The results of surveys during the final days of electioneering are particularly important because they trigger off the "bandwagon effect"[122][123]. This effect is based on the fact that many people then vote for the person who is expected to win the elections rather than exercising their independent choice. They want to back the winner. The effect, which is also described as the "last minute swing", can make for a difference of as much as 3%-4%. The effects can be even more dramatic in situations where there is a stipulation on the minimum votes that need to be won if a party is to find representation in parliament.

> *In Turkey, for example, there is a 10% cut-off clause during national elections. If surveys show that a party definitely has more than 10% of the vote share, then there is no problem. If however, surveys show the vote share to be close to 10%, or even below, then voters respond by swinging away to set off a functional effect with their vote. They abandon the precariously placed party and instead turn to a larger party, which they expect is in a better position to stop a party they view as undesirable.*

Quantitative surveys serve to reveal and keep a close watch on voter intentions, the development of political trends, familiarity of the public with politicians as well as image components.

The best way to use such surveys is to commission and evaluate the surveys ourselves. This allows us to determine the scope as well as direction of the survey. Standard questions can be used to read trends. Mistakes resulting from poorly framed questions can also be avoided.

What conditions should be met for the results of surveys to be useful?

  1. The survey must provide representative results.

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[122] The bandwagon effect refers to people doing certain things because other people are doing them. One follows the wagon with the (music) band.

[123] Harvey Leibenstein: *Bandwagon, Snob, and Veblen Effects in the Theory of Consumers' Demand*; The Quarterly Journal of Economics (May 1950).

Due to constraints of time, organisation and finance it is usually not possible to survey all target persons in a defined geographical area as in a census survey. Consequently the instrument of random sampling is normally used in market and opinion research. This begs the question whether such a method is at all feasible and whether random sampling is really indicative of the whole. The question must be answered in the affirmative since, according to the "law of large numbers"[124], both are possible with a high probability factor. The size of the random sample is a critical factor for accuracy. What is important is not the ratio of the random sample to the total population but only the size of the sample. The random sample and the total (base) population should be structurally similar. This means that the distribution of the characteristics that are relevant for the study should be identical in both the base population and the random sample. If the random sample is a smaller but realistic representative of the base population, then inferences can be drawn regarding the "real" values of the population on the basis of the results of the random sample. Or to put it in another way: the random sample is representative of the population as a whole.

2. The *random sample* must be large enough to ensure that the random sampling error remains minimal.

The random sampling error and hence the error of the measured variables depends on two quantities: on the characteristic of the variable (p) and on the size of the random sample (n). Generally it can be said, that random samples with a magnitude of 2000 interviews have a fairly high probability factor. Even 1000 interviews suffice for making statements with regard to an entire constituency. Problems arise when the results have to be applied at the regional level. Random samples of less than 1000 interviews are clearly less reliable. The following table provides an overview of the accuracy of the results of surveys.

Result (p)	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%
	90%	85%	80%	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%
Random sample (n)									
1000	1.9	2.3	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.2
900	2.0	2.4	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.3
800	2.1	2.5	2.8	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5
700	2.3	2.7	3.0	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.8
600	2.5	2.9	3.3	3.5	3.7	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.1
500	2.7	3.2	3.6	3.9	4.1	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.5
400	3.0	3.6	4.0	4.3	4.6	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.0
300	3.5	4.1	4.6	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.7	5.7	5.8
200	4.3	5.1	5.7	6.1	6.5	6.7	6.9	7.0	7.1
100	6.0	7.1	8.0	8.7	9.2	9.5	9.8	9.9	10

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[124] Also known as Bernoulli's theorem. According to the theorem, the probability P that with a sufficiently large number of attempts n, the frequency m of an occurrence is roughly equal to the probability p of it occurring is arbitrarily close to one.

The left side of the table shows the possible size of the random samples; the vertical division contains the variable probability characteristics from 10% to 50%. This table is based on a 95.5% significance level. The first figure in the table indicates, for example, that in the case of a random sample of 1000 cases and a variable characteristic of 10% to 90%, the standard deviation is 1.9%. The result would lie in the range of 88.1% and 91.9%, with a confidence level of 95.5%. The table clearly demonstrates that while interpreting the figures, it is absolutely necessary to take into account the number of cases to which the percentage value applies, because the sampling error increases with a decrease in the number of cases.

3. The random sample should not be distorted.

Distortions can occur when either coincidentally or through carelessness the composition of the random sample does not reflect the population structure. When, for example, the survey covers too many men and too few women or the number of people belonging to a particular age group happens to be too large or the survey has only been conducted in urban areas to the exclusion of rural areas, then the conclusions drawn from the results would not be permissible. Countries that do not have any statistical data on their population pose a particular problem. In such cases it cannot even be established whether the random sample survey is distorted or not and the risk of distortion while evaluating the survey data is correspondingly higher.

4. The weighting of the random sample must be consistent.

This means that the survey and the weightage factors must be known for balancing out any distortions. It would be even better if one could have access to the raw data. These conditions are normally not fulfilled by surveys that are published in newspapers. There is always the possibility of the weighting having been manipulated. This was something Churchill himself acknowledged when he said he only believed in the statistics he himself had tampered with.

5. A single survey does not suffice.

The obsession of politicians with surveys is based on the fact that they are only really interested in the answers to three questions: their popularity ratings, their image ratings and how voters will actually vote (voting intentions). These are only of marginal interest to the strategy planner. Much more important is the list of political problems and the competence rating of the parties, candidates or government with regard to solving problems. As isolated ratings however, all these results are meaningless. It is much better if several successive surveys are conducted and the trends in the individual ratings are evaluated.

6. The questionnaire influences the outcome of the survey.

The results of the survey depend on the wording of the questions posed. These can reflect a lot of mistakes. When parties themselves formulate the questions there are often many drastic errors because the wrong words or leading questions were used.

7. The political climate also influences the outcome.

In an atmosphere of political fear and repression, surveys are usually useless. A typical example was the disastrous failure of the major survey institutes in Nicaragua during the 1990 elections. Here, as in countries of eastern Europe immediately after the collapse of socialism, there were too many obvious lies and denials, so that the results could no longer be regarded as representative. Of late, many respondents get a kick out of giving wrong replies either because they want to express their dissatisfaction with the political system or to make the results of the survey unusable.

8. The manner in which the interviewer conducts himself also influences the outcome.

Consequently, surveys undertaken by those participating in the elections themselves (with their own inadequately trained personnel) are generally useless.

Extreme care is therefore necessary when evaluating surveys. On the other hand well-formulated surveys can be an excellent tool for the strategy planner.

The survey exemplified here is largely directed at representing facts quantitatively. The questions asked are usually close-ended. These have to be answered with either a yes or no, alternatively multiple choice questions are asked[125]. Here the options available are:

− Select one from the multiple choices provided

− Select from a list

− Select from cards and put these in a sequence

− Select from illustrations

− Decide in favour of a position presented on a dialogue page

− Indicate graded approval or rejection on a thermometer scale.

There are pre-formulated responses provided in each case. If none of these responses corresponds with that of the person being interviewed, he can also answer with "don't know" or "no response".

However, these surveys also offer the possibility of posing open-ended questions. The respondents have the opportunity of arriving at their own answers. Open-ended questions considerably raise the expenses involved in a survey. The responses also need to be codified by a survey institute so that the results can be represented quantitatively. The value of open-ended questions and responses depends on the quality of this coding, which is very difficult to ascertain.

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[125] Andreas von Kirschhofer-Bozenhardt, Gabriele Kaplitza: *Der Fragebogen*; in Kurt Holm: *Die Befragung 1*; UTB 1975-1982.

The change in survey format from the face-to-face method to telephone surveys has given rise to new challenges in evaluating the results.

20.1.2 Delphi surveys and focus groups

The Delphi survey is used to collect the opinion of experts and serves as the basis for planning and assessing future developments in economics and politics. The members of the Delphi group are questioned anonymously and separately, i.e. there is no communication between the members. After being compiled, the responses are sent to the members of the group for a further round of eliciting and forming opinions. Several such rounds may have to be conducted till a certain consensus emerges.

In some countries such surveys are conducted on a large scale among experts in a field. There are "technology Delphis", "socio-cultural Delphis" or "environment Delphis".

A somewhat different methodology is used by the focus group survey. In this case small groups (10 to 14 participants) containing selected representatives of specific target groups are brought together for a group discussion lasting approximately three hours. In this discussion, which is moderated by professionals, certain issues are discussed with the target group and their opinions sought. The discussions are recorded and finally evaluated.

The minutes of the discussion and the evaluation provide an overview of emotional attitudes, assessments and associations. These are more realistic in terms of the concerned target group than the results of quantitative surveys. Focus group surveys are cost effective and very good for testing specific argumentation patterns, image components and sub strategies in the concerned target group.

20.1.3 Omnibus surveys

The Omnibus survey is actually a quantitative field survey. It differs from the standard survey in that several organisations come together for the survey and each of them is permitted to pose a limited number of questions. The methodology allows surveys to be conducted more frequently and cheaply.

20.1.4 Media analysis

The mass media (newspapers, radio and television) are an important source of information. The media must regularly be analysed and the analysis included in strategy control and strategy planning. Weekly media reports form the basis of further decisions. Certain topics (campaign issues) however, have to be closely and continuously tracked in the media. The information thus collected should be compiled in special reports to enable a better assessment of trends in the field. In addition, region-specific media reports should be compiled so as to identify deficits in certain regions or special activities being pursued by rivals. The latter is particularly important for identifying if

rivals are attempting to establish bridgeheads or to carry out any special activities in selected regions.

Nowadays it is also important to conduct an analysis of online discussion groups. Although discussions on the internet are conducted quite differently from normal discussions because there is a tendency to adopt more hardline and irresponsible positions online, it is nevertheless possible to identify certain argumentation patterns.

20.1.5 Espionage

Intelligence obtained through espionage is one of the most important instruments for collecting data about the intentions of rivals, opponents or target groups. Although espionage is a common and accepted instrument in international relations, there continues to be a stigma attached to it in the arena of domestic politics and business.

Obtaining intelligence through spies in rival camps is, however, a very effective and commonly practised method. There are various kinds of spies.

Recruited spies

Our intelligence-gathering colleague, as we shall address him henceforth, either works in or with the organisation about which information is to be collected. He has to be recruited. The following persons are particularly suited for this role:

1. Persons who have been treated badly by the other side

2. Persons in the rival camp who are dissatisfied

3. Persons who have not been able to achieve their career goals

4. Persons who want to achieve material or other advantages in order to improve the quality of their lives

5. Persons who can be blackmailed.

Recruited spies of this type or local intelligence-gathering colleagues are induced to supply information to which they have access. Using such persons for collecting specific information can often prove to be very dangerous, since they have accidentally stumbled into espionage (amateurs) and consequently do not possess the necessary skills for procuring information.

"Traitors" within the ranks

This agent is planted with the purpose of providing disinformation to the opponents. He comes from within our own ranks and is deployed in the vicinity of areas frequented by important workers of the rival organisation. These could be restaurants and bars, or sports and leisure-time facilities or the social circle of these people. These "traitors" are "big mouths" who constantly boast that they are privy to everything that happens in our organisation. Over drinks or late at night they then furnish information that could be of

interest to the opponent. The information is doctored, partly mixed with some genuine information. Once the traitor from our ranks has won the confidence of some important workers in the rival organisation, they will attempt to recruit him as a local spy. In crucial situations, the local spy is fed information that will provide a strategic advantage to our organisation if the opponent swallows it.

A variation of this agent is the real "big mouth" within the organisation, who is forever telling everyone about the information he has. The important thing is to feed him such information that he unwittingly provides the rival organisation with disinformation.

Genuine, active agents

This agent belongs to our camp and is deliberately infiltrated into the rival organisation at a certain point or area, or he is in a position internally to procure information beyond his own area of activity. The active agent differs from the sleeper agent in that the latter is not involved in day-to-day reporting. He is "activated' only when there is a perceived need for information. For the remaining time he goes about his normal work within the rival organisation, gaining trust and utilising avenues of promotion available to him to penetrate strategically important areas.

Unwitting agents

These are people employed by the opponent who either possess information themselves or at least have access to information. Information mediators are set on these people to prise information out of them. The information is passed on unwittingly. There are many famous examples of this kind – practically all of them taking advantage of the fact that there are no secrets in bed.

Informants

Intelligence gathering need not always have a hostile intent. In some cases, the underlying intention is to collect qualitatively better information, for example, about the attitudes of a target group.

> *When working with a target group that one does not know, for example people living in a slum, it is recommended that one enlist the help of a contact person whose job it is to keep one informed regularly about events in the area or group.*

Such informants in certain urban areas can be important sources of information for candidates contesting for the post of mayor. The reputation of such people has suffered under authoritarian regimes where they have been used as informers. The term "confidante" would be a synonym. Irrespective of its reputation, the instrument is extraordinarily effective and can be very valuable in tapping new target groups. Under certain circumstances the informant can be useful as an opinion leader of such groups.

20.1.6 Obtaining information from allies of the opponent

Another form of procuring information about rival organisations is to tap their allies. Partners are usually a good source of information about the organisation that is being spied upon. In this way information can be obtained without having to penetrate the rival organisation.

20.2 Controlling

Controlling is an important function in the strategy implementation framework. Controlling is defined as a sub function of operations that is required for management. Controlling can be applied to the organisation as a whole or only to certain operations. Here one distinguishes between strategic and operative controlling. Normally a member of the management team or staff headquarters is responsible for strategy control. A member of middle or lower level operations or a controller assigned to this area is responsible for operative or departmental controlling.

Controlling entails observing if goals have been achieved at various levels and making suggestions for managing the organisation when deviations from targets are anticipated. These proposals are contained in controlling reports and presented to the responsible managers for decision-making.

In the present book, the discussion on controlling focuses essentially on the areas of strategy control and image control. Operative and financial controlling play only a secondary role. There is sufficient secondary literature available in these areas.[126]

Strategic controlling entails monitoring if the target course, as laid down in the sub strategy and the goals derived from it, can be achieved or not. The focus is therefore not on controlling the measures that are implemented, but in fact on controlling whether these measures actually contribute towards achieving the set goal.

Let us consider a goal such as the following: "By 1.10.xx, we will have received US$ 100,000 as donations from industry." The aim of controlling is to ascertain whether the operations planned or implemented are appropriate for achieving the set goal. If, for example, certain measures have been taken but there is no visible reaction on the part of the donors, then the cause for this lack of interest must be determined and appropriate changes proposed. It is the responsibility of the controlling unit to work out such a proposal together with the involved department.

The controlling unit becomes proactive only where there are deviations from the planned goal. If the data fall within the target corridor, controlling need not be activated.

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[126] Jürgen Weber: *Einführung in das Controlling*; Schäffer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1998; Peter Horvath: *Controlling;* Vahlen, Munich, 1998; Robert S. Kaplan, David P. Norton: *Balanced Scorecard, Strategie erfolgreich umsetzen*; Schäffer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1997.

During political campaigning, it is a special challenge for the controlling unit to monitor changes in image and establish if there are any deviations from the target image.

20.2.1 Instruments of controlling

Several instruments are available for strategy and image control. In the case of strategy control these are:

1. Reports of the decentralised operations control, i.e. the reports of various departments or local organisations on the implementation of measures and their success or failure.
2. Analysis of the press and electronic media.
3. Reports of informants from rival organisations.
4. Reports obtained from the allies of opponents.
5. Available surveys and the results of extended surveys, such as the Delphi survey and the focus group surveys.
6. Reports of informants from various regions or target groups.

The control matrix is a special strategy control instrument that is particularly useful for image control and for monitoring partners or rivals. The control matrix collects information from the media and draws attention to changes.

	A Party	B Party	C Party	D Party	Church	Trade union
A Party	A/A	B/A	C/A	D/A	Ch/A	T/A
B Party	A/B	B/B	C/B	D/B	Ch/B	T/B
C Party	A/C	B/C	C/C	D/C	Ch/C	T/C
D Party	A/D	B/D	C/D	D/D	Ch/D	T/D
Church	A/Ch	B/Ch	C/Ch	D/Ch	Ch/Ch	T/Ch
Trade union	A/T	B/G	C/G	D/G	K/G	G/G

Control matrix

The control matrix documents statements made by various participants in the course of a campaign. The above figure represents a campaign fought by four parties, in which the church and the trade unions have an important role to play as alliance partners.

The diagonal from top left to bottom right represents statements by the organisations about themselves. Let us assume that we are party A. In that case we would find our target image in field A/A. In field A/B we will find everything that party A, that is us, has said about party B. In field D/Ch we find whatever information party D has been spreading about the church. In field T/A we will find what the trade union has to say about our party.

A certain date is decided on for starting with the collection of data. The media to be evaluated must be clearly defined and cannot be changed during the course of data collection. Data are recorded only when changes occur. The information in the matrix reflects only new information and information that differs from what was previously represented.

What can we now read from the matrix?

1. We can verify whether the public relations work undertaken by our organisation is creating the desired target image or not. Further, we can establish who is responsible for deviations from the target image.

2. We can establish how organisations and social groups publicly assess our organisation and the impact of such assessments on our image.

3. We can establish if others, particularly rivals, are carrying out coherent or incoherent public relations work and where, under certain circumstances, gaps or weaknesses exist in other organisations that can be of benefit to us.

4. We can establish how the public perceives relationships with alliance partners and how, under certain circumstances, emerging differences can be exploited.

5. We can establish if the relationship between participants is changing. For example, the sudden convergence and distancing of partners is an important indicator, demonstrating that strategically important developments are taking place within alliances or between parties.

6. We can also establish if our organisation is being taken note of at all, if rivals are attacking it or not and if it has succeeded in permeating the media.

20.2.2 Balanced scorecard

Balanced scorecard emerged in the early 1990s as an instrument for integrating strategies in performance measurement systems. The objective was to translate strategies into measurable targets and results and present these clearly and coherently. This allowed management to determine the status of a strategy at any given point.

Kaplan and Norton[127] developed this concept with the title, "Translating strategy into action". Accordingly, the vision and strategy of an organisation are presented from four perspectives: financial, learning and growth, customer and internal processes.

Similarly, for political parties we have the voter perspective, programme perspective, process perspective and resource perspective.
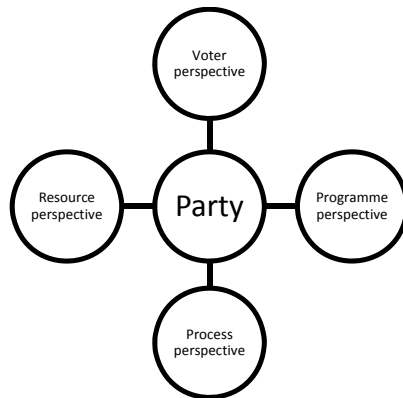
Four perspectives for political parties

Within each of these perspectives we describe the respective goals, key performance indicators (KPI), requirements (targets) and initiatives. This provides us with an overview of the status of strategy implementation.
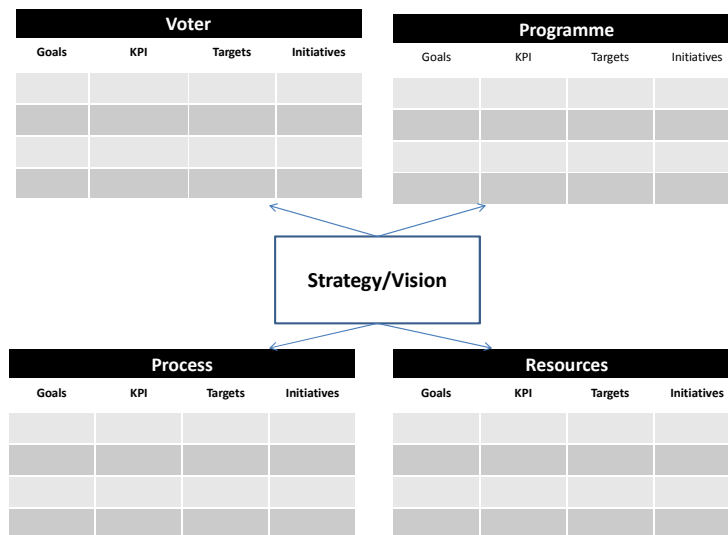
Balanced scorecard presentation

[127] Robert S. Kaplan and David P. Norton: *The Balanced Scorecard - Measures that Drive Performance*; in: Harvard Business Review, 1992, January-February p. 71-79. And Robert S. Kaplan And David P. Norton: *Putting the Balanced Scorecard to work*; in: Harvard Business Review, 1993, September-October p. 134-147.

20.2.3 Controlling report

Controlling instruments must be regularly assessed and deviations from goals as well as changes in data must be documented and utilised for evaluating strategies. The strategy planning process[128] concludes with these reports.

The reports are used, firstly, to document any deviations from earlier scenarios on which strategy planning was based and to derive conclusions from these changes. If serious deviations emerge and these have an impact on strengths and weaknesses, then the strategy must be modified accordingly. The strategic plan decided on is therefore not meant for all times to come. In fact it has to be flexible, adapting to changing conditions. Modifications are, however, only necessary if the changes are really serious and also significant in terms of the strategy. If the changes are not strategically relevant, the strategy should not be modified. Consequently a careful consideration of all aspects is necessary.

Secondly, controlling reports are used for determining anticipated deviations from goals in advance and proposing changes accordingly. Such actions usually have a direct impact on tactical and decentralised units and must therefore be coordinated with them.

20.3 Security and safeguarding information

Strategy control is not just about obtaining intelligence and controlling but also about securing our own strategy. While intelligence gathering constitutes the offensive arm of strategy control, securing strategy is its defensive arm. This is so because, like ourselves, our rivals will also attempt to acquire information and to discover our strategic plans and use them for their benefit.

Therefore it is necessary to be very careful with strategic plans and to secure our own organisation against possible leaks.

20.3.1 Secrecy of strategic plans

One of the most important ways of securing strategic plans is to keep them secret. Only the top leadership should be in the know, and even they should not have the plans in their possession. In fact, written copies should always be returned. This is not a reflection of distrust in any particular person. It is simply that if people do not have the plans, no secretary or colleague can physically get hold of them and make a copy etc.

It is not necessary to disseminate strategy below the level of the top leadership since all tactical operations are not carried out with knowledge of the strategy. They are implemented on the basis of goals derived from the strategy. Sometimes it is laziness that leads to secrecy of the strategy being jeopardised. Management by Objectives

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[128] See also Chapter 4.

(MbO) necessitates that tactical units be provided with clear goals that are relevant only for them. As a result, complex goals often have to be split up in order to ensure that responsibilities are clearly defined[129]. In order to cut down on the work involved, copies of the whole strategy or at least the relevant parts are sometimes simply forwarded to the tactical units. This very often results in the strategy becoming public.

20.3.2 Stringent security measures

The institutionalisation of security measures for safeguarding strategy is highly underestimated in politics. To begin with, it is important to decide who is going to be involved in strategy planning. Normally a small working group is set up for this purpose. External consultants may or may not be a part of it. The emphasis here is on "small". Naturally, several people may be employed for obtaining information etc, but they do not all need to be a part of the planning group. On principle, members of the planning group should be selected either on the basis of trustworthiness or through a process of screening.

Next, the physical workspace of the planning group needs to be defined. These should be rooms that are not directly connected to the headquarters. The entrance should be secured and soundproof – this last point is particularly important in a lot of countries. An important factor is the delinking of the computer system, on which the strategy is to be developed, from the other networks in use. Mobile phones must be prohibited, especially if they can also be used to access social networks. Twitter, text messages and other sources of information have no place in a room in which strategies are being formulated. On the whole, the flow of information, whether coming in or going out, must be documented systematically when it crosses the barrier.

Once this group is commissioned with the task of developing a strategy, contracts must be drawn up and a code of conduct agreed on to guarantee that the strategy remains secure and confidential. This includes strictly prohibiting the removal of documents from the secured area.

20.3.3 Deterrent penalties

In military operations, the death penalty is usually imposed for the betrayal of secrets. In political planning, this has to be substituted by other kinds of penalties. High financial penalties for a breach of contract together with immediate dismissal are threats which could be effective in some cases. In many countries however, betrayal is paid for so handsomely by the opponents that it remains a lucrative proposition.

The threat of penalty differs widely from one culture to another. Therefore no proposal is made here regarding the correct penalty to be imposed. The penalty must, however, function as a deterrent in all cases.

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[129] See Chapter 14.3: Evaluating the formulation of goals

20.3.4 Deception and unpredictability

Security for strategic plans can also be improved by making strategic steps less predictable. Several alternative strategies are simultaneously developed and only the party leadership will at specific times decide which strategy is to be selected.

This stratagem also includes disseminating doctored information on strategy or developing false and misleading strategies which are fed to the opponents through deliberate leaks in the organisation.

21. Deriving Activities from Goals

21.1 Activities, goals, strategies, mission: one unit

We began the strategic planning exercise by formulating sub strategies from the mission bearing in mind our strengths and weaknesses. From these in turn we derived our goals. The goals, our target image and the general framework imposed by the mission then determined the selection of target groups and key instruments.

With the tactical requirements now in place, the activities can be planned within this framework. Activities and actions cannot be arbitrarily planned. They are circumscribed by the tactical requirements.

Some examples of tactical requirements:

1. *Example:*
   Tactical unit: PR department of a party
   Target image component: XY is an innovative and dynamic party
   Goal: 60 % of first-time voters are aware of the image component "innovative" on Election Day
   Target group: First time voters
   Key instrument: Electronic media

2. *Example:*
   Tactical unit: PR department of the Finance Ministry of Government ABC
   Goal: Within two months 70 % of the target group are convinced that the tax reform will provide effective relief
   Target group: Parents with children
   Key instruments: Print media, electronic media

3. *Example:*
   Tactical unit: Fundraising group of an environmental initiative
   Goal: To collect EUR 30,000 in donations within three months
   Target group: Companies bearing the Blue Angel environmental logo.
   Key instruments: Direct contact

The person planning the activities, usually the head of the tactical unit, must move within this tactical framework. Thus, in Example 1, print media are not allowed. In Example 2, the requirement of "two months" must be adhered to and the target group cannot be altered. In Example 3, the tactical unit cannot attempt to canvass for donations among organisations such as banks and government departments etc. The campaign leadership must formulate these tactical requirements for the tactical units to ensure that unity of strategy is maintained.

21.2 Checklist of activities

A checklist with the following format has been developed to derive activities from the tactical requirements:

Checklist of activities				
Tactical unit:				
Goal:				
Target groups:				
Key instruments:				
Activities	**Date**	**Code**	**Person resp.**	**Ok**
Staffing data:				
Financial planning data:				

21.2.1 Creative thinking processes

The first step towards developing operational plans is to gather creative ideas. Usually this process takes place within a small working group which must also include guests from the target groups as they are in the best position to judge whether a planned activity will be effective in the target group or not.

This creative process can be carried out using different methods. Three typical methods are outlined below. These are brainstorming, brainwriting and mind mapping.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming involves confronting the participants with an issue to which they react by calling out. These calls are recorded on a visual medium that is visible to all (flip chart, pin board, blackboard). This method has been in use for a long time and is guided by four ground rules:

1. During the brainstorming session, participants are not allowed to criticise, particularly if it is negative or damaging criticism. The evaluation of ideas that are thrown up takes place later in an open, communicative process. At the stage when ideas are still being collected, criticism can result in suppressing ideas, which is detrimental to the process.

2. Free association is encouraged. Every participant should be able to spontaneously and without inhibition express whatever comes to his or her mind in response to the question or the answers given by others (except criticism, of course).

3. The intention is to gather as many ideas as possible in a short period of time. The flow of ideas is given priority. Participants are encouraged to be spontaneous since this partially deactivates the rational filter that is always applied to solving problems. As a result, highly creative ideas emerge. It is important that this advantage is not lost because of technical problems such as the writing speed of the moderator. It is therefore better to have two moderators documenting the process.

4. Participants should also be encouraged to respond to the ideas of other participants. This can result in two good ideas being combined into one very good one.

The problem of brainstorming lies in the evaluation phase. A lot of time is lost in sorting, excluding identicals etc. This can be very tiring for participants leading to frustration and lack of interest in continuing work on the project.

Brainwriting

Brainwriting (also referred to as card story boards) attempts to circumvent the disadvantages of brainstorming by changing the procedure. Like brainstorming, brainwriting begins with an open ended question to the participants. The answers of the participants, however, are no longer openly expressed and then documented, but are written on cards that are subsequently arranged into clouds or clusters.

The advantage offered by this method is that it avoids the tedious sorting process after the creative start. The disadvantage is that spontaneity and free association are partially lost. Sometimes, therefore, after the first round of card writing and sorting the cards, a second round is held to obtain added associations.

Notes on making the card collage (clouds):

1. Cards with identical or similar content are grouped together. These groups are called clouds, clusters or blocks.

2. All cards are glued on to collages, even those with identical content.

3. A title for each cluster is written on a separate card in different format and colour.

4. All these processes are carried out with cooperation from the participants.

5. If it is felt that a card should be placed in different clusters, the card can be duplicated.

6. No comments are made while reading and gluing the cards.

Mind mapping

The structure of the human brain is very different from that of a computer. While information processing by a computer is linear, the brain functions in an associative and linear way with associative thinking being dominant. Every word and every idea has numerous links to other ideas and concepts.

Tony Buzan[130] developed mind mapping as a method to allow users to work in a way that is compatible with the brain's functioning.

To make a mind map, the goal is written at the centre of a plane surface (page of paper, flip chart etc.). Different actions and activities to achieve that goal are then sought. One proceeds from the middle outwards in all directions and produces a growing and organised structure consisting of key words and images.
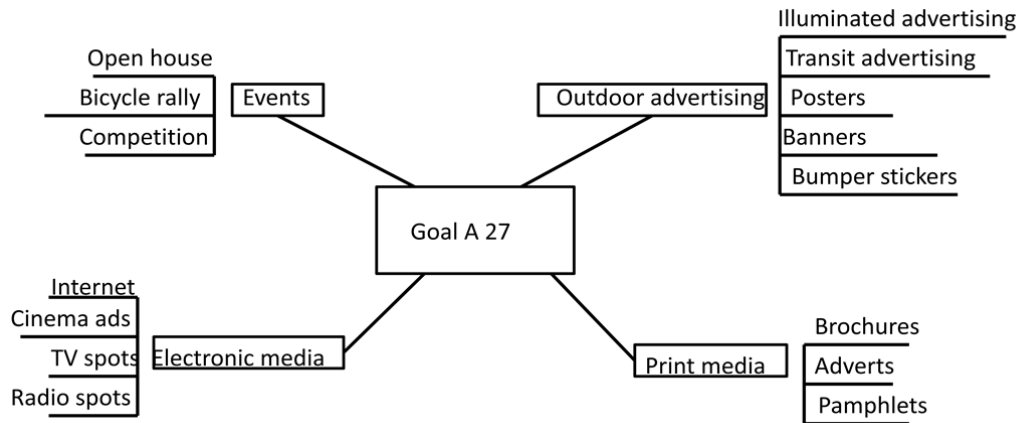
Mind map

This example of a mind map shows a collection of ideas to achieve the assumed goal A27, sorted according to external advertising measures, print media, electronic media and PR activities.

21.2.2 Evaluation of the ideas

Once the creative ideas have been gathered, a selection process follows. The tactical framework is applied as an evaluation instrument and the following questions are asked:

1. Have target group requirements been adhered to?

2. Have time requirements been adhered to?

3. Is the planning realistic, i.e. is the plan feasible given the financial and personnel resources?

4. Does the plan conserve resources, i.e. can this combination of activities to achieve the goal be altered and can resources be saved by doing so?

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[130] Tony Buzan, Barry Buzan: *Das Mind Map Buch; Die Methode zur Steigerung des geistigen Potentials*; moderne Verlagsgesellschaft, Munich.

5. Is the plan of activities effective for achieving the goal? Can the goal be achieved with the planned number of activities or have too many activities been planned, leading to over-achievement of the goal?

6. Does the plan of activities fit in with the style of our organisation? Are the activities congruent with our image?

21.3 Operational plans and schedules

The actual time schedules and operational plans are formulated in various tactical units using checklists (individual operational plans) that are completed for all set goals. These individual plans need to be combined into an overall plan. The overall plan or "master plan" includes all activities planned by all units arranged according to time schedules. A master plan only contains operations and activities that are implemented at one particular level, for example by headquarters and its affiliated units. Planning at the regional level is summarised in regional master plans by the regional units.

Responsibilities

Responsibility needs to be assigned for individual activities and operations. In general, one tactical unit and consequently the leadership of that unit are responsible for achieving a goal. Responsibilities can be further delegated within the tactical unit. The basic rule to be observed is that responsibility must rest with one individual. Responsibility must not be assigned to a group or a team during operational planning. If a group is required to carry out an activity, the head of the group is responsible for that activity. There is no point in stretching the idea of team spirit so far as to assign responsibility to an entire team. This routinely results in activities not being completed in time or not being executed thoroughly.

Coding

All activities must be coded. Only coding enables us to know which tactical unit at which level is responsible for achieving which goal with which activities.

> *Example: A tactical unit with the code HQ001 that is planning activities 001 to 003 to achieve goal number 29 will have the following codes for the activities: HQ001-29-001, HQ001-29-002 and HQ001-29-003.*

The codes will, of course, vary a little from organisation to organisation depending on the organisational structure, the system of assigning tasks to tactical units and a number of other factors. Ultimately it is also a question of how data is processed and which software is used.

In principle, however, codes for an activity must be clearly assignable to a goal and a tactical unit and it should be apparent which step in a sequence of several steps the activity represents.

Given below is an example of an operational plan for a goal:
Tactical unit: Department for policy development
Goal: A programme for geriatric medicine is developed by 30.5.xx.

Activities	Date	Code	Person resp.	Ok
Meeting of the programme working group	20.04.xx	HQ001-14-001	G. Meister	
Development of a draft programme for improving geriatric medicine	10.05.xx	HQ001-14-002	A. Becker	
Agreement in the programme working group	15.05.xx	HQ001-14-003	G. Meister	
Approval by the Board	25.05.xx	HQ001-14-004	M. August	
Public relations	30.05.xx	HQ001-14-005	F. Herbert	

21.3.1 Combining the activities into a plan

The numerous checklists with operational plans need to be combined into one overview. The individual coded activities can be combined into activity chains in this overview.

Time unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cost
Personnel per unit of time								
Cost per unit of time								
Fundraising								
Other activities								
PR activities								
Events								
Advertising								
Multiplier activities								
Media activities								
Chain of external activities								
Chain of internal activities								
Internal events								
Creation/Text/Graphics								
Programme activities								
Logistics/Security/Org.								
Training								
Internal communication								
Controlling								
Cost per unit of time								
Personnel per unit of time								

Activity chains are activities that are closely related, such as "media activities". These would include activities for obtaining editorial coverage in various media. "Multiplier activities" includes activities with associations, clubs and other multipliers. The activity chain "advertising" contains all activities related to advertising. No distinction is made here between different advertising forms and media. This chain would thus include TV spots, advertisements, direct advertising etc. The activity chain "events" includes all external events. "PR activities" includes special public relations activities that are very creative and intended to attract attention. The activity chain "other activities" may be used to cover instruments from the chapter on "Key instruments". These are special activities that can even be carried out by indirect forces. The last chain of activities is "fundraising".

Of course, in addition to chains of external activities there are also activity chains for internal activities. These activities are particularly important because it is not possible to effectively implement something externally that has not been prepared internally. The first activity chain here is "internal events". These include all internal meetings, ranging from meetings of the central committee to working groups to internal coordination meetings of various tactical units etc. The activity chain "creative/text/graphics" covers all activities that are related to interactions and cooperation with agencies. The scheduling of all text and graphic work is mentioned here. The activity chain "programme activities" includes all activities aimed at drafting, amending and preparing the marketing of party programmes. "Logistics, security and organisation" covers all activities that need to be organised. The entire area of materials management also falls under this category. The activity chain "training" covers all activities to train members of the organisation, office holders and experts. The activity chain "internal communication" covers all activities that are planned to gather and disseminate internal information. Finally the activity chain "controlling" includes all activities relating to procuring external information, keeping strategy secure and strategy monitoring.

The coded activities are entered on a time scale in the time schedule and operational plan shown above depending on which activity chain they belong to. The time scale of 1 to 7 on this sheet can be in time units of days, weeks or months, depending on the density of activities.

Once the activities have been distributed, the plan can be used for further calculations, namely manpower and financial planning.

Manpower planning

Information obtained from personnel planning data in the individual activity checklists can be transferred to the time schedules and operational plans. The information entered under the time units of the operations plans and schedules is added up to determine how many person days (PD) are required as working days per unit of time. If there is heavy fluctuation, areas with a high requirement can be balanced out by shuffling (in terms of time but also from one working unit to another). If this is not possible, external manpower will need to be procured either as paid staff or volunteers.

Cash flow plan

The financial planning information in the individual checklists can be used to determine the funds required per time unit in the time schedules and operational plans (cash flow plan). This plan is used by the finance department to ensure the timely availability of funds but also for financial planning in general. The time schedules and operational plans can also provide information on fund utilisation by different activity chains. One can see how much money is being spent internally and how much externally. The distribution of internal and external financial outflows provides valuable information on the efficacy of a campaign.

> *For example, roughly 10 % of external campaign costs should be spent on internal motivation and training. Imbalances, in which the internal side is usually short-changed, occur in most parties and governments.*

21.3.2 Evaluation of time schedules and operational plans

Once a complete time schedule and operational plan has been prepared, it needs to be evaluated with regard to its effectiveness, proper coordination between various tactical units and resource planning.

An extract from a fictitious time schedule and operational plan is given below:

Time unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cost
Personnel per unit of time	10 PD	30 PD	100 PD	200 PD	400 PD	500 PD	500 PD	
Cost per unit of time	2,000	6,000	10,000	10,000	15,000	60,000	45,000	150,000
Fundraising	51	56	61					1,000
Other activities						88,89		12,000
PR activities		55	60	65		80	87	5,000
Events			59		71	78,79	86	20,000
Advertising				64	69,7	74,75, 76,77	83,84, 85	100,000
Multiplier activities		53,54	58	63	68	73		2,000
Media activities	50	52	57	62	66,67	72	81,82	10,000
Chain of external activities								
Chain of internal activities								
Internal events	2,3	9						1,000
Creation/Text/Graphics	4		13, 14		21			14,000
Programme activities	5,6,7							200
Logistics/Security/Org.		10		17	22	24	26	3,300
Training	1	11	15	18				1,000
Internal communication	8		16	19	23			2,000
Controlling		12		20		25	27	500
Cost per unit of time	4,000	500	10,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,500	22,000
Personnel per unit of time	8 PD	12 PD	10 PD	14 PD	16 PD	8 PD	15 PD	

22. Organisation of Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections

22.1 Organisation of permanent tasks for political parties

A party – if it is active at the national level – needs to carry out a number of tasks. These include the entire area of centralised PR activities, policy planning and steering, central administration as also support and nurturing of regional and local party units.

In addition, there are tasks that arise due to special circumstances and events or due to certain factors in a particular country. These could include providing security, working on the electoral rolls and manning polling booths and polling tables.

22.1.1 Essential tasks that a national party must carry out

The tasks can be broken down into:

0.	Management
0.1.	Press unit or spokesperson
0.2.	Committee unit
0.3.	Controlling Unit
1.	Electoral rolls
1.1.	Voter registration
1.2.	Electoral commission
1.3.	Legal representation
2.	Planning and control
2.1.	Market research
2.2.	Programme development
2.3.	Political coordination
2.4.	Affiliated organisations
3.	Public relations
3.1.	Media analysis
3.2.	Media relations - print
3.3.	Media relations - electronic
3.4.	Media relations - internet
3.5.	Campaigns and events
4.	Internal communication and services
4.1.	Internal communication

4.2.　　Database maintenance of members, office holders and elected representatives

4.3.　　Member services

4.4.　　Services for party units

4.5.　　Training

5.　　Administration

5.1.　　Personnel

5.2.　　IT/data processing

5.3.　　Logistics/security

5.4.　　Materials management

5.5.　　In-house services

6.　　Finance

6.1.　　Budget planning and control

6.2.　　Bookkeeping

6.3.　　Payments

6.4.　　Fundraising.

22.1.2 Discussion of individual tasks

0.　　Management

The management team at party headquarters is responsible for directing the departments according to agreed management principles. These must be decided in advance. The party executive committee entrusts the management team with the general management of the party headquarters. The management team carries out various tasks together with the tactical units.
The executive committee of the party is thus the controlling organ in party headquarters that sets the overall course. It does not, however, give detailed instructions, nor does it intervene directly in the working of the tactical units. Management team members should not be members of the executive committee; this would result in the executive committee monitoring itself. Often the general secretary is also head of the management team at party headquarters.

0.1.　　Press unit

The press unit mainly comprises the party spokesperson. He is responsible for contacts between the executive committee members and the press, coordinates these interactions and speaks to the media on behalf of the party. He is authorised by the executive committee (or the chairperson) to act as spokesperson and reports only to the executive committee (or chairperson). He utilises the services of the PR unit for his operational tasks.

0.2. Committee unit

The committee unit is the management unit responsible for preparing the agenda and content of committee meetings (executive committee etc.). It uses inputs from all departments and does the background research to facilitate decision-making by the management. It is also the nodal point for all committee members. The unit is responsible for ensuring that wishes of committee members are met as far as possible. This prevents direct interference by committee members in the work of the departments.

0.3. Controlling unit

The controlling unit reports directly and is answerable only to the executive committee. Its functions cover financial and strategic policy controlling.

1. Electoral rolls

In most countries the electoral rolls are not automatically created from a register of residents. Voters are required to get themselves registered in the rolls. In such countries, maintenance of the electoral rolls and ensuring that party supporters are actually registered can make a crucial difference to electoral outcomes.

1.1. Voter registration

This unit is responsible for ensuring that large numbers of voters register themselves and that the electoral rolls are updated. To do this the party unit must be in a position to conduct registration campaigns and provide assistance. It must also identify registration errors and fake entries. Along with the party's legal representatives (see 1.3), it must ensure that the electoral rolls are properly maintained. (See also the following chapter).

1.2. Electoral commission

Representation of the party at the electoral commission is very important in most countries because this is where manipulation and fraud can be uncovered and a fair election ensured. In many countries this is not something that can be taken for granted. This unit must therefore have qualified staff.

1.3. Legal representation

In several countries, elections are marked by constant incidents of illegal harassment of parties by the government and other groups. This can range from manipulating the electoral rolls and tampering with voter lists to threatening campaign members, bomb attacks and murder. In such an environment it is imperative to have full-time legal advice available. This job is undertaken by this unit.

2.   Policy planning and control

The department for policy planning and control is the primary policy making department of the party. It coordinates policy, plans and implements programme development and studies the political market.

2.1.   Market research

This function covers observing the activities of opposing parties, the political agenda of the legislature, executive and the electoral market.

2.2.   Programme development

This function involves developing the party programme and revising existing programmes. The type of programme development is initially undefined (working groups, party committees, open or closed expert committees etc.).

2.3.   Political coordination

Political coordination involves coordinating the activities of the national party and the party's parliamentary group or government representatives. This also includes policy coordination at different party levels.

2.4   Affiliated organisations

Many political parties maintain contact with affiliated or partner organisations. Some, like the youth or women's wing or organisations of elected representatives, are directly integrated in the party. Others are only loosely connected with the party, such as student and ethnic organisations or professional and religious organisations. If they exist, such organisations need to be coordinated and nurtured. The party must be in a position to integrate these organisations and avoid conflicts. The main work of this unit is to maintain contacts and guide the work of affiliated organisations.

3.   Public relations

Public relations includes media analysis, strategic planning and implementation of PR activities in the press/television/radio as well as planning and implementing campaigns and events.

3.1.   Media analysis

The main function of this department is to analyse all kinds of media. Its work is important for the political leadership of the party, market research and for the party's spokesperson.

3.2.   Media relations - print

This unit carries out all the operational work for the spokesperson related to print media, for instance maintaining a database of media and journalists, organising press conferences, initiating contacts with the press. It is also responsible for advising party organs on their press activities.

3.3. Media relations – electronic

This unit is primarily concerned with getting politicians of the party to appear on talk shows, television and radio discussions as well as organising events that are attractive for the electronic media. This includes location scouting for television shots and preparing brief statements for radio.

3.4. Media relations – internet

This unit is responsible for creating and maintaining the website, but its work is more focused on monitoring discussions in social communities as well as in political chat rooms and internet forums. It must decide when intervention is required by making own contributions and which chat room and forum topics need to be influenced.

3.5. Campaigns and events

This function covers campaigns and events that are of a PR nature. It involves planning, developing different media and implementing campaigns and events.

4. Internal communication and services

This area of operations involves all the groundwork required to facilitate internal communication, and includes organising services and training programmes for the party.

4.1. Internal communication

This function covers all areas of internal communication. The unit is solely responsibility for planning and implementing internal communication activities. Communication here means ensuring there is a flow of information from top to bottom and bottom to top as well as horizontal communication at the national level.

4.2. Database maintenance of members, office holders and elected representatives

Database maintenance should not be confused with IT operations. In this case it solely involves maintaining data on which internal communications are based. Data maintenance also includes actively procuring the required data.

4.3. Member services

This function covers all activities that are in the nature of incentives for members. They can range from congratulations and honours to material offers for members (books, trips, contacts etc.).

4.4. Services for party members

This unit is supposed to ensure exchange of know-how on party activities and initiatives, offer incentives for campaigns and activities and provide support through material and know how.

4.5. Training

The training unit is intended to develop the party's human resources. A comprehensive training programme should be developed in the long term.

5. Administration

Administration includes all activities intended to ensure the smooth working of the other departments.

5.1. Personnel

This function covers personnel appointments and dismissals, HR development, salaries, job descriptions.

5.2. IT/data processing

This involves ensuring the availability of hardware and software in formats required by the departments as well as data security and user support.

5.3. Logistics/security

Logistics includes the party's fleet of vehicles, meeting transportation requirements and ensuring availability of material at the desired locations. Security is concerned with protecting persons and also party property against attacks (see also the following section).

5.4. Materials management

Materials management is concerned with procurement, storage, deployment and distribution of all required material.

5.5. In-house services

This function includes maintenance of party buildings, insurance, rent agreements, canteen or kitchen services, courier, photocopying and printing services.

6.   Finance

Finance includes budget planning as well as raising and managing funds.

6.1.   Budget planning and control

This function involves planning the budget and monitoring its implementation through the autonomous heads of various units.

6.2.   Bookkeeping

This involves bookkeeping, auditing, preparing financial statements, balance sheets etc.

6.3.   Payments

This function covers all activities involving payment transactions, both cash and non cash.

6.4.   Fundraising

This involves ensuring that the party has enough liquidity to carry out decisions taken by the executive committee, soliciting contributions, keeping track of member payments etc.

22.2 Extraordinary tasks

A party may also need to carry out non-routine or extraordinary activities such as ensuring security, working on electoral rolls, manning polling tables or organising certain economic activities.

1. Security

One of party's primary non-routine or extraordinary activities may be to ensure security. This is a function that may assume very different forms in different countries. There are countries in which parties and their candidates are adequately protected by the organs of the state (police, special units, military), while in some countries opposition parties may well be the victims of these very organs.

This has led to some parties establishing special units entrusted with the task of providing security to persons and also party property. Such units may also be armed.

2. Work on electoral rolls

In countries where voters are not automatically registered through registration systems, parties in their own interest must ensure that the electoral rolls are properly maintained and that the party's supporters and first time voters, especially, are entered in the

electoral rolls. In some countries this may be quite difficult due to extensive bureaucratic hurdles that exclude less educated or marginalised sections of the population from registration. If these very sections are important target groups of the party, the party's electoral success will hinge on the party's ability to overcome their fears through intensive advisory and support activities and guide them through the bureaucratic maze. This requires extensive manpower and financial resources, although these are required only in the run-up to elections.

3. Manning polling booths or polling tables

Trained agents of the party need to man polling booths or tables on polling days to be able to guard against rigging and vote manipulation. In several countries this task requires extensive training and organisational activities for which special organisational units need to be set up within the party administration.

4. Economic activities

Due to special laws governing the funding of political parties, the parties may need to establish their own economic activities, which then need to be run and coordinated. This means that parties may own hotels, holiday homes, factories or trading houses.

Occasionally parties organise lotteries that need to be conducted by experts and their staff.

22.3 Transferring operational areas to a line organisation

The functions described above, which should not be viewed as a staffing plan but rather as tasks that require doing, are transferred to a line organisation. In a line organisation, responsibilities as well as overriding and subordinate functions are immediately visible, and functions are assigned to one or several persons depending on their scope. Several functions can be assigned to one person but these should not be from different operational areas.

In addition to the functions in the line organisation, the organisational plan also indicates the management units. Such units should reduce the load on the leadership by providing their expert knowledge and advisory inputs. In theory, their independence allows these units to undertake conceptual and strategic work without being bogged down by old organisational patterns and structures. Ideally, the management units should not have the authority to give orders. Their job should be to provide advisory inputs, not to take decisions.

Organisational chart based on job descriptions in a line organisation with management units:

22.4 Project organisation

All the tasks a party or political organisation must perform cannot always be managed in a line organisation as described in the previous section, more so, when the line organisation has achieved a certain amount of bureaucratic saturation. Under normal circumstances, this can be corrected through organisational reform. In practice, however, such reforms never take place due to personal considerations and other irrational concerns. Under such circumstances, a project organisation that is time-bound and can operate in a flexible way is often a good option. This project organisation can be independent or it can be linked to the line organisation.

22.4.1 Project definition

Projects are defined as an innovative complex of activities to be completed within a fixed time frame. This implies that:

1. The goal is defined in advance.

   The project goal is set through a strategic decision of the executive committee. The project is always directed at achieving specific, precisely defined goals that are subordinate to the overall goals. A project must also have a defined and limited scale of activities.

2. There is a deadline for achieving the goal.

The project must have a defined time of commencement and conclusion. A project normally begins with an adequate period for preparation followed by an implementation period and concludes after settlement of accounts approx. 1 month after activities have ended (Election Day or closing of the campaign).

3. Achievement of the goal is associated with uncertainty and risk.

A project must not deal only with routine activities. These can be better and more effectively handled in an existing line organisation. It is not worthwhile to set up a project for routine activities.

4. Several different departments are involved.

Because projects are complex, several internal and external departments that cooperate within a fixed organisational structure are involved in planning and executing project activities. An agency and other consultants can also be involved in the planning process.

5. The project is unique to some extent.

The project must accomplish some innovative activities. These may be routine but must be unique or have occurred for the first time in a particular situation. Every election is unique because circumstances are different and the gaps between elections are too large to have permanent activities.

6. Funds are limited.

A project must always have a certain, defined value addition to justify the expense that is necessarily incurred in its implementation. Every project must operate within a fixed financial framework within which project members can take independent decisions.
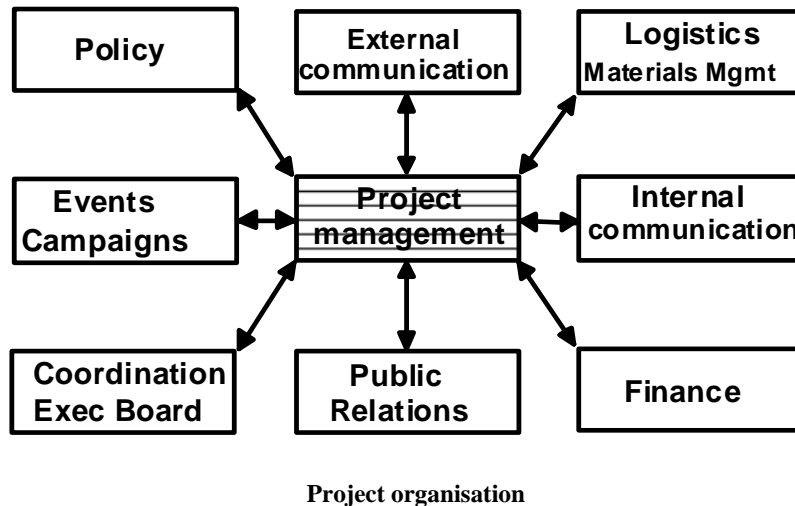
22.4.2 Setting up a project

The executive committee decides about setting up a project. This decision must also specify:

- Project goal
- Scope of the project
- Time frame
- Financial scope
- Composition of the project group
- Project management.

The project manager is responsible only for coordination. Individual project group members remain fully responsible for the tasks assigned to them, that is the project group members carry out their part of the project independently. Project group members

are required only to inform the project management once their tasks are complete or indicate well in time that there are difficulties.

The project manager of a project group can be a member entrusted with carrying out certain tasks.

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┌──────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│  Policy  │      │   External   │      │  Logistics   │
│          │      │communication │      │Materials Mgmt│
└──────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
      ↖↘              ↑↓                      ↗↙
┌──────────┐      ╔══════════════╗      ┌──────────────┐
│  Events  │ ←──→ ║   Project    ║ ←──→ │   Internal   │
│ Campaigns│      ║ management   ║      │communication │
└──────────┘      ╚══════════════╝      └──────────────┘
      ↗↙              ↑↓                      ↘↖
┌──────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│Coordinatn│      │    Public    │      │   Finance    │
│Exec Board│      │  Relations   │      │              │
└──────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
```

Project organisation

22.4.3 Model for formulating a project mission for a project group by the party executive committee

The executive committee of Party X takes a decision to set up a "Campaign" project group. The project group has the following mission: The overall goal decided by the executive committee in strategy dated ….. should be achieved. To accomplish this mission the project group has the following powers and responsibilities:

1. The project group plans and ensures implementation of all activities within the scope of the decided strategy.

2. The project group has independent control over the funds allocated to it after it has submitted a budget plan and this has been approved by the executive committee.

3. Members of the project group are authorised to issue directives within their departments.

4. The project group cooperates with other party structures. If activities are carried out centrally, the project group or one of its authorised members takes precedence over subordinate structures.

5. The project group will submit a monthly progress report to the executive committee. The executive committee may ask for an interim report at any stage.

6. The project group must obtain prior approval from the executive committee for decisions that deviate from the strategy.

7. The project group may employ external consultants. All decisions are taken solely by the project group.

The project group takes up the project on …….. and concludes on …….. with submission of the final report.
The project group can utilise funds amounting to ……….. .

The project group covers the following functions:

a. Policy

b. External communication

c. Logistics/materials management

d. Internal communication

e. Finance

f. Public relations

g. Events/campaigns

h. Coordination with the executive committee

The executive committee appoints ………... as the manager of the group. He will prepare a list of the remaining project group members within a week and appoint these after obtaining approval from the executive committee.

22.5 Activities for elections at the regional level

A party's regional and local organisations are bound by the strategy decided at the national level. The strategy and the derived goals as well as the operational plans and schedules serve as guidelines. During an election it is important to achieve the established goals as far as possible. As the election approaches, work increasingly shifts from the national level down to the grassroots.

The following activities need to be carried out by voluntary party organisations at the local and regional level:

1. Setting up local campaign teams

2. Motivating members to pitch in

3. Obtaining material resources and putting in place local and regional logistics

4. Ensuring the party's external advertising (posters etc.)

5. Ensuring local media coverage (media relations)

6. Distribution of material, appeals for attendance

7. Organising local events

8. Implementing campaigns (door-to-door visits etc.)

9. Cooperation with the national election control room

A matrix organisation is suitable for such implementation at the regional level. It ensures that local units are involved in planning and implementation and that there is a regular flow of information. Required activities are matched against local campaign managers. Each local campaign manager takes on one regional responsibility and carries this out in cooperation with the other local campaign managers. The regional and local party committees carry out routine party business, such as member support, admission of members, political debates and decisions etc.

Reg. campaign manager

Task 1   Task 2   Task 3   Task 4   Task 5   Task 6

Campaign manager A
Campaign manager B
Campaign manager C
Campaign manager D
Campaign manager E
Campaign manager F
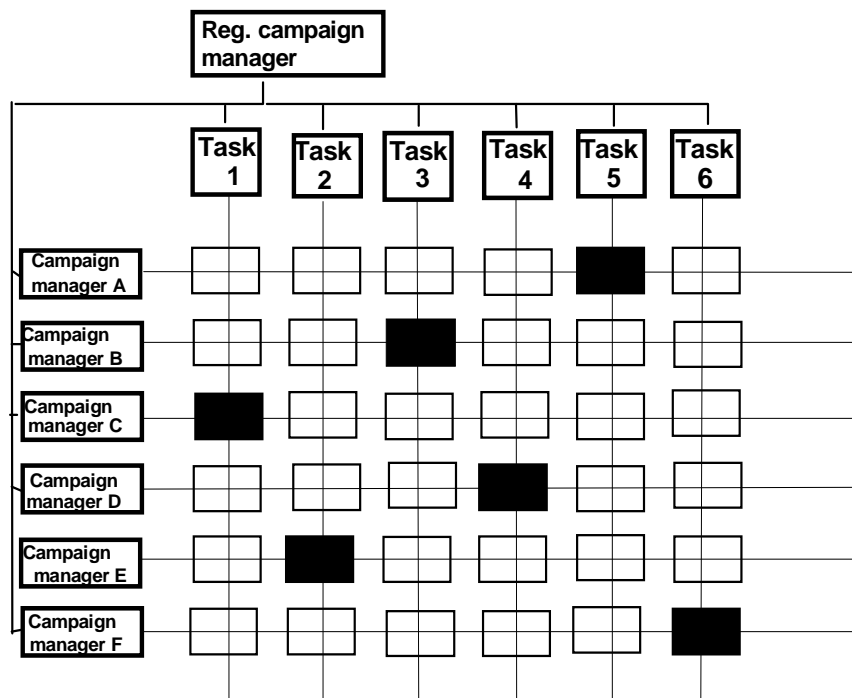
Matrix organisation

The local campaign teams can be area teams or city district teams depending on the size of the place. It is advisable to have a flying squad campaign team for regions in which the party has no organisational structure.

The figure above depicts the following organisational structure: The campaign manager of Place C is responsible for Task 1 (materials management) for the entire region. The campaign manager of Place F is responsible for Task 6 (speaker planning) for the entire

region. If there are more campaign managers than tasks, the tasks can be further subdivided. If there are fewer campaign managers than tasks, some campaign managers will have to assume responsibility for more than one task.

23. Fundraising and Financing of Political Parties

The term fundraising originated in the United States and as the term indicates, involves raising or procuring funds. The American concept of fundraising, however, involves more than what is generally considered to constitute campaigning for donations. It involves formulating a marketing strategy for procuring finance, focusing mainly on non-regular fund flows for which there are no specified support guidelines.

23.1 Campaign funding

This section is concerned with funding concepts for different organisations, such as NGOs, non profit organisations and parties but even individual local or state government departments, specifically in the areas culture, social affairs and environment.

We distinguish between the following funding options:

- Public funding by the state or associations of states
- Donations from private individuals and companies, fines and other public contributions
- Sponsorship from companies
- Financial support through cooperation with associations and institutions
- Service fees.

Three areas of funding will be more closely examined. We first look at public funding and sponsorship. Subsequently the traditional forms of canvassing for donations shall be examined in greater detail from a fundraising perspective.

23.1.1 Public funding by the state

Public funding usually involves the financing of activities and projects from public budgets. This implies that public budgets need to be carefully studied and analysed to identify funding opportunities. Sometimes there are clear guidelines regarding financial support, but decision makers can also have vast discretionary powers.

Even if budgetary funds have been earmarked for certain projects, there is no certainty that an organisation will obtain funding, perhaps because other organisations are the intended recipients and new organisations cannot yet be considered. Applications for funding should nevertheless be submitted in such cases so as to have a chance of being taken up for support in the next budget. This requires intensive lobbying in the concerned departments or ministries as well as among politicians.

23.1.2 Sponsorship

There is a difference between sponsorship and donations. Sponsorship is a commercial decision and, from the perspective of the sponsor, a means of advertising. The objective is to communicate with the public through the sponsorship activity. In return for this sponsors provide money, material or services. The sponsored parties help in raising awareness of the sponsor or positively influencing his image through their actions.

Activities to be carried out in return for sponsorship must be negotiated with the sponsor and can take different forms depending on the sponsor's requirements. They may include:

− Mentioning the sponsor during media activities

− Mentioning the name of the sponsor at events

− Mentioning the sponsor on tickets, invitations, letters etc., for instance by using the company logo or name

− Advertising space in programme booklets or other media

− Posters in meeting halls

− Placards carried by persons

− Mention of the sponsorship in the company's PR activities

− Implementation of activities within the company.

Persons, clubs, individual events, projects of different organisations and also those of government departments in the areas environment, social affairs and culture can all be sponsored.

For companies there is a big difference between donations and sponsorship from a tax perspective. While donations usually have limited utility from a tax perspective and cannot be deducted at all for organisations that do not have a special status (e.g. as a charitable institution), sponsoring activities can be accounted for as business expenditure and are not subject to any limit. On the other hand, income from sponsorship must be accounted for as income from commercial activities and is liable to tax for the sponsored party.

23.1.3 Fundraising

An organisation that needs to fund itself through donations in certain circumstances must carefully plan its fundraising activities. The fundraising plan first specifies the type of donor it will primarily target.

− Should one approach mainly big donors?

− Should small and middle level donors be approached?

–   What motivations could donors have to donate money to the organisation?

–   What can the organisation offer them?

–   How should the donors be approached?

–   Which instruments should be used?

The basic rule to keep in mind is that no one gives money without being asked. In other words, fundraising is hard and partly unpleasant work, or at least it can be.

> *Kim Klein[131], a successful feminist fundraiser once said, "Fundraising is the principle to ask, ask again and ask for more."*

Since fundraising is meant to finance a project, a campaign or an election, a fundraising plan cannot be devised in a vacuum. It must be coordinated with the strategic and tactical elements of overall planning. It is a strategy within the strategy. Therefore a fundraising plan must be formulated like the strategy.

Many fundraising manuals give the impression that the objective of fundraising is to approach as many people as possible on as many occasions and in as many different ways as possible. This would be correct if one had enough time and money. But reality is different. It is for this reason that fundraising also needs to be strategically planned. Potential donors must be sorted and prioritised according to the probability of their donating and the amount they are likely to donate.

23.1.4 Who and what is involved

Turning a fundraising plan into a successful campaign requires two essential ingredients: competent people and a good management system.

Fundraisers

Attempts to obtain funds and their success largely depend on the talent and persuasive ability of the fundraisers. A lot of fundraising fails simply because the wrong people approach the wrong donors at the wrong time. Successful fundraising requires that there is constant communication between the fundraiser and the donor and a relationship of trust is built up. The fundraisers must be updated on project planning or the party programme, what the organisation intends to do in the near future, which activities need to be carried out and how, where and why money is being spent.

They must be completely familiar with the goal, the target image and actual image of the organisation they are representing and must be able to identify advantages for the donors.

Donors

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[131] Kim Klein: *Fundraising for Social Change*; Inverness, CA, 1988.

Before implementing a fundraising plan, it is important to understand the people one is approaching for money. Motives to donate money fall into different categories:

1. Values and beliefs

    These greatly influence people's tendency to donate. They also define the issues and subjects on which a donor can be approached. A person's values grow from his experiences in life. They then influence his social commitments, his political leanings and his own interests.

2. Personal interest

    A potential donor feels that the organisation or party could further his personal interests.

3. Feeling of belonging

    The need to belong to a community, a social group or even to a party is an important human basic need. This wanting to belong is also expressed through a willingness to donate.

4. Local ties

    Local ties can be a strong motivation to donate. Geographic proximity engenders positive feelings similar to belonging to an organisation.

5. Peer pressure

    A potential donor donates because a friend has also donated.

6. The right contact person

    A potential donor gives because he is asked by the right person.

7. Raising self esteem

    Many people experience a lack of reaffirmation of their self esteem in their immediate environment, daily life or profession, or they may consider material recognition unsatisfying. They then attempt to gain recognition from other sources. Donations present an opportunity to raise self esteem.

8. Influence

    Many people wish to work for important causes. Donations provide an opportunity to exercise influence because there are few avenues open to an individual to influence politics, or he may not have the time to invest. The alternative is to support a certain candidate or a specific organisation. One should offer this donor type some influence over the utilisation of his money.

9. Presenting the right enemy

    The potential donor gives because his personal or business opponents support other organisations or parties. His motivation to donate stems from private opposition.

10. Feeling good

Many people find it difficult to deal with the fact that they are doing well while so many people are worse off. Their donation buys them relief from their sense of guilt.

11.   Reasons of posterity
Many successful entrepreneurs in the final phase of their lives face the problem of wanting to utilise their wealth for something that will outlive them and is associated with their name. They set up foundations or give donations to specific organisations so that they feel they have done something for a better future.

Finance committee

The finance committee is the heart of fundraising. It should include persons from all sections of society i.e. from the business sector, different professional groups, religions and social groups. These should be people who are prepared to put all their effort into raising money. Some important questions therefore need to be constantly asked: is the composition of the committee such that it can work productively? Is it able to procure funds when the organisation needs funds? Would more people make the committee more productive or should the committee be made smaller?

It is important to have people on the finance committee who are influential and strong willed, but it should not be restricted to wealthy individualists. Then there is also a question of investing time. Quite often a finance committee has people who meet all the prerequisites of a good fundraiser but unfortunately have no time to carry out their tasks. Such people should be replaced.

Fundraising staff

If we consider fundraising an important activity towards achieving our strategic goal, it makes sense to invest in our personnel. This means creating a nodal point, whether full time or honorary, that virtually functions as the engine that drives the finance committee and its activities. Such an investment usually pays off.

Management system

The fundraising management system fulfils two related functions: it maintains and updates donor lists and it generates the necessary reports, including financial reports and those required for complying with legal regulations.

The way in which the donor database is maintained determines the speed and the success with which important reports can be generated. The success or failure of specific activities can be quickly and reliably determined with a well functioning system. Good software thus makes fundraising more effective.

23.1.5 Fundraising instruments

There are six fundraising instruments, namely:

- Personal meetings

- Events such as benefit programmes

- Telephone calls

- Mailings

- Appeals/Advertisements in the media

- Repeat calls

Personal meetings are usually used for big donors. Middle level and small donors are usually approached through events, telephone calls, appeals in the media and mailings. Repeat calls are made if one of the first five instruments has been successful.

Personal meetings

Fundraising through personal meetings needs to be divided into two categories. There is fundraising from big donors and fundraising from small and middle level donors. Although the same objectives apply to both categories, the degree of preparation, the spadework and the amount of money acquired vary.

An individual fundraising plan has to be developed for each big donor. This involves research, selection of a contact person, developing convincing arguments, initial contact etc.

Research

The names of big donors, addresses and telephone numbers should be known and a detailed donor profile should be developed. This involves finding out the income, hobbies, topics of interest, friends, information about the family, earlier donations and any other information that could be helpful in determining what may motivate the donor to give.

If the donors are organisations or companies, the person(s) within the organisation responsible for decisions on donations should be ascertained. Once this person is identified, a donor profile is created in the same way as for individual donors. One should be clear about the fact that decisions are not taken by organisation but by an individual or group of individuals.

All this data is saved in the donor profile. This data is of a very sensitive nature and should be protected against access by unauthorised persons. If data protection laws prohibit saving of such data, the data should be documented in some other form.

Selection of persons to approach donors

Once research into the donor's background is completed, the right person to contact the donor needs to be selected. This could be a friend, a family member, the candidate of a party, a member of the finance committee or the campaign manager. The selection is based on either personal familiarity or relationship with the donor. During elections it is better to avoid using the chairperson of the party or the candidate for this purpose. Nevertheless, it will occasionally be necessary for the chairperson or the candidate to take on a bigger role in the fundraising process.

Developing convincing arguments

Arguments should be tailored to the potential donor building on the prior research and personal knowledge. Refer also to various possible motivating factors for donors listed earlier in this chapter.

Initial contact

Initial contact should take place over the telephone or in a personal discussion and the purpose, that is the need for funds, should be mentioned. If the potential donor is interested in the organisation, party or candidate, the caller should, if required and only if it is required, arrange for a meeting with the chairperson or the candidate.

Follow up

A letter confirming the meeting and expressing thanks for the donor's time should be sent immediately. The letter should also contain additional information on the organisation or the project.

A letter should be sent even if the potential donor was not yet ready for a meeting. This letter too should contain more information about the organisation or the project and express thanks for the time taken. This keeps the door open for subsequent calls or visits.

Personal meeting

A personal meeting takes place when the fundraiser wishes to clinch the deal. Using all the information known to him from the donor profile, the fundraiser negotiates, makes a presentation and concludes with a direct appeal to donate.

What should be done if the donor has other requests, for instance wanting to meet someone else from the organisation? In each case the fundraiser must decide whether this would increase the likelihood of a donation or not. Based on this he decides on the next steps.

Thank you or follow up

Big donors are a very special group of people and want appreciation. They must be thanked for their donation immediately. Even if they have not donated, they should be sent a letter thanking them for their time.

Obviously big donors should not be forgotten after they have made their donation. They should be involved in communication with the organisation so that it is possible to approach them for donations again.

Personal fundraising for small and middle level donors

Usually volunteer fundraisers, often people who the donors interact with socially, are used for this purpose. They are not members of the finance committee and do not hold any significant post in the organisation. Such fundraisers must be trained so that they are able to use the right arguments. They should be aware of the procedure and methods of fundraising and they must know what is to be done with the donated money or material.

Events, such as benefit programmes

Events are excellent instruments to tap middle level donors. They can be structured to reach both big and small donors. The flexibility of this instrument allows it to be used for financing a large portion of the budget.

Potential problems

Before planning such an event one should be aware of all potential problems.

1. Successful events require volunteer manpower and time for planning and implementation. Therefore adequate time should be available.

2. The costs of the event play an important role in its success. Costs can quickly get out of hand, consequently reducing net income. Costs must therefore be carefully monitored. No event should be conducted if it nets a profit lower than 75 % of the total receipts.

3. The price of entry tickets must be fixed in accordance with the potential capacity of the target group.

4. A donation target must be set for each event based on the assumption that one of five invited donors will attend. The right balance between costs and profit should be struck, taking into account volunteer work hours as well.

5. A marketing strategy should be formulated for each event. The organisational structure for selling entry tickets must facilitate tapping potential donors as effectively as possible. The objective must always be to generate maximum returns from such events. For instance, a dinner should be divided into two sub events, with a prior reception for big donors. This will help increase total receipts.

6. The timing of the event must be coordinated with leading representatives of the organisation, the candidates and other organisational levels. Although there is no perfect time for fundraising, some days are more suitable than others.

7. A well known speaker at an event will certainly attract more people. Nevertheless, it is still hard work to get people to part with money. A good speaker cannot replace the commitment of the fundraisers.

8. Entry tickets should be dispatched only after payment has been received.

9. Fundraising occasions and events cannot be prepared under time pressure. They are therefore not suitable for overcoming short term financial bottlenecks.

Twelve steps to organising a fundraising event

Step 1: Devise a programme for the occasion and fix the entry prices.

The more interesting the idea for the event, the easier it is to sell more tickets. Events should therefore be planned so that participants enjoy attending.

> *For example, a fundraising group once bought up an entire section of theatre seats, sold these tickets at a higher price and subsequently had a party in the theatre with the participants.*

Any interesting idea can be discussed, always keeping in mind the 75 % profit margin. Fundraising activities are not mere PR events but are meant to bring in money. Attempts to combine both objectives are very likely doomed to failure.

Step 2: Fix the time and place of the event.

Time and place are both critical factors. Often different possibilities emerge for events that are planned later. One should be careful not to fix these factors too early so as not to lose flexibility in reacting to external occurrences.

Step 3: Draw up a list of potential donors.

A sub group that appears suitable for an invitation to the special occasion needs to be shortlisted from the general donor list and the list of potential donors. Local suggestions should be added to the list.

If the list is intended for data entry it should contain the following data:

1.   Name
2.   Address
3.   Telephone number
4.   Source
5.   Smallest donation/largest donation

6. Date of last donation

Step 4: Conduct market appraisal and develop a marketing plan.

There are three ways of selling tickets for an event: face to face, by telephone or through letters. The marketing plan should identify the most cost effective method. This plan must also establish deadlines for sending out the invitations and producing the material for the event.

Step 5: Establish the organisational structure for ticket sales and for selecting the person responsible for the event.

The largest number of tickets is still sold through personal contacts. Depending on the size and importance of the event, individual persons must be made responsible for selling a fixed number of entry tickets and for organising the event.

Step 6: Work out a detailed budget for the event.

There must be a detailed budget for each fundraising event. This rule is especially important for events where the costs tend to escalate if they are not tightly controlled.

Costs normally include expenditure on stamps, printing, telephone, lists and specific expenses such as music, flowers, catering etc. The budget should be drawn up keeping in mind that costs should be minimised. One should therefore consider which of the required services can be managed with volunteers or material donations.

Step 7: Organise the launch meeting.

The organisation of the launch meeting or a reception for the organising committee is an important task. Packets containing a fact sheet for the event, tickets and instructions need to be prepared for each person selling tickets. If a list of potential customers is also enclosed, the person should be made aware that he is not restricted to the list and can, of course, approach other people, but that the people on the list must definitely be contacted.

This kick-off meeting should be fun and motivate the participants. However, it should also underline the importance of the event and that every individual bears responsibility for its success.

Step 8: Open ticket sales.

The sale of tickets in line with the marketing concept must begin immediately after the kick-off event. No cards should be sent directly without having been paid for. This means only invitations with an order form should be sent out.

Once the sale of tickets has begun, a press announcement should follow which should mainly answer the following questions:

–   What is unique about the event?

–   Who will be present (speaker, prominent personalities, politicians, candidate)?

–   How tickets can be obtained.

Step 9: Monitor ticket sales

The marketing plan will contain a series of deadlines, some relating to the sale of tickets. This will require monitoring and involves meeting the persons selling tickets, especially if sales are slow. If sales are indeed lagging, the selling propositions may need to be modified.

Step 10: Monitor preparations for the event

This mainly involves monitoring the costs and whether preparations are running according to plan.

Step 11: Shortly before the event

At this stage the check-in modalities need to be reviewed. Enough staff must be available to ensure that potential donors are not irritated right at the beginning of the event (seat reservations). The technical aspects must be in place (donation certificates, pens etc.).

Step 12: Immediately after the event

The donors must receive their donation certificates and thank you letters without delay. Account settlement and profit calculations should also be carried out as quickly as possible. If the event was successful one can plan to repeat it on an annual basis.

Telephone fundraising

Telephone calls can be an effective and relatively cheap method of reaching a large number of small and middle level donors. The method is usually used in four different variations: telephonic follow up to a letter, calls to selected small donors or repeat call to donors and reminder calls to donors who agreed to donate.

1. Telephonic follow up to a letter
    Telephone databases are used for making direct and personal calls after sending an invitation to an event or after an event. Even if the donor did not attend an event, attempts can still be made to obtain a donation or some other contribution.

2. Calls to selected small donors

Former small donors can be contacted by telephone. Letters or telephone calls or a combination of both are often used to remind small donors.

3. Repeat calls to former middle level and big donors
   In this case calls are made primarily to fix an appointment. One will hardly receive big donations over the telephone.

4. Reminder calls to donors who agreed to donate
   The normal procedure is to make telephone calls to remind donors to make the donations they had pledged. Calling is better than a reminder letter because it is much less formal. One will often get the response, "The cheque is in the post", even though it is being written out at that very moment.

5. Professional telemarketing
   Working with professional telephone marketing firms is another possibility. The firm will develop a special programme for the party or organisation which it will get approved. It is recommended that such a programme is first prepared only for a trial market. If the success rate turns out to be low or in fact elicits negative reactions, the method should be discarded. (Caution: In some countries telephone fundraising is prohibited, just like telemarketing, unless the called persons have requested that they be contacted.)

Direct mail fundraising

"Direct mail" is a term that describes two different types of fundraising. The more successful version of direct mail fundraising involves repeat approaches to donors from the donor list. This method of using direct mailings is, in fact, the most effective in terms of the net profit.

On the other hand, direct mail can also be used to identify new donors. Direct mailings of this nature can be considered successful once the break even point is reached because they help to expand the donor list. A precondition for this of course is that lists with suitable target groups are available.

Tapping new donors is a very technical and highly developed form of direct mailing. It includes selecting and acquiring lists, designing the package, printing and production, test mailings, evaluating the test results and then implementing the complete mailing in lists that were found to be successful.

Since direct mailing for fundraising purposes is associated with high risks, two questions need to be answered at the outset:

1. Do we have sufficient know how in-house to locate new donors or can we afford to consult a direct mail consultant?

2. Are there enough potential donors who are interested in our programme and who can be approached through direct mail?

The direct mail plan may be large scale or small scale, but its objectives are always the same: enlarge the donor list and break even. The key to success is selecting the right target groups and conducting test runs. All in all, this is an activity that should be outsourced. Of course, the organisation must monitor the activity.

Design of the letter and package

If the letter is written by someone from within the organisation, avoid having someone from an internal group or a speech writer do this. Neither is suitable to write such a letter. The best option is to ask a volunteer with advertising experience or a professional to compose the letter.

If we follow these rules, nothing can go completely wrong:

1. Write the letter as if it is addressed to a known person. This makes it easier to strike a natural, personal note.

2. Focus on the motivation. Some people will donate because they happened to be asked. To be able to better appeal to potential clients, appeal to basic human driving factors such as pride, idealism, obligation, sympathy and on the darker side threat, fear and self-centredness.

3. Describe the project, the organisation's planning and the party programme. Write that the organisation needs support through donations to achieve its objectives.

4. Demonstrate broad-based acceptability. The recipient must gain the impression that it is socially acceptable, in fact, a social imperative to donate to the organisation.

5. The potential donor must know what the money is going to be utilised for.

6. Impart a sense of urgency. This must be signalled by both the envelope and the letter: there is no time to lose; you must react immediately. The recipient should not be given a chance to put aside the letter for later.

7. Ask for the contribution several times. The letter must ask for donations at every turn. The message to donate must be loud and clear.

8. Keep paragraphs brief and underline key words.

9. Use a postscript. This is the most read part of the letter.

All other technical elements should be left to a professional typesetter.

Appeals to donate in the media

Appeals to donate on radio or television are becoming increasingly important for fundraising, but even appeals in the print media are quite successful, especially when the appeal is supported by editorial articles. In general, various media are suitable for donation appeals to small and middle level donors. One cannot expect to receive big donations this way.

23.2 Financing for political parties

There are some special aspects to financing for political parties in addition to the basic requirements for fundraising discussed above. This is because of the existence of political party laws, laws on financing for political parties and electoral laws. Different sets of possibilities and restrictions relating to financing political parties emerge as a result.

The basic legal options open to a party to finance itself are:

1. Membership dues

2. Joining fees

3. Donations

4. Material contributions

5. Funding from the state

6. Financing through the party's own economic activities.

23.2.1 Membership subscriptions

These are subscriptions that are collected from members at regular intervals (monthly, quarterly, half yearly or annually). The amount is generally linked to the income of the members. The party constitution should contain a clause on finances to provide a legal basis for raising such subscriptions. The clause should also state how receipts from membership subscriptions are distributed among different party organs.

In general, every political party should require members to pay membership fees. This is important from a financial perspective and also for intra-party harmony. Democracy within a party becomes difficult if the party is dependent solely on the donations or funding provided by a few important members – sometimes only one. It also makes the party constantly vulnerable to external pressure.

The collection of membership subscriptions can either be carried out by treasurers on the executive committees or by deputed persons who get a certain percentage of the fees. These fee collectors can play an important role in intra party communication because they are constantly in touch with members. They function as seismographs that register every minor tremor among the party rank and file and can pass it on to the party leadership.

In societies where cashless transactions predominate, this function can also be taken over by banks, which transfer the money from member accounts. This may be a simple system, however it has the disadvantage that there is no direct contact with party members. Moreover, changes in the members' standard of living do not reflect in the amount of subscription. There are many instances of people who become members of a

political party as students, paying a low subscription since they have no income, who continue to pay the same amount even once they are well-paid managers.

The amount of subscription varies considerably in different parties and countries. It can range from a token monthly fee of a few cents to up to three or five percent of income.

23.2.2 Joining fees

Many political parties charge a joining fee when membership commences. This fee mainly covers joining costs. It is of secondary importance since it is not intended as a regular source of income for the party.

23.2.3 Donations

The scope and type of donation canvassing is usually regulated in the relevant political party or electoral laws. There are a number of restrictions that limit both the source and amount of donation.

1. Donations from abroad
   In most countries political parties are prohibited from accepting donations from abroad. Since parties are required to take decisions of national importance, it is not desirable that they are controlled from abroad or become dependent on foreign groups. These laws are partially circumvented by using other channels to transfer funds into the country and routing them through a dummy local donor. Another method is for the international associations of parties to provide services or material contributions; or to finance services abroad and provide them locally through foreign agencies. This happens quite frequently among consultants and agencies and is hardly a problem for agencies with a global presence.

2. Prohibition of party funding through public sector enterprises
   In contrast to state funding for political parties, which is customary in many countries, public sector enterprises are frequently proscribed from making such contributions. This is primarily because an unequal distribution of public funds could skew the balance in favour of some parties, usually the government parties, leading to unequal opportunities. In actual fact, however, political parties dipping into the public exchequer has acquired astounding proportions. There are examples of parties financing their election campaigns through pension funds that were subsequently so depleted that pensions could no longer be paid. The debate on to what extent ruling parties can benefit from the official government publicity machinery and use the material produced there for their campaigns is also relevant here. In Germany, the Federal Constitutional Court[132] passed a judgement on the issue that imposes severe restrictions.

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[132] Judgement of the German Federal Constitutional Court dated 2.3.1977 regarding the public relations activities of organs of the state.

3. Upper limits on donations or prohibition of donations from companies and obligation to declare donations

    In a number of countries it is forbidden to accept donations from legal entities, which also includes companies, while donations from natural persons are permissible. In most countries, however, donations from legal entities can be accepted. This raises the issue of business and industry exerting an influence on policy. As long as upper limits are imposed on donations, it should be possible to eliminate undue influence being exerted. If no limits are fixed, individual companies may acquire a hold over political parties because they are the party's main source of income. To counteract this influence, some countries have introduced disclosure laws for large donations. Any donations exceeding a certain amount must be publicly notified. This is intended to allow citizens to ascertain for themselves whether any dependence exists and to take this into account in their voting decisions. Many tricks are used to ensure that donations do not exceed these specified ceilings, ranging from splitting a big donation from a company into smaller donations from subsidiaries of that company, accepting material contributions (see relevant section) or creating anonymous funds in which individual donors can no longer be identified. The list of possibilities can go on, but it suffices to show how much thought the finance departments in party headquarters expend on finding ways to exploit legal loopholes.

4. Prohibition on linking donations with certain services

    In some countries it is forbidden to link a donation with a particular political service by the party. This is a problematic regulation because, clearly, an organisation or company is more likely to support a party with donations if the party programme contains issues and goals that are in the company's interest. Causative linkages between donations and party policies are very difficult to prove and any allegations of such linkages remain in the realm of speculation. This is very detrimental to fundraising.

23.2.4 Material contributions

Material contributions or providing personnel are methods that are often used to circumvent regulations on monetary donations. Of course, these are also donations under existing laws, but they are much more difficult to prove.

Material contributions could include paper, vehicles, printers, printing services, providing telephone connections, stamps etc. They also include providing advertising time on radio and television or space in newspaper. The invoices for such activities are simply routed to the concerned companies, where they are accounted for as fully deductible business expenses.

Another method is to provide personnel. Drivers, clerical staff, secretaries etc. are asked not to report to their usual office but to work at the headquarters or office of the party or candidate for a certain period of time. Sometimes to carry the deception further they even remain in their office but work for the party from there.

The problem of concealed material contributions becomes an issue mainly if campaign expenditure is subject to limits, as is the case in some countries. These limits, which are usually enforced by monitoring payments and fund transfers, are circumvented through material and personnel contributions. This only demonstrates that attempts to limit campaign expenditure with such laws are doomed to failure from the outset.

23.2.5 Funding from the state

State funding for political parties is a widely prevalent instrument, although it is structured in different ways and has different forms. No attempt will be made here to enumerate all such systems or select individual systems that are particularly good or bad. The attempt is only to provide an overview of the different possibilities offered by state funding.

The concept of providing funding to political parties from taxpayer money is based on the belief that political parties are indispensable institutions in a democracy and play a critical role in the run up to and implementation of elections as well as in expressing the will of the people. In larger societies, democracy without political parties is inconceivable. The putting up of candidates, their candidatures and the development of alternative approaches to resolving societal issues are an integral part of any democratic process. This holds true despite the criticism of the current manner of political parties and politicians.

The main forms of state funding for political parties and organisations that are similar to parties are:

- Financing administrative expenditure of political parties

- Payments commensurate with electoral results

- Reimbursement of incurred and substantiated expenditure

- Making public services and facilities available to political parties

- Provision of space, technical facilities and staff

- Funding the expenditure of the parliamentary groups

- Support through tax exemption of donations and membership dues

- Support to affiliated organisations such as youth organisations, women's organisations, foundations etc.

- Funding the expenses of parliamentarians.

Financing administrative expenditure of parties

In this system either fixed amounts (equal for each party) are allocated or a distinction is made based on the number of members a party has. A variation of this is to combine a basic amount with allocations based on membership. The purpose is to bear the parties'

administrative costs. Such allocations are thus not intended for preparing and conducting elections and payments are made even if no elections are held.

Payments commensurate with electoral results.

There are different models for reimbursing election expenses. They are all based on the premise of paying a certain amount per vote. They therefore do not reimburse campaign costs but can be regarded as a bonus for electoral success. This method can result in either heavily over-compensating or under-compensating expenditure incurred. The amount paid per vote varies in countries that employ this system. The calculation of votes for payment can also vary. One method is to base payment on the actual number of votes obtained by a party. Other systems are based on the assumption of a 100% voter turnout, with the votes actually obtained being projected accordingly. This can considerably improve a party's financial situation if there is a low voter turnout. If the system is based on the actual number of votes cast, parties must incorporate into their campaigns strategies to motivate people to vote.

Reimbursement of incurred and substantiated expenditure

Expenses are reimbursed up to a certain limit or a percentage is reimbursed. The expenses can be campaign expenses or routine administrative expenditure.

Availability of public services and facilities for political parties

Making public services and institutions available to political parties means that, for instance, time on radio or television is made available to parties free of cost, assuming that it is a public broadcaster, or space is provided for posters or the exteriors of public buildings, bridges etc. are made available for advertising.

Provision of premises, technical facilities and staff

In some countries rooms, buildings, storage facilities, technical facilities and sometimes even personnel from public organisations are made available to political parties or parliamentary groups at different levels.

Funding the expenditure of the parliamentary groups

Very diverse regulations apply to the organisation of political parties in parliaments. In some countries the parliamentary groups are very generously provided for. They receive financial grants for staff and technical equipment, office space and material and sometimes even opportunities for building up their own research services. In such cases the financial standing of the parliamentary group is sometimes much better than that of the party. In other cases practically no support is provided; even meeting rooms in or near parliament are not provided to parliamentary groups.

The extent to which parliamentary groups and especially opposition groups are supported is largely dependent on the political culture and the stability of democracy as well as the extent of parliamentary influence on the executive. Consequentially facilities for parliamentary groups are generally much worse in presidential systems as compared to parliamentary democracies.

Support through tax exemption of donations and membership subscriptions

Part of the support extended by the state to political parties is in the form of tax exemptions or special tax refunds for party donations and membership dues. Such exemptions mean that political parties are able to obtain a higher income from donations. This in turn has to be financed through the budget.

Support to affiliated organisations such as youth organisations, women's organisations, foundations etc.

In addition to direct funding for political parties by the state, special institutions that are affiliated to a party or at least to its political orientation are also supported in some countries. These include youth organisations that partly receive direct grants for their work at different political levels or a party's student organisation that is supported in its work at universities. The same applies to the women's organisations of some parties.

One special form of support is the funding extended to foundations that are close to political parties. Through their activities for educating and disseminating awareness about the basic political orientation of the party they have a direct influence on the development of informed opinion among citizens.

Funding the expenses of parliamentarians

An indirect form of funding by the state is providing financial support to parliamentarians coupled with funds for staff in their constituencies, reimbursing travel expenses and technical costs. Again, this varies widely from country to country. There are countries in which parliamentarians are forced to give up their profession for the duration of their term in parliament and are given only a meagre expense allowance. This can result in parliamentarians having to bear considerable financial losses.

Financing through economic activities

At the other end of the spectrum there is the possibility of party and electoral laws permitting political parties to engage in economic activities, establish their own companies, organise lotteries and fully participate in business and competition. This type of party financing can result in a significant diversion of public funds due to the channelling of public contracts to party companies. It also nurtures corruption and nepotism.

24. Systems of Government

24.1 Description

In the debate on types of constitutions and systems of government in the world, the existence of a parliament is often seen as an indicator that the system is democratic. This is an erroneous assumption as the term parliamentarism is interpreted differently in different contexts. Taken loosely, the term parliamentarism can include all systems in which a parliament exists. It does not, however, reveal anything about the responsibilities and competence of the parliaments. National Socialism fulfilled the requirements of the term, as did the Soviet Union under Stalin, Spain under Franco and Romania under Ceausescu. Western democracies are included in the ambit of this term just as authoritarian systems in other parts of the world.

It is therefore necessary to first classify and divide systems into democratic and non democratic. Attempts to develop such typologies have a long history. In ancient times, Aristotle and Herodotus had tried propounding typologies using the number of rulers as a criterion.

This led to the three classic categories:

- Monarchy as a form of government in which one rules.
- Aristocracy as a form of government in which the upper class rules.
- Democracy as a form of government in which the people rule.

Aristotle added a qualitative dimension to this quantitative description. This resulted in more forms of government since each good form of rule and government also had its bad counterpart.

The good forms were:

- Monarchy, the rule of a "good" ruler, Basileus.
- Aristocracy, the rule of an upper class caring for the common good.
- Politie, rule of the people.

The bad forms were:

- Tyrannis, the rule of a violent despot or tyrant.
- Oligarchy, the rule of a small group with selfish interests.
- Democracy, the rule of the "street".

Attempts were made at developing such typologies over the centuries. K. Loewenstein's[133] typology developed in his book "Verfassungslehre" (Constitutional Doctrine) is still relevant today. According to him, constitutionalism and autocracy form a set of concepts. They are distinguished by the shared exercise of political power and shared controls over it on the one hand, and concentrated power without controls on the other.

Today we distinguish between totalitarian systems, authoritarian systems and democratic systems in various manifestations such as parliamentary and presidential forms of government and a host of hybrid forms.

24.1.1 Totalitarian regimes

In this typology, totalitarianism is the antithesis of democratic systems. The classic totalitarian systems – National Socialism and Stalinism – are characterised by the following features:

- There is one, single political party which is not legitimised by elections and does not accept the will of the people as a restraint on its power. On the contrary, it regards it as its task to shape the will of the people in line with its own ideas.

- This is based on a world view that is similar to religion and which regards itself as being the "true" one. It claims not only to know the ideal final state of society but also that it will bring about this state in a foreseeable period of time.

- It is obligatory for citizens in a totalitarian system to accept the prevailing world view. They are not permitted to stay distanced and withdraw into free private spaces.

24.1.2 Authoritarian systems

What authoritarian and totalitarian systems have in common is that they are both non democratic systems. The term "authoritarian systems" is not very precise as it includes a number of very different regimes. Authoritarian systems include left wing and right wing military dictatorship as well as Franco's Spain and Chile under Pinochet.

Elections are often manipulated in such systems. In contrast to totalitarian systems, however, consolidating the regime's stranglehold on power is the primary concern, not a mandated world view. A restricted version of pluralism is therefore tolerated as camouflage. Of course, this tolerance lasts only as long as the system is not under threat. Since there is no obligatory world view, the ruling party usually does not play a critical role and is often replaced by power cliques based on personal contacts.

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[133] Karl Loewenstein: *Verfassungslehre*; 2nd Edition; 1969, Tübingen, Mohr.

24.1.3 Democratic systems

In representative democratic systems such as parliamentary and presidential forms of government, the people do not exercise power directly but transfer it to organs that carry out governance in the name of the people. The parliamentary system of government is considered to have originated in Great Britain. The United States of America is the prototype of the presidential form of government. The distribution of systems varies according to region. While parliamentary systems are predominant in Europe, the presidential system is more prevalent in America and Africa.[134] A comparative analysis of the presidential and parliamentary systems of government shows the following formal differences:

- The president and the parliament are elected separately in the presidential system, while a single election decides the composition of parliament and government in parliamentary systems, even though the possibility of different coalitions exists. This principle has led to growing difficulties in some countries, particularly where the classic two party system has changed into a multi-party system. It is possible that the majority in parliament may differ from that of the elected president with the consequence that the president will also need to build majorities in parliament through coalitions on important issues if he is dependent on parliamentary approval.

- The government in a parliamentary system is appointed by parliament and can also be dismissed by it. In the presidential system, the parliament can normally not remove the president unless the president has violated certain constitutional norms. In such cases impeachment proceedings can be initiated. It is, however, not possible to initiate impeachment proceedings due to differences in political views. Thus the president cannot, under normal circumstances, be toppled due to political differences.

- The issue of dissolving parliament is also handled differently. Under normal circumstances, the president cannot dissolve parliament, while the British prime minister could certainly do so. Since there are also several hybrid forms of the presidential and parliamentary systems, the boundaries have become somewhat fluid in practice.

- The parliamentary system comprises a divided executive. Representative duties of state are carried out by a "president" or a monarch. Actual power remains in the hands of the head of government – the prime minister, chancellor or minister president. In the presidential system both these functions are combined.

24.1.4 Hybrid forms

A number of hybrid forms have developed from the original forms of the parliamentary

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[134] For details refer to Chapter 24.1.4.

and presidential systems. Some tend more towards the presidential form, as in France, while others are more similar to parliamentary systems, such as in Switzerland.

Distribution of systems across the world
Different forms of government have developed in different regions of the world. Sometimes these vary from country to country but partly they are typical of a region. The spectrum of systems of government ranges from absolute forms of government to socialist dictatorships and pseudo democracies to democratic systems.

24.2 Impact on strategy

During fact gathering, information on constitutions and systems of government is part of the basic data on the external environment.
Constitutions and systems of government can have a considerable bearing on strategy if the strategic mission has been formulated broadly enough. If the objective is to influence policies or attempt to come to power in a particular system, the system must first be analysed and understood. Which areas are important for influencing policy? Where are the power centres?

Sometimes it is parliament, but sometimes the parliament has virtually no power which is concentrated in the hands of the president. In other systems, as in Germany, the president has little influence on political decisions, but the chancellor elected by parliament does. However, even in these systems parliament may not be the supreme organ. In countries with a federal constitution, the legislative chambers of the states or provinces may play a crucial role.

The constitutional system and its actual manifestation must be incorporated in strategic planning to ensure that it is on the right track. The constitutional reality is more important than the constitution itself. In a number of countries, the manifestation is far removed from the original constitution. This may happen when there is shift of emphasis within the constitution but partly also because forces not envisaged in the constitution influence and shape policy from the outside.

25. Political Parties and Party Systems

The concept "political party" with its present connotations originated in the 19th century with the formation of western democracies and the achievement of general franchise in Europe and the USA. But these phenomena did not first develop in this period. From the ancient city states till into the Middle Ages, oligarchic and plebeian forces fought for power and influence.

Political parties are groups of like-minded people that strive for power and influence in government to be able to mould public opinion and implement their common political ideals. The definition of political parties is governed to a large extent by our understanding of society. In pluralistic societies, particularly in parliamentarian constitutions, parties are formed based on a diversity of interests. Marxist Leninism defines parties as political organisations in which classes unite so as to represent the specific interests of their group. According to Max Weber[135], political leadership and informed political opinion is not possible without parties in a modern society. Political parties take on the task of transmitting decision processes between society and the state.

The principle of freedom to form political parties is applicable in parliamentary democracies. Different party systems have developed in response to specific historical and social contexts. Very often two major parties have developed, as in the US and in Great Britain but also in a number of Latin American countries. Although smaller parties do exist, the scene is dominated by the two bigger parties.

In contrast to a many party system, the number of political parties that can actually influence the formation of government in a multi-party system is limited. The manifestations of such party systems are heavily influenced by electoral law. While elections by majority favour a two party system, proportional representation encourages the presence of several smaller parties, unless cut-off clauses result in promoting a multi-party system.

One party systems are prevalent in dictatorships and socialist systems where the communist party has a monopoly over power.

25.1 Classification of parties

There have been many attempts at classifying political parties according to different theoretical concepts. Every one of these typologies is somewhat amorphous and becomes more distinct only in combination with other descriptions.

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[135] Max Weber: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*; new edition, 1985.

25.1.1 Classification based on the structure of followers

– Professional parties: such parties are alliances of occupational groups that have gained prominence, e.g. agriculturists, small businesses etc. Their objective, similar to that of special interest parties, is to represent the interests of their members.

– Special interest parties: special interest parties represent the typical interests of various sociological groups such as civil servants, women, old people, refugees etc. Their objective is to obtain special advantages for these specific groups.

– Class parties: such parties, which were formed mainly as Marxist-Leninist parties, attempt to project their interests against other groups in the class struggle to be able to come to power and assert themselves.

– People's parties: they can primarily be regarded as the antithesis of class parties. They attempt to unite various interests into a common political will. Their objective is to resolve conflicts harmoniously within the party and to unite large groups of voters in their favour.

– Ethnic parties: the relevance of ethnic parties is growing as the interests of individual ethnic groups are increasingly being asserted against other ethnic groups.

25.1.2 Classification based on organisational structure

– Personality based parties: these are loose associations whose running is usually decentralised and unprofessional. During parliamentary elections they support certain candidates.

– Mass parties: large parties with many members, for example workers' parties, were formed in response to the social issue in industrialised societies. By presenting a combined front they hoped to influence government and society and stake a claim to power.

– Cadre parties: such parties were formed as "parties of the new type", with reference to Lenin. Typically, they are tightly organised, small cadres, which are focused on an ideology and renew themselves through constant purges.

25.1.3 Classification according to political and strategic goals

As discussed in the chapter on the political programmes of parties[136], parties can also be classified according to their political and strategic goals. A classification of this nature would be along the lines of:

– Fascist parties

– Radical right wing parties

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[136] See Chapter 6.2.3: Programmes.

- Conservative parties

- Liberal parties

- Social democratic parties

- Socialist parties

- Communist parties

- Ecological parties

- Religious parties

- Ethnic parties.

25.1.4 Classification according to degree of institutionalisation

This distinction is made mainly for political parties that wish to break up an existing party system and initially have the form of a movement or as a loosely structured organisation. Here one distinguishes between:

- Established parties

- Non established parties.

25.1.5 Classification according to function in society

The functioning of political parties within a society provides an interesting classification. This classification can provide critical strategic inputs on likely responses in crisis situations and is thus of special relevance to the strategic planner. We distinguish between:

- Parties providing services to citizens: such political parties attempt to provide assistance to citizens in social matters. They are relatively apolitical, do not have strong ideological leanings but are helpful in their interface with the populace. They maintain close contacts with voters. Their party organisation at the local level serves as a nodal point for providing services and assistance. The attraction held out by such parties is the free services provided to citizens in return for which they vote for the party. The party's organisation is characterised by strong grassroots associations. The higher levels are, however, also essential for ensuring provision of services.

> *This type of party was commonly present as a block party in the socialist system. It could do little politically within the system but was able to reduce the suffering of its members and voters by providing them with special privileges.*
>
> *This type of party is also present in countries with a poorly developed social system. Here the party provides social services,*

may arrange for medical care and may even have a party hospital.

– Project or problem solving party: this class of parties is focused on a single agenda or individual projects. They are one issue parties and are future oriented. They take public stands on certain clearly defined projects and approaches to issues. Their attraction lies in voters emotionally identifying with certain issues and therefore being committed to and voting for that party. The party organisation is dependent on its local branches for presenting and transmitting the project concept. The grassroots associations are the transformers of the project idea.

> *The emergence of ecological parties and parties focusing on this area of policy is a typical manifestation of this class of parties.*

– Policy management parties or parliamentary group/ruling parties: such parties focus on management and crisis management at the highest levels of government. They strive for complex, networked solutions. The party's image is that of a "doer". It does what has to be done regardless of how its voters view its actions. The party has a strong media orientation and is able to ensure media presence through its members in government. Its relationship with voters lies in imparting confidence that it will be able to resolve crises and problems. Voters vote for the party to be able to delegate their own responsibilities to the party. The organisation has a strongly centralised character. Decisions are taken quickly and the party rank and file is subsequently expected to rubber stamp these decisions.

– Ideological parties: such parties attempt to offer value oriented, comprehensive and complex solutions and develop alternatives. They are considered consistent, value oriented, reliable and ideological. Such parties introduce several programmes and aim for value identification with certain groups of voters. If this identification takes place it results in votes for the party. Ideological parties are characterised by strong intra party democracy. There are virtually no distinct power cliques. They are slow to take decisions.

– Movements or one-person shows: parties of this type aim for power and influence. For this they require a charismatic leader or a Caudillo. This person is responsible for generating confidence and a dependency among voters. The movement conveys a feeling of belongingness, being cared for and security. There is practically no party organisation. During elections, ad hoc organisations and election machinery are set up.

25.2 Development of different systems

Different types of political parties have emerged in different parts of the world in response to political and cultural developments. They have certain characteristic features depending on the systems of government and election. Knowledge of the

functions and self image of political parties has a great bearing on strategic considerations.

In Europe there is a predominance of ideological parties. They tend to demarcate themselves politically from their opponents. The party programme is frequently the central factor in an election. The presidential systems in France and recently even in Russia are an exception. Here political movements have emerged that lack a distinct political profile. Overall one can state that in Europe the importance of personalities has risen in contrast to ideology.

In Latin America, political parties have moved in another direction. After the division of political movements into "Serviles" and "Liberales" and in keeping with the presidential systems of government, parties have emerged that are less ideological than in Europe, have a more movement-like character and are often led by a "Caudillo". They tend to be personality-based during elections and thus often acquire a populist character. However, a trend of ideology becoming more important as opposed to individuals can be observed.

In North America very different systems have developed in the United States and Canada. The two party system in the US with a presidential system of government has resulted in mass parties that have few ideological differences and are mainly characterised by their candidates. There is no distinct structure right up to the local level. In Canada, on the other hand, parties have developed based on ideological and primarily linguistic differences. These can be regarded as special interest parties.

In most countries in Africa, political parties that can be termed special interest parties with a clan/tribal background have emerged. In the past these countries had socialist one party systems, without, however, ideologically really striving for socialism. Tribal parties have made an appearance after the dissolution of the one party system.

In South East Asia and South Asia, regional and family parties have played a special role. Ideological parties are usually found only on the left. An increase in religious parties can be observed.

Wherever pluralistic party systems have come up in Arab Islamic regions, the parties have frequently had a religious orientation, although often they also have a family/clan background.

26. Electoral Systems and Elections

Just as there is no uniform and optimum form of government, electoral systems too are not uniform. Partly they have emerged from historical developments and reflect the cultural context of a given society, or they were forcibly imposed during colonial rule to achieve very specific effects. These may have stemmed from a desire for democracy or at least the appearance of a democracy, the desire for stability or for incorporating minority views, but this is no longer relevant for our analysis. What is important is that some electoral systems are well matched with the mentality of the people while others are regarded as foreign or imposed and hence rejected.

26.1 Impact of electoral systems on strategy

26.1.1 Organisation and basic categories of electoral systems

Electoral systems determine the mode by which voters are able to express their preference for a party and/or candidate through ballots and the methods for transferring the ballots cast into seats. The technical rules established by an electoral system pertain to the entire electoral process from contesting elections according to electoral laws to determining the poll outcome.

Electoral systems are highly political. They influence the

- composition of the body to be elected;
- structure of the party system;
- building informed opinion and popular will among voters;
- voters' willingness and ability to participate;
- political culture.

Various electoral systems – more than 300 have been identified – can be traced back to two basic systems: election by majority and proportional representation. In pure proportional representation, the number of seats a party obtains corresponds to the percentage of votes it obtained. In pure majority vote systems, the candidate who obtains the most votes (either relative or absolute) in a constituency wins the seat. The votes received by the defeated candidates are not considered.

Electoral systems focus mainly on four areas:

- Division into constituencies
- Contesting
- Voting
- Electoral formulas.

Combinations of different regulations have resulted in a large number of electoral systems with widely varying impacts, which in turn have a bearing on strategic planning.

26.1.2 Division into constituencies

A polling region is usually divided into constituencies that are distinguished according to their size (number of representatives to be elected).

There are single member constituencies, small, medium and large constituencies. It is rare that the entire polling region is one constituency, but it does happen; more so during regional and local elections and very occasionally during national elections.

The way constituencies are drawn decisively influences the electoral outcome. Much scope for manipulation therefore exists. There is even a technical term for the act of deliberately rearranging the boundaries of constituencies to the advantage of one party, namely "gerrymandering"[137].

In heterogeneous societies, the demarcation of constituencies and the size of individual constituencies are used to ensure that certain ethnic, linguistic or religious groups are represented in parliament without introducing quotas. However, this can work only if the areas where such groups live are distinct and separate. Virtual constituencies are a special feature used for giving representation in parliament, for instance to citizens living abroad. (See also Chapter 26.2.9: Electoral systems with quotas.)

26.1.3 Contesting of elections

There are different ways in which elections are contested. The first distinction is between single candidatures and lists. Then there are different types of lists:

Closed party lists, meaning that the voter can only vote for the list as is**. In such cases, the party or group that draws up the list is very powerful since it decides on the order of candidates. In strategic terms this means that the candidates are more beholden to the party leadership than the voters because the party alone decides who will get a promising place on the list.

Loose party lists, meaning that voters can change the sequence of candidates, vote according to preference or even strike off a candidate's name from the list. In this case voters have a limited influence on the selection of candidates, the influence of parties and groups decreases and voters gain importance.

Free party lists, meaning that the voters can cast several votes for a candidate (cumulation) or vote for candidates from different lists (cross voting). Voters in such

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[137] Also refer to Chapter 26.3.2: Demarcation of constituencies.

systems have the most opportunities to exercise an influence; this can also depend on the number of votes cast.

There are also different forms of **list combinations**, for instance those that are tied to a particular constituency and those not tied to constituencies. Usually this is done to utilise the remainder votes that are not required for a seat. In combined lists such votes can be transferred to constituencies that still require votes for getting another representative elected.

26.1.4 Voting

A voter can cast a stipulated number of votes (single vote, multiple vote). In multiple voting, the number of votes is either equal to or less than (limited vote) the number of representatives from a constituency. Voters may also have preference votes or alternative votes that can be cumulated or used for cross voting in conjunction with electoral regulations on contesting. The casting of ballots is structured according to contesting and polling rules. These are hence very strategically significant for putting up candidates and for campaigning.

26.1.5 Electoral formulas

Electoral formulas are partly based on the way constituencies have been demarcated and on the procedures for contesting and polling. They contain the most important variables as far as the impact of the electoral system is concerned:

- Outcome based on: majority or proportional representation
- Level of calculation: constituency, combination of constituencies, region, city
- Divisor methods (d'Hondt) or highest average systems (Hagenbach-Bischoff)
- Utilisation of surplus and residual votes
- Cut-off clauses, natural and artificial.

The most well known divisor method is that of d'Hondt. The number of valid votes cast for a party is divided by the divisor series 1,2,3,4 etc. Successive seats are allocated to individual parties based on the maximum figures, i.e. according to the magnitude of the resulting quotients.

Divisor	Party A	Rank	Party B	Rank	Party C	Rank	Party D	Rank
1	36,324	1	30,972	2	24,048	3	7,200	
2	18,162	4	15,468	5	12,024	7		

3	12,108	6	10,324	8	8,016	10		
4	9,081	9	7,743	11	6,012			
5	7,265	12	6,194					
6	6,054							
Seats		5		4		3		0

Distribution of seats according to d'Hondt

Another divisor method is that of **Saint Lague/Schepers** which is based on the highest average. The votes received by the parties in this case are divided by 0.5, 1.5, 2.5, … n-0.5 and the seats are distributed in accordance with the diminishing sequence of resulting maximum numbers.

The most popular highest average method is that of **Hagenbach-Bischoff**. The ballot figure is the number of valid votes cast divided by the number of seats in that constituency plus one.

The ballot figure according to **Hare** is the number of valid votes cast divided by the number of seats in that constituency.

A variation of the ballot figure method is the system of mathematical proportions or the largest remainder method revived by the mathematician **Niemeyer**. The valid votes cast for a party are multiplied by the number of seats and the result is divided by the total number of valid votes cast. The parties receive seats equal to the number of resulting whole numbers. The remaining seats are distributed by rounding up the decimals of the fractions.

Allocation of 12 seats using the Hare-Niemeyer formula

Party	Votes	Result using formula	First round seats	Surplus seats	Total seats
A	36,324	4.42	4	0	4
B	30,972	3.77	3	1	4
C	24,048	2.93	2	1	3
D	7,200	0.88	0	1	1
Total	98,544				12

Hare-Niemeyer formula
Votes for the party x seats to be distributed / Total number of votes = Result
Party A: 36,324 x 12 /98544 = 4.42

Distribution of seats according to Hare/Niemeyer

Electoral formulas influence the number of seats that a party receives. The d'Hondt method somewhat favours larger parties, while the ballot figure method according to Hare and Niemeyer compensates for the disadvantage to smaller parties caused by the d'Hondt method. They do not have much strategic relevance for the election campaign.

26.2 Types of electoral systems

26.2.1 Majority systems (first-past-the-post)

In general, seats in a majority system are won by the candidate who obtains the maximum number of votes. The objective is thus to achieve a relative majority and not the absolute majority.

26.2.2 Direct elections in single member constituencies

Direct elections in single member constituencies are personality-based. Candidates of several parties or independent candidates contest against each other in a constituency. The election is won by the candidate who

- gets the maximum votes or
- gets the majority of the votes.

In majority elections in single constituencies there is a clear focus on personalities rather than parties. The candidate must be projected as a trustworthy and representing the concerns of the constituency. The candidate needs to be close to the constituency, have many good personal contacts and possess an excellent knowledge of the problems of the constituency.

Case 1: It is sufficient to obtain a relative majority, i.e. the maximum number of votes.

Strategies: In majority elections in single member constituencies where no second round of polling is envisaged, the strategic objective is to corner the lion's share of votes and, if need be, prevent other candidates from obtaining more votes than one's own candidate. The following strategies are suitable:

- Positive differentiation: this means that the positive features of the candidate are highlighted and the personality is linked to an attractive product or expertise.

- Negative campaigning: the use of push-pull factors or negative campaigning can undermine trust in other candidates.

- Bogus independent candidates: a candidate is put up who draws away voters from the main opposing candidate's key platform. This is done to weaken the competition and thereby obtain the maximum votes. The principle applied here is "divide and rule".

Case 2: An absolute majority is required.

In such cases, to be elected it is necessary to obtain the absolute majority in the first or second round of polling. When there are more than two candidates in the fray, absolute majorities may not automatically occur and a second round of polling[138] may become necessary during which the field narrows down to the two candidates with the most votes. The second round of polling usually takes place within a week or at most two weeks after the main round and is only held in those constituencies in which none of the candidates obtained an absolute majority in the first round.

The following strategy should be applied here:

In this form of elections it is important to carefully weigh whether there is a chance of winning in the first round or if one needs to be prepared for a second round. If the probability of winning in the first round is high, it is important to have a distinct position vis-à-vis the other candidates. Of course, differentiating oneself radically from other candidates also means that it becomes difficult to get the support of voters who had voted for another candidate if there happens to be a second round of voting. That is why it is important to be very sure of winning in the first round.

If, on the other hand, there is greater likelihood of a second round of polling, one has to be careful in positioning oneself vis-à-vis other candidates. Too confrontationist a position in the first round may alienate potential voters in the second round. In such cases it is useful to identify in advance the party or candidate likely to be eliminated in the first round and whose votes one wishes to acquire, so that no unnecessary conflicts are entered into with this group.

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[138] In election theory this process is referred to as "ballotage". The term is derived from the procedure in which voting took place using black and white stones representing negative and positive votes.

26.2.3 Direct elections in multi-member constituencies

Constituencies are larger in direct elections for multi-member constituencies and more than one candidate is elected. This implies that individual parties also have the opportunity of putting up more than one candidate. However, the candidates remain individual candidates and are not tied to any list.

Multi-member constituencies may return 3, 4, 5 or more candidates. All candidates contest against one another and the candidates getting the most votes win.

Strategic note:

These types of contests can lead to vote cannibalisation. There is a fiercer contest between candidates of the same party than with those of other parties since they are vying to obtain more votes than their own party candidates. Thus candidates of the same party take away votes from each other, thereby reducing everyone's chances. In extreme cases this has even led to murder when one candidate felt that another was likely to get more votes. There should be very clear prior agreements on how the candidates will position themselves so as to push through the maximum number of candidates from one party.

There is also the risk of a prisoner's dilemma[139]. If one of the candidates does not stick to the agreement, the others will usually follow suit, which then inevitably leads to a poor result.

Advantages of majority systems

Majority systems have certain advantages:

1. The candidate is directly answerable to his voters. There is a much more direct relationship between the voters and their representatives.

2. The candidate is more independent of the party leadership and thus has greater freedom of decision since he is not dependent on being voted in through a party list.

3. It is easier for voters to be able to get an idea of and judge the individuals contesting from a constituency. Similarly, it is easier for voters to assess the issues relating to a constituency.

4. Another widely regarded advantage is that the system hinders the formation of a fragmented parliament, thereby preventing small parties from wielding too much influence[140] and minorities from dictating policy and becoming kingmakers.

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[139] See Chapter 13.2.2: Strategic decisions involving simultaneous moves and Chapter 13.2.3: Strategies emerging from the prisoners' dilemma.
[140] A case of the tail wagging the dog.

Disadvantages of a majority vote system

Majority vote systems also have certain disadvantages:

1. The election often has little do with politics and more with personalities as candidates leverage personal networks, family ties or are able to sway voters through personal charisma. As a consequence policy often gets neglected.

2. There is a danger that candidates elected through majority vote systems do not support policy decisions that are in the national interest but adopt a parochial approach[141].

3. The candidates' independence from the party leadership, which was listed as an advantage, can also be viewed negatively since it can lead to difficulties in creating sustainable and stable majorities. Members of parliament may demand some compensation each time the executive requires their approval. The US president would have a thing or two to say about that when cobbling together majorities for his budget.

4. Another disadvantage of the majority vote system is that popular opinion and popular will are not always accurately represented in parliament. In a two-party system it is possible, at least in theory, that Party A may corner 50.1% of the vote but win only one seat in parliament, while Party B with 49.9% of the vote wins all other seats. This can happen if Party B wins by one vote in all constituencies but one and Party A wins that constituency with a margin of 90% to 10%.

5. A further disadvantage may be that small groups and parties, who nevertheless comprise 10% or more of the population on average, do not or rarely get representation in parliament.

26.2.4 Proportional representation through lists, regions or national level

Proportional representation systems are heavily oriented towards parties or political groups since representation in parliament depends on the share of votes a party or a group receives during the election. There are many variations of systems of proportional representation, for instance systems with closed lists. The sequence of candidates on the list is determined solely by the party. Voters can only vote for that party in multi-member constituencies and must vote for the lists as is with no possibility of change. Candidates are very dependent on the party and its leadership in such cases, or on the leadership of the relevant party wings if there are preliminary elections.

In a system of free lists, voters can vote for the party or cast a single vote for one candidate. They can also change the sequence of candidates on the list.

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[141] Also known as parish pump politics, which refers to losing perspective of the bigger picture and fighting only for whatever one is able to see from one's parish pump.

Advantages of proportional representation systems

1. The major strength of the system is there is absolute proportionality of parties. If a party received 27% of votes, it will also have 27% of seats in parliament. Each vote thus has the same weight.

2. The system is also very simple for voters who need make a choice among only a small group of parties.

Disadvantages of proportional representation systems

1. Voters have little or very marginal influence on the selection of candidates. They cannot influence who will represent them but only which party will enter parliament and then possibly form the government.

2. Party lists do not ensure representation for traditionally under-represented social groups. In fact, usually the opposite occurs when parties attempt to put up socio-demographically homogenous lists.

3. Parties are able to suppress independent or minority views within their ranks. Since constituencies are quite large, there is little scope for answerability towards voters and there is no direct link between voters and the members of parliament.

The following strategic aspects are relevant here:

A candidate's position on the list has a critical bearing on his being able to enter parliament. The sequence on the list thus is significant. The party or its leadership decides on the sequence, which is why it is strategically important to have the backing of the party leadership. There is no need to establish direct contact with the voters. Activities in the constituency and voter contact thus become irrelevant. On the other hand, discipline, hard work within the parliamentary group and minimisation of conflict with the party leadership assume even greater importance.

Cumulation

Lists that allow voters to cast several votes (cumulate) for one candidate represent a special form of proportional representation systems. Of course, the prerequisite is that there is a provision in the electoral system that voters have more than one vote. In some cases voters have as many votes as candidates to be elected. In other cases the number of votes per person may be fewer than the number of candidates to be elected. Cumulation means that voters have the option of casting more than one vote for a candidate in the list. Usually the number of votes is restricted to three per candidate. This method too provides the possibility of changing the sequence of lists put up by parties. The number of votes cast for various party lists are added and the seats are allocated according to a fixed counting and distribution method. The candidates with the maximum number of votes on the list are elected to parliament.

Panachage or cross voting

Panachage[142] opens up further possibilities for voters. Not only can voters cast several votes (usually equal to the number of candidates to be elected) for one candidate (cumulation), they can also distribute their votes across different party lists. Voters can thus vote for their preferred candidates from all party lists. Naturally, this will also result in shifting the sequence of candidates on individual lists. Subsequently, the total votes cast for individual lists are determined and the seats are accordingly distributed among the parties, while the candidates with the most votes on the lists are declared elected.

26.2.5 Mixed electoral systems

Mixed electoral systems comprise combinations of majority elections in direct election constituencies and party list elections corresponding to proportional representation systems. In the system used in Germany, the first vote goes to the candidate in a constituency while the second vote is for the party list. The system of proportional representation is dominant because the second vote determines the composition of the parliament. The method works as follows: first the second votes are used to determine (proportional method according to Hare/Niemeyer) how many seats the parties will receive in parliament. The next step is to determine who has won in which constituency[143]. These seats are given to the parties. The remaining seats are filled through the party lists (reserve lists). Sometimes a party may win more direct seats than it is entitled to under proportional distribution. In such cases the direct seats are given to it nevertheless and the number of seats in parliament increases by this number. This type of seat distribution distorts the result of an election because a party can receive more seats than are due to it. To correct this mistake, some electoral laws contain a provision for equalising seats which serves to realign the ratio of votes in parliament to the proportions emerging from the elections.

In terms of strategy this means that a party that wants to achieve a majority in parliament must concentrate on the second vote. The focus is on the image and "product" represented by the party as a whole. The candidates in their constituencies can further support this image but they cannot influence the composition of parliament.

There is another combination of the majority and proportional representation processes known as the parallel voting or mixed system. Two different elections of equal weightage are carried out simultaneously. There is a majority election in constituencies comprising half the seats in parliament. Simultaneously there is a proportional election with party lists. The remainder of seats in parliament are distributed proportionally according to the votes cast for the parties. This type of electoral system does not lead to a representative picture in parliament since the proportional representation system is distorted by the directly elected representatives.

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[142] Panachage is derived from the French panache (colourful plume). The colours of the feathered plumes on his helmet would identify a knight. Today panachage means to "cross vote".

[143] The number of constituencies corresponds to half the seats in parliament.

26.2.6 Ley de lemas

Ley de lemas is an electoral system in which preliminary party elections are combined with the main elections. Political parties or their party wings can put up different lists which compete against each other as well as against other parties. Voters cast one vote for electing representatives in parliament and one vote for the presidential election. In some cases only one vote is caste both for the presidential election and the list of members of parliament.

After the polls, the total number of votes cast for all lists of a party is counted. The figures for all parties are compared and the party with the maximum number of votes is the one from which the president is chosen. The president is then chosen from the list that obtained the most votes within the party. This is a complicated method because usually there are a number of different lists within one party which may also widely diverge on political issues. The spectrum ranges from extreme left to extreme right. Complicated interdependencies develop between various lists. If one list were to throw in the towel because it cannot hope to succeed, the party would subsequently lose out on votes, which could swing the balance of victory or defeat for the party as a whole.

The system of lists is highly complex and barely comprehensible for voters. As long as the traditional two party system existed in Latin America, there was still some semblance of clarity. Ever since new parties have come up, the continuation of ley de lemas will lead to confusion. More importantly, it will become impossible to strategically plan for the election.

Strategic note: Ley de lemas requires very intensive external campaigns against opposing parties, but a particular list can only be successful if it has successfully campaigned within the party.

In a two-party system, a strong party leadership can work the system to skilfully position lists which can result in optimum support from all political camps. Of course, this again means that party policy as a whole cannot and should not be made an election plank. This would later lead to massive disappointment among voters and would destroy the political system over time.

There are many parties that find the instrument of ley de lemas very useful because it helps them avoid debilitating internal elections before the actual main election. They also do not need to bring together and motivate different wings of the party after a preliminary election.

26.2.7 Single transferable vote (STV) systems

In single transferable vote systems, voters cast their votes for a candidate and also specify a sequence of candidates who their votes should go to if their first choice of

candidate has either already obtained enough votes to be elected or has been eliminated with too few votes.

Official Ballot
Municipal Elections

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS Mark Your Choices by Filling in the Numbered Boxes Only Fill in the number one [1] box next to your first choice; fill in the number two [2] box next to your second choice; fill in the number three [3] box next to your third choice, and so on. You may fill in as many choices as you please. Fill in no more than one box per candidate. Fill in no more than one box per column.	Candidates for City Council District One (Three to be elected.)	Only one vote per candidate Only one vote per column
	Douglas Campbell Dem.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Martha Dains Rep.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Terry Graybeal Reform	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Robert Gomez Dem.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Cynthia Daniels Indep.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Robert Higgins Rep.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Write In	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Write In	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Write In	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Ballot paper for single transferable vote

The formula to calculate the required number of votes is:

$$\frac{\text{Total number of votes cast}}{\text{Number of seats} + 1} + 1 = \text{No. of votes req. for election}$$

Example: 4 members of parliament are to be elected from a constituency. 10200 votes are cast. Thus the number of votes required to be elected is:
[10200 / (4+1)] + 1 = 2041.

The number of votes calculated with this formula must be obtained by a candidate to be elected. If one of the candidates reaches this figure, his surplus votes are transferred to other candidates in the order of preference specified by each voter. If the remaining number of votes is not sufficient to elect another candidate, the candidate with the least number of votes is eliminated and his votes are distributed among the other candidates as above.

The candidates have obtained the following number of votes:
A = 3410, B = 1901, C = 1440, D = 1406, E = 1050, F = 1023.

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Only Candidate A has enough votes. He is thus elected. Candidate A has received 1329 extra votes. These 3410 voters have specified their second preference as:
B = 1526, C = 179, D = 1216, E = 40 and F = 449.

The formula for calculating the number of votes to be transferred to Candidate B is: Number of votes that were not required for election (1329) / Total number of votes for A (3410) x Number of preference votes for B (1526) = Number of votes to be transferred (594).

According to the formula, the number of votes to be transferred to each candidate in addition to the votes already received are: 594 votes to B = 2495 votes, 70 votes to C = 1510 votes, 474 votes to D = 1880 votes, 16 votes to E = 1066 votes and 175 votes to F = 1198 votes. This means that B is also elected now and even has a surplus of 454 votes. These votes are again distributed etc.

Strategically this means that one should aim to get the required number of votes to be elected outright. This is possible only if an offensive strategy is adopted with a clear differentiation vis-à-vis other candidates. Conversely, this makes it difficult to get the "second vote" from voters of other candidates. Therefore, if there is no certainty of making it on the basis of first votes, one should try and receive the second vote from as many voters as possible. This may make up the required numbers, once the votes are transferred. In some constituencies it is clear that one candidate will be elected with a large majority and will probably have many surplus votes. One should then focus on receiving as many "second votes" from this candidate as possible. In situations where one does not know if the votes will come from above (surplus votes) or below (votes from candidates who are eliminated), one has no choice but to adopt a soft approach that aims for sympathy rather than differentiation.

26.2.8 Supplementary vote (SV) systems

Such systems enable voters to indicate a second choice in case their candidate is not successful. This system cannot be employed in constituencies with relative majorities and in list elections. The first and second round of polling are combined under this system.

Candidate	First Choice	Second Choice
Frank Dobson (Labour)		
Susan Kramer (Liberal Democrat)	X	
Ken Livingstone (Independent)		X
Steve Norris (Conservative)		

In the first column place an X to indicate your first choice for Mayor, in the second column place an X to indicate your second choice for Mayor.

Supplementary vote ballot paper

In single member constituencies the alternative vote functions as follows: The voter indicates his first priority by placing a 1 in front of the candidate. His second priority is indicated through a 2 before another candidate etc.

Once the first preference votes are counted and no candidate has obtained an absolute majority, the candidate with the least first preference votes is eliminated. This candidate's second preference votes are given to the remaining candidates. If still no absolute majority is obtained, the next candidate with the least number of votes is eliminated and his second preference votes are distributed among the remaining candidates. This goes on till one of the candidates obtains the absolute majority.

Example: 5000 votes were polled in a constituency. The absolute majority is thus 2501 votes. The following result emerges after counting the first preference votes:

Candidate 1	Candidate 2	Candidate 3	Candidate 4
1980	*1720*	*1004*	*296*

Candidate 4 with 296 votes is eliminated and his second preference votes are added to the other candidates' tally.

Candidate 1	Candidate 2	Candidate 3	Candidate 4
1980	*1720*	*1004*	*296*
102	*176*	*8*	

This gives:

2082	*1896*	*1112*

Still no candidate has reached an absolute majority. Candidate 3 is therefore eliminated and his second preference votes distributed to the other candidates. The third preferences are considered for

the eight votes from Candidate 4 that were transferred to Candidate 3.

Candidate 1	*Candidate 2*	*Candidate 3*
2082	*1896*	*1112*
212	*900*	
This gives:		
2294	*2796*	

Now Candidate 2 has the required number of votes and is elected.

A second round of polling is actually a similar instrument. It also has the effect that one candidate is elected with an absolute majority. The voters who originally voted for the unsuccessful candidates now vote again for the first two spots.

The most important strategic component in this kind of electoral system is that smaller parties or their candidates can cooperate and agree on giving each other their second preference votes (preference swapping). They would then become the beneficiaries of the second preference votes if individual partners are eliminated and can in this way pose a threat to the major parties. Candidates of major parties must attempt to drive a wedge in these alliances and jeopardise the preference swapping.

26.2.9 Electoral systems with quotas

Clear-cut electoral systems without quotas for specific groups tend to reflect the political opinion of voters in parliament. This does require that political parties taking part in the electoral process pursue a political ideology, e.g. conservative, liberal, social democratic, socialist or green. Such parties are largely found in countries with a relatively homogenous population. In such countries attempts are merely made to use quotas to increase the presence of women since traditionally women are poorly represented.

The situation is quite different in countries with a heterogeneous social composition. The heterogeneity could be due to ethnic, religious, linguistic, caste, tribal or clan factors. Frequently parties that are formed in these countries are aligned with the existing social structures. They may represent tribes or clans or have other linguistic or religious motivations. In many instances the purpose is to gain access to state resources for the tribe, clan or religious group by having a political presence.

If such, usually small, parties are able to become part of the executive by building coalition partnerships, their objectives for the niche they represent can be fulfilled. If this is not possible or if certain groups are deliberately and consistently excluded from power, it can lead to tensions and conflict that may, in extreme cases, lead to civil war-like situations.

An example of participation in coalition governments is the Shas party, which represents the ultra-Orthodox Jews in Israel. It has been a part of almost every government and has secured a disproportionately large number of privileges for its clientele.

An example of the reaction to being marginalised from power is the attempt of the Luo tribe in Kenya to participate in government through its party or leader Raila Odinga. Raila Odinga's father, Oginga Odinga and his FORD-K party had already been denied power through electoral manipulation by President arap Moi. Similarly, President Kibaki did not honour an agreement with Raila Odinga. This ultimately resulted in a civil war situation in Kenya, which could only be resolved with the massive intervention of international forces in 2008, leading to a power sharing arrangement.

In heterogeneous societies of this kind there is a growing call for introducing quotas in elections to parliament and in the formation of the executive to enforce broad participation and achieve greater distributive justice. The composition of parliament and government in such societies is not governed by ideology and political methodology as much as distributing the resources of the state. The parliament and political parties consequently have a very different role as compared to western democracies. Their concern is not policy making, but primarily to distribute existing and nonexistent resources. Participation in decisions about distribution is often linked with the objective of defusing conflict situations or suggesting equality of opportunity.

An example of quotas to ensure peaceful coexistence was reflected in the debate on the electoral law in Iraq for the elections to parliament in 2010. Iraq has had a 25% quota for women since 2004. This was also applied in 2010; thus every fourth seat was given to women. However, the constitution now envisages removing the quota for women in the next elections. The quotas for religious groups, five seats for Iraqi Christians and one seat each for the Shabak, Yazidi and Sabians will remain. The dispute regarding the representation of Sunnis in the Shia-dominated state has resulted in the size of the parliament being increased from 275 to 325.

In India quotas have been used as an attempt at nation building and to counteract centrifugal forces in a heterogeneous society. The debate in India revolves mainly around quotas for different caste groups.

Before deliberating on the design of a quota system and creating tactical structures in the political units, there should be clarity about the goal to be achieved through the composition of parliament or the government. The fundamental question that needs to be asked with regard to the electoral system is about the type of democracy that is to be achieved – a majoritarian or consensus democracy? A majoritarian democracy, which should not be equated with a majority election system, denotes decisions taken by the majority over the minority in parliament. The majority can consist of representatives of

one party or a coalition comprising several parties. This majority is a permanent majority in parliament for one legislative period and regularly overrules other parties in parliament. The result is a typical government-opposition pattern, which is an accepted model of decision-making in the West, but does not appear to have been accepted in many other parts of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. However, even in the West, there is growing criticism of this model, referring to it as a "guillotine" democracy. In its place there are concepts like the "planning cell[144]" instituted at the municipal level in Germany and the multiple dialogue process.

In a consensus democracy, which is often mistakenly associated with proportional representation, the objective is to involve as many diverse groups as possible in the discussion process and thereby create a kind of "round table". A consensus democracy is much more geared towards compromise and well-defined rights for minorities. Lijphart[145]describes how this functions with his concordance model. The concordance model allows representatives from all important groups to participate in political decision-making. In place of majority decisions, the key issues are decided by consensus and compromise between communities and political parties that the state regards as important. The model can be organised in different ways, for instance:

− As a "round table" for the negotiations between representatives of the FRG and GDR for German reunification.

− As a large coalition cabinet comprising ethnic parties in the Malaysian or South African parliamentary system.

− As a large cabinet based on linguistic quotas, like in Belgium.

− Through quotas corresponding to the composition of the population when appointing ministers, as in India.

− Through representation of the largest parties in an all-party government, as practised in the Swiss Federal Council.

− By making appointments to the most important posts in the executive on the basis of ethnic and/or religious affiliation, as in Lebanon and Cyprus.

Lijphart's hypotheses have been contradicted by some political scientists, such as Norris[146] and Ghai[147]. The consensus or concordance model is a constitutional framework with four key elements: sharing of executive power based on the

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[144] Dienel, Peter C.: *Die Planungszelle – Eine Alternative zur Establishment-Demokratie*; 1999, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen

[145] Lijphart, Arend, 2002: *The Wave of Power-Sharing Democracy*; in: Andrew Reynolds (Ed.): *The Architecture of Democracy. Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*; New York, p. 37-54.

[146] Norris, Pippa, 2002: *Ballots Not Bullets. Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflicts, Electoral Systems, and Democratization*; in: Andrew Reynolds (Ed.): *The Architecture of Democracy. Constitutional Design Conflict Management, and Democracy*; New York, p. 206-247.

[147] Ghai, Yash Pal, 2002: *Constitutional Asymmetries. Communal Representation, Federalism, and Cultural Autonomy*; in: Andrew Reynolds (Ed.): *The Architecture of Democracy. Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*; New York. p. 141-170.

composition of the population, principle of proportionality in appointments to public positions and distribution of seats in parliament, autonomy for population groups and equal rights in cultural matters, and finally suspensive veto rights for minorities.

What methods exist to ensure quotas in the electoral process and what are the associated strategic challenges?

The most widespread is the quota for women. Many countries have enacted directives in their electoral laws for strengthening the representation of women in parliament. These seats are created in different ways. Of the 16 countries with a constitutionally stipulated quota for women, France is the only country in Europe. Most other countries have emerged from conflict situations and have been heavily influenced by international forces, for instance Afghanistan, Iraq, which has however done away with the quota for women in the next elections, and Serbia.

There are three basic models, which are applied below to the quota for women. Over and above this there are also quotas for youth, socially vulnerable social groups, persons with disabilities etc. The quotas serve to ensure some representation for minorities or discriminated social groups.

− Reserved seats: The following methods are used for the reserved seats:
  − Voting takes place on two separate ballot slips, one for women and the other open to both men and women, as is done e.g. in Afghanistan and Rwanda.
  − Based on the general election results, parties are awarded additional women's seats that they then fill, e.g. in Tanzania, Bangladesh and Pakistan.
  − Nomination of women for reserved seats by the president, e.g. in Kenya.

− Rules for assigning constituencies or placing candidates on lists. Electoral laws have many provisions for increasing the representation of women.
  − Rules regulating the percentage of women in the list of candidates without indicating the desired position in the list.
  − Rules regulating the percentage and sequence of women in the candidate list for elections with proportional representation, e.g. mmf, mmf ... or mfm, mfm ... or mf, mf, mf ...
  − In constituencies with multiple candidates, rules on how many women must be elected and preference to women with the highest percentage of votes over male candidates who may have significantly more votes, e.g. Jordan.
  − In Mexico there is a rule that 40% of all candidates must be women, however parties that democratically nominate their candidates in primary elections are exempted.[148]

− Voluntary party quotas

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[148] Baldez, Lisa (2007); *Primaries vs. Quotas: Gender and Candidate Nominations in Mexico;* 2003", *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 49, No 3, pp. 69-96

− In most cases, and particularly in Europe, many political parties have provisions in their party constitution for affirmative action for women and women's quotas in candidate lists for internal as well as general elections. Usually there is no stipulation regarding this in the electoral laws.

26.3 Franchise

Franchise or the eligibility to vote is the basis on which any election is conducted. Manipulations in this area have specific motivations and impacts. Very often attempts are made to create new majorities in countries by changing voting eligibility. First of all, there should be universal franchise. This means that all citizens who fulfil certain compulsory requirements are entitled to vote irrespective of gender, race, language, income or property, occupation, class, education, belief or political convictions. The compulsory requirements include attainment of a certain age, citizenship, residence, being in possession of one's mental faculties, being fully empowered to act. This is precisely where the manipulation sets in.

> *In Germany, the voting age has been lowered twice. First in 1971 from 21 to 18 years and then in 1998 from 18 to 16 years for municipal elections. Increasing the number of young people able to vote is politically motivated and is aimed at creating majorities for a certain camp.*

There has been a long standing debate on illiteracy. Naturally, doubts about how voters who can neither read nor write will be able to deal with complicated ballot papers are justified. However, it is also the task of the state to ensure that ballot papers are designed such that even illiterate voters are able to unambiguously identify parties or candidates through pictures and symbols. Electoral law should, therefore, also consider the abilities of those who are eligible to vote.

Restrictions on the eligibility to vote for certain ethnic groups, certain religions and in rare cases based on gender are prevalent in many countries. Decisions on national minorities who are ineligible to vote are particularly contentious.

> *Such groups include Russians who do not have nationality in Baltic Sea countries. They also include some indigenous peoples in Central America.*

At the other end of the spectrum, some electoral systems provide exiled citizens with eligibility to vote, while others do not.

26.3.1 Electoral rolls

In many countries, citizens need to register their names in the electoral rolls to be able to vote. The entry of names in the electoral rolls is sometimes a very bureaucratic procedure for which it is necessary to have valid identification papers. Many population groups, particularly the marginalised ones, do not possess such documents. Such groups

are thus effectively excluded from the electoral process or they are made to face great difficulties in registering themselves. Threats by the bureaucracy and certain parties also play a significant role. Opposition parties are often unable to register their supporters in the electoral rolls because the process is too difficult and people are afraid.

Even if the electoral rolls contain most voter names, there is another form of electoral manipulation and fraud to ensure certain outcomes. Certain names are removed from the electoral rolls and transferred to another polling station, or dead persons suddenly receive the right to vote, which the living, of course, exercise for them.

26.3.2 Demarcation of constituencies

The demarcation of constituencies is one very well known form of electoral manipulation. The boundaries of a constituency can ensure clear majorities in favour of certain candidates or parties. If one wishes to prevent a member of parliament from retaining his seat in the next election one simply rearranges the constituency boundaries by adding areas that strengthen one's position and shifting unfavourable areas to other constituencies. Of course, the executive needs to have the powers to alter constituency boundaries in this way. The manipulation of constituencies is known as "gerrymandering".

> *The name goes back to Elbridge Gerry, who manipulated constituencies when he was governor of Massachusetts in 1811 to ensure his re-election. This act did not end his political career. From 1812 till his death in 1814 he was the vice president of the United States.*

Gerrymandering is suitable mainly in single member constituencies in majority systems. In single transferable vote systems this kind of manipulation is much more difficult.

26.3.3 Candidatures

A known form of manipulation through candidatures is to put up pseudo or bogus candidates whose only purpose is to draw votes away from opposing candidates.

> *Example: In a single candidate constituency where Candidates A and B are contesting, it is expected that Candidate A will receive 10,000 votes and B will receive 7,000 votes. If B now ensures the candidature of another Candidate A1 who has a similar programme to that of A, there could be a shift in the result: A gets 6,000, A1 gets 4,000 and B gets 7,000. This would ensure victory for B without him gaining a single additional vote.*

Thus, putting up candidates and the conditions for candidatures can heavily influence the outcome of an election. Consequently attempts are constantly made to impose restrictions on candidatures. The most hard-hitting form is to ban a party and exclude it

from an election. Other forms may involve regulations that impose certain requirements on candidates such as gender, age, place of residence, length of stay in the constituency, being member of a race, religion or nation. Alternatively, candidates can be asked to deposit a large sum of money which many candidates or parties cannot afford.

26.4 Monitoring

Every step during the run up to and the conducting of elections needs to be very closely monitored. To do this, the opposition must have access to bodies that decide on important electoral steps and it must have the opportunity to understand and concur with these processes.

It is a fallacy to assume that monitoring is only required in the final run up to the election. We have seen in the preceding sections that the groundwork for electoral victory or loss can be achieved by manipulating electoral rolls, electoral laws and eligibility criteria as well as the demarcation of constituencies.

Effective monitoring must be in a position to give conclusive answers to these questions:

1. How did the electoral law evolve?

2. Is there discrimination in the electoral law?

3. How secure are the electoral rolls?

4. Have any incidents taken place during voter registration?

5. Was there any discrimination against candidatures and parties?

6. Which parties are banned and why?

7. Which parties have been disallowed from participating in the election and why?

8. Are the electoral system and the electoral law comprehensible for the people?

9. Have any conditions been imposed on campaigning? If so what conditions are there and do these infringe equal opportunities?

10. How much time is available for preparing candidatures?

11. How much time is available for campaigning?

12. Is there access to the media or are equal opportunities not extended in this sphere?

13. Can candidates move freely in the election area?

14. Who is organising the design, printing, production and distribution of ballot papers?

15. Are there directives on the manning of polling booths?

16. Are the ballot boxes sealed and empty?

17. Is the voting process at polling booths free of any repression? Is secrecy of voting ensured?

18. Are agents of different parties present at the polling booths or polling tables?

19. Do voters need to identify themselves before receiving the voting documents?

20. Have there been threats of violence or extortion towards the election committees?

21. Does vote counting take place in public?

22. Are the results documented in an orderly manner and transmitted as planned?

23. Where are the counted ballots kept?

24. Is it certain that no unauthorised persons have access to ballot boxes during breaks in counting?

25. Is it certain that the computer systems for compiling the results are not manipulated?

26. Has the monitoring team implemented a parallel system for compiling constituency results and are the results similar to those that are declared?

27. Supplement

1. Strategies against Fundamentalism

1.1 What is fundamentalism[149]?

The term fundamentalism has only recently transcended the boundaries of its religious and non religious connotations to acquire a clearly defined meaning. It is used as a structural term to designate a voluntary self-isolation of personal systems of thought and action against criticism and alternatives. Fundamentalism has now come to represent the theoretical orientation and practical forms of organisation of an all-embracing anti modernism, both on the cultural and political front. There is a debate on whether the term should remain restricted to the religious manifestations of anti-modernism or be extended to include other areas as well.

In the classical sense, fundamentalism is a counter movement against the Enlightenment and a pluralistic society, against the presumption of individual thought, personal responsibility, uncertainty, openness and the duty to reason. In their place it offers the safety and totality of absolute fundamentals. Everything else – including human rights – must become relative before these so that the fundamentals themselves are never subject to relativisation. Whoever does not accept their premise deserves no consideration for deviating arguments, doubts, interests and rights.

Fundamentalism is usually associated with its religious orientation. We therefore distinguish between Islamic, Christian, Buddhist, Sikh, Jewish, Hindu and Shinto fundamentalism.

Yet these are not the only forms in which fundamentalism exists. In reality, there are many other forms that may have a purely ethnic background in some cultures.

The debate today is mainly focused on Islamic fundamentalism. This is fallacious for two reasons. Firstly, because it neglects many other kinds of fundamentalism practised by other religions and ethnic groups, even though these have a similar impact on their respective regions. Secondly, because Islamic fundamentalism does not have only one face but many facets, which are partly in conflict with one another.

1.2 Historical evolution

1.2.1 History

The first occurrence of the word fundamentalism has been traced to the years 1910-15 when a series of religious publications appeared in the USA under the title, "The Fundamentals". The sub title was "A Testimony to Truth". In 1919, the Protestant Christians who had published the series, founded a worldwide organisation named the

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[149] Basic information on fundamentalism is contained in the five-volume study entitled: *The fundamentalism project,* edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, published by The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London.

"World's Christian Fundamentals Association". The term for this type of Christian belief was thus coined and rapidly established itself in general as well as scholarly usage. It was only in recent times that the term was extended to similar manifestations in other religions and finally even to similar non religious forms of organisation and orientation, that themselves look back on a long tradition.

Such movements are essentially characterised by four immutable "basic truths" (fundamentals):

1. The infallibility of a "true" message such as the Bible, Koran, Vedas, Adi Granth etc. and the unwavering certainty that this "true" message can contain no error.

2. The invalidity of all modern theology and science, if they contradict the "true" message.

3. The conviction that anyone who deviates from the fundamentalist perspective cannot be a true believer.

4. The conviction, which is more strident in practice than in its writings, that the modern separation between church and state must be removed so as to favour religious control over politics if political rules collide with fundamentalist religious convictions.

In fact, fundamentalism existed since the early 19th century, long before the term was coined. It originated in Europe as a counter movement to the philosophy of modernism in religion and theology propounded by I. Kant. Protestant fundamentalism, followed shortly by its Catholic counterpart, turned against modernist positions that embodied the entry of the spirit of Enlightenment into theology and religion and the restriction of religion to its role as a guarantor of moral motives.

The process of modernisation that had begun to influence all occidental cultures in slow phases since the 12th century, propelled secularisation in the 18th century. Religious fundamentalism was an attempt to insulate religion against the general uncertainty to which all claims to knowledge were subject and the general openness of all social systems to alternatives that modernism brought in its wake. It did this by imposing arbitrary religious dogmas and by artificially immunising certain fundamentals against doubt and criticism.

The historical religious studies of H. Küng[150] have shown that comparable processes of modernisation were evident in all world religions at the very latest by the 19th century. Everywhere, fundamentalism arose as a reaction to the process of opening up. From a historical perspective, fundamentalism is the attempt to make an older paradigm of self-interpreted religion binding for all more recent ones. Recent works of research have described Buddhist, Islamic, Hindu, Confucian, Jewish and other forms of fundamentalism as reactions to attempts at opening up within religions. The success of

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[150] Swiss Catholic priest and author. Küng is one of the most well known and controversial critics of the Catholic church. In 1979 he was stripped of his licence to teach Catholic theology as a result of his critical publications.

fundamentalism in challenging modern interpretations of one's religious and cultural traditions has diverged widely in different cultures and has been subject to historical fluctuations. The central issue is always the separation of state and religion. Fundamentalism as a political or politically active ideology is always characterised by a demand, which may vary in degree, for a certain unity of state and religion.

1.2.2. Approaches to understanding fundamentalism

Explanations for the emergence and the spread of religious and non religious fundamentals exist at various levels.

At the *psychological level*, fundamentalism may be considered to be motivated by an escape from modern conditions of uncertainty into absolute certainties. This is caused by an inability to endure open and ambiguous situations.

At the *social level* the motivation may lie in securing social identity in a pluralistic society.

At the *political level* there may be insufficient willingness to come to terms with the political relativism of democracy.

Motives can also be found at the *anthropological level* if we assume that human beings cannot exist without a basic minimum amount of final certainty.

Fundamentalism in itself is not a problem if individuals or groups attempt to find certainty for themselves. Fundamentalism becomes a problem when what is regarded as a certainty by one group is only perceived to be secure if it is applicable to all and can be imposed by force if necessary.

Fundamentalist movements can form and become successful only under certain conditions and if certain events occur. This implies that a mass base of fundamentalist support depends on certain factors and coincidences.

The necessary conditions are:

- Breaking up of traditional socio-cultural identities and orientation
  The system of government begins to be questioned because an increasing number of conflicts erupt and are resolved to the dissatisfaction of large groups. The system and its figures of authority lose credibility (loss of authority of the political caste, break with traditional practices etc.).

- Experience or threat of social insecurity
  Political and economic trends are negative, social tensions arise, social insecurity is experienced or expected by the lower and middle classes.

- Credible offers by a fundamentalist organisation, rhetoric and leadership in a given situation.

- This includes a **"true" message** (Bible, Koran, Vedas etc.), a "**messenger**" who lives this truth (prophet, guru, enlightened one, teacher) or a **charismatic leader**, a **community** and the isolation of that community from the rest of society, the **destiny**, such as heaven, Dar-ul-Islam, Promised Land, classless society, world rule, and the "**evil**" outside the community, the "others", the other religion, the colonial rulers, other ethnic groups or nations.

1.3   What constitutes the fundamentalists' criticism of many states?

The core criticism proceeds from the division between a private and a public sphere, which is how society is organised in modern, western, industrialised nations. Religious fundamentalists oppose this western and pernicious influence and demand the removal of what they consider to be an artificial and arbitrary division. In states where the rule of law is supreme, the division between public and private spheres is upheld through the concept of freedom. In constitutional democracies this concept is part of the constitution. In providing civil liberties, the constitution guarantees that the government will not intervene in the private concerns of citizens – mainly freedom of religion and the co-existence of different value systems. These form the basis of a pluralistic society. There is a clean division: religion is private, the public sphere is secular.

The combination of market forces and the nation state has led to an organisation of societies embracing large numbers of people who live in a more or less clearly defined territory. The citizens of such a society are bound together through economic ties and through patriotism. In smaller groups they are also held together through ties of friendship, relationship and religion. A greater degree of protection for such private ties through regulations on freedom implies a greater degree of separation between private life and the state. This form of society, which spread all over the world after the removal of colonialism and especially after World War II, is not acceptable to religious – and in some cases ethnic – fundamentalists.

1.4   What is the fundamentalists' criticism of the economy?

Fundamentalist approaches to economic issues are broadly a reaction to perceived injustices in the economic system, the changes in it triggered by the Industrial Revolution, the spread of secular governments and the information revolution. There is a shared perception in rich and poor societies that modernisation has corrupted individuals, torn societies apart, divided human knowledge and replaced the fraternal atmosphere of pre-modern economies either through inhuman competition in the market or bitter competition for public resources.

However, fundamentalist criticism of economic systems is not based on a unified objective. Fundamentalist ideas on economy differ in their basic assumptions and have no common ground.

The Hindu economic agenda is driven by the desire to retain India's traditionally closed economy which is heavily protected against foreign competition and to prevent any

opening up. This policy would serve the interests of shop owners and entrepreneurs but is contrary to the interests of the mass of consumers.

Islamic economy is a component of a broader resistance that aims to break the dominance of Western thought and to reinstate feelings of the supremacy of Islamic society. Many recent contributions on Islamic economy have disguised this primary motivation and create the impression that they are merely concerned with more justice and efficiency.

Buddhist economy gives priority to a number of conditions for securing the socio-economic states of Buddhist monks. The stated objective is nobler and is concerned with freeing individuals from the shackles of materialism.

Protestant Christian economy differs from libertarian economy. Criticism is not directed absolutely against all governments but against non Christian governments.

Although all fundamentalist approaches to economy pursue different objectives, they are nevertheless unanimous in their condemnation of the world economic system. All believe that moral degeneration is the root cause of the ills of modern civilisation. Areligious governments and secular education have allowed egotism to grow unbridled and nobler instincts to wither away.

Fundamentalist economic approaches urge people to include social concern in their economic considerations, i.e. add a moral component.

1.5   What do politically active fundamentalists want?

Political activists are mainly concerned with three areas which one can concisely describe as "exodus", "unity" and "compulsion".

1.5.1 Exodus

Exodus means that fundamentalists demand their group should be able, if it so wishes, to remove itself from society as a whole and not be subject to any social norms. This "exodus" is an attractive option for many reasons. If fundamentalists object to a social system on the grounds that it is artificially divided into a private and public sphere, it is better for them to leave this social system. They would rather live in smaller, homogenous societies. Their disengaging from society could take on various forms. Extreme and less extreme forms are used.

The most extreme form is the formation of a new state. This is what the Sikhs in Punjab or the Tamils in Sri Lanka want, for example. The teacher Tara Singh expressed this in the statement: The Hindus got Hindustan, the Muslims got Pakistan; what do the Sikhs get?
Such forms of exodus ultimately contain secessionist intentions that are not compatible with the idea of a nation state. Religious dissidents today cannot simply establish a new

state as the Pilgrim Fathers did, but must take their land with them, just as the Sikhs wished to take Punjab away from India. At the same time it is clear that secession as a solution to religious conflicts, or even ethnic conflicts, is a recipe for civil war.

The formation of enclaves within a secular society is a much less radical solution. This is what the Amish have done in America or the Haredim (ultra Orthodox Jews) in Israel.

However, even such enclaves are unpopular for a variety of reasons. Developed societies provide their citizens with a number of public goods such as national defence, roads, schools and even the system of government. Break-away communities such as the Amish or Haredim refuse to pay certain contributions although they benefit from the advantages society offers. The Haredim, for instance, refuse to serve in the Israeli army although they utilise its protection. The Amish pay no social contributions and also refuse to serve in public positions. This situation creates social tensions that may be difficult to overcome politically. Ironically, such enclaves can only survive in liberal democracies where societal tolerance allows their continued existence. Thus liberalism often assists the enemy of pluralistic societies in establishing and developing itself.

An even less radical solution is simple geographic concentration and isolation. However, this can usually work only in large countries, such as the USA, that are governed according to federal principles. Frequently, more federal structures are demanded to facilitate the acclimatisation of certain religions, for example the demand for greater federalism in Nigeria to provide better development opportunities to Muslims. Even if a society is not negatively inclined towards geographic isolationism, such areas nevertheless represent barriers to development with greater freedom in communications and transportation technologies. Such developments penetrate the barriers and forcefully integrate the reluctant group.

1.5.2 Unity

Unity is an alternative to exodus. It involves a struggle to overcome the division of the private and public sphere. The proponents of unity fight against what in their view is an artificial and harmful division of the personal and public sphere, but would rather change the system than leave it. Their fight appears to increase in direct relation to how much they are losing. Put differently, their demands are scaled up if a society enjoys greater pluralism. Their attempt is to bring back elements of religion into the public domain. The revival of school prayers in public schools in America illustrates this.

Even the Haredim in Israel have become increasingly active politically, although they are more concerned about upholding what has so far been achieved, and which they perceive to be under threat, rather than spreading their religious ideas.

The situation in Iran is quite different. When the Muslims in Iran under the Shah felt their traditional way of life was threatened they began to retaliate. However, their plan was much more radical and succeeded to a certain extent. They formed an Islamic government which, in accordance with Khomeini's vision, was based on Islamic law.

1.5.3 Compulsion

In addition to the demands for "exodus" and "unity" there is also the demand for "compulsion". It involves the abolition of religious freedom and the compulsory integration of those with different beliefs or their social ostracism. This is really the most extreme type of demand. It is quite possible to establish an official religion in a society, which can influence public affairs but still allow individuals to make different decisions privately and belong to a different religion. This is precisely what fundamentalists do not wish to accept when they demand "compulsion". An illustration of this is the attitude towards the Baha'is in Iran. Their religion was declared a break from the righteous teachings of Islam and was made punishable by death. Another such case is the campaign against the Ahmadi minority in Pakistan. A law in 1984 forbade them to call themselves Muslim or their religion Islam, to use Islamic terminology, the call to prayers etc. Legislation of this nature represents the ultimate dissolution of the division between religion and state. It does not only bring religion into public life, it completely eliminates the private sphere.

1.6 Overview of the stages of development and manifestations of fundamentalist movements

1.6.1. Stages of development

Fundamentalism undergoes different stages of development which are each dependent on a constellation of factors and internal preconditions. These include perceived enemies, the condition of social structures and conditions within the movement.

Perceived enemies
  – Established religions in the immediate environment

  – The secular state

  – Civil society

  – Religious competition

  – Ethno-national competition

  – Imperialism and neo colonialism

Structure of society

– Religion
  The nature of the host religion from which fundamentalism is derived represents one of the most important factors in the emergence of fundamentalist movements. The type of religion is significant, that is whether it is a hierarchical religion such as the Catholic Church or a semi hierarchical one like Shiite Islam or a congregational religion, such as Protestantism or Sunni Islam, or if it is a diffuse religion such as Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism. While the hierarchical and semi hierarchical

religions offer few opportunities for fundamentalist groups to split away, congregational and diffuse religions are much more susceptible.

– Education
The secular system of education and the communication media represent a constant threat to religion because they spread knowledge and information. As a defence mechanism but also to later be able to use these instruments, influence is exerted on schools and the media and attempts are made to gain control over education and information.

– Communication
Communication (newspapers, mass media, films, television etc.) have various functions vis-à-vis fundamentalist movements. Initially, free access to media leads to more information and thereby threatens moral standards and religious beliefs and practices. In subsequent generations, the leaders of fundamentalism can exploit the opportunities provided by media (tele-evangelisation), tap databases for direct mail, employ audio cassettes for their mission and utilise the Internet. These are some of the methods used in several countries.

– Civil society
The presence of strong civil organisations such as independent trade unions, employers' federations, associations and clubs, independent communications media and political parties lends itself to a secular resolution of social crises. Weak or nonexistent civil organisations encourage the formation of fundamentalist groups. In fact, it is precisely in Islamic countries that civil society has time and again been weakened by interventionist states.

– Social structure
Societal structure and its inner conflicts have a bearing on the opportunities for fundamentalist groups to develop and become militant. The Sephardim-Ashkenazim divide in Israel is a typical instance which made it possible for Kahane to establish a fundamentalist group.

– Mobility
Migration from a region can result in the minority that is left behind adopting heightened isolationist measures to protect itself. These can acquire fundamentalist overtones. Migration into an area can lead to fundamentalist reactions on both sides. For instance, the minority which has migrated to the area tries to protect itself and exert influence in a foreign environment, while the resident population feels threatened by the migrants and attempts to protect its way of life against foreign influences and new values through fundamentalist attacks.

– Ethnic, linguistic and regional structures
The historical background of the ethno-linguistic and regional composition of a society has a major influence on the relationship between ethnic and regional groups. The subordination or exploitation of one ethnic or regional group by another and historical ethnic tensions create resentment in the long run. Violent conflicts add

fuel to the fire. This is why militant religious movements and conflicts in a heterogeneous country often have ethnic characteristics.

- Economic development
  Fundamentalist forces can be found mainly among the less developed, less prosperous, rural, less educated and less "modern" sections of society. Economic depression, inflation, strikes and unemployment are therefore the ideal breeding ground for the emergence of fundamentalist forces.

- Legitimacy of state institutions and leadership
  The weakness of the authority of the state and lack of acceptance of institutions and the political leadership provide a point of attack for fundamentalist groups. In conjunction with other coincidental events this is used by the groups to spread their message.

- International influences
  The impact of actual or presumed Western imperialism on the development of fundamentalism cannot be overestimated. International trade and the secular sector of scientific exchange, technology transfer, modern industry and the position of the IMF and the World Bank appear to many Third World countries as exploitative, colonial actions of Western powers.

Conditions within the movement

- Historical experiences
  The past experiences of a group, particularly suppression, exploitation, persecution but primarily also loss of influence during de-colonialisation or democratisation are factors that encourage the formation of fundamentalist groups.

- Evolution
  A group's degree of militancy largely depends on its evolution and experiences. Depending on whether strategies succeeded or failed in the past, alternative strategies are sought with a corresponding increase or decrease in the willingness to use violence.

- Organisation
  The internal organisational structure, internal ties and a charismatic leadership, authority and behaviour are important factors in the development of fundamentalist groups.

- Ideological orientation
  Millenarian orientation: The actions of fundamentalist groups are strongly influenced by their time-related perceptions of the "truth". If the objective relates to the Messianic period, the time and conditions for the coming of the messiah are important (pre-millenarian or post millenarian). If the objective is related to a historic era, more militancy can be expected.

Infallibility: This requires a "true" message such as the Bible, Koran, Hadit, Vedas or the Adi Granth etc. and a supposed destiny, such as heaven and earth, Dar-ul-Islam, Promised Land, classless society, chauvinistic rule over others etc.

Isolation: There is always a community which clearly walls itself off against the outside. There is no open system of organisation as this would endanger the continued existence of the community. Isolation from the evil outside world – from the "others", other religions, colonial rulers or suppressers, other ethnic groups or imperial powers and nations – is one of the most important ideological instruments.

These factors determine the strategy adopted by a movement. There are four strategies that can sometimes be used sequentially and sometimes simultaneously.

1.7   Strategies of fundamentalism

The strategies are:

  – Strategy of renouncing the world

  – Strategy of creating the world

  – Strategy of changing the world

  – Strategy of conquering the world

1.7.1   Strategy of renouncing the world

a.   Strategy of self defence

The world renouncers seek purity and self protection. They attempt to withdraw from the world and live in a world shaped by their standards. As such they do not represent any threat.

b.   Strategy of survival pockets

The role of world renouncer is often taken up by a group when other strategies have failed or the group has suffered a setback. In such cases the revival of the group after a certain period of time can be expected.

c.   Strategy of denial

The renunciation of the world strategy can, however, also be used by groups who wish to harm the state. They refuse to comply with social obligations (military service, health requirements, payment of taxes etc.). This attitude can lead to long term conflicts in a society and should not be underestimated.

1.7.2   Strategy of creating the world

The strategy of creating the world is aimed at building up enclaves. It competes directly with the outside world. The norms of the "truth" apply within the inner world (enclave). This strategy therefore tries to build up alternative and comprehensive social structures and institutions (initially as a network). The enclaves serve as a clear alternative to the "fallen world" and are indispensable for the survival of the movement since they serve as an instrument of isolation.

Discipline in an enclave is one precondition for its functioning, isolation from the outside world the second condition. Isolation can be achieved through intellectual captivity but is occasionally also expressed in the obligation to be physically present.

The objective is only to build enclaves and institutions and not to transfer these to the outside world.

1.7.3   Strategy of changing the world

The strategy of changing the world is directed outwards. It attempts to reinterpret the structures, institutions, laws and practices of a society and to influence them in line with the new interpretation. This makes it increasingly difficult to counter the fundamentalist approach and to make conditions for change more difficult, or to create conditions for the marginalisation of the fundamentalist group.

World changers use a more congenial strategy than world conquerors, but also pursue the objective of wanting to change society according to their ideas. They allow themselves more time to achieve their objective and make use of legal instruments and possibilities of participation as well as legislative, executive and judicial forces. Often, they are supported by liberals and pluralists, against whom their activities are ultimately directed.

1.7.4   Strategy of conquering the world

This strategy is directed at taking over control of the structures of a society which have enabled the enemy of fundamentalism to survive. Once this take-over has been achieved, a non pluralistic society is created that corresponds to the fundamentalist's "truth". Such world conqueror strategies are usually militant in nature and exploit the weakness of the state or its leadership.

1.8   Counter strategies

When fighting fundamentalist movements, it is advisable to take the initiative as early as possible and undermine or attack the strategies of the fundamentalists. There are various methods of depriving fundamentalist groups of their breeding grounds.

These primarily include:

1. Promotion of good governance

2. Curbing corruption and nepotism etc.

3. Improving the education system for the population at large

4. Promoting civil society through organisations such as trade unions, consumer organisations, associations etc.

5. Minimising internal social conflicts.

These are preventive measures designed to thwart the formation of fundamentalist movements. If, however, fundamentalist groups have already formed or are in the process of establishing themselves and the above measures cannot be introduced or not introduced quickly enough, other strategies need to be employed. They must directly attack the strategies used by fundamentalists. An analysis of the strategy currently being employed by the fundamentalist group is therefore necessary.

Group is at the stage of renouncing the world

In this case it is important first to determine whether and in what way the group is a threat to pluralism and social freedoms. If there is no significant threat, no direct action should be taken as this would only encourage greater interest in the group and allow it to better isolate itself. The group should be regularly monitored, however, so that any changes can be registered.

If, on the other hand, the group poses a threat to social consensus, the state must strictly implement basic social norms. It is also advisable to downplay the group's significance and portray oneself as being open towards it.

Nascent enclave building must be assiduously disturbed by favouring the leaders vis-à-vis the members of the group, by adopting an open attitude towards the members, i.e. not allowing isolation, and by disturbing the internal organisational structure.

Group is at the stage of creating the world

At this stage it is important to prevent the formation of enclaves from spreading. The principle to be borne in mind is: equal treatment and no persecution. One should not, under any circumstances, allow oneself to be pushed in the role of the "villain", and not give the group the opportunity of acquiring a special image in society. All means should be used to make isolation more difficult, for instance through on-going offers of integration or preventing the fundamentalist group from creating bogeymen.

Further strategies include imitating attractive features, infiltrating groups and creating internal dissonance, employing disinformation strategies and copying enclaves to develop internal mistrust and insecurity.

Group is at the stage of changing the world

The best preventive strategy is to withdraw the privileges of social groups such as churches, associations, clubs etc. well in time. Privileges, after all, are a form of discrimination against all those who do not have those privileges.

Fundamentalist groups at the stage of changing the world raise claims to the privileges of other groups and thereby infiltrate society or its institutions by using the equal rights plank. School organisations, educational institutions, institutions for monitoring the media etc. play a significant role. The groups attempt to exert influence on all possible channels. They use the instruments of participation and leverage legislative, executive and judicial forces. Frequently they are supported by pluralists in this process.

An all out attack on certain social institutions can be prevented by employing decentralisation with fewer regulations, the formation of units of civil society etc.

Group is at the stage of conquering the world

If the group uses violent means and constitutional norms are threatened, the state must unwaveringly employ its instruments of power to destroy the movement. One should, at the same time, avoid creating martyrs who could give rise to further fundamentalist activities.

Another promising strategy is pre-emptive integration and networking in regional and global organisations. International solidarity and supranational jurisdiction lead other countries and regional blocs to react if there are any extreme changes or attacks on the constitution.

Group has assumed power

When a fundamentalist group is able to assume power, as did happen in Iran, Afghanistan and other countries, it is recommended that those fighting against the fundamentalists should apply fundamentalist strategies in reverse. This would involve gathering like minded people, creating enclaves, networking the enclaves and infiltrating and destroying state authority till one is able to wrest back power.

In contrast to strategies used by fundamentalists, the strategies of democrats in countries governed by fundamentalists are much more dangerous and risky since the activists cannot rely on the rule of law.

2   Strategies against Corruption

2.1   Attempts at a definition

First of all, it should be noted that there is no generally applicable definition of corruption and that societies with different cultural backgrounds describe corruption differently. What is a clear case of corruption in some societies may be regarded as a necessary and socially imperative payment for a service in others.

Political science uses mainly the following definition:

"Corruption is the misuse of a position in administration, business or politics for personal gain leading to a material or immaterial loss for the general public, company or individual. The misuse could be initiated by the individual holding the position or by an external party."

Economists use a more concrete definition:

"Corruption is a mutually beneficial exchange for the parties involved (service in exchange for a reciprocal service, either material or immaterial), which occurs clandestinely and voluntarily, violates norms and involves the misuse of a position of power or responsibility or any such delegated powers in the public or private sphere by at least one of the parties involved."

2.2   Factors that encourage corruption.

Constellations that tend to favour corruption are:

1. Systemic proximity and intensive contacts between business and administration

2. The associated discreet passing on of information

3. Too much authority and discretion vested in employees

4. Blurred boundaries between what is socially customary and what are punishable acts

5. A lack of awareness that their actions are wrong among the perpetrators.

This absence of a belief of having done anything wrong, even in cases where the offence is obvious, is viewed by many observers as an indicator of the general moral decay in society. Departments for tender allotments and licences as well as procurement are considered to be especially prone to corruption.

Clearly, there is an increased risk of corruption in areas where normal control mechanisms within the administration are restricted or have failed. Moreover, corruption is likely to exist where large sums of money are at stake and there are external dependencies. This can happen when

1. large projects with large capital investments are planned;
2. international donor agencies (IMF, World Bank, EU etc.) initiate large scale development projects for which the recipient country is not yet ready;
3. the state is the sole procurer of certain products, such as military goods.

2.3   Areas in which corrupt behaviour is facilitated

Corruption in public administration is not found within the political sector nor the administration but at their interface with the private and business sector. This interface is thus the area where corruption can be expected to occur. It is therefore worthwhile to examine this interface more closely and to describe the behaviour of the public and private/business sector in this area.

Under the public sector we first consider the three arms of government. These arms interact with the private sector in different forms. Specific types of corruption can take place in each of these forms.

We first examine the **executive** arm of government. It has by far the most contacts with the private sector.

There are the following interfaces:

- The executive as service provider
- The executive as buyer
- The executive as employer
- The executive as law and order authority
- The executive as owner of assets (goods, machines)
- The executive as authority for issuing licences.

Examples of corruption at interfaces to the executive.

Interface	Form of corruption	Manifestation	Involved parties
The executive as service provider	Payment, otherwise refusal to provide service	No treatment in hospital without first donating blood	Person in hospital administration Patient or family
	Payment, otherwise refusal to provide service	Garbage bins not emptied	Garbage collector Fee payer
		Forms are not handed out	Bureaucrat Citizen
		Promotion of a student against payment	Teacher Parents
	Tax manipulation	Taxes reduced if a portion is paid to officials, tax diversion	Tax officer Tax payer
The executive as buyer	Payment, goods or services	Payment in cash or kind	Buyer

Interface	Form of corruption	Manifestation	Involved parties
	otherwise no procurement		Seller
		Part consignment delivered to different address	Buyer Seller
		Other kinds of services	Buyer Seller Service provider
	Mutual monetary benefit	Quality of service or specifications of a goods consignment are not checked	Buyer Seller
The executive as employer	Nepotism	Appointment of relatives and friends	HR officer or -manager Family/friends
	Voluntary or forced special services	Promotion after payment or providing a service	HR officer Employee
		Appointment after payment or providing a service	HR officer Job applicant
	Transfer of public funds to private individuals	Listing of fictitious employees	HR officer Recipient
		Using staff for private purposes	Manager Employee
The executive as law and order authority	Forced illegal payments	Buying freedom from unjustified threats of punishment from the police	Policeman Citizen
		Preventive protection against harassment after payment	Payment of protection money to the police
	Voluntary illegal payments	Investigations not carried out after payment	Police, customs, supervisory staff, citizen
The executive as owner of assets (goods, machines)	Illegal use of public property for private purposes	Use of goods and machines for private purposes	Manager Person responsible for machines and goods Beneficiary
	Illegal sale of assets	Sale of assets below actual value	Person in charge Buyer
The executive as authority for issuing permits.	Illegal refusal to issue licences	Refusal to issue driving licence without payment	Driving examiner, driving teacher, student
	Illegal issuance of permits	Issue of non permissible export licence against payment	Official Citizen
	Preferential issuing licences or location	Better location in the market after payment	Market supervisor Market supplier
		Issue of licence against payment	Licensor Licensee

As far as the **legislature** is concerned, there are other but also similar interfaces with the private sector.

- The legislature as lawgiver
- The legislature as partner of the executive
- The legislature as employer

- The legislature as an assembly of politicians to be elected
- The legislature as approver of the budget

Examples of corruption at interfaces to the legislature.

Interface	Form of corruption	Manifestation	Involved parties
The legislature as lawgiver	Influence achieved through services	Payment or other services for altering voting behaviour	Parliamentarian Lobbyist
	Influence by extortion	Pressure to alter voting behaviour	Parliamentarian Extortionist Interested party
The legislature as partner of the executive	Influence exerted through the executive	Incentives or pressure from the executive to vote a certain way	Parliamentarian Representative of the executive
		Incentives to neglect supervisory functions	Parliamentarian Representative of the executive
The legislature as employer	See executive	See executive	Parliamentarians, otherwise see executive
The legislature as an assembly of politicians to be elected	Promises to voters	Campaign promises of material gain	Candidate Voters
		Buying votes	Candidate Voters
The legislature as approver of the budget	Influence through payment or other services	Influencing of discussions and voting which impact the buying of the executive	Parliamentarian Lobbyist Executive

Even the judiciary interfaces with the private sector. These interfaces are:

- Courts as adjudicating organs in criminal and civil matters
- The courts as adjudicating organs on tax, administrative, electoral and constitutional issues
- Judges as individuals who need to be appointed or elected

Examples of corruption at interfaces to the judiciary.

Interface	Form of corruption	Manifestation	Involved parties
The courts as adjudicating organ in criminal and civil matters	Influence achieved through services	Payment or other services to change judgements	Judge Jury Litigants Offender
	Influence by threats or extortion	Pressure to change the judgement	Judge Jury Litigants Offender
The courts as adjudicating organ on tax, administrative,	Influence through services	Career promises in exchange for altered judgements	Judge Executive Legislature

Interface	Form of corruption	Manifestation	Involved parties
electoral and constitutional issues			Litigants
	Influence by threats or extortion	Pressure to change the judgement	Judge Executive Legislature Litigants
Judges as persons who need to be appointed or elected	Promise of services to voters or nominators	Election promises in exchange for career prospects	Judge Voter or other nominator

2.4   Causes of corrupt behaviour

Corruption is only a manifestation of the decline of institutions. The catalogue of corrupt actions ranges from bribes, extortion, sale of influence, nepotism, fraud, speed money, embezzlement etc. Although one would normally assume that corruption is a misdemeanour in the government or the public sector, the private sector is naturally always involved as well.

Corruption follows the following formula proposed by Klitgaard:

$$C=M+D-A$$

The extent of corruption (C) is equal to the amount of monopoly (M) plus the amount of discretion (D) minus accountability (A). This implies that:

1.   The root causes of corruption lie in the state having too much monopoly, or more   simply, in the state doing too many things

2.   There is too much discretion, meaning there is too little transparency

3.   There is too much leeway in taking decisions. This means that decision processes are   not clear enough or do not follow any procedures or that there is no way of verifying   discretionary decisions

4.   There is too little accountability, i.e. the risks are not high enough and potential   profits outweigh the risks.

There are two more important motives for corruption in addition to this basic formula:

1.   Obtaining favours from the government

2.   Saving costs.

When diagnosing actual corruption cases one comes across the following causes which can be regarded as representative of many other detailed causes:

1. Lack of accountability and transparency

If everyone knows that they will not be held accountable for corrupt practices, no one will feel constrained not to be corrupt. If transparency is not ensured through effective monitoring and checks, for instance through the courts or an Auditor General or publicity, many will take advantage of the opacity to earn profits.

2. Excessive centralisation of the state

The more tasks the state takes on, the greater the number of interfaces between the public and the private/business sector. More interfaces provide greater opportunities for corrupt practices. When decision processes are highly centralised, a greater number of state authorities are involved in the process, which increases the number of decisions required and in turn increases the potential for corruption.

3. Interventions because of over-regulation or other interference by the state

Greater regulation means that more licences or permits are required. The frequency of contact with the state correspondingly increases, thereby also increasing the opportunity for corrupt behaviour.

4. The income of public officials is too low

The less public officials earn, the more they will attempt to improve their income through earnings on the side when taking decisions and/or using discretionary powers.

5. Low commitment and moral obligation

If political leaders and other leading officials show little commitment and the will to implement anti-corruption measures, persons who are potentially corrupt feel safe in indulging in corrupt practices.

6. Ineffective enforcement of laws and regulations

If laws and regulations are not implemented with conviction and adherence is not monitored, corruption will spread, especially because corruption can even enter into newly introduced laws and regulations.

2.5   Impact of corruption

Corruption has different impacts. First of all, corruption causes a harm that affects the general public or individuals. The harm is usually a material harm, as in the embezzlement of money, misappropriation of goods etc. The resulting harm to the economy is often responsible for under-development or flawed development.

Corruption among the middle and lower ranks results in disrupting the impact of laws, regulations and procedures and in damaging decisions being taken. Here too the economy as a whole is harmed.

All forms of corruption have the effect of destroying the political culture, political institutions and the confidence of citizens in the leadership and the state.

2.6   Strategic approaches to fighting corruption

If Klitgaard's equation is correct, i.e. that the extent of corruption equals monopoly plus discretion minus accountability, strategic solutions to the problem must proceed from this formula.

Monopoly power must be curtailed, transparency must be created, discretionary powers must be reduced and the possibilities of petitioning the courts to enforce political and legal accountability must be strengthened.

Countries do not differ very widely in their attitudes to corruption but rather in the extent to which public officials carry out their functions. In many countries the legislature, judiciary, civil services and electoral system are under-developed or even undeveloped. The legislature and the judiciary must be strengthened to ensure their independence from the executive. Quite often, various branches of the state are associated with one ruling party. This casts a serious doubt on their credibility and fairness.

In many countries there is no real division of power, and especially no effective division between the legislature and the executive. In presidential systems, especially, the power of the executive far exceeds that of the legislature, making effective control of the executive by the legislature impossible. The head of state controls virtually everything, the army, educational institutions, the public administration, even the judiciary and sometimes the media.

Such systems have no provision for ensuring the accountability of politicians and public officials. The constitutional conditions thus first need to be created to initiate effective anti-corruption measures.

2.6.1   *Checks and balances: mechanisms for ensuring accountability*

The main focus of anti-corruption efforts must first be directed at setting up critical national institutions. These structures include an independent judiciary, a functioning parliament that is independent of improper influence and pressure from the executive or ruling party, an independent and critical press and the commitment to accountable governance. These mechanisms subject the activities of the public administration to external scrutiny in order to immediately determine whether they comply with the political accountability or existing regulations that a public official is expected to adhere to.

Political accountability

There are different methods of monitoring political accountability. The most basic form of making the persons accountable is the carrying out of elections. In a democracy with elections, citizens have a periodic and open method available to them to punish or

reward those who occupy positions of public confidence. However good anti-corruption techniques may be, they will only be effective as long as the mechanism to ensure accountability, in which they are rooted, is effective. Yet, the imperative of satisfying an electorate is too dull an instrument to be effective on its own. No one can be certain that the newly elected representatives will not also turn corrupt.

A far better instrument is to have two branches that monitor each other. In many countries, however, there is either little distinction between legislative and executive power, or they are hierarchically structured. There is thus no means of reducing the concentration of power, which according to Klitgaard represents a significant element of corruption. In principle, both powers should be set against one another so that mutual competition and conflicts would ensure mutual monitoring.

A division between institutions that procure money and plan expenditure and those that take the decisions on expenditure is always in the public interest. There are various methods by which governments report to parliament and are monitored ranging from question hours in parliament to parliamentary inquiry committees. Whatever the method(s) employed, the executive is aware that it is under the daily scrutiny of an institution that has the capacity and the resources to undertake thorough investigations. It is thus not merely subject to periodical control through an electorate which in any case has no way of scrutinising the executive's daily actions. Competition of this nature also results in the executive trying to ascertain when parliamentarians go astray and allow themselves to be corrupted through passive bribes.
This kind of an institutional conflict between the legislative and the executive, in which each organ is placed under the scrutiny of the other, requires more than a loose agreement. These roles must be laid down in the constitution which allocates fixed responsibilities to both organs. Neither of the organs can take precedence nor be subordinated.

Judicial accountability

In a state with a given constitution, the constitution determines the actions of corporations and institutions and provides the legal framework for laws and actions of the administration. No official government is permitted to violate the rules of the constitution or rules contained in other laws have been formulated in observance of the constitution. This creates a clear standard for accountability even if the implementation of standards is dependent on the capacity of the judiciary.

There are three factors that may impair the effectiveness of judicial control.

1. Inadequate independence of the judiciary. If the judiciary is not really independent, legal accountability is undermined, particularly when it pertains to members of the executive. Judges must be in a position to pass judgements, even if they go against the executive, without fear or favour. Mechanisms such as appointments for life, fixed salaries that cannot be reduced or retained are important factors in ensuring the independence of the courts.

2. The second problem is corruption in passing judgements and corruption between the judiciary and the executive. The courts must therefore, also be subject to scrutiny. This can be achieved through multi-layered processes or through internal disciplinary chambers.

3. A third problem may be lack of respect for verdicts passed by the judiciary. This could be on the part of the executive or the legislative or even the entire population. Since the courts do not have their own police force or army, rulings can only be enforced if the executive cooperates.

2.6.2 Curtailing and decentralising power

An important method of controlling corruption is to curtail the state's scope of activities. The potential for corruption increases if decision making is concentrated on the allocation of public goods and the goods are scarce. It is therefore important to ensure that public goods are ubiquitous and available to all. This can best be achieved through decentralisation and by creating a clear demarcation between power at the centre and the persons responsible at the decentralised level. The existence of self administration at the municipal level with participation and control through local parliaments is thus an important step towards removing state assisted corruption.

2.6.3 External control mechanisms

The successful implementation of political and judicial accountability requires the support and control of persons outside the government machinery. A prerequisite for this is the opportunity to obtain information and the free exchange of views on it. Transparency and freedom of speech are consequently among the principal requirements for fighting corruption.

Civil society

Mechanisms to establish political and judicial accountability require an active civil society comprising individual personalities, associations, clubs, trade unions and other groups. The state must ensure freedom of association, freedom of speech and a free press. The condition of civil society, the courage to come forward as "watchdogs" and civil disobedience are often more effective in hindering corruption than laws.

Independent media and free press

Access to information and its critical appraisal are prerequisites for the media to fulfil its function to hold those in power accountable and to fight corruption. The following measures help to guarantee a free press:

1. Laws on free access and handling of information

2. Amendment of defamatory libel clauses in laws to protect the press and public

3. Ending political censorship

4. Higher professional standards for journalists

5. Putting an end to discrimination through bans and manipulation if there is organised criticism against the government or the ruling party

6. Ensuring a professional standard, independence and accountability of employees in state owned media.

All measures to strengthen a free press serve to increase transparency and restrict opportunities for discretionary actions.

3 Strategies for Conflict Management

3.1 Definition of conflict

A conflict is a clash between two or several different positions within an individual (internal clash of motives, desires, ambitions and ethical values) or between different persons or between groups, states or other communities.

There are various theories on the development of conflicts:

1. Biological behavioural research (K. Lorenz[151]) assumes the existence of invariant, basic biological instincts or drives in human beings. It assumes a general potential for aggression and consequently elevates conflict to a natural social occurrence.
2. Socio-psychological approaches reduce conflict to the contradiction between the psychological drives and motivations of human beings on the one hand and the demands of societal norms on the other.
3. Dahrendorf[152] views society as being based on and being held together by compulsion rather than consensus and concludes that the omnipresence of society leads to the omnipresence of conflict wherever human beings create social associations.
4. According to Marxism, conflict arises due to (differences in) ownership of property.

3.2 Conflict management

Conflict management includes

- Dealing with the situation
- Assimilation
- Resolution of conflicts
- Results of conflicts

The objective of conflict management is to reduce the differences at the heart of the conflict. By implication, conflict management attempts, wherever possible, to deal with the root causes of conflicts.

There are two fundamental strategies of conflict management:

- Associative strategies
- Dissociative strategies.

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[151] Konrad Lorenz, behaviourist, 1903 - 1989.
[152] Prof. Ralf Dahrendorf, sociologist and politician, 1929 - 2010.

Associative strategies attempt to get the parties to the conflict to talk, understand each other's claims and arrive at a compromise. Dissociative strategies, on the other hand, attempt to separate the conflicting parties and avoid any contact between them.

Associative strategies use the following instruments:

- Removing obstacles to communication
- Building consensus
- Compromise through mediation
- Win-win strategies
- Transforming positions into needs
- Delegating the conflict to judges (arbitration)
- Creating mutual dependencies

Dissociative strategies use the following instruments:

- Majority vote
- Non interference
- Divorce
- Geographic separation
- Division of authority
- Threat of force
- Clash, war

Conflicts can end in four states, namely:

- Chaos
- Destruction of one side's position
- Agreement or compromise
- Continuance of the conflict.

3.2.1 Inter-personal communication and conflict management

According to Watzlawick[153] all attitudes and actions are messages in a communication process. Conflicts thus intensify or ease up during the course of communication and can also only be resolved through communication. Communication involves a content and a relationship aspect. Both send out information that is interpreted. Analysis is necessary

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[153] Paul Watzlawick, Austrian psychotherapist, b. 1921.

to evaluate the communication and the conflict situation. (Transaction analysis and self esteem analysis).

There are typical conflicts that occur:

  – conflicts between partners;

  – conflicts between colleagues in group conflicts and

  – in hierarchical conflicts

Conflicts at the content level can be resolved through:

  – Rational discourse

  – Compromise by identifying new objectives

  – Calling upon an arbitral authority.

Conflicts at the relationship level can be resolved through:

  – Restructuring

  – Dissolving the relationship.

According to A. Rapoport[154], fights, games and debates are employed during such conflicts. The fights are attempts at subjugating or destroying the conflict partner. Games are attempts at cooperation with rules, although tricks are used to overcome the conflict partner. Debates are an exchange of arguments.

3.2.2 Role conflicts

One distinguishes between intra role conflicts (conflicts within a role because of divergent expectations), for instance the expectations citizens have of elected politicians and the expectations the party has of the same politician, and inter role conflicts (conflicts within different roles), for instance between a family and a career role.

Conflict management is possible at the individual and at the social level. At the individual level by:

  – Opting for one role

  – Accepting tensions

  – Role distancing (reducing commitment).

At the social level by:

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[154]Anatol Rapoport, see also the footnote on the prisoner's dilemma.

- Tolerating ambiguous behaviour of an individual
- Changing the role description.

3.2.3 Conflicts between groups

Group conflicts can be the result of communication deficiencies at the content and relationship levels and can also be role conflicts and their ritualisation. Ritualisation often takes place between different parliamentary groups in parliament or even between the government and the opposition. It involves the development of "we" feelings which are important from the perspective of group dynamics and in displaying differences vis-à-vis other groups.

These developments may, but need not always, lead to enmity. They are significant if the groups are competing and one group can win only if the other loses. This is what happens in football, for instance, or other team games. While moderate behaviour is maintained in the football game through rules and referees, no such rules are applicable to fan clubs and this regularly leads to massive conflicts. Group conflicts of this type can be eased by demarcating zones and other rules (laws).

3.2.4 Social conflicts

Strategies for social conflict resolution depend largely on the socio-philosophical view of society.

Hobbes[155] believed "the war of all against all" to be the natural state of mankind. For conflict resolution he therefore recommends that

- the state must have the authority to master the conflicts;
- the state must have monopoly over power (police, military);
- the state must be responsible for legislation and the administration of justice.

Karl Marx regarded conflicts as a consequence of the constantly growing allocation struggles between the propertied and ruling classes on the one side and the unpropertied and suppressed classes on the other. Karl Marx's solution to conflicts therefore lay in the creation of a classless society.

Hobbes and Marx view conflicts negatively and wish to remove them. Dahrendorf on the other hand highlights the positive aspects of conflicts. According to Dahrendorf, coexistence is characterised by compulsion and rule. While compulsion and rule may resolve certain conflicts, they will constantly create new ones. Dahrendorf considers a society's ability to deal with conflict as a symbol and yardstick of a social system's capacity to modernise itself.

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[155] Thomas Hobbes, English philosopher, 1588 - 1679.

Rigid systems shift conflicts outwards (creation of scapegoats and enemies, possibly culminating in war). Open and mobile systems transform themselves with conflicts. Social conflicts can usually not be resolved completely. They can only be brought down to a minimum. Instruments such as conflict shifting and conflict blurring are employed for this purpose.

Two strategies are typical for political processes:

- Reaching a compromise (associative)
- Not finding a solution (dissociative solution), since the contradictions are too great.

Mobilisation strategies in the form of demonstrations, strikes and other forms of resistance are used in such cases.

3.2.5 International conflicts

In contrast to personal and social conflicts, there is usually no superior authority to ease or calm international conflicts. Nations exist in an "anarchic world order" in which interests are protected or must be enforced. Both defensive and offensive positions are adopted.

Defensive positions involve:

- Self affirmation (Israel versus its Arab neighbours) and refusal to adapt (Tibet versus China)

Offensive positions involve:

- Territorial expansion (Germany in World War II)
- Expansion of dominions (Argentina in the Falkland war)
- Widening of area of influence (numerous interventions by the USA in Central America, e.g. the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama etc.)

International territorial conflicts are usually carried out by force. The following facts are critical:

- Territorial conflicts are zero sum games
- Nation states define their existence through territorial ownership rights
- In the pre-industrial era, ownership of territories was a direct reflection of a nation's power and wealth.

3.2.6 Strategies to reduce the use of force in international conflicts

Different strategies have been developed to prevent international conflicts from automatically escalating into violent clashes. These strategies involve:

- Powerful states declare themselves to be umpires or global policemen of a regional or global order of peace (Pax Romana, Pax Americana)

- Creation of a supra-national form of world government (League of Nations, UNO, but also WTO etc.)

- Development of non violent means of resolving conflicts, for instance:

1. Creation of increasing mutual dependencies, e.g. EU integration or other regional associations

2. Deterrence through threat of force (Cold War, INF treaty etc.)

3. Antagonistic cooperation (INF treaty, disarmament treaties, CSCE-OSCE, confidence building measures)

4. Dissociative strategies in the North-South conflict, e.g. non intervention or self development

5. Development of international law and international law of war.

3.3 Fundamental principles of conflict resolution

There are good and bad resolutions to conflicts, and quite often one and the same solution will be perceived to be good by one party and bad by the other. There are two main criteria for assessing the utility of resolutions to conflicts:

1. Quality (the logical criterion)

2. Acceptability (the psychological criterion).

This implies that the utility of conflict resolution increases in relation to its ability to meet logical and rational demands, for instance pertaining to the ensuing costs, and the fewer reservations all participants have in accepting the solution.

This is only one of several insights obtained through conflict research. Conflict resolution is one of its important sub fields. Two aspects are particularly significant for assessment:

1. The different ways in which conflict resolution proceeds

2. The different conceivable results of conflict resolution.

The process of conflict resolution is primarily determined by two variables: Firstly, the value category, i.e. the material or non material value of the good which is the object of the conflict resolution. Secondly, the possibility of a balance of interests, which is either

given or not given. The table below illustrates possible conflict resolution processes in the light of both these variables.

The possibility of a balance of interests is

	...not given		...given
Value category	**Agreement is necessary**	**Agreement is not necessary**	
High	Higher authority(victory/defeat)	Retreat, quit the field	Joint attempt to find solution
Medium	Wise judge, mediator	Division of authority	Negotiation (give/take)
Low	Draw/random	Pretence of non conflict	Peaceful coexistence

This table depicts behaviour that has actually been observed amongst conflict parties when attempting to find solutions.

3.3.1 Discussion of the table

The most difficult case to resolve, clearly, is one in which the conflict involves high stakes for all sides and in which it is not possible to achieve a balance of interests, for instance through a compromise.

In the absence of a higher authority, such conflicts normally lead to use of force and end in either victory or defeat or acceptance of a higher authority as mediator when both the conflicting parties are exhausted.

If a higher authority does exist, it is asked to take a decision. If the stakes are high for both sides, the decision will have to result in victory for one side and defeat for the other. The quality of the decision is enhanced if the defeated group or person accepts the decision.

If the conflict has a medium value for the conflict parties, it is more appropriate to resolve the conflict through a mediator. The job of the mediator in this case is to examine the interests of both sides and take a decision that is advantageous to both sides as far as possible (win-win strategy). Alternatively, the "curve of least pain" can be determined and a solution found accordingly.

In situations where agreement is necessary, a balance of interests is not possible and the value for the parties to the conflict is low, random decisions (draw of lots) can be taken.

> *A random decision is possible, and accepted, when sides are chosen before kick-off in a game of football. This would not be the case for a penalty kick where the value for both parties is too high.*

Decisions when agreement is not necessary are quite different. Conflicts with a high value can result in quitting the field (taking flight) or being excluded (dismissal). Low

value conflicts may allow the pretence of there not being any conflict. This solution usually does not lead to satisfactory results and the conflict is bound to flare up again sooner or later or make its presence felt in other fields.

Real solutions are sought in other cases, where a balance of interests is possible. In high value conflicts solutions can be sought jointly or with the help of a mediator. For medium value conflicts, win-win strategies can be negotiated and can endure. Where the stakes are low, the parties may decide on peaceful co-existence. Peaceful existence can, however, also occur in very high value conflicts where there is no possibility of balancing interests. This solution will only be effective until one of the conflict parties feels that it is in a stronger position and possesses a strategic advantage.

3.4 Post conflict situations and conflict prevention

In a post conflict situation it is reasonable to assume that the conflict has been resolved in terms of the classifications propounded by von Clausewitz. Clausewitz proceeded on the premise that a conflict ends in either victory or defeat. Victory implies that the opponent is subject to the victor's will and the policies of the victor prevail. The problem today with regard to post conflict situations is that there are hardly any victories or defeats. Due to international intervention, the possibility of conflict resolution (victory or defeat) during international conflicts as well as national, regional and ethnic conflicts is arrested before reaching a final conclusion. An unconditional surrender like that of Germany after World Word II is no longer the objective of a conflict. Instead, the conflict is halted through external intervention and results in a situation of equilibrium rather than a victory/defeat situation. So there is an ostensible end to the conflict, but no conflict resolution.

Assuming this thesis to be true, the implication is that the original status that led to the conflict in the first place is restored in a post conflict situation. The sentence: "If you want peace you must understand war," shows a path for post conflict strategies. In other words, the conflict trigger or the cause of the conflict must be examined. This cause must then be worked upon and remedied to achieve conflict resolution that is both psychological and logical.
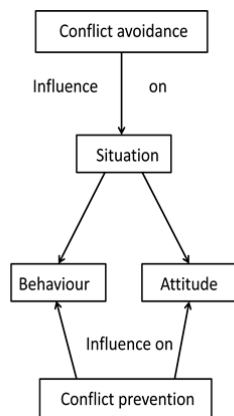
Potential approaches include attempts towards **conflict avoidance**. The strategic approach consists of influencing the situation in such a way that the cause of the conflict is removed or at least minimised.

For instance, if a conflict has erupted over access to water, the issue of water needs to be worked upon. The situation must be changed such that the behaviour and attitude of the parties to the conflict undergo a transformation. In this case change would involve ensuring availability of additional water or ensuring that there is mutual agreement on water withdrawal. If we

look at the causes of actual wars and conflicts it becomes evident that in most cases the conflict was caused by problems of access to resources. Reportedly, the conflict in Yugoslavia was triggered by what was considered "unjust" distribution of energy for the sub regions, while to external observers it appeared as a conflict between different ethnic groups and religions.

The second approach is **conflict prevention**. This approach consists of applying pressure on the parties to the conflict and attempting to change their behaviour and attitudes. This is a preventive approach vis-à-vis processes or actors.

The distinction between both these forms of conflict management appears quite cogent. A preventive approach that is cause-oriented will attempt to address the underlying causes, structures and breeding grounds of violent developments and aim to bring about long term stability. On the other hand, short to medium term process-oriented preventive approaches are concerned with influencing the conduct of conflict actors who are prepared to resort to violence in acute crisis situations. The actual source of conflict usually remains unaddressed with this approach.

A further concept of prevention is the conflict lifecycle model favoured by the European Union. This comprises preventive measures on a continuous scale of escalation and de-escalation. It is doubtful that the lifecycle model can have a lasting impact because prevention usually begins with remedial and rebuilding measures following the end of a violent conflict. In operational terms the conditions may be favourable, but this is chiefly because the parties to the conflict are exhausted.

The conflict lifecycle model favoured by the EU

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