

How to Work with Parliamentarians for the Abolition of the Death Penalty



In partnership with :



Parliamentarians for Global Action
Parlamentarios para la Acción Global
Action Mondiale des Parlementaires
برلمانيون من أجل التحرك العالمي

ABBREVIATIONS & DEFINITIONS

ACHPR- African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
AFROLAC- Parliamentary Forum of African, Latin American and Caribbean Countries
APF- Parliamentary Assembly of the Francophonie
APU- African Parliamentary Union
AU- African Union
CPA- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
EAC- Eastern African Community
EALA- Eastern African Legislative Assembly
ECOWAS- Economic Community of Western African States
EP- European Parliament
EU- European Union
IPU- Inter-Parliamentary Union
JPA- Joint Parliamentary Assembly
MEPs- Members of European Parliament
MPs- Members of Parliament
NGO- Non-governmental organization
OP2-ICCPR- The Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
PAP- Pan-African Parliament
PGA - Parliamentarians for Global Action
SADC PF- Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum
WCADP- World Coalition Against the Death Penalty

Lobbying- "the activity of trying to persuade someone in authority, usually an elected member of a government, to support laws or rules that give your organization or industry an advantage."¹

Prerogative: "something that certain people are able or allowed to do or have but is not possible for allowed for everyone."² In the context of parliamentarians, prerogatives are what parliamentarians are allowed to do within the context of their role as legislators.

¹ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/lobbying>

² <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/prerogative>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS & DEFINITIONS	2
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
1. INTRODUCTION TO PARLIAMENTARIANS	6
Who are parliamentarians ?	6
Key functions of parliamentarians	7
Policymaking	8
Law-making	8
Oversight	8
Representation	9
A world of parliaments: Whom should your advocacy target?	10
National Parliament: Primary Targets	10
Sub-national and regional parliaments: Secondary Targets	11
Parliamentary networks and other venues for interparliamentary diplomacy:	
Tertiary Targets	14
Other avenues for interparliamentary diplomacy	15
Why should parliamentarians be part of an advocacy plan?	17
2. HOW TO START WORKING WITH PARLIAMENTARIANS AND HOW TO MAINTAIN YOUR WORKING RELATIONSHIP?	21
How to identify parliamentarians to work with?	
How to get their attention?	22
Step 1: Strategize and conduct a SWOT analysis	22
Step 2: Identify what parliamentarians can do	23
Step 3: Identify allies and their networks	24
Step 4: Understand the MP timeline	27
Step 5: Identify your entry points	28
How to advocate for your cause once you have an MP's attention?	30
Adapting your arguments to the MP	30
Being prepared to suggest concrete actions	31
Preparing your advocacy toolbox	32
Nurture your relationship with MPs	34
3. CONCLUSION	37
4. ANNEXES	39
Annex 1. Useful Resources	39
Annex 2. A World of Parliaments: Where to Look?	39
Annex 3. Guidelines for written material	41

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

While they may make up only part of a larger advocacy strategy, parliamentarians and the abolition of the death penalty go hand in hand. In many countries, parliamentarians are the bridge between citizens and policy and law-making. This important role goes both ways; not only can they ensure that the best interests of the public are met, but they can also use their platform to inform and raise awareness with their constituents. In the case of death penalty abolition, laws prohibiting the use of capital punishment, reducing the scope of the death penalty, or finalizing a country's commitment to abolition by signing international treaties are all crucial steps toward universal abolition.

Being a fundamentally policy and legislation-based practice, the death penalty in many countries is provided for in law, in the constitution and/or in a country's penal code. As such, in countries that still have progress to make in the abolitionist fight, it is up to parliamentarians to address, modify and repeal legislation to pave the way towards abolition.

From the State of New Hampshire in the United States³ in 2019 to Chad in 2020, civil societies' work with parliamentarians has brought about abolition. In the context of the African continent, many African states have simultaneously grown into their own sovereign states and followed the global trend of death penalty abolition since their independence from colonial rulers. African parliamentarians, and their counterparts around the world, play an indispensable role in encouraging abolitionist legislation and raising awareness of the unjust nature of capital punishment at both the national and regional levels.⁴

The need for this how-to guide came directly from the World Coalition Against the Death Penalty's (WCADP) membership and was elaborated with its member Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA). Working with parliamentarians may seem like a daunting task, particularly for civil society organizations that do not have previous experience in working with them. This guide is specifically designed for the use of abolitionist civil society groups around the world, with highlights coming from the African continent. If you are new to working with parliamentarians or experienced but in need of further inspiration, this manual aims to meet your needs.

This guide should also be considered as a companion to the Parliamentarian Resource published by the WCADP in 2014, which was aimed at parliamentarians who are interested in taking abolitionist steps in their country.⁵ In the hands of civil society activists, the two guides support each other: one guide is for activists themselves and the other is a guide that gives the tools for parliamentarians to act.

This how-to manual is divided in two main chapters. The first chapter is dedicated to introducing parliamentarians on the African continent and around the world. What is parliament? What can parliamentarians do? What can't they do? This section aims to give context for understanding who parliamentarians are, how to engage with them and thus provide reference points for the rest of the guide. The second chapter delves more deeply into potential entry points for civil society actors and concrete advocacy techniques they can use when trying to meet with parliamentarians, and then how to work with them over the course of their administration.

World Coalition Against the Death Penalty

³ <http://www.worldcoalition.org/New-Hampshire-21st-State-to-Abolish-the-Death-Penalty-in-the-USA.html>

⁴ On the regional level, a draft Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' rights on the Abolition of the Death Penalty in Africa (the Banjul Charter) has been making its way through the African Union to be officially presented for a vote on its adoption.

⁵ This guide is referenced in the back of this guide on page 39- you may also download the document from the WCADP's website: <http://worldcoalition.org/document/parliamentarians-and-the-abolition-of-the-death-penalty-a-resource/>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The World Coalition Against the Death Penalty (WCADP) and Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) are particularly grateful to Ms. Marion Chahuneau, who, as the principal author of this guide and former Senior Legal Officer at the International Law & Human Rights Program, made substantive and invaluable contributions to this publication. PGA also extends a special thanks to Mr. Daniel Garzón López, PGA's Program Associate at the International Law & Human Rights Program, who provided research support, and to Ms. Bronwyn Dudley, Program Manager at the WCADP, for providing production, expert review, coordination, and translation support for this guide.

PGA and the WCADP also wish to acknowledge the considerable assistance it received from the following Members of Parliament, NGO representatives, and partners:

Ms. Florence Bellivier, International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)
Mr. Guillaume Colin, International Federation of ACATs (FIACAT)
Dep. Zohour El Wahabi, Member of the House of Representatives of Morocco
Ms. Suzanne Mangomba, Culture pour la paix et la justice (CPJ)
Mr. Mario Marazziti
Ms. Fatia Maulidiyanti, KontraS (Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence)
Ms. Otilia Anna Maunganidze, Institute for Security Studies
Mr. Salomon Nodjitouloum, ACAT-Tchad
Mr. Collins Okeke, Hurilaws
Ms. Xavière Prugnard, International Federation of ACATs (FIACAT)
Ms. Noorzadeh Raja, Justice Project Pakistan
Ms. Leela Ramdeen, Greater Caribbean for Life
Mme. Juliette Rousselot, International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)
Ms. Chiara Sangiorgio, Amnesty International
Hon. Dorcas Sibanda, Member of the Parliament of Zimbabwe
Mr. Francis Warburton
Together Against the Death Penalty (ECPM) Team

1



*11th Pan-African Parliament Conference on Women's Rights in 2018.
Copyright: Jeannette Kagame, Flickr*

Introduction to parliamentarians

This chapter is devoted to creating a base of knowledge to understand how parliamentarians work. In order to engage with them in the most effective way, the first step is to understand who they are, what their role is, what they can and cannot do and what motivates them.

WHO ARE PARLIAMENTARIANS?

Parliamentarians, or **members of parliament** (MPs), are representative individuals who work in a parliament. A **parliament** is a “representative body of individuals to whom the people have entrusted the responsibility of laying down the legal framework within which society will be governed.”⁶

The role and structure of both parliaments and parliamentarians vary greatly according to the country or region in which they are operating. Nevertheless, their primary role is related to the exercise of **legislative power** – deliberating and

defining policy, as well as adopting laws, and monitoring/ determining the implementation of the passed legislation in a given jurisdiction.

The name of the body exercising the function of parliament differs from country to country. Parliaments can also be either unicameral – one chamber or house – or bicameral – two separate chambers, each with a different name (for example, National Assembly, House of Representatives, Senate, House of Councilors, etc.). In the case of a bicameral parliament, each chamber – usually a lower

chamber and an upper chamber- has slightly different but complementary functions. It is not always the case that both chambers are able to introduce legislation. The meeting of both houses changes its name, and merge into one legislative body, such as a Congress or a Parliament.

MPs' titles also differ according to the language, country, and parliament in question; they might be simply referred to as MPs, or as congressmen or congresswomen, representatives, national assembly

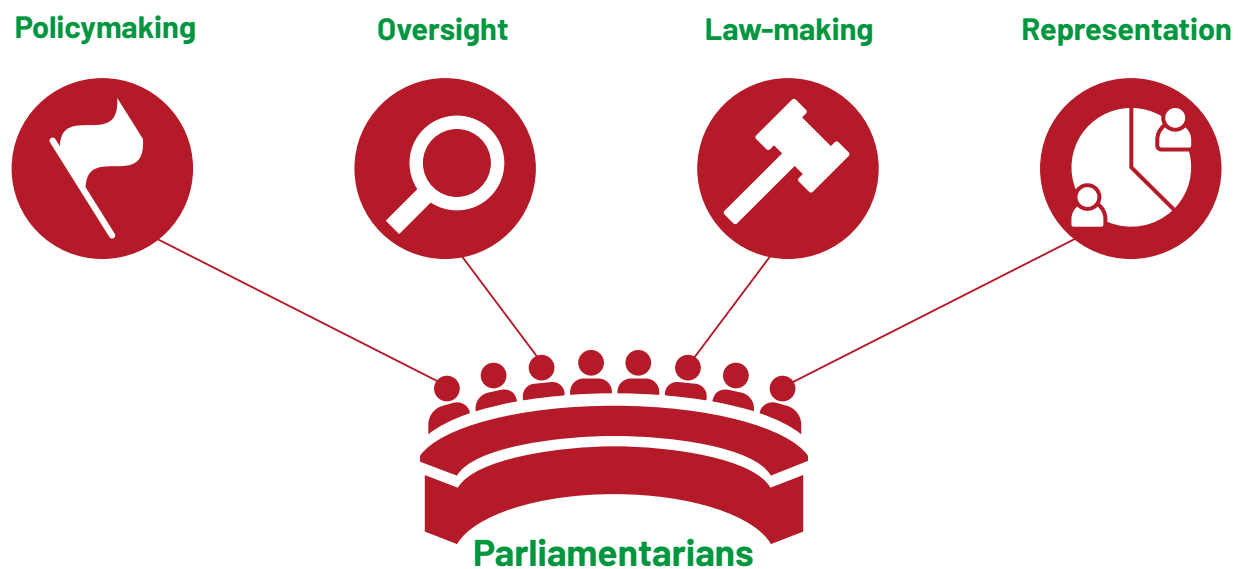
members (NAM), etc. It is thus essential to research the legislative organs of the country where you wish to work to use the proper vernacular.⁷ They are all potential legislators⁸ insofar as they have legislative power.

Throughout this guide the word parliament and parliamentarian will be used, but those terms incorporate all forms of elected institutions who hold legislative power within a state.

KEY FUNCTIONS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

Each type of parliament, as highlighted in the previous section, may have a variety of different functions according to its mandate and the location in which it is operating. While it is not possible to list all of the key functions of all types of parliament, the

following functions will focus primarily on national parliaments—the recommended primary target. If a given example is not related a national parliament, the example will so state.



⁶ UNICEF, *Guide on How to Work with Parliamentarians*, p. 2.

⁷ It is usually the case that the name of the house or parliament indicates the way MPs (a member of the Senate is usually a senator, a member of a *Cámara de Diputados* is usually a *diputado*), but that is not always the case so some research is necessary. In general, MPs can be addressed as 'Honourable' (Honourable John Smith, for example); even when it is not the custom in a specific parliament, using that term shows respect and can avoid making a *faux-pas*.

⁸ The difference between potential and actual legislators mainly depends on whether they are part of the majority government or not. There is a fundamentally different tactic in working with MPs who are part of government and working with members of the opposition or individuals with a conscience.

POLICYMAKING

Individual parliamentarians can directly influence their respective political parties, especially when they are from the majority party. This type of influence can help orient the government's position on issues related to criminal justice reform, including the death penalty. Parliamentarians can also help influence policy by bringing issues to the forefront of political debate that may not be a current priority: both in parliament (through a parliamentary question or the introduction of a private member's bill for the purpose of opening a discussion) and with the larger public (through op-eds or their social media accounts).

LAW-MAKING

As for direct legislative power, national parliaments across the world perform the bulk of law-making in their countries. While the extent of this law-making varies from country to country, the overall focus of law-making includes drafting bills, proposing their discussion and debate, holding hearings, and voting in new legislation. In the context of promoting abolition, law-making is a crucial function. All stages of law-making can provide an opportunity for civil society to lobby and advocate with parliamentarians. Examples of abolition law-making vary and are dependent on the situation in your country. They can include:

- passing an official moratorium on executions⁹ – a good first step in a country which is not ready to abolish the death penalty,
- strengthening the legal safeguards applicable to capital cases,
- reducing the scope of the death penalty by either removing capital crimes or creating new mitigating circumstances which would preclude the passing of a death sentence on a person convicted of a capital crime,
- eliminating the mandatory death penalty,
- proposing amendments or additions to other legislation or to constitutional reviews going through the parliament,

- ratifying international instruments like the Second Optional Protocol to the United Nations' International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (OP2-ICCPR) and ensuring that national law is harmonized with adopted international law, and
- promoting the creation of regional treaties and protocols that encourage consolidation of the pledge to abolish the death penalty (such as the draft protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Abolition of the Death Penalty in Africa).

Civil society can also request parliamentarians to help in preventing the return of death penalty in a country that has already abolished it or to help fight the expansion of the death penalty. Examples of such support can include:

- voting against a bill to reinstate the death penalty in an abolitionist country, and
- providing opposition in debates to extend the scope of the death penalty in a retentionist country.

OVERSIGHT

Once the law-making function has been fulfilled, and new abolitionist legislation is put in place, parliamentarians and parliament may hold the executive branch of government accountable for the implementation of the law. Oversight committees, select committees, and councils can be set up to judge the effectiveness of the law's implementation and to urge the executive to make any necessary changes. Select committees, specifically, have a statutory role of oversight on the policies and performance of government. They are also usually comprised of all the majority parties and are meant to be independent of the executive.

For example, after the Federal Government of the United States (US) of America announced that it would resume executions in 2019, the Oversight Committee of the lower chamber of Congress, the House of Representatives, launched an investigation over concerns regarding the proposed method of

⁹ For this kind of legislation, the parliamentarian to reach out to would be the justice minister, the attorney general and/ or the head of government. The steps leading up to these legal changes can also focus on cost of the death penalty, public opinion, criminal justice integrity, prison conditions and public security- subjects that fall within a parliamentarian's mandate.

execution. Under US federal law, the death penalty and executions are legal, but only under certain conditions. If those conditions are not met, then Congress can call into question the legitimacy of carrying out the executions. In this case, the US Federal Government was using a new drug, previously uncodified in existing law, to restart executions. The drug and the sources of this drug were brought to the attention of lawmakers. Ultimately the execution dates that were originally scheduled were postponed to allow for changes in the federal execution protocol.¹⁰

Once the law-making function has been fulfilled, and new abolitionist legislation is put in place, parliamentarians (...) may hold the executive branch accountable for the implementation of the law.

Apart from these specific bodies, parliamentarians often have prerogatives that can be useful in holding the executive accountable for its implementation of the law. In most parliaments, parliamentarians can, for example, address parliamentary questions to members of the executive (which would then have to provide an answer), hear experts (e.g., members of the judiciary or civil society representatives) in committee, or visit prisons and other detention centers.

REPRESENTATION

Representing the best interest of the people is the primary mandate of all democratic parliamentarians, as is listening to and acting upon public concerns in a leadership capacity. Constituent approval is generally the most important thing for MPs.

This function goes both ways; parliamentarians are tasked with taking the concerns of their constituents to parliament to address them, but they are not beholden to what might be considered “public opinion” and they have a duty to inform and

raise awareness among their constituents. In campaigning for a specific issue, a parliamentarian can act as an advocate by raising awareness within the parliamentarian’s constituency.

Parliamentarians can promote abolitionist action by using their platform to speak publicly about an issue (e.g., meet with constituents and make public statements), organizing a network of abolitionist parliamentarians, supporting campaigns to mobilize communities on the impact of the death penalty (such as on World Day Against the Death Penalty, every 10th of October), or running an election campaign with a platform supporting universal abolition. Additionally, in specific cases of individuals facing the death penalty, they may call on authorities to show mercy in new proceedings and to ensure proceedings comply with fair trial rights, all while respecting the strict separation of powers. These steps can be particularly helpful when nationals are sentenced to death or at risk of being sentenced to death abroad.

Parliamentarians can also represent their constituents through their political party. Frequently, as being an active member of a specific political party, a parliamentarian may have party responsibilities. Political party obligations are also indicative of how much influence they can have in a legislative setting.



*For more information on the role of parliamentarians and the challenges they face, see pages 9-11 of the 2014 *Parliamentarian Resource* published by the *World Coalition Against the Death Penalty*.*

Additionally, it is important to note that while the goal of advocating with a parliamentarian(s) may focus on final legislation, there are various routes to engaging with parliamentarians to build support for abolition.

¹⁰ <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/news/u-s-house-oversight-committee-launches-investigation-into-resumption-of-federal-executions>.

A WORLD OF PARLIAMENTS: WHOM SHOULD YOUR ADVOCACY TARGET?

In understanding parliaments, it is important to recognize that there are many different types whose functions may vary according to their mandates and geographical regions. Whether your organization is just beginning to work with parliamentarians or is already highly experienced, it is important to take the time to understand the differences among these parliaments to be able to tailor your advocacy to the most effective person(s). The following section examines the different types of parliamentarians and their relative importance when lobbying.



It is important to remember that while this section suggests primary, secondary, and tertiary targets, each organization must carefully select its own primary target, particularly if it has limited time and resources for its abolition advocacy goals.

Working in a Federal System: Why Work with Parliamentarians at both the Federal and State level?

In federal countries, the constitution determines which areas of legislation fall under the competence of the federal parliament, and which fall under the state assemblies. The definition of criminal offences and their penalties is not exclusively within federal jurisdiction, which means that both the federal parliament and the states' parliaments may legislate to expand or reduce the scope of capital punishment. It is thus necessary to mobilize not only members of the federal parliament, but also members of the state parliaments, to promote measures limiting the use of the death penalty.

In turn, if one were to work with a regional state on securing a progressive approach to offences and penalties, it can be used an example for other regional states and the national government.

If the state in which you work has state or provincial parliaments, make sure to research whether the death penalty falls into the exclusive competency of the national parliament!

NATIONAL PARLIAMENT: PRIMARY TARGETS

The first type of parliament that most often comes to mind is a **national parliament** that legislates for a state and is granted authority to do so under national law. Most countries in the world (190 out of 193 UN members)¹¹ have a national parliament which, depending on the political system, has some level of

legislative power. Within all these national parliaments, there are 46,000 national parliamentarians working worldwide.¹² National parliaments are often a priority for parliamentary advocacy. These parliaments can be either **unicameral**, consisting of one chamber, or **bicameral**, consisting of two chambers (usually a lower chamber and a higher chamber). In the case of bicameral parliaments, it is important to understand each

¹¹ WCADP, *Parliamentarian Resource*, p. 9

¹² *Ibid.*

chamber's distinct function and how the chambers relate to each other. For example, the lower house is often able to have the final vote on bills.

It is also crucial to understand how committees work and the respective portfolios of each relevant committee. Issues related to the death penalty most likely fall within the scope of committees responsible for legislation, justice, or human rights, but committees working on health or women and social affairs, for example, might also be a relevant focal point to discuss specific topics (such as conditions of detention on death row).

Most advocacy with regard to abolition in a state takes place at the national parliament level, and as such *most examples of advocacy and parliamentary function in this guide focus on the national level.*

SUB-NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PARLIAMENTS: SECONDARY TARGETS

Sub-national and provincial parliaments

Some countries, notably federal states, have one national parliament and several **sub-national parliaments**, whose names and prerogatives may differ depending on the political system at hand. Some countries may also be comprised of semi-autonomous regions governed by their own parliaments. In all circumstances where a national and sub-national parliament co-exist within the same country, a legal hierarchy is in place to avoid conflicts in legislation passed in both parliaments. Sub-national parliaments are important targets as they may hold specific powers to legislate within the territory they represent. They also often have the power to elect or appoint members to the upper house of the national parliament and may have significant influence on national politics.

Examples of countries that operate with sub-national parliaments include Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Eritrea, Germany, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, South Africa, Sudan, Switzerland, and the United States of America.

Sub-regional and regional parliaments: Examples on the African Continent

Sub-regional and regional parliaments can have varying prerogatives, depending on their founding legal document and mandates. If they have some form of legislative power, targeting them for advocacy purposes can lead to region-wide results.

Even when they have no legislative powers *per se*, they still offer a forum to discuss policies on a regional level and to encourage "cross-pollination" of ideas between representatives from different parliaments. As such, members of these parliaments can be worthwhile focal points for advocacy, even if they themselves come from an abolitionist country. These MPs meet parliamentarians from other countries, which may be retentionist, and can discuss and share their experiences. While a regional parliament may not have the prerogative to decide to abolish the death penalty throughout the countries in the region, it still is a place where parliamentarians discuss shared values and where advocacy can be effective and have a wide reach. The following are examples of regional parliaments active on the African continent.



For examples of sub-regional and regional parliaments in other areas of the world, including Asia, the Americas, and Europe, please see the list in Annex 2: A World of Parliaments: Where to Look? on pages 39-41.



11th Pan-African Parliament Conference on Women's Rights in 2018.
Copyright: Jeannette Kagame, Flickr

The Pan-African Parliament

The Pan-African Parliament (PAP)¹³ is the parliamentary arm of the African Union (AU) and the chief parliamentary assembly in the region. Of the 55 countries that are members of the AU, 51 have ratified¹⁴ the Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to the Pan-African Parliament, allowing them to participate in the PAP.¹⁵ Each member country is represented by five parliamentarians, elected among the members of each country's respective national parliament; this means that approaching members of the PAP for advocacy purposes may also reach members of national parliaments.

The PAP's objectives are to promote human rights and democracy on the continent; facilitate the effective implementation of AU policies and objectives; encourage national and regional parliamentarians to ratify and integrate treaties adopted by the AU into

their legal systems; and facilitate cooperation with and among national and regional Parliaments and similar bodies within and outside Africa, as well as civil societies, community-based organizations, and grassroots organizations.

For now, the PAP has only advisory and consultative functions. While it cannot pass an "AU law," for instance, it can still debate and make recommendations on issues related to human rights. For example, in the context of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) Working Group on the Death Penalty, Extra-Judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Killings and Enforced Disappearances in Africa, the PAP convened an inter-organ meeting in 2013. The meeting aimed at giving visibility to the interests and concerns of participating bodies on the issues covered by the Working Group, as well as to create a platform for better coordination and consultation on matters relating to their respective mandates.¹⁶

¹³ For more information on the Pan-African Parliament visit their website: <http://www.panafricanparliament.org/>

¹⁴ List of countries which have signed, ratified/acceded to the Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to the Pan-African Parliament, 16 May 2019: <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36301-sl-Protocol%20to%20the%20Treaty%20Establishing%20the%20African%20Economic%20Community%20Relating%20to%20the%20Pan-African%20Parliament.pdf>

Only the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Eritrea, Guinea, and Somalia do not have members in the PAP.

¹⁵ Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to the Pan-African Parliament, 2 March 2001: https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36301-treaty-0022_-_protocol_to_the_treaty_establishing_the_african_economic_community_relating_to_the_pan-african_parliament_e.pdf

However, Guinea and Somalia – which have not ratified the Protocol – de facto participate in the PAP, which thus counts members from 53 of the 55 AU States parties. DRC and Eritrea are the only countries which never participate in the PAP.

¹⁶ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, Working Group on Death Penalty, Extra-Judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Killings and Enforced Disappearances in Africa, Intersession Activity Report of Honourable Commissioner Kayitesi Zainabo Sylvie, 9-23 April 2013: <https://www.achpr.org/sessions/sessionsp?id=304>

In addition, a protocol adopted in 2014¹⁷ would make the PAP the “legislative organ of the African Union” and would thus equip it with legislative powers, including the drafting and adoption of model laws.¹⁸ The new protocol also changes the composition of the PAP, promoting the participation of more women and dissociating membership to the PAP from membership of a national parliament. The protocol, which needs to be ratified by a simple majority of AU member states to enter into force, has been ratified by only 12 member countries.

Besides the PAP, several sub-regional organizations have parliamentary bodies that could be targets for advocacy on the African continent:

The Eastern African Legislative Assembly

The Eastern African Legislative Assembly (EALA)¹⁹ carries out legislative, representative and oversight functions within the Eastern African Community (EAC). It is composed of members nominated by their respective national parliaments but who are not currently members of national parliaments.²⁰ Although human rights do not fall explicitly under the EAC’s mandate, the EALA aims to strengthen cooperation between member countries on matters such as policy and judicial affairs. As such, the EALA can debate and legislate on issues related to capital punishment. Notably, in 2011 it adopted the EAC Human and Peoples’ Rights Bill,²¹ which guarantees the right to life. Although bills adopted by the EALA need to receive the assent of Heads of State to take

effect,²² the EALA still offers a venue to discuss issues and exchange views at the sub-regional level. For instance, in 2014, while debating human trafficking, an EALA member from Burundi put forward a resolution to restore the death penalty as a punishment for trafficking offenses. Hon. Fred Muskasa Mbidde from Uganda opposed this proposal, and the final resolution did not mention capital punishment.²³

The South African Development Community Parliamentary Forum

The South African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF)²⁴ is an autonomous institution of the SADC, which does not have legislative or oversight prerogatives. It is composed of the speakers and five members of each national parliament, chosen by their peers. One of its objectives is to provide a forum to address a wide range of issues, which include the promotion of human rights, peace, security, gender equality, good governance and democracy. The SADC PF can adopt model laws and monitor how each member country incorporates them into domestic law and implements them. Thus far, the SADC PF has earned a positive reputation for its work on elections, gender equality and issues such as child marriage and HIV, and its strategic plan includes provisions to strengthen the capacity of parliamentarians on human rights issues and to collaborate with human rights commissions and ombudspersons.²⁵

¹⁷ Protocol to the Constitutive Act of the African Union Relating to the Pan-African Parliament, 27 June 2014: https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7806-treaty-0047_-_protocol_to_the_constitutive_act_of_the_african_union_relating_to_the_pan-african_parliament_e.pdf

¹⁸ The PAP already adopts model laws. However their implementation is deferred to countries, making the laws more of a guiding document than a legislation per se.

¹⁹ For more information on the East-African Legislative Assembly visit their website: <http://www.eala.org/>

²⁰ Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 30 November 1999, Article 50: http://www.eala.org/uploads/EAC_TREATY.pdf

²¹ The East African Community Human and Peoples’ Rights Bill, 12 August 2011: http://www.eala.org/uploads/Eac_human_14-Sep-2016_11-11-55-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf

²² Article 63 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community.

²³ 93.3 KFM, EALAs Mbidde wants death penalty abolished, 23 January 2014: <https://www.kfm.co.ug/news/ealas-mbidde-wants-death-penalty-abolished.html>; ChimReports, EALA Seeks Restoration of Death Penalty, 24 January 2014: <https://chimreports.com/16292-eala-seeks-restoration-of-death-penalty/>

²⁴ For more information on SADC Parliamentary Forum: <https://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/sadc-institutions/sadc-parliamentarian-forum/>

²⁵ SADC Parliamentary Forum, Strategic Plan 2019 – 2023, December 2019, p. 35: https://www.sadcpf.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=173&Itemid=110

The Economic Community of Western African States Parliament

The Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) Parliament²⁶ is the parliamentary body of the ECOWAS and is composed of members of the States Parties' national parliaments.²⁷ The parliament is mandated to deal with all matters concerning the ECOWAS, "in particular issues relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms."²⁸ While it currently only has advisory powers, the founding treaty sets a future objective of giving it a co-deciding and legislative role. The ECOWAS Commission is working on drafting provisions to that end.²⁹

PARLIAMENTARY NETWORKS AND OTHER VENUES FOR INTERPARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY: TERTIARY TARGETS

Some parliamentary networks or organizations exist outside any country, regional or international entity, but offer an avenue for parliamentarians to discuss certain issues and exchange ideas. Unlike regional and sub-regional parliaments, they do not have legislative powers, but in the fight against capital punishment these networks can still be useful; they allow pro-death penalty parliamentarians and parliamentarians from retentionist countries to sit alongside and debate with abolitionist parliamentarians and parliamentarians from abolitionist countries.

In addition, some of these groups may be specifically dedicated to human rights issues and may provide an opportunity to reach parliamentarians who are more likely to be open to abolitionist advocacy.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)³⁰ is dedicated to facilitating parliamentary diplomacy and empowering parliaments and parliamentarians to promote peace, democracy, and sustainable development around the world. Parliaments as a whole—and not parliamentarians in their individual capacity—are members of the IPU, and as such, each parliament decides who, among its members, will participate in the IPU. The IPU Assembly can adopt resolutions on parliamentary actions relating to world affairs, including human rights, based on reports or draft texts prepared by its standing committees.

The African Parliamentary Union (APU)³¹ is an interparliamentary organization, convening 41 national parliaments on the African continent. Each national parliament contributes to the work of the APU via a National Group.³² The APU's goal is to foster dialogue between the parliaments of the region and to contribute to the promotion of peace, democracy, good governance, sustainable development, and social progress in Africa. Human rights fall within its mandate, and the APU may adopt declarations and resolutions on such topics.³³

²⁶ For more information on ECOWAS Parliament: <https://parl.ecowas.int/>

²⁷ A Protocol to set up direct elections of the members of the ECOWAS Parliament was however adopted in 2016 and the Parliament has recently set up an ad hoc Committee to discuss how to proceed before the end of the current legislature (2016 – 2020). See Voice of Nigeria, 'ECOWAS Parliament proposes direct election of members', 13 March 2020: <https://www.von.gov.ng/ecowas-parliament-proposes-direct-election-of-members/>

²⁸ Supplementary Protocol A/SP.3/06/06 Amending Protocol A/P.2/8/94 relating to the Community Parliament, Abuja, 14 June 2006, Article 4(1): <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/bitstream/handle/123456789/7603/OJ-49.pdf?sequence=1>

²⁹ ECOWAS, 'ECOWAS Ministers of Justice Endorse Supplementary Act of Enhancement of Powers of Parliament', 7 December 2016: <https://www.ecowas.int/ecowas-ministers-of-justice-endorse-supplementary-act-on-enhancement-of-powers-of-parliament/>

³⁰ For more information on the IPU's African Group: <https://www.ipu.org/about-ipu/members/geopolitical-groups/african-group>

³¹ For more information on the African Parliamentary Union: http://www.apunion.org/index_english.html

³² Statutes of the African Parliamentary Union, modified and adopted on 28 November 2019, Articles 4 and 5: http://www.apunion.org/pdf/STATUTES_2019_adopted_nov_19%20.pdf

³³ See for example a resolution calling on countries to respect human rights and fundamental freedom in their counter-terrorism strategies: APU, Resolution 146 (2018), 'The role of parliaments in combating terrorism, armed groups and organized crime in Africa', 9 November 2018, R.146/41/18, para. 2, 3 and 11: http://www.apunion.org/pdf/resolution_on_Terrorism_R_146.pdf

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Francophonie (Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie, APF)³⁴ is an interparliamentary organization that gives parliamentarians from French-speaking countries³⁵ a venue to discuss issues, including human rights. Although it is independent from the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF), it may make recommendations to the OIF and it works closely with the OIF to implement activities related to interparliamentary cooperation. The APF has worked quite substantially on the death penalty and has issued reports and resolutions, including one calling on its members to keep sharing their experiences and debating abolition in their national, regional, and international networks.³⁶

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)³⁷ is an interparliamentary union that brings together parliamentarians and parliamentary staff from countries belonging to the Commonwealth³⁸ to exchange ideas among themselves and with experts in various fields and to identify benchmarks of good practices and new policy options. The CPA collaborates with the Commonwealth Secretariat in building the capacity of national parliaments in the implementation of human rights. To this end, it releases reports and documents.

OTHER AVENUES FOR INTERPARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

While the above targets focus on African parliamentarians, in some instances it might be useful to mobilize parliamentarians from outside the African continent (or outside of another region of

focus) to leverage that particular region's own advocacy power. As parliamentarians themselves, they may be able to work, peer-to-peer, with regional parliamentarians or to call on governments to act on specific issues, including the death penalty.

The European Parliament (EP) for example, has co-decision power within the European Union (EU). It must often consent to international agreements that the EU enters into with third countries, giving the EP an active role before and during the negotiation process during which it can raise certain issues, including human rights. For instance, the EP took stringent measures to ban the export from the EU of goods used to carry out executions.³⁹ The EP can also adopt resolutions on different matters, including capital punishment,⁴⁰ and those resolutions can have significant influence on political decisions within and outside the EU.

Actively engaging with members of the European Parliament (MEP) can be beneficial to abolitionist advocacy outside the EU. MEPs may adopt resolutions condemning the use of capital punishment or raising other human rights concerns. MEPs occasionally travel to third countries and in that context have the opportunity to discuss key issues with both their fellow members of parliament and high-level members of government. MEPs can also use their prerogatives within the GSP+ preferential trade system to use the EU's economic power and trade policy to promote abolition of the death penalty.⁴¹

³⁴ For more information on the Assemblée Parlementaire de la Francophonie : <http://apf.francophonie.org/>

³⁵ French does not have to be the official language however. See Statuts de l'Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie (APF), 9 July 2018, Article 4.1: http://apf.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/statuts_de_la_apf_-_version_adoptee_a_quebec_9_juillet_2018_.pdf

³⁶ APF, Résolution sur la peine de mort dans l'espace francophone, 5-10 July 2018: http://apf.francophonie.org/doc.html?url=IMG%2Fpdf%2Fcp-resolution_sur_la_peine_de_mort.pdf&titre=CP-R%C3%A9solution+sur+la+peine+de+mort

³⁷ For more information on the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association: <http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/>

³⁸ Constitution of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Assembly, as revised on 16 December 2016, section 3(1)(a): [http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/cpadocs/CPA%20Constitution%20\(amended%202016\)%20updated%202019.pdf](http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/cpadocs/CPA%20Constitution%20(amended%202016)%20updated%202019.pdf)

³⁹ European Parliament, 'Trade MEPs strengthen the export ban of torture goods', 14 July 2016: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20160714IPR37218/trade-meps-strengthen-export-ban-of-torture-goods>

⁴⁰ For example, Resolution of 8 October 2015 on the death penalty, 2015/2879(RSP): https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2015-0348_EN.html?redirect

⁴¹ See for example: European Parliament, Statement by DSAS Chair on reintroducing the death penalty in Sri Lanka, 27 June 2019: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/delegations/en/dsas/product/20190627DPU21942>

Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA)

One of the authors of this how-to guide is also a parliamentary network. PGA, an NGO and member of the WCADP, represents a network of individual parliamentarians (rather than parliaments as institutions). It uses a peer-to-peer method to mobilize and support parliamentarians from across the world to advocate for human rights and the rule of law, including the abolition of the death penalty. For more information on PGA, visit its website: <https://www.pgaction.org>

In addition, the partnership between the EU and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP), created under the Cotonou Agreement, features the promotion of human rights at the core of its objectives. The Cotonou Agreement, which includes 48 African States, also created a Joint Parliamentary Assembly,⁴² which is a unique forum for parliamentarians from different regions to meet and discuss these issues and “promote [the] democratic process through dialogue and consultation.”⁴³

The Parliamentary Forum of African, Latin American and Caribbean Countries (AFROLAC) was created in 2019 by **the Latin American and Caribbean Parliament (PARLATINO)**, the Association of Senates, *Shoora* and Equivalent Councils of Africa and the Arab world, and the PAP. This new forum aims at strengthening south-to-south parliamentary dialogue on matters of common interest while facilitating regional development and promoting good governance, the rule of law, and responses to climate change. While it may be too soon to know AFROLAC’s impact on the abolition of the death penalty, it is primed to allow for the discussion.

Among all the types of parliaments (national, sub-national, regional, and international networks), there are occasionally spaces of overlap that are worth recognizing as further venues for advocacy work. National parliaments often have *friendship groups*, in which parliamentarians from two countries or regions

foster privileged relationships. Members of such groups frequently have a better understanding of a country’s situation and meet with high level officials when they visit. As such, they are interesting focal points for advocacy, since they may in turn advocate with parliamentarians from a targeted country.

As a rule, governments are strongly influenced by developments within their region and the policies of neighboring countries. While it can be difficult to map all these friendship groups, a good first step in finding out which countries have fostered friendly relations is to search on the parliament’s website.

Lastly, parliaments may also have *thematic groups* dedicated to using parliamentary diplomacy to promote a specific issue. Hence, it can be useful in some situations to reach out to members of groups such as the British All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Abolition of the Death Penalty or the Australian Parliamentary Group Against the Death Penalty.

⁴⁰ For example, Resolution of 8 October 2015 on the death penalty, 2015/2879(RSP): https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2015-0348_EN.html?redirect

⁴¹ See for example: European Parliament, Statement by DSAS Chair on reintroducing the death penalty in Sri Lanka, 27 June 2019: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/delegations/en/dsas/product/20190627DPU21942>

⁴² For more information on the ACP- EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/acp/10_01/default_en.htm

⁴³ Cotonou Agreement, Article 17.

NGO Research Enriching Parliamentary Debates

Mauritius presents a successful example of MPs making effective use of NGO research and documentation. When the Parliament of Mauritius debated a bill on the abolition of the death penalty in 1995, MPs mentioned and referred to Amnesty International documentation during parliamentary debates (<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/156000/afr010031997en.pdf>).⁴⁴

The National Assembly first adopted the bill on 3 August 1995, but after the President refused to take it forward, the National Assembly rediscussed and readopted it in November of that year. The Abolition of Death Penalty Act was finally published on 14 December 1995.



As a rule, governments are strongly influenced by developments within their region and the policies of neighboring countries. While it can be difficult to map all these friendship groups, a good first step in finding out which countries have fostered friendly relations is to search on the parliament's website.



*Members of European Parliament, 2018
Copyright: European Parliament*

WHY SHOULD PARLIAMENTARIANS BE PART OF AN ADVOCACY PLAN?

For a member of civil society, lobbying or advocating with parliamentarians is a concrete step toward changing policy. The death penalty in many countries is provided for in law, the constitution and/or in a

country's penal code. As such, in retentionist countries, it is up to parliamentarians to address, modify and repeal legislation to pave the way toward abolition.



In abolitionist countries, where the work to eliminate the death penalty has already been achieved, commitment to abolition is not over. In those countries, lawmakers can:

- **shine a light** on the death penalty abroad;
- **call on the government to include the issue** of the abolition of the death penalty in its foreign affairs positions;
- **support ratification of OP2-ICCPR** and other abolitionist international instruments;
- **advocate for the adoption of regional protocols;**
- **encourage allied states** to do the same.



*Honorable Dorcas Sibanda of the National Assembly of Zimbabwe
Copyright: PGA*

Spotlight on Hon. Dorcas Sibanda Member of the National Assembly of Zimbabwe and Member of PGA

“As a member of Parliament, I have always felt it was my duty to use the prerogatives and the platform I had been given to protect and promote the human rights of the Zimbabwean people. Being from the opposition, it can sometimes feel like an uphill battle, but I constantly underline how abolition of the death penalty and what it means—respect for human dignity—should not be a partisan issue. By tabling a motion calling on a moratorium on executions, I bring the attention of my colleagues and of the government to the issue.”

Finally, even in countries that have been abolitionist for years, parliamentarians have a public platform that they can use to rebut arguments and pleas made in favor of reinstating the death penalty.

Conversely, parliamentarians also benefit from working with civil society organizations. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that specialize in the subject matter can provide a wealth of knowledge and can offer valuable connections. By collaborating with civil society, parliamentarians can take advantage of this knowledge without having to spend time researching complex issues with many legal,

social, financial, and political ramifications. By creating connections with NGOs, parliamentarians can save time and boost their credibility. But NGOs serving in this capacity must **provide consistently accurate information**. Working with parliamentarians is an important part of any advocacy plan and can benefit both parties.

ADVOCACY CASE STUDIES

Uganda Abolishes the Mandatory Death Penalty



In August 2019, the Parliament of Uganda adopted a bill that finally abolished the mandatory death penalty. This step was the result of years of mobilization by a handful of parliamentarians who had been advocating against capital punishment in Uganda. The bill, titled Law Revision (Penalties in Criminal Matters) Miscellaneous Amendment, had been

tabled in 2016 by Hon. Alice Alaso and Hon. Fox Odoi, both PGA members, to take stock of the 2005 Supreme Court decision ruling that the mandatory death penalty is a violation of human rights. After three years and fierce debates, the parliament finally adopted this bill. The bill was an important step toward the goal of abolishing the death penalty for all crimes.

Madagascar Takes the Final Step Toward Abolition



Madagascar is a good example of how advocacy work with parliamentarians can achieve the abolition of the death penalty. The law abolishing capital punishment is the result of a bill tabled by a parliamentarian, but it is also the fruit of the

advocacy work carried out by ACAT Madagascar and FIACAT. See the text of the law and the report written by FIACAT⁴⁴

Pakistan Reforms its Mercy Petitions Procedure



The President of Pakistan possesses the constitutional authority to pardon death row defendants by accepting mercy petitions under Article 45 of the Constitution, but in practice, the President always denies such petitions. The Interior Ministry also informally confirmed that the Government of Pakistan has a policy in place to summarily reject all pleas of mercy.⁴⁵

In early 2019, JPP effectively advocated with members of the Ministry of Human Rights and the Ministry of Law and Justice on the need to reform the mercy petitions review procedure to afford prisoners a meaningful opportunity to seek clemency. The Ministry of Human Rights obtained Cabinet approval to reform the mercy petitions procedure. In October 2019, the Ministry of Interior drafted standard operating procedures pertaining to the submission and review of mercy petitions. These procedures streamlined the format for submission of mercy petitions and constituted provincial committees to review those petitions. Additional information can be found here in a report written by FIDH⁴⁷.

Research conducted by the Justice Project Pakistan (JPP) shows that in the first three years after the country lifted its moratorium on executions, the Government of Pakistan executed nearly 513 prisoners. According to the Interior Ministry, the President's office rejected 513 mercy petitions of condemned prisoners over the last five years. 444 of those petitions had been presented [not sure whether my edits are accurate – but otherwise the sentence is not clear] in the first fifteen months after Pakistan resumed executions in December 2014.⁴⁶



For more case studies around the world, consult the Case Studies appendix of the 2014 Parliamentary Resource starting on page 55.

⁴⁴ <http://www.justice.mg/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/L2014-035.pdf> and the report by the FIACAT: https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CCPR/Shared%20Documents/MDG/INT_CCPR_ICO_MDG_24699_F.pdf (both in French)

⁴⁵ Syed Irfan Raza, *President rejects mercy appeal of 17 death penalty convicts*, Dawn (18 December 2014)

⁴⁶ "Pakistan Operating a Blanket Policy of Refusing All Mercy Petitions." *Daily Times*, April 11, 2018.

⁴⁷ Additional information can be found here in a report written by FIDH: <https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/pakistan740angweb-2.pdf>



New Hampshire Representative Renny Cushing, 2019
Copyright : Daniel Stojanovic, Flickr

"I think the most important thing that I helped do and that other victims' survivors helped do is change the political climate so that people can realize that you can be both pro-victim and anti-death penalty. That's really important if we're going to have a thoughtful discussion about public policy in the halls of statehouses as well as the courthouses in this country."⁵⁴

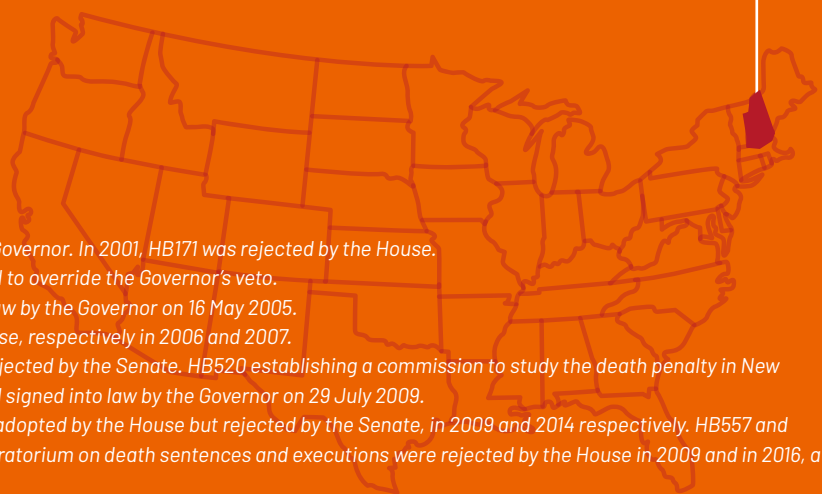
Renny Cushing

New Hampshire Abolishes the Death Penalty: The Importance of Perseverance and Alliances with Victims

The state of New Hampshire in the United States of America abolished the death penalty on 30 May 2019. This success, however, was not achieved easily. Lawmakers had introduced many bills over the years and progress had been difficult. At first, bills aimed at full abolition failed.⁴⁸ In 2005, after another failed attempt,⁴⁹ lawmakers passed a bill to raise the minimum age at which a person could be sentenced to death from 17 to 18 years old.⁵⁰ Lawmakers rejected additional abolition bills in 2006 and 2007.⁵¹ In 2009, on a second attempt, authorities created a commission to study the death penalty.⁵² Subsequent bills aiming at abolition of the death penalty or at a moratorium on death sentences and executions failed.⁵³

It was not until 2018 that the legislature passed a bill abolishing the death penalty. Introduced in February 2018, the Senate introduced Senate Bill (SB) 593, both chambers promptly approved it, but then the Governor vetoed it on 21 June 2018. The Senate failed to reach the two-thirds vote necessary to override the executive's veto. Finally, **Renny Cushing—a member of the House of Representatives, PGA Member**, and relative of a victim of violent crime—introduced a new abolition bill on 3 January 2019. The House and then the Senate approved it, but the Governor vetoed it on 3 May. This time, however, the legislature had enough support for the bill in both houses to override the veto on 30 May 2019.

New Hampshire



⁴⁸ In 2000, HB1548 was adopted but vetoed by the Governor. In 2001, HB171 was rejected by the House.

⁴⁹ In 2004, SB513 was adopted but the Senate failed to override the Governor's veto.

⁵⁰ HB147 relative to the death penalty, signed into law by the Governor on 16 May 2005.

⁵¹ HB1422 and HB607 were both rejected by the House, respectively in 2006 and 2007.

⁵² In 2008, HB1180 was adopted by the House but rejected by the Senate. HB520 establishing a commission to study the death penalty in New Hampshire was adopted by both Houses in 2009 and signed into law by the Governor on 29 July 2009.

⁵³ HB556 and SB1170 aiming at abolition were both adopted by the House but rejected by the Senate, in 2009 and 2014 respectively. HB557 and HB512 which both would effectively implement a moratorium on death sentences and executions were rejected by the House in 2009 and in 2016, a similar bill, SB463, was rejected by the Senate.

⁵⁴ Death Penalty Information Centre, New Hampshire Rep. Renny Cushing on Empowering Crime Survivors and Repealing the Death Penalty, 3 July 2019: <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/news/new-podcast-new-hampshire-rep-renny-cushing-on-empowering-crime-survivors-and-repealing-the-death-penalty>

2



*Organized meeting of the Network of Congolese Parliamentarians Against the Death Penalty with CPJ in 2017
Copyright: CPJ*

How to start working with parliamentarians and how to maintain your working relationship?

This chapter will focus on methods for identifying parliamentarians who are allies to the abolitionist cause and gaining entry points into developing a working relationship with them. It will also provide concrete tips on maintaining a working relationship with parliamentarians and continuing the advocacy work well after the first meeting.

Now that the foundation has been laid as to who parliamentarians are, what their key functions are and why civil society should work with them, we will turn

to methods for planning an approach for civil society to collaborate with them.

HOW TO IDENTIFY PARLIAMENTARIANS TO WORK WITH? HOW TO GET THEIR ATTENTION?

When starting to work with parliamentarians these questions are often the most daunting. How can civil society accurately identify people with whom to work, and how can you get their attention? The following section explores those questions and gives concrete advice.

STEP 1: STRATEGIZE AND CONDUCT A SWOT ANALYSIS

This first step is related to strategy-building that an organization should engage in prior to identifying parliamentary targets. This strategy-building analysis includes concretely identifying a clear and consistent mandate and understanding your organization's

abilities, or SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats). SWOT is a helpful analysis schema (Table 1) that facilitates internal brainstorming and recognition of an organization's advantages and disadvantages. In analyzing what your organization can reasonably undertake, **you can get a better notion of your capacity to engage with different advocacy targets.**

! *This manual assumes that your organization has already completed this preparatory work. As such, it will not go into detail about building a strategic plan.*

Tableau 1 : SWOT analysis

	Helpful [in achieving the objective]	Harmful [to achieving the objective]
Internal in origin	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
External in origin	OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS

In addition to the SWOT analysis, it is important to identify the level of parliamentary advocacy that is most relevant for your situation. For example, if your country is:

- **a retentionist country and your goal is to abolish the death penalty on a national level**, you may focus on national or sub-national parliamentarians and regional abolitionist parliamentarians who can place pressure on the former;

? *You should move on to the next step only after you have identified your capacities to lead advocacy efforts with parliamentarians and you have discussed with similarly situated colleagues or NGOs as to which level of parliamentary lobbying should you focus on.*

- **abolitionist for certain crimes but not all or you want to see your country ratify OP2-ICCPR**, your efforts may focus on national parliamentarians;

- **entirely abolitionist and you want to promote the spread of abolition worldwide**, you may want to focus exclusively on regional parliamentarians or inter-parliamentarian diplomacy.

STEP 2: IDENTIFY WHAT PARLIAMENTARIANS CAN DO

After selecting your parliamentary level of focus, the next important step is to identify what an individual parliamentarian can do. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Section A, not all parliamentarians have the same mandates.

Although, parliamentary prerogatives are, for the most part, similar from one country to another, **it is important to have a clear idea of what concrete actions parliamentarians can be mobilized to take.**

The better you understand the context in which these individuals operate, the better informed you can be on what they can realistically do and how to advocate for them to do it.

First, it is important to research the constitution of the country (or statute or founding treaty for regional organizations), as well as the parliament's or chamber's rules of procedure. For example, it is essential to know whether parliamentarians can introduce draft laws on any topic (that power is often limited to bills that have no budgetary implications), or whether they can vote to ratify an international agreement.

In addition to their legislative function, parliamentarians may also have other prerogatives specified in law. For example, in many countries, parliamentarians can, through their oversight function, visit prisons—including people under sentence of death. It may be harder for civil society organizations to identify these types of potential actions. As such, you may want to **research neighboring countries or countries with a similar constitutional system by reaching out to NGOs working there and identifying other types of actions parliamentarians could take.**

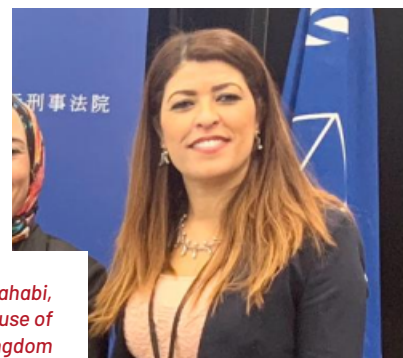
Parliamentary Visits to Detention Facilities

In most countries, parliamentarians can visit detention facilities to exercise their oversight prerogatives. These visits allow them to see for themselves how detainees, especially people on death row, are treated. In doing so, MPs have a role in the prevention of torture and inhuman and degrading treatment. Many MPs do not take advantage of this prerogative and may not even be aware that it exists.

A visit to death row is usually an immensely powerful experience, during which MPs meet individuals on death row and face the reality of the death penalty, which often includes being imprisoned in poor conditions for an undetermined amount of time and living with the daily uncertainty of one's fate.

"I consider visiting detention facilities one of my responsibilities as a member of parliament. It is my duty to ensure that the rights of everyone—even those accused of crimes—are respected. As someone who is already an abolitionist, it is a stark reminder of why it is important to keep advocating against capital punishment. I think it is also very important for my colleagues who support the death penalty to experience this and see with their own eyes what it is they are holding on to."

Honorable Zohour el Wahabi



Honorable Zohour el Wahabi,
member of the House of
Representatives of the Kingdom
of Morocco.
Copyright: PGA

Finally, it is essential to understand **which committees, select or otherwise, will be the most relevant for abolitionist work.** Usually, the committee on legislation, justice, or human rights will be the most obvious target to promote the abolition of the death penalty. However, other committees, such as those that focus on women or security, for example, may also be relevant.

This research step can be somewhat complicated and tedious, especially if the activities of parliament and parliamentarians are not reported in a public, timely and accessible manner (for example, through an up-to-date website). **Nevertheless, being able to give MPs clear and concrete examples of actions they can take to further the abolitionist movement is key to mobilizing MPs to take such steps.** In addition, MPs themselves may not be aware of some of the prerogatives they hold or actions they can take, especially in fragile democracies or non-democratic systems, where MPs may not have had much occasion to exercise initiative or oversight.

STEP 3: IDENTIFY ALLIES AND THEIR NETWORKS

Once you have determined what prerogatives parliamentarians hold and what type of actions you would like to encourage them to take, it is important to identify the individual parliamentarians who best align with your objectives and whom you should contact first or focus on. For example, if you have identified a specific MP as an ally for abolition but they are unavailable for a meeting, perhaps you can meet with their staff or advisors instead. You can also reach out to other members from the same political party. **Mapping out these individuals may seem like a lot of work in the beginning, but it will help articulate a more direct approach.**⁵⁵

You can usually carry out this process of *political mapping* via desk research, although you may also want to enquire informally with individuals who already work with parliamentarians to get their impressions and feedback.

To create a political map, it is helpful to first lay out which qualities or criteria are relevant to guide you in identifying which members of parliament you wish to approach. These criteria will differ depending on the context. In some places, knowing the religion of an MP

⁵⁵ In countries where a majority of MPs fall in the categories of either "opponents" or "potential allies," it may be necessary in certain instances to spend resources on trying to get them to change position. This is a strategic decision that every organization must make depending on their capacities and resources. "Opponents" in some cases may be personally opposed and others may be towing the party line. As such, there may be flexibility in advocating with MPs who are otherwise "not allies."

can indicate whether they are more likely to be abolitionist; in other contexts, it can be useful to know an MP's region and constituency. The relevant information necessarily depends on a country's or region's specific political and societal system. For example, in some countries, parliamentarians are compelled to follow party lines, which makes

approaching party leaders more important, while in others, it can be useful to find a parliamentarian of a specific region to support abolition. Table 2 provides an example of a political mapping tool.

Table 2. Political Mapping Example

	Description
Political party and party responsibilities	Knowing which political party an MP belongs to helps you gauge what default position they might hold on the death penalty and related issues, as well as how much influence they can have within the legislative or executive branch. A majority MP may be able to shape government policy with more ease. On the other hand, an MP leader of the opposition may have an important voice in public debate.
Committee/ caucus membership and responsibilities	It is useful to research MPs' committees and caucuses. This research might help identify what interests they have and how to tailor your advocacy to them, but it also indicates what concrete actions they might be able to take. For example, the legislation, justice, or human rights committee will be responsible for discussing revisions to criminal law, and thus will be more relevant to death penalty advocacy. To cross-reference, you can also check which committees' mandates are most relevant to the death penalty and see which MPs are members of those committees.
Constituency	Depending on the context, it can also be useful to know in which constituency an MP has been elected in order to get a reading on their own beliefs or on their political influence. For example, some regions might be more conservative than others, and advocacy by and with their MPs can be crucial.
Education/career	It can be useful to understand the background of an MP outside of their political career both to gauge what their position might be and also to determine how to advocate with them. For example, a human rights lawyer will most likely be inclined to promote abolition of the death penalty, while an MP who has a medical background might be more interested in working on better conditions of detention. Please also take note of whether an MP has had other types of responsibilities, such as sitting on the board of an NGO.
Legislative track record	It is crucial to look into an MP's track record in Parliament to get an idea of whether they could be allies. Do they have a good attendance record in Parliament? Do they often ask parliamentary questions? Have they authored or sponsored legislation in the past? An MP that is already active is more likely to be a strong advocate than one that might be more restrained.
Public statements or positions on human rights, the death penalty, or justice issues	Of course, if an MP has already made public statements in favour of abolition or on other human rights issues, you should include them in the mapping, as such statements indicate either their personal beliefs or at least that they might be inclined to work with civil society organisations.



Case Study Political Mapping in Indonesia: An Essential Step to Identify Your Allies & Targets

WCADP's member from Indonesia, KontraS (Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence) works with parliamentarians to promote and protect human rights in the country. The sheer size of the Indonesian Parliament (575 seats in the House of Representatives and 136 seats in the Senate) makes it highly unpractical for any civil society group to try to engage with all MPs in a meaningful way. This fact makes identifying a few key MPs who might be influential and/or committed to human rights all the more essential.


After legislative elections, KontraS undertook background research into the newly elected MPs. For abolitionist work, KontraS focused on Commission III, which deals with bills related to justice and human rights. They conducted a political mapping of 53 members of the Commission, focusing on their party affiliation, career, memberships in organizations and legislative track record.

"The Indonesian Parliament is quite big and as an NGO we do not have the capacity to contact every elected member, much less to maintain that relation in the long-term. That is why it is essential for us to make a detailed political mapping—so [that] we can identify where or with whom our advocacy efforts will be best spent."

Fatia Maulidivanti, Executive Coordinator of KontraS

This information will help you determine whether an MP is already or is likely to be opposed to the death penalty (i.e. an "ally") or someone who is a staunch supporter of it (i.e. an "opponent"). It is probable that many MPs will appear to be undecided and that they have not taken any position yet. **The objective of political mapping is not only to know who the abolitionists are already, but also to understand who might be convinced, be willing to engage, or can yield influence.**

In many cases, it might be useful to engage and meet several parliamentarians at once, such as, members of a committee or of a political group. These meetings can help broaden your advocacy goals to include a long-term campaign of winning widespread support amongst other MPs. But even so, the political mapping then helps you understand your audience: who will take the lead, who might be likely to take the floor and speak out against the majority, who might silently agree with you, etc. Needless to say, meeting with a group of MPs in person will, in itself, feed the political mapping tool and inform future decisions. An MP that was previously identified as influential might turn out not to be, or an ally might reveal themselves to be quite inactive and timid.



Case Study: Mapping Senators in the Philippines to prevent the reinstatement of the death penalty in 2017

On March 1, 2017, the Philippine House of Representatives approved the second reading of Capital Punishment Bill 4727 to reintroduce the death penalty for crimes related to the importation, trafficking, manufacture, sale, and distribution of drugs.

Before the bill became law, a third and final review was to take place in the Senate. Civil society organizations opposed to the reinstatement of the death penalty therefore focused their efforts on this chamber, mapping the 24 male and female Senators in the Philippines in terms of their known positions on the death penalty and the issues in their constituencies. This mapping allowed civil society to narrow the focus of their advocacy and to prioritize the 8-9 Senators whose position was unclear, while giving arguments to those who were opposed to the bill. As a result of this effective mobilization, the bill remained a dead letter and the death penalty was not reinstated in the Philippines in 2017.

STEP 4: UNDERSTAND THE MP TIMELINE

Before reaching out to the parliamentarians you have identified as potential advocacy partners, **it is important to understand your and the parliamentarian's own calendars.** There are numerous circumstances in which a parliamentarian may not be available, including daily and weekly factors that can heavily influence an MP's schedule. For instance, if parliament is not in session, it is likely that most parliamentarians will not be available in the country's capital to meet with you. Or if parliament is in the midst of budgetary debates, parliamentarians will most likely find it difficult to make themselves available. Additionally, sometimes there is a specific timetable for legislation; when is a piece of strategic legislation open for debate or when can parliamentarians submit amendments as part of the approval process? Harmonizing your calendar with the parliamentary calendar is imperative.

In that regard, it is also crucial to pay attention to the electoral calendar. For some issues, it can be useful to encourage MPs to take a stand during their campaign. In other cases, you may want to wait until the newly elected MPs take their seats, because MPs

focused on an upcoming election may be unwilling to take a firm stance on a potentially divisive issue.



The way you adapt your advocacy to the parliamentary "timeline" will necessarily depend on a number of circumstances specific to the country you are focused on.

Even if you have already started working with parliamentarians, it is essential to remain aware of their calendar. If you are advocating for the adoption of a bill, it is important to know when the relevant committee will be meeting and what the committee already has on its agenda. If you are advocating at the regional level, it is essential to know when that parliament is in session and whether there might be relevant upcoming events. If you are encouraging MPs to exercise oversight over the government's actions, it can be useful to know when ministers plan to appear before parliament. These examples are a mere starting point to get you thinking about things you need to take into account.

STEP 5: IDENTIFY YOUR ENTRY POINTS.

When you know whom to contact, what you are asking for, and their calendar, you will need to determine how to reach out and contact these individuals. Your approach is heavily dependent on your organization's abilities and the specific circumstances of your country or region. Different locations have different means for advocacy and certain individuals are more available than others.



At a less formal level, MPs can introduce NGOs to other MPs to assist NGOs in building up contacts and influence. This strategy is sometimes described as a cascade effect.



In some cases, you might want to contact several MPs at once and make your organization known. In such instances, it can be useful to:

- **Broadcast your message widely**
via radio, television, newspapers, or social media;
- **Attend conferences and events where MPs are present**
and use that opportunity to present yourself and your organization and/or make a statement; and
- **Attend rallies organized by parliamentarians or political parties**
and use that opportunity to call their attention to the topic.

It can also be useful to reach out to MPs on an individual basis. To do so, you can:

- **Reach out to them via social media**
if they seem to actively use one or more platforms;
- **Visit their constituency office**
during the timeslots reserved for unscheduled visits;
- **Schedule a formal meeting**
(via email or phone).



Case Study Getting Your Foot in the Door: Organizing a Multi- Stakeholder Meeting to Kickstart a Relationship with Parliamentarians in Chad

To develop a relationship with the National Assembly of Chad, WCADP's member FIACAT and ACAT-Chad organized a workshop for decision-makers in May 2016. This event, gathering religious and traditional leaders, members of the relevant ministries, journalists, lawyers, judges, academics, civil society representatives, and parliamentarians, allowed ACAT-Chad to develop a close relationship with the two MPs in attendance.⁵⁶ Later, these two parliamentarians introduced NGOs to members of the National Assembly's Policy and Laws Commission.

Since the two parliamentarians supported FIACAT and ACAT-Chad, with whom the NGOs had maintained good relations, the Commission and its chairperson gave the NGOs a warm reception. Following constructive discussions, the Commission supported the abolition of the death penalty when the subject was raised in parliament. In April 2020, the National Assembly effectively voted to repeal the anti-terrorism law that authorizes imposition of the death penalty. Chad thus became the 22nd abolitionist African country.



Working meeting of FIACAT and ACAT Chad with the Law Commission of the National Assembly for the revision of the Chadian penal code in 2016.

Copyright: FIACAT



National Assembly of Chad, taken during advocacy work with the FIACAT and ACAT Chad in 2016.

Copyright: FIACAT

⁵⁶ <https://www.fiacat.org/publications/guides/2497-peine-de-mort-au-tchad-sensibiliser-pour-l-abolition>

HOW TO ADVOCATE FOR YOUR CAUSE ONCE YOU HAVE AN MP'S ATTENTION?

Your next steps will depend on how you have attracted the MP's attention and the context of your initial communication. Meeting during a coffee break at a conference is different from having a private meeting at the MP's office. **Regardless of the context, there is some important preparatory work to do to get the MP's attention and to better prepare your advocacy strategy. You need to not only grab their attention but also keep them interested and mobilized enough to undertake the action you advocate (e.g., introducing draft law).**

To do so, you will need to organize your advocacy points ahead of meeting the MP. This step includes determining which arguments are likely to be impactful, identifying the short-term goals you are pursuing, and then using those arguments and goals to design a variety of advocacy tools.

ADAPTING YOUR ARGUMENTS TO THE MP

To be impactful, your arguments should be clear, concise, and tailored to the MP you are meeting. Many legislators may have their own opinion on the death penalty—only a few may not have a well-formed opinion at all! You should identify a wide range of potential arguments. If you can identify why a particular parliamentarian may be interested in seeing the country commit to abolition, you can tailor your arguments to persuade them when discussing the need to end capital punishment.



A few examples of the reasons you might suggest to an MP are:⁵⁷

- 1. A desire to change or break from a repressive past**, a period of armed conflict, a military takeover or the country's colonial heritage;
- 2. A personal experience with being sentenced to death** or having a loved one sentenced to death;
- 3. Personal opinions** on the role of the State;
- 4. Recognition that the death penalty is applied disproportionately to minorities** and to people living in poverty, and that it is often used as a political instrument;
- 5. Improved understanding of the fallibility of the criminal justice system** and interest in criminal justice reform;
- 6. Interest in the financial costs** related to the death penalty;
- 7. Interest in the global human rights trend toward abolition** and influence of normative pressure from the international community; and
- 8. Public opinion.** Politicians by necessity are highly attuned to public opinion.

⁵⁷ WCADP, *Parliamentarian Resource*, pg 8

The need to adapt your arguments is why Step 3 of your strategic analysis—specifically the political mapping—is crucial. The background information you collect about each MP will help you identify which arguments may resonate the most with them. For example, if the MP you are meeting is a lawyer, it might be useful to emphasize the legal arguments and the many fair trial issues arising in capital cases. If the MP is of a specific religious background, religious arguments may be important. The information gathered in the political mapping can also help you prepare counter-arguments. For instance, if you know that an MP is likely to claim that victims' families support the death penalty, you can prepare examples to the contrary.

If you are meeting several MPs at a time, you might have to be less specific with your arguments so as not to alienate some of your interlocutors. To that end, it can be useful to get an idea of the dynamics among them to know whether one or several of them may be able to convince the others, and thus if you should focus your arguments on those influencers.

As always, choosing which arguments to use is a delicate exercise that depends entirely on the context of the country or region where you work, the individual MPs you are approaching, the political climate, the timing of your advocacy, and other similar factors.

BEING PREPARED TO SUGGEST CONCRETE ACTIONS

Parliamentarians are usually very apt at politics and some may avoid taking a stand by making abstract arguments or by engaging in tokenism.⁵⁸ On the other hand, some MPs will be busy and steer the conversation towards concrete obstacles and actions.

⁵⁸ Politicians, if they are not in agreement with something but recognize that there is pressure for change, could find ways of being seen to do something without any real change happening. A typical example is a committee of inquiry or a working group which meets for a few years, but with the hope that the issue will go away on its own accord. In this case, a committee of inquiry can do valuable work in marshalling arguments and forming legislative proposals but it should be ensured that its work is firmly locked into the legislative process; that publicity campaigns take place alongside its work and there is commitment to a serious government response to its findings.



Looking for More Arguments & Counter-Arguments?

The 2014 WCADP Parliamentarians and the Abolition of the Death Penalty Resource contains many useful and relevant arguments and examples on pages 13–23.

Therefore, it is crucial that your advocacy be specific and concrete about what you want your next steps to be.

Hence, it is useful to bring the focus of your advocacy to a concrete action plan that parliamentarians could take, such as:

- Asking a parliamentary question to the relevant minister—for example, asking about ordering an official moratorium on executions or requesting official data on executions or on death row inmates;
- Introducing draft legislation to reduce the scope of the death penalty or to abolish it altogether;
- Using parliamentary questions or legislative powers to ask about or decide on ICCPR-OP2 adoption and ratification; and
- Supporting your actions by speaking at an event, on the floor of Parliament, on social media, with their constituencies, or by writing op-eds.

What actions you want to include will depend on your objectives and whether the MP(s) with whom you are meeting are influential or more restrained in using the power they yield. The information gathered during Step 2 of your strategic analysis will be particularly useful in understanding what abilities your MPs have and the legal basis for these prerogatives.

PREPARING YOUR ADVOCACY TOOLBOX

You can use the arguments and action-driven points you have identified to prepare the tools you will use, depending on the type of interaction you will have with the MP.

Oral tools:

Your most powerful advocacy tool is often yourself!

Although documents are useful, it is likely that parliamentarians will not pay much attention to them if you do not grab MPs' attention and raise their interest first.

1 Deliver a 3-minute elevator pitch

If you are going to have limited time to grab the MP's attention (e.g., catching them during a conference), prepare a short pitch covering your main arguments and opening the door to further meetings. This "elevator pitch" can also be useful as a preliminary introduction to a longer, formal meeting and can help lay the foundation for a lengthier discussion. Your pitch should cover the following points:

- 1. Who am I** and what does my organization do?
- 2. Why am I approaching this MP?** Why do I think our work might interest them?
For example, if they sit on the human rights committee or if they have made a public statement, mention that fact and how that relates to your work on the abolition of the death penalty.
- 3. What do my organization and I expect from the MP,** and what can we offer them in return? Are we offering to provide technical or legal support for their efforts?
- 4. Would we like to introduce them to experts** or relevant stakeholders?
- 5. Are we inviting them to an event?**
- 6. When are they available for a more formal and comprehensive discussion?**



Do not forget to open the door to further collaboration. Give them your business card and ask for theirs. Offer to contact them again to schedule a meeting where you can discuss the matter further.

2 Prepare for a detailed discussion

If you have a meeting with a parliamentarian, **the broad steps of an elevator pitch are still applicable, but you will have more time to go into details and more meaningfully discuss the issue.** However, this additional time also means that, if they are not already in favor of abolition, they will have the opportunity to either argue for the death penalty or divert the conversation. Therefore, it is particularly important that you adapt your arguments to the MP you are meeting, **prepare counterarguments** and have readily available facts and figures (for example, the number of abolitionist countries, recent countries that have abolished or any facts specific to your situation).

It is also crucial to bring the conversation back to concrete actions that parliamentarians can take and what the next steps could be. If an MP mentions that they already believe in the abolitionist movement but they are in the minority so nothing can be done, you can emphasize that they can introduce parliamentary questions about the issue or visit prisons and raise awareness about conditions on death row. If, on the other hand, they are proponents of the death penalty, suggest introducing them to experts or relevant stakeholders, such as victims' families, to encourage them to reconsider their stance.

Additional Written Advocacy Tools for Parliamentarians the World Coalition and PGA

The World Coalition, PGA and other Coalition members have numerous existing materials and resources that you and your organization can use in your advocacy with parliamentarians. You can find them in Annex 1 of this guide on page 39. Don't hesitate to reach out to the WCADP to find out more about these documents!

Written Materials: To complement the oral tools you develop, create concise written tools to help visually demonstrate what you are saying and to be a reminder of the content of the discussion once you have left the meeting. These written tools can help consistently mobilize MPs after the meeting.

These materials should be as targeted as possible to your audience and should include relevant information (e.g., the topic, data, certain messaging you wish to convey), and should consider country context (e.g., how the death penalty may play into concerns regarding drug-related offenses or terrorism-related offenses).

Depending on your organization's capacity, it can be difficult to produce specifically targeted materials, with the most appropriate arguments, in the right language. Drafting and producing these documents is an exercise in finding the right balance between being general enough to remain relevant to most of your advocacy work while being specific enough to effectively target the MPs you will meet. A crucial element, however, of many written tools distributed to parliamentarians is that they are concise and short. Here is a list of suggested written materials for working with parliamentarians:

- **A 1-page Policy Brief** on a thematic issue that provides brief background on the issue and includes analysis backed up by facts and data on why a particular policy recommendation will help resolve the issue at hand. For more information, please see Annex 3 on how to prepare a policy brief.

- **A longer Policy Brief** for those parliamentarians who wish to gain greater technical insight and background into the issue at hand. A 2-3 page brief can delineate the context and scope of the problem and can provide a critique of the current approach. It can also offer effective policy alternatives and recommendations.

- **PowerPoint Presentations** can be an effective tool to use while briefing parliamentarians on any thematic issue. Presentations should follow a clear structure, first establishing a brief background, setting out the need for the proposed policy reforms and any relevant international law standards, and then delineating the main features of the proposed reforms. Presentations should be a maximum of 10 slides, should contain headings clearly demarcating each section, and should introduce brief concepts via bullet points. Avoid lengthy paragraphs and too much text. Where possible, include infographics and visual representations.



Using a Mix of General & Targeted Materials

When advocating with parliamentarians, it can be useful to use a mix of documents specifically designed for this purpose—to grab the attention of MPs on the issue of capital punishment—supplemented by already-existing materials that were created for broader advocacy.

Specifically designed materials have the benefit of addressing the concerns, arguments, and particular contexts in which MPs work, making the materials more relevant for MPs and encouraging them to read and use the documents. In addition, these materials signal to the MP that your organization is treating advocacy with MPs as an important branch of its strategy, and that you value the MP's role and position. Such documents could be a short policy brief or a longer-form report.

However, it is also useful to share other types of materials with MPs. These materials could be a country-specific report, a publication with a more regional scope, or press releases your organization has drafted. If your organization lacks the time or the means to prepare documents specifically to advocate with MPs, you can rely on wider publications (e.g., a country page of an international NGO's annual report, a global report on the death penalty or UN documents) and demonstrate their relevance to your parliamentary audience.

The key lies in making the most out of the resources at your disposal and in finding a balance between providing materials and supporting documents to your interlocutors in parliament without overwhelming them. They should be able to easily grasp why the document is relevant to the death penalty debate and to their role as legislators – whether that relevance is clear from the text itself or from your explanation.

NURTURE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MPS.

Advocacy with parliamentarians is a long-term process and requires sustained efforts, often lasting years. Making the first contact and grabbing the attention of MPs is a difficult first step, but you will most likely need to nurture your relationship with them and do extensive follow-up to achieve results. This follow-up includes recognizing avoidance tactics by MPs and finding ways to counteract those tactics.

Follow-up actions may vary widely depending on the context of the country, MPs' level of commitment, and

your organization's resources. For example, those actions might entail:

- **Keeping MPs informed about your actions and about key developments regarding capital punishment** by, for example, sharing with them relevant news articles or newsletters;
- **Creating and managing a formal or informal coalition of MPs** and civil society representatives to coordinate their actions, for example, via a secure social messaging application;
- **Sharing your expertise with MPs on specific points of legislation** by, for example, giving your input on

existing drafts, preparing bills or amendments for them to consider and submit, or asking to be heard during a committee hearing;

- **Developing a set of potential** questions that parliamentarians may be able to raise during hearings or debates regarding the death penalty. Questions raised in parliament can also receive a high level of publicity and news coverage, helping raise public awareness;

- **Including the parliamentary perspective in the agenda of your activities and inviting MPs** to attend;

- **Organizing awareness-raising and capacity-building events for MPs**, such as roundtables or

workshops on the death penalty or on international law obligations. These events may also target individuals from the judicial branch or prison administration officials in order to create a synergy among actors working for the abolition of the death penalty;

- **Using contacts with other NGOs** to build networks of MPs from neighboring countries in the region; and

- **Organizing parliamentary visits** to relevant countries or international institutions.



*Organized meeting of the Network of Congolese Parliamentarians Against the Death Penalty with CPJ in 2017
Copyright: CPJ*

The way you choose to sustain your advocacy with MPs will depend on the concrete actions you would like them to take. For example, if you are mobilizing them toward the adoption of a piece of legislation, your technical and legal assistance will be useful. However, if you are advocating for them to support the ratification of a treaty, it might be useful for them to visit relevant international organizations or attend awareness-raising workshops to better explain the treaty and its consequences for the country.

In any case, parliamentary advocacy will require you to be flexible and to adapt to current political developments, the electoral calendar, and many other factors.



Case Study A Successful Long- Term Collaboration Between NGOs & Parliamentarians: The Network of Congolese Parliamentarians Against the Death Penalty

WCADP's member from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Culture pour la paix et la justice (Culture for Peace and Justice or CPJ), has been working closely with parliamentarians in the country since 2003, advocating for the abolition of the death penalty and improved conditions of detention on death row. By engaging in continued outreach and developing personal relationships, CPJ contributed to the removal of all mention to capital punishment in the DRC's 2006 Constitution.

CPJ also encouraged MPs to create a Network of Congolese Parliamentarians Against the Death Penalty, which gathers abolitionist MPs in both houses of the Congolese Parliament. Meeting regularly, they discuss the best strategy to move the abolitionist cause forward in the DRC. CPJ and other NGOs work closely with the network, and the exchange of different views feeds the strategy of both parliament and civil society. CPJ's support to the network allows it to have a bigger impact in parliament, while MPs' participation in CPJ's activities grants them more visibility, as authorities feel compelled to attend.

It is, however, hard work, and CPJ has faced setbacks. For example, in 2010 MPs rejected an abolition bill despite advocacy efforts deployed through seminars, workshops and media publications. **CPJ's example shows how important it is to envisage parliamentary advocacy in the long term and to keep the momentum going!**

3



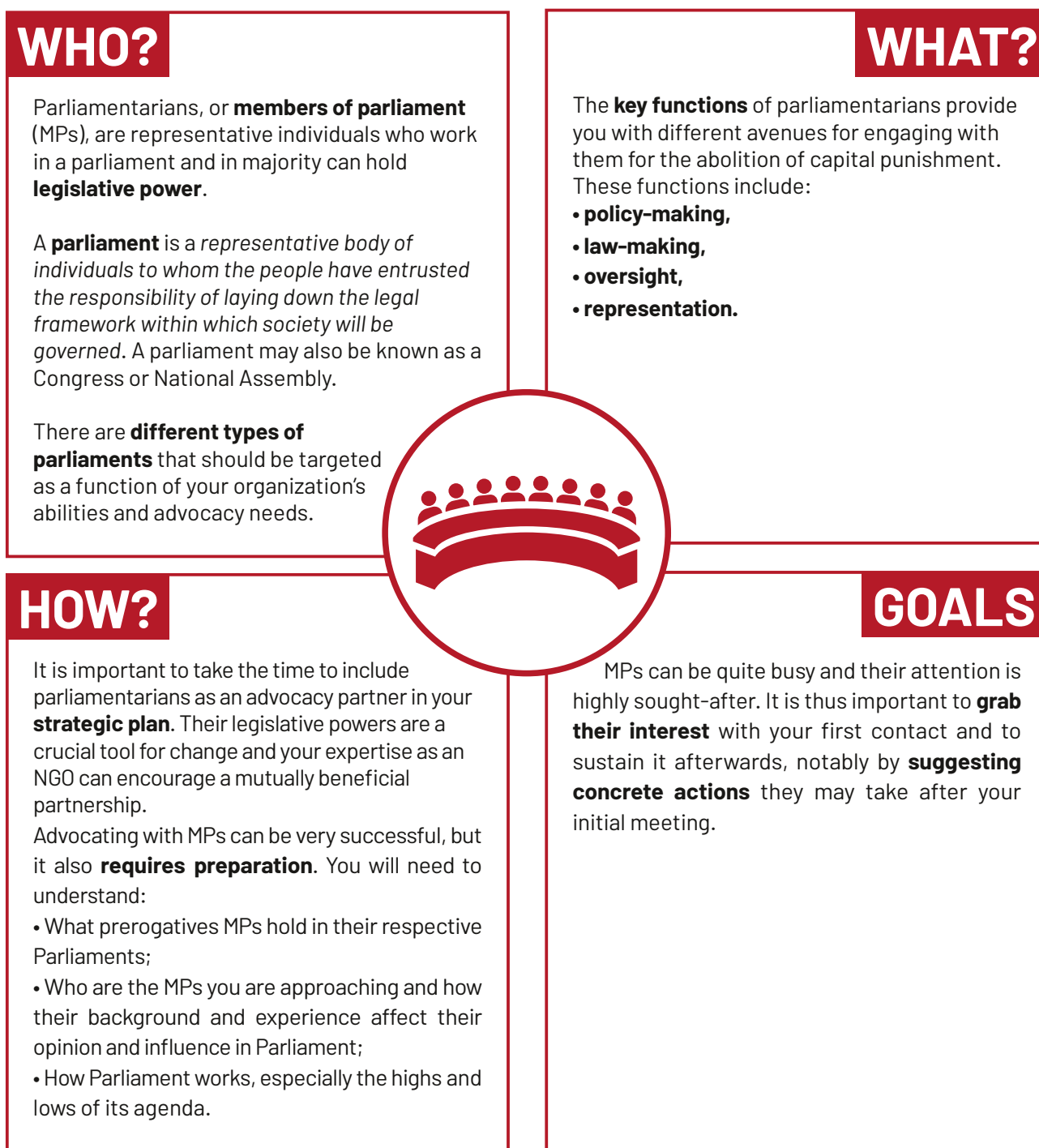
Conclusion

As this training guide demonstrates, there are considerable opportunities for civil society organizations to advocate with parliamentarians for abolition of the death penalty.

Around the world, parliamentarians hold varying degrees of legislative power, and they can play a vital role in enacting important change in a given jurisdiction. As such, parliamentarians and parliamentary targets have crucial roles to play in the protection of human rights and in the abolition of capital punishment. While advocating with parliamentarians may seem daunting, breaking the work down into manageable steps enables you to tailor your approach to your capacities.

As the global trend of abolition continues to grow, civil society must continue to be active in demanding that legislative leaders support abolition of an inhumane punishment. We hope your organization has found this guide clear and useful, and we hope it will help your organization in its future collaboration with parliamentarians in your country and perhaps even around the world.

Table 3. Summary of the guide's main points



! *Preparing and practicing **your oral and written advocacy skills** ahead of your meeting with parliamentarians is fundamental. Your oral skills will catch their attention while written documentation will allow for further exploration of the issues at hand.*

4

Annexes

Annex 1: Useful Resources

Addressing the Gender Dimension of the Death Penalty: Coation between Parliamentarians and Civil Society

<https://worldcoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Parliamentarians-Tool-WD2021.pdf>

Parliamentarians and the abolition of the death penalty – a Resource

<http://worldcoalition.org/document/parliamentarians-and-the-abolition-of-the-death-penalty-a-resource/>

Parliamentary Factsheet on death penalty and poverty

https://www.pgaction.org/pdf/campaigns/WD2017_ParliamentariansFactsheet-EN.pdf

Parliamentary factsheet on the death penalty and terrorism-related offences

<https://www.pgaction.org/pdf/campaigns/death-penalty-for-terrorism.pdf>

Parliamentary factsheet on the death penalty and the right to effective legal representation

Parliamentary factsheet on the rights of children who have a parent sentenced to death

<http://worldcoalition.org/document/briefing-tools-for-practitioners-legislators/>

General information on the OP2 campaign.

<http://worldcoalition.org/document/flyer-for-the-un-protocol-ratification-campaign/>

General information on the AU draft protocol.

<http://worldcoalition.org/document/leaflet-on-the-protocol-to-the-african-charter-on-human-and-peoples-rights-on-the-abolition-of-the-death-penalty/>

Annex 2: A World of Parliaments: Where to Look?

1. The Interparliamentary Union: The Interparliamentary Union (IPU, for more information about the IPU, see p.14) hosts a database that allows you to do some basic research on national parliaments and how and when they are elected. It also provides some basic contact points for each parliament. The information provided cannot replace more thorough research, especially on individual MPs, but it can prove useful as a first entry point: <https://data.ipu.org/>

2. Regional parliaments: In addition to the regional parliaments cited in Section I, (see p.11) there are many other supranational/regional parliaments. Not all of them will be relevant to advocacy for your country or on the issue of abolition but you may wish to conduct research to ascertain whether some of these bodies could be potential targets for your advocacy.

AFRICA

- African Parliamentary Union (APU), (For more information about the APU, see p. 14).
- East African Legislative Assembly (EALA),(For more information about the EALA, see p. 13) the parliamentary body of the East African Community (EAC): <https://www.eala.org/>
- Inter-Parliamentary Committee of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (IPC-UEMOA): <http://www.uemoa.int/en/taxonomy/term/4>
- Pan African Parliament (PAP, for more information see p.12) the parliamentary body of the African Union (AU): <http://www.panafricanparliament.org/>
- Parliament of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS Parliament, for more information see p.14): <https://www.parl.ecowas.int/>
- Parliament of the Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States (CEMAC Parliament): <http://www.parlement-cemac.org/>
- South African Development Community Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF, for more information see p.13)

AMERICAS

- Andean Parliament, the parliamentary body of the Andean Community: <https://parlamentoandino.org/>
- Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians (ACCP), the parliamentary body of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM): <https://uia.org/s/or/en/1100066303>
- Central American Parliament (PARLACEN), the parliamentary body of the Central American Integration System (SICA): <https://parlacen.int/inicio>
- Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO), for more information about the Parliamentary Forum of African, Latin American and Caribbean Countries (AFROLAC) created by the PARLATINO, see p.16: <https://parlatino.org/>
- Mercosur Parliament (PARLASUR), the parliamentary body of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR): <https://www.parlamentomercosur.org/>

ASIA

- ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA): <https://aipasecretariat.org/>
- Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA): <http://www.asianparliament.org/>

EUROPE

- Baltic Assembly: <https://www.baltasam.org/en>
- Benelux Parliament: <https://www.beneluxparl.eu/fr/>
- British Irish Parliamentary Assembly: <http://www.britishirish.org/>
- European Parliament (EP, for more information about the EP and the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly (ACP-EU JPA), see p.15), the parliamentary body of the European Union (EU): <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/en>
- Interparliamentary Assembly of the Eurasian Economic Community (IPA EURASEC)
- Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (IPA CIS): <https://iacis.ru/iacis-eng>
- Nordic Council, the parliamentary body of the Nordic Cooperation: <https://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Central European Initiative (CEIPA): <https://www.cei.int/parliamentary-dimension>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE): <https://www.cei.int/parliamentary-dimension>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE PA): <https://www.oscepa.org/en/>
- West Nordic Council: <https://www.vestnordisk.is/om-vestnordisk-rad/>


CROSS-CONTINENTAL PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLIES

- Arab Parliament, the parliamentary body of the League of Arab States (LAS): <http://www.leagueofarabstates.net/ar/arabparliament/Pages/default.aspx>
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA, for more information about the CPA, see p.15): <https://www.cpahq.org/>
- Parliamentary Assembly of French-speaking countries (PAF, for more information about the PAF, see p.15): <http://apf.francophonie.org/>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean (PAM): <https://www.pam.int/>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO PA): <https://www.nato-pa.int/>
- Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking countries (TURKPA): <https://turk-pa.org/>
- Parliamentary Union of the Member States of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (PUIC): <http://en.puic.org/>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Union for the Mediterranean (PAUFM): <https://paufm.org/>

3. Other parliamentary assemblies and fora: Beside parliaments and parliamentary assemblies, you might want to engage with networks or civil society organizations working with or led by parliamentarians. These might be global, such as PGA, while others might be region-specific, such as ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR), country-specific, or theme-specific (such as the International Panel of Parliamentarians for Freedom of Religion or Belief- IPPFoRB). For more information on the International Panel of Parliamentarians for Freedom of Religion or Belief visit their website: <https://www.ippforb.com/>.

Your organization may also want to check whether the parliaments of foreign countries that are influential in your own countries have a friendship group or a relevant thematic parliamentary group with which you may be able to engage.

Annex 3 : Template for a Policy Brief

<p>Policy TITLE OF BRIEF</p> <p>Executive Summary This section summarizes the contents of the policy brief and convinces the reader that it is worth further investigation. It is especially important for an audience that may often be short on time. An executive summary should not exceed two paragraphs and should answer the following questions succinctly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is the problem that the policy brief will address?• Why must the current approach be changed?• What are your recommendations for action? <p>Context & Scope of the Problem This element of a policy analysis should convince the target audience that an urgent problem exists that requires attention and action. The context of the problem and its importance is the primary building block for subsequent sections of the brief. It is imperative that this section present a clear and succinct problem definition, which includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A problem statement: What is the problem? Who does it affect? What is the scale and scope of the problem?	<p></p> <p>Policy Recommendations: <i>This section summarises concrete and actionable steps that are recommended for addressing the policy issue.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• IDENTIFY...• ENSURE...• ENACT...• NEGOTIATE...
--	--

- **Contributing factors:** What are the root causes of the problem? Are there factors that exacerbate or improve the problem?
- **Policy implications:** Why must we address this problem? Why must the problem be addressed now?

Critique of the Current Approach

In this section of a policy analysis brief, policy analysts should detail the shortcomings of the current approach, if any, and illustrate the need for change and where that change needs to occur. To ensure credibility, it is important to recognize a variety of opinions in the debate of the issue. It may be helpful to consider the following guiding questions:

- What is the current approach to the problem?
- Why is the current approach failing? Who is it failing? How is it failing?
- What would happen if we did not change the current approach?

Policy Alternatives

Proposed policy alternatives or other options to address the problem should be presented. It should be fair, accurate and driven by evidence and data, as well as by the problem definition. This section strives to convince readers that the policy action proposed in the brief is the most desirable.

Consider the following:

- Do the root causes of the problem present potential entry points for resolving or mitigating the issue?
- What are some of the generic policies that can be adopted to remedy the problem?
- Which criteria are most important to us in resolving the problem? What values are being used to evaluate policy outcomes? What are we trying to achieve?

Policy Recommendations

This section contains detailed explanations of concrete and actionable steps that are recommended for addressing the policy issue. In developing this element of a policy analysis, it is worth considering:

- What are policymakers and decision makers being asked to do, specifically? What goals would you like them to achieve?
- Are your policy recommendations specific, measurable, achievable, and relevant? What is the timeline for their implementation?

This section may also include a closing paragraph to emphasize the importance of taking action and urging the audience to take your recommendations.

Appendices

If necessary and relevant, an appendix may be included to provide further support, data, or evidence.

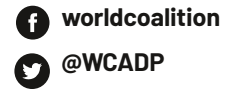
References

While policy analysis briefs are not academic in nature, it is important to include sources for data or information used. This is important for transparency and credibility but is also an opportunity to lead the audience to further reading on the issue.

*Credit for this template goes to **Justice Project Pakistan** (<http://jpp.org.pk>), member of the World Coalition Against the Death Penalty. Justice Project Pakistan is a non-profit organization based in Lahore that represents the most vulnerable Pakistani prisoners facing the harshest punishments, at home and abroad. JPP investigates, litigates, educates, and advocates on their behalf. In recognition of their work, in December 2016, JPP was awarded with the National Human Rights Award, presented by the President of Pakistan.*



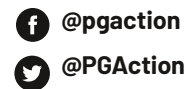
www.worldcoalition.org
World Coalition Against the Death Penalty
Mundo M
47 avenue Pasteur, 93100 Montreuil, France
Tél : +33 1 80 87 70 43
contact@worldcoalition.org



The World Coalition Against the Death Penalty is an alliance of more than 150 NGOs, bar associations, local authorities, and unions. The aim of the World Coalition is to strengthen the international dimension of the fight against the death penalty. Its ultimate objective is to obtain the universal abolition of the death penalty. The World Coalition allows for a global dimension to the sometimes isolated action taken by its members on the ground. It complements their initiatives while constantly respecting their independence.



www.pgaction.org
Parliamentarians for Global Action
246 5th Ave, Suite 411,
New York, NY 10001 USA
info@pgaction.org



Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) a non-profit, non-partisan international network of over 1,200 legislators in approximately 136 elected parliaments around the globe, aims to promote peace, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, gender equality, and human security by informing, convening and mobilizing parliamentarians to realize these goals.

PGA would like to reaffirm its commitment to the abolition of the death penalty to ensure that the right to life is upheld. PGA is committed to promoting justice systems in line with SDG 16, particularly target 16.3, whose central role is to promote the Rule of Law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all. Parliamentarians have a crucial role in the movement to restrict the use of the death penalty and ultimately abolish it by drafting legislation, deliberating on national policies, and enlightening public opinion.



This publication was produced by the World Coalition Against the Death Penalty, in partnership with Parliamentarians for Global Action, as part of a project to consolidate abolitionist efforts in Africa, and around the world. The publication was produced with the financial support of the AFD (Agence Française de Développement), the Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium, and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation. The content of this document is the sole responsibility of the World Coalition Against the Death Penalty and should in no way be considered to reflect the position of the AFD, the Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium, and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation.



KINGDOM OF BELGIUM
Federal Public Service
Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Trade and
Development Cooperation



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA