

Netherlands Institute for  
**Multiparty Democracy**

***Annual Report 2018***  
***Strategic Partnership Programme***

Conducive environment for effective policy influencing: the role of  
political parties and parliaments

April 2019

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## 1. Introduction

This document presents the Annual Report 2018 for the programme entitled “Conducive environment for effective policy influencing: the role of political parties and parliaments”, implemented under the 2016-2020 Strategic Partnership (SP) with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). It focuses on strengthening the lobby and advocacy roles and capacities of political actors, and creating an enabling environment for inclusive development, so that lobby and advocacy efforts by civil society fall on fertile ground. The programme is implemented in 12 countries.<sup>1</sup>

We started the year without our alliance partner, AWEPA, that unfortunately dissolved at the end of 2017 due to an unsustainable financial position. Much of the year was therefore devoted to ensuring that further programmatic and financial damage was minimized and reorienting the African country programmes, where NIMD and AWEPA had implemented the programme together. The latter was done in a number of sequential steps, starting with a general and country-specific programme assessment and risk analysis, followed by additional feasibility studies in a number of countries.

Based on this, NIMD concluded that it was possible to integrate the parliamentary component in all seven country programmes (Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Mali and Benin) albeit with some adjustments. The conclusions of these feasibility studies were presented to the Ministry, alongside a transitional budget for the second half of 2018 and a revised multi-annual budget, on 26 April 2018. In the 2019 annual plans, the readjustment of the country-level Theories of Change (ToC) were outlined.

On the financial side, an intensive process of reconstructing the financial accountability of AWEPA’s part of the SP programme took place, as well as an internal review process to take stock of lessons learned and incorporate preventive measures to reduce financial risk in the future. In its letter of 20 September 2018, the Ministry concluded in that NIMD had conducted its oversight role as lead applicant in conformance with its contractual agreements and agreed that NIMD would not be held liable for the financial gap left by AWEPA. With this formal confirmation and the waiving of the AWEPA debt, NIMD was able to turn the page and fully focus on programme implementation again.

The conclusion of the AWEPA dossier coincided with the presentation of the findings and recommendations of the Mid-Term Review (MTR) conducted by MDF and the outcome harvest pilot conducted by Ricardo Wilson Grau and Goele Scheers. Both processes have been highly inspirational and motivational despite the significant staff time and input required. The findings were also very reassuring. Not only do the reviews underline the relevance of NIMD’s work, they also present evidence towards both intermediate outcomes and early signs of change.

The past year, NIMD together with its partners EECMD and IEA, has also phased out its programmes in Georgia and Ghana in line with the contractual agreements under the SP-programme. Both partners have fully met reporting and accountability requirements with which programmes have successfully come to an end. Cooperation with EECMD will continue under the DfS programme in Ukraine. In Ghana, the programme has been ended on a positive note with the production of a documentary, which presents a nice record of achievements under the partnership over the past decade.

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<sup>1</sup> Benin, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Myanmar, Uganda, Zimbabwe and El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras (regional programme).

In the following sections, an update will be provided on the country programmes (§2) and the Theory of Change (§3), including a number of country cases and a summary of the main programme developments in 2018. After that, a number of cross-cutting themes and programmes will be highlighted, including International Lobby and Advocacy, the Learning Agenda, and Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (§4). In §5, the main changes in programmes and budgets are highlighted and explained.

## 2. Programme update

The state of democracy in the world continued its decline in 2018, notably in established and populous democracies such as Brazil, Hungary, Poland and the United States, as emphasized by the latest measurement of the V-Dem indicators.<sup>2</sup> According to the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy, strong disillusionment with the functioning of government increased across the globe in 2019, hurting confidence in political institutions, and ultimately in democracy itself.

These trends were also observed in countries in which NIMD intervenes as part of the Strategic Partnership programme. For instance, political developments in Mali contributed to the deterioration of citizen's confidence in democracy, as slow progress in the security field following the mid-2018 presidential election has increased frustration with the government and weakened the perception that democracy helps to maintain public order (see section 3 on how NIMD updated its country TOC in Mali). In Mozambique, the Democracy Index score also deteriorated as result of the disputed municipal election in October 2018, which brought risks of destabilising an ongoing peace process between the ruling party, FRELIMO, and an armed opposition party, RENAMO (see Mozambique programme highlight on municipal elections in the box below).

But despite this growing disenchantment, various reports on the state of democracy also show that there are reasons to be optimistic about the future of democracies. These include strong resilience of most democracies in light of growing global and transnational challenges, as well as the increase of political participation around the world. In Uganda, progress in this area has also been supported by increased political activism and protests throughout 2018, highlighting a growing willingness among the population to demand political reforms. The NIMD-facilitated interparty dialogue platform is aiming to respond to this demand (see Uganda Human Interest Story in Annex E). An increase in political participation has also been noted Ethiopia, due to democratic reforms of the political system (see Ethiopia Human Interest Story in Annex E). These are a positive sign and necessary steps for Ethiopia to be upgraded from its authoritarian status.

While there are signs of hope, the fact the public is increasingly disconnected from political institutions such as political parties and parliaments shows that NIMD's interventions to help them becoming more responsive to citizen's needs remain extremely relevant. Despite the fact that the country programmes in Georgia and Ghana ended in 2018, NIMD continues to work in nine countries and one region as part of the Strategic Partnership programme. In the context of this Annual Report, we would like to highlight programme developments in Zimbabwe, Myanmar and Mozambique (see boxes below). In Annex E, we have included a number of human interest stories, which provide insight into the impact of NIMD programmes on the lives of individuals in Ethiopia, Uganda and Guatemala.

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<sup>2</sup> Based on initial findings, the complete 2019 V-Dem Democracy Report will be published on 22 May

## Zimbabwe

Following the removal of President Robert Mugabe through a military intervention in November 2017 and his replacement with Emmerson Mnangagwa, Zimbabwean politics remained tumultuous in the run-up to the presidential elections and the need for consensus between the ruling party and opposition was strong. In the Interparty Dialogue Platform, supported by the Zimbabwean Institute (ZI), NIMD's implementing partner in Zimbabwe, the political parties of Zimbabwe ZANU-PF agreed to collectively review the Code of Conduct for Political Parties. Subsequently, they worked in partnership with the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and the Ministry of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs to ensure the collectively agreed changes were able to pass through Parliament, resulting in the Amendment to the Electoral Act. This in turn led to the signing of a peace pledge among political parties and the deployment of a provincial conflict mitigation mechanism during the elections.

## Myanmar

In 2018, NIMD supported and facilitated the establishment of dialogue within the Multiparty Dialogue Platform (MDP) for the political parties that are represented in the Shan State Parliament. The main objectives of the MDP are to increase the trust between the political parties in Shan State, work towards all-round development and achieve visible improvements. Since its inception, MPs representing 12 different parties attended five multiparty dialogue sessions, one Shan State Parliament visit and one study visit to Indonesia. The 12 parties' leaders then met with Myanmar's Food and Drug Administration, Shan State's Chief Minister, and the Speaker of Shan State Parliament. As a result, the multiparty dialogue platform, and the Democracy School alumni-led working group below it, drafted the "Shan State Law of Food Safety in Basic Education Schools bill". The parties went on joint lobby visits to the different party leaderships to build cross-party support for the bill, which will be tabled in early 2019.

## Mozambique

In 2018 NIMD's partner in Mozambique, the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD), implemented a series of activities around the municipal elections held on 10 October. One of these activities was the set-up of election observation centres known as "Peace Rooms", which was also used for the Nampula parliamentary by-elections. The Peace Rooms brought together a diverse set of social and political actors from parties, government and civil society to monitor every stage of the election in real-time. If any issues arose, these could be solved through dialogue with the different political parties or the electoral management bodies present. The participants could examine the campaigns, voting, and vote counting in real time. This supported the credibility and non-violent nature of the elections.

### 3. Update on ToC

#### Country ToCs

The programme Theory of Change (ToC) explains the changes that the programme aims to contribute to, the strategies and interventions put in place to achieve this contribution, as well as the underlying assumptions. In line with the recommendations from the Mid-term Programme Evaluation, all programme countries conducted their ToC review during the Regional PME Meetings in September 2018. The revision was carried out by introducing the actor-based pathways of change. This allowed country teams to strategically plan their interventions for the remaining two years of the programme and double check if country specific ToC outcomes are still valid.

In Mali, the ToC has been significantly updated based on the findings of the Political Economy Analysis conducted during the first half of 2018. Actor-based pathways of change were developed to address the main problems identified during the PEA process, such as the lack of accountability of Malian elites to their own population, and the lack of regulation on spending on politics (leading to the exclusion of marginalized group from elected positions). The updated ToC further acknowledges that Malian citizens feel relatively little ownership of the political system and take very little responsibility for it, emphasizing the need for a new Social Contract.

It is important to highlight that, in light of the recommendations from the programme Mid-Term Review, all countries will revisit their ToCs during PME regional meetings and as a part of the 2019 planning cycle. Pathways of change and any ToC adjustments for 2019 have been submitted to the Ministry with the Annual plan 2019 (see section 4.3 below).

#### PME measurements

NIMD's SP result monitoring framework means that outcome indicators need to be monitored at the baseline, midline and endline of the programme. This is carried out in addition to bi-annual intermediate outcome indicators monitoring (at mid- and end of each calendar year).

Since the beginning of the programme, outcome indicator measurement has been conducted in 2016 (baseline) and at the end of 2018 (mid-line). Intermediate indicators have also been measured (early 2017, mid-2017, mid- and end- 2018). In the section below, we have highlighted the main findings from these measurements on each of the levels that the programme works on (system, actor, and culture). The table in Annex B provides a summarized overview of the intermediate indicators that have been most frequently measured across the various country programmes. More country-specific indicators can be found under the respective country programmes in the IATI platform. Annex D presents the overview of outcome indicators across programmes, while in Annex C we have included an overview with the results in relation to the DSO core indicators for the Dialogue & Dissent programme.

The results show that the implementation of programme activities have picked up in most countries resulting, for instance, in an increasing number of political parties participating in the dialogue, Democracy School graduates and political parties trained, as well as number of proposals submitted to the parliament (as presented in Table 1 below).

**Table 1: Comparative results overview 2017/2018**

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2018</b>
Number of dialogue platforms	12	12
Number of dialogue platforms meetings held	66	78
Number of agreements reached as a result of dialogue platform meetings	58	65
Number of proposals submitted to the parliament	5	19
Number of political parties participating in dialogue platforms	75	304
Number of political parties trained	119	221
Number of democracy schools	6	6
Number of democracy schools graduates	611	830

However, it is important to note that the data aggregation is still limited by the lack of measurements for the activities related to the parliamentary component in 2018. It is therefore difficult to make a reliable comparison between the data collected in 2016 and 2018. Furthermore, the intermediate outcome indicators are formulated closely to the outputs and activities, making it difficult to assess to what extent the programme is progressing towards the desired outcomes and impact. Nonetheless, an attempt at assessing the progress has been made by using programme mid-term review and mid-term outcome measurements.

### **Progress at system level**

At a system level, the programme aims to contribute to creating an enabling environment where political and civic actors can fruitfully interact and play their roles in inclusive policymaking. One important outcome that the programme is working towards is the creation of safe spaces for dialogue between relevant political and civic actors.

In 2018, NIMD supported 12 interparty dialogue platforms in which 221 political parties were represented. The topics discussed at the platforms included electoral and constitutional reforms, political party financing, decentralization and gender regulations. Within the jointly agreed framework of the platforms, there were a total of 19 policy proposals jointly formulated and submitted to parliament for consideration in 8 countries (Benin, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Zimbabwe).

In Ethiopia, for instance, NIMD signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE), enabling NIMD to expand its programme. With this agreement, NIMD now assists NEBE in its role of organizing elections and, in coordination with NEBE, helps political parties refine their organizational capacity and policy drafting skills. In August, NIMD trained representatives of all Ethiopia's political parties in dialogue and conflict resolution, ahead of a new inclusive dialogue between all Ethiopian political parties on reforms of areas such as Ethiopia's electoral system and federal arrangements.

Another noteworthy example is Uganda, where the NIMD-supported Interparty Organization for Dialogue (IPOD) organized the first ever party leaders' Summit in December 2018. The summit was the result of several meetings between the Secretaries General of the main political parties within the

framework of IPOD, and was attended by all parliamentary parties apart from one (FDC). The summit successfully endorsed a comprehensive agenda to address political rights and electoral reforms, and increase the participation of women and youth in politics. The FDC has since committed to the IPOD agenda and to participating in the next stages of the dialogue process.

### System level Interparty Dialogue Results



- 78** Interparty dialogue meetings.
- 221** Participating political parties.
- 19** Proposals submitted to parliament.

**Progress at actor level**

At an actor level, the programme intends to contribute to making political actors more embedded in society and more responsive to citizens, and to increasing the capacity of political actors to formulate policies. In 2018, the programme contributed to strengthening the capacities of 21,000 people<sup>3</sup> who participated in NIMD-supported capacity building activities issues related to local governance, strategic planning, non-violent communication and interparty dialogue skills. These people represented 434 CSOs and 304 political parties. On average 42% of participants in these activities were woman and 14% were youth (below 25 years of age).

One example of actor level progress: Honduras’s elections in November 2017 had led to increased political polarization in the country. NIMD responded to this by providing 126 MPs from seven political parties with two training programmes: one focused on the technical aspects of lawmaking; and another on “soft” political skills such as working together in a commission, facilitating dialogue, and building consensus. After this induction training, the two largest parties asked NIMD to organize more advanced training on these soft skills for their members in Congress.

### Actor level Capacity Strengthening Results



- 304** Political parties trained.
- 9506** Women taking part in NIMD activities.
- 1302** Youth taking part in NIMD activities.

<sup>3</sup> Including 830 graduates from Democracy schools

## Progress at culture level

At a culture level, the programme intends to contribute to creating a culture of accommodation and consultation between political actors and with civic actors. This facilitates system and actor level change. One important outcome that the programme is working towards is ensuring that politicians have internalized democratic values, including more gender sensitive and inclusive politics.

In 2018, democratic values and behaviour continued to be promoted through, amongst other interventions, dedicated Democracy Schools in six countries. A total of 830 people were trained, thereby greatly contributing to the development of democratic behaviour, values and skills at an individual level, and to the creation of trust, responsiveness and mutual understanding between political and civic actors.

Furthermore, in addition to the interparty dialogue platforms supported under the system level, NIMD supported 103 multi-stakeholder platform meetings in 2018, attended by political actors, civil society representatives, academics, parliamentarians, journalists, community leaders and government officials in 10 countries.

To overcome the persisting gap in Guatemala between political and civic actors, NIMD organized several meetings between party representatives and community and indigenous leaders, women's organizations, farmers' co-operations, and LGBTI representatives to jointly identify policy proposals. Half of Guatemala's political parties have committed themselves to include these in their electoral programmes.



## 4. Cross-cutting themes and programme

Within the SP programme, there are a number of cross-cutting programmes and themes, such as the International Lobby and Advocacy strategy, the Learning Agenda, and Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation. These will be addressed in this section.

### 4.1 International Lobby & Advocacy

*The SP's International Lobby & Advocacy (ILA) strategy aims at lobbying for the integration of political parties and parliaments as essential actors in international development policies at various levels, including the EU and regional levels.*

The European Union (EU) component of ILA for the year 2018 was undertaken by the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD). The activities in 2018 were divided into thematic and country-

specific ILA and slightly modified from the objectives of 2016 and 2017 given the changes to the policy framework at EU level. As a result, a large part of the NIMD ILA for the EU in 2018 focused on pushing the EU institutions and member states to upgrade their democracy support approach. This strategy consisted of two parts:

- a) a review of EU and member state policies since the 2009 EU Council Conclusions on democracy;
- b) a review of what support to democracy looked like over the last decade based on several country case studies.

The findings will aim to influence the new EU strategy for the next financing framework and give ground for updated EU council conclusions in 2019. Activities included two country reviews (Zimbabwe, Tunisia); preparations for two others (Honduras, Armenia); corresponding expert roundtables in-country and in Brussels; position papers; and lobbying events. This has resulted in the high likelihood of renewed EU council conclusions to be tabled during the Finnish EU presidency.

As for the United Nations (UN) component of ILA, the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD) network undertakes the lobby and advocacy role to highlight the need for multiparty democracy support. A key component consisted of support to UNDP to give input to their draft guidance note on working with political parties. A workshop was organized in New York where the members shared their experience and knowledge on the topic with the UNDP. The event was highly appreciated by the UNDP. The main outcome was a better connection between UN Peace and Development Advisors and GPMD members at the country level, and an acknowledgement by UNDP that it would be of strategic interest to work closer with GPMD at the country level in relation to supporting political actors. This will be continued in 2019 in light of the SDG16 review at the High Level Political Forum (HLPF) taking place in July.

Finally, as part of its effort to step up the ILA at the regional level, NIMD has engaged with the Commission of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its Political Affairs Division. Discussions on their attempts to facilitate dialogue between political parties from the member states, as well as the initiative to harmonize their legal framework, will be followed-up in 2019.

## **4.2 The Learning Agenda**

*The learning agenda for the SP intends to ensure that programme experiences, knowledge and best practices are systematically tracked, documented and shared between the strategic partners and the local implementing organizations. This is achieved through research and development around a number of core themes, monitoring and evaluation, peer learning and a continuous reflection on the programme interventions.*

In 2018, NIMD continued to deepen its knowledge on the core themes of the Learning Agenda, by conducting two more case studies on Shrinking Democratic Space in Central America and Indonesia, creating a total of five. These case studies will form the basis of the comparative analysis phase of the project that will take place in the last two years of the programme. Regarding the party-parliament nexus theme, NIMD has used the second half of 2018 to engage with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), following the approval of the integration of the parliamentary component, to work on revised framework for the research project. While the process of conducting additional country

case studies using the revised framework has been initiated, NIMD and WFD will work on knowledge products designed to help political parties get the most out of their representation in parliament. In addition, the two organizations have started to conduct research on the Cost of Politics around the parliamentary elections in two countries (Mali and Benin), which will be completed in 2019.

Furthermore, the Learning Agenda continued to focus on cross-fertilization between NIMD country programmes, drawing lessons learned with regard to the main programme interventions and identifying best practices. To this end, NIMD has organized strategic reflection meetings at the regional level (see Section 4.3 below).

## 4.3 Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation

### Programme Mid-Term review

The Mid-Term Review (MTR) conducted by MDF and the outcome harvest pilot conducted by Ricardo Wilson Grau and Goele Scheers for Mali and Mozambique took place between March and September 2018. Though very intensive in terms of staff time and engagement, both processes have been highly inspirational and motivational. The purpose of the MTR was to provide insight into the design and initial implementation of interventions, as well as the achievement of intermediate results, as input for programmatic learning and steering in the remainder of the programme period. The main recommendations are:

(1) Although the current programme ToC - organized around the system-actor-culture (S-A-C) model - is a useful conceptual framework depicting dimensions targeted by the SP, these levels are too interrelated for the framework to be used well for planning. Therefore, maintain the dimensions of the model, but make it actor-centred. This means that the three dimensions should not be regarded as three interrelated concepts at the same level. Instead, a sequential logic should be assumed whereby system and culture change is pursued through actors. Country ToCs for the 2019 annual plan have been updated in line with this recommendation.

(2) Adapt the ToC logic to facilitate planning and enable monitoring of meaningful progress. Using an actor-centred ToC to facilitate planning and monitoring, allows for a more concrete and distinct intervention strategy to be defined for influencing each of the targeted actors. Results can then be outlined in terms of actor's behaviour, starting from the current situation and ending with the desired ultimate behaviour deemed necessary to realise the desired system and culture changes. This allows for more concrete formulation of progressive intermediate outcomes that include expected "short-term results", and that can then be captured by early signs of progress. Country annual plans for 2019 have been developed in line with this recommendation, and detailed actor-centred pathways that allow for better monitoring of intermediate results are available. A summarized version of the actor-based pathways of change for each country programme has been provided in Annex I.

Other PME-specific recommendations will be followed-up in 2019. These include:

- Adding a qualitative aspect to results monitoring and reporting at output level (i.e. the direct results following from an intervention)
- Integrating Gender Equality into the core of the programme's intervention logic as a common practice. This will be followed with the development of gender-inclusion specific indicators in 2019
- Expanding Outcome Harvesting. This exercise was extremely well received by country teams, where it was carried out during the MTR. Therefore, NIMD increased its capacity in this approach as follow-up and replication in a number of SP countries will follow in 2019.

### **Regional PME meetings**

The SP Mid-term Review process coincided with NIMD's internal mid-year programme review process in the first week of September, and the SP planning cycle for 2019. Although the timing proved to be somewhat tight, it was possible to incorporate mid-term review recommendations, as well as the results of the Outcome Harvest pilot that had formed part of the MTR, into 2019 annual plan and the underlying country annual plans for 2019. Hence, all PME officers have been trained to incorporate actor-based pathways of change as a basis for the development of annual plans and annual monitoring frameworks. Refresh workshops on NIMD M&E have been incorporated in meeting sessions in order to level PME capacities and bring the understanding of PME processes among Programme Managers/Directors to the same level across programmes. Regional PME meetings were greatly appreciated by all participants.

### **Regular PME activities**

At the beginning of the year, all country programmes received feedback on their results measurements in 2017 and their formulated indicators for 2018. A ToC review was conducted by all programmes during the PME regional meetings in September, where participants also received additional PME training. Country-specific ToCs were adapted where needed (as explained in Section 3 above).

### **Measuring results of the parliamentary component**

Based on a general and country-specific programme assessment and risk analysis, followed by additional feasibility studies in a number of countries, NIMD has concluded that it will be possible to integrate the parliamentary component in all seven country programmes (Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Mali and Benin) with some adjustments. The conclusions of these feasibility studies were presented to the Ministry, alongside a transitional budget for the second half of 2018 and a revised multi-annual budget on 26 April 2018. Hence, towards the end of last year, NIMD's PME team has developed, in cooperation with respective NIMD Programme Managers and country teams, a set of intermediate outcome indicators for the parliamentary component. The measurement of these indicators will commence in 2019.

## 5. Budget deviations

The Financial Report is included in Annex A of this report. The approved 2018 budget was € 6.065.558. This is based on the updated annual plan 2018 integrating the parliamentary component of the programme (formerly managed by AWEPA), as approved by DSH in May 2018. The actual expenditure in 2018 is € 5.187.191. This means 86% of our budget was used in 2018. The underspending is again a consequence of the problems faced within the Strategic Partnership programme due to the dissolution of AWEPA. New activities under the parliamentary component needed to be started, which took longer than we anticipated. Besides this, the constantly changing political situations needed us to adapt our programming, which has led to some of the underspending on line level.

In the first part of the report we included the summary of the 2016 and 2017 figures. These figures present the approved original budgets, the renewed budgets and the actual, audited figures for both NIMD and AWEPA. As AWEPA is no longer part of the Strategic Partnership, the 2018 figures are only related to NIMD. In the last column of the Financial Overview, explanations are provided for deviations of more than 10% in country programmes and cross-cutting programmes as compared to the approved 2018 budget. Explanations are also included in case budget line level deviations of more than 25% are shown.

*Annex A: Financial Overview*

*Annex B: Intermediate outcome measurements*

*Annex C: SPDD indicator measurement*

*Annex D: Mid-term outcome measurements*

*Annex E: Human Interest Stories*