

THE **POWER**
OF DIALOGUE
CONSORTIUM

Annual Plan 2025

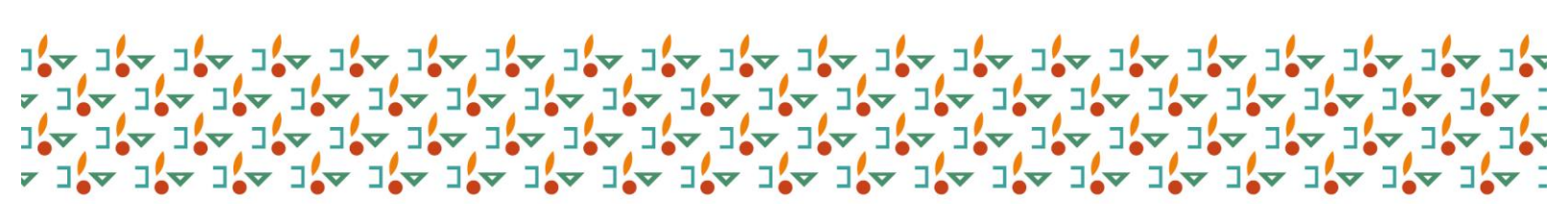




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1. Introduction

This document outlines the 2025 Annual Plan for the Power of Dialogue (PoD) programme, which is being implemented under the 2021-2025 Strategic Partnership with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), in the framework of the 'Power of Voices' (PoV) grant instrument. The PoD Consortium is composed by the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), the Gorée Institute (GORIN), the Centre for Mediterranean and International Studies (CEMI) and Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA). The programme, which is implemented in 15 countries¹ and includes regional and global components, carries the ultimate goal to 'contribute to peaceful democratic space, and inclusive, responsive and representative political decision-making at all levels.

2025 will be the final year of PoD programming, providing an opportunity for consortium partners, country partners and offices to make a final push for more inclusive political decision-making in their respective contexts. In this regard, interventions focusing on all four Long-Term Outcomes of the Theory of Change will continue to be implemented in all programme countries during the course of the year, as described in section 3 'Country-level and regional plans' below.

The fact that 2025 is the last year of PoD also means that the consortium partners will work on properly wrapping up and concluding the programme. In addition to annual and multi-annual final reporting, PoD partners will work on harvesting and showcasing the results achieved under this programme, both per theme and country/region. This will be mostly carried out during the last quarter of the year, as the majority of country-level partners and offices will wrap-up programme implementation by end of September 2025. Moreover, the End-Term Evaluation (ETE) will also be conducted by an external service provider during the second half of 2025 (and first half of 2026). More information programme wrap-up related activities are provided in section 2 'Global-level plan' below.

It is also important to emphasize that the coming year will be extremely challenging for the Consortium, as recent news from the Ministry on non-continuation of the current Strengthening Civil Society policy framework and the drastic cuts in ODA budget – a trend also observable at the level of the European Commission, EU Member States and other funding partners – will threaten the operational sustainability of our organization.

The majority of PoD Consortium partners, country partners and offices have managed to make sure the common objectives of PoD were also supported by other funding partners, and thereby have significantly reduced their 'dependency' to Dutch funding during the past four years. However, the current strategic partnership with the Ministry offered our network also a funding base that offered stability, visibility and flexibility for a five-year period. This basis also attracted other funding partners –

¹ Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Mozambique, Tunisia, Jordan, Iraq, Colombia, Guatemala and Myanmar.



who often like to engage in shorter and less flexible engagements – to support, scale-up, expand, duplicate and complement the work done under the PoD programme, or where PoD programming acted as leverage to obtain other funding (fulfilling co-financing requirements). As a result, all four PoD consortium partners will likely need to drastically scale-down their operations, while a number of NIMD country offices are at risk of closing down.

With this in mind, the Consortium will in the coming year pay extra attention to the sustainability of the results achieved by the programme, specifically with regards to the local organizations and networks that have been supported during the five-year period. We will also work on ensuring lasting change of behaviors of the actors targeted by the programme, but also the sustainability of the lobby & advocacy initiatives conducted and the (dialogue) spaces that have been created or facilitated. Section 4 on 'sustainability and localization' showcases the work being done on this aspect. So although sustainability will be a core focus, at the same time the current prospect of zero funding to support the achievements beyond 2025 will clearly have a negative effect on sustainability and we also cannot expect unrealistic results in this regard.

Finally, the 2025 annual budget is presented in annex 1, with budget notes and justification provided in section 5 below. This section also provides an overview of the costs earmarked for 2026, in line with the guidelines providing by the Ministry – indicating the costs related to the ETE, external audit and final reporting of the programme can be incurred in 2026 and charged to the programme. Moreover, the other annexes will provide a complete overview of the specific interventions planned at country, regional and global level, the adjusted annual targets and updated set of risk assessments.

2. Global level plan

As explained in the above introduction, the work on the global level in the coming year will not be 'business as usual', since a large part of the interventions will either be geared to conclude the planned trajectory of the programme and its learnings, or to supporting the **institutional capacity and sustainability** of the consortium country partners.

On the latter, NIMD as lead partner will use the final year to step-up its effort in terms of fundraising support for the different countries in the PoD network, but also with regards to supporting partners and offices with capacity gaps where needed. In case it becomes apparent at mid-year that some partners and/or offices have not succeeded in securing sufficient funding post-2025, transition plans will be developed for these organizations during the period June-September and put in practice during the last quarter of the year.

In order to support the operationalization of these plans, NIMD will reserve some funding to cover potential costs to be incurred for the transition. These can be related to costs related to ending employment contract (i.e. severance pay and/or other



benefits in line with national legislation), closing down and de-registering offices, as well as potential legal fees.

With regards to the rest of the global-level programming of the PoD Consortium, the remainder of this section presents the various aspects of the work that will be done in 2025 by NIMD The Hague. These are: 1) overall coordination of Consortium operations; 2) coordinating and overseeing the Consortium planning, monitoring, evaluation and learning (PMEL) framework; 3) facilitating knowledge management and implementing the PoD learning agenda; 4) coordinating the capacity development component of the Consortium and; 5) continuing the implementation of the lobby & advocacy strategy focused on the international level.

2.1 Consortium coordination

NIMD, as consortium lead, continues to be responsible for hosting and coordinating the PoD Secretariat. Its staff in The Hague support the overall Consortium with administrative and logistical support, programmatic guidance, and coordination of the development of annual plans and reports. In 2025, the PoD Secretariat will organize at least four Consortium Steering Committee meetings. While most of these meetings will be organized online, the last meeting of 2025 will be in-person; hosted by one of the Consortium Partners. This will provide an opportunity to reflect on results achieved during the course of the programme, discuss the closing of the programme, potentially engage with the external evaluators in charge of the End-Term Evaluation and address potential issues related to the sustainability of our organizations.

In addition, the Secretariat will work throughout the year on building a solid thematic and geographical track-record of the results achieved by PoD. The last quarter of the year and the first half of 2026 will be dedicated to coordinating the final reporting, the external audits and ETE.

2.2 Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning

Since the programme will be concluded in 2025, the PMEL agenda will therefore focus on facilitating the End-Term Evaluation (ETE) of the programme and the outcome level indicator measurements, as well as building the track record of PoD through the outcome harvesting database and dashboard.

The Terms of Reference (ToR) for the ETE is currently already being developed and both the internal evaluation steering committee (composed by the M&E focal points of the Consortium Partners) and the external reference board (composed by MFA focal points and two independent members) are being set-up. The aim is to publish the ToR by the end of 2024, in order to contract an external service provider by spring 2025.

The ETE has the dual objective of assessing programmatic aspects related to: Theory of Change, effectiveness, and achievements to date (including the output and outcome indicators that are linked to the MFA's Strengthening Civil Society and



thematic Result Framework basket indicators, cross-cutting themes (in the case of PoD: gender and youth), sustainability of results., but also to assess partnership aspects related to: Coherence, Localization/southern leadership. The purpose of the ETE is draw lessons learned and good practices, as well as having a track record of results achieved, that each Consortium Partner can take along in future programming, while also be accountable to our funding partner the MFA and a broader audience.

Beside the ETE, the PMEL team within the PoD secretariat will continue to support partners and country offices, through 1-on-1 support, in-country visits, and (online) learning sessions. Specifically, they will ensure that the final measurement of the Outcome level indicators of the programme is properly conducted, in accordance with the guidelines from the MFA. They will also ensure that all required data are entered into IATI.

Finally, in follow up to the midterm review (MTR) recommendation, NIMD contracted a firm to build a dashboard to analyze the over 300 harvested outcomes that were harvested as a way to monitor the PoD programme. The dashboard will allow filtering and visualization of the outcomes, which will support the development of the thematic and geographical track-record of the programme – mentioned in the section above – as well as the final report and the ETE.

2.3 Learning Agenda

The PoD Learning Agenda consists of the learning questions related to the TOC and the Long Term Objectives (LTOs), which directly relate to the thematic learning that is coordinated by each Consortium member as their thematic specialization: Feminist Leadership for AMWA, Youth Participation for CEMI, Conflict Prevention for GORIN, and Dialogue and Trust building for NIMD. Next to these programming themes, NIMD also supports the work on Adaptive Programming for the Consortium.

a) Thematic learning

For the final year, the thematic learning approach will focus on solidifying the developed knowledge and capturing the learnings from the first four years. For each theme, a summary document that details the specific insights from the PoD programme will be developed and distributed. From the global level, NIMD will also in the final year link its knowledge work on the themes of Youth Participation and Feminist Leadership in support of CEMI's and AMWA's approach in order to strengthen the consolidation of thematic knowledge. For instance, NIMD will further roll-out the Intergenerational Dialogue tool and promoting the Voice of Youth at the Table report, and support country partners on promoting inclusion and women's political participation.

For NIMD's own Dialogue and Trust building theme, several initiatives are planned. Building on last year's established Baobab network of international dialogue facilitators, and the training for the members of this network on how to do mentorship that is taking place in December 2024, next year several PoD staff from around the



world will be trained on dialogue skills. They will be subsequently linked to one of the core Baobab members that were trained in 2024. This way, the newly trained dialogue facilitators can then apply their learnings directly and supported by more seasoned facilitators. At the same time the trained facilitators in mentoring can directly apply this in practice and give bilateral support to the participants new to the theme. This dialogue training is planned in for February 2025 to maximize the mentorship period.

b) Adaptive programming

In the past years, Adaptive Programming has been strengthened both as a toolkit with concrete interventions and as a mindset, stimulating flexibility, reflections on good and bad practices, learning by doing and learning from mistakes. Based on this, Adaptive Programming under the learning agenda starts with a solid Political Economy Analysis (PEA) and combines regular reflection sessions to look back at previous periods to capture changes and decisions to adapt with trying out new interventions. On an annual basis, Outcome Harvesting is used to capture the trajectory of reaching the long-term objectives. In 2025 the focus will lie at capturing as much as possible of the approaches and adaptations of the full PoD period, with the ETE linked to the full Outcome Harvesting database. From the global perspective, country partners will be supported with this process where applicable, with several updates planned of country PEAs.

2.4 Capacity strengthening

Under the global support to strengthen the network, a tailor-made support programme will be rolled out for PoD partners linked to issues identified in self-assessments or via the Capacity Scan for NIMD offices specifically. This means partners and offices will be directly supported via internally or externally provided trainings, temporary assistance (consultants) or other technical support. Topics identified include fundraising, technical support on financial and human resources management, but also enhancing safety and security of offices.

With regards to NIMD country offices specifically, the country action plans based on the situation in June 2025 will be rolled-out in the second half of the year. Depending on the country, this will include restructuring or even closing offices. It is hard to exactly predict the details of these action plans at this point, with several offices having a difficult outlook without other funding, while others already can ensure the continuation of the work started under PoD through other projects.

Similarly, the PoD Consortium partners also face drastic reduction of their operations after the end of the year and will, therefore, increase their fundraising efforts to ensure as much as possible to continue change trajectories and support the actors targeted under the PoD programme and to continue the impact. The PoD Secretariat shall be in close contact with the MFA once more information on the sustainability of PoD partners and NIMD offices is available.



2.5 International Lobby & Advocacy

In 2025, NIMD will continue to relay the central L&A messages from a PoD perspective - focusing on enhancing democratic rules and practices and inclusive processes and institutions – coming from countries where PoD is implemented, and both in the Netherlands and in Europe.

First, NIMD will continue being an active member of Partos and BMO (*Breed Mensenrechten Overleg*). Both networks seek to sensitize political decision-makers and government officials on international cooperation and democracy and lobby for sufficient flexibility and human and financial resources.

NIMD is also planning a series of events in The Hague in 2025, starting with a seminar on the relationships between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region in January. The objective of the seminar will be to raise awareness with Dutch decision makers (politicians and policy makers) about the importance of continuing the relationship between the Netherlands and the LAC region as neighbouring to the Kingdom and the Dutch Caribbean, on topics related to Democracy, Security and the Rule of Law.

In addition, NIMD will continue to organize its regular annual events such as the Ambassadors Reception, aiming to provide Ambassadors and Corps Diplomatique from Programme Countries, international institutions and other countries that are based in the Hague with interesting insights on the Dutch political and governance landscape that also have an international angle. NIMD will also continue to play its part in the organization of the Hague's edition of the Democracy Drinks, a series of thematic networking events bringing together democracy advocates, thinkers and practitioners.

At the level of the European Union, NIMD will remain an active member of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD), aiming to influence EU policies and guidelines and financial resources for democracy support. In order to relay country-level L&A messages to relevant stakeholders within the European Commission and External Action Service, NIMD will also continue to organize meetings and roundtables in Brussels on specific countries, based on needs and opportunities identified during the course of the year.

3. Country-level and regional plans

This section provides an overview of the priority outcome areas that will be targeted in 2025 in each programme country, as well as the results that the Consortium will strive to achieve under each Long-Term Outcome (LTO) of the contextualized country-level Theories of Change (ToC).

The tables listing the specific interventions planned in the programme countries, for each intermediate outcome of the contextualized ToC, is provided in Annex 2.



3.1 Sahel

3.1.1 Mali

Lead: NIMD Mali

NIMD Mali recently updated its Political Economy Analysis (PEA) as the military transition entered its fourth year, going beyond the deadline initially set in the Transition Charter. While this analysis emphasized the need to update the electoral timetable in view of the uncertainties surrounding the elections, there were several recent signals of the willingness of stakeholders to eventually go to the polls: the resumption of consultations between the AIGE (*Autorité Indépendante de Gestion des Elections*) and civic and political players, lifting the suspension of political party activities, as well as the laws sent to the CNT (*Conseil National de Transition*). Important reforms are also on the agenda, such as the revision of the electoral law and the Charter of political parties, to take into account certain provisions from the July 2023 Constitution.

The CPSRE (*Comité de plaidoyer et de suivi des réformes*) seized the opportunity offered by the resumption of consultations between the AIGE and the various stakeholders to establish contact. As a result, the AIGE saw in the CPSRE a credible actor to facilitate dialogue on electoral issues. In this context, NIMD Mali will continue to support the CPSRE in organizing quarterly dialogue meetings with political parties and political movements around these issues.

The collaboration will also continue with the COCPJF (*Consortium des organisations civiques et politiques de jeunes et de femmes*), which successfully lobbied for the inclusion of a youth quota law for in the recommendations of the EGJ (*États Généraux de la Jeunesse*). The COCPJF intends to mobilize young people and women to ensure that their concerns are taken into account in the overhaul of governance. To this end, NIMD will support the organization of roundtables in various governorates, as a way to reach youth at local level.

NIMD will also continue to work with alumni of the political and democratic schools, who are increasingly becoming agents of change in their respective localities and/or organizations, in various ways (debates, Djemu space, etc.). A civic and citizenship observatory initiative from GRADI Mali will also be supported, to measure and influence the behavior of young people and women in respect of their rights and duties.

3.1.2 Burkina Faso

Lead: NIMD Burkina Faso

Since the events of 2022, Burkina Faso continues to experience a difficult socio-political context. On the political front, the suspension of political party activities



imposed by the transitional authorities is still effective, leading to the disappearance of any political activities not in favor of the current transition regime. Measures were taken to restrict freedoms, notably the suspension of certain media outlets, the forced enlistment of citizens as Volunteers for the Defense of the Homeland (VDP) and their deployment in the fight against terrorism, as well as the arbitrary arrest of citizens.

In view of the PoD's completion in 2025, it will be key to strengthen certain activities that are working well and to capitalize on the results the programme so far, while taking into account the evolution of the political context, marked by the persistence of the security and humanitarian crisis, as well as the disruption of the democratic process

In this context, NIMD Burkina Faso will continue to work with the Burkinabe Coalition for Women's Rights (CBDF) to strengthen the capacity of about thirty women. NIMD will also build on its strong network of alumni from the political and democratic schools, by supporting specific alumni-led advocacy initiatives.

NIMD's work will also focus more on supporting multi-stakeholder dialogue, both at local (commune of Bama) and national level. As NIMD has played a major role in multi-stakeholder dialogue in a context where political and community tensions are prevalent at both local and national level, the aim will be to capitalize on the achievements of these multi-stakeholder dialogues at national and local level. Political cafés will also be organized at regional level between NIMD Burkina, Mali and Niger, bringing together alumni from the three countries. There are also plans to boost NIMD's visibility in Burkina Faso through the production of a number of communications and visibility tools (leaflets, NIMD flyers) that could highlight the results achieved by NIMD after five years of PoD implementation.

3.1.3 Niger

Lead: NIMD Niger

As Niger entered its second year of transition, the Inclusive National Dialogue announced by the military authorities as a way to 'rebuild' the country has still not been convened. However, an organizing committee has been set up and the new authorities have issued guidelines and defined mission statements for the various ministers, setting out a roadmap for the accomplishment of their missions. The citizens of Niger, including political and civic actors, as well as external partners, are all waiting for these meetings to be convened, since they will be decisive for the future of the transition.

In this context, NIMD Niger is strategically focusing on young political and civic leader, so that they can become influential agents of change and play a meaningful role in the national dialogue and potential reforms that will ensue. NIMD's Political and Democratic Schools, which have become a proven tool for building the capacities of aspiring young politicians, will continue to be implemented in 2025. In addition to the usual training sessions, the participants will also receive support through practical workshops, coaching and interaction with relevant resource persons.



As mentioned, the reforms resulting from the national dialogue represent an opportunity for young people to have their concerns taken into account. As NIMD continues to work on consolidating the alumni network for the Political and Democratic School, support will be provided to them on the advocacy initiatives they plan to carry out around the national dialogue, on the basis of the Action Plan drawn up at a forum they held in September 2024.

3.1.4 Regional Approach

Lead: GORIN

Based on the recent contextual changes in the region, marked by the prolongation of political transitions in the Sahel and regime change in Senegal, the Gorée Institute will strive to update its Political Economy Analyses (PEAs), in order to identify the key drivers of political stability and sources of resilience in Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and Senegal. The updated regional PEA will focus on the drivers of political instability and the factors weakening civic space in the respective national and regional context.

In light of the latest political development in the region, the Gorée Institute will focus even more on working with youth from the region in 2025. First, the Institute will also produce policy briefs and summarize the recommendations from the various youth symposia and forums held in 2024 into an advocacy document, which will serve as the basis for advocacy workshops involving regional actors such as ECOWAS and MISAHEL.

The institute will also strive to increase the number of women and youth trained in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and decision-making processes through the Gorée Youth Leadership Academy (GYLA), as a way to counter their exclusion from decision-making spaces and peacebuilding processes, despite the fact that they represent the vast majority of the population in the region.

The work to enhance the trust between civic and political actors will also continue, to address common governance challenges, democratic decline and shrinking civic space continue to impede democratic progress in the region. This will be achieved by building and strengthening dialogue the partnership between pro-democratic political actors and civic groups, for instance through organizing a sub-regional youth forum “Engaging women and youth as strategic partners in peacebuilding and political decision-making processes”.

Finally, the Gorée Institute will also organize its annual symposium, which brings stakeholders together to reflect on challenges faced in the region, with a view to formulating context-specific recommendations for action by states and regional institutions. It will be an opportunity to foster greater interaction between regional, state and civic groups, and to adopt a common position on how to address some of the obstacles, factors and challenges contributing to the weakening of the civic voice of women and young political leaders in the decision-making process.



3.2 Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

3.2.1 Tunisia

Lead: CEMI

Following the recent re-election of President Kaïs Saïed, 2025 is expected to be the year of major public service reforms following the completion of what the president calls the 'clean-up campaign', as mentioned in his election manifesto. It will also be the year in which some new institutions, established by the 2022 Constitution, are expected to be set-up and start operating, notably the Constitutional Court. However, the role played by other political and civic actors in these processes is expected to be limited, as the civic and democratic space continues to shrink in Tunisia.

In this context, CEMI will continue to work with youth members of political parties and movement, as well as civil society organizations, in order to strengthen their movements and organizations, to equip them with the needed tools to become more qualified and effectively take part in decision-making, to express themselves and spread their knowledge, democratic values, and skills. This will be done through the implementation of various training classes of the Tunisian School of Politics (TSoP), including new separate second-level classes for political and civic actors, in order to match their specific training needs.

In addition, in line the new political and constitutional context, CEMI will also work with the elected young and women MPs, who mostly have no experience in this role and are in desperate need to acquire and develop the knowledge and skills that are essential for them to fulfill their duties.

As CEMI always values the culture of dialogue in its different formats, it will continue working on maintaining its spaces for dialogue and consolidating the values of pluralism and collaborating in mutual respect. CEMI will also continue supporting the Youth Collaborative Platform, aiming to preserve democratic assets and rights and freedoms and to be an amplifier for youth voices in six different regions of Tunisia.

3.2.2 Jordan

Lead: NIMD Jordan

After the constitutional and legal amendments based on the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the Political System, the year 2024 witnessed the registration of 38 political parties under the new Political Parties Law, of which two thirds are new. Additionally, the parliamentary election took place in September under the new Parliamentary Election Law, which allocated a minimum of 42 seats out of 138 to political parties competing on a national closed list, while giving the opportunity for political parties to also run on local open lists. This resulted in having 104 MPs from political parties (75.4% of parliament members), which is a first in Jordan's political history.



In the context, NIMD Jordan will continue to work with youth outside and within political parties, through the Jordan School of Politics (SoP). The curriculum has been reviewed and updated for 2025, in light of the above-mentioned contextual changes, but also taking into account political dynamics at regional and international level.

Additionally, SoP alumni will be supported to engage in different levels of L&A activities, whether on their own or through relevant CSOs and other organizations. The main focus will be on improving the civic space through engaging in activities that aim at enhancing freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

The work of NIMD Jordan with political parties will also continue, though in a different way, with more focus dialogue and discussion about inclusion, accountability, and inclusion. This will build on the capacity-building activities provided by NIMD Jordan to political parties in previous years. NIMD will also try to stimulate and facilitate dialogue between political parties, youth, CSOs and the government on issues related to youth political participation and pursuing the opening of the democratic space.

3.2.3 Iraq

Lead: NIMD and WEO

NIMD and WEO will organize the final round of Democracy School of young Iraqi agents of change in 2025. Just like in previous years, the training curriculum will be divided into three sessions aimed at empowering young leaders in Iraq. The first session, which lasts four days, will provide comprehensive knowledge and skills to enhance participants' understanding of state and social contract theories, international mechanisms protecting rights and freedoms, the decentralized system and distribution of competencies, as well as civil and political rights in Iraq.

The two organizations will also strive to strengthen the school alumni network, which has developed significantly since 2021, going beyond 100 members. WEO and NIMD recognize the potential and passion of alumni and are dedicated to ensuring their continuous growth as democratic leaders are committed to supporting them beyond the basics of democratic principles and leadership skills. This support will first take the form of an advanced-level training that will look into complex aspects of democratic governance, such as advanced policy development and analysis, conflict resolution, and effective advocacy strategies. It builds upon the foundational knowledge gained during their initial School of Democracy training. The coaching aspect offers personalized guidance, focusing on each alumni's specific strengths and areas for development.

In addition to this advanced-level training, WEO will provide dedicated technical and financial support to four alumni initiatives aimed at promoting democratic principles in Iraq. The initiatives could range from preparing policy briefs and conducting research projects to organizing peer-to-peer training sessions. The goal is to foster a culture of democratic engagement among the alumni and their communities, enriching Iraq's democratic landscape.



3.3 Horn of Africa

3.3.1 Uganda

Lead: NIMD Uganda

The state of democracy in Uganda remains under significant threat due to patronage, dominance and prolonged hold on power by the NRM, that continues to consolidate its power through state institutions. The state of human rights in Ugandais further deteriorating, and civic space is shrinking due to the implementation of stringent laws, the suppression of opposition voices, and attacks on independent civil society organizations. The political consensus has broken down, and polarized and toxic politics now dominate the landscape.

The majority of political parties remain weak with currently several breakaway factions often forming new parties. Within the ruling party there are tensions between the members loyal the President and those who feel his time has come and should give way to his son. The leadership of the biggest opposition party, the National Unity Platform, is divided. These internal competitions further weaken political parties as democratic institutions and pose challenges to the democratic health of the country, as it heads towards a critical period.

Indeed, the final year of the PoD programme coincides with the year when the country prepares for general election, scheduled to take place in January 2026. Since politically active youth and women will be preparing to participate in these elections, NIMD Uganda will focus on mentoring them and strengthening their platforms (including Multi-Party Youth Forum). The objective of NIMD Uganda’s work will also be to meaningfully engage youth and women on critical issues related to elections and the state of the democratic space, as well as documenting obstacles to their participation.

In addition, efforts will be put on dialogue processes that will aim at mitigating electoral violence and creating harmony amongst political and civic actors in electoral processes. NIMD will work on setting up board room in at least two sub-regions of Uganda, for dialogue between state actors, political and civic actors (including opposition parties) in order to minimize electoral conflicts.

3.3.2 Kenya

Lead: Mzalendo Trust and NIMD

The democratic gains made by Kenya in the past decade are at risk of being undermined by the recent developments. Citizen protests led by the younger generation (Gen-Z) against the Finance Bill took center-stage in June to August 2024. The protests were catalyzed by agitation on heightened public debt that exacerbated cost of living, unresponsive political leadership and high levels of impunity and



disregard for citizen voices. In response, the government introduced measures that have shrunk the civic space through necessitating; internet shutdowns, civil society intimidation, and violent suppression of protests by police which significantly undermine numerous freedoms. This has created an environment of fear and uncertainty in attempts to disrupt the essential role that civil society plays in holding governments accountable.

Entering the final year of the PoD programme, legal reforms around elections and the constitution of the electoral management body, as well as the level of inclusion of women and youth, will constitute some of the key priority areas of Mzalendo. In 2025, efforts will be concentrated towards creating sustainable structures, for instance through ensuring that the dialogue spaces created will outlast the project timeline. Mzalendo's approach will be to support national and county level dialogues, women dialogues (in collaboration with AMWA) and to facilitate dialogues on legislative process through the Civil Society Parliamentary Engagement Network (CSPEN).

Additionally, Mzalendo's work on the two-thirds gender rule will continue, as one of the key outcomes that was initially targeted but has taken time to be realized. In the election campaign period and beyond, Kenya Kwanza prioritized policies ensuring the participation of women in political leadership. The coalition has a high number of Women MPs and Governors which indicates a deliberate effort to promote gender inclusivity. President William Ruto went a step further to appoint the first woman Attorney General during the restructuring of his government. The country also has a woman as the Chairperson of the Council of Governors, which is another first. Although realization of the two-thirds gender rule in Parliament still remains unfulfilled, it is one of the key priorities that Mzalendo will continue to advocate and provide interventions for in 2025, as its effect has far reached implications on dismantling stereotypes thereby accepting and normalizing women leadership.

Finally, the PoD programme has been instrumental in strengthening Mzalendo's relationship with Parliament - focusing on both the collaborative and conflictual/competitive side of our work. Therefore, the work with parliamentary caucuses will continue, including with KEWOPA and KYPA, especially around electoral preparedness, capacity enhancement, movement building and research.

3.3.3 Ethiopia

Lead: NIMD Ethiopia

NIMD Ethiopia conducted a revision of its Political Economy Analysis (PEA) in 2024, with the aim to assist the team adapting the intervention to the current political context. The PEA identified several political developments that could potentially impact NIMD's program implementation. The first is the conflict in Oromia between the OLA and the federal government, which has been ongoing for several years, although political actors from Oromia have continued to engage with NIMD. This also the case for the conflict in Amhara, which has intensified in the past year, as well as Tigray with recent divisions within the TPLF. NIMD recognizes the potential of these



conflicts to impede the implementation of some of its programmatic interventions in these conflict-affected states. As in the preceding year, NIMD will continuously monitor the situations in these and other conflict-affected regions and devise new approaches to ensure the successful execution of its plans.

NIMD will continue engaging different political actors, including the government, on how the conflict should be stopped and how parties/actors to the conflict come to the table. It will explore ways organizing another round of peace talks between the government and the OLA. The establishment of a 'Peace Council' that aims to bring the warring parties to the Amhara region provides a good opportunity for ending the conflict in the region. NIMD will explore ways of working with the Peace Council to find a lasting solution to the war that is ravaging the region. These activities take place outside these regions (in Addis Ababa) and are thus not affected by the active conflict going on in the two regions.

In addition, the relationship among political parties is likely to turn sour as the seventh general elections come closer. Debates on policy issues are likely to cause differences or widen existing differences among the political parties. Indeed, having differences and publicly expressing them is natural and a fundamental element of a democratic process. However, a lack of democratic culture and poor tact on how to respectfully express differences may undermine all the progress made in terms of building trust and understanding among the political parties. NIMD, in collaboration with NEBE, will work to avoid this by organizing training for political parties and the Ethiopian Political Parties Joint Council (EPPJC).

Finally, NIMD Ethiopia will continue to work on increasing political participation of youth and women, by organizing a consultation workshop on the role of youth and women in politics for alumni of the Ethiopian Democracy Academy (EDAC), EPPJC wings, and a coalition of women members of Ethiopian political parties. Two rounds of training will also be organized for the executive member of EDAC/EDAW Alumni Network and EDAC/EDAW Women association members.

3.3.4 Regional Approach

Lead: AMwA

In collaboration with its national and regional partners, AMwA will consolidate its preceding strategies and interventions, and where needed refine its approaches to achieve the intended outcomes and sustainability of the results. It will continue to work with the Interparty Women Platform (IWOP), follow up on commitments and gains made in partnership with the respective civic and political actors across the consortium and region.

In 2025, AMwA will also actively engage in the review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA +30), 30 years on after its adoption in 1995. Deliberations are already underway and Alumni from the African Women's Leadership Institute (AWLI) organized by AMwA, together with partners from across the region will be supported to participate in the process. Building on its engagement



as a consultative member of the UN ECOSOC, observer status in the African Union and steering committee member of Solidarity for African Women's Rights (SOAWR) coalition and Gender is My Agenda Campaign, AMwA will advance the learnings and insights from the PoD programme in these policy and advocacy spaces.

In Kenya, AMwA will continue to work with Mzalendo Trust, and strengthen its collaborative efforts with Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), Badili Africa and our growing network of AWLI Alumni who are influential political, media and civic actors. AMwA will also work closely with CRAWN Trust in Kenya in the bid for the two-third gender rule.

Regarding Sudan, AMwA will continue to engage the network of women from Sudan in Uganda and organize alternative spaces for reflection, dialogue and action-planning. AMwA will also remain open to supporting efforts by the AWLI Alumni and National Sudanese Women Association (NSWA).

Finally, in Ethiopia, AMwA will work closely with NIMD Ethiopia, Ethiopia Women with Disability National Association, (EWDNA), Addis Powerhouse and AWLI Alumni. Engagement with the growing number of AWLI alumni will continue with the aim of strengthening women's political and civic actors' voice and agency in the national dialogue and governance processes.

3.4 Southern Africa, Latin America and Asia

3.4.1 Mozambique

Lead: IMD Mozambique

Following the elections that took place in both 2023 and 2024, the year 2025 will provide an opportunity to evaluate the effects of advocacy actions carried out during the elections, regarding the composition of women and young people in elected democratic institutions, the quality of their influence and participation at the level of these institutions as well as at the level of the Government and political parties. Likewise, the final year of implementation of the Power of Dialogue programme will be maximized to further influence and explore the interaction between political and civic actors.

The focus of IMD in 2025 will also be on empowering newly elected women, improving their visibility, and increasing their capacity to influence democratic institutions. The aim is to continue to increase the number of women in leadership roles within political parties and increase their participation in legislative and decision-making processes. IMD will work on seeking support from male leadership of political parties for gender equality, as well as stimulating cross-party collaboration on gender-sensitive policy proposals. These results will contribute to a more gender-inclusive political environment, where women are not only visible but are also recognized as capable and influential leaders.



In addition, considering the fact that many members of the recently elected Assembly of the Republic and Provincial Assemblies are new, IMD will provide dedicated induction trainings for them. There is a need to induct those elected to tools of good, inclusive and representative governance. Finally, interactions between political actors and diplomatic entities will be maintained in 2025, through the organization of an advocacy meeting between diplomatic entities and political actors, mainly women's and youth leagues and civil society with the main objective of contributing to the strengthening of the civic and democratic space.

3.4.2 Guatemala

Lead: NIMD Guatemala

In its first year after the general elections of 2023, the new government has had several difficulties in moving forward assertively and efficiently in public administration. During the first months, some institutions focused on exposing the corruption of the past government; however, this was not a generalized action in all ministries. In terms of execution, the government also faced serious difficulties in its communication with underrepresented and vulnerable groups - who were initially hopeful with the arrival of this new government. In addition, the government has not shown evidence of having a clear agenda on issues of interest to sectors such as youth, women and indigenous people.

In this context, NIMD Guatemala identified the need for some of the above-mentioned groups to become more formally constituted and to have working tools to guide their advocacy: for this it is necessary to provide technical assistance actions for organizational consolidation.

In addition, NIMD Guatemala will also continue working on the important issues affecting the Central American region as a whole, such as climate change, ecofeminism and defense, so a second regional meeting of women and youth will be organized, involving participants from Honduras and El Salvador.

With regards to the work on dialogue and trust building, NIMD will seek to strengthen the capacity of local actors to dialogue with authorities for the resolution of local problems and for the development of public policies at local level (Territorial dialogues for public policy). NIMD Guatemala will also aim to provide spaces for dialogue for trust and strategic articulation between actors fighting for the same cause (i.e. ecofeminism in the region).

Finally, NIMD Guatemala will work on strengthening national level institutions such as the Congress of the Republic and its permanent officials and technicians in aspects that need to be addressed according to their needs assessment.

3.4.3 Colombia

Lead: NIMD Colombia



With the signing of the statutes of the Alliance for Congress (AxCA), the role of NIMD Colombia as a member of the Steering Committee and its cross-cutting support was ratified. It is expected that by 2025 the technical, logistical and methodological support to Congress in different institutional processes will continue, as well as the support to the coordination of the Alliance for Congress through the provision of resources to ensure the operability of the Technical Secretariat by 2025. The Alliance is also expected to contribute to the Four-Year Plan of the Congress of the Republic and provide technical support in the modernization of its administrative processes through innovative civic technologies.

During the first half of 2025, NIMD Colombia will also implement the fourth iteration of the Open Democracy School (EDA). This process is part of the agreement signed with the Corona Foundation (member of AxCA), which has provided financial and human resources to advance this training space, aimed at officials, departments and other members of the Congress of the Republic. AxCA is in the process of restructuring and updating the curriculum of EDA.

Additionally, in coordination with the LEAP4Peace programme, activities will be carried out to strengthen capacities for the cross-cutting implementation of the gender approach with the Multiparty Gender Roundtables in Bogota and the Multiparty Women's Roundtable at the national level. NIMD Colombia will maintain institutional alliances with the Observatory of Violence against Women in Politics (OVMP), which is also part of AxCA, to advance in the materialization of the action plans of these spaces, which are fundamental for the strengthening of women's political participation within political parties and movements.

Finally, in accordance with the results obtained until 2024, NIMD will focus on effective and successful interventions to create spaces for dialogue between organizations and institutions that collaborate in the construction of joint work agendas, mainly focused on the Congress of the Republic and the Ministry of the Interior. With regards to the latter, NIMD will support the Directorate for Democracy, Citizen Participation and Community Action, in the preparation and implementation of dialogue spaces with a formative approach in L&A strategies, aimed at candidates to the Youth Participation Subsystem. Through this action, it is expected to continue strengthening the role of the Ministry as a legitimate actor for political and civic actors interested in the youth agenda of the country. Likewise, the technical support provided for the signing of previous pacts for a political and electoral exercise in peace, with a gender and multi-stakeholder approach, are focused on helping the Ministry of the Interior, as a national actor, to address in a differentiated manner the needs of the youth population with an intersectional approach.

3.4.4 Myanmar

Lead: NIMD Myanmar

The political context in Myanmar in 2025 is especially influenced by the double dynamics of proposed elections and the ongoing armed conflict fought between the military and the multiple resistance forces. As the mandate given to the politicians



by the people in 2020 is about to expire and many resistance forces have proven stronger than expected in the armed struggles, the tendencies in 2025 can be expected as armed organizations to seeking maximum advantage through violence. These tendencies are moving power struggles from political sphere to armed conflict, have also weakened the role of National Unity Government and the process of creating a new federal constitution to Myanmar. The leverage gained by ethnic armed organizations gain through armed struggle has however created a number of state building processes at sub-national level.

These regional autonomous state building processes offer at the moment the best arena for supporting inclusive political processes in Myanmar. As NIMD Myanmar was able to work in previous years in both Kayin and Karenni State, which both have autonomous state government and constitution building processes underway, the team decided to step-up the work in these two states in 2025. However, the existing alumni network from both MySoP and Democracy School trainings will be utilized to take the projects impact beyond Kayin and Karenni states and offer training and linking opportunities also for Mon and Shan state political actors. Mon and Shan states also offer interesting political trends of state building, but currently the situation in these two states is too complex and volatile to allow for deeper engagement.

Specifically, NIMD will organize dialogue meetings in these States: key stakeholders dialogue meeting with KSDM and Key Actors in Kayin State, Policy dialogue meeting with Interim Executive Committee (Karenni State), and Trust building and Capacity Building/Dialogue process support. NIMD's work is also focused on making sure the autonomous state building processes are inclusive, therefore the two the end goals under LTO2 also are also tightly linked to these processes: Ethnic leaders are politically influential actors of change by voicing, monitoring and advocating for inclusive political processes at the subnational level; and Young, Women leaders are politically influential actors of change by voicing, monitoring and advocating for inclusive political processes at the subnational level (in Shan, Kayin, Kayah, Mon).

4. Localization and sustainability

Since 2025 will be the last year of PoD, the Consortium Partners, country-level partners and offices have reflected on the extent to which the results of your interventions are likely to continue after the end of the programme, and specifically on the localization aspect of sustainability.

In A large number of established local organizations have been involved in the programme, for instance through sub-contracting and collaboration, and lots of work has been done to help strengthening the capacity of these organizations. Examples include the work of NIMD offices with local partners in the Sahel, such as OCGS (*Observatoire Citoyen sur la Gouvernance et la Sécurité*), which NIMD has helped improving its accounting and financial systems and mobilizing funds from other donors.



In East Africa, emerging political and civic actors such as the Inter Party Women's Platform (IWOP) and Addis Powerhouse were supported, in close coordination with other partners, in order to ensure their institutional sustainability. For example, AMWA provided training for IWOP in Financial Policies and Procedures, which strengthened their institutional capacity to manage financial resources. In Uganda, Elle Parle, an emerging civic actor, developed its first strategy and ensured separation of power and functions as a result of an Organizational Capacity Assessment and online capacity strengthening. Addis Powerhouse was also supported with organizational capacity development processes, from which results will be assessed in 2025.

In addition to the sustainability of the local organizations and networks that have been supported and/or created as part of the PoD programme, the Consortium Partners will work in 2025 to maximize other aspects of sustainability of results. This is for instance the case for sustainability of (dialogue) spaces that have been created or facilitated, as well as lobby & advocacy initiatives that have been conducted. This is also the case for the lasting behavioral changes of actors that have been targeted by the programme, and initiatives that are likely to scale up beyond the end of the programme.

5. Budget notes

Overall, the budget for 2025 increased with EUR 845,665.35 (13%) compared to the 2025 figures included in the multi-annual budget. This increase is mainly financed from the underspending on several budget lines that occurred in 2021, due to delays in the startup phase of the overall programme and the COVID-19 related restrictions. This initial underspending was partially absorbed in subsequent year, but not fully, based on our latest estimate of expenses on the budget for 2024.

Overall, the PoD Consortium now foresees a budget of EUR 7,190,840.99 of which 61% goes to direct programming costs (c.f. Figure 2 below, for the total budget allocation per main cost category).

Direct Staff Costs

The 2025 budget heading direct staff costs is slightly higher than foreseen, the increase is related to inflation corrections from Rijks CAO in July 2024 for staff members of NIMD Headquarters.

Other Direct Programme Costs

On 'activity costs', there is a 35% increase, mainly realized from accumulated underspending from 2021-2024 budgets, particularly from CEMI.

On 'activity-related travel costs', there is an increase of 8% compared to the multi-annual budget, which is explained by the fact that more travel will be taking place



due to more in-person meetings required to adequately prepare for the project closing at the end of this year, plus general inflation and increase of ticket prices.

On the budget line 'E. Equipment and investments', the Consortium is planning an increase of EUR 11.505 which is an increase of 106% for which several factors are at play. Indeed, the increase is partly due to higher fees for digital meeting subscriptions (e.g. for Mzalendo Trust in Kenya) but also due to the need for more filing cabinets for audit archiving purposes (NIMD Mali & Burkina Faso). CEMI and GORIN have a higher budget on equipment due to the need for more laptops for the research cell and increased fees of the accounting software license respectively.

Overhead / indirect costs

Budget Heading III has lowered compared to the initial 2025 budget, as indirect costs have been proportionately reduced to compensate for the increases on direct costs.

Foreseen costs to be incurred in 2026

In line with the guidelines provided by the Ministry, the PoD Consortium Partners have included costs to be incurred in 2026 in this annual budget for 2025. These costs are related to the closure of the programme, specifically in relation to the finalization of audits (due in May 2026), the End-Term Evaluation (ETE - due in May 2026) and final reporting (due in June 2026). These costs are not directly visible in the budget format provided, but a detailed breakdown is provided below:

- NIMD has reserved EUR 160,430.19 to cover the costs of core staff members working on finalizing the project reporting, coordinating the ETE and audit which have been budgeted at EUR 78,000.00 and EUR 25,000.00 respectively.
- CEMI has reserved EUR 21,398.23 to cover the cost of staff working on the final report, final audit and contributing to the ETE.
- GORIN has reserved EUR 73,378.70 to cover the costs of staff working on the final report, final audit and contributing to the ETE and EUR 13,593.37 for project office running costs in the same period.
- AMWA has reserved EUR 64,031.00 to cover the cost of staff working on the final report, final audit and contributing to the ETE.

These costs represent a total of EUR 435,831.46, which is 6% of the 2025 annual budget.

The foreseen budget, in summary is:



		Original Budget	Updated Budget	% Deviation
Direct staff costs	A. Staff costs	€ 667.720	€ 675.973	1%
	B. Local staff costs	€ 1.485.497	€ 1.480.201	0%
	C. Consultants and advisers	€ -	€ -	
Other direct programme costs	A. Activity costs	€ 1.848.354	€ 2.490.705	35%
	B. Costs of consortium partners and local NGOs	€ 488.756	€ 589.963	21%
	C. Activity-related travel costs	€ 331.428	€ 358.586	8%
	D. Project office costs (if applicable)	€ 359.377	€ 379.622	6%
	E. Equipment and investments	€ 10.848	€ 22.352	106%
	F. Monitoring, evaluation and auditing	€ 466.687	€ 556.038	19%
Overheads / indirect costs	A. Costs of support staff	€ 256.876	€ 247.503	-4%
	B. Not directly allocable administrative costs	€ -	€ -	
	C. Other non-allocable costs	€ 429.633	€ 389.897	-9%
Total		€ 6.345.176	€ 7.190.841	13%

Figure 1. Table of the budget allocation 2025 per main cost category

The figures below present a summarized overview of the allocation of the requested budget. For more information, please refer to the 2025 budget file for the Power of Dialogue programme, attached to this annual plan.

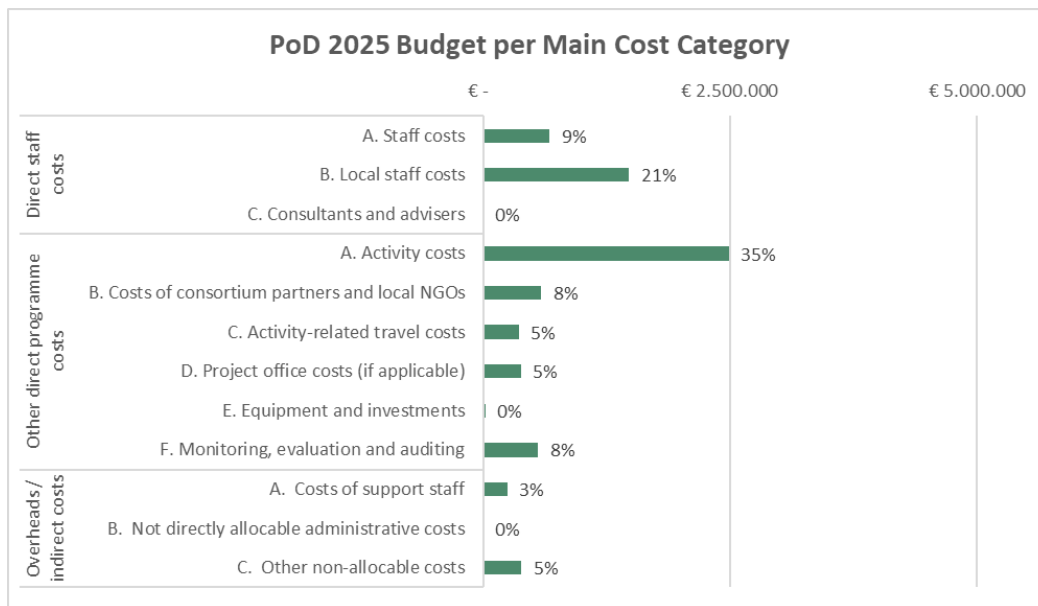


Figure 2. Percentage of budget allocation 2025 per main cost category

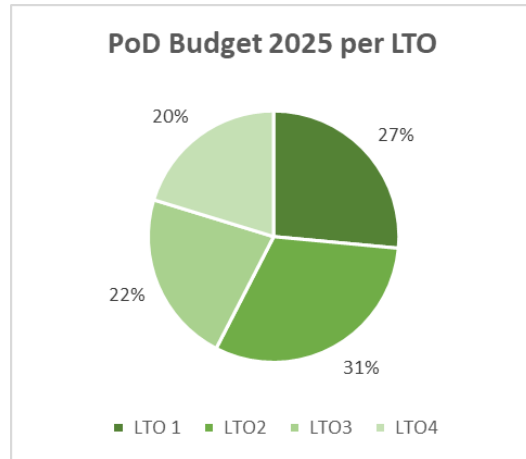


Figure 3. Percentage of 2025 budget allocation per LTO

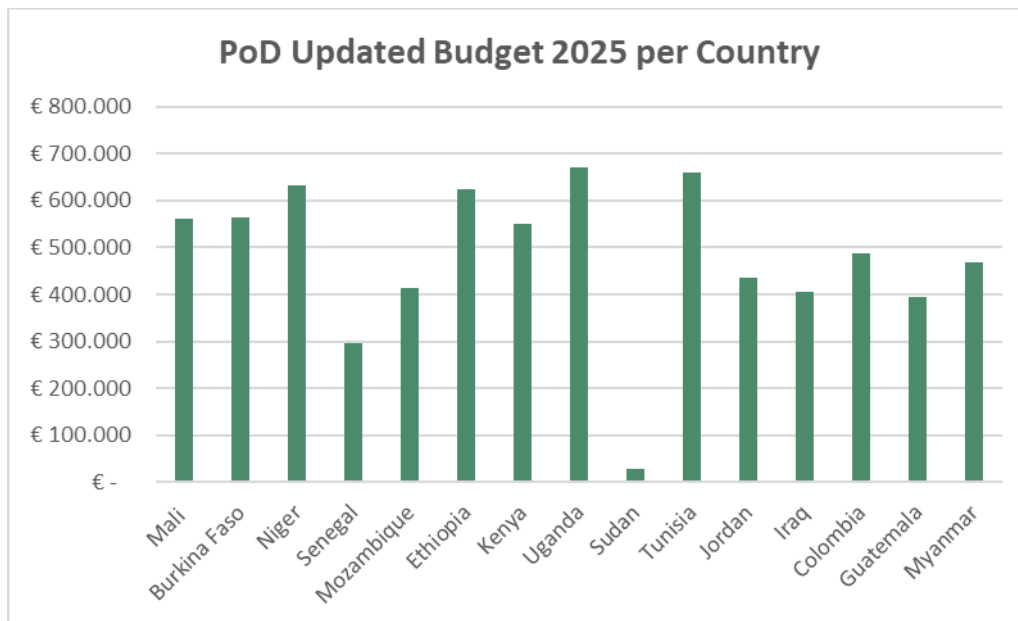


Figure 4. Budget allocation 2025 per Country

Description per cost category

Cost categories	Description
I. Direct staff costs	
A. Staff costs	Staff of lead Partner NIMD in The Hague, directly contributing to the PoD activities. The hourly fees per staff member are based on the 'productive hours' method, set out in the MFA manual for budgeting under the Power of Voices framework.
B. Local staff costs	Staff located in the PoD programme countries directly contributing to the PoD activities. These are the staff members of Consortium Partners and country offices. Costs are based on existing human resource



	management policies, salary scales and local labour law. Policies may differ per organization and country.
C. Consultants and advisers	N/A
II. Other direct programme costs	
A. Activity costs	The total sum of all activities directly contributing to the PoD ToC. For expected sub-contracting to partners, the total amount of the grant is included.
B. Costs of Consortium Partners	Costs for the coordination and strengthening of the PoD network. This entails, for instance, direct staff time of the Consortium lead linked to coordination, in addition to activities planned for this matter (e.g. Consortium meetings).
C. Activity-related travel costs	Costs for travel, based on the planned activities in-country and between countries. The impact on climate and of COVID-19 have been taken into account.
D. Project office costs	Office running costs required for the implementation of the PoD programme.
E. Equipment and investment costs	In year one (2021) most Consortium Partners will invest in required equipment. In some cases, additional (small) investments are done in the following years. Necessary internet connections and digital meeting facilities are included.
F. Monitoring, evaluation and auditing	Costs for lead Partner NIMD PMEL and financial control staff, trainings, and Mid-Term and Final Evaluations. This also includes annual audits for each Consortium Partner.
III. Overheads/Indirect costs	
A. Costs of support staff	Staff costs for Consortium Partners, to support the organization and management functions, based on time foreseen on said activities.
B. Not directly allocable administrative costs	N/A The PoD Consortium does not distinguish between 'not directly allocable administrative costs' (III.B) and 'other directly allocable costs' (III.C). To ensure consistency and harmonization within the overall budget, the Consortium has decided to use only budget category III.C.
C. Other not directly allocable costs	Consortium Partner running costs that are not presented under category II.D. These could include rent, depreciation and other institutional costs. This also includes other costs like non-activity related travel, institutional costs related to the governance of the organization, cleaning and security costs, communication not directly related to activities, and general supplies.



6. List of annexes

Annex 1 – PoD Annual Budget 2025

Annex 2 – List of planned interventions in 2025 (country, regional and global level)

Annex 3 – PoD 2025 targets contribution to SRL - SCS indicator frameworks

Annex 4 - Overview of targets deviations per country

Annex 5 - Updated risks assessment