

MAPPING AND STUDY ON PERFORMANCE INDICATORS FOR EU SUPPORT TO POLITICAL PARTIES

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ACRONYMS

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
CBSS	Country Based Support System
CDI	Centrist Democrat International
CMI	Chr. Michelsen Institute
CoC	Code of Conduct
CRIS	Common Relex Information System (EU)
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DEVCO	Development and Cooperation Directorate of the EC
DFID	Department for International Development UK
DIPD	Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy
EC	European Commission
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists
EDF/FED	European Development Fund
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
ENoP	European Network of Political Foundations
ENPI	European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument
EPP	European Peoples Party
EU	European Union
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FNSt	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung
Green/EFA	The Greens, European Free Alliance
GUE/NGL	European United Left - Nordic Green Left
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDU	International Democrat Union
IFS	Instrument for Stability
IRI	International Republican Institute
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
LI	Liberal International
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
ODI	Overseas Development Institute UK
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PEA	Political Economy Analysis
PLWD	People Living With Disabilities
S&D	Socialists and Democrats in European Parliament
SI	Socialist International
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SILC	Swedish International Liberal Centre
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Acceptable, Realistic, Time-bound
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Guide provides practical advice and recommendations for EU staff at headquarters and in EU Delegations, involved in democracy support project identification and formulation, by providing a comprehensive analysis on EC political party projects and identifying pertinent performance indicators.

The development of the Guide took place against the background of growing interest from the side of the EU and its Member States on democracy support in general and political party assistance in particular. Increasing the EU's engagement with, and support for the development of viable, democratic and representative political parties appears necessary at present, not only to bring about a change towards a democratic political culture in partner countries, but also to ensure a successful outcome of other related democracy support activities. Political parties need to be supported as actors in their own rights, but also need to figure highly when strengthening mechanisms of domestic accountability and oversight.

The objective of this Guide to performance indicators is to fill the gap between “micro” or output measurement (which cannot measure institutional change), and “macro” analyses of impact of democratic development in general (which cannot assess the merits of individual initiatives). The “meso” level of impact assessment, to which this Guide is directed, aims to monitor to what extent individual political party support activities change behaviour in the political party functioning area as a result of the impact of the activity.

One key starting point in performance monitoring (and even earlier, in project design) is ensuring that the programme theory or logic is aligned with the intended outcomes. This Guide then explores other general issues in political party support programme design and effectiveness measurement, including: a/ Understanding the political, institutional, historical and national context; b/ Conducting baseline assessments on the state of affairs of political parties; c/ Planning for synergies between assistance to parties and parliaments, and between assistance to parties and electoral assistance; d/ Integrating impact assessment and Monitoring & Evaluation into project design.

The Guide analyses the methods of assistance to political parties and party systems, and discusses assistance to individual parties and party system, the most common focus areas for support to political parties and political party system, and the delivery methods for party assistance.

Based on a mapping and analysis of EU-supported political party assistance projects over the past seven years, and an analysis of best practices by other democratic development actors, the Guide identifies eight thematic areas of political party

assistance. These include: 1/ Internal party functioning and management; 2/ Party electoral campaigning, outreach to members, citizens and society; 3/ Development of party policies and programs; 4/ International party assistance and interaction with international political party umbrella organizations; 5/ Building stable inter-party relations and communications; 6/ Parties and society; participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups; 7/ Parties and parliament; 8/ Party legislative framework.

The Guide discusses each of these areas in turn, beginning in each case with a discussion of the program logic and objectives involved. Each of the eight sections contains a table which identifies the three most common planned outcomes of support. The table identifies the types of possible indicative activities supported to achieve those goals, sample output and outcome indicators, and possible impact assessment and/or measurement methodologies; and sample assumptions. While every project will have unique outcome objectives, it is hoped that the types of outcome, activities, indicators and measurement methodologies will be useful in designing specific project impact assessment approaches.

The Guide concludes with a short resource list and annexes, including the bibliography of references consulted and an exemplary results framework from one of the EU-funded party assistance projects.

1.1. OBJECTIVE OF THIS GUIDE

The objective of this document is to assist relevant EU staff at headquarters and in EU Delegations in democracy support project identification and formulation, by providing a comprehensive analysis on EC political party programs and identifying pertinent performance indicators. It is also meant as a guide for the broader practitioner community.

The Guide focuses on two key areas :

- ① A mapping and analysis of EU support to political parties, which required a careful analysis of most democracy projects supported by the EU, as components within larger parliamentary support projects, electoral assistance projects, deepening democracy programs are often related to political parties, in addition to specific political party projects;
- ② Development of methodological guidelines, including a standard set of performance indicators in order to provide political party support project formulators with elements to ensure effectiveness within the general aim of strengthening democratic processes in beneficiary countries.

The following issues and challenges related to measuring the impact of political party support arose during the elaboration of this study, many of whom are common to broader democracy support:

- Attribution question: how can one attribute a specific change to the input from one particular project? As in other areas of democracy support, it is difficult to establish the causal link between input and output, between projects assistance and the improvement of the performance of political parties. A balanced qualitative judgement will need to be made to enable aspects of attribution to the project.
- Political party projects or support activities, in particular when incorporated in broader programs such as on parliamentary assistance, are almost always relatively small scale, and it is difficult to measure their impact separately from other national and international interventions affecting a country.
- Established measuring techniques such as a standard “control group” for measuring impact is not feasible for political party projects.
- In addition, often more than one development partner is working with the party or parties in

a country and it is not possible to differentiate between the impacts of the different support projects.

- The support to parties has to be based on an analysis of the interdependence of the political institutions in a particular country. Since political parties can be either key drivers of, or obstacles to democratic reform, a “Political Economy Analysis” could be appropriate. A rigid program design ignores the fact that politics is never static and that political programs need to respond to this reality, so that the planning process itself should evolve over time. Although the objectives should remain constant, the activities and interventions should be continually adapted.

This Guide is part of a series of similar guides produced by the EC on electoral assistance, parliamentary development, media support and civic education. A specific EC training module based on this Guide will also be available.

The objective of this Guide is not to discuss in an exhaustive manner the broad scope of party assistance programming. Substantial theoretical analysis and relevant background information on the role of political parties and the modalities of party assistance have been referenced in the bibliography in annex. In this Guide, the discussion on political party programming has been mentioned as way of introducing the main section on results frameworks and indicators.

1.2. ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties play a crucial role in fostering a pluralistic environment that is capable of reflecting a wide range of political views and interests which democracy requires. Political parties play a number of roles in democratic politics, such as¹:

- aggregating citizens’ views and interests;
- providing structured political choices to citizens;
- engaging citizens in the democratic process;
- training and socialising political leaders;
- developing policies and taking responsibility for implementing them;
- facilitating coordination within legislatures and between branches of government;
- advancing government accountability (role of opposition parties); and
- initiating pro-development policies.

The general perception of political parties in many developing and democratising countries is largely negative and parties are often unpopular. They are often seen as corrupt, as instruments for power-hungry

1- Carothers, T., 'Political Party Aid: Change, Challenges and Possible Principles', Paper presented at the OECD DAC Senior Level Meeting, Paris, 6-7 April 2011.

elites, lacking programmatic or ideological content, active only during the electoral period and ill-prepared for the job of governing. This undermines the effectiveness of political parties to aggregate the citizens' interests, to engage citizens in the democratic process, to dispose of a grassroots base and to act as a bridge between civil society and political institutions.

The problems inherent to political parties across many developing and democratising countries often stem from imbalances in the political system and party system. Political parties can often not fulfil their potential due to gaps in the constitution building process, a flawed electoral process, restrictive legislation on political parties, politicised election management structures, or weak parliaments (for instance, due to ineffective opposition and party-switching).

In addition, the legal and political context may result in highly fragmented party systems with high volatility (with many parties appearing and disappearing) or in weakly institutionalised party systems. All these factors have an inhibiting effect on the role of political parties and decrease their relevance in the political system.

Hence, it is of crucial importance within a wider, holistic approach to democracy support to also focus on addressing shortcomings in the framework of the party system. Promoting the establishment of a party system which encourages the emergence of democratic, transparent and accountable political parties is therefore as important as building the capacity of political parties to fully play their role. This requires giving due consideration to the legal and regulatory environment in order to establish an unrestrictive and suitable context in which political parties can develop and function freely from the interference of government and executive officials.

For instance, regulations on membership, financing, organization and minimum thresholds for election should be reasonable, applied equally to all parties, be subject to the possibility of legal challenge, and in accordance with international standards. Support to political parties should also go hand-in-hand with support to parliaments as public fora for negotiating peacefully competitive concepts of political and social order.

The catalysing effect of political party support beyond democratisation and towards other democratic objectives is important. Political party support is instrumental to development policies in general, and even to the political, diplomatic work of the European External Action Service (EEAS).

1.3. EU SUPPORT TO POLITICAL PARTIES

This study took place against the background of growing interest from the side of the EU and the member states on democracy support. The 2009 EU Council "Conclusions on Democracy Support" and its "Agenda for Action" established that EU democracy support should include a special focus on the role of political parties. The bulk of democracy support (in particular in the field of

governance and electoral assistance) is funded through the EU's geographic instruments and sometimes includes elements of political party support. EC data shows that electoral assistance alone amounted to almost 500 million Euros in the period 2007-2013. Thematic instruments such as the Instrument for Stability (IfS) and the European Instrument for Democracy and Human

Rights (EIDHR) allow the EU to complement wider democracy support activities funded through EU geographic instruments with more targeted projects.

One of the EIDHR's objectives is to provide support for the enhancement of participatory and representative democracy, including parliamentary democracy as well as the promotion of transparent democratic accountability and oversight and the promotion of political pluralism and democratic political representation or even the support to measures facilitating the peaceful conciliation of group interests. EIDHR support to political parties is also provided at country-level through its country based support schemes (CBSS).

One of the key principles of EU support to political parties is that such support can in no way be direct. For instance, within the EIDHR framework support to political parties is currently possible, via civil society organisations such as political foundations or other organisations. The same is valid for funding through other EU financial instruments.

A second key principle of EU support to political parties is related to the fact that the EU's range of action in this field is usually limited to countries where at least nominally the existence of a pluralistic party system is tolerated.

A third key principle pertains to the fact that EU support to political parties must be multi-partisan. In order to be seen as a neutral actor in the domestic context where support is provided, the EU must engage with several, if not all, democratic political parties. The EU has made a clear choice in favour of a multi-party approach, instead of a peer-to-peer approach.

The multi-party approach attempts to address the political party system. In this approach, party assistance providers focus on the overall problems of parties in the country as a whole. It primarily focuses on the legal framework, capacity building, e.g. on internal organization, internal democracy

and campaigning/ outreach, and the party-to-party dialogue.

An alternative to the multi-party approach is the peer-to-peer approach, which is often, though not exclusively, applied by political party foundations associated with well-established political parties in the EU or globally. The advantages of peer-to-peer approach are based on the shared common ideological platform, which makes cooperation easier. The interaction is based on trust between sister-parties and continues over a longer period. This makes it possible to discuss sensitive issues and value-based programmatic orientations. The peer-to-peer approach helps to connect parties in the developing and post-communist worlds to the party internationals, which is useful for socializing parties into the international networks and norms of political party life. However, there are also challenges to this approach. The link between strengthening a particular party and strengthening a multi-party system is not always clear. In addition, in many parts of the developing world and the post-communist worlds (especially the former Soviet Union), parties do not divide along ideological lines that correspond to the main European ideological groupings, or even along a left-right axis at all. As a result, Western party institutes cannot find natural ideological partners in many countries.

While the EU supports only multi-partisan efforts, it can be envisaged to support a broad peer-to-peer project where several sister parties from across the political spectrum collaborate with their counterparts in a given country as part of a broad, comprehensive capacity-building program. Although the multi-party method might face greater difficulty of creating a close party-to-party relationship between the assistance provider and recipient, on occasion, political foundations also use the multi-party method, while developing quite close relationships with some parties in a country even though they are helping several parties in the country simultaneously.

In applying the multi-party approach, the question

emerges of how far one can go, how inclusive one has to be towards the wide range of political parties. Sometimes, projects are limited to those parties represented in parliament, the so-called parliamentary parties. However, this approach can considerably disadvantage a large opposition party in case it decided to boycott parliament, or it might exclude smaller parties which didn't manage to pass the electoral threshold. In selecting the target groups for the project, proper consideration should be given to what extent the project would give unbalanced advantage to the ruling parties. A possible alternative approach is to invite all registered democratic political parties to participate in project activities², although the number of parties can be a drawback, in which case a thorough Political Economy Analysis is important to keep the option of focusing on several parties instead of targeting all parties. While the EU is ready to work with all democratic political parties, by way of principle, in practice many democratic political parties will actually not join in these support activities due to limited human resources or lack of time, but should they wish to join, the door remains open.

Increasing the EU's engagement with and support for the development of viable, democratic and representative political parties appears necessary at present, not only to bring about a change towards a democratic political culture in partner countries, but also to ensure a successful outcome of other related democracy support activities. Political parties need to be supported as actors in their own rights, but need also to figure highly when strengthening mechanisms of domestic accountability and oversight.

Strong and democratic political parties not only strengthen participation and representation, but also service delivery and public expenditure transparency. These in turn can have a positive impact on a more effective implementation of EU development cooperation, including through budgetary support. Despite being included in the EU's holistic approach to democracy support -as reflected in the 2009 EU Council Conclusions on Democracy Support in the EU's External Relations- and despite the adoption of the EU Agenda for Change, EU support to political parties has remained limited.

1.4. USING THIS GUIDE

Many political party assistance projects focus their monitoring and evaluation efforts on measurement of basic project inputs and outputs. Therefore, for example, a project might aim to train a certain number of political party activists in organizing political campaign events. The project would then track whether this activity was carried out on time and within budget, and whether the number of participants met expectations. This type of monitoring is important, as it provides a guarantee of accountability, but it does not measure impact. Even when an evaluative component is added (e.g. post training surveys), these often measure participants' satisfaction rather than the actual impact on the effectiveness of the political parties' outreach.

The objective of this Guide to performance indicators is to fill the gap between output measurement (which cannot measure institutional change), and "macro" analyses of impact of democratic development in general (which cannot assess the merits of individual initiatives). The "meso" level of impact assessment,

2- Especially in transition contexts emerging from decades of autocratic one-party rule, a mushrooming of political parties can be experienced and often 100 to 200 parties are registered. Parliamentary representation indicates a certain mobilisation capacity of a given party, nation-wide representation eventually. However, when parties remain outside the electoral process by their own decision and bear the elements of mobilisation capacity and representativeness, they need to be included in party activities by a project.

to which this Guide is devoted, aims to monitor to what extent individual political party support activities change behaviour in the political party functioning area as a result of the impact of the activity³.

As an example, one of the possible interventions in the focus area of inter-party dialogue is to ensure that inter-party dialogue takes place based upon well researched policy proposals. This is an important area because inter-party dialogue is sensitive and, as far as this example is concerned, often party leaders may well not be able to put forward well researched proposals on which consensus can be found. The indicative *activity* is drafting policy papers and proposals, and the *output* is technically well equipped and informed party leaders. However this is of limited usefulness if the party leaders do not make use of these policy papers. Therefore, the measurable *outcome* indicators will include the number of pieces of joint policy platforms, agreed joint statements or endorsed draft legislation prior to and after support provided.

Although measurable outcome indicators are important because they provide easily demonstrable results, qualitative assessment is also an essential element, especially in determining exactly through what processes an activity has caused an impact, and where and how that impact can be enhanced. Therefore, in this example, the proposed outcome measure is “increased level of detail and improved quality of joint policy platform”. This is assessed through “before and after” analysis of the type of documents agreed upon between parties participating in the dialogue. This should be performed as part of the initial project needs assessment and be incorporated in monitoring and evaluation cycles.

For this Guide, the key themes in political party assistance are organized into eight focus areas. Within each of these areas, three key outcomes are identified, along with indicative activities, outcome indicators (both quantitative and qualitative), and measurement/assessment methodology. The eight focus areas are:

- Internal party functioning and management;
- Party electoral campaigning, outreach to members, citizens and society
- Development of party policies, programmes and platform;
- International party assistance and interaction with international party umbrella organisations;
- Building stable inter-party relations and communications;
- Parties and society; Participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups;
- Parties and parliament;
- Party legislative framework.

To a certain extent, these areas of political party assistance are interconnected and overlap. Often, political party assistance initiatives are described in terms of the party’s internal functioning, electoral outreach and policy platform development. However, when examining a wide range of EU-funded political party projects, it became clear that activities could best be grouped into these eight areas. The programmatic logic underpinning political party support in each of the areas is discussed in the introductory section to the outcome and indicators table for each of the eight themes.

The Guide does not claim to be exhaustive; there are many variations on outcomes to be sought in political party assistance, and on interventions to achieve those outcomes. The aim is to provide a range of key outcomes and associated indicators that can be adapted in political party support design, implementation,

3- For purpose of consistency, similar definitions are used as in this “twin” publication: European Commission, *Strengthening democracy support to EU Delegations: from performance indicators, knowledge sharing to expert services. Study on performance indicators for EU Parliamentary Support*, September 2012, p. 3-4.

and monitoring. A total of 21 outcomes have been identified in the eight focus areas, which represent the major types of activities noted in this study of EU political party assistance, as well as relevant other actors including UNDP, the European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) and its members, International IDEA, and others⁴.

The following chapters of this Guide will “unpack” the main components of the study. The next (second) chapter discusses a number of considerations on political party project design, stemming from reviewed EU-funded projects as well as relevant literature. The third chapter describes the conceptual analysis toolbox for project design and evaluation: the focus areas and delivery methods. The fourth chapter offers a mapping of EU-funded political party projects, “applies” the conceptual analysis toolbox to a number of case studies and offers a set of lessons learned. The last, most extensive chapter provides a sample of key outcomes and associated indicators for each of the eight focus areas.

4- Literature reviewed included publications of: Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD), Department for International Development UK (DFID), European Commission (EC), European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP), International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), National Democratic Institute (NDI), Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Overseas Development Institute UK (ODI), The Asia Foundation, The Oslo Centre, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

2.1. UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL, HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT

In designing political party projects, one needs to understand how the political, institutional, historical, political culture and national context affect the functioning of parties. Incorporating context analysis is vital for good project design.

The Political Economy Analysis (PEA)⁵ is an analytical tool that is well-suited for the type of political actors that political parties are. PEAs can become tools that are used systematically when analysing the premises of support or assessing the scope of activities in democracy support. One of the issues analyzed in a PEA are, for instance, the impact of informal rules on politics, and how the constitutional or electoral system affects the functioning and campaigning patterns of parties.

PEA investigates how political and economic processes interact in a given society, and support or impede the ability to solve development problems that require collective action. It takes particular account of the interests, incentives and institutions driving the behaviour of different groups and individuals, the distribution of power and wealth between them, and how these relationships are created, sustained and transformed over time. These relationships are crucial in explaining how politics works, how wealth is created, and how developmental change happens⁶.

The PEA is not only about identifying who is most likely to promote change. PEA is also, and even more importantly, about who/what is strongly *against* change, *why*, and how protectors of the status quo strike alliances to keep things the way they are - even if they have huge differences among themselves.

Based upon the review of relevant literature, there are (at least) five issues to be considered in the context analysis of political party projects: the political system, electoral legislation, fusion between state administration and ruling party, the political culture and existence of informal rules, and the historical and geographical context⁷.

Firstly, the political system is a key issue in the context analysis. If the country's constitution foresees in a presidential system, the nature of the presidential powers considerably affect the functioning of parties, either governing or opposition parties. Whether the political system envisages a strong or a ceremonial president, if there is

5- Political Economy Analysis aims to understand the motives of behaviour instead of just analysing the behaviour itself. It does so by including the political, economic and social context in its analysis in order to understand the underlying structures and processes that distributed power within a society. By doing so, PEA allows us to identify who the main actors are, who is most likely to promote change and where programmes have the most potential to be successful.

6- European Commission, *Using Political Economy Analysis to improve EU Development Effectiveness*, DEVCO non-paper, Brussels, March 2013.

7- Wild, L., Foresti M. and Domingo P., *International assistance to political party and party system development*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), January 2011, p. 2-4.

a prime minister appointed by the president or confirmed by parliament, if parliament votes-in or dismisses individual ministers or the cabinet as a whole determines to a large extent the political balance of power between ruling parties and opposition parties. Some countries have seen an alternation between military and civilian rule, often resulting in a powerful president, either military or civilian.

Secondly, the electoral legislative framework defines to a large extent the interaction between political parties. The degree of proportional representation or majoritarian system, whether there is an open or closed party list system, or the rules for electing the country's president are central in defining the rules of political interaction between parties. Rules of electoral competition are not always sufficiently considered in policy analysis of political party assistance, but they are crucial in shaping party strategies and incentives for coalition building among parties. These issues to a large extent determine whether dominant party systems emerge or whether there is a pattern of political fragmentation. In the absence of fair rules for electoral competition, the alternation of power can be disputed or election results not accepted. Reference should be made to the composition of Election Management Bodies (EMBs) as their composition (politicised/technical) impacts on party attitudes, decision-making processes and the acceptance of election results. An EMB perceived as independent contributes to confidence-building amongst political adversaries.

The third context issue to consider in designing political party projects is the possible fusion between the state administration and the ruling party. In many countries, it occurred that the ruling party has used state resources to consolidate its position, and state institutions have become heavily fused with the party. The blurring of state-party boundaries in dominant party systems renders the political party playing field uneven, which inhibits the fairness of the political game. This results in electoral processes that are politically manipulated, poor protection of civil liberties, or excessive capture of state resources by the incumbent party.

The fourth context issue to consider in designing political party projects is the impact of informal rules on politics and the political culture. The extent to which, for example, clientelism or patronage shape societal structures can have important implications for the political system, and parties within it. There is often a set of unwritten rules, e.g. regarding how parliamentary candidates, party leaders or presidential candidates are selected and how MPs vote. Political culture is an essential element that can both block progress or catalyze change⁸.

Finally, the historical and geographical context affects the functioning of parties. For example, in many Latin American countries, there are long histories of party

8- While there may not be any definite set of prerequisites which ensures that a democracy emerges and consolidates, democratic systems will not remain sustainable over time in the absence of a rooted democratic political culture. This culture includes a norm that requires the main political players (both in the elite and the mass public), political parties, and civil society groups to accept democracy as "the only game in town". In other words, the democratic process is the only legitimate means to gain power and to channel/process demands, and losers accept such outcomes and remain committed to the overarching framework of pre-established democratic rules. See: NIMD, Theory of Change, draft document 25 November 2013, p. 15

9- Carothers, T., *Confronting the Weakest Link - Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, 2006.

development, so that current weaknesses are explained by party decay or the decline of more established parties. In other parts of Latin America, the “crisis” of parties concerns the persistence of unstable and fragmented party systems⁹. Many African parties (though not all) are relatively new institutions dating from the post-colonial period, and many are likely to have experienced the consolidation of one-party presidential rule and more recently the opening up of multi-party politics, with ongoing fragilities in the party system. Party systems are also shaped by a country’s regional politics and history. In some countries, the party system remains polarised by attitudes towards a powerful neighbour with whom the country was in conflict or at war. Unresolved social cleavages (in relation to class, gender, ethnicity or religion) can perpetuate confrontational politics which colours how parties develop and interact¹⁰.

The context analysis also needs to cover the power bases of political parties (old families, military, faith based groups, farmers, organized crime, a particular region). In addition, the context analysis needs to look into the issue to what extent the party/parties are more or less issue oriented or more or less leader centric/identity based (i.e. is there a party program based in some kind of coherent view of society and citizens, and is there capacity to turn these ideas into politics – whether in government or in opposition) or is the party merely set up to support a charismatic leader or to push for a certain ethnic/regional/religious/social group.

That political parties function within a wider political system and reflect a given context, seems an obvious point, but it has not necessarily been reflected in all EU-funded support to political parties to date. As political parties are embedded within wider political systems, programme design for party support needs to be underpinned by strong context analysis, such as the Political Economy Analysis. This should go beyond one-off or static analysis, and be integrated into programming and monitoring. This implies working more at the party system level, on a cross party basis, where possible.

2.2. CONDUCTING A BASELINE ASSESSMENT ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

A solid baseline assessment of the country’s political parties and party system is essential for good project design, preparing the way for project objectives, project focus areas and methodologies. Following are a number of components to be considered in preparing such baseline assessment.¹¹

A baseline assessment reviews where parties can be situated on a spectrum from more programmatic parties, which have a strong set of values, policies and programmes, towards more personality-based parties, where the party leader sets the course and which overwhelmingly have an electoral orientation, and in extreme cases whose only rationale is as a vehicle for a leader to gain power.

The assessment reviews the level of institutionalisation of the party, its structures and decision making

10- Wild, L., Foresti M. and Domingo P., *International assistance to political party and party system development*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), January 2011, p. 2-4.

11- Examples of good baseline studies can be found in: Okole, H., *The “Fluid” Party System of Papua New Guinea*, in: *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol.43, No.3, November 2005, pp.362–381; *Afghanistan’s Parties in Transition*, International Crisis Group Policy briefing 141, Kabul/Brussels, 26 June 2013, 24 p.



process. In many countries, parties are maintained by a small number of influential backers, are run in a command fashion, have weak links with their grassroots and are lacking well defined policy platforms.¹² This translates into a weak party organisation at local levels. The baseline assessment also needs to look at the parties' links to citizens, in terms of how the party represents and responds to their concerns.

A baseline assessment often comes across divergences between a generally strong ruling party, which commonly has much higher levels of institutionalisation geared to winning elections, and a number of weak and fragmented opposition parties, reflecting a proliferation of smaller parties.

The assessment needs to identify the challenges at the party system level, including the lack of robust legal, regulatory and financial frameworks, all of which are made worse in contexts of weak rule of law. Opaque party finances are a common feature across many contexts, but do pose particular challenges for the development of more institutionalised and responsive parties in the long run.

Such an assessment could also include other issues such as an analysis of whether a basic political settlement exists within the society that includes all of the relevant political parties, some information on public opinion concerning the political parties, whether there are significant political actors outside the political party system, and other things. One does not want a political party assessment to be too narrow or formalistic.

The assessment can also look into some additional challenges in post-conflict contexts in cases where armed movements are effectively in a process of transitioning into political parties.

In many countries, sustainable funding of political parties is a major issue. Member fees are not sufficient, if collected at all. Parties are willingly/unwillingly easy targets of organized crime, militias, elite groups and others who look for ways of securing influence. Providing public funding to political parties sometimes happens (Uganda, Kenya), but it is not a common trend yet.¹³ The assessment will need to address the funding of parties.

This overview of components for a political parties baseline assessment emphasises that any approach to party assistance requires a full grasp of the system in which parties function. Forms of assistance which do not engage with these systemic issues often lean towards blueprint approaches that have little impact. A good example of a party assessment tool is the document developed by the Swedish International Liberal Centre (SILC). It has been annexed to this report, for further reference when conducting a party assessment.

12- Wild, L., Foresti M. and Domingo P., *International assistance to political party and party system development*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), January 2011, p. 5-6.
13- Ohman, M., *Political Finance Regulations around the World: An Overview of the International IDEA Database*, Stockholm, 2012, 62 p. <http://www.idea.int/publications/political-finance-regulations/>

On many occasions, it occurs that democracy support addresses items in isolation from each other, e.g. support to parliament, political parties, elections, civil society, media, anti-corruption, etc.

In the case of support to parliaments and political parties, there are reasons to look for programmatic synergies.¹⁴ Firstly, parties usually provide parliamentarians with the main route to election and the means to a political career. Parliamentarians look primarily to their political party for advice and guidance on how they should operate or vote in parliament. Secondly, parties provide the basis for parliamentary organization. While the standing orders or parliamentary rules organize the work of parliament, the parties determine the content of the discussions in parliament. The interaction between parties and parliament determines if parliament can operate smoothly. Thirdly, the quality and character of the political parties has a significant impact on the effectiveness of parliament. For example, strongly disciplined parties may - in some cases - mean that the parliament is entirely dominated by the ruling party or the executive. At the other hand, a multiplicity of parties with little discipline or internal cohesion makes parliament unpredictable and difficult to organize. Often political parties deal with the organization of their parliamentary caucus, how policy positions are pursued in parliament and how manifesto commitments are implemented through the legislative process. A party's electoral appeal is often based, at least in part, on its record in parliament.

It is recognized that parliamentary projects and political party projects do have their own specificity. Parliamentary projects often cover issues not directly relevant to the functioning of

parties, such as human resources management of parliament administration, developing a legislative tracking system or strengthening legislative drafting techniques.¹⁵ Party projects also have their specificity, when they tackle party outreach to members and branches, or internal elections of the party. However, given the level of interdependence, the support to parties and parliaments should be better linked, and objectives and outcomes better aligned.¹⁶ Most parliamentary projects tackle institutional deficiencies by building the capacity to fulfil certain functions, but that does not always resolve issues. For instance, in some cases parliament is technically proficient and constitutionally capable of holding the government to account, but it doesn't happen. The reason is that the way how the ruling party dominates state institutions including parliament means that there are few incentives and space to exercise oversight effectively. Thus, to understand parliament's weakness, one needs to understand the power balance among parties. Therefore, recognizing synergies between both areas will strengthen a country's democratic governance.

Most MPs belong to a parliamentary group (caucus), and assistance projects often work with MPs on organizing themselves to operate effectively as a caucus (organization, legislative strategy, internal decision making, etc). Sometimes, party caucuses are interested in clarifying decision making structures, including discipline and group cohesion, and strategizing on the distribution of legislative resources. One of the most sensitive issues is the question if an MP has an "individual mandate" or a "party mandate". Some countries have adopted constitutional or legal provisions that cause MPs to lose their seats if they "cross the

14- Power, G. and Coleman, O., *The challenge of political programming: international assistance to parties and parliaments*, International IDEA & Global Partners and Associates, Stockholm & Sweden, November 2011, p. 17-18.

15- Power, G., *The Politics of Parliamentary Strengthening. Understanding political incentives and institutional behaviour in parliamentary support strategies*, Westminster Foundation for Democracy & Global Partners, London, 2011, 48 p.

16- European Commission, *Strengthening democracy support to EU Delegations: from performance indicators, knowledge sharing to expert services. Study on performance indicators for EU Parliamentary Support*, September 2012.

floor” and defect to another party. Parties play a key political role in ensuring that the government can count on a parliamentary majority.

Parties and parliament are also interlinked to each other in terms of outreach to the public and relations to constituents. Depending upon the electoral system, MPs often represent a specific region. Parties assist MPs in the constituency outreach. In many countries, parliament provides financial or human resources support to constituency relations offices. In other countries, MPs interact with voters making use of local or regional party branch offices. Party assistance projects and parliamentary projects often work with MPs on developing constituency relations.

In a similar way, support to political parties sometimes takes place within the broader electoral assistance support. Electoral assistance projects cover a wide range of focus areas, such as: electoral management bodies, electoral observation, civic and voter education, voter registration, gender equality, electoral justice, prevention of electoral violence.¹⁷ In each of these areas, political parties play an important role, and that is often covered in electoral assistance projects. Political parties need to be informed of the legal and administrative processes for electoral assistance. Parties sometimes play a role in civic and voter education or, in some countries, in the mobilization of voters to register. When there are electoral disputes or campaign quarrels, an elections complaints and appeal mechanisms settles the issues¹⁸; and electoral assistance projects engage parties in terms of knowledge sharing, building political consensus on acceptance for the rulings of the electoral appeals body. Parties including their youth branches are often a key constituency for electoral assistance projects in the area of awareness

raising and preventive action on electoral violence. The synergies between political party assistance projects and electoral assistance projects cannot be underestimated. Therefore, it is advisable that the timeframe of political party projects is as much as possible linked to the electoral cycle, i.e. projects with a time span of 3 to 5 years.

On some occasions, support to political parties takes place within the broader context of constitution building. Quite often, the role and behaviour of parties is defined importantly within the constitution. There is currently a wave of constitutional reviews going around across the globe, including in the MENA region. Disregarding the fundamental role of parties in the reform process, and the role of parties in that document would limit all other efforts of influencing political party laws, political finance laws, electoral laws etc, all of which spring from the constitution. The constitution building process in many countries is confronted with the phenomenon of emerging political parties. These emerging parties are often grass-roots parties, with little experience in complicated, legal negotiations of drafting a constitution. One of their concerns is often related to how they can sell to their basis the compromises involved in the constitutional process.

In a similar way, support to political parties sometimes takes place with links to the field of civil society support. With the recent emergence of citizen protest movements around the world (Egypt to Brazil, Turkey to Thailand), the future of the influence of the political party might seem to be in question. Increasingly, the parties’ link to the citizen and CSOs is set to define the future of representative democracy. The fields of CSOs and political parties support should therefore be seen in connection to each other in a more comprehensive way.

17- European Commission, *Study on performance indicators for electoral assistance projects developed within the context of the EC-UNDP Partnership on Electoral Assistance*, Brussels, December 2012.

18- It should be mentioned in this context that it is essential for parties/candidates to understand the complaints mechanism, deadlines, rulings, appeal procedures, etc.

M&E of party assistance projects often struggle with a lack of data on project impact. To address this concern, projects need to be designed in a way that it enables measuring impact better. A number of inevitable constraints to assessing impact of political party projects need to be anticipated.¹⁹

Part of the weakness in M&E of party assistance projects seems to grow out of the methods set for party assistance. The activities commonly implemented are focused on short-term outputs rather than longer-term outcomes, and often oriented towards immediate capacity development (training and workshops). This inevitably leads to very narrow measurable indicators such as of the numbers of persons trained. For instance, a project to support women's political participation is measured against the number of women trained and the number of meetings of cross party networks of women. An attempt can be made to measure wider impact, for example through monitoring the number of women subsequently elected or gaining other positions of responsibility, or alternatively, to look first at the number of women brought forward by the party as candidates and their ranking on party lists. But the attribution to minor training activities remains difficult.

Further M&E options include quasi-experimental methods such as most-significant-change as a method of participatory M&E²⁰, outcome mapping²¹ or peer-to-peer evaluation. Such methods may be very helpful to capture and assess political party system development. Further development of more innovative M&E methods will be useful.

To improve M&E of party assistance, the projects themselves need to be designed differently. Firstly, the projects need to have realistic objectives, informed by strong context analysis. More realistic objectives for party assistance should take a more modest approach and instead of aspiring to build ideal multi-party systems rather seek incremental reforms, which take account of structural changes and challenges, step-by-step.²²

Secondly, project design needs to enable evaluating impact by comparing information on trends throughout society, and not only within parties; and thus look at overall impact across a number of structures of society (parties, parliament, electoral system, media,

19- In the context of M&E, it is important to mention the importance of efforts needed to invest in (personal) relations with political parties, which may take up easily half of all efforts but are rarely included in the logframe. Without strong personal relations with key political party executives, many of the M&E activities are not possible or will not be of sufficient quality.

20- Most-significant-change is a form of participatory monitoring and evaluation. It is participatory because many project stakeholders are involved both in deciding the sorts of changes to be recorded and in analysing the data collected. It is a form of monitoring because it occurs throughout the program cycle and provides information to help people manage the program. It contributes to evaluation because it provides data on impact and outcomes that can be used to help assess the performance of the program as a whole. Essentially, the process involves the collection of significant change stories emanating from the field level, and the systematic selection of the most significant of these stories by panels of designated stakeholders or staff. More resources can be found at: <http://mande.co.uk/special-issues/most-significant-change-msc/>

21- Outcome mapping is a project progress measurement system that was designed by the grant-making organisation International Development Research Centre (IDRC). It differs from traditional metrics in that it does not focus on measuring deliverables and its effects on primary beneficiaries but on behavioural change exhibited by secondary beneficiaries. The outcome mapping process consists of a lengthy design phase followed by a cyclic record-keeping phase. Outcome mapping is intended primarily for charitable projects in developing countries funded by large donor organisations in developed countries. More resources can be found at: <http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Programs/Evaluation/Pages/default.aspx>

22- Wild, L., Foresti M. and Domingo P., *International assistance to political party and party system development*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), January 2011, p. 19-20.

anti-corruption, accountability of security forces, etc.). Change in the functioning of parties and party system needs to be reviewed in the context of information on overall trends in society, and not only in relation to information on the target group of parties as such.

Thirdly, in addition to reviewing impact against planned objectives, political party support needs in particular pay attention to unintended and indirect impact. Policy dialogues between parties on e.g. social or constitutional questions can generate indirect spin-offs not anticipated when drafting the project, but which can be considered relevant impact of the project interventions. There is thus need for continuously testing assumptions and analysis of context. Many long term outcomes of democracy assistance are “unforeseen and unforeseeable”²³. Many democracy projects have “ripple effects” that were not anticipated by their designers.

What practical mechanisms does the design of party projects require to enable measuring impact better? One can foresee in the regular organization of focus groups throughout the course of the project. Baseline information should be collected so that changes over the period of project implementation can be monitored. Performance monitoring and measurement need to be incorporated into the regular operation of the project, so that performance data are collected systematically and changes can be made during the course of the project. If projects need to change focus in response to national developments, well-integrated performance assessment can help and explain the need for such changes.

The development and tracking of performance measures should be properly budgeted at the project outset. Unless cost-calculated M&E items are incorporated in the budget, performance measurement will always risk being a secondary consideration.

In larger projects, there should be a dedicated performance M&E expert among project staff. In smaller projects, M&E responsibilities should be incorporated in all programme staff job descriptions, with a senior staff person responsible for coordinating performance measurement activities as part of a M&E plan.

23- Kumar, K., *Evaluating Democracy Assistance*, Lynne Rienner Publishers: Colorado/London, 2013, p. 4.

METHODS OF ASSISTANCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS

3.1. INDIVIDUAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEM

Political party assistance needs to address both the functioning of individual parties as well as the political party system. A standard approach, often still applied, assists individual parties in developing countries based upon a set of ideas of what constitutes a good political party.²⁴ Such standard approach tries to reshape parties by transferring knowledge and skills, and uses conventional methods of seminars and a conference with a few experts flown in from abroad, sometimes complemented by exchange visits or advise from a foreign delegation visiting the country. Such standard approach is not always well adapted to the particular context of a country, and may sometimes induce “workshop fatigue” with participants and often lacks follow-up afterwards.

To improve standard practices, more in-depth political economy studies of parties and the national context are required. On several occasions, new approaches were introduced, such as training-of-trainers, distance learning courses, online learning platforms (such as AGORA and iKNOWPOLITICS), linking online voter advice applications with elaborating party programs, and strengthening the links to society actors, media and CSOs.

Over the last decade, a new type of political party assistance has expanded rapidly: programs to support the development of party systems overall. Unlike other forms of party aid that proceed party by party, these programs seek to foster changes in all of the country's parties at once, via modifications to the underlying legal and financial frameworks in which parties are anchored, or changes in how the parties relate to and work with each other.

Programs may address the political party law, to help a country clarify the legal basis of its parties. A program can attempt to target the corruption in parties by establishing or fortifying systems to regulate campaign finance. There are initiatives to facilitate more productive interparty relations via formal or informal multiparty dialogue processes. Also initiatives to increase the role of women in all parties are a further type of party system assistance.²⁵

24- Carothers, T., *International assistance for political party development*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 2008, p. 11.

25- There are various ways of categorizing or structuring different types of party assistance. The European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) distinguishes between three main types of party assistance: facilitating of collective dialogue between political parties; capacity-building for all parties by the same agency; peer-to-peer approach to build political parties. See the booklet: *Supporting political parties for democracy - food for thought for European actors*, European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP), Brussels, June 2013.

As indicated in an International IDEA study²⁶, two dimensions capture the type of party assistance activities: the focus area and the form of delivery. This results in a two-dimensional space within which to analyze party assistance activities. Based upon this study of International IDEA, we have further expanded and developed the categorization within this two-dimensional space; and we thus identified eight focus areas and seven methods of delivery.²⁷

First, we will provide a description of the different focus areas for support to political parties and party system. All aspects mentioned are important for the effective functioning of political parties, their intra-party democracy development and for building up a viable multi-party system. Any political party assistance approach should be comprehensive and should take care of the beneath mentioned aspects.

A categorisation of the focus areas can facilitate the overview by using three categories: **INTERNAL TO POLITICAL PARTIES**, **EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES**, and **THE POLITICAL SYSTEM**. This leads to the following list of the same eight focus areas:

INTERNAL TO POLITICAL PARTY

“Internal party functioning and management”, and “Development of party policies, programmes and platform”.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

“Party electoral campaigning, outreach to members, citizens and society”, “International party assistance and interaction with international party umbrella organisations”, “Building stable inter-party relations and communications”, “Parties and society; participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups”.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

“Parties and parliament” and “Party legislative framework”.

○ INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONING AND MANAGEMENT

Internal party functioning deals with issues of party organisation, establishing a working structure, streamlining the membership administration, outreach and communication, consultation of members, organization of the party branches, organization of party congress, etc. Related to management are making decision-making processes more transparent and conducted in a democratic way. Management also revolves around who is in charge for the

26- Caton, Matthias, *Effective Party Assistance. Stronger Parties for Better Democracy*, published by: International IDEA - Policy Paper series, Stockholm, 2007, p. 14-18

27- In outlining the eight focus areas and seven methods of delivery, we took into account and further extended upon the categorization presented in: Ipp, O., *Study on Results Frameworks: Political Party Assistance*, Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy, Copenhagen, May 2013, p. 4-5.

day-to-day management of the party, human resources and staff management, working with party volunteers, fundraising and accounting, etc.

○ PARTY ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNING, OUTREACH TO MEMBERS, CITIZENS AND SOCIETY

Election campaigning or political marketing are important in the work with parties and their candidates. However, effective campaigning goes beyond the mere technical skills. It has to start with an assessment of the constituency and their needs, development of political answers, transformation into a political programme, etc. Effective election campaigning also depends to a large degree on the available funds of the party, mobilisation capacity of members and volunteers, selection of the best candidates, etc.

As part of the outreach it is important to engage with all relevant stakeholders, particularly in an electoral context, and therefore to include media, civil society, government agencies and ministries, electoral management bodies and private sector.

○ DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Programmatic orientation is important and too often insufficiently developed. Initiatives in support of the development of party policies force stakeholders to reflect about their own values and the ideas they stand or want to stand for. It is important that this self-reflective process takes place at all levels and reflection results are communicated to all levels. Given the frequent lack of sound policies and programmes in many parties in young democracies and the severe consequences this has once the parties are in government, the field of policy development cannot be underestimated.

In case parties decide to form an alliance to jointly contest the elections, it is important that a wide group of party members are part of the discussions on the alliance's program. Otherwise, party branches might not sufficiently support the alliance. When aiming for the formation of coalitions, one clearly has to distinguish between pre-/and post-electoral periods. One should include sufficient space for conflict mediation mechanisms and facilitators, as some of the coalition partners' local activists might have tense relationships with each other.

○ INTERNATIONAL PARTY ASSISTANCE & INTERACTION WITH INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY UMBRELLA ORGANIZATIONS

International political party families often invite potential sister parties or affiliated parties to its activities. International affiliations allow for moral and image support for parties in their home country. The dialogue on regional or international level allows for best-practice exchange. However, activities should have a clear and practical connotation, and objectives of those meetings should be sufficiently defined. Moreover, often there is a major difficulty of finding ideologically-likeminded partners in countries where the European left-right spectrum does not define party life.

Exchanging approaches in a multi-party approach might help to overcome this. It is worth mentioning that, although the European Commission cannot support the peer-to-peer support, if organized in a bilateral way, and has chosen for a multi-party approach for above mentioned reasons of political neutrality, the European Parliament and the European Political Parties and foundations often do engage in these types of activities. However, the EC could consider funding peer-to-peer activities that are rolled out across the political spectrum in a broad programme, and are thus not bilateral party support but peer-to-peer activities in a multilateral framework.

○ BUILDING STABLE INTER-PARTY RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Inter-party relations are important in order to guarantee a climate of tolerance and non-violence during electoral periods. Particularly in post-conflict societies, building stable inter-party relations plays an important role in party assistance. Political competitors should still be able to talk to each other in a civilized manner no matter how fierce the dispute is. Amongst opposition parties in a highly fragmented party system context, inter-party communication between leaders are important to position themselves vis-à-vis the ruling party and to provide effective checks-and-balances. In order to allow for multi-party dialogue and trainings, inter-party relations should be viable. If not, joint trainings might be jeopardised by the mistrust reigning amongst the target group.

○ PARTIES AND SOCIETY; PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND UNDERREPRESENTED GROUPS

Activities that aim to increase the participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups in and through political parties have become more frequent in the last two decades. In order to enhance the inclusion of women, youth and underrepresented groups into party politics it is not sufficient to work with them as a target group. Also, the programmatic approach should cover the needs of these groups within society. For instance, women-focused political party assistance seeks to get more women into parties and to bolster their power once in, while also getting women's policy concerns included in party platforms.

○ PARTIES AND PARLIAMENT

As mentioned above, the work with parties and parliament is complementary and should be sufficiently co-ordinated. Parties provide the vehicle through which candidates get elected to parliament. The work in parliament is central to the realization of party policies and party electoral promises. The internal functioning of parliament is, to a large extent, based upon the balance of power between the political parties represented in parliament.²⁸ In the context of the parliament, it is important to highlight the role of the parliamentary opposition and opposition parties more generally.

Most projects in support for parties might not have a strong parliamentary component due to the financial limitations, or because other donors are financing parliamentary support. Lack of coordination and cooperation are often the main detriments which should be addressed.

○ PARTY LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

This focus area addresses the party system as a whole. Assistance on (re)drafting the party law, party registration, and party financing tries to create a favourable framework within which parties can perform. Working on the party regulatory framework often requires a totally different strain of activities: consultancy, best-practice exchange, and elaboration of legal documents. The role of parliament is important in this respect and constitutes an additional area for synergies.

By “party law” it is meant the country's legislation that concerns what constitutes a political party, the form of activity in which parties may engage, and what forms of party organization

28- European Commission, *Engaging and supporting parliaments worldwide - Strategies and methodologies for EC action in support to parliaments*, Tools and Methodologies Series, Reference Document N°8, October 2010.

and behaviour are appropriate. In a minority of cases there is a special political party law, but in most countries party law is embodied in a variety of laws. This focus area (as the first area) also addresses parties' internal operations in terms of the establishment of specific legal requirements for internal democracy within parties, including rules about holding party congresses, electing party officers, and maintaining a gender balance within the party's management. Projects sometimes also deal with the issue of regulating party finance, including both financing for election campaigns and the regular, ongoing costs of running political parties.²⁹

3.3. DELIVERY METHODS FOR PARTY ASSISTANCE

As mentioned above, for this study we have identified seven methods of delivery for party assistance.

○ TRAINING AND CAPACITY BUILDING, SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES FOR GROUPS OF PARTY MEMBERS

This is the most often used method. Trainings can deal with technical aspects such as fundraising, campaigning methods or leadership development. Trainings can be offered to large groups of party activists and branches, or to the party leadership. Often, training is provided by international consultants if local expertise is not available. Workshops are also used to bring together politicians from different parties to discuss topics of interest to them, such as codes of conduct or regulatory issues.

○ SENIOR ADVICE AND CONSULTING TO INDIVIDUALS WITHIN PARTY (PARTY LEADER)

Under this delivery method, a policy advisor or consultant gives coaching to party leader(s) in specific circumstances or when internal or regulatory issues need to be addressed. The trust between the party leader(s) and the advisor is of high importance. Parties often prefer an advisor from a friendly organization or affiliated sister party. The starting point is that the party leadership requests the expertise of an advisor. Advisors can then contribute to the party agenda by preparing policy papers and highlighting specific options.

○ LEGAL ADVICE TO PARTY-IN HOUSE LAWYERS OR MPS

Political parties can benefit from legal expertise when discussing an internal Code of Conduct, party legislation on statutes, financing rules and other legislative matters. In addition to the own in-house legal resources which a party might eventually have, external legal advice can be offered, often on a cross-party basis, on issues of party transparency and accountability matters (e.g. Code of Conduct, party financing). Such external legal advice can be offered through civil society, think tanks, academia, sister parties, legal firms, etc.

○ STUDY TOURS AND EXCHANGE VISITS

Study tours and exchange visits are often a popular delivery method in party assistance

29- Carothers, T., *International assistance for political party development*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 2008, p. 12-13.

programs. Either a delegation of politicians from an established democracy visits an assistance partner country, or a group from an emerging democracy travels abroad to get to know an established democracy. The intention is learning by exposure. While representatives of the target countries learn how democracy works elsewhere, their hosts also gain a broader understanding of the difficulties faced by parties in young democracies. Assistance projects also try to foster South-South relationships between developing countries. Rather than bringing together party people with completely different backgrounds, South-South exchange facilitates the sharing of experiences among people who recently went through similar experiences. One important aspect of study tours should not be underestimated – the building of relationships of trust and confidence while travelling together for e.g. a week.

○ KNOWLEDGE RESOURCES

International development partners and think-tanks produce a broad range of knowledge resources on party-related issues that may be freely used. Handbooks, briefings, databases and online platforms are geared towards practitioners and bring cutting-edge research in a useable and understandable format. This helps to overcome a lack of knowledge on the subject on the side of EU delegation staff or implementing partners. In many projects, the development of own knowledge products is foreseen, e.g. a manual specific to the country context, country-wide surveys, a political economy analysis, a political party system assessment, the use of “democracy” indicators³⁰, etc. Making these knowledge resources widely available enhances the project’s outreach towards the party audiences and the general public.

○ DIRECT FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION

Direct financial contributions are rarely used in party assistance programs. In some cases there is in-kind support to events organized by parties, e.g. through the services of a key-note speaker or member of panel discussion at a party conference. These could be considered as indirect financial support. [The EU regulations prohibit direct funding of political parties.]

○ INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE

Under this delivery method of facilitating political negotiations between parties and brokering inter-party agreements, projects facilitate political negotiations between parties and assist in brokering inter-party agreements in order to, on the one hand, contribute to resolve some of the tensions or issues in society, while, on the other hand, build trust between the party/parties and the party assistance project, enabling further work on party strengthening matters.³¹

One of the most interesting examples was the support for dialogue between political youth groups in Nepal, as these groups have often been associated with the highest levels of violence and agitation.³² The support to a joint framework for a national youth policy enabled subsequent work on the role and functioning of youth branches of parties.

Speaking about inter-party dialogue should also include the situation of party-coalition building talks, either before or after the elections.

30- Examples are Freedom House and ‘Varieties of Democracy’. See further references in chapter 6 of this Guide.

31- Kemp, B., *Political Party Dialogue: A Facilitator’s Guide*, International IDEA, Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, The Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, Stockholm, The Hague, Oslo, 2013. <http://www.idea.int/publications/political-party-dialogue/>

32- Wild, L., Foresti M. and Domingo P., *International assistance to political party and party system development*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), January 2011, p. 15.

4.1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The mapping of EU-funded political party projects was based on project research on the EU's Common Relex Information System (CRIS). A total of 50 projects related to political parties have been identified for the period 2007-2013.³³ The period 2007-2013 was chosen since it coincides with the latest EC budget cycle.

The search was undertaken through key words such as “political parties”, “politics”, “leadership”, “parliament”, “elections” and “democracy” in both English and French language.

Some of the projects were “political party projects” in the mere sense of the word. Others were part of broader projects on parliament, elections or democracy building, which included a component or a couple of activities relevant to the work of political parties.

A first categorisation has been made between “direct political party projects” where activities are directly targeting political parties are direct beneficiaries and where the project intends to bring changes in the functioning of the parties themselves, and “indirect political party projects” in which there is an indirect “spin off” to political parties. Under these two types of projects, one can distinguish between three dimensions: internal to the political party, external to the political party, and political system-oriented.

Following is the overview chart of the categorization of the projects, with a couple of examples for each type of projects:

	INTERNAL TO POLITICAL PARTY	EXTERNAL TO POLITICAL PARTY	POLITICAL SYSTEM
Direct	<p>1. Projects directly affecting the internal functioning of parties</p> <p><i>Examples: projects on internal party democracy, transparency of party, Code of Conduct, gender representation in party, fund allocation</i></p>	<p>2. Projects directly affecting the external functioning of parties</p> <p><i>Examples: projects on political campaigning, party communication, party relations with CSOs</i></p>	<p>3. Projects directly affecting the political system</p> <p><i>Examples: projects on legislation on funding of parties, inter-party dialogue and negotiating between parties, parties' involvement in constitutional reforms</i></p>
Indirect	<p>4. Projects indirectly affecting the internal dimension of parties</p> <p><i>Examples: parliamentary strengthening projects which focus on party platforms and relationship between party and its MPs</i></p>	<p>5. Projects indirectly affecting the external dimension of parties</p> <p><i>Examples: Training for party activists which observe the elections</i></p>	<p>6. Projects indirectly affecting the political system</p> <p><i>Examples: Advocacy projects on reforms in society which target party representatives</i></p>

The mapping and analysis of the project took place at two levels: a quantitative analysis of all 50 projects, and a qualitative and in-depth analysis of 10 projects which were short-listed as case-studies.

33- The list of 50 CRIS-researched projects is attached in table 1 and table 2.

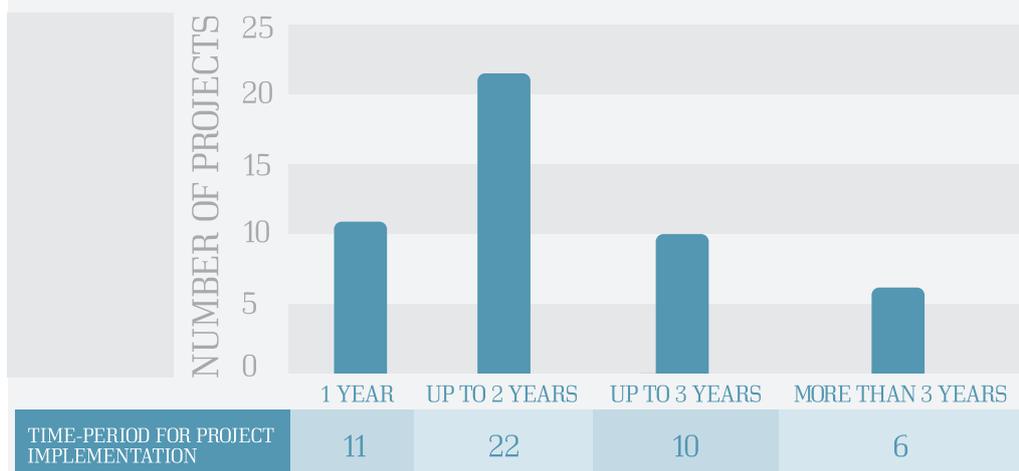
For the quantitative analysis of all 50 projects, a number of issues have been identified:

- Number of projects per EC financial instrument
- Number of projects per starting year; number of projects which lasted for one year, two years, or longer.
- Number of projects per geographical region; projects in one country/covering several countries
- Number of projects which worked with parties at central or national level, and parties working at sub-national or local level
- Number of projects which can be considered direct party support and indirect party support
- Number of projects which have as main target group: party leaders, women, youth, local branches, party activists, or party as a whole
- Number of projects which are implemented by international or national organization, or consortia
- Amounts allocated and % of EU-funding for the projects

The following findings are worth mentioning. On a total of 50 projects, the distribution of projects per EC funding instrument is as follows: 33 projects in EIDHR, nine projects in the European Development Fund (EDF/FED), four projects in the Instruments for Stability (IFS), and four projects in the European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument (ENPI).

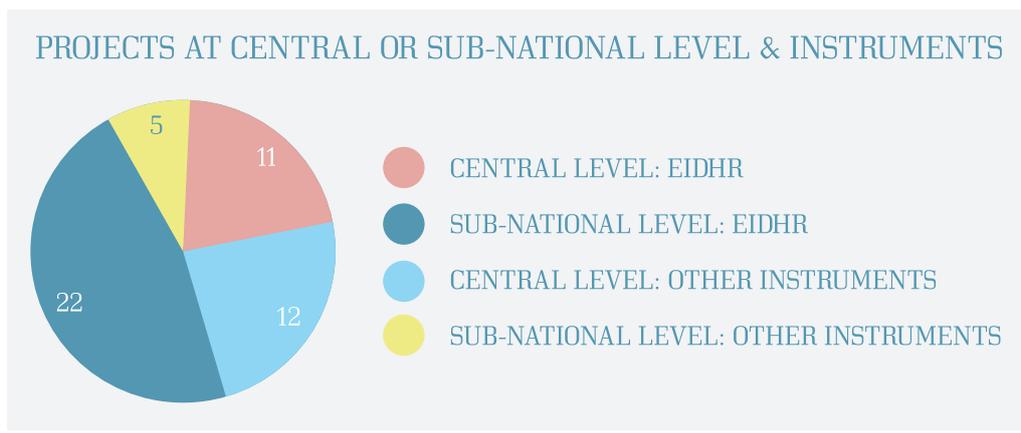
The distribution of projects starting in a particular year is as follows: two projects in 2007, five in 2008, 14 in 2009, seven in 2010, five in 2011, 14 in 2012 and three in 2013. While no particular trend was observed from the starting years, the number of years which a project lasts provides a relevant finding. Up to 11 projects lasted for one year, 22 projects lasted between one and two years, 10 projects lasted up to three years and only six projects lasted more than three years. Thus, two thirds of the projects last up to two years and very few projects have a longer-time perspective of three or more years (which might be advisable in order to have a sustainable impact on the political party system). If political party work should be developed in synergy with the electoral cycle approach, one should consider projects that last three to five years as a standard approach.

LENGHT OF EU/FUNDED POLITICAL PARTY PROJECTS



Analyzing the projects per geographical region provides some interesting results as well: 18 projects in Africa, 14 projects in Central and East Europe, 10 projects in Asia-Pacific, seven projects in Middle-East and one project which goes across continents (EU pilot-countries for democracy support). There are 45 projects working in one single country and five projects which are multi-country.

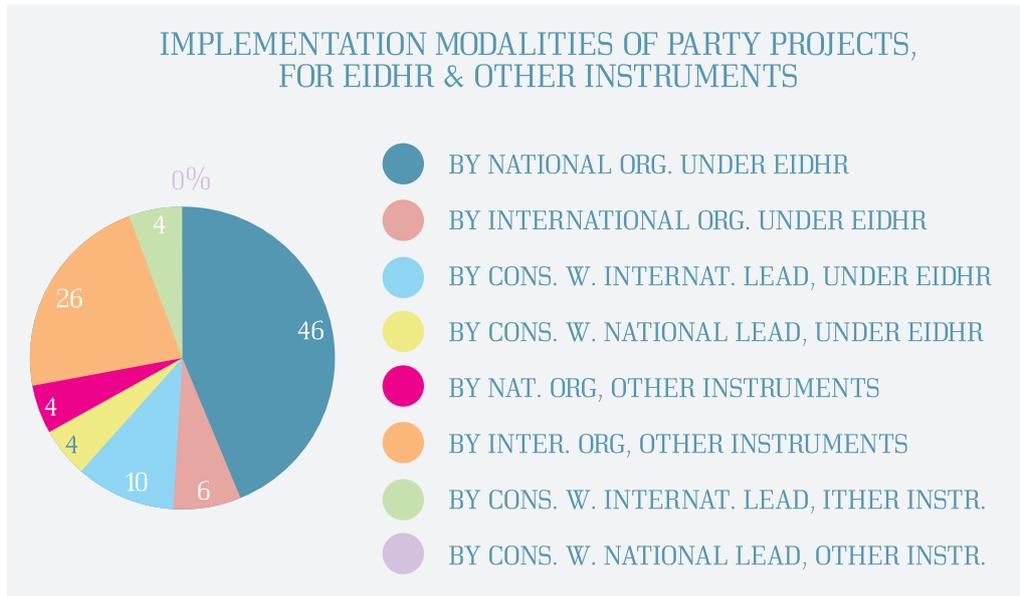
Less than half of the projects (23/50) seem to target mainly the central or national level of the parties while a majority of projects (27/50) seem to work mainly at sub-national or branch level of parties. For EIDHR one third of projects (11/33) are at central level and two thirds at sub-national level (22/33); while for the other instruments it is the other way around, as two thirds of the projects (12/17) work at central level and one third (5/17) at sub-national level. The reason is these findings can go back to the nature of DCI and EDF, which are broad national programmes that include a component on political parties, whereas the EIDHR are far more targeted. One can also highlight the division of labour and potential complementarity between the EIDHR and other EU instruments. DCI/EDF can work much more on the party system/legal and regulatory framework whereas the EIDHR can work more directly with political parties.



Analyzing the target groups of the project, we distinguished between segments of the party (party leader, party activists, women, youth) and the party as a whole. 21 projects worked with party leaders, 18 projects with party activists, 16 projects with women in/ from the parties, seven projects with youth while 10 projects worked with the party as a whole.

Reviewing by whom the projects have been implemented, we distinguished between four categories: international organization, national organization, consortium of international and national organizations with the international organization in the lead role and consortium of national and international organizations with the national organization in the lead role. A clearly different pattern can be identified in terms of EIDHR projects and projects under other instruments. EIDHR projects are overwhelmingly implemented by national organizations, while for the other instruments international organizations are the main implementer. Under EIDHR, on a total of 33 projects there were 23 projects implemented by national organizations, three by international organizations, five by consortium with international organization in the lead and two projects by consortium

with national organization in the lead. For the other instruments, on a total of 17 projects there were 13 projects implemented by international organizations (these were to a large extent electoral cycle projects implemented by UNDP) against two projects implemented by national organizations and two projects by a consortium with the international organization in the lead. No projects were implemented by a consortium with the national organization in the lead.



Approximately 40 % of the projects (21/50) are “direct political party projects” (according to the definition provided above) and approx. 60 % of the projects (29/50) are “indirect political party projects”. However, geographical instruments (such as the ENPI, DCI, EDF) have more than 50 % of “direct projects” (9/17), while EIDHR has two thirds of “indirect projects” (21/33).

In terms of the projects’ budget, the European Commission is financing between 46 % to 95 % of the projects’ budget under EIDHR. For the other instruments, the European Commission is financing between 10 % and 100 % of the projects’ budget. Interestingly, up to six of the 17 projects under the geographical instruments are financed by the EC for 100 %. The amount of the EC-funding varies between 64,000 Euros up to 20,000,000 Euros. However, often the political party activities are part of a larger project, either an electoral cycle project, a democracy or governance project or a parliamentary project. In some cases, project budgets were not available or accessible, or it was not possible to precisely identify the budget of party support activities within the larger project budget. Therefore, it is not possible to provide a precise figure of the total amount which the EC has spent on political party support between 2007-2013.

Analyzing the project framework, we have distinguished between electoral cycle projects (20), parliamentary projects (4), democracy or governance projects (18) and exclusively political party projects (8). While the total number of EC-funded electoral, parliamentary or democracy projects is much higher in the period 2007-2013, the numbers above are only those projects which clearly included a political party component or a set of political party activities.

4.3. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS ON SHORTLISTED POLITICAL PARTY PROJECTS

Following the identification of the 50 political party projects, a group of 10 case studies have been shortlisted. Six criteria were used for the selection: **1.** Being both “direct projects” and “indirect projects”; **2.** Being of different geographical areas; **3.** Belonging to different financing instruments; **4.** Having a substantial amount of political party activities within the wider project design; **5.** Having a well elaborated or innovative approach enabling us to identify lessons learned; **6.** Having relevant project documentation available, such as the log frame document, final report, evaluation report or any other analysis materials.

FROM THE EIDHR, THE FOLLOWING CASE-STUDIES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED	
INDONESIA	EIDHR/2008/169-700: Enhancing Political Representation and Participation to Improve Participation and to Enhance Responsiveness of Political System, within Context of Local Elections, leading to 2009 national Elections
NIGERIA	EIDHR/2009/168-768: Increasing Women`s Participation in Governance of Political Parties in Nigeria
EGYPT	EIDHR/2009/169-627: Supporting Women Leadership and Participation in Elections “Elections Supportive to Women Engagement in Public life”
GHANA	EIDHR/2010/234-735: Increased Women’s participation and representation in parliament
NEPAL	EIDHR/2012/292-568: Mobilizing Youth for Gender Equality in Politics
TUNISIA	EIDHR/2011/267-758: Renforcer les éléments constituants d’une démocratie : Appui aux partis politiques
FROM THE OTHER INSTRUMENTS, THE FOLLOWING CASE-STUDIES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED	
TANZANIA	FED/2007/197-179: Deepening Democracy in Tanzania Programme
NIGERIA	FED/2009/209-252: EC-UNDP Partnership with Nigeria for Support to the Electoral Cycle Phase 2, 2009-2011
SUDAN	FED/2009/219-634: Support to Elections and Democratic Processes
JORDAN	ENPI/2012/308-485: Towards a Multi-Party Democracy: Strengthening the role of Political Parties in Jordan’s democratic reform process

For the 10 selected case studies, a more in-depth analysis of the “profile” of the project, the Monitoring and Evaluation framework in the project documents has been undertaken.

The analysis of the short-listed projects has reviewed to what extent they are directed mainly towards support to individual parties or the party system. As mentioned above, two dimensions describe the different party assistance activities: the focus area and the form of delivery. This results in a two-dimensional space within which to map and analyze party assistance activities. The earlier discussed eight focus areas and seven methods of delivery form the basis for the qualitative analysis of the case-studies.

Analyzing the focus areas of the case-studies³⁴, it is clear that most projects (7/10) focus on the internal party functioning and management, as well as building inter-party relations and communications. This is followed by focus on parties and society, the participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups (6/10), the work on party regulation, registration and party financing (4/10), electoral campaigning and outreach (4/10) and development of party policies and programs (4/10).

34- Chart of focus areas and delivery methods for the case-studies is attached as table 3

Analyzing the delivery methods of the case-studies, all projects have as the primary set of activities the traditionally designed workshops, trainings and conferences for groups of party members. On at least one occasion (Indonesia project in EIDHR), innovative training approaches have been developed with simulations, exercises, mock constituency outreach activities, etc. Sometimes, projects also include additional approaches such as senior advice to individuals (party leaders) or legal advice to the parties. The workshops and conferences often result in knowledge resources and publications which are made available to a wider audience than only the participants to the events. In addition to workshops and trainings, a majority of the shortlisted projects also attempt to facilitate political discussion or political agreement among the parties (e.g. Code of Conduct on elections; increase of role of women in elected positions). A minority of projects provide senior advice and individual coaching (3/10), legal advice (2/10), study tours and exchange visits (2/10). None of the projects provide direct financial support to parties, party congresses or party outreach.

The following is a short qualitative analysis of each of the ten case-studies, followed by a synthesis of relevant findings in terms of project design, monitoring and evaluation.

Indonesia: EIDHR/2008/169-700: Enhancing Political Representation and Participation to Improve Participation and to Enhance Responsiveness of Political System, within Context of Local Elections, leading to 2009 national Elections

COUNTRY	INDONESIA
PROJECT NUMBER	EIDHR/2008/169-700
DURATION	two years.
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; Parties & society; Parties & parliament
TARGET GROUPS	Youth
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	National
AMOUNT	79,000 Euros

This political party project had a lifespan of less than two years, worked mainly with youth of parties and at local level, and was implemented through a national organization. It worked in three focus areas: internal party functioning, parties and society, and parties and parliament.

The project aimed to enhance the political participation of young people and link them with the work of parliamentarians. In analyzing the political party and institutional context, the project refers to the lack of ability of political parties to carry out modern political party management, the culture of patronage and top-down decisions by its key leaders, filling of positions not based upon merit and mobilizing junior party members only when elections are around the corner.

The methodologies applied in this project go beyond traditional lectures, and includes interactive approaches such as seminar focus group discussions, exercises, workshops, simulations and a three-month internship of young party activists with MPs. In this way, the project wanted to build a wide range of skills, such as canvassing public aspirations, alliance building, lobbying and advocacy. The delivery methods of the project additionally included the production of knowledge resources and publications. For its implementation, the project relied on a neutral, multi-party forum, the Indonesian Parliamentary

Centre (IPC). The IPC encouraged the adoption of jointly produced modules by the participating political parties. Such cross-party collaboration was intended to contribute to ownership and trust among parties and participants, thus indirectly improving inter-party relations. The project foresaw in an evaluation approach to review change at three levels, the so-called ABC: the affection, behaviour and cognitive levels. The project has built-in evaluation and monitoring through the use of external evaluators and observers. An interesting comparison is made between a consumer satisfaction survey and measuring the degree of satisfaction of constituents in having their political aspirations channelled through political parties.

However, the project was also characterized by a certain disconnect between the depth of the situation analysis describing the patronage systems within parties and the limited youth-centred initiatives to address them. In addition, the objectives seemed too ambitious, referring to “a sustainable improvement within the political parties and Indonesia’s political system”, “engaging with so-called culprits to make them to become part of the solution”. It is unrealistic to expect that a project with young political activists, even if considered potential future MPs, will help resolve issues around the constitutionality of legislation.

Nigeria: EIDHR/2009/168-768: Increasing Women’s Participation in Governance of Political Parties in Nigeria

COUNTRY	NIGERIA
PROJECT NUMBER	EIDHR/2009/168-768
DURATION	Two years
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; Electoral campaigning; Parties & society
TARGET GROUPS	Women, Political leaders
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	National
AMOUNT	95,000 Euros

This political party project had a lifespan of two years, worked mainly with women and youth of parties, at local level, and was implemented through a national organization. It worked in three focus areas: internal party functioning, party electoral campaigning, and parties and society.

The project aimed to address the constraints which women face in the political process and increase the number of women in political party membership and leadership.

The project document analyzes well the political and institutional context, and refers to the challenges women face in political parties, such as internal manipulation of party administration, mismanagement of party primaries and control of party structures by few party leaders. It mentions the issues facing women aspiring to contest elections, such as poor skills in organizing effective campaigns, high level of violence and use of thugs by male politicians to discourage women aspirants. Considering the very extensive context analysis, the project rightly limits itself to a number of project outputs it wants to achieve, e.g. that new rules and regulations are introduced by 10 political parties to increase women’s participation in the party activities, three consultative forums held in each project state with 20 political party leaders and 20 female aspirants. The outputs are numerous, precise and have quantitative targets. However, the project document lacks guidance on how the data will be collected, what are the means for verification.

The delivery methods of the project are thus a series of workshops and training seminars as well as knowledge resources and publications.

The reported final results are not entirely as anticipated, but are nevertheless reported in detail. For instance, four political parties introduced changes in their congress election guidelines to allot a specific number of seats to women at ward, local governance and state levels; and twelve political parties made a commitment to improve internal governance and political practices unfavourable to women, especially late night meetings at ward levels. It seems the project did manage to collect quantitative data. For instance, the final report reads that “More women occupy leadership or executive positions in the political parties at ward, local government or state levels. By December 2010, 32 project beneficiaries occupy such positions, most contributed by result of the consultations and other benefits from the project actions.” The information on the long-term impact of the action is partly provided. There is an attempt to move beyond activity reporting towards results reporting. However, it is to be recognized that results require more time than foreseen within the lifespan of this project.

Egypt: EIDHR/2009/169-627: Supporting Women Leadership and Participation in Elections “Elections Supportive to Women Engagement in Public life”

COUNTRY	EGYPT
PROJECT NUMBER	EIDHR/2009/169-627
DURATION	Two years.
TYPE	Indirect
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; Electoral campaigning; Policies & program; Parties & society
TARGET GROUPS	Women; Political activists
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	National
AMOUNT	134,000 Euros

This elections-oriented project had a lifespan of two years, worked mainly with women and political activists of parties, at central level, and through a national implementing organization. It worked in four focus areas: internal party functioning, party electoral campaigning, platform development and parties and society.

The project aimed to build the capacity of women candidates for the 2010 parliamentary elections, to enhance skills and strategies of campaign managers of women candidates, and to mobilize the local community for support to women participation in the 2010 parliamentary elections.

The delivery methods of the project include a series of workshops and training seminars as well as individual coaching and advice, needs assessment and media outreach.

The project's estimated results were broad and all encompassing, indicating the need to formulate them in a more specific way. The activities are too technical and limited in order to generate such outcomes. A more thorough strategy chapter could help in avoiding a discrepancy between outcomes and activities.

The M&E approach of the project is well developed. An external and experienced evaluator was in charge for mid-term and end-of-project evaluation. The project hired a “monitoring specialist” who was responsible for the overall design of the M&E system and for ensuring accurate data collection, analysis and reporting. The mentioned M&E system claims two main categories of indicators: monitoring indicators, which track

activities and the number of beneficiaries, and evaluation indicators, which measure progress towards project objectives and expected results. Monitoring indicators are tracked through the life of an activity or at activity completion. Evaluation indicators are measured during the mid-term evaluation and the final evaluation. Progress is tracked against milestones established jointly with the external evaluator; and they are tracked quarterly, included in the mid-term review and reported on at the final evaluation.

Ghana: EIDHR/2010/234-735: Increased Women's participation and representation in parliament

COUNTRY	GHANA
PROJECT NUMBER	EIDHR/2010/234-735
DURATION	Three years.
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; Policies & program; Inter-party relations; Parties & society; Parties & parliament
TARGET GROUPS	Women
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	Consortium with national organization in lead-role, and international support role
AMOUNT	300,000 Euros

This parliament-oriented project had a lifespan of three years, worked mainly with women of parties, at central level. It was implemented through a national organization with an international partner. It worked in five focus areas: internal party functioning, party platform development, building inter-party relations, parties and society, and party and parliament.

The overall objective of the project was to further consolidate Ghana's democracy by ensuring gender equity in democratic representation in Parliament, making sure that there is gender balance in the country's governance institutions. The specific objectives are: to increase the number of women MPs up from the then present 19 out of 230 to 40-60 out of 230 in the 2012 parliamentary elections; and to build the capacity and the confidence of elected women MPs after the 2012 parliamentary elections to enable them stand their own, and to make them more visible, audible and effective in Parliament.

The delivery methods of the project are a series of workshops and training seminars, a study tour, as well as knowledge resources. The workshops are highly interactive and involve role-playing and debates.

Other method of implementation is the facilitation of Memorandum of Understandings at three levels: (1.) within individual parties, on the intra-party level between a Women's Wing of a particular party and the Party Executive; (2.) facilitating cross-party negotiations on pre-electoral agreements amongst all parliamentary parties; (3.) on the interface between political society and civil society through CSO cooperation in an advocacy and media campaign on increasing women's political representation.

COUNTRY	NEPAL
PROJECT NUMBER	EIDHR/2012/292-568
DURATION	Three years
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; Policies & program; Inter-party relations
TARGET GROUPS	Women, Youth
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	Consortium with international organization in lead-role, and national support role
AMOUNT	200,000 Euros

This political party project had a three year lifespan, worked with women and youth of parties, at sub-national level, and through an international implementing organization with national partner. It worked in three focus areas: internal party functioning, party platform development, and building inter-party relations. The project had three specific objectives: 1. An overall increase in the number and competence of young women engaging in political party organisations as well as number of women entering leadership positions; 2. The political youth and student organisations become more inclusive and gender equal; 3. Political youth and student organisations work strategically on gender equality in politics as well as in Nepalese society.

The project documents analyse the constitutional and legal framework. The context is reflected well in the objectives and strategy of the project. The analysis of the target audience, politically interested youth and students, resulted in the decision to work with an institutional partner, the Joint Youth and Student Platform, bringing together nineteen major political youth and student organisations of Nepal.

The overarching methodology is cross-party dialogue with a view to support the Nepali democratic system and offer institutional capacity-building of its political youth and student organisations. The project prioritizes on the multi-party method to address the overall problems of parties in the country rather than focusing on individual challenges of parties.

In order to assess party members' views on gender parity, the international project partner did a survey among member organizations of the Platform. The project ensured the inclusion of women from less-developed areas and from discriminated groups/communities of Nepal.

The project has a well-organized M&E structure. The project steering group, which meets every other month (up to a total of 15 meetings) plans, monitors and evaluates the project throughout the period of implementation. In addition, one month has been reserved at the end of year one and year two for internal evaluation. At the end of the project, an external evaluation was carried out.

COUNTRY	Tunisia
PROJECT NUMBER	EIDHR/2011/267-758
DURATION	One year
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; Inter-party relations; Parties & society; Party regulations
TARGET GROUPS	Party as a whole
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	Consortium with international organization in lead-role, and national support role
AMOUNT	300,000 Euros

This political party project had a lifespan of less than two years, worked with parties as a whole, at central level for capacity building and dialogue and on provincial level for outreach and dialogue with civil society. The project has been implemented by an international implementing organization with national partners. It worked in four focus areas: internal party functioning, building inter-party relations, parties and society, and party regulations & financing.

The objectives of the project was the promotion of inter-party dialogue on issues as the electoral process, freedom of expression and political tolerance. The project addressed the selection of candidates, the role of women, and keeping MPs and party leaders in touch with the electorate. The project also focussed on political marketing, voter analysis, electoral alliances, fund-raising, and interaction with media.

The delivery methods of the project were the organization of forums and training sessions (including training of trainers) and the development of a Code of Conduct. The project aimed to address the long-standing mistrust between the actors and sought to create a climate of transparency and exchange. The dialogue approach went beyond the parties, and involved the Electoral Commission and CSOs.

Considering the unique, post-revolutionary and transitional context in which Tunisia finds itself, the objectives of the project might have been too ambitious, in particular in view of the limited time available. While it is still too early to assess the long-time impact of the project, it is clear that the strengthening of party officials' capacity in communication and capacity for conducting formation activities themselves have a strong element of sustainability. As a direct spin-off for the project, a "master in communication" at the University of Tunis has been launched.

COUNTRY	Tanzania
PROJECT NUMBER	FED/2007/197-179
DURATION	Four years
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Policies & program; Inter-party relations; Party regulations
TARGET GROUPS	Party as a whole
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	International organization
AMOUNT	1,440,000 Euros

The “Deepening Democracy in Tanzania” multi-donor program aimed to affect a wide range of democratic institutions simultaneously, had a lifespan of four years, and worked through UNDP as an implementing organization. The political party component within the project focused on parties as a whole, at the central level. The activities were concentrated towards three focus areas: development of party policies and platforms, building inter-party relations, and party regulations & financing.

The project documents displayed an in-depth analysis of the constraints to the multi-party system in Tanzania. The strategy was thus to focus not only on capacity building and institutional development but also focus on the structural barriers (such as the legal framework and unequal access to financial and state resources) to genuine political competition. The project thus aimed at achieving the following outputs: build capacity of political parties; improve the political environment by facilitating discussions aimed at changing the legal framework governing elections; facilitate dialogue among political parties.

Therefore, the following concrete interventions at party level and party system level were envisaged: (i) a review of systemic constraints, including the legislation on political parties, followed by workshops for political parties on amendments to existing laws, in relation to party finance formula, obstacles to building coalitions inherent to the law and strengthening the buffer between party and state; (ii) a review of the legal framework and functions of the Registrar of Political Parties; (iii) capacity building to enhance internal party democracy, party organization and key skills; (iv) creation of forum for sustained dialogue among political parties; (v) establishing a Political Parties Resource Centre.

The end-of-project evaluation acknowledged that dialogue between all political parties took place during the project, and that no other forum in Tanzania provided for this type of dialogue. Expert-facilitated discussions using well researched materials and comparative studies created a forum for learning about development issues. Political parties provided substantial input into amending the Election Expenses Act.

However, the end-of-project evaluation also found that the project had too ambitious objectives to review laws and the constitution as well as strengthening political party organizations, considering the limited capacity of the organization mandated to implement the capacity building. The imbalance in political power was the most significant challenge to Tanzanian democracy and redressing this imbalance was central to the basic concept of the program. However, the context analysis seemed to have little impact on the way how the project was delivered. As a multilateral organization, UNDP found it difficult to engage at the political level and conceived the project more as a technical support project, building institutional

capacity, largely leaving aside political culture and political behaviour.³⁵

The end-of-project evaluation shows that the stronger political parties benefited more from the project than the smaller ones. This was primarily because the Tanzania Centre for Democracy, an NGO created by the parties and the implementer of a segment of the project, was structured as a membership body of parties represented in parliament, with only subsidiary membership offered to non-represented parties. The stronger parties formed the decision making bodies, determined project interventions and benefited more from capacity building activities.

Since the Deepening Democracy in Tanzania was a project covering a wide range of democratic institutions, more opportunities could have been used to establish synergies with the components dealing with civic education, elections and parliament. More attention could have been paid to the selection of the participants by the parties, to make sure they were able to deliver the change which the project envisaged. Another lessons learned is that training workshops and seminars should be critically reviewed in terms of elite capture of resources (gaining from allowances for presence at capacity building events). If used, beneficiaries must be carefully selected and end of training performance must be assessed.

The program was based upon a very worthwhile initial contextual needs assessments of the participating institutions at the start of the project. What was lacking was the translation of the needs assessment studies into measurable baseline indicators and targets. It was noted that most of the indicators were qualitative and not necessarily gender sensitive. The lack of measureable baseline indicators precludes a properly objective assessment of outcomes against objectives.

The program has greatly focused on the inclusion of women/youth and people living with disabilities (PLWDs) in political parties. As an increase has been registered in their numbers as members, aspirants, candidates and MP, this aspect of the project can be considered successful.

Nigeria: FED/2009/209-252: EC -UNDP Partnership with Nigeria for Support to the Electoral Cycle Phase 2, 2009-2011

COUNTRY	NIGERIA
PROJECT NUMBER	FED/2009/209-252
DURATION	Fiver years
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Electoral campaigning; Inter-party relations
TARGET GROUPS	Party leaders, Party activists
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	International organization
AMOUNT	20,000,000 Euros

This electoral cycle project had a lifespan of three years, worked mainly with political leaders and activists, at central level. The project was implemented through UNDP. It had one focus area: inter-party relations.

35- Power, G. and Coleman, O., *The challenge of political programming: international assistance to parties and parliaments*, International Idea & Global Partners and Associates, Stockholm & Sweden, November 2011, p. 26-31.

The Inter-Party Council (IPAC) was established to serve as a liaison between political parties and the Independent National Election Commission (INEC) and was designed as a platform for inter-party dialogue. Since it had a weak functional secretariat, the project supported the IPAC in 2009 to conduct a national stakeholders conference on the draft Code of Conduct for political parties. The Political Party Code of Conduct, which was signed off in March 2011, was disseminated to all the political parties at state level. This was followed with public sensitization on the Code, in collaboration with the INEC. The project conducted trainings on non-violence and conflict management for young leaders of political parties. The trainings reduced youth vulnerability to violence in the communities and increased peace awareness, despite the serious cases of violence that erupted after the presidential elections in some parts of the country. It enabled the establishment of a Forum of Youth Leaders of Political Parties, as a platform for promoting inter-party dialogue, mitigating political violence and deepening democratic governance.

The project supported CSOs to organize gender-based advocacy meetings on party primaries with political party functionaries. The project built the political campaigning capacity of female candidates and aspirants.

After the 2011 elections, the project launched the political parties' dialogue series, in cooperation with INEC and IPAC.

During the time of the project, the Results and Resources Framework was revised, providing more detailed information on key performance indicators, inputs, indicative activities, intended outputs, expected outcomes, baselines, milestones. To assist in M&E, a Project Business Process Guide, a Project Monitoring Tool, templates for activity reporting, progress reports and project completion reports were created.

Sudan: FED/2009/219-634: Support to Elections and Democratic Processes

COUNTRY	SUDAN
PROJECT NUMBER	FED/2009/219-634
DURATION	Two years
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Electoral campaigning; Inter-party relations; Party regulations
TARGET GROUPS	Party leaders, party activists
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	International organization
AMOUNT	7,200,000 Euros

This electoral cycle project had a lifespan of two years, worked mainly with political leaders and political activists of parties, at central level. The multi-donor project was implemented through UNDP. It worked at three focus areas: party electoral campaigning, building inter-party relations, and party regulations.

One of the components of this large project was to work with the Political Parties Affairs Council, which was responsible to register political parties. In addition to providing procurement and technical support to the Council, the project worked on a Code of Conduct and conflict resolution among parties, capacity building and training for the Council and the parties, inter-party dialogue and briefings, data centre for registration of parties, monitoring the internal structures of parties.

The M&E framework is in line with the standard provisions for UNDP-implemented projects. This means that project activities are monitored by the UNDP Country Office and backstopping support is provided by the UNDP Governance Unit. In compliance with UNDP auditing rules, an audit firm undertakes a financial review of the project. The Project Management team submits quarterly narrative and financial reports to the Elections Support Project Board. Donor reports are produced in conformity with UNDP procedures and subject to the individual cost-sharing agreements. At the end of the project, a joint final results-based execution report is produced by UNDP and submitted to donors with a final financial report. A workshop is organized at the end of the project to evaluate its success and reflect on lessons learned. However, there was no external, independent evaluation at the project mid-term or end-term.

Jordan: ENPI/2012/308-485: Towards a Multi-Party Democracy: Strengthening the role of Political Parties in Jordan's democratic reform process

COUNTRY	JORDAN
PROJECT NUMBER	ENPI/2012/308-485
DURATION	Three years
TYPE	Direct
FOCUS AREAS	Internal party functioning; International assistance; Inter-party relations; Parties & society; Party regulations
TARGET GROUPS	Party leaders, Party activists
IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION	Consortium with international organization in lead-role, and national support role
AMOUNT	500,000 Euros

This political party project has a lifespan of less than three years, works with party leaders and party activists, at central level, and through an international implementing organization with national partners. It works at five focus areas: internal party functioning, international assistance & interaction with international party organizations, building inter-party relations, parties and society, and party regulations & financing.

The project, which has just commenced in early 2013, has four specific objectives: 1. To improve the standing of political parties within Jordan's society, in particular in view of the tribal structures and traditional systems of power; 2. To strengthen the role of political parties within the political system; 3. To facilitate the interaction amongst political parties, and network building with civil society organisations; 4. To foster dialogue between political parties and representatives of the lower and upper house on the political reform process (incl. electoral law reform).

At the end of the project, the project expects to achieve the following long-term results: 1) Political parties and CSOs lobby together for a revision of the electoral law enhancing the number of seats in the lower house for political parties, a reform group has developed concrete ideas of legislative amendments of the electoral and the political party law; 2) Capacity of political parties on a technical (organisation, communication, coalition building etc.) as well as on a political level (good governance, civic rights; environmental sustainability; gender) has been enhanced; 3) The population in general is better informed about the role of political parties within the political system and the need for reform to enhance representation; 4) Forums for dialogue have been established between political parties, other political stakeholders and CSOs as well as between those who support them, including network building of local and international organisations supporting political parties and the electoral process.

The delivery methods of the project include a series of lectures, workshops and training seminars. A solid need assessment at the start of the project will ensure that training contents are well adapted to the local political and cultural context. The participation of political party representatives in the development of the training material will ensure local ownership. At least 50% of the project activities will take place outside the capital and thereby guarantee the inclusion of the rural and marginalized regions of Jordan. The project is dialogue oriented by bringing political parties of all colours and various political stakeholders together. Political party leaders will thereby also better get to know each other and build trust which will help to mitigate pre- or post-electoral tensions. Given the lack of representation of women and youth in politics, the project takes a specific approach toward these two groups.

M&E activities will, firstly, include the careful continuous internal monitoring. The following methods will be used for the internal monitoring of the activities and for the overall outcome of the action:

- Educational material, project brochure, website: methods of content analysis, expert and peer-group reviews will evaluate whether the content and presentation is state of the art.
- Trainings of Trainers and participants: partaking observation and a sample of qualitative interviews as well as questionnaires will assess knowledge impact and behavioural change achieved by the activity.
- Workshops: content analysis of the documents produced during the workshops and a sample of qualitative interviews as well as distributed questionnaires will assess the knowledge impact and behavioural change achieved by the activity.
- Structural changes within stakeholders: analysis on samples of the participating CSOs and parties and a sample of qualitative interviews.
- An annual internal monitoring report will be summing up the findings on the carried out activities. An external mid-term evaluation, conducted by an international evaluator, will be organized.

4.4. CONCLUSION ON THE MAPPING OF EU-FUNDED POLITICAL PARTY PROJECTS

The analysis of the above case-studies enables to identify a number of common trends and challenges.

- ① Most of the projects are quite relevant, and also well prepared and implemented. For several projects, it has not been possible to find evidence of systematic follow-up on activities after the project expired. In some cases, though not in all cases nor in a systematic way, the learning processes were documented in final reports or external evaluation reports.
- ② The time-span of the projects varies between one and three years. However, it is very unlikely that a project of 12 or 18 months has a meaningful result or a lasting impact. A time-span of three years seems to be a workable minimum. A political party project which runs throughout the electoral cycle and works with the parties from before one election through the next election is most advisable. The need for long-term strategies

and funding mechanisms has to be underlined here. In addition, experience from above projects shows that proper consideration needs to be given to the timing of launching a call for proposals. A call launched six months prior to the elections means that, by the time of awarding of contract and the start of the project, only couple of weeks prior to elections are available (ref. Jordan project). In order to gain the trust of the parties and establish a working relationship, more time prior to the elections is required.

- ③ A number of project documents provide evidence of good understanding of the challenges of political party development work. The political party system and the political context in which the project will be implemented, are well described, pointing at systems of patronage, top-down approach, nepotism in parties. However, in many projects there is then a disconnect between this analysis and the type of project activities and planned approaches. The project periods for political party support which often have been envisaged are not sufficient to reach certain objectives, and address pertinent shortcomings in the existing political culture.

The activities and approaches seem not to address the main challenges of political party development work, but are limited to traditional capacity building for a segment within the parties (youth groups, women candidates). There are noticeable exceptions (e.g. Nigeria project in EIDHR) where the project attempts to provide capacity building as well as to address the structural barriers.

- ④ There are different practices in terms of selecting the specific target group of political party projects. Some projects limit the project to those parties represented in parliament, the so-called parliamentary parties. However, this approach can considerably disadvantage a large opposition party in case it decided to boycott parliament, or it might exclude smaller parties which didn't manage to pass the electoral threshold. In selecting the target groups for the project, proper consideration should be given to what extent the project would give unbalanced advantage to the ruling parties. A possible alternative approach is to invite all registered democratic political parties to participate in project activities³⁶, although the number of parties can be a drawback, in which case a thorough political economy analysis is important to keep the option to focus on several parties instead of targeting all parties. While the EU is ready to work with all democratic political parties, by way of principle, in practice many democratic political parties will actually not join in these support activities, but should they wish to join the door is always open.

- ⑤ Half of the projects selected as case-studies work with an “institutional partner”, this is a neutral, non-partisan interlocutor through which the project interacts with the different political parties. These are the Parliamentary Centre (Indonesia), Joint Youth and Student Platform (Nepal), Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (Tanzania), Inter-Party Council (Nigeria) and Political Parties Affairs Council (Sudan). It appears that only in countries where such institutional partner does not exist, projects interact directly

36- Especially in transition contexts emerging from decades of autocratic one-party rule, a mushrooming of political parties can be experienced and often 100 to 200 parties are registered. Parliamentary representation indicates a certain mobilisation capacity of a given party, nation-wide representation eventually. However, when parties remain outside the electoral process by their own decision and bear the elements of mobilisation capacity and representativeness, they need to be included in party activities by a project.

with parties. However, the external end-of-project evaluation of the Tanzania project also outlined the risks associated with working in this way, i.e. that the institutional partner absorbs to a too large extent the project's human and training resources rather than the political parties as final beneficiaries. In some cases, such inter-party body is perceived by opposition parties as a puppet-institution for the ruling party³⁷. However, in cases such inter-party body exists, most external actors still consider it as the only available institution to channel funding through.³⁸

- ⑥ As other democracy projects, also political party projects are searching for sustainable deliverables beyond workshops and publications. The above case studies have generated a number of interesting examples of sustainable deliverables. To increase the number of elected women and the number of women candidates, the Ghana project facilitated an MoU within individual parties, on the intra-party level between a Women's Wing of a particular party and the Party Executive of that party. In Tunisia and Nigeria, the project facilitated an inter-party Code of Conduct on respecting the results of elections and adherence to non-violent campaigning, amongst others. In Nigeria, the project facilitated agreement among a number of parties on party election guidelines to enhance the presence and participation of women.
- ⑦ Political party support activities are often part of larger projects, either electoral cycle projects, parliamentary projects or democracy/governance projects. Experience has shown that particular efforts need to be made to ensure synergies between the different project components, and avoid "compartmentalisation" of these larger projects. Synergies between support to parties, parliament, civil society, electoral bodies can be very instrumental to mutually reinforce the objectives of each of these project components and assist in strengthening a democratic culture in the country. It was also noted that the political party work within larger electoral cycle projects is often limited to explaining to the parties the electoral legislation and procedures.
- ⑧ Monitoring and Evaluation is considered important in all projects, but practice varies widely. Some of the projects have a comprehensive M&E plan, which includes mechanisms for internal monitoring (e.g. project in Jordan) and/or for external evaluation. Some projects work with an own M&E officer who is responsible for project reporting against the log frame, targets and indicators and who ensures quality control. Other projects have a monitoring officer from HQ visiting on regular basis. In projects such as Nepal, the role and responsibilities of the project steering committee are well defined, as well as the frequency of its meetings. Some projects which go over a longer period (e.g. three to four years) foresee in an external mid-term evaluation resulting in a review and updating of the log frame. The Indonesia project has conducted an "ABC-evaluation": attitudes, behaviour and cognitive level.

37- Although inter-party bodies are valuable, the criticism of inter-party bodies has to be considered as well. As inter-party bodies might absorb funding or be perceived as biased, party assistance projects should endeavour to have a more independent character where the level of intermediaries becomes reduced to a minimum.

38- Wild, L., Foresti M. and Domingo P., *International assistance to political party and party system development*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), January 2011, p. 13.

- ⑨ Some of the large, multi-donor projects are implemented by another international organization such as UNDP and managed through a basket fund. Feed-back from Delegations has indicated the need for stronger involvement of the Delegation in the development of the project's log frame and indicators, and the need for an external mid-term and end-of-project evaluation. For large, multi-donor projects, M&E should not be left entirely to the internal dynamics of the implementing organization. For multi-year projects, it is important to keep the log frame up-to-date, with indicators and outcomes that are regularly reviewed and kept SMART.
- ⑩ On substance, the political party projects supported by the EC have not been very different from projects funded by bilateral donors. Few of the smaller projects have benefitted from the potential comparative advantages of the EC/EU as multilateral entity (such as the one in Nepal and Tunisia). Larger, UNDP-implemented projects (e.g. electoral cycle projects with a component on political party work) have been implemented in cooperation with member states or other donor agencies.

4.5. THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The European Parliament's Office for the Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy (OPPD)³⁹ has been established in order to provide demand-driven parliamentary development support in new and emerging democracies. The beneficiaries of the support of the OPPD are the parliamentary institutions, their Members and their officials.

Members and staff of parliaments in new and emerging democracies can benefit from training, strategic counselling and long-term fellowships provided by the OPPD as well as networking with Members and relevant services of the European Parliament. The networking with Members of the European Parliament is often an opportunity to also discuss the development and challenges of the political parties to which these parliamentarians belong. Sometimes, the networking results in further contacts between the political party of the Member of the European Parliament and the political party of the visiting parliamentarian.

Examples of this activity are the visit of the Parliament of Chile to study committee work and support systems to Members of the European Parliament, and the visit of leaders of the political groups of the Parliament of Kyrgyzstan focusing on work of the political groups and political administration in the European Parliament. The visits established contacts with Members of the European Parliament as well as staff of the political group secretariats and the European Parliament's General-Secretariat and facilitated the exchange of information and experiences between the participating parliaments.

It is worth mentioning that the European Parliament is a fierce defender of human rights and democracy, which enables it to interact with representatives of political parties from many countries and express its

39- European Parliament, *Strengthening Parliaments Worldwide: The European Parliament and the promotion of Democracy*, Brussels, 2009, 18 p. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/oppd/Page_1/OPPD-Strengthening_Parliaments_Worldwide.pdf

support. Each year the European Parliament awards the “Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought” to individuals or organisations who fight for human rights and fundamental freedoms. On several occasions, the Prize has been awarded to leaders of opposition political parties in situations of repression, e.g. Aung San Suu Kyi (Myanmar/Burma, 1990), Ibradim Rugova (Kosovo, 1998), Aliaksandr Milinkevitch (Belarus, 2006).⁴⁰ On such occasions, the importance of the European Parliament’s support to the opposition movement cannot be underestimated.

40- <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/0039c6d1f9/Human-rights.html>

RESULTS FRAMEWORKS AND INDICATORS FOR POLITICAL PARTY FOCUS AREAS

Following the mapping and analysis of EU-funded projects and the presentation of different focus areas for support to political parties and political party systems, this chapter will establish a standard set of performance indicators that shall be available for political party support project formulators to draw from, as appropriate to the project objectives and activities.

The identification of appropriate performance indicators is a well-established component in EC project management design that assists project implementers, donors, managers, monitors and evaluators to determine the extent to which programmes and projects meet their objectives. Performance indicators can be established at different levels to track project performance against different project goals and the EC has a long tradition in using them in different sectors (governance, health, environment, etc.).

Indicators of performance help decision-making by capturing key changes taking place on the ground as a result of the cooperation to development intervention, and can be used throughout and at any point in the implementation of a project. In addition, indicators contribute to results-based management. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) made results-based management a condition of aid delivery: “*Managing for results means managing and implementing aid in a way that focuses on the desired results and uses information to improve decision-making.*”⁴¹ This principle was embraced by the European Consensus on Development (2005)⁴² which provides for “*the Community [to] consistently use an approach based on results and performance indicators*”.

Indicators of performance also contribute to transparency and accountability. The ability to access information about public policy's expected results and compare them with actual results quickly and at any time meets the growing need for accountability to the public.

There is a need to improve the consistency and rigorousness of performance indicators. There is typically a gap between the tracking of project activities and the aspiration to achieve broad objectives. Measurement of activities, while useful, does not capture project effectiveness, while broad democratisation goals cannot be realistically traced back to (often relatively small) political party support initiatives. There is a need to enhance project design and monitoring and evaluation through establishing clear and realistic performance indicators that can be attributed to project activities.

The most common tool used for measuring impact is the logical framework approach. Most EU-funded political party projects establish a results framework that details expected outcomes, outputs and activities, and include corresponding indicators for each level of measurement.

41- <http://www.oecd.org/development/effectiveness/34428351.pdf>

42- The 'European Consensus on Development' (2005) is a policy statement that reflects the EU's willingness to eradicate poverty and build a more stable and equitable world. It identifies shared values, goals, principles and commitments which the European Commission and EU Member States will implement in their development policies. See: <http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/development-policies/european-consensus/>

For the purpose of this Guide, a results framework is understood to be a tool used to monitor and manage political party assistance programmes. Output is the result of activities carried out in support of project objectives. An output indicator, for example, might include the number of training sessions held. An outcome is the change expected as a direct result of related outputs. An outcome indicator would i.e. include a measurement of the improvement in a party's ability to develop policy platforms.

Indicators are generally defined as being SMART: Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Relevant and Time bound. Though quantitative measures of achievement are mostly relevant for outputs, to measure outcomes there is a need for both quantitative and qualitative indicators. Finally, a results framework needs to indicate how indicators will be measured. Detailing data sources and/or means of verification can help staff plan how indicators will actually be captured. Best practices of results framework also foresee an opportunity to discuss assumptions underlying the project design, as they might potentially impact upon the chances for successful project implementation.

As mentioned above, we have identified eight focus areas for assistance to political parties and the party system. In this chapter we present a sample log frame chart for each focus area. Each chart includes three sample outcomes, sample indicative activities, sample output and outcome/impact indicators, sample measurement and assessment methodology and sample assumptions. Each sample log frame chart is introduced by a short narrative giving an insight into the program logic. The following pages will also indicate that there are synergies and potential overlaps between the focus areas. However, it is important to state that the indicators and log-frames used should be adaptable to the changing conditions of the context and evolving project. Following is the general overview of the eight focus areas and the related outcomes.

	FOCUS AREA	OUTCOMES
1	INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONING & MANAGEMENT	<p>1.1. Decision making processes within political parties are more inclusive and democratic</p> <p>1.2. Communication between party headquarters and branches is better streamlined and more efficient</p> <p>1.3. Parties' funding practices are more transparent and its financial management more accountable</p>
2	ELECTORAL PROCESS, PARTY ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNING AND OUTREACH	<p>2.1. Parties' communication and outreach to citizens is enhanced</p> <p>2.2. The electoral framework is endorsed and respected by political parties</p> <p>2.3. Political parties' operations during elections have been strengthened</p>
3	DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY POLICIES AND PROGRAMS	<p>3.1. Parties have a stronger capacity to prepare policies, programs and positions</p> <p>3.2. Parties decision making process results in more comprehensive party policies and programs</p> <p>3.3. Parties monitor and regularly evaluate the implementation of party policies & programs</p>

	FOCUS AREA	OUTCOMES
4	INTERACTION WITH INTERNATIONAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS	4.1. Parties have strengthened their profile and outreach at an international level
5	BUILDING INTER-PARTY RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS	5.1. Feasibility of multi-party dialogue has been thoroughly assessed 5.2. Organizational capacity of multi-party dialogue platforms have been strengthened 5.3. Interparty dialogue on issues of shared concern has been facilitated
6	PARTIES AND SOCIETY; PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND DISADVANTAGED GROUPS	6.1. Parties have strengthened outreach to women and improved internal governance to increase women's participation in politics 6.2. Parties have strengthened outreach to youth and improved internal governance to increase the participation of young people in politics 6.3. Parties have strengthened outreach to underrepresented groups and improved internal governance to increase the participation in politics of under-represented and other disadvantaged groups
7	PARTIES AND PARLIAMENT	7.1. The organization, decision-making process and policy development of parliamentary groups (caucus) have improved 7.2. Parliament has properly regulated the role of the parliamentary groups 7.3. MPs and parties have better skills and instruments to engage with constituents, including through constituency relations offices
8	PARTY LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK	8.1. A legislative framework covering the requirements for registration and functioning of parties and approved by all parties has been established 8.2. A transparent, fair and affordable system of political party and campaign financing, including provisions for disclosure, reporting, monitoring and enforcement has been established in agreement with the parties.

1 INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONING AND MANAGEMENT

Most political party assistance projects focus on basic party functioning and management issues. This focus area prioritizes on the practices needed to have the party grow as an organization, such as clear decision making procedures, membership management structures, consolidating existing and establishing new branches and developing channels of communication between headquarters and the branches. This structural work happens at multiple levels. For example, a project can build capacity of local activists on membership recruitment, while helping headquarters establish systems to track member information.

Coordination between these efforts will make the party strengthening initiatives more effective and sustainable.

Strengthening party management requires strengthening internal democratic decision making and internal party transparency. Within democratic parties democratic principles are essential. Best practices require that decisions by party leadership affecting personnel and programme be coordinated with various party bodies such as commissions or the party congress. Both personnel and programme decision-making

processes will be considered more legitimate by the party base if they have been informed and, where possible, involved in it. It is therefore vital for inner-party democracy that these processes are transparent to the public and to the party members alike. In many democratic parties, rules foresee in decisions made by legitimate committees rather than informally taken decisions.

However, in many countries parties are commonly seen as dominated by elites, with few incentives for party branches or members to have a substantial say. Weak institutionalization is a common feature in many parties, which are run in a command fashion by a small group of influential backers. Political party assistance projects therefore need to be aware, as discussed earlier, of the context in which they take place. It is important to understand the impact of informal rules in doing politics, patterns of clientelism and patronage, unwritten rules how persons are nominated for elected positions, etc. In addition, the country's political and constitutional system can have a profound effect on internal party decision making. This does not mean that party assistance projects can only work in the margins, but rather that the design of program activities and their evaluation need to take account of external context and party-internal entrenched patterns

of functioning. Reforming and democratising the functioning and management of parties is a lengthy process.

Assisting the operational and structural development of parties also needs to address management and level of transparency of the party finances. There is (at least) five sources of possible party financing: state funding, corporate funding, private donations, membership fees, commercial incomes [party literature, newspaper, publishing company, real-estate and other non-party related economic activities]. Technical advice and training often focus on disclosure of incomes, of campaign expenditures and of property by party, party officials and candidates, as well as the mechanisms for reporting, monitoring and enforcement. In some countries, parties report their financial statements to an independent, inter-party institution, electoral commission or other organization. Some political party assistance projects help review internal rules and structures: how the party budget is compiled, how party projects or proposals from (women and youth) wings within the party are assigned an amount of money, the salary scales of party staff, frequency of internal reporting and what is reported to whom, role of the financial secretary and the creation of a possible party-budget committee.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

- 1.1. **DECISION MAKING PROCESSES WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES ARE MORE INCLUSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC**
- 1.2. **COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HEADQUARTERS AND BRANCHES IS BETTER STREAMLINED AND MORE EFFICIENT**
- 1.3. **PARTY FUNDING PRACTICES ARE MORE TRANSPARENT AND ITS FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT MORE ACCOUNTABLE.**

OUTCOME 1.1: DECISION MAKING PROCESSES WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES ARE MORE INCLUSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>1.1.1. Assist in review of decision making process for day-to-day, management and policy decisions, through consultations, workshops and comparative research paper on internal decision making rules in different parties and political systems</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of advice provided - Frequency of meetings; number of party leaders and others participating - Availability of research paper; number of country examples reviewed 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parties modify internal rules to formalize wider participation in decision making - Other persons than party leader propose issues for decision - Parties hold a minimum of quarterly executive committee meetings <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Differences of opinion are first discussed internally within party prior to party executive committee decision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party internal rules & statutes - Interviews about de facto vs de jure decision making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Willingness of party leadership to modify internal rules based upon advice received
<p>1.1.2. Technical assistance in reviewing procedures for choosing and ranking party nominees for elected posts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Draft Manual for party central and local level on how to organize selection and ranking of nominees - Number of workshops discussing methods for candidate selection - Number of copies of Manual distributed 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use of party congresses or primaries for deciding on candidate/nominee lists - Input received and allowed from party branches to rank candidates - Internal elections for members of the candidate selection committee - Number of complaints on final electoral list has been reduced <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of acceptance within party of final list of candidates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party internal rules on candidate selection - Background data on nominees and elected official - Survey among party branches, selected and non-selected candidates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Willingness of party leadership to accept candidates ranking if different as initially proposed - Parties do gather data on complaints on final electoral list - Existence of internal mechanism keeping track of complaints

OUTCOME 1.1: DECISION MAKING PROCESSES WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES ARE MORE INCLUSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>1.1.3. Strengthen accountability of party leadership via use of transparent selection methods</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal review paper on options for process of selection of party leadership - Party session to discuss political party decisions, including at branch level 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frequency of internal party elections - Rules on rotation in party statutes & practice - Re-election rate of party leaders vs rank & file <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Availability of alternative & suitable/qualified candidates for (part of) party leadership - Extent to which party leader decisions can be criticized. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey of party members (national level and branches) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - History and internal rules of party are favourable to an accountable party leadership selection process

OUTCOME 1.2: COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARTY HEADQUARTERS AND BRANCHES IS BETTER STREAMLINED AND MORE EFFICIENT

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>1.2.1 Support the development of an effective party HQ Directorate for party internal communication and identifying HQ focal point to liaise with branches</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concept paper on HQ Directorate - Records of consultations conducted 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decision on creation of Directorate - Appointment of HQ focal point to liaise with branches - Number of meetings of HQ focal point with branches <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased understanding of party policies by all branches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey of party members in different branches on contact with HQ, party positions and policies - Reports of regular meetings of branches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party leadership recognizes the need for enhanced communication with branches

OUTCOME 1.2: COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARTY HEADQUARTERS AND BRANCHES IS BETTER STREAMLINED AND MORE EFFICIENT

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>1.2.2. Support to development of internal-party communication plan & Standard Operating Procedures, for review and endorsement by HQ and branches (drafting SoP, workshops, consultations)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Availability of widely shared internal-party communication plan - Number of branches participating in discussions on communication plan 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of in-person meetings between HQ and all branches as result of the communication plan - Creation of party Newsletter of web-platform - Right amount of communication around strategic issues and key decisions ⁴³ <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enhanced collaboration between HQ and branches on campaign strategy & organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Standard Operating Procedures for inter-party communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sufficient time prior to elections is available to optimize the interaction between HQ and branches, and thus enable fair evaluation of the initiatives - Parties do collect data on communications between HQ and branches
<p>1.2.3. Advice on optimizing the functioning of party local branch offices</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Availability of review report on functioning of party local branch offices, and possible adoption of its recommendations - Number of visits from HQ to branch offices - HR and financial resources committed 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number, organization & budget of party local branch offices - Increase in functionality of party local branch offices (more visitors / more press coverage) - Creation of number of new branch offices <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessment of quality of party outreach through branch offices⁴⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identification / confirmation of locations for branch offices - Reports of regular meetings of branches - Data on contacts with voters and other activities in the offices - Party Strategic Plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial means are available to maintain and optimize the local branch offices

43- This qualitative aspect needs to feature, otherwise a lot of communication might go out but might not be of any relevance.

44- Quality of branch offices often depends on persons - mostly volunteers.

OUTCOME 1.3: PARTIES' FUNDING PRACTICES ARE MORE TRANSPARENT AND ITS FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT MORE ACCOUNTABLE

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>1.3.1. Assist parties in creating internal mechanisms of communication on incomes and expenditures</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concept paper proposed and discussed within party on communication mechanism on financial matters, taking account of different target groups within party - Number of parties providing feed-back on the draft paper 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Existence of a yearly budget, role and function of a party treasurer and his reporting responsibilities; Year-end/ accounting report <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased level of knowledge of all actors in party on incomes and expenditures of party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with party members on available information on party budget matters - Questionnaire for party officials on party finances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party leadership has interest to make financial information more accessible to wider party audience - Decisions on party spending are decided according to agreed party rules
<p>1.3.2. Review internal party rules & structures to enhance accountability</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of segments within party providing input to the review of party financial rules - Establishment of internal-party budget review commission 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adoption of new set of internal party rules enhancing disclosure and accountability - Agreement on a collaborative process to assign financial means to different target groups in party: women, youth, parliamentary caucus, international department, etc. <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased spending on priorities expressed by specific party groups: women, youth, caucus, international department, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party internal rules & statutes 	<p>Review of internal party rules and structures will not provoke unconstructive divisions within party</p>

OUTCOME 1.3: PARTIES' FUNDING PRACTICES ARE MORE TRANSPARENT AND ITS FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT MORE ACCOUNTABLE

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>1.3.3. Organize trainings for party officials, branches and candidates on disclosure, reporting, monitoring and enforcing of financial rules</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manual and templates on disclosure, reporting, monitoring and enforcing of financial rules - Number of parties and persons trained 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party officials with expertise in disclosure, reporting, monitoring and enforcing of financial rules - Increase in number of party officials & branches who disclose required information and report in timely manner. <p>Qualitative: Changed perception of general public on financial accountability of parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training materials - Reports on training workshops - Questionnaire to verify knowledge of branches and candidates on disclosure, reporting, monitoring and enforcing of financial rules 	<p>Party officials, branches and candidates will allocate sufficient time to attend training workshops</p>
<p>1.3.4. Advise party on presenting regular accounts to independent body and/or publish on their website; and follow-up to audit reports⁴⁵</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of consultations on preparing accounts - Number of internal-party meetings on the recommendations of audit reports 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Less alleged cases of corruption or nepotism reported in press <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased public trust in party's accountability and its focus on the public interest - Less secrecy on party funding resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Audit report on the party financing as submitted to independent body - Survey data on perceptions of corruption in parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party officials consider audit reports as opportunity to improve transparency and accountability (rather than threat) - Parties have trust in professionalism of independent body. - Existence of legislation on party finances.

45- Challenge is how to ensure the disclosure of the financial situation by all parties. To be regulated by legislation. Otherwise, it will not work and mistrust will overrule the laudable objective.

Elections are the time when the party leaderships and the members are most engaged and when they allocate most of their time to party outreach. Many party assistance projects provide support in the area of electoral campaigning and outreach, as they consider it a vital entry-point for democracy assistance.

Parties are often eager to learn about effective campaign techniques. Projects are then asked to provide technical assistance and training on campaign strategy, fundraising, incorporating public opinion to form messages, better defining party platforms and election promises. To be most effective, it is important to offer these trainings to candidates and campaign managers alike. Best practice suggests the usefulness of a systematic and comprehensive mapping of citizens' concerns long before the elections are announced. Such mapping can help to better incorporate citizens' needs into electoral platforms.

An electoral platform is an alliance of like-minded parties. In order to make electoral platforms viable it is important to first consult the party bases (not so much the citizens). However, for the campaign a needs assessment amongst the broader constituency is recommendable.

Many party assistance activities, for instance in the framework of electoral cycle projects, analyze and make proposals to adjust the legislative framework for elections. In addition to reviewing the legislation

for the operational requirements of elections, some projects provide technical advice and facilitate consensus building on the question of quotas to encourage increased participation of women and other underrepresented groups. To establish ground rules for party behaviour during an election, the development of "Codes of Conduct" among political parties is often encouraged. Such "Codes of Conduct" also help mitigate electoral violence and promote public confidence in the credibility of the election itself.

Another area of attention in relation to political party projects or political party support activities is the transparency and accountability of the electoral process as a whole. This can be done through capacity building for party volunteers for electoral observation / poll watching, and training about the use of exit-polls and quick count techniques.

Finally, it is worth noting that some party assistance organizations observe the "30-day rule". It means that 30 days prior to elections, no interaction or advice to the parties will be provided, as a statement of political neutrality by the assistance provider.

Related to the log frame and indicators mentioned further, it is important to stress that electoral campaigning and outreach/interaction with constituencies are different aspects. They can be treated separately as the related activities and their results are also differently.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

2.1. PARTIES' COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH TO CITIZENS IS ENHANCED

2.2. THE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK IS ENDORSED AND RESPECTED BY POLITICAL PARTIES

2.3. POLITICAL PARTIES' OPERATIONS DURING ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED

46- This focus area brings together activities related to parties in the electoral process as well as election campaigning and outreach. Although these issues are put together for practical reasons, they are different.

OUTCOME 2.1: PARTIES' COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH TO CITIZENS IS ENHANCED ⁴⁷				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>2.1.1. Assist parties in systematic and comprehensive mapping of citizens' concerns</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mapping Plan identifying constituent geographies, population groups and concerns - Regular update of constituency mapping plan 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase of citizens concerns as reflected in party program - Mapping of constituency concerns provides viable information for legislative and oversight work of MPs <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased awareness among party officials of details of citizens concerns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Needs assessment about contact with party rep., per region of country - Records of constituency contacts (constituency logbook) 	<p>Party has the means to initiate and maintain the regular mapping of citizens concerns</p>
<p>2.1.2. Capacity building of party officials to streamline and deepen regular communication with voters; develop organisational chart of persons responsible for communication</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of parties trained; number of participants/ party - Manual on party communication tools - Party outreach and communication strategic plan drafted 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Systems in place (committees, regional offices, organisational chart) to better structure communication with citizens <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased contact between party officials and constituents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outreach strategic plan - Structured interviews with party officials at central and branch level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party representatives agree to specific outreach targets as proposed in strategic plan
<p>2.1.3. Strengthen party outreach on party and government activities (where the party is part of the ruling majority) through workshops on communication techniques, usage of ICT tools, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Estimated number of voters reached - Data on means of outreach - Occasions when parties publish information for citizens 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in visitors of party websites & subscribers to party newsletter - CSOs distribute further relevant info for citizens <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved voter knowledge on party and government activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey of voters - Public responses on e.g. live radio or TV-show - Press review 	<p>Financial and human resources available to conduct meaningful party outreach</p>

47- Parties' communication and outreach to citizens should go beyond elections, but since this activity is very much concentrated during elections, it was placed here.

OUTCOME 2.2: THE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK IS ENDORSED AND RESPECTED BY POLITICAL PARTIES				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>2.2.1. Development and promotion of a Code of Electoral Conduct</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of workshops on value, code content, communication and adherence to CoC - Number of copies CoC distributed - Number of media reports highlighting the CoC 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CoC and implementation strategy endorsed by party leadership - Conflict resolution mechanism of CoC known and applied - Decrease of elections related violent incidents - Level playing field for all parties does exist (no use of state resources by incumbent party) <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Elections are considered free and fair and take place in peaceful atmosphere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media reports on content of CoC - Police and media reports on elections related violent incidents - Voters surveys asking about code and party conduct 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party leaderships are able to ensure compliance by party activists and branches
<p>2.2.2. Technical advice on legislative amendments to electoral law</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings of party legal committee - Research study on best practices in countries with similar political and constitutional systems - Options papers on side-effects of gerrymandering on party political representation 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party proposals on electoral framework accepted and voted in parliament - Number of discussions held with other political parties, media, CSOs on party proposals on electoral framework <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased knowledge throughout party on impact of changes to electoral framework - Greater responsiveness of party to parliamentary debates on election legislation - Extent to which parties support an impartial framework for elections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Finalized research study and options papers - (unless they are confidential) availability of papers on party web site; reports in press - Modifications to electoral framework as accepted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Party leadership, MPs, CSOs and government representatives need to be willing to take part in interviews and focus group discussions

OUTCOME 2.2: THE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK IS ENDORSED AND RESPECTED BY POLITICAL PARTIES				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>2.2.3. Technical advice and consensus building on question of quotas to encourage increased participation of women and other underrepresented groups</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meetings with political parties, gender-related CSOs, and electoral institutions - Parties hold internal meetings and public discussions on question of quotas and other reform initiatives to increase presence of women and other underrepresented groups 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party proposals on quotas and other reform initiatives discussed and voted in parliament - Number of discussions held with other political parties, media, CSOs on quotas and other reform initiatives - Enhanced number of women on party lists and in senior party positions <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enhanced role, acceptance and ranking of women in their own party - Increase in diversity of representation in parliament and other (local) elected bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender and ethnic composition within party - Gender and ethnic composition of regional assemblies and national parliament 	<p>CSOs and women politicians increasingly build consensus on usefulness of gender quota within country's national and historical context</p>

OUTCOME 2.3: POLITICAL PARTIES' OPERATIONS DURING ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>2.3.1. Capacity building, training and coaching for candidates at elections and campaign managers</p>	<p>Number of trainings conducted, number of participants, training materials available</p>	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adoption of common messaging and branding by all candidates <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthening of corporate image of party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Election posters, new media, etc. - List of skills and topics of training 	<p>Financial and human resources available to conduct meaningful candidates training</p>

OUTCOME 2.3: POLITICAL PARTIES' OPERATIONS DURING ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>2.3.2. Consultations and technical advice in developing an electoral campaign strategy, political marketing strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Electoral campaign strategy is in place 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of candidates who ask campaign advice from party HQ's campaign strategists <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved campaign organization and strategy - Increased capacity of party to evaluate elections result against tools and targets included in the strategy 	<p>Survey among candidates on their understanding of campaign messaging</p>	<p>Campaign strategy goes beyond technical planning and incorporates political results of party and MPs</p>
<p>2.3.3. Capacity building for party volunteers for electoral observation / poll watching</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings to identify volunteers, activities and strategy - Number of volunteers which completed training - Volunteers are geographically well distributed throughout country - Training programs for poll watchers 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of recount and appeal procedures at Electoral Commission based upon poll watching by party activists - Number of volunteers deployed - Number of polling stations covered - Number of irregularities registered - Extent of parallel counting via party observers (see 2.3.4) <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthened cooperation between sub-national party officials and volunteers - Enhanced party capacity to make sound assessment of election day proceedings - Increased acceptance of election results; decrease in fraud claims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aggregated reports from polling stations covered - Reports from international election monitors - Complaints filed at the Electoral Commission 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of quality, consistency and comprehensiveness of volunteers' observations enables party to make substantiated claims of fraud - if the case - Party will be able to identify sufficient number of volunteers to cover all polling stations

OUTCOME 2.3: POLITICAL PARTIES' OPERATIONS DURING ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>2.3.4. Training about the use of exit-polls and quick count techniques</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of parties & individuals trained - Manual on methodologies applied in exit-polls and quick count 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decrease in fraud claims - Party statements on validity of electoral outcomes <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quick counts validate election results - Parties analyze exit polls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aggregated reports from polling stations covered - Reports from international election monitors 	<p>Parties will only release information from exit-polls and quick counts after receiving statistically sufficient amount of data</p>

Many party assistance projects attempt to strengthen the programmatic dimension of parties. Political parties that are centred on a clear sets of policies or programs, rather than patron-client relationships or charismatic leaders, for example, are more likely to listen to and reflect citizens' voices. Such so-called programmatic parties are of central importance in a representative democracy. When political parties tie themselves to a clear set of policy positions and commit themselves to implement them if elected, they are accountable to the people to deliver on their promises. Therefore, programmatic parties are more likely to deliver on development and poverty reduction than other types of parties who seek to control state resources more for their own personal use.

This applies to ruling parties, but also to opposition parties. Legislation and parliamentary rules can foresee in a specific role for opposition parties, in a system of "checks and balances". Opposition parties often use the time while in opposition to strengthen their program, make it more detailed.

Programmatic parties are more likely to be inclusive of all people in society, instead of certain sections only⁴⁸. In many countries, parties do not base themselves primarily on programmes, and instead seek to secure the support of voters by other means, such as through material exchanges, patronage of jobs, ethnic identity or a charismatic leader.

However, in many cases, one cannot exclusively categorize parties as either programmatic parties, charismatic parties or clientelistic parties. Putting these three dimensions in a triangle chart, parties can often be situated in between at least two of

these three dimensions. For instance, some parties usually considered to be clientelistic will also adopt a party manifesto prior to elections. A party centred around a charismatic leader can entail some clientelistic patterns. Traditional programmatic parties can be galvanised by a charismatic leader, pushing some of the program priorities aside. Therefore, support to the programmatic orientation of parties remains a valid concern in all circumstances.

A couple of conditions facilitate programmatic parties, such as consistent improvement in economic development, a more urban-oriented structure in society, few ethnic divisions, and the existence of active and independent social movements and interest groups, amongst others.

To support the parties' capacity to prepare policies, programs and positions, party-assistance projects can look into the development of party-internal policy making tools, and encourage enhanced interaction with policy or issue oriented CSOs. As the parties' decision making process plays an important role in strengthening the programmatic orientation of parties, party-assistance projects can advise on the diversification of policies between central and local level, between electoral programs and coalition platforms, on topical issues such as the organization of the state. Projects can also contribute to strengthening the party capacity to translate policies and programs in an effective legislative agenda. Finally, it is important that political parties regularly review and update their programs. Projects can thus support parties in developing and maintaining a party-internal political program evaluation system.

48- Cheeseman, N., *Programmatic Parties*, published by International Idea, Stockholm, December 2011, 124p.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

- 3.1. PARTIES HAVE A STRONGER CAPACITY TO PREPARE POLICIES, PROGRAMS AND POSITIONS
- 3.2. PARTIES DECISION MAKING PROCESS RESULTS IN MORE COMPREHENSIVE POLICIES & PROGRAMS
- 3.3. PARTIES MONITOR AND REGULARLY EVALUATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES & PROGRAMS

OUTCOME 3.1: PARTIES HAVE A STRONGER CAPACITY TO PREPARE POLICIES, PROGRAMS AND POSITIONS				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>3.1.1. Support creation of party-internal policy making tools (working group of party members and external experts, party research staff) by providing best practices advice, training for research staff, access to digital research tools, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings and number of participants in party policy working groups - Number of trainings for party research staff - Digital research tools made available through the project 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in number of evidence-based analysis papers, informing party positions and policies - Parties have developed policies on key state services of education, health care and security <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved quality of party research through use of digital research tools - Established practice that party policies, programs and positions be based on prior research 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Published party positions, policies and programs - Population survey on party ideology / policies 	<p>Party decision making on positions and policies will enable sufficient time for party working group and party experts</p>
<p>3.1.2. Promote public debate on policy issues among parties, creating opportunities to take position and develop policies</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of policy issues on which inter-party debates take place 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decrease of number of issues on which party has no position <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased knowledge of general public on parties policies - Party demonstrates more detailed analysis during multi-party policy debates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media reports on public debates; - party policy papers, press releases, homepage, etc. 	<p>Public debates among parties will be conducted in an attractive format to enable clarification and differentiation on positions</p>

OUTCOME 3.1: PARTIES HAVE A STRONGER CAPACITY TO PREPARE POLICIES, PROGRAMS AND POSITIONS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>3.1.3. Strengthen the dialogue between parties and policy or issue oriented CSOs (pre-poor, pro-women, pro-environment, etc.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of policy forum and round table discussions conducted - Number of CSOs interacting with parties 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased frequency of dialogue with CSOs - The parties' stance on discrimination towards underrepresented groups and on gender equality, and other issues of concern to CSOs <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party policies and programs are drafted taking into account the analysis provided by issue-oriented CSOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy papers by CSOs - Party Strategic Plan 	<p>Party researchers and party leaders are open to input provided by issue-based CSOs</p>
<p>3.1.4. Support grooming of emerging political leaders and activists that focus on policies</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy advice, coaching, sharing best practices - Networking opportunities 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <p>Increase in number of new, analytically strong party members, including in leadership of political party</p> <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved quality of proposals from new party leaders and activists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy statements - Party lists of members of policy working group & party executives 	<p>New and analytically strong party members are given space in the party</p>

OUTCOME 3.2: PARTIES DECISION MAKING PROCESS RESULTS IN MORE COMPREHENSIVE PARTY POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>3.2.1. Advise on the diversification of policies for central and local level, for electoral programs and coalition platforms, on democracy and organization of the state, etc.</p>	<p>- Number of policy papers, programs made available to the wider public</p>	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase of tailor-made policy positions matching local concerns or central-level problem analysis - Stand of parties on frequency of elections, representative versus direct democracy. - Stand of parties on relationship between central, regional and local governance <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessment how diversification of policies responds to party concerns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Papers from party - Media reports 	<p>Human resources available to develop meaningful party policies for branch level and central level</p>
<p>3.2.2. Advice on inclusive decision making structures and procedures to adopt and endorse policies and programs</p>	<p>- Number of party persons consulted before policy or program is confirmed</p>	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase of number of policies and programs adopted at party congress by vote <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased adherence and loyalty by party officials and branches to approved party policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of party meetings and congress 	<p>Organizational capacity and willingness to ensure large group of party members can take part in decision process</p>
<p>3.2.3. Strengthen the party capacity to translate policies and program in an effective legislative agenda</p>	<p>- Number of workshops to discuss value and content of legislative agenda</p>	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legislative agenda guides caucus activity and party messaging - Number of amendments proposed annually - If the party is not present in parliament, number of advocacy activities done by extra-parliamentary parties <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved satisfaction how MPs put into reality / law the main concerns of party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party policy documents - Legislative proposals and amendments to legislation - Party Strategic Plan 	<p>Party will be able to identify the legal experts and technical advisors to translate its policy proposals into draft legislation</p>

OUTCOME 3.3: PARTIES MONITOR AND REGULARLY EVALUATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY POLICIES & PROGRAMS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>3.3.1. Develop and maintain a party-internal political program evaluation system</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party policies or positions evaluated - Resources committed to evaluate party program 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frequency of evaluation of party program (annually, two-annually,...) <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Better understanding of implications and implementation requirements to party policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey with party branches and population on feed-back to party program and its implementation 	<p>Financial and human resources available to conduct meaningful evaluation of policies & proposals</p>
<p>3.3.2. Support digitization of party policies and programs, and mechanism for feedback</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time required to make all policies available on line - Amount of feed-back per party position paper 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase of electronic feedback received on party policies and positions on issues of concern in society (e.g. when launched) <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in citizens knowledge on main elements of party policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internet survey feed-back mechanism - Party Strategic Plan 	<p>Party has human resources to maintain regular uploading of party policies, review feed-back and respond</p>
<p>3.3.3. Assist parties in identifying new opportunities for programmatic policies, especially in times of economic crisis and elections</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of new, innovative issues on which party clarifies its position 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of new, innovative policy issues mentioned for the first time in the electoral program for next parliamentary elections and adopted following consultations with constituency or party focus groups <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Higher profile of parties - Increased public trust that parties deal with current developments and concerns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media reports - Records of party meetings publicly available 	<p>Party leadership is open and interested to express opinions and policies on newly emerging issues</p>

Political parties don't function only within a national context. Often there is interaction with parties in other countries, considered sister parties, due to a similar ideological, historical or geopolitical background.

Sister-parties often interact with each other through so-called "party internationals", worldwide organizations of national and regional political parties with similar policies and values. Currently there are four democratic party internationals: the Centrist Democrat International (CDI), the International Democrat Union (IDU), the Liberal International (LI), and the Socialist International (SI). At European level, six party families (ALDE, EPP, S&D, ECR, Green/EFA, GUE/NGL) have political foundations active in international political party assistance (represented by ENoP as European Network of political foundations from EU member states).

Peer-to-peer approach to building political parties is often, though not exclusively, applied by political party foundations associated with well-established political parties in the EU or globally. The advantages of peer-to-peer approach and its risks and hurdles are mentioned earlier in this Study. As the peer-to-peer approach is based on trust between sister-parties and goes over a longer period of time, it makes it possible to discuss sensitive issues and value-based programmatic orientations. However, the link between strengthening a particular party and strengthening a multi-party system is not always clear. In addition, in many parts of the developing world and the post-communist worlds (especially the former Soviet Union), parties do not divide along ideological lines that correspond to

the main European ideological groupings, or even along a left-right axis at all. As a result, Western party institutes cannot find natural ideological partners in many countries.

An alternative to the peer-to-peer approach is a multi-party approach by addressing the political party system. In this approach, party assistance providers focus on the overall problems of parties in the country as a whole. While the multi-party method might face greater difficulty of creating a close party-to-party relationship between the assistance provider and recipient, in several occasions political foundations use the multi-party method, while developing quite close relationships with some parties in a country even though they are helping several parties in the country simultaneously.

While the interaction with international party organizations can thus take shape through both peer-to-peer approach and the multi-party approach, the exposure to international party life provides good opportunities for national parties in developing countries. Opportunities can be found in international input to the development of policies and policy alternatives, a discussion on values such as the transnational dimension of human rights and civil liberties, the relationship between state and religion, or economic deregulation questions. Exchanging values and ideas often contributes to increased interaction and/or membership of international party umbrella organizations. In specific occasions, discussions can explore the parties' relationships with the Diaspora. International relations also alter the image of a party at home and gives it a boost.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (single) project outcome has been identified:

4.1: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED THEIR PROFILE AND OUTREACH AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

OUTCOME 4.1: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED THEIR PROFILE AND OUTREACH AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, INCLUDING WITH SISTER OR LIKE-MINDED PARTIES AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>4.1.1. Support value-oriented or ideological dialogue between like-minded parties at regional or international level</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of parties participating in the dialogue - Number of workshops, conferences, participants - Policy papers on key issues under discussion - Number of international party foundations or institutions liaison with developing parties - Number of international party internships for party cadres 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Standards on human rights & freedoms agreed upon btw parties (if that is the topic of dialogue) - Presence of like-minded parties at election rallies or party congresses <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in (in)formal exchanges with party officials from other countries on values and issues - Assessment how value-oriented or ideological dialogue responds to party concerns and needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Joint declaration from all parties or party representatives - Reference to agreed standards included in party programs, policies & manifestos 	<p>Willingness of parties involved to discuss values and ideas based upon out-of-country experiences and standards</p>
<p>4.1.2. Facilitate interaction with and/or membership of international party umbrella organizations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concept paper on requirements for membership and observer status in international party umbrella organizations - Records of consultations conducted - Interaction with foreign election observers (outside of EU EOMs) affiliated to the international party umbrella organizations 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attendance of parties at meetings of international party umbrella organizations - Number of statements of party umbrella organization the national party has subscribed to - Invitation to become observer / member of the international party umbrella organization - Intensity of correspondence with party umbrella organization over period of one year <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in international profile and respect - Networking opportunities - Increase of visibility of international umbrella organization at party congresses or meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Web-site of international party umbrella organizations - Interviews with party leadership 	<p>Party makes financial resources available to enhance its presence on international level</p>
<p>4.1.3. Advice on structuring the parties' relationships with Diaspora abroad (extra-territorial constituency and voters)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concept paper on legal and organizational aspects of having party members abroad - Information on international best practices shared 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of registered party members abroad - Number of party branches abroad - Increase in share of Diaspora vote for party <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in international profile and respect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party records on branches and membership - Interviews with party leadership 	<p>Bilateral relations with other countries will not be disturbed by creating an out-of-country branch</p>

This focus area prioritizes on interparty dialogue processes, in which representatives of political parties meet regularly over several months or even years to discuss and work on matters of mutual interest. Such dialogues can be formal high-level processes involving party leaders or less formal meetings amongst mid-level party cadres. They may be directed at a pre-specified goal or they may be open-ended. They may be highly public and accessible or closed-door and quiet. The dialogue processes can function aside from the conventional political arena and enable parties to communicate and build a basis for cooperation. The dialogue processes can also enable parties to work together on political reform measures.

Inter-party dialogue processes have been applied in particular in the context of post-conflict peace building. Intra-state conflicts have often deepened distrust between different communities, polarized relations/distrust between political parties, and seriously undermined confidence in national governance institutions. Political party dialogue thus contributes to peace building, democratic consolidation and sustainable socio-economic development by rallying political parties around a shared national development agenda.

As mentioned in IDEA's Political Party Dialogue Guide: *“Political party dialogue processes can support a broad variety of goals, depending on a country's political, social and economic context and on the types of issues political parties are struggling with. The dynamics of dialogue play a crucial role in any democratic transition, in supporting inclusive political and electoral processes and for creating broadly-based political will for reform and national*

*development. Inter-party dialogue platforms can help in building trust between political adversaries, in providing the space for political parties to explore common concerns, and in finding ways to resolve national challenges in the best interests of the larger society. Dialogue outcomes can include improved inter-party relations or political consensus around a joint reform or policy agenda. Constitutional, electoral and political system reform (e.g. through strengthening the quality of electoral or political party legislation) as well as long-term development plans that have wide political and societal support can all be part of the political party dialogue agenda.”*⁴⁹

A couple of conditions facilitate the effectiveness and sustainability of multi-party dialogues.⁵⁰ Due to the protracted nature of conflicts, a long term approach to the dialogue is crucial to build the trust required for a change of political culture from one of confrontation to dialogue—and to allow time to resolve the complex social, economic and political causes of past conflicts. The ownership to the process needs to be ensured. Political parties, together with civil society, must lead all phases of the dialogue. This starts with conducting comprehensive analyses of the political situation and selecting the participants, but also includes institutional design of the dialogue, agenda setting, etc.

Experience in a number of dialogue initiatives learns that political party dialogue success depends on broad participation. In principle, all political parties relevant to the conflict should be included. At the same time potential spoilers have to be dealt with (such as clearly anti-democratic actors).

49- Kemp, B., *Political Party Dialogue: A Facilitator's Guide*, International IDEA, Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, The Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, Stockholm, The Hague, Oslo, 2013, p. 55.

50- *Political party dialogue: important for sustainable peace, democracy and development*, Policy Brief published by International Idea, October 2013, 4 p.

The inclusive nature⁵¹ of inter-party dialogue requires to ensure buy-in from both the party leadership and a broad section of the party activists. Subsequently, the parliamentarians belonging to the parties and the parliament as institution need to be involved regularly. The MPs will need to publicly debate and explain the dialogue outcomes in parliament and, where appropriate, process the dialogue agreements through parliament and enact them as resolution or legislation.

A successful dialogue process requires realistic road maps ensuring that dialogue outcomes are financially, practically and politically attainable, and democratically legitimate. The latter requires

e.g. respecting the role of democratic institutions as well as the role of civil society and media in society.

In this context, the role of external organizations as supporters and facilitators of such dialogues varies. Sometimes an outside group will actually plant the idea and build a dialogue process from scratch. In other cases, it will respond to an initiative coming from the political parties. Outside groups can serve as a broker among the parties to keep the dialogue on track, provide technical expertise or strategic advice, and underwrite workshops or seminars.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

- 5.1. FEASIBILITY OF MULTI-PARTY DIALOGUE HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY ASSESSED
- 5.2. ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY OF MULTI-PARTY DIALOGUE PLATFORMS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED
- 5.3. INTERPARTY DIALOGUE ON ISSUES OF SHARED CONCERN HAVE BEEN FACILITATED

51- "Inclusive dialogue can refer to involving all parties from across the political spectrum regardless of their ideology, size or popularity. It can also go beyond including the widest possible number of political parties and refer to engaging different groups from within each party, for example, women and men, majority and minority groups, national or local-level politicians, or party cadres and MPs. Finally, inclusivity can refer to working together with non-party actors like civil society. In the majority of countries around the world, political decision-making is still in the hands of political elites, and therefore these same elites are likely to be represented in inter-party dialogue processes. While a political party dialogue involving 'everyone, all the time' may not be realistic, inter-party dialogue processes should include, as a minimum, those political parties, party members and societal actors that are part of the problem to be addressed through the dialogue, as well as those that can contribute to finding a solution." (IDEAs Political Party Dialogue Guide, p. 37).

OUTCOME 5.1: FEASIBILITY OF MULTI-PARTY DIALOGUE HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY ASSESSED				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
5.1.1. Conduct a political environment and political party context assessment, by researching political history, regulations & structures and by encouraging party self-assessment exercises and multi-stakeholder consultations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of individual or group consultations with party representatives - Documents made available by parties on the party's history and structures - Number of parties willing to conduct a self-assessment 	Measurable: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of potential themes across parties emerge as common ground for further dialogue Qualitative: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Better understanding of national, institutional and political context in which multi-party dialogue takes place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party self-assessment conclusions - Multi-stakeholder consultations findings 	There is a healthy balance between political party competition and cooperation, enabling a meaningful multi-party dialogue
5.1.2. Review existing patterns of inter-party dialogue and lessons learned	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party officials or MPs already participating in various forms of inter-party communication - Number of previous or existing dialogues 	Measurable: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mapping of themes, frequency and impact of current dialogues between party officials Qualitative: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased awareness of possibilities of cross-party dialogue through functioning of parliament⁵² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of meetings in parliament - Media reports - Interviews with party officials 	Party officials interviewed will candidly share information and views on party dialogues
5.1.3. Select the dialogue facilitator and prepare for quality capacity by facilitator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Various persons and (inter) national institutions considered to facilitate the dialogue - Number of internal strategy meetings between facilitator and organizations supporting the dialogue 	Measurable: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ToR of facilitator agreed by parties Qualitative: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of trust among parties in the facilitator - Development of growing ownership of parties over the dialogue process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MoU / ToR - Interviews with party leadership 	Dialogue facilitator will be accepted and respected by parties as non-aligned, capable and impartial

52- One can elaborate further by making reference to 1) people's perception of the political party dialogue e.g. as expressed in media articles/polls/surveys, and to point that 2) political party dialogue should be used to strengthen the functioning of democratic institutions and processes.

OUTCOME 5.2: ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY OF MULTI-PARTY DIALOGUE PLATFORMS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>5.2.1. Build consensus on goals and agenda of the inter-party dialogue</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - List of issues agreed as issues of national interest (as opposed to political party interest) 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identification of short-term, intermediate and long-term goals of the dialogue - Outcomes of inter-party dialogue feeds into the constitutional reform process or review of legislation, regulations, codes of conduct <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Goal and agenda setting is perceived as a joint, inclusive exercise between parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media reports - Interviews with party officials 	<p>There is a healthy balance between political party competition and cooperation, enabling a meaningful multi-party dialogue</p>
<p>5.2.2. Advise on determining the structure, timeline and ground rules of the inter-party dialogue</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis paper of various options for dialogue structure (from informal, loosely organized platforms to institutionalized multi-party platforms - Number of parties providing feed-back on the draft paper - Draft annual or quarterly time table of dialogue - Draft ground rules for inter-party dialogue prepared 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MoU agreed between all parties on the organizational design of the inter-party dialogue - Agreed calendar of party dialogue sessions - Ground rules, rules on decision making and financial accountability of dialogue initiatives agreed upon and documented <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inter-party dialogue is timed so that it considers the electoral cycle, the risks and opportunities for dialogue in each phase of the electoral cycle - Inter-party platform assists in dispute and conflict resolution between parties (through Code of Conduct, Advisory Council, Council of Elders) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MoU - Calendar - Media reports - Interviews with party officials 	<p>Parties will make human and financial resources available to sustain the inter-party dialogue platform</p>

OUTCOME 5.2: ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY OF MULTI-PARTY DIALOGUE PLATFORMS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>5.2.3. Advise on methods and criteria to select which parties and party representatives will participate in the inter-party dialogue, and how internal communication within parties will be conducted</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Numbers of political parties registered or active in the country - Options paper how to address gender equality (women) and diversity (underrepresented groups) in the composition of party delegations to the dialogue 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set of agreed criteria on which parties will be invited to the dialogue, and (possibly) which parties, political movements and/or rebel groups will not be allowed to the dialogue (and why) - Number or percentage of women and underrepresented groups participating in dialogue through party delegation <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The decision on which parties and which party representatives join the multi-party dialogue allow for an effective dialogue - Assessment of the extent parties have internal communication and preparation mechanisms for the dialogue in place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with officials - Internal decision-making procedures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party leadership is willing to address gender policy concerns and rights of underrepresented groups during the dialogue, beyond the mere presence of women and underrepresented groups in the delegation

OUTCOME 5.3: INTERPARTY DIALOGUE ON ISSUES OF SHARED CONCERN HAVE BEEN FACILITATED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>5.3.1. Technical assistance and coaching to guide the inter-party dialogue towards results in terms of political reform, national development and political transition</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research papers, proposals, financial calculations presented to and discussed by parties in the dialogue - Parties consult internal and external experts on thematic issues when discussing and agreeing on reforms and national development plan. - Parties accept electoral results and support peaceful transition of power 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long-term national development plan approved across party lines - Political, institutional or constitutional reforms are not approved majority against opposition but consensually <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Electoral coalitions and government coalitions endure longer, as they are based on well discussed shared policy positions on issues of political reform and national development - Change of partisan control of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of dialogue sessions - Agreed reforms, national development plan - Interviews concerning current and previous transfer of power and control over government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parties communicate to their cadres and branches the value of inter-party dialogue, the compromises and the gains
<p>5.3.2. Support to mobilizing resources for implementation of conclusions or agreements reached</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - List of dialogue results whose implementation requires financial resources - Number of party officials investing time in developing the financial plan 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial plan, detailing multi-year budget for implementation of issues agreed upon <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased financial accountability and transparency on political party related activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of consultations with potential donors and Ministry of Finance / budget 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sufficient resources will be made available from the state budget or from foreign donors
<p>5.3.3. Support the implementation of conclusions of inter-party dialogue</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Draft roadmap for consideration by parties - Draft M&E concept paper - Number of consultations with party officials on draft roadmap and draft M&E framework - Communication strategy for period post dialogues, by agreed spokesperson 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roadmap for implementation of conclusion of dialogue - Agreed M&E framework and communication strategy <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased appreciation for inter-party dialogues among general public and parties cadres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with party cadres - General public opinion polls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parties remain committed to involve and commit party cadres in efforts for implementation - Parties provide data enabling effective M&E

This focus area prioritizes activities that aim to increase the participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups in and through political parties.

Women-focused political party assistance seeks to get more women into parties and to bolster their influence once in, while also getting women's policy concerns included in party platforms. Women in new or emerging democracies are significantly underrepresented in political parties, resulting in adverse effects on women, on parties (their capacity for representation), and on society generally.

Much women-oriented party assistance is directed towards training: for women party cadres on how to be effective within parties, for all party cadres on the importance of including women in party life, and for women candidates on campaigning. In addition, party assistance projects sometimes provide support to institutional reforms in parties, such as the creation of women wings in parties and welcoming women in party management. Some projects foster collaboration amongst women from diverse parties within a country or a region through networking events or associations. The existing legal framework sometimes foresees quotas for the inclusion of women on party electoral lists.

Also youth faces obstacles to deeper participation in political parties. Youth are often overlooked in party decision making and for leadership positions; as their role has often been curtailed to providing campaign aid in the run up to elections. Youth can contribute to the functioning of parties in many ways. Youth leaders form the basis for the next generation of party leaders. Youth party activists

provide good access to student organizations and youth movements, broadening the traditional base of the party. Youth are often less tied to patronage networks, and therefore a great instrument for fostering party reform and introducing new practices.

A third group are ethnic minorities as a disadvantaged group. In some countries there exists a distinct trend towards ethnic minority parties, whose purpose is to represent and advocate for the rights of a specific ethnic community. In other countries, ethnic minorities advocate for their rights and interests through existing parties and political channels. Both models reflect different approaches to creating a more inclusive political system. The creation of ethnic minority parties often goes hand-in-hand with constitutional provisions for reserved seats or other minority protection mechanisms in parliament and governing institutions. The inclusion of ethnic minorities in existing, larger parties is often facilitated by (formal or informal) quotas for minority groups on electoral lists or for party management positions. Ethnic profiling of parties depends on the national context as well.

Some projects pay particular attention to another category of disadvantaged groups: persons with disabilities. Their advocacy work is often related to international standards, such as the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD).

In order to enhance the inclusion of women, youth, underrepresented and other disadvantaged groups into party politics it is not sufficient to work with them as a target group. Also the programmatic approach should cover the needs of these groups within society.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

- 6.1. PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS
- 6.2. PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN POLITICS
- 6.3. PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH & IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS OF UNDERREPRESENTED AND OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS.

OUTCOME 6.1: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.1.1. Technical advice and support to increase women membership of political parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party outreach techniques and tools for specific target groups discussed - Review of party membership outreach practices - Mapping of women CSOs, women movements, friendly media and activists - Strategic plan for outreach to women developed 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Percent increase of number of women joining political parties - Increased presence of women at open debates and public events organized by parties <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased visibility of women throughout party - Enhanced understanding by party leadership of contribution of women to the party functioning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party membership data, with detail on gender - Organizational statistics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party HQ has a functional membership administration system in place
<p>6.1.2. Support to women candidates for elected positions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of women (per party, district) which participated in trainings and workshops - Number of campaign managers of women candidates which participated - Skills & knowledge tools made available to women candidates 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased knowledge of women candidates - "Vote Women" campaign of voters sensitization - Number of women on party electoral lists - Number of women elected into office <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women politicians identify the causes of gender disparity and have the tools to overcome it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training curriculum - Survey participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women candidates continue campaigning despite intimidation, violence or disapproval from their surroundings

OUTCOME 6.1: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS				
INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.1.3. Strengthen women wing of parties and influence of women throughout the parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy paper on creation, management, funding of women wing - Parties use project toolkit to develop organizational strategy for improving gender parity in their governance 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women wing has a recognized position within party, own leadership, independence of activities and budget - Increase of women in leadership or executive positions in the parties at local, regional and national level - Number of cross-party networks of women politicians established (national or regional level) <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New party rules & statutes, allowing more space for women - Formal and informal steps taken by parties to improve gender equality and inclusiveness - Women politicians work together (intra- and cross-party) for access to decision making in party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party rules, statutes - Action plan and meeting minutes of women wing - Interviews and surveys of women - Published toolkit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party leadership is / remains committed to advance social inclusion and gender equality - Male-dominated leaderships of parties do not genuinely welcome an increase of the number of women in the party and party executive positions
<p>6.1.4. Assist in development of gender policies and program for the parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of public policy forums on gender related issues organized by party - Number of meetings between party leadership and gender-oriented CSOs 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adoption of party manifesto on gender equality prior to elections - Interaction with Ministry for Gender Equality, Human Rights or other executive agency <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender equality is raised as a visible topic in electoral campaigns - Assessment how parties have advocated for gender equality through their stands in parliament, government and in media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Election manifestos, campaigning materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender remains prioritized in national political discourse - Parties are willing to develop their skills and understanding to apply gender analysis and mainstream gender equality in their programming

OUTCOME 6.2: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN POLITICS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.2.1. Support to parties' outreach to youth and encourage young people joining activities with political parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calendar of outreach activities for young people - Program, number of participants and frequency of Political Party Academy or Summer University - Level of media coverage of party activities for youth 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resolutions or statements adopted at Political Party Academy and included in the political party programme - Number of youth who become a member of the party within a specific period - Increased number of public events targeting youth and youth issues, organized by parties throughout one year <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Extent of interaction between interested youth and party senior leadership and MPs participating at Political Party Academy or Summer University - Impact of youth-centred activities on public image of the party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of youth-centred party events - Media reports - Usage of social media during and after events - Political party programme - Party membership lists 	<p>Party makes sufficient financial means available for outreach to youth and for youth-centred activities</p>

OUTCOME 6.2: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN POLITICS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.2.2. Technical advice to consolidate parties' youth branches and to create opportunities for cross-party cooperation between youth branches of parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy paper on creation, management, funding of youth branch - Parties' youth branches use project toolkit to enhance cross-party cooperation between youth branches - Number of parliamentary interns selected from youth branch; length of parliamentary internship 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth Branch has a recognized position within party, own leadership, independence of activities and budget - Number of cross-party networks of young politicians established (national or regional level) and number of cross-party activities - Number of parliamentary interns who obtain a follow-up role or function in parliament or party <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in substantive contributions to party priorities by youth members through their parliamentary internship - Enhanced understanding by party leadership of contribution of youth to the party functioning beyond the usual election campaign activities - Increase of positive assessment of political opponents by youth branch members, contributing to more constructive political discourse and democratic culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party rules, statutes - Action plan and meeting minutes of youth branch - Interviews and surveys of youth party activists and interns - Published toolkit 	<p>Parliament administration facilitates the deployment of party interns in the offices of parliamentarians</p>

OUTCOME 6.2: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH AND IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN POLITICS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.2.3. Advise on developing party policies on issues relevant for young people (e.g. education, youth unemployment, digital economy)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of internal and external consultations by the party on issues relevant for young people - Number of specialized CSOs and external experts solicited by the party on e.g. education, youth unemployment, digital economy 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of draft legislation, policy papers and parliamentary inquiries proposed by MPs on issues relevant for young people <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Young politicians take a more prominent role in public discussions and party positioning on issues relevant for young people - Interaction with Ministry for Education, Employment or other executive agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calls for proposals and policy papers accessible on party web-site - Election manifestos 	<p>More prominent role of young politicians does not meet resistance from party cadres to the level that initiatives are undermined</p>

OUTCOME 6.3: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH & IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS OF UNDERREPRESENTED AND DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.3.1. Support to parties' outreach to underrepresented and other disadvantages groups and encourage them joining activities with political parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategic Plan and Calendar of outreach activities to underrepresented and disadvantaged groups - Level of media coverage of party activities with underrepresented and disadvantaged groups 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of participants from underrepresented groups at party events which become a member of party - Increased presence of underrepresented and disadvantaged groups at public events organized by parties throughout one year <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impact of underrepresented and disadvantaged people on public image of the party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party membership data, with detail on minority groups - Media reports 	<p>Party makes sufficient financial means available for outreach to underrepresented groups and persons from disadvantaged groups</p>

OUTCOME 6.3: PARTIES HAVE STRENGTHENED OUTREACH & IMPROVED INTERNAL GOVERNANCE TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS OF UNDERREPRESENTED AND DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>6.3.2. Support to participation of underrepresented and other disadvantaged groups in party decision making process and as candidates for the elections</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of trainings for election candidates with disabilities or from minority communities - Number of influencing / lobbying meetings with political party leaders and parliamentary caucus - Meetings with CSOs from minority communities and disadvantaged groups 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At least XX persons with disabilities or coming from underrepresented groups are candidate for elections <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in political representation of underrepresented groups and persons with disabilities - Increase in substantive contributions to party priorities by minority community members and persons with disability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Data on participation in party-run trainings for underrepresented, disadvantaged groups - Data on composition of parties' internal committees, leadership posts and candidates, w. detail on underrepresented groups - Election monitoring reports 	<p>Party has a clear stand or policy against discrimination of minority communities and disadvantaged groups, encouraging them to join politics or contest elections</p>
<p>6.3.3. Technical advice and coaching for political parties to better respond to policy concerns of underrepresented and other disadvantaged groups</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of training workshops with party activities and MPs on the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of draft legislation, policy papers and parliamentary inquiries proposed by MPs on issues relevant to underrepresented groups <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased budget allocations and fulfilment of commitments relevant to rights of persons with disabilities - Increased awareness among political parties on CRPD obligations, on the social, economic and political rights of persons with disabilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Issue-based in-depth thematic studies - Media reports 	<p>There will be no major political upheaval or national crises, threatening further the position of underrepresented groups and disadvantaged groups</p>

Parliamentary assistance projects which don't take into account the role of political parties often fail to address the real hurdles to democratic governance. While improving parliament's structures and procedures is useful and MPs appreciate opportunities to learn new skills, sometimes these initiatives do not trigger the desired democratic culture or policies of good governance.

Political parties tend to determine the behavioural norms in parliament.⁵³ They are the main source of advice for newly elected MPs. Often, parties provide the way in which MPs are elected and the basis for a parliamentary career. In many countries, parties in parliament control the public funds for MPs' constituency outreach. Parties determine which MP can serve in which committee. In many parliaments, the composition of committees is a reflection of the balance of power among political groups in parliament. Often, the rules of procedure of parliament give a strong role to the parties and to the heads of parliamentary groups in public debates and thus to the visibility of the MPs.

Most MPs belong to a parliamentary group (caucus), and assistance projects often work with MPs on organizing themselves to operate effectively as a caucus (organization, legislative strategy, internal decision making, etc). Sometimes, party caucuses are interested in clarifying decision making structures, including discipline and group cohesion, and strategizing on the distribution of legislative resources. One of the most sensitive issues is the question if an MP has an "individual mandate" or a "party mandate". Some countries have adopted constitutional or legal provisions that cause MPs to lose their seats if they "cross the floor" and defect to another party.

Parties and parliament are also interlinked to each other in terms of outreach to the public and relations to constituents. Depending upon the electoral system, MPs often represent a specific region. Parties assist MPs in the constituency outreach, sometimes via local party branch offices. In many countries, parliament provides financial or human resources support to constituency relations offices. In other countries, MPs interact with voters making use of local or regional party branch offices. Party assistance projects and parliamentary projects often work with MPs on developing constituency relations.

Parties play a key political role in ensuring that the government can count on a parliamentary majority. Sometimes, parliament might treat MPs from the ruling parties differently from MPs belonging to opposition parties. Ensuring that MPs from both ruling and opposition parties have an equal and fair chance to public debate and parliamentary work is often one of the areas of work of assistance projects. In addition, parliamentary oversight over the executive is an important task for MPs of opposition parties and ruling parties alike. A PEA of the parties and the political system will indicate to what extent MPs of the ruling parties are truly exercise this role, or consider too stringent oversight as a threat to future career opportunities, which are often determined by the party leader.

Finally, parliament is an important avenue for parties to implement their program. Some assistance projects thus concentrate on "helping democracy deliver": technical advice to support passing legislation and implementing policies that respond to the public's needs and party priorities.

53- This very much depends on the type of political/electoral system in place. For instance, in a system with constituencies and a first-past-the-post system the power of individual MPs is far larger than their parties and maintaining a party-line is less obvious than in systems that elect on the basis of party lists. So, the political and electoral systems need to be taken into account.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

- 7.1. THE ORGANIZATION, DECISION AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS (CAUCUS) HAVE IMPROVED
- 7.2. PARLIAMENT HAS PROPERLY REGULATED THE ROLE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS (CAUCUS)
- 7.3. MPS AND PARTIES HAVE BETTER SKILLS AND INSTRUMENTS TO ENGAGE WITH CONSTITUENTS, INCLUDING THROUGH CONSTITUENCY RELATIONS OFFICES

OUTCOME 7.1: THE ORGANIZATION, DECISION AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS (CAUCUS) HAVE IMPROVED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>7.1.1. Technical advice and best practices on the caucus internal organization, (s)election of caucus leadership, caucus rules</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Compilation of caucus rules from different countries with similar political and parliamentary system - Manual on internal organization of caucus work 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frequency of caucus meetings, availability of agenda, procedures <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party agrees whether development of caucus rules is at discretion of MPs or requires approval of party leader or party legal commission 	<p>Caucus rules</p>	<p>Existing practices and management style of caucus leader does not prevent drafting rules on internal organization</p>
<p>7.1.2. Technical advice and best practices on coordination between caucus and party at different levels (party leader, branches, ministers from party)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings with caucus leader on coordination of party policies - ToR and template for caucus report to party - Analysis paper of party statues on legal provisions of relationship with caucus 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regular meetings between caucus leadership and party's president and vice presidents - Regular caucus reports submitted to party - Inclusion of caucus representatives in party decision making bodies <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party agrees whether selection of caucus leader, deputy leader, whip is done by party's National Council, party president, or caucus itself - Caucus accountability officer reports on caucus progress in implementing party program - Annual party review of performance of the caucus leadership and spokesperson 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party statues - Records of party decision making bodies - Annual report of the party to its members 	<p>Party and caucus will be able to agree on an appropriate balance between regular consultations and enabling the caucus to timely react to fast developments in parliament</p>

OUTCOME 7.1: THE ORGANIZATION, DECISION AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS (CAUCUS) HAVE IMPROVED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>7.1.3. Technical advice and best practices on strengthening the caucus capacity for policy development through creation of party research institute, caucus research staff, party conferences, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings with caucus leader on party policies - Comparative concept paper on party research institute - ToR of caucus research staff drafted 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of party & caucus study groups - Number of caucus research staff hired - Number of party policy conferences held <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of strategies for action by caucus - Appointing caucus spokespersons or issue experts for various policy areas - Increase in parliamentary questions submitted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of parliament committee meetings - Records of parliamentary questions published 	Party leadership is willing to invest (financially, human resources) in research resources for the caucus

OUTCOME 7.2: PARLIAMENT HAS PROPERLY REGULATED THE ROLE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>7.2.1. Technical advice and best practices on Parliament rules on the role and responsibilities of parliamentary groups</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings with caucus leader - Comparative concept paper on roles and responsibilities of caucus in countries with comparable parliamentary system 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rule on threshold for parties to be officially recognized as parliamentary groups - Rule clarifying caucus' right to participate in the work of the Speaker's Collegium / Bureau - Rule on the composition of committees reflecting strength of parliamentary groups <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Caucus has say in organization of parliament, planning of sessions, review of rules of procedure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rules of Procedure as adopted and published - Interview with members of the Collegium / Bureau 	Threshold for group of MPs to be recognized as parliamentary group will not be put too high as for MPs or public opinion to perceive it as a case of discrimination

OUTCOME 7.2: PARLIAMENT HAS PROPERLY REGULATED THE ROLE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>7.2.2. Advice on parliament resources for parliamentary groups, rights and privileges</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of consultations on rights and privileges of MPs and parliamentary groups - Organization of seminar 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allocation of office space, funding and staff to parliamentary groups - (if applicable) Leader of Opposition is granted benefits in terms of staffing and state protocol <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of political consensus that system is fair and affordable and meets the needs of caucus - Recognized caucuses exercise their procedural rights in parliamentary proceedings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with MPs and parliament legal staff 	<p>Parliament has a sufficiently mature political culture for groups not to block access to office space, funding or staff for competitors</p>
<p>7.2.3. Technical advice and best practices on questions of discipline and rules on anti-defection</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analytical paper on merits and disadvantages of anti-defection laws or rules, compared in different electoral systems - Draft parliamentary Code of Conduct submitted to Speaker 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of opinions of parliament legal department on cases of discipline or defection <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decrease in number of contested parliamentary response to case of defection or “floor crossing” - Increased adherence on parliamentary Code of Conduct 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media reports on cases of defection or “floor crossing” - Interviews with MPs and parliament legal staff 	<p>Bribery ,offers of appointments, patronage and undue pressures on MPs (triggering floor-crossing) are considered negatively in society, by press and parties.</p>

OUTCOME 7.3: MPS AND PARTIES HAVE BETTER SKILLS AND INSTRUMENTS TO ENGAGE WITH CONSTITUENTS, INCLUDING THROUGH CONSTITUENCY RELATIONS OFFICES

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>7.3.1. Support to increased press outreach by the parliamentary group on its work at parliament</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Check-list of do's & don'ts in press contacts - Press policy memorandum for endorsement by caucus leader and party president - Workshops for media on parliamentary procedures, practices and legislative agenda 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of press articles and broadcasts covering the work of the caucus or its MPs <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased knowledge of caucus' work among party branches and general public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey among party branches - Party and parliament web-site comments from public 	<p>Party spokes person or communications department provide support to press outreach work of the parliamentary group</p>
<p>7.3.2. Technical advice on developing a comprehensive constituency relations policy & implementation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manual on building constituency relations - Concept paper on policies and tools for parliament transparency, accessibility of documents and outreach - MP's profile on parliament web page 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in number of visitors to parliament - Increase in number of petitions and requests arriving at parliament - Nr. of MPs meeting with voters or parl. visitors <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased positive public perception on parliament 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manual - Survey of public - Survey of visitors to parliament - Schools visitors program - Interviews with MPs 	<p>Workload and schedule of sitting of parliament enables MPs to plan outreach to constituents</p>

OUTCOME 7.3: MPS AND PARTIES HAVE BETTER SKILLS AND INSTRUMENTS TO ENGAGE WITH CONSTITUENTS, INCLUDING THROUGH CONSTITUENCY RELATIONS OFFICES

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>7.3.3. Technical advice on creation and functioning of Constituency relations offices</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Feasibility Study on conditions for creation of Offices - Guidelines on operations of the Offices - Study visit for cross-party group of MPs on functioning Offices in other country - ToR for staff of offices, organizational chart - Training program for staff of constituency offices - Development of Constituency Request Tracking Mechanism 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adoption of framework determining creation of single MP or multiple MP Offices, multi-annual budget, minimum human resources - Initiation of a pilot project for creation of limited number of offices <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - External and independent review of functioning of the Constituency Offices - Extent to which Offices are part of parliament outreach strategy - Extent to which functioning of constituency offices has unanimous endorsement of all parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation Road Map for creation and management of Offices - Locations where Offices have been created / rented - Professional development plan for staff of Offices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parliament decision on creation / maintaining of constituency offices is based on solid assessment of political, human resources and budget framework - Stable electoral framework enables sustainable policy on Constituency Offices.

This focus area prioritizes on activities that aim to clarify, streamline or strengthen the body of state-based legislation that determines the legal status of political parties, specifies how a party must be established and registered (e.g. Nigeria), organized (e.g. Jordan), handle party funds, etc. Legislative documents regulating political parties can be enacted under one “Law on Political Parties” or incorporated in various, disparate pieces of legislation. One should be able to evaluate national party laws according to whether they facilitate or obstruct party politics.

Political party legislation often determines what constitutes a political party and the procedure for its founding and registering. The legislation regulates the form of activity in which parties engage, if they can engage in raising and spending of funds, are obliged to publish platforms or manifestos, and who can be member of the party (e.g. limited to own nationals only). Political party legislation sometimes stipulates the appropriate forms of party organization and behaviour. This is the most intrusive aspect of party legislation as it affects internal issues of party leadership. For instance, the law might require parties to elect the party leadership by party members, while a party might prefer to choose the leader through a party congress. Laws might also demand gender or ethnic equality, or require maintaining party branches in various/ all regions of the country. Other requirements could even target the parties’ program, e.g. a ban on racist programs or a ban on denial of the holocaust. In some countries (e.g. Algeria), the country’s constitution stipulates that political parties cannot be founded on a religious, linguistic, racial, sexual, corporatist or regional basis. The Spanish constitution reads that the internal structure and operation of political parties

must be democratic.

Closely linked to political party law is the electoral legislation, which can either be a specific Electoral Law or a body of legislative statutes, administrative rulings, court decisions and the constitution. Electoral law is often comprehensive and includes the rules that govern voter, party and candidate eligibility and registration, and resource endowments of parties and candidates (their access to money and media). National election laws thus often specify how political parties should operate.

Political finance law encompasses both “party finance” and “campaign finance” legislation. Both topics can take the form of a separate law or be a part of the party law. Regardless how party financing is regulated, these principles are fundamental to finance legislation. It should avoid conflicting provisions between laws governing the activities of political parties and laws governing their financial activities. It should avoid conflicting provisions between laws governing the financing of national and sub-national parties, and between laws governing the financing of national and sub-national election campaigns. Legislation on party financing should at least cover fundamental issues such as traditional sources of finance, private donations, public subsidies to political parties, the financing of election campaigns and provisions for disclosure, reporting, monitoring and enforcement. Often, reviewing the political finance law creates an opportunity to address the fusion between state and ruling party.

Political party assistance projects often advise parties on the legislative framework through an inter-party consultative committee or political parties council.

Considering political party assistance projects supported by the EU and other development actors, the following (sample) project outcomes have been identified:

- 8.1. A LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK COVERING THE REQUIREMENTS FOR REGISTRATION AND FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND APPROVED BY ALL PARTIES HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED
- 8.2. A TRANSPARENT, FAIR AND AFFORDABLE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING, INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR DISCLOSURE, REPORTING, MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED (OFTEN BY THE EXECUTIVE) IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PARTIES.

OUTCOME 8.1: A LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK COVERING THE REQUIREMENTS FOR REGISTRATION AND FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND APPROVED BY ALL PARTIES HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>8.1.1. Legal advice on party registration requirements and assistance in the establishment and functioning of a Centre for Registration of Political Parties⁵⁴</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal, comparative analysis on party registration requirements - Timeframe prior to elections for the establishment of the Centre for registration of political parties - Concept paper on the requirements for establishment of Centre, and best practices of other countries 	<p>Measurable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All parties have name, statutes, emblem, motto, leadership and seat of the party registered at the Registration Centre <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administrative requirements for registration of parties established in law or decree - Smooth interaction between Election Management Body and Registration Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of the Registration Centre - Web-site of Centre 	<p>None of the parties will object to the independent and technical role of the Registration Centre when registering new parties</p>
<p>8.1.2. Legal advice to a cross-party reform group on legislative amendments for the electoral and political party law</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings of the cross-party reform group - Number of parties participating in the group - Number of proposals from ruling parties and opposition parties - Interventions, coaching, policy papers provided to the cross-party group 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No-discrimination provisions for becoming member of the party agreed by the parties - Opposition parties do not fundamentally object to conclusions of the multi-party group - Revised political parties legislation is published and accessible for public and party branches <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Revised political party legislation creates a more equal playing field for parties - Clear language of the provision on democratic elections of officers and governing body of party - Party councils and branches agree to a large extent to the conclusions of the cross-party group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopted legislation - Press reports on the work of the cross-party group - Interviews with the members of the group 	<p>Parties are willing to meet on cross-party basis; and there is sufficient political trust to adhere to the agreements</p>

54- The idea of a Centre for Registration of Parties is only relevant in some countries. In many other countries, this role sits with the Electoral Management Body or another independent state body, without too much controversy.

OUTCOME 8.1: A LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK COVERING THE REQUIREMENTS FOR REGISTRATION AND FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND APPROVED BY ALL PARTIES HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>8.1.3. Assistance to a more permanent Political Parties Resource Centre (RC)</p>	<p>- Feasibility study on objectives, interest and activities for the Resources Centre</p>	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of party activists making use of RC <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in legal knowledge among party cadre - Increased consensus among parties for a fair legal political party framework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Records of the Resource Centre - Annual Program and Budget of the Resource Centre 	<p>State will make financial resources available for a multi-annual budget of the Resource Centre</p>

OUTCOME 8.2: A TRANSPARENT, FAIR AND AFFORDABLE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING, INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR DISCLOSURE, REPORTING, MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED (OFTEN BY THE EXECUTIVE) IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PARTIES.

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>8.2.1. Legal and policy advice on regulating private donations and public funding of parties</p>	<p>- Concept paper on donations from private persons, corporations, semi-public entities, interest associations, foreign and anonymous donors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of meetings of the cross-party reform group 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New legal framework on private donations and public funding of party is adopted and published - Public accessibility of reports (or summaries) on private donations and public funding of party <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legislation on public funding for parties is recognized as affordable to state budget and fair to all parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopted legislation - Interviews with party officials - Survey on public perception on public funding of parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parties have sufficient political trust to adhere to the agreements - Parties accept transparency and reporting obligations attached to public funding

OUTCOME 8.2: A TRANSPARENT, FAIR AND AFFORDABLE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING, INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR DISCLOSURE, REPORTING, MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED (OFTEN BY THE EXECUTIVE) IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PARTIES.

INDICATIVE ACTIVITIES	OUTPUT INDICATORS	OUTCOME INDICATORS	SOURCE & MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>8.2.2. Legal and policy advice on regulating financing of electoral campaigns of parties and candidates</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concept paper on direct and indirect state support to parties and objective & fair criteria for distribution of state support - Number of meetings of the cross-party reform group 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New legal framework on electoral campaigns of parties and candidates is adopted and published - (Summary) information on campaign expenditures is published on-line or accessible <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parties and candidates recognize that legislation contributes to equal playing field at elections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopted legislation on campaign finance - Interviews with parties, electoral authorities, observers - Media reports on campaign expenditures 	<p>Parties are willing to design and adhere to a campaign finance system that enforces an equal playing field for them and their competitors</p>
<p>8.2.3. Legal and policy advice on creation and functioning of monitoring agency, overseeing and enforcing party finance rules</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concept paper on procedure for appointment of members of agency, safeguards of its independence, powers and activities, sanctions and appeal mechanism; and policy advice for creation of agency - Number of meetings of the cross-party reform group 	<p><i>Measurable:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of annual reviews of party finances by the agency - Number of warnings & sanctions issued by agency and accepted by party <p><i>Qualitative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interaction between party finance monitoring agency and country's anti-corruption agency - Public perception on parties and public funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statements issued by monitoring agency and parties - Interviews with the members of the agency and parties 	<p>Monitoring agency will be given the authority in law and in practice to equally review party finance books of ruling and opposition parties</p>

RESOURCES TO FURTHER ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

There exist many resources and tools that can be helpful to political party support practitioners in developing and implementing performance indicators in party support projects.

- Evaluation tools and performance monitoring resources for international development projects generally, and specifically for democratic governance projects (incl. parliaments, civil society, anti-corruption, elections) can often be adapted for use in the sector of political party assistance (sometimes they include a component on measuring political party assistance). Governance assessments are often a good basis to start assessing possibilities for political party assistance: ref. UNDP's Governance Assessments⁵⁵ through the Oslo Governance Centre⁵⁶ and IDEA's work on State of Democracy Assessments.⁵⁷
- A very good source/guide on political economy analyses is the one written by Claire McLoughlin, *Topic Guide on Political Economy Analysis*, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC) of the University of Birmingham, 2009.⁵⁸ The work done by OECD/DAC-Governance Network deserves mentioning⁵⁹: a one pager which captures the most important features and recommendations. Earlier work by Govnet can be found at its site here⁶⁰, and there is a collection of donor approaches to political economy analysis⁶¹. Additional sources on political economy are UNDP 's *Institution and Context Analysis*, a how-to guidance note that is very practically oriented, and includes a chapter focusing on political economy analysis⁶² and the ODI paper on *Applied Political Economy: five practical issues*, which summarizes different approaches to PEA.⁶³
- One of the most useful resources is to be part of a supportive practitioner network. Ideas can be shared, information about useful materials and methodologies gathered, and details obtained of experts in the field. A first stop should be the Capacity4Dev knowledge sharing platform on development, the European Union's own online development community, which is sponsored by the European Commission.⁶⁴ Capacity4Dev has a number of sub-communities, including the Democracy Support group that covers political parties, the Design, Monitoring & Evaluation Topic, and numerous sub-groups including for example the Results Oriented Measurement group that brings together much of the information on performance measurement being produced by and for the European Union. Capacity4Dev

55- <http://www.gaportal.org/>

56- http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/oslo_governance_centre/governance_assessments/

57- <http://www.idea.int/sod/index.cfm>

58- <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/political-economy-analysis>

59- <http://www.oecd.org/development/governance-development/42338036.pdf>

60- <http://www.oecd.org/development/governance-development/42258487.pdf>

61- <http://www.oecd.org/development/governance-development/42472200.pdf>

62- http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/OGC/UNDP_Institutional%20and%20Context%20Analysis.pdf

63- <http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8193.pdf>

64- <http://capacity4dev.ec.europa.eu/>

also acts as a repository for the Tools and Methods series of EU handbooks on development practice that provide consolidated and practical advice on development themes.

- Another, broader online network that can be particularly useful is www.iKnowPolitics.org, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, which has considerable information focused on empowering women in politics, both inside and outside political parties. www.AGORA-parl.org is the Portal on Parliamentary Development, also covering the role of political parties in parliament.
- The bibliography annexed to this Guide refers to institutions and their publications, which have many useful references to performance indicators. Three documents are particularly worth mentioning: the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa's (EISA's) report, "Setting Benchmarks for Enhanced Political Party Performance for Democratic Governance in Africa"; the Swedish International Liberal Centre's (SILC's) Party Assessment Tool (in annex) and the document by the University of Pittsburgh and USAID on "Evaluation Approaches for Political Party Assistance".
- A wide range of organizations, institutions, think-tanks and political foundations have developed their own assessment frameworks and indicators on political party assistance, or they are in the process of doing so. The Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy's "Study on Results Frameworks for Political Party Assistance" (authored by Oren Ipp) analyzes the current state of affairs and the limitations for developing results frameworks for party assistance projects.
- This publication is a follow-up to the 2010 Wilton Park conference, which brought together most party development organizations. The "Political Party Peer Network" emerged from that Conference and the Steering Committee facilitates the information exchange since. The most significant meeting of donors and organizations working to improve the democratic impact of political parties took place in Sigtuna, Sweden on June 10-12, 2013.⁶⁵
- Some party development organizations regularly publish research findings, such as International IDEA and the Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (NIMD). The National Democratic Institute (NDI) has a series of publications, called Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives series', some of which are referenced in the bibliography.
- The Brussels-based European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) brings together 70 political foundations from 25 countries⁶⁶. ENoP brings together member foundations from all six party families represented in the European Parliament, some of which also publish their research on party assistance and monitoring and evaluation methodologies.

65- <http://silc.se/1857/the-future-of-political-parties-in-democracy-support-report-from-the-pppeer-meeting/>

66- <http://www.european-network-of-political-foundations.eu/cms/About-ENoP>

- There are a couple of resources available related to the challenge for parties to find sustainable funding. There is IDEA's database⁶⁷ and a good publication from IDEA which summarizes the database on regulation of political financing.⁶⁸
- "Indicators on democracy" have been developed by a number of organizations. Some of them cover political parties and can be a useful source for measuring the longer-term impact or for making baseline assessments. Of particular use is the analysis provided by "Varieties of Democracy"⁶⁹ that contains a lot of indicators on political parties; and the Political Finance Database of International IDEA⁷⁰; the Voluntary Political Parties Quota Database⁷¹; and the Global Database of Quotas for Women of International IDEA, Stockholm University and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).⁷²
- Finally, it is worth mentioning OHCHR's recent publication "*Human Rights Indicators. A Guide to Measurement and Implementation*", which has useful methodological considerations on the use of indicators.

67- <http://www.idea.int/political-finance/>

68- <http://www.idea.int/publications/political-finance-regulations/>

69- <https://v-dem.net/>

70- <http://www.idea.int/political-finance/>

71- <http://www.idea.int/uid/fieldview.cfm?field=199>

72- <http://www.quotaproject.org/systemParty.cfm>

CONCLUSION AND LOOKING AHEAD

This Guide offered a comprehensive analysis on EC political party projects and identified a set of log frames and performance indicators for EU staff and other practitioners involved in project formulation. In designing political party projects, one needs to understand how the political, institutional, historical, political culture and national context affect the functioning of parties. Impact assessment and Monitoring & Evaluation needs to be properly integrated into project design.

This Guide is built on eight focus areas of party assistance, categorized in three sections: (1.) *Internal to political party*: “Internal party functioning and management”, and “Development of party policies, programmes and platform”; (2.) *External relations of political parties*: “Party electoral campaigning, outreach to members, citizens and society”, “International party assistance and interaction with international party umbrella organisations”, “Building stable inter-party relations and communications”, “Parties and society; participation of women, youth and underrepresented groups”; (3.) *The political system*: “Parties and parliament” and “Party legislative framework”. The focus areas and methods of delivery for party assistance as discussed in this Guide will enable the reader to prepare for quality assistance to political parties, in line with relevant lessons learned.

However, while recognizing some of the approaches applied so far, further research will be required on what methods have been missing and might take center stage in the future. New possible areas of engagement with political parties (and new focus areas) will include the nexus between political parties and social/political movements that

play out on the internet or in the street (the various “Spring revolutions”) where parties no longer are seen as the main valid interlocutors for the people vis-à-vis the authorities.

With respect to new forms of political engagement, citizen relations with political authority are changing rapidly in many societies as a result of technological opportunities, and this includes relations with political parties. In some countries, political parties are using online platforms to connect to citizens. This dimension increasingly needs to be part of political party support activities. There is need to look at non formalized structures for political engagement. Democracy support needs to start looking at cross border and issue based driven agendas where individuals come together for a brief moment and then leave to regroup around another issue. The “direct” political demands side stepping political parties and parliaments result from citizens speaking directly to the executive from a more rudimentary form of political engagement – the street protest and the executive responds in different ways, including violence. What does this mean for political party assistance and how should we as donors adjust our democracy support programs? These are issues which in the post-Arab Spring setting require further discussion and research.

The main section of this Guide presents a comprehensive set of log frames, with outputs, outcomes, indicators, means of verification and assumptions. These log frames are not mandatory or prescriptive. Flexibility in applying them is advised, based upon the evolving national and political context.

In the end, while recognizing their usefulness, one also needs to downplay the importance of log frames and indicators. It is more important to get the change strategy right. A “narrative of change” approach may enable providers to articulate explicit theories of change or an intervention logic that demonstrates how selected activities are expected to lead to certain results and to identify if the effort made is both necessary and sufficient

for bringing about the intended change. Since this is difficult to capture in a log frame, sometimes a less formal process lends itself better to reporting on the impact of project interventions. A narrative approach may also facilitate how providers program for political will, underlying incentives and power dynamics. The Political Economy Analysis tools may be very helpful in such an approach.⁷³

73- Ipp, O., Study on Results Frameworks: Political Party Assistance, Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy, Copenhagen, May 2013, p. 12.

ANNEX 1

ANALYSIS TABLE POLITICAL PARTY PROJECTS IN EIDHR 2007-2013

NR.	YEAR	EIDHR NUMBER	TITLE	COUNTRY	ANALYSIS FROM PROJECT INFORMATION AVAILABLE							
					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
1	2007	EIDHR/2007/140-322	Support to free and fair elections in South Caucasus and Moldova	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova	2	Centr	PA	INT: CoE	5	50 %	500,000	ELECT
2	2008	EIDHR/2008/158-246	Capacity-building training seminars on organising and conduction of elections	Azerbaijan	2	Loc	PA	Nat	5	80 %	128,000	ELECT
3	2008	EIDHR/2008/162-424	Enhancing Political Participation of Young Political Leaders in Vojvodina	Serbia	1	Loc	Yo	Nat	1/2	50 %	75,000	POL.PART
4	2008	EIDHR/2008/165-137	Using the law to enhance women's representation and participation at all levels of political structures in Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	2	Loc	PA Wo	Nat	6	80 %	147,000	DEMOCR
5	2008	EIDHR/2008/169-700	Enhancing Political Representation and Participation to Improve Participation and to Enhance Responsiveness of Political System, within Context of Local Elections, leading to 2009 national Elections	Indonesia	2	Loc	Yo	Nat	1/2	80 %	79,000	ELECT
6	2009	EIDHR/2009/167-296	Democracy Starts with You! – Improving Political Participation of young people from minority & rural areas in the S. Caucasus Region	Armenia Azerbaijan Georgia	3	Centr	Yo	INT/ Nat	1/2	77 %	1,470,000	DEMOCR

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					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
7	2009	EIDHR/2009/168-404	Promoting The Political Participation Of Women And The Marginalized Groups In The Political Process In three States Of North-Eastern Nigeria	Nigeria	1	Loc	Wo	Nat	6	80 %	95,000	DEMOCR
8	2009	EIDHR/2009/168-768	Increasing Women`s Participation in Governance of Political Parties in Nigeria	Nigeria	2	Loc	Wo, PL	Nat	1	80 %	95,000	POL.PART
9	2009	EIDHR/2009/169-013	Promoting Women`s Participation in Politics and Access to Political Leadership in Plateau State	Nigeria	2	Loc	Wo, Yo	Nat	2	80 %	76,000	POL.PART
10	2009	EIDHR/2009/169-627	Supporting Women Leadership and Participation in Elections “Elections Supportive to Women Engagement in Public life”.	Egypt	2	Centr	Wo, PA	Nat	5	80 %	134,000	ELECT
11	2009	EIDHR/2009/211-087	Fair Parliamentary Elections-2010	Tajikistan	2	Loc	PA	Nat	5	80 %	170,000	ELECT
12	2009	EIDHR/2009/223-336	Transparent and Accountable National Parliament	Montenegro	1	Centr	PW	Nat	4	88 %	89,000	PARLI.
13	2009	EIDHR/2009/228-053	Strengthening of political participation and representation of national minorities in BiH society	BiH	2	Centr	PL	Nat	6	80 %	92,000	DEMOCR
14	2010	EIDHR/2010/229-103	Women political empowerment in twenty villages in Kassala and Sennar States in Sudan	Sudan	2	Loc	Wo	Nat	6	95 %	141,000	DEMOCR

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					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
15	2010	EIDHR/2010/234-681	Good Governance through Increasing Women's participation in Ghana's political processes	Ghana	3	Loc	PW	Nat	1/3	46 %	284,000	POL.PART
16	2010	EIDHR/2010/234-689	Supporting Women's Participation in Elections in northern Region.	Ghana	3	Loc	Wo	Nat	5	94 %	264,000	ELECT
17	2010	EIDHR/2010/234-735	Increased Women's participation and representation in parliament.	Ghana	3	Centr	Wo	NAT/ int	1	95 %	300,000	PARLI.
18	2010	EIDHR/2010/234-740	Ghana - Sustaining Credible Elections, Peace and National cohesion.	Ghana	3	Loc	Wo, PA	Nat	5	50 %	300,000	ELECT
19	2010	EIDHR/2010/258-115	Enhancing Representation Function of DPRD Members Through Civic Education for Youth Political Party Cadres. And Building Relation Between DPRD Members and Their Constituents	Indonesia	2	Loc	PW	Nat	4	95 %	95,000	PARLI.
20	2011	EIDHR/2011/267-543	Empowering Muslim Women for Enhancing Inclusive Democratic Reform and Political Participation	Nepal	2	Loc	Wo	Nat	6	95 %	64,000	DEMOCR
21	2011	EIDHR/2011/276-873	Supporting Democratic transition in Libya	Libya	1	Centr	PL	INT	6	95 %	1,097,000	DEMOCR
22	2011	EIDHR/2011/278-141	Increase representation of women in rural areas in political & social life	Albania	3	Loc	Wo, PA	Nat	6	85 %	82,000	DEMOCR

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					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
23	2012	EIDHR/2012/292-568	Mobilizing Youth for Gender Equality in Politics	Nepal	3	Loc	Wo, Yo	INT/ nat	1/2	80 %	200,000	POL.PART
24	2012	EIDHR/2012/292-572	Promoting equitable representation of women in decision making	Somaliland	1	Loc	Wo, PW	Nat	6	75 %	225,000	DEMOCR
25	2012	EIDHR/2012/293-971	Women for Democracy and Equality – Stronger Participation of Women in Political Decision-Making and Effective Implementation of Equal Opportunities Policy	Serbia	2	Loc	Wo	Nat	5	80 %	94,000	PARLI.
26	2012	EIDHR/2012/297-059	“Regional Academy for Democracy. Shaping the European Future of the Balkans - Building a New Political Culture and Political Elite”	Albania, BiH, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro Serbia	3	Centr	Yo, PW	Nat	3	80 %	689,000	DEMOCR
27	2012	EIDHR/2012/297-060	Project to help ensure - through the training of civil society organisations in five countries in the monitoring of campaign spending by political parties – that state resources are not abused during election campaigns	Bolivia Indonesia Moldova Maldives Kyrgyztan	2	Centr	PL, PA	INT/ nat	6	80 %	650,000	DEMOCR

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					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
28.	2012	EIDHR/2012/297-592	Promoting Social and Political Rights of Persons with Disabilities through implementation of CRPD in Bangladesh	Bangladesh	2	Loc	PL, PA	Nat	6	80 %	300,000	DEMOCR
29.	2012	EIDHR/2012/298-569	Special Voters: Minority Voices in 2012 Parliamentary Elections Campaign	Ukraine	1	Loc	PL	Nat	6	94 %	46,000	ELECT
30.	2012	EIDHR/2012/308-936	Support to Myanmar Peace Process	Myanmar	1	Loc	PL	INT	3	N.A.	400,000	DEMOCR
31.	2013	EIDHR/2013/306-487	A More Inclusive Democracy: Strengthening Women's Participation for the 2014 Elections	Indonesia	2	Loc	Wo	INT/ nat	1	86 %	300,000	ELECT
32.	2013	EIDHR/2013/316-539	Combining the strengths: Jointly for political and economic empowerment of persons w. disability	Serbia	1	Centr	PW	NAT/ int	6	95 %	50,000	DEMOCR
33.	2011	EIDHR/2011/267-758	Renforcer les éléments constitutifs d'une démocratie : Appui aux partis politiques	Tunisia	1	Centr	PW	INT/ nat	3	77 %	300,000	POL.PART

ANNEX 2

ANALYSIS TABLE POLITICAL PARTY PROJECTS IN GEOGRAPHICAL INSTRUMENTS 2007-2013

NR.	YEAR	INSTRUMENT & NUMBER	TITLE	COUNTRY	ANALYSIS FROM PROJECT INFORMATION AVAILABLE							
					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
1.	2007	FED/2007/197-092	Support To Timorese Electoral Cycle	East Timor	2	Loc	PL, PA	UNDP	2	30 %	1,500,000	ELECT
2.	2008	FED/2007/197-179	Deepening Democracy in Tanzania Programme	Tanzania	4	Centr	PW	UNDP	1/3	31 %	1,440,000	DEMOCR
3.	2009	IFS-RRM/2009/219-076	Training for Activists of Political Parties and their Youth Organisations in Georgia	Georgia	2	Centr	PA, Yo	FNSt/ nat	1/3	100 %	313,000	POL.PART
4.	2009	FED/2009/209-252	EC -UNDP Partnership with Nigeria for Support to the Electoral Cycle Phase 2, 2009-2011	Nigeria	5	Centr	PL, PA	UNDP	2	30 %	20,000,000	ELECT
5.	2009	IFS-RRM/2009/224-115	Support Electoral reforms in Pakistan	Pakistan	2	Centr	PL	DRI	1/2	80 %	2,054,000	ELECT
6.	2009	FED/2009/212-837	Support to the 2009-2012 Zambian Electoral Cycle	Zambia	4	Centr	PL, PA	UNDP	2	50 %	7,400,000	ELECT
7.	2009	IFS-RRM/2009/216-877	Promoting Dialogue and Capacity for Effective National Electoral Processes	Georgia	2	Centr	PL, PA	UNDP	5	100 %	960,000	ELECT
8.	2009	FED/2009/219-634	Support to Elections and Democratic Processes	Sudan	2	Centr	PL, PA	UNDP	2	10 %	7,200,000	ELECT

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NR.	YEAR	INSTRUMENT & NUMBER	TITLE	COUNTRY	ANALYSIS FROM PROJECT INFORMATION AVAILABLE							
					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
9.	2010	FED/2010/243-658	Support to Electoral Reform and the Constitutional Referendum Process in Kenya	Kenya	1	Centr	PL	UNDP	5	NA	NA	ELECT
10.	2011	FED/2011/265-234	Electoral Assistance Project	Sierra Leone	4	Centr	PL, PA	UNDP	3	30 %	7,500,000	ELECT
11.	2011	FED/2011/261-682	Support to National Commission for Civic Education for 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections	Ghana	3	Loc	PW	Nat	5/6	100 %	1,300,000	ELECT
12.	2012	FED/2012/299-748	Support to Nigeria's Electoral Cycle 2011-2015	Nigeria	4	Loc	PL, PA	UNDP	5/6	50 %	19,100,000	ELECT
13.	2012	IFS-RRM/2012/284-424	Supporting advocacy for electoral reforms in Pakistan	Pakistan	2	Loc	PL, PA	DRI	5/6	100 %	1,919,000	ELECT
14.	2012	ENPI/2012/303-675	Political and economic empowerment of women in the Southern Mediterranean region	oPt, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Israel	4	Centr	PL, Wo	UN Women	6	90 %	7,000,000	DEMOCR
15.	2012	ENPI/2012/291-626	Political leadership for democratic transitions in the MENA region: Trust Building Missions to Jordan, Libya and Tunisia.	Jordan, Libya, Tunisia	1	Centr	PL	C d Madrid	6	100 %	130,000	DEMOCR

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NR.	YEAR	INSTRUMENT & NUMBER	TITLE	COUNTRY	ANALYSIS FROM PROJECT INFORMATION AVAILABLE							
					A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
					YEARS	CENTR. LOCAL LEVEL	TARGET GROUPS	IMPL. ORG.	CATEGORY	% EC FUNDING	AMOUNT EC FUNDING	PROJECT FRAMEWORK
16.	2012	ENPI/2012/308-485	Towards a Multi-Party Democracy: Strengthening the role of Political Parties in Jordan's democratic reform process	Jordan	3	Centr	PL, PA	KAS/ nat	1/2/3	60 %	500,000	POL.PART
17.	2012	ENPI/2012/308-487	In search for commitments towards political reform and commitment to women's rights	Jordan	2	Loc	PW	Nat	5/6	80 %	193,000	ELECT

ABBREVIATIONS IN ANALYSIS COLUMNS

A	TOTAL YEARS OF THE PROJECT: 1 YEAR, 2 YEARS, 3 YEARS, 4 YEARS, 5 YEARS	1	2	3	4	5
B	PROJECT AT CENTRAL / NATIONAL LEVEL, OR SUB-NATIONAL / LOCAL LEVEL	Centr	LOC			
C	TARGET GROUPS OF PROJECT: PARTY LEADERS, WOMEN, YOUTH, PARTY ACTIVISTS, PARTY AS WHOLE	PL	WO	YO	PA	PW
D	IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION IS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION	INT	NAT	INT/nat	NAT/int	
E	ONE OF THE THREE DIRECT CATEGORIES (1-3) OR THREE INDIRECT CATEGORIES (4-6)	1	2	3	4	5 6

	INTERNAL TO POLITICAL PARTY	EXTERNAL TO POLITICAL PARTY	POLITICAL SYSTEM
DIRECT	1. Projects directly affecting the internal functioning of parties	2. Projects directly affecting the external functioning of parties	3. Projects directly affecting the political system
INDIRECT	4. Projects indirectly affecting the internal dimension of parties	5. Projects indirectly affecting the external dimension of parties	6. Projects indirectly affecting the political system

F	% OF EC FUNDING WITHIN OVERALL PROJECT BUDGET	% of EC funding
G	TOTAL AMOUNT OF THE PROJECT BUDGET AS FINANCED BY EC	in EURO
H	PROJECT FRAMEWORK: ELECTIONS PROJECT, PARLIAMENTARY PROJECT, DEMOCRACY PRO., POLITICAL PARTIES PRO.	ELECT PARLI DEMOCR POL.PART

ANNEX 3

REVIEW OF SHORTLISTED PROJECTS IN TERMS OF FOCUS AREAS AND DELIVERY METHODS FOR POLITICAL PARTY ASSISTANCE

FOCUS AREAS PARTY ASSISTANCE		INDIVIDUAL PARTY LEVEL				POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM LEVEL			
COUNTRY	PROJECT NUMBER	INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONING & MNGT	PARTY ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNING & OUTREACH	DEVELOPMENT PARTY POLICIES AND PROGRAM	INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE & INTERACTION INTERNAT. PARTY ORG.	BUILDING INTER-PARTY RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS	PARTIES & SOCIETY, WOMEN, YOUTH & MINORITIES	PARTIES AND PARLIAMENT	PARTY REGULATIONS, REGISTRATION, PARTY FINANCING
EIDHR PROJECTS									
05 Indonesia	EIDHR/2008/169-700	X					X	X	
08 Nigeria	EIDHR/2009/168-768	X	X				X		
10 Egypt	EIDHR/2009/169-627	X	X	X			X		
17 Ghana	EIDHR/2010/234-735	X		X		X	X	X	
23 Nepal	EIDHR/2012/292-568	X		X		X			
33 Tunisia	EIDHR/2011/267-758	X				X	X		X
OTHER INSTRUMENTS									
02 Tanzania	FED/2007/197-179			X		X			X
04 Nigeria	FED/2009/209-252		X			X			
08 Sudan	FED/2009/219-634		X			X			X
16 Jordan	ENPI/2012/308-485	X			X	X	X		X

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REVIEW OF SHORTLISTED PROJECTS IN TERMS OF FOCUS AREAS AND DELIVERY METHODS FOR POLITICAL PARTY ASSISTANCE

DELIVERY METHODS PARTY ASSISTANCE		TRAINING, WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS FOR GROUPS	SENIOR ADVICE AND INDIVIDUAL COACHING	LEGAL ADVICE	STUDY TOURS AND EXCHANGE VISITS	KNOWLEDGE RESOURCES & PUBLICATIONS	DIRECT FINANCIAL SUPPORT	FACILITATING NEGOTIATIONS & BROKERING INTER-PARTY AGREEMENT.
COUNTRY	PROJECT NUMBER							
EIDHR PROJECTS								
05 Indonesia	EIDHR/2008/169-700	X				X		
08 Nigeria	EIDHR/2009/168-768	X				X		
10 Egypt	EIDHR/2009/169-627	X	X			X		
17 Ghana	EIDHR/2010/234-735	X			X	X		
23 Nepal	EIDHR/2012/292-568	X				X		X
33 Tunisia	EIDHR/2011/267-758	X						X
OTHER INSTRUMENTS								
02 Tanzania	FED/2007/197-179	X		X	X			X
04 Nigeria	FED/2009/209-252	X	X					X
08 Sudan	FED/2009/219-634	X						X
16 Jordan	ENPI/2012/308-485	X	X	X		X		X

ANNEX 4

SILC PARTY ASSESSMENT TOOL

SECTION 1 AIM

SILC cooperates with a number of political parties and organizations affiliated with political parties. In order to make our work relevant, efficient and successful, there is a need for assessing and evaluating the capacity of new and potential partners as well as existing, long term partners. The party assessment tool has three focal goals:

- It should guide and help the party to develop
- It should support SILC in assessing the party we currently work with
- It should function as a base for discussions on further engagement with potential partners

SECTION 2 MAIN GUIDELINES

When assessing a party, it should be kept in mind that:

- No party is perfect – the indicators are not conditions which always have to be met.
- The assessor should take into consideration the specifics and the political, economic and social development of the country.
- The assessor should evaluate both the party's stated principles and also its concrete actions.
- The evaluation should be finalized in the form of a written report. It should be written after interviewing and observing relevant groups as defined in section three in this assessment manual.
- A short form of the assessment criteria will be developed for quick scanning purposes.
- Assessment should be carried out by a non-partial foreign (i.e. not from the country of the assessed party) SILC-representative.

SECTION 3 TARGET GROUPS

The assessor should meet with the following target groups:

- Leaders of the party
- Activists
- Local council leaders
- Network's associated to the party (women- and youth wings etc.)
- Competing parties
- NGO:s
- The local community

The following aspects should be assessed:

1. HISTORY

- A. REASONS TO CREATING THE PARTY
- B. OPPRESSIONS
- C. VICTORIES

2. IDEOLOGY AND PARTY PROGRAMME

○ A. DEMOCRACY

Indicator: The party's stand on frequency of elections, representative vs. direct democracy

○ B. ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE

Indicators: Views on competence of executive, legislative and judiciary powers. Views on relationship between central, regional and local government.

○ C. HUMAN RIGHTS

Indicator: View on death penalty in party programme

○ D. STAND ON NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM, CONSERVATISM ETC.

Indicator: any tendencies towards un-liberal ideologies in party programmes, campaigns

○ E. MARKET ECONOMY

Indicator: the party's stand on free trade agreements, WTO.

○ F. LGBT RIGHTS

Indicator: the way the party has defended these rights (party programme, campaigns, in parliament, pride parades).

Indicator: the party's stand on discrimination towards this group (party programme, campaigns, in parliament)

○ G. MINORITY RIGHTS AND XENOPHOBIA (MUSLIMS, ISRAEL/JEWS, AFRICANS ETC.)

Indicator: the way the party has defended minority rights (party programme, campaigns, in parliament)

Indicator: the party's stand on discrimination towards minorities (party programme, campaigns, in parliament)

Indicator: xenophobic comments/incidents

○ H. GENDER EQUALITY

Indicator: the way the party has defended these rights (party programme, campaigns, in parliament)

Indicator: the party's stand on discrimination towards this group (party programme, campaigns, in parliament)

○ I. CULT OF A PERSON

Indicator: has the party managed a successful change of party leader?

Indicator: can the party leader be openly criticized within the party?

○ J. HOW IT WAS DEVELOPED?

Indicator: was the programme developed in democratic order or was it created by the party leader?

Indicator: What is the inclusion of members into programme development?

○ K. DOES THE PARTY HAVE DEVELOPED POLICIES (E.G. HOW TO ORGANISE TAXES?)

Indicators: The party has developed policies on how to organize taxes, e.g. education, healthcare, employment

3. PARTY STRUCTURE

○ A. INTERNAL ELECTIONS

Indicator: congress elections (frequency, last held)

○ B. ROTATION OF PEOPLE IN LEADING POSITIONS

Indicator: decision on rotation in party statutes

Indicator: practice in reality

○ C. ABILITY TO INVOLVE NEW PEOPLE

Indicator: number of members and new members annually

○ D. POLITICAL AMBITIONS

Indicator: hold power locally, regionally and nationally

Indicator: what compromises is the party willing to make e.g. form alliances

Indicator: party lists with candidates exists during elections

Indicator: number of deputies

○ E. PARTY IN GOVERNMENT POSITION

Indicator: fulfilment of political promises as set out in election campaign

○ F. YOUTH WING

Indicator: what representation within the party

Indicator: Independent or incorporated in the party

Indicator: size of the youth wing in relation to the party

Indicator: use of funds

Indicator: Regional offices

Indicator: number of women in executive positions

○ G. WOMEN'S NETWORK

Indicator: what representation within the party

Indicator: independent or incorporated in the party

Indicator: size of the youth wing in relation to the party

Indicator: use of funds

Indicator: regional offices

○ H. GENDER EQUALITY

Indicator: number of women in executive positions

4. ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY

Indicator: office space and regional offices in the country

Indicator: annual audit report

Indicator: statutes

Indicator: membership criteria

Indicator: membership register

5. RELATIONS TO DOMESTIC ORGANISATIONS

○ A. MEDIA

Indicator: is free media mentioning the party

Indicator: are free media reporting positively or negatively about the party?

○ B. ACADEMICS AND CULTURAL PERSONNEL

Indicator: the anticipated support among academia and intellectual for the party

Indicator: if academia supports the party's general policies

○ C. CIVIL SOCIETY

Indicator: support from civil society

Indicator: cooperation with civil society organizations

Indicator: cooperation with think tanks

○ D. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Indicator: impact on party policies

6. RELATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

○ A. MEMBERSHIPS

Indicator: members/observing members in e.g. LI, IFLRY, ELDR, LYMEC

Indicator: How actively involved in these organizations (frequency of attendance, last attended meeting)

○ B. REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER PARTIES?

Indicator: Cooperation with other liberal parties in the region/country

Indicator: Main government (coalition) partners

○ C. RELATIONS TO DIASPORA

Indicators: members abroad, chapters abroad, voters abroad

7. VOTER BASE

- A. APPROXIMATE SUPPORT (IN NUMBERS)

- B. SOCIOECONOMIC APPEAL

Indicator: support among uneducated/marginalized people; professions

- C. GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

Indicator: support in rural areas

8. MEMBERS

- A. NUMBER OF MEMBERS

- B. DIVERSITY

Indicator: age, gender, representation of minorities, regional spread.

- C. COMMUNICATION TO MEMBERS (SOCIAL MEDIA, NEWSLETTER, PARTY NEWSPAPER)

9. CURRENT TRENDS AND CURRENT POLITICAL TOPICS

Indicator: what are the three most important issues for the party?

Indicator: What issues have been most debated?

HISTORY

When, how and why was the party created?

IDEOLOGY AND PARTY PROGRAMME

- Democracy: Does the party have clear views on electoral system, competence of government branches and levels of government?
- Human rights: What is the party's stand on the death penalty?
- Economic freedom: is the party clearly for free trade?
- Minority rights: Is the party defending rights of sexual, ethnic and/or religious minorities?
- Gender inequality: Existence and substance of policy for gender equality
- Cult of person: Has the party had a successful leadership transition? Is it likely to have a successful transition of top leadership?
- Economic policy: does the party have its own shadow budget(s) at national, regional and local levels.

PARTY STRUCTURE

- Does the party hold internal elections? With what frequency? When were they last held?
- Rotation of people in leading positions. Are there rules on rotation in party statutes? Are rotation principles practiced in reality
- Political ambitions: Plans to hold power locally, regionally and nationally? What compromises is the party willing to make e.g. form alliances? Did the party have party lists with candidates during last elections?
- Party in government position : fulfilment of political promises as set out in election campaign
- Youth wing and women's wing: what representation within the party, size of the youth wing in relation to the party, number of women on executive positions

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY

Does the party have (1) office space and regional offices in the country (2) an annual audit report (3) statutes (4) membership criteria (5) a membership register

RELATIONS TO DOMESTIC ORGANISATIONS

- Are free media reporting positively or negatively about the party?
- Are academics and cultural personalities likely supporters of the party?
- What civil society organizations are supporting the agenda of the party? Does the party have relationships to likeminded CSOs?
- Does the party have ties to likeminded think tank(s)?

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Is the party member/observing member in LI, IFLRY, ELDR, LYMEC? How actively involved in these organizations (frequency of attendance, last attended meeting)?
- Relations to diaspora: does the party have members abroad, chapters abroad, likely voters abroad?

VOTER BASE

- Approximate expected support (in numbers)?
- Results in last elections on all levels
- Socioeconomic appeal: which groups are likely voters (geographic and social distribution)?

MEMBERS

- Number of members ; age groups, gender, representation of minorities, regional spread
- Communication to members: social media, newsletter, party newspaper?

CURRENT TRENDS AND CURRENT POLITICAL TOPICS

- What are the three most important issues for the party? What issues have been most debated inside the party?

ANNEX 5

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ANNEX 6

LOGFRAME “TOWARDS A MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY: STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN JORDAN”’S DEMOCRATIC REFORM PROCESS“ (ENPI/2012/308-485)

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
Overall objectives	<i>What are the overall broader objectives to which the action will contribute?</i>	<i>What are the key indicators related to the overall objectives?</i>	<i>What are the sources of information for these indicators?</i>	
	The overall objective to which the project shall contribute is to increase the inclusion and representation of political parties in Jordan’s democratic reform process.	The number and the results in percentage of political parties represented in Parliament have increased. Democratic values are part of the political parties’ programs. Political parties play a leadership role in the political process.	Results of the 2012 and 2016 parliamentary elections; Register of political parties; Political party programs and statutes; Reports in the media and reports about public actions of political parties.	
Specific objective	<i>What specific objective is the action intended to achieve to contribute to the overall objectives?</i>	<i>Which indicators clearly show that the objective of the action has been achieved?</i>	<i>What are the sources of information that exist or can be collected? What are the methods required to get this information?</i>	<i>Which factors and conditions outside the Beneficiary’s responsibility are necessary to achieve that objective? (external conditions) Which risks should be taken into consideration?</i>
	The first specific objective of the action is to improve the standing of political parties within Jordan’s society.	The number and the results in percentage of political parties represented in Parliament have increased. Political parties appear more often and are more positively represented in the media.	Results of the 2012 and 2016 parliamentary elections; Reports in the media.	The political situation remains stable. Political parties have the means to be widely represented over the territory. There is a political will by parliament and government to revise the electoral and the political party law to facilitate political party representation.

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	<p>The second specific objective is to strengthen the role political parties play and could play within the political system and in relation to Jordan's society.</p>	<p>Membership of political parties increases. Representatives of political parties publicly take position towards specific political topics. Political parties increase their presence in the 2016 electoral campaign.</p>	<p>Political party registers; Reports in the media; Number of political party meetings, electoral advertisement and presence in the media.</p>	<p>The political situation remains stable. The legislation favours the participation of political parties. Political parties have the means to be widely represented over the territory.</p>
	<p>The third specific objective is to facilitate the interaction and cooperation amongst political parties; parties and independent political actors; as well as with civil society organisations.</p>	<p>Regular meetings between political parties take place. Dialogue forums between political actors and civil society organisations take place on the national and local level. The number of news articles mentioning such encounters increases.</p>	<p>Media coverage of dialogue forums, interaction between the project team and the different political and civil society actors, a questionnaire sent to political parties and civil society organisations.</p>	<p>The political situation remains stable. There is a political will by political stakeholders to engage with civil society and vice versa. Civil society organisations have the means to do their work.</p>
	<p>The fourth specific objective is to foster dialogue between political parties and representatives of the lower and upper house on the political reform process (incl. electoral law reform).</p>	<p>Regular dialogue is established between political parties and members of parliament; Concrete ideas for amendments of the electoral reform have been transmitted by political parties to members of parliament. Electoral reform is discussed in parliament.</p>	<p>Reports in the media; the start of the electoral reform process; interaction between the project team and political parties and members of parliament.</p>	<p>The political situation remains stable. There is a political will by political parties and parliament to meet each other and to revise the electoral and the political party law to facilitate political party representation.</p>

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
Expected results	<p><i>The results are the outputs envisaged to achieve the specific objective.</i></p> <p><i>What are the expected results? (enumerate them)</i></p>	<p><i>What are the indicators to measure whether and to what extent the action achieves the expected results?</i></p>	<p><i>What are the sources of information for these indicators?</i></p>	<p><i>What external conditions must be met to obtain the expected results on schedule?</i></p>
	<p>Result 1 (short-term): Capacities of political parties in the areas of campaigning and election observation are strengthened.</p>	<p>The interaction between political parties and the media has increased; Interaction between political parties and the electorate has increased; Political parties have developed an electoral campaign strategy and a political marketing strategy.</p>	<p>Presence of political parties in the media, observation of the electoral campaign 2012 by political parties and interviews with former participants.</p>	<p>Political parties have the will and are available to participate in the training workshops on political marketing shortly before the elections.</p>
	<p>Result 2 (short-term): Dialogue between local and international organisations active in the support of the elections and of political parties has been established.</p>	<p>One dialogue meetings between local and international organisations active in the support of the elections and of political parties has taken place before the 2012 elections.</p>	<p>Interview with participants, agendas and invitations.</p>	<p>Local and international organisations have the will to exchange good practice and lessons learned.</p>
	<p>Result 1 (mid-term): Political parties and CSOs lobby together for a revision of the electoral law enhancing the number of seats in the lower house for political parties, a reform group has developed concrete ideas of legislative amendments of the electoral and the political party law.</p>	<p>Regular dialogue is established between political parties, civil society organisations and members of parliament; A reform group has been established to work-out concrete ideas for amendments of the electoral law; Concrete ideas for amendments of the electoral reform have been transmitted by political parties to members of parliament.</p>	<p>Reports in the media; the start of the electoral reform process; interaction between the project team and political parties and members of parliament.</p>	<p>The political situation remains stable. There is a political will by political parties, civil society organisations and parliament to meet each other and to revise the electoral and the political party law to facilitate political party representation.</p>

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	<p>Result 2 (mid-term): Capacity of political parties on a technical (organisation, communication, coalition building etc.) as well as on a political level (good governance, civic rights; environmental sustainability; gender) has been enhanced.</p>	<p>Political parties have developed policy oriented political programmes; the number of women and youths has increased amongst political party members and leaders; the process of nomination of candidates for the 2016 elections is transparent and decisions are taken respecting democratic principles.</p>	<p>Political party members lists; political party programmes and by-laws; Reports of political party meetings; electoral programme.</p>	<p>Political parties have the possibility to participate widely in the democratic and the electoral process. Political party leaders have the will to respect democratic principles.</p>
	<p>Result 3 (mid-term): The population in general is better informed about the role of political parties within the political system and the need for reform to enhance representation.</p>	<p>The level of participation in the 2016 elections has increased; the percentage of political parties elected has increased; participation in community councils has increased; membership in political parties has increased.</p>	<p>Reports in the media; List of members of political parties; Participant lists from local Council meetings; Electoral results.</p>	<p>The population has a chance to meet political party representatives; local council meetings are inclusive.</p>
	<p>Result 4 (mid-term): Forums for dialogue have been established between political parties and other political stakeholders (representatives upper and lower house; tribal leaders; IEC) as well as between political parties and CSOs.</p>	<p>Regular meetings between political parties take place. Dialogue forums between political actors and civil society organisations take place on the national and local level. The number of news articles mentioning such encounters increases.</p>	<p>Media coverage of dialogue forums, interaction between the project team and the different political and civil society actors, a questionnaire sent to political parties and civil society organisations.</p>	<p>There is a political will by political stakeholders to engage with civil society and vice versa.</p>

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
Activities	<p>What are the key activities to be carried out and in what sequence in order to produce the expected results? (group the activities by result)</p>	<p>Means: What are the means required to implement these activities, e. g. personnel, equipment, training, studies, supplies, operational facilities, etc.</p>	<p>What are the sources of information about action progress? Costs: What are the action costs? How are they classified? (breakdown in the Budget for the Action)</p>	<p>What pre-conditions are required before the action starts? What conditions outside the Beneficiary's direct control have to be met for the implementation of the planned activities?</p>
	<p>Results 1 and 2 (short-term): Capacities of political parties in the areas of campaigning and election observation are strengthened; dialogue between local and international organisations active in the support of the elections and of political parties has been established.</p>			
	<p>1) Inception conference with local and international actors engaged in the support of political parties and the electoral process.</p>	<p>Preparation team KAS/project partners; catering, transportation cost, interpretation, seminar materials.</p>	<p>Conference report, evaluation meeting between KAS and ist partners, reports in the press.</p>	<p>Availability of target group.</p>
	<p>2) 3 Workshops for political party candidates on election campaigning and political marketing.</p>	<p>Preparation team KAS/Al-Quds; 2 trainers Al-Quds; seminar-room; catering, transportation costs.</p>	<p>Training report; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.</p>	<p>Electoral candidates are willing and are available to participate in the training shortly before the elections.</p>

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	20) 1 coordination meeting of local and international actors engaged in the support of political parties and the electoral process (exchange of best-practices).	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 1 moderator; seminar-room; catering, translation, transportation costs.	Conference report; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about the meeting and the project; evaluation sheets.	Local and international organisations need to be available shortly before the elections.
	Result 1 (mid-term): Political parties and CSOs lobby together for a revision of the electoral law enhancing the number of seats in the lower house for political parties, a reform group has developed concrete ideas of legislative amendments of the electoral and the political party law.			
	3) Study on the impacts of the 2012 electoral law and the side-effects of gerrymandering on party political representation in the lower house and recommendations for electoral law reform.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 2 researchers, printing of 500 copies, translation.	Finalized study on the impacts of the 2012 electoral law; Report on the project website; reports in the press.	Political party, parliament , civil society and government representatives need to be willing to take part in interviews and focus group discussions.
	4) Presentation of the study results and endorsement of the reform group at a multi-stakeholder forum in Amman.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 2 researchers and experts, seminar-room; catering, translation.	Report on the project website; reports in the press, evaluation sheets.	Political and civil stakeholders need to be willing to meet each other. There need to be a will to engage in the electoral law reform process.

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	5) 8 reform group meetings to prepare concrete proposals for amendments of the electoral and the political party law; Presentation of a draft reform agenda at a multi-stakeholder forum in Amman.	Preparation team KAS/Al-Quds/JCCE; 1 facilitator Al-Quds, seminar-room; catering.	Report on the project website; report of amendments to the electoral and the political party law.	Political Parties are willing to work together on the development of reform ideas.
	6) 2 Workshop of interaction between the reform group and relevant MPs of all political parties in the parliament (1 after 4 reform group meetings, and 1 after completion of work).	Preparation team KAS/Al-Quds/JCCE; 1 facilitator Al-Quds, seminar-room; catering.	Report on the project website; report of amendments to the electoral and the political party law; reports in the press; evaluation sheets.	Members of Parliament are interested to listen to the reform group on the electoral reform project.
	Result 2 (mid-term): Capacity of political parties on a technical (organisation, communication, coalition building etc.) as well as on a political level (good governance, civic rights; environmental sustainability; gender) has been enhanced.			
	7) Needs assessment amongst political parties and analysis on their relation with constituencies and civil society and constitution of training material.	Preparation team KAS/Al-Quds/JCCE; 4 researchers, printing of 1000 copies.	Finalized study on the needs assessment and tool book for political party training; Publication on the project website; reports in the press.	Political party and civil society representatives need to be willing to take part in interviews and focus group discussions.

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	8) 1 train the trainers practical workshops with 5 modules (political programme development and developing an electoral strategy, media outreach, political communication and networking and coalition building) and one follow-up meeting on lessons-learned for different political party leaders.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds; 2 trainers AI-Quds, 1 international expert, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, transportation costs.	Training report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.	Political party representatives have to be willing and available to participate together in the training.
	9) 3 Capacity-building workshops for political parties on constituency outreach (tribal communities; youth; women; Palestinian community) and political programme development.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds; 2 trainers AI-Quds, 1 international expert, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, , transportation costs.	Training report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.	Political party representatives have to be willing and available to participate together in the training.
	10) 3 Workshops on party organisation, internal democratic structures and communication.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds; 2 trainers AI-Quds, 1 international expert, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, , transportation costs.	Training report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.	Political party representatives have to be willing and available to participate together in the training.
	11) 1 Capacity building workshop for elected party members of the lower house; 1 additional workshop for women in parliament.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds; 2 trainers AI-Quds, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, , transportation costs.	Training report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.	Members of Parliament have to be willing to participate together in the training. Members of Parliament need to be available for the training.

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	12) 1 workshop on civil democratic Islamic discourse with leaders of Islamic political parties.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds; 2 experts AI-Quds, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, transportation costs, flights for 3 regional participants.	Conference report on the website; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press; evaluation sheets.	Political stability in the region. Willingness of all major Islamic movements in Jordan to participate.
	13) 1 succinct research paper on women participation in political parties, the elections and civil society.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 2 researchers, printing of 500 copies, translation.	Finalized study on women participation in politics; Report on the project website; reports in the press.	Political party, parliament , civil society and government representatives, especially women, need to be willing to take part in interviews and focus group discussions.
	14) Presentation of the study at 3 regional stake-holder fora on women participation in political parties and elections with political leaders, civil society and media.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 2 researchers and experts, seminar-room; catering, translation, transportation costs.	Report on the project website; reports in the press and in the local radio stations; evaluation sheets.	Local political and civil stakeholders, especially women groups, need to be willing to participate in the meetings. Political stability especially in the Northern region.
	15) 3 training workshops for women in politics about political marketing, the role as elected member of parliament, media outreach and fundraising.	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 2 trainers AI-Quds, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, transportation costs.	Training report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets; interview with participants.	Women in politics need to be willing and able to participate in a 3 day training workshop.

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	16) Young leader Academy with 6 workshops for future young political leaders (political life in Jordan, role of political parties, political party ideology and by-laws, internal party democracy, campaigning, networking and coalition building, media training, elaboration of a personal project).	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 4 trainers AI-Quds/JCCE, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, transportation costs; flight tickets for 5 international participants.	Report on the website; blog entries by participants on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets; interview with some participants.	Young leaders have to be willing to participate in all 6 trainings over 3 years.
	Result 3 (mid-term): The population in general is better informed about the role of political parties within the political system and the need for reform to enhance representation.			
	17) 3 Joint training courses for political parties and CSOs on advocacy and lobbying, their roles and possible synergies.	Preparation team KAS/JCCE/AI-Quds; 2 trainers AI-Quds/JCCE, seminar-room; catering, accommodation, transportation costs.	Training report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.	Political party and civil society leaders have to be willing to participate together in the training.
	18) 12 thematic civic education outreach events with young political and local civil society organisations.	Preparation team KAS/JCCE/AI-Quds; 2 trainers AI-Quds/JCCE, seminar-room; catering, transportation costs.	Report on the website; blog entries by participants on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets, interviews with participants.	Political party and civil society leaders have to be willing to work together on the realisation of the events.

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT	SOURCES AND MEANS OF VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
	19) 12 thematic exchange forums between political parties, their constituencies and local NGOs on district level (discussion of their role in the oversight of government in the areas of good governance, human rights, gender mainstreaming and environmental sustainability).	Preparation team KAS/JCCE/AI-Quds; 1 moderator, seminar-room; catering, transportation costs.	Report on the website; training material; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about training; evaluation sheets.	Political party and civil society leaders have to be willing to participate together in the events.
	Result 4 (mid-term): Forums for dialogue have been established between political parties, other political stakeholders (representatives upper and lower house; tribal leaders; IEC) and CSOs as well between those who support them.			
	20) Four-monthly coordination meetings of local and international actors engaged in the support of political parties and the electoral process/ observation (exchange of best-practices).	Preparation team KAS/AI-Quds/JCCE; 1 moderator; 1 thematic expert; seminar-room; catering, translation.	Meeting report; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about the meeting and the project; evaluation sheets.	Local and international organisations need to be available shortly before the elections.
	21) 6 Thematic exchange forums on topics of good governance, human rights, gender mainstreaming, electoral observation, the role of political parties and environmental sustainability (Amman).	Preparation team KAS/JCCE/AI-Quds; 1 moderator; 1 thematic expert; seminar-room; catering.	Report; evaluation meeting between KAS and its partners and evaluation report; reports in the press about the meeting and the project; evaluation sheets.	Political party and civil society leaders have to be willing to participate together in the events.

THEMATIC SUPPORT TO EU DELEGATIONS: MAPPING, PERFORMANCE INDICATORS, TRAINING IN THE AREA OF SUPPORT TO POLITICAL PARTIES AND CIVIC EDUCATION

MAPPING AND STUDY ON PERFORMANCE INDICATORS FOR EU SUPPORT TO POLITICAL PARTIES

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