

IMPACT EVALUATION OF THE WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY (WFD)

FINAL MID-TERM EVALUATION REPORT

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Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluators. They do not represent those of DFID and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office or of any of the institutions mentioned in the report.

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List of Acronyms

AAFD	Arab Alliance of Freedom and Democracy
ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party (South Africa)
AIPTLS	Arab Institute for Parliamentary Training and Legislative Studies
ALN	Africa Liberal Network (ALN)
AWLI	Arab Women's Leadership Institute
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
BiRD	Bureau for Institutional Reform and Democracy GmbH
BMD	Botswana Movement for Democracy
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CLARION	Centre for Law and Research International (Kenya)
CNI	Centre for New Initiatives / Centar za nove inicijative (Sarajevo)
CP	Conservative Party
CPST	The Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (Kenya)
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DA	Democratic Alliance (South Africa)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAYLP	Democratic Alliance Young Leadership Programme (South Africa)
DFID	Department for International Development
DUA	The Democratic Union of Africa
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
EAC	East African Community
EALA	East Africa Legislative Assembly
EAPI	East African Parliamentary Institute
EET	External Evaluation Team
EFDS	European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign & Commonwealth Office
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (Germany)
HQ	Headquarters
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IE	Impact Evaluation
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPE	IPE Global Private Limited (Infrastructure Professional Enterprise)
IRI	International Republican Institute
IUSY	International Union of Socialist Youth
KAD	DFID Kenya Accountable Devolution programme
Lab	Labour Party
LibDem or LD	Liberal Democratic Party
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
MTE	Mid-term Evaluation
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NDPB	Non-Departmental Public Body
NGOs	Non-government organisations
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NPP	New Patriotic Party (Ghana)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PA	Parliamentary Assistance
PAO	Party Affiliated Organisation (Sweden)
PFM	Public Financial Management
PDP	Party of Democratic Progress (Bosnia)
PP	Political Parties
PPA	Political Party Assistance
PPC	Projects & Planning Committee (WFD)
PSC	Parliamentary Study Centre
SD	Social Democratic (Parties)
SDA	Party of Democratic Action (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SM	Small Parties
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, and Time-based (indicators)
SP	Socialist Party
SUNY	State University of New York
ToR	Terms of Reference
TR	Triennial Review
TWC	The Westminster Consortium
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VfM	Value for Money
WAFA	The Women's Academy for Africa
WB	Western Balkans
WFD	Westminster Foundation for Democracy

Executive Summary

Established in 1992, The Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) is an independent public body that provides expertise in developing parliaments, political party structures and civil society organisations – the key institutions that make up a functioning democracy. WFD provides such assistance directly through staff employed in London and in the field and, indirectly, through the three main UK political Parties – the Conservative Party, Labour Party and Liberal Democrats – and a group of smaller parties that are represented in the House of Commons.

WFD has provided support to democracy and improved governance in countries emerging from authoritarian regimes, and in post conflict and fragile states for twenty years, and combines political party expertise and links to Westminster with technical expertise to provide support to emerging democracies. Its parliamentary work is aimed at strengthening parliamentary institutions and processes including financial oversight, access to information, management and administration of parliament, human rights and the rule of law.

WFD also works to strengthen the role of political parties within pluralist democracies, including through cross-party training, involving the Westminster political parties and WFD's programme teams working together to strengthen the role of the parties in political systems. The UK political parties manage individual programmes through WFD working with 'sister parties' in specific countries and regions, based on ideological alignment (known as party-to-party or sister-party support). These provide capacity building and networking opportunities around agenda priorities agreed with the parties and delivered by parliamentarians and party experts.

WFD's programme staff manages the delivery of all parliamentary, cross-party, civil society and wider democracy programmes, working in cooperation with the political parties especially on cross-party programmes. The political parties manage all party-to-party programmes independently and work with the programme staff on cross-party work. In addition, WFD does some work to engage civil society and media in political processes, and to enable a broader range of stakeholders to have better access to and influence on parliamentary institutions and parties around specific policies.

DFID and FCO Support to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy

The UK is providing the Westminster Foundation for Democracy £16.5 million¹ over 3 years, from 2012/13-2014/15, to support the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) to contribute to the strengthening of democratic governance, through building capable, accountable and responsive institutions in at least 4 post conflict/fragile states and 5 emerging/transitional democracies. The HMG grant aimed towards:

- a. Providing technical expertise in support of parliamentarians and parliamentary institutions;
- b. Facilitating civil society and citizen access to parties and parliamentary procedures, to support greater empowerment and accountability;
- c. Providing political expertise to parties in parliamentary systems, drawing on Westminster parties;
- d. Building strong networks between UK and sister parties;
- e. Enhancing WFD's own internal coherence, learning and development and programme effectiveness.

The grant was intended to lead to improved effectiveness of WFD to deliver these outcomes and to be a leader in the field of democracy assistance. The revised 2012-15 logframe to the Business Case states that, with DFID and FCO funding, WFD committed to the following output targets:

Output 1: Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertake their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.

Output 2: Minimum of 10 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, have strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.

Output 3: Civil society organisations in 5 countries, including women's groups have better access to, and are trained to engage effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.

Output 4: Enhanced WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepened WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and

¹ £3.5 million per annum from FCO and £6 million from DFID over the life of the three-year programme

development, improved programme management tools etc); reformed WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda (December 2011).

In 2012, WFD developed its strategic parliamentary programmes for 2012-15. These included seven country programmes and four regional programmes. Whilst the political parties do not limit their activities to a set number of countries or projects, they have identified several longer-term programmes as well. WFD also focused on reform of the organisation to support improved delivery. This included plans for more strategic, coordinated, multi-year programming, supported by more rigorous monitoring and evaluation.

Evaluation of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy

In June 2013, the Department for International Development (DFID) commissioned IPE Global Private Limited and Bureau for Institutional Reform and Democracy GmbH (BiRD) to undertake, over 3 years, an Impact Evaluation (IE) of its multi-year support to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), co-financed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). The main objective of this evaluation is to assess "WFD's effectiveness in contributing towards its intended outcome of making the parliaments and political parties it works with more effective, accountable and representative". The expected outcome is to "strengthen democracy, stability and good governance and improve citizen engagement, in the emerging/developing democracies and post-conflict countries and fragile states" in which WFD works.

The overall evaluation of the Westminster Foundation was divided into six phases, each of which consists of reviews and analysis of different aspects of WFD functioning. These different phases culminate into a final evaluation, scheduled in the first and second quarters of 2015.



The Mid-term Evaluation looks to assess the implementation of various programmes, selected based on discussions with WFD and DFID, and aims to:

- Evaluate, at the midway point, the progress of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) in achieving the results and outcomes envisaged in the Business Plan submitted and approved in 2012; and
- Reflect upon key questions relevant to the functions and form of the WFD as a support to the required triennial review of NDPBs conducted by FCO²

The focus of the mid-term evaluation is on relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of the support and particularly the impact and results of WFD's activities at regional and country-specific levels. The Mid-term Evaluation (MTE) also intends to determine if, at the midway point of the support, WFD is meeting HMG expectations and whether it is on course to achieve the results and outcomes envisaged in the Business Plan submitted and approved by DFID in 2012. In line with the Terms of Reference (ToR), the focus of the MTE is, firstly, on accountability in terms of assessing whether WFD's programme has been producing the intended results (and to what extent), and, secondly, on learning, in terms of providing lessons learned and recommendations for WFD's future implementation.

The MTE was carried out between December 2013 and March 2014. The evaluation began in December with a desk review followed by field visits by the EET members to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia (Jan 20-24), London (Jan 27-31), South Africa (Jan 27-31), Kenya (Feb 3-7), Jordan (Feb 3-7) and London (Feb 10-13).

Methodological Framework used for the Mid-term Evaluation

The MTE followed a standard Qualitative Evaluation design, applied to a sample of WFD programmes designed and developed in 2012 and 2013. The evaluation team assessed various programmes being undertaken in 5 of WFD's target countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kenya, South Africa, and Jordan) against the key goals and outputs set out by the WFD in their corporate plan. This included programmes from both the Parliamentary as well as the Political Party wings. The evaluation team started with an extensive and statistical desk study and document review of select WFD programmes and undertook an initial assessment of progress against the four key WFD outputs (goals). Desk research concentrated on analysis of documentation on programme proposals, context and need assessments,

² In parallel to this MTE, the EET provided ongoing feedback and input to the FCO as it produced the triennial review. The FCO triennial review team also had access to this report as it produced its report.

geographic diversity and diversity of targeted beneficiaries compared to resources available to WFD, modalities of interventions and the applied WFD policy framework (i.e. corporate plan 2011-2015, annual business plans, WFD change agenda).

Following the data inventory collection, a sample of 29 WFD programmes in five countries was selected. The programmes selected were intended to cover the following five criterions.³

- (i) Inclusion of both regional and country programmes
- (ii) Covering diverse geography (Balkans, Africa, MENA)
- (iii) Covering various types of programmes implemented (i.e. sister-to-sister party work; cross-party work; parliamentary assistance; CSO support);
- (iv) Varied nature of WFD activities and implementation modalities; and
- (v) WFD strategic process (programmatic priorities and management processes)

Data collection was undertaken through a combination of desk research and fieldwork, following a participatory approach wherever possible. While the desk research concentrated mainly on the analysis of documentation on programmes and context assessment, which was provided by WFD and political party representatives, Fieldwork focused on conducting face-to-face interviews, focus groups and teleconference discussions, including with: WFD staff at head office and at political party offices in London, WFD beneficiaries, WFD field programme managers, stakeholders, WFD implementing partners and external organisations working in political governance at various locations in the field where WFD operates. External organisation interviews were done to assess the degree of complementarity and duplication between WFD's programmes with other international organisations working in political governance space. A combination of quantitative (e.g. number of programmes, number of countries covered, etc.) and qualitative data (e.g. satisfaction of beneficiaries with WFD inputs, level of contextual factors considered) was obtained so as to allow the evaluators to assess all DAC criteria (with the exception of sustainability⁴), in particular the relevance and potential impact of WFD activities.

The data so collected was analysed against reconstructed intervention logic, an evaluation matrix, and a list of evaluative research questions, all developed by the evaluation team in line with the OECD/DAC criterion and proposed as part of the inception report, which were agreed to by both DFID and the WFD.

Key Findings - Impact

Output 1: Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertaking their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.	Partially Meeting Expectations
Output 2: Minimum of 10 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, having strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.	Meeting Expectations
Output 3: Civil society organisations in 5 countries, and women's groups in 3 countries, engaging effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.	Partially Meeting Expectations
Output 4: Enhanced WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepening WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management, communication tools, etc.); reforming WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda.	Partially Meeting Expectations

A. Parliamentary Assistance

Whether one measures impact based on the indicators set down by WFD in its corporate logframe or based on other indicators, it is found that WFD only **partially meets the expectation** with respect to the impact of its parliamentary

³ Details of the specific programmes targeted for evaluation can be found in Annex 2 of the MTE report.

⁴ At the mid-term stage, less emphasis is placed on the assessment of the sustainability. This will, however, be one of the key focuses of the end-term evaluation.

assistance activities (Output 1). Of the five parliamentary assistance programmes evaluated as part of the MTE (out of a total of eleven), there is limited evidence of WFD's support resulting in parliamentarians showing an increase in their capacity to review draft laws, monitor government activity, scrutinize government expenditures or to represent their constituents. It was found that even though WFD programmes were providing knowledge about the core functions – law-making, oversight and representation – they were unable to provide technical advice or support to ensure that such knowledge was put into use through the application of skills to the work of MPs in parliament.

Some MPs, being supported by the WFD in the Western Balkans under their regional programme, when interviewed, did acknowledge the benefit of a mechanism whereby they could meet their counterparts from other Balkan parliaments to exchange ideas and share experiences. However, these MPs were unable to give instances of having used the knowledge they have gained from the regional forum to propose new laws, conduct oversight hearings or otherwise apply their knowledge. Many of the network MPs stated that they were keen to take action, but lacked the technical support and advice to enable them to achieve such an impact.

Another instance of Parliamentary assistance providing limited impact was found in Jordan, where WFD is supporting training of new MPs through an induction course in 2013 and the development of a business plan for a new research unit for the Parliament. The impact from this programme is limited, due, in no small part, to the small number of MPs who participated in the course. The research centre is still a work in progress and no business plan has been finalised by the Parliament at the time of writing this report.

In Kenya, the parliamentary assistance programme has suffered from delays. Evidence suggests that while the programme is generally relevant and coherent with the country's priority objectives, the highly theoretical curriculum used by WFD does not address the complex realities faced by the actors to set up the devolution process at the county level. Also, as with other programmes, the selection of national and academic associates with weak delivery capacity has limited the ability of the programme to deliver as it was originally envisaged.

B. Political Party Support

We believe that the WFDs political party support is **meeting expectations (Output 2)**. The UK parties have gained a position of trust with their sister parties through establishment of long-term relationships and delivery of demand-driven programming that goes beyond workshops and seminars to the provision of technical advice on policy development (LibDems-Africa), internal organisation (Conservatives-Bosnia), empowerment of youth (Labour-Serbia) and women (Conservatives-Bosnia) and campaign communication (Conservatives-Africa).

The parties all have some form of context analysis upon which they base their projects; however, the quality of the analyses is varied and focus almost exclusively on the sister parties (not the broader political system). Given that the parties have not received any training on this issue, any capacity to conduct these is most likely based on their staff's political acumen. In almost all projects observed, the UK's parties are attuned to and regularly monitor the needs of their sister parties to ensure they are adapting their support to their needs.

The UK's parties are using forms of monitoring and evaluation that have resulted in adjustments to their support with respective sister parties; however, the methods can be improved (they are less formal, not consistently used or not consistently recorded). Where the parties have started to use more formal methods and records are more complete, one can see that the work of the parties is also more impactful.

In addition to organised activities with sister parties, the UK's parties have established and maintain strong networks, both bilateral and multi-lateral, in which the sister parties receive knowledge, exchange experiences and can seek peer-to-peer support. The political networking conducted by the UK's parties is an essential component to the impact they are having on their sister parties.

However, a key measure of success for WFD's support to political parties is if such support has an impact beyond the specific parties supported - an impact that extends to the entire political system within a country⁵. The evidence of whether or not this special relationship between UK parties and their sister parties is having an extended impact is less clear. There are recent studies that have pointed to the impact of one party adopting a policy-oriented approach to campaigning having a longer-term and infectious role in changing an entire political system⁶. Thus, work to build the capacity of one party and to change its approach to politics may have a longer-term impact on the entire political system.

C. Work with the Civil Society

⁵ It is important to note that the corporate logframe does not reflect the need for the parties to work at the level of the political system, but it can be said that such engagement is key to the broader development of democratic governance in a country.

⁶ Herbert Kitschelt, et.al., *Research and Dialogue on Programmatic Parties and Party Systems*, International IDEA, 2012, Stockholm

Of the five parliamentary assistance programmes evaluated as part of the MTE, three had components that related directly to building the capacity of civil society (Kenya, Jordan and the MENA Women's Leadership Programme). From the evidence generated, it was found that WFD only **partially meets expectations (Output 3)** with regards to building the capacities of the civil society to effectively engage with politicians and parliaments. The evaluation team failed to find any evidence that WFDs work with CSOs has resulted in changes to legislation within a parliament or that there has been regular engagement between the supported CSOs and parliamentarians.

The reasons for limited impact include poor project formulation that results in the selection of civil society partners that may be incapable of absorbing the capacity development being offered; a lack of mapping of what others are doing in the same field, thus diluting the impact of their own efforts; finally, it also may be a result of – in some cases – absence of national field staff that is able to build trust with national actors through daily contact and, in turn, the provision of timely technical assistance in support of such actors. An example of this less than perfect project formulation can be found in Jordan, where WFD is supporting, through a national CSO, the development of youth leaders to build their capacity and to eventually support them in engaging the Parliament of Jordan to advocate with regard to youth issues. The national partner has established a group of 32 youth leaders to build their skills and to prepare them to engage with the parliamentarians. However, the programme is replicating a lot of what is already being done in Jordan by some of the other, larger actors. The NDI office in Jordan, for example, has been implementing a very similar programme since 2010, but on an exponentially bigger scale (4,500 participants per year). Given this, the added value of WFD's programme is pretty minimal at best.

Key Findings – Strategy

WFD has undergone a period of strategic renewal over the past years (i.e. adding cross-party and parliamentary assistance to its portfolio; setting new corporate targets and quality standards). This was done in an attempt to bridge the divide between the work done by the UK's political parties and by WFD's parliamentary assistance team. However, there are indications that the rapid ascent of democracy promotion has not yet been properly internalized by WFD. The report finds some key issues and challenges facing WFD's strategic function which potentially jeopardises the achievement of maximum possible impact that WFD's programmes can provide.

There seems to be a lack of clarity over the concept and operationalization of what democracy development really means for WFD's strategy. This is particularly true at the decision-making level. Interviews conducted with several Governors revealed a wide range of different perceptions. The Board should be responsible for establishing WFD's overall strategic direction within the policy and performance framework; however, there is a general recognition among Governors that the Board is still overly focused on operational matters. As a result, issues such as how to promote a shift from considering democracy as being a "self-standing sector" to democracy being seen as a "cross-cutting issue" (which, in turn, would result in the joint political parties-parliamentary programmes) have not been considered by the Board.

Secondly, there is a lack of clear and consistent guidelines for supporting political parties, parliaments and civil society in a coherent manner integrating the two wings of political party and parliamentary assistance. Whilst there is an absence of organisation-wide consensus on how to address the key WFD objectives, the UK's political parties seem to have a clearer vision of their objectives and methods of capacity support. Each of the parties has developed its own strategies and, collectively, the political parties have contributed to the PPA component of WFD's corporate strategy, but more is required if the work of the Foundation is to become integrated. If WFD is to achieve better results and have a greater impact on democratic governance in the countries and regions within which it works, the integration of its work with parliaments, civil society and parties must go deeper and result in a unified operational strategy and a new culture. This level of engagement has not yet been achieved by WFD. For example, it was found that WFD staff and political party officers tend to work in 'silos' and that neither of them expects to gain maximum leverage from the output of the other wing. This was noted in WFD's work in the Western Balkans, where the parliamentary programme was providing support to at least one MP who was also receiving support from one of the political parties, yet there was no common understanding of how the work of both wings of WFD could be combined to increase the capacity and, in turn, the effectiveness, of elected officials receiving such support.

The process by which WFD selects locations and thematic proposals is a major opportunity to specify the overall intervention strategy of the Foundation. However, evidence collected suggests that there was generally limited reflection and dialogue at both the strategic and operational levels of the organisation. This has had a negative impact on the overall quality of programming (e.g. missed opportunities to support relevant dynamics and actors). For instance, there are examples in the past of where WFD has been able to deliver sound programming that has included

both parliamentary and political party assistance (e.g. Macedonia), but this has generally come about as a result of a specific request from a donor and was not due to an identified opportunity from within WFD.

Another key finding of the MTE was the Inconsistent use of long-term support and beneficiary ownership across WFD. It was observed that the political party projects were, in many cases, able to forge long-term relationships with their sister parties in the Balkans (i.e. Conservative and Labour Party) and in Africa (Liberal Democrats and Smaller Parties) with a clear focus, generally operated within the context of ongoing party-to-party relationships. However by contrast, the parliamentary programmes' relationships with partners and the use of expertise appear to have been more "off-the-shelf" than adapted to the beneficiaries' needs. Evidence gathered demonstrated that most of the evaluated parliamentary programmes were more oriented towards technical aid delivery than based on a participatory approach. Although most of programmes were re-adjusted at the mid-term period, there is little evidence that those adjustments are based on relevant needs and issues of ownership.

WFD has not yet created a strategy for coordination with UK and non-UK stakeholders. As a consequence, WFD's programmes, particularly in the field of parliamentary development, are mostly run in parallel with the activities of other agencies at regional and country levels. Such a mapping of the main actors intervening in the field of political governance could be achieved with limited effort. According to feedback received, WFD has only limited and, in some cases non-existent, operational relations with UK embassies and DFID in the countries they operate. For example, with regard to collaboration with UK representatives in the field, WFD in the Western Balkans has no interaction with the UK embassy in Serbia, which is directly implementing a parliamentary programme with the Serbian National Assembly. In Kenya, WFD has no explicit collaboration with DFID which has a strong parliamentary programme and no interaction with the High Commission. WFD has a massive advantage over many of the other political governance implementers, in that it brings a wide range of competencies both in the parliamentary as well as political party strengthening under one roof and the WFD has the opportunity to converge both the wings to provide complementary assistance, working together in a country context and deliver a real, long lasting and game changing impact to the beneficiary democracies. However, the key strategic challenges highlighted above tend to dilute the impact of WFD's programmes and prevent it from creating a niche of its own.

Key Challenges to Effective Programme Management

The gap in strategic positioning, as noted above, creates challenges for the management of WFD programmes. Most of these derive from the current institutional set-up that defines separate roles and competences of each WFD wing, resulting in different views and priorities between and among the political party and parliamentary wings. Some of the key challenges for management of the WFD programmes are:

- **Lack of a unified management structure** that result in a disconnection between the staff of the UK's political parties and WFD's parliamentary programme staff; and results in the use of non-consistent implementation methods. This was particularly so in the Western Balkans, where the political parties have had a long-term presence, and now the parliamentary wing also has a presence there, yet there is no evidence that both wings were engaged in discussions with regard to how their respective work could lead to synergies.
- **Overall intervention logic is not coherent** with a well-targeted and strong democracy focus encompassing the links between parliament and political party programmes, thus resulting in a lack of integrated programmes. Since 2012 and up until the mid-term evaluation, a portfolio of 170 programmes in 42 countries has been approved and implemented by WFD. Notwithstanding the fact that many of the political party programmes are a series of smaller interventions in progressively engaging sister parties, this approach creates challenges with regard to WFD's capacity for and quality of programme/project cycle management as well as coherence, complementarity and synergy between those projects.
- **Intelligence gathering and diagnostics is limited.** There appears to be no formal institutional mechanism for sharing information. The insufficiency of detailed analytical information may reflect weaknesses in information gathering and interpretation. There appears to be no institutionalised mechanism for information diagnosis and analysis within the Foundation's Headquarters, with the result that there is a strong reliance on information from field programme managers and political party officers. For example, as regards collaboration with external stakeholders, the WFD Kenya programme manager participates in donor working group meetings, but the WFD programme does not avoid duplication and does not complement the work of the main implementers in the field, such as UNDP and SUNY (USAID).
- **The 'institutional memory' is dispersed**, with no apparent formal mechanism for documenting and sharing experiences and lessons across sectors and projects or over time. While the Foundation has implemented several

parliamentary and political party programmes and projects, it has failed to capitalise on these experiences. There is a lack of information available within WFD on the outcome and impact of programmes. At the mid-term stage, the narrative reports only provide very limited and generic narrative sections on output (i.e. only tracking project progress) and are only minimally addressing the need to assess outputs, outcomes, impact and visibility.

- **WFD's Monitoring and Evaluation unit** does not adequately capture the Foundation's work with political parties, though since the start of the MTE, there has been progress in establishing a more systematic approach to M&E for the parties⁷. In addition, M&E appears to be mainly treated as a mechanical task focused on outputs rather than outcomes. There is a lack of an M&E culture that ensures M&E being integrated into the programming approach to its work and allowing the Foundation to move from "ticking boxes" to actually using the feedback to adapt its work to be more effective.

Recommendations

As part of the report, we have proposed a set of recommendations for the WFD, based on the above mentioned key findings. Some of the key recommendations are presented below:

A. Short Term (Within 3 months)

1. WFD needs to ensure a consistent and adequate approach to ensuring a thorough political context analysis before it works in any given country.
2. Where a decision is made to provide support in a country or region, WFD must conduct a thorough and consistent needs assessment and mapping of current work in this field, to ensure the Foundation can identify entry points for support and outputs that do not conflict or create redundancies with other implementers' work.
3. Trust between WFD, and its partners is critical to ensuring a significant transfer of knowledge and, in turn, results that achieve outputs and outcomes.
4. Parties need to design their programmes so as to enable the measurement of the long term impact of their programmes. This may include developing indicators that monitor and capture the long-term, qualitative nature of party assistance.
5. WFD needs to become better at sharing information and coordinating its work with other donors and implementers in the field.

B. Medium Term (4 months – 1 year)

1. In order to ensure that WFD is able to maximise the cost-effectiveness and value for the funds it receives, it needs to develop one corporate strategy with regard to how and with whom it provides assistance. Without one overall strategy to the work of WFD combining parliamentary and political party assistance, all other aspects of its work are isolated, resulting in a reduced impact due to an insufficient realization of synergies.
2. WFD needs to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the Board of Governors, the executive management and the parliamentary and political wings of the Foundation within the organisation, so as to be able to better define its strategy and to streamline decision making.
3. WFD needs to establish formal venue/processes where information and knowledge can be shared amongst PA and PPA staff to allow a space for the senior staff of both wings to exchange information, coordinate work and to address operational issues between the two wings.
4. WFD will be able to provide a more in-depth and substantial support if it were to reduce the breadth of its work, both globally and within any given programme, instead providing a focused, pin-point support to the areas it is strongest in
5. WFD must adopt new and results-oriented methods of capacity development if it is to achieve its outputs and outcome with regard to parliamentary assistance. WFDs parliamentary assistance work is still too heavily relying on short-term, event-based activities that are delivering knowledge in a static manner. Without practical, peer-to-peer support, the results of these activities will only have a limited impact.
6. Regional programming must be coupled with national interventions to support partners in applying the knowledge they have gained through regional activities. Such programmes may work initially to create space for dialogue and

⁷ There is some evidence of the political parties attempting to systematize M&E within the party assistance wing of WFD as far back as 2009, with mixed results. All parties are doing some form of monitoring of their work, some using less formal methods, but there is no consistent approach to M&E as yet.

an exchange of perspectives amongst MPs and party officials, but must eventually be linked to and followed up with country-based activities that ensure substantial support for those same actors when they return to their respective countries and want to apply what they have learned regionally.

7. WFD political party assistance must focus on the provision of technical advice. There is evidence that the use of timely and high quality technical advisers has a significant impact on sister parties and all UK parties should be designing all their programmes and projects to ensure this expertise and advice is at the centre of their work.
8. The monitoring of WFD's programmes needs to be more coherent and a culture of M&E still needs to be established in the Foundation. While there are clear indications that the systems that have been put in place internally to monitor the implementation of the Foundation's programmes and projects are not being consistently applied.
9. Results from monitoring by WFD need to be better reflected in how future programming is implemented. Currently, even where WFD is capturing feedback from those that participate in activities, the use of that feedback is inconsistent.

C. Long Term (More than 1 year)

1. To maximise the impact and the value of the work of WFD, the Foundation must find strategic entry points where the work with parliaments and political parties intersects to provide real results. All stakeholders within WFD must consider their work in light of the need to synergize their efforts and to find entry points in parliaments and political governance that can allow for greater value and impact, not only on the respective parts of the system, but on the overall political system.
2. In formulating a parliamentary assistance programme, WFD must pay greater attention to ensuring ownership and commitment by national partners and beneficiaries. This can be achieved by maintaining regular communication between WFD and its partners and would be greatly facilitated by field staff that has the capacity and authority to manage such relationships.
3. In future programmes, the primary output for the work of the political parties must be focused on political system reform and not just individual party reforms. Where the parties use the right methodology they can and should be pursuing reforms to an entire political system and not just one or more parties within that system. This can be achieved only where the output to which they are being measured reflects this new paradigm.
4. WFD must decentralize its operations if it is to achieve better impact in its work with parliaments and political parties. The key to successful parliamentary development is having capable and capacitated field staff that are able to work daily with national partners and have access to technical expertise on a short and medium-term basis to deliver strategic and substantial interventions through a variety of capacity building tools (e.g. workshops, toolkits; mentoring; attachments; coaching). WFD must move towards this model by ensuring field staff have the authority to manage the implementation of programmes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Context and Purpose of the Mid-term Evaluation

In June 2013, the Department for International Development (DFID) commissioned IPE Global Private Limited and Bureau for Institutional Reform and Democracy GmbH (BiRD) to undertake, over 3 years, an Impact Evaluation (IE) of its multi-year support to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), co-financed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). The main objective of this evaluation is to assess “WFD’s effectiveness in contributing towards its intended outcome of making the parliaments and political parties it works with more effective, accountable and representative”. The expected outcome is to “strengthen democracy, stability and good governance and improve citizen engagement, in the emerging/developing democracies and post-conflict countries and fragile states” in which WFD works. The mid-term evaluation’s (MTE) objectives were to:

- Evaluate, at the midway point, the progress of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) in achieving the results and outcomes envisaged in the Business Plan submitted and approved in 2012; and
- Reflect upon key questions relevant to the functions and form of the WFD as a support to the required triennial review of NDPBs to be conducted by FCO⁸

Specifically, the objective of this MTE is to provide an independent assessment of the impact, relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and results of WFD’s DFID- and FCO-funded activities at regional and country-specific levels. In line with the Terms of Reference (ToR) for both the overall impact evaluation and for the MTE, the focus of the MTE is, firstly, on accountability in terms of assessing whether WFD’s programme has been producing the intended results (and to what extent), and, secondly, on learning, in terms of providing lessons learned and recommendations for WFD’s future implementation. The Terms of Reference (ToR) for the MTE, as discussed and finalised with DFID and FCO, are attached in Annex 1.

1.2. Programme Context

1.2.1. The Challenge of Parliamentary and Political Party Assistance

Parliamentary and political party assistance is a growing, yet not fully formulated, area of international development. Notwithstanding the international work of the German Stiftungen (political party foundations) dating back to the 1970s, direct support to political institutions – parliaments and political parties – as a means of translating democratic transitions into democratic systems has only been a focus of international development assistance since the 1990s.

There is a growing consensus on the importance of parliamentary and political party support to strengthen democracy⁹. The involvement of parliaments and Democratic Party systems in fragile countries is seen as one vehicle for the advancement of a multi-party system of democracy, participatory and democratic decision-making and subsequently sustainable democratic development. Thus, the rationale for WFD’s international parliamentary and political party engagement in fragile states is complex, as it should reflect on the complexity of the political and institutional environment in which multiple forms of support may be required at any given point in time, and where the coherence between these forms of support can have a critical impact on the effectiveness of any one of them.

1.2.2. WFD Background

WFD was established in the early 1990s as a response to the growing demand for direct support to nascent political parties in Central and Eastern Europe as those countries transitioned from communist systems. Originally WFD focused on assistance to political parties in which political parties in the UK supported like-minded parties in other countries as a means of building their capacity through bilateral activities, and on support to civil society through a variety of projects. Since 2004, WFD, led by the political parties, has provided cross-party assistance as a means of building the capacity of a number of parties in a given country. In 2005, in addition to the bilateral party support and work with CSOs, WFD commenced with institutional support to parliaments.

This unique structure could be a comparative advantage for WFD, if properly utilized; however, recent evaluations of WFD have highlighted disconnect between the two branches of the organization, thus limiting the ability of WFD to

⁸ In parallel to this MTE, the EET provided ongoing feedback and input to the FCO as it produced the triennial review. The FCO triennial review team also had access to this report as it produced its report.

⁹ For example, see: Fish, S., *The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey* (2009) Cambridge University Press (New York)

maximize its impact. The current multi-year programme is meant to address this disconnect to allow for greater impact of WFD's work. With the current programme, there has been an attempt to rationalize the number of countries in which WFD operates, with the institutional component focusing on 12 countries or regional programmes¹⁰. The political parties, however, are currently working in many more countries, but have highlighted eleven of these in the corporate logframe for the programme that is the subject of this evaluation.

Past evaluations¹¹ of WFD show some consistency in their observations and recommendations. For example, WFD has been repeatedly encouraged to maximise its potential and trust with partners to deliver programmes that can achieve significant results. Specifically, the lack of coordination between the UK's political parties and the parliamentary assistance wing of WFD has been consistently noted in various evaluations as a problem, suggesting that WFD operates as two separate organisations. Various previous evaluations have noted that there is a lack of communication or cooperation between WFD programme teams and the international wings of the UK's political parties, who tend to view themselves as independent entities accountable only to the Board. The most recent of those evaluations, the review of *The Westminster Consortium* (2013), of which WFD was a lead organisation, noted that there is a need for: (i) context-based projects; (ii) a results-based corporate culture; (iii) enhanced monitoring and evaluation; (iv) less of a top-down management approach; and (v) more practical capacity building tools.

The Westminster Consortium

WFD established The Westminster Consortium (TWC) with other UK-based international democratic governance implementers, including partners that worked in the fields of media, civil society and budget auditing. TWC worked in six countries in three regions and attempted to provide capacity development to the national parliaments in those countries and to partners that work with the parliaments, such as key CSOs and journalists. Parallels can be drawn between WFD's work through TWC and its corporate programme work with parliaments and civil society, as both were multi-year programmes in support of parliaments and civil society, implemented in a number of regions and countries.

Therefore, the recent final evaluation of TWC, completed in September 2013, is telling as to the methods by which the TWC operated and its level of effectiveness and impact. That report noted some key factors that made the TWC relatively successful, including:

- The delivery of programmes through local programme managers;
- Effective use of partner skills to address multiple factors that impact on parliament and the democratic system as a whole;
- Locating programmes within parliaments;
- Using training and short-term events in coordination with medium-term capacity support;
- Specific and detailed capacity support in the development of legislation, the establishment of standing committees and parliamentary strategic plans;
- Establishment of long-term and sustainable training facilities within a number of parliaments; and
- The strategic use of coaching and mentoring to deliver concrete results, such as shadow reports, and legislation.

However, the final report also noted some challenges with the TWC programme:

- Lack of context analysis and context-specific programme formulation at the commencement of the programme;
- The need for a new corporate culture that recognised the benefits of results-based management and learning;
- Limitations on the formal structure of M&E;
- An overreliance on top-down management from the UK and limited space for decisions to be made in the field; and
- Too much of a focus on training and the missed opportunities for practical changes in institutional performance.

In evaluating the WFD's corporate programme, the EET has noted that many of the same challenges noted above were also observed, particularly with regard to the Foundation's work with parliaments, and that this had an impact on the overall ability of WFD to achieve results. Looking at the factors above that made the TWC successful, many of those same factors are missing from the corporate programme. Therefore, WFD has a recent model that it could draw upon to achieve better results in its work with parliaments and this MTE confirms many of the recommendations and observations noted in the TWC final report.

In 2012, WFD developed its strategic parliamentary programmes for 2012-15. These included seven country programmes and four regional programmes. Whilst the political parties do not limit their activities to a set number of countries or projects, they have identified several longer-term programmes as well. WFD also focused on reform of the organisation to support improved delivery. This included plans for more strategic, coordinated, multi-year programming, in fewer countries, supported by more rigorous monitoring and evaluation. To support this objective,

¹⁰ WFD does provide support to political institutions in other countries through extra funding received from other sources.

¹¹ For example: *Review of Westminster Foundation for Democracy*; River Path Associates (2005); London, UK; *Review of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy*; Global Partners and Associates (2010); London, UK; and *Final Evaluation of the Westminster Consortium*; Delta Partnership (2013); London, UK

FCO and DFID agreed, for the first time, to a three-year funding framework, accompanied by a series of independent evaluations to monitor progress.

The UK government is providing the Westminster Foundation for Democracy a grant of £16.5 million over 3 years between 2012 and 2015 consisting of an accountable grant of £6 million from DFID and a grant-in-aid of £3.5 million per annum from FCO.

The initial development of the corporate programme has resulted in challenges in its implementation, which will be noted throughout this report. To start, the corporate logframe provides for four key outputs – support to parliaments, political parties, civil society and internal structural changes. It provides broad indicators and outputs for the entire Foundation under the funding arrangements. However, there is a disconnect within the Foundation that starts with the logframe and is reflected in the means by which the programme is being implemented. Support to parliaments and civil society is provided by WFD's parliamentary assistance wing, as much of WFD's support to CSOs is intended to be directly related to its work with parliaments. The Foundation has developed eleven programme logframes to support implementation of the specific parliamentary and CSO country and regional programmes. However, this has resulted in a challenge for the Foundation to connect the work on specific country and regional programmes with the corporate programme. In addition, the corporate logframe separately addresses work with political parties, which is implemented by political party wing of WFD (through the UK political parties). Therefore, the disconnect that started with the original corporate logframe has permeated throughout the Foundations work.

In addition to challenges with the logframe, it is worth noting that the logframe and the other entry documents for the corporate programme were not approved by DFID and FCO until the second half of 2012 – a full six months into the first year of the three year programme. This has resulted in delays in implementation that are still being noted.

Finally, as part of the Foundation's restructuring, the hiring of two key staff – a Programme Director and an M&E Adviser – was approved, but the staff was not hired until early 2013. Once hired, this staff has started to work with Foundation staff to address the challenges with the original logframes (corporate and programme), a process that is still ongoing.

1.3. Annual Review 2012-13

As part of this evaluation process, a 2013 Annual Review was produced. The report was broadly positive; in the sense that WFD had achieved the very limited goals it had set itself for year one of its corporate programme. However, the report was clear about the scale and range of significant challenges WFD needed to address in delivering on its objectives¹².

1.4. Inception Report

An inception report presenting the evaluation methodology was submitted to DFID, FCO and WFD in November 2013 and, after revisions based on feedback from WFD, approved in December 2013. The Inception Report produced by the EET was an elaboration of the methodology and timeframes to conduct the planned evaluations, including this MTE, and including a reconstruction of the intervention logic. Given delays in contracting the EET, the inception phase actually occurred after the 2013 Annual Review. After revisions based on feedback from WFD and DFID, the inception report (including the reconstructed intervention logic and the evaluation matrix, among others) was approved by DFID in December 2013.

As noted above, the Inception Report stated that the current corporate logframe was inadequate to enable the EET to measure the impact of WFD's work. In addition, it was determined by the EET that to do a complete mid-term evaluation, the team had to go beyond the content of the logframe and to consider the broader impact of the work of WFD. As a result, the EET was required to provide an evaluation matrix that included further details as to how it assesses the intervention logic of WFD and the eleven focus areas and related questions that must be answered to determine if the Foundation was achieving the expected results.

¹² See the recommendations of the 2013 Annual Review in Annex 3

Chapter 2: Applied Methodology

This chapter provides a summary of the methodology applied to this evaluation, and focuses on the MTE's scope, evaluation questions, reconstruction of the intervention logic reconstruction, evaluation design, sampling frame and the analytical framework.

2.1. Evaluation Plan

The overall evaluation of the Westminster Foundation was divided into six phases, each of which consists of reviews and analysis of different aspects of WFD functioning. These different phases culminate into a final evaluation, scheduled in the first and second quarters of 2015. The Mid-term Evaluation, as the name suggests, is the mid-point of the evaluation exercise, and looks to assess the implementation of various programmes, selected based on discussions with WFD and DFID.



2.1.1. Scope and Focus of the Mid-term Evaluation

The MTE was carried out between December 2013 and March 2014. The evaluation began in December with a desk review followed by field visits by the EET members to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia (January 20-24), London (January 27-31), South Africa (January 27-31), Kenya (February 3-7), Jordan (February, 3-7) and London (February 10-13). Prior to the MTE, a DFID annual review and an inception report were drafted including an evaluation plan and an evaluation matrix (Annex 4) and methodology.

2.1.2. Reconstructed Intervention Logic and Evaluation Questions

As part of the inception report preparation and to identify a methodology to be followed for evaluation of the WFD, the team reconstructed the intervention logic and developed a methodological framework for the evaluation.

One of the key observations that came through while reconstructing the Intervention Logic was that the intervention logic for WFD's engagement and support is currently not adequate. To overcome this, the EET prepared a reconstruction of WFD's intervention logic with the purpose of establishing an instrument for linking WFD's strategy, programme interventions, outputs and outcomes as highlighted in the 2012-2015 corporate logframe. Annex 4 contains the revised intervention logic accepted by WFD during the inception phase.

Additionally, WFD and the EET recognise the need to revise the original corporate logframe, which should include indicators that will better reflect WFD's work. Although WFD drafted a revised logframe in February 2014, at the time of the writing of this report it had not been approved by DFID; therefore, the EET assessed the performance of WFD at the mid-term point in accordance with the original corporate logframe agreed between WFD and DFID in 2012.

However, additional indicators not contained in the corporate logframe are required for the EET to ensure it is able to measure the impact of WFD's work. To this end, the team formulated a total of eleven focus areas¹³, based on WFD's activities, and established illustrative indicators that can be used to evaluate the key areas of WFD's work. Of the identified areas, nine areas were developed in line with the four outputs of WFD's programme (see annex 4) and two additional and transversal areas were developed to inform the overall programme impact (i.e. beneficiaries' transfer of knowledge into practice and ownership; building political and social understanding between actual and future leaders within civil society to enhance the democratic dynamic). These eleven focus areas have been applied for the assessment of WFD's programme and are reflected in the structuring of the evaluation matrix (Annex 5).

An evaluation matrix was developed in line with the OECD/DAC criterion, detailing evaluation questions and indicators to guide the data collection exercise (Annex 5). The key MTE research questions were developed in line with the evaluation matrix (annex 5), the terms of reference (Annex 1) and the statistical data findings described in the Inception Report.

¹³ See Annex 5 for a detailed list of the focus areas and questions that form the basis of this evaluation

Output 1:	Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertake their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.
Output 2:	Minimum of 10 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, have strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.
Output 3:	Civil society organisations in 5 countries, and women's groups in 3 countries, engage effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.
Output 4:	Enhanced WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepened WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management tools etc.); reformed WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda (December 2011).

2.1.3. Evaluation Design

The Evaluation followed a standard Qualitative Evaluation design, applied to a sample of WFD programmes designed and developed in 2012 and 2013. The evaluation team assessed various programmes being undertaken in 5 of WFDs target countries against the key goals and outputs set out by the WFD in their corporate plan. This included programmes from both the Parliamentary as well as the Political Party wings. EET started with an extensive and statistical desk study and document review of select WFD programmes and undertook an initial assessment of progress against the four key WFD outputs (goals). Desk research concentrated on analysis of documentation on programme proposals, context and need assessments, geographic diversity and diversity of targeted beneficiaries compared to resources available to WFD, modalities of interventions and the applied WFD policy framework (i.e. corporate plan 2011-2015, annual business plans, WFD change agenda).

Since 2012, 170 programmes and projects working directly in 41 countries (and 102 countries within the regional programmes) were approved.

- **Where?** The majority of programmes were implemented in the Balkans, Africa and MENA.
- **What activities?** Political party assistance support is focused on elections, development of internal party structures, policy development and the benefits of inter-party networking. Parliamentary assistance addresses the representativeness of MPs, the internal capacity of the legislature through support to MPs and parliamentary staff and the engagement of civil society. Eighty percent of all WFD programmes (i.e. – both parliamentary and political party assistance) focus on democratic participation and the inclusion of women and youth
- **Modus Operandi?** WFD's work is mainly based on trainings, workshops, exchanges of experiences and peer review. Context analysis, stakeholder analysis, monitoring and evaluation of all support equate to less than 10% of the total of WFDs entire activities.
- **With Whom?** All political parties exclusively work with their sister parties, both bilaterally and through party networks. The parliamentary assistance wing has mainly addressed the representativeness of MPs, the internal capacity of the legislature through support to MPs and parliamentary staff and the engagement of civil society (the explicit purpose of eight of the eleven programmes is focused on exchanges of experiences and parliamentary partnerships). Except for Pakistan and DRC, such programmes are not directly embedded in the parliaments.
- No joint parliament and political party initiatives in 2012-2013 (no cross-party multi-party political development interventions).

Source: Inception report

2.1.4. Sampling frame

Following the data inventory collection, a sample of 29 WFD programmes in five countries was selected. The programmes selected were intended to cover the following five criterions.¹⁴

- (vi) Inclusion of both regional and country programmes
- (vii) Covering diverse geography (Balkans, Africa, MENA)
- (viii) Covering various types of programmes implemented (i.e. sister-to-sister party work; cross-party work; parliamentary assistance; CSO support);
- (ix) Varied nature of WFD activities and implementation modalities; and
- (x) WFD strategic process (programmatic priorities and management processes).

¹⁴ Details of the specific programmes targeted for evaluation can be found in Annex 2.

2.1.5. Data Collection and Research Methodology

The evaluation team applied a quantitative methodology to undertake this evaluation. Data collection was undertaken through a combination of desk research and fieldwork. Desk research concentrated on the analysis of documentation on programmes and context assessment, which was provided by WFD and political party representatives. Fieldwork focused on conducting semi-structured interviews and – in some cases - focus group discussions with WFD stakeholders and staff (HQ/field), WFD partners, WFD beneficiaries, key external donors /stakeholders working in parliamentary strengthening, political party support and civil society assistance.

Detailed interview guidelines and a broad structure of the interviews were developed, in line with the evaluative questions in the evaluation matrix, so as to maintain consistency in data collected across actors and across programmes. Even though the evaluation team had originally planned to also undertake a survey of various stakeholders, in addition to the ones interviewed, a decision was made to not conduct such surveys mid-way through the evaluation. A number of factors resulted in this decision being taken, including the wide variety of programme activities in specific locations implemented at national and regional levels, the different duration of the programmes, the variety of topics addressed through WFD's activities, various modalities of interventions and the typology of targeted beneficiaries. All these factors made it difficult to prepare standardised questionnaires which would address all the stakeholders.

In order to fully understand the dynamics of WFD policy development, it was important to consider the variety of programme activities applied and the various economic, political and socio-cultural contexts for determining the way in which WFD's interventions are conceived, planned and implemented. For instance, a standardised questionnaire could not have captured the appropriateness and the effectiveness the WFD programmes' activities contributing to the "key representative role of parliamentarians" in the Balkans and in the MENA region without consideration of the specific context and the specific issues faced by its beneficiaries. In a similar manner, it would have been difficult to assess the relevance of the variety of political party activities undertaken by the UK's parties without assessing the context where those political parties are evolving.

The difficulty in standardising the questionnaire, combined with the fact that the evaluation team made sure to interview representatives of most of the stakeholder groups, led to the conclusion that the EET was able to obtain a holistic picture of the WFD programmes and their implementation through other means and the non-conduct of the planned survey has not had a substantial effect on the validity of the findings.

The evaluation of political governance programmes lends itself to a more qualitative approach. This is so because of the nature of the work – improved skills amongst political actors, increased public participation, etc. – is better measured through quality rather than quantity. This included, wherever feasible, to interview actors from a 360° approach, including WFD staff, national partners, beneficiaries of WFD's support and external implementers in the same field. The result is a report that reflects more deeply the quality of the work of WFD and less about the quantity of the work delivered. It also means that there may be fewer beneficiaries engaged, but the information gained from those interviewed is more in-depth.

Following the data collection, initial analysis of the documentation as well as information gained through Interviews was undertaken and findings were triangulated and validated before doing the MTE final extensive analysis. Data was triangulated using source and methods triangulation approaches. Source triangulation compared data from different types of stakeholders (Annex 7) and method triangulation compared information collected by different methods such as interviews, document reviews (Annexes 6 and 7).

2.1.6. Analytical Framework

The evaluation used a contribution analysis concept in analysing the data obtained (i.e. to what extent is the theory of change and the logic expressed in the corporate framework and programme logical frameworks holding true and to what extent have external factors influenced the programme results?). A combination of quantitative (e.g. number of programmes, number of countries covered, etc.) and qualitative data (e.g. satisfaction of beneficiaries with WFD inputs, level of contextual factors considered) were obtained using data collection described in 2.1.4 allowing evaluators to assess all DAC criteria (with the exception of sustainability¹⁵), in particular the impact of the activities.

Finally, all data from observations, interviews and desks studies were analysed by the EET in line with the evaluation matrix, where the main evaluation questions were assessed using pre-defined quantitative and qualitative indicators.

¹⁵ At the mid-term stage, less emphasis is placed on the assessment of the sustainability, given that 14 months remain for implementation.

Given the challenges in measuring the contribution of WFD's programmes to the expected outcome, the MTE addresses accountability as well as learning objectives, with regard to their use by parliaments, political parties and civil society organisations (CSOs), as a channel of WFD aid delivery through a programmatic approach. Therefore, the EET has applied an approach that seeks to analyse the extent to which and the reasons why programme objectives have been reached and determining the factors behind the successes and failures observed (impact/sustainability).

2.1.7. Approach to quality assurance and research

The EET endeavoured to use a participatory approach wherever possible. This was accomplished by face-to-face interviews, focus groups and teleconference discussions, including: WFD staff at head office and at political party offices in London, WFD beneficiaries, WFD field programme managers, stakeholders, WFD implementing partners and external organisations working in political governance at various locations in the field where WFD operates. External organisation interviews were done to assess the degree of complementarity and duplication between WFD's programmes with UK and non-UK organisations working in political governance.

Stakeholder identification was conducted in close consultation with WFD staff and party focal points. Stakeholder analysis itself, assessing stakeholders' respective importance and influence to the respective programme, was carried out by the evaluation team, using a table to judge the engagement of respective stakeholders (see Annex 6). Although the EET only focussed on five countries (South Africa, Kenya, Jordan, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia) – each selected in consensus with WFD – these choices were considered sufficiently comprehensive in scope. The team also benefitted from the MENA conference held in London in January 2014, in which a wide range of targeted MENA beneficiaries participated. This regional conference encompassed both parliamentary assistance MENA programmes on policy development and women's leadership and provided the EET with an opportunity to measure the MENA beneficiaries' involvement and to assess the Foundation's parliamentary assistance work. The MTE desk research analysis focussed on the analysis of documents received which were related to implemented programmes, applied policy frameworks (including monitoring & evaluation guidelines), context analyses and financial reports.

2.2. Limitations of the Analysis

Several limitations were encountered in the process of executing the MTE, including:

- Difficulties in obtaining a track record on programme processes compared to the initial programme objectives: The majority of the narrative reports for both parliamentary and political party activities tend to focus on individual activities implemented, rather than on the expected impact of those activities. For instance, in some cases, difficulties in obtaining political party field visit assessments and programme evaluation documentation hindered a retrospective analysis.
- Difficulties in obtaining a comprehensive and reliable framework of WFD approved programmes, which are effectively implemented: The programme sampling revealed that several PPA programmes approved by the Board were cancelled or replaced by others projects.^{16 17}
- Difficulties in obtaining a framework for an integrated approach to WFDs work as compared to the anticipated impact and its uniqueness: Detailed information on the delivery of aid through political parties is generally only available through the respective UK political parties. To date there is no joint activity between the parliamentary and political party wings within this corporate programme¹⁸. This limits the evaluation of the WFD integrated approach anticipated by the corporate plan and annual business plans.
- The degree of beneficiary involvement and the volatility of parliamentary and party beneficiaries (in particular in regional programme networks) limit the institutional memory available on both sides.
- The lack of capitalisation on experience and the lack of consistent communication channels between the parliamentary and party wings limit the institutional memory available to both sides; programme activity information has been collected, but the follow-up is not clear after specific activities have been implemented, thus making it difficult to attribute any changed behaviour. Too often, programme reporting is treated as a stand-alone event and knowledge about the progress of a programme is retained in the memories of political party officers and WFD staff (particularly Programme Managers in-country) rather than being systematically gathered and recorded.

¹⁶The Conservatives cancelled Bosnia Centre Right Inter-Election Party Development" (Code BA13E81C – The Whips Exchange Programmes) Code ZA13A29L originally foreseen by the Labour Party in South Africa was cancelled. The EU Policy Accession Programme originally foreseen by the Liberal Democrats was cancelled.

¹⁷ The cancellation of projects should be seen in a positive light, as it is important to see WFD supporting new opportunities and, where these do not flourish, making the decision to move on.

¹⁸ The EET acknowledges that there are multi-party programmes implemented amongst the UK's parties, but these are beyond the scope of this evaluation.

- The multidimensional nature of WFD's activities addressing various topics which are highly dependent on specific contexts prevented the EET team to use a standardised questionnaire. The detailed interview guideline capturing the evaluative questions presented in the evaluation matrix ensured the consistency in approach between EET members, beneficiaries and WFD members. This interview guideline was accepted by WFD before the EET field mission. In collaboration with WFD, the EET presented and systematically used the interview guidelines for achieving a better understanding of the EET's parameters of work.
- Efforts have been made by WFD to revise parliamentary assistance programme logframes before the MTE, but there are still some gaps in the evidence available. In addition, the corporate and programme logframes only provide a structure for considering performance at the parliamentary assistance level. Although the M&E Adviser has made an effort in gathering data and evidence, there is not yet a standard M&E culture within WFD, making it difficult to capture the potential impact of its work, rather than just its outputs.
- There were difficulties in assessing some of the DAC criteria in the MTE. This was particularly the case with regard to the efficiency/value for money. While the EET could collect evidence pertaining to WFD's prevailing management systems and financial procedures, it proved much more problematic to assess the overall efficiency of the Foundation's work with the selected parliaments, CSOs and political parties, taking into account the huge diversity of country contexts and the roles played by those actors (with varying levels of capacity). The scope and duration of the MTE field missions did not provide an opportunity for in-depth work on this matter.

Chapter 3: Impact

Evaluation Question: “The extent to which the WFD programme interventions’ objectives made a difference to the beneficiaries” (Outputs 1, 2 and 3)?

A critical aspect of this mid-term evaluation is to determine if the funding provided to WFD has resulted in an impact on those that have received support from the Foundation. In other words and as was noted in the Inception Report, what is the extent to which the WFD programme interventions’ objectives made a difference to the beneficiaries? Can evidence be gathered of parliaments and political parties being more effective, accountable and representative? This is measured not only by determining if milestones and indicators are achieved, but by looking at the structural and political changes to the parliaments and parties that are receiving support from WFD to determine if there is qualitative (and, to a lesser extent, quantitative) evidence of change.

At the mid-term stage, less emphasis is placed on the assessment of the sustainability, given that 14 months remain for implementation. At present, there is no explicit exit strategy to this open-ended WFD programme. To determine the overall impact of the work of WFD through this programme, the impact of each of the four outputs will be assessed.

3.1. Parliamentary Assistance

Evaluation Indicators	
Contribution to the key representative role of parliamentarians:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of citizen engagement by MPs and parliamentary committees • Development of Regulations/ rules and procedures on policy development consultations between MP, PE staff and CSOs; • Number of questions to ministers or amendments to laws introduced as a direct result of consultations with CSOs by MPs, parliamentary groups or parliamentary committees; • Existence of communication and outreach strategies on gender issues for female parliamentarians to encourage engagement with CSOs and media. 	
Contribution to key legislative role of parliamentarians:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of legislative bills drafted by the executive that are substantively amended by the legislature or a committee 	
Contribution to oversight and financial scrutiny	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examples of parliamentarians conducting effective oversight, financial scrutiny and consulting with citizens and interest groups in developing legislation; and examples of women parliamentarians coordinating and engaging actively in parliaments. • Number of parliamentary services (e.g. Resource centres) supported by WFD that provide impartial and professional parliamentary support to elected representatives. • Effectiveness of key parliamentary committees conducting legislative oversight, financial scrutiny and public hearings. • Percentage of PE’s budget devoted to modernization and reform of parliamentary research capacity 	

Expected	Output/Assessment	Criteria:	Partially Meeting Expectations
Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertaking their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.			

Evaluation questions (EQ)	Conclusions	Evidence
4.1.1 Were the PA programmes’ activities contributing to the key representative role of parliamentarians including female parliamentarians?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No evidence of citizen engagement • Limited evidence of standardised rules consultation • Minimal evidence of laws amended or questions posed as a result of CSO consultations. • No evidence of communication or outreach strategies for women MPs to engage media and civil society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best case is Western Balkans, which has discussed public consultation in workshops, but no support to achieving this goal with committees • Kenya PA Programme may have worked on standardised rules with county assemblies, but no evidence provided • MENA Women’s Leadership Programme may have had one example of legislation being amended – could not be verified • Requests for legislation support in Western Balkans have not been met • No materials or reports to verify any

		outreach or communication strategies for women MPs
4.1.2 Are the PA programme activities contributing to the key legislative role of parliamentarians?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited evidence of legislative initiatives from women MPs No evidence of substantive amendment of legislation No evidence of new laws being introduced as a result of WFD interventions Some evidence that MPs and parliamentary staff received knowledge from WFD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WFD may have supported change of law on domestic violence in Tunisia – but unable to verify if attributable to corporate programme Jordan PA Programme has not focused on legislative reform Kenya PA programme has just achieved the first cycle of trainings. WFD has provided knowledge on key legislation to MPs through MENA Programmes and Balkans Programme
4.1.3 Are the PA programme activities contributing to oversight and financial scrutiny?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No evidence of interventions in the state budget approval process Limited evidence of evidence-based analyses being used in parliament Some evidence that parliamentary research capacity is being addressed Evidence that elected officials and staff have received knowledge on how to be effective at oversight 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Western Balkans has addressed financial oversight through workshop, but no evidence of technical support to concretise the knowledge MENA Policy and Women's Leadership programmes have not delivered evidence-based research that has resulted in action within a parliament Western Balkans – one MP in network has used knowledge to question government in media about European integration funds

Whether one measures impact based on the indicators set down by WFD in its corporate logframe or based on other indicators, it is fair to say that WFD has shown limited impact to date with regard to its parliamentary activities. Of the five parliamentary assistance programmes evaluated as part of the MTE (out of a total of eleven), there is limited evidence of WFD's support resulting in parliamentarians showing an increase in their capacity to review draft laws, monitor government activity, scrutinize government expenditures or to represent their constituents. Looking at each of the five parliamentary programmes, the potential for impact in the future is varied.

- For the **Western Balkans**, the establishment of the network has yielded limited results. MPs interviewed did acknowledge the benefit of a mechanism whereby they could meet their counterparts from other Balkan parliaments to exchange ideas and share experiences. However, there is no evidence that these MPs have used the knowledge they have gained from the regional forum to propose new laws, conduct oversight hearings or otherwise apply their knowledge. This is despite many of the network MPs stating that they were keen to take action, but lacked the technical support and advice to enable them to achieve such an impact.
- In the case of **Jordan**, the work of the programme in support of the Parliament, to date has focused on training new MPs through an induction course in 2013 and the development of a business plan for a new research unit for the Parliament. The impact from that course is limited, due, in no small part, to the small number of MPs who participated in the course. The research centre is still a work in progress and no business plan has been finalised by the Parliament at the time of writing this report.
- In **Kenya**, the parliamentary assistance programme has suffered from delays. Evidence suggests that while the programme is generally relevant and coherent with the country's priority objectives, the highly theoretical curriculum used by WFD does not address the complex realities faced by the actors to set up the devolution process at the county level. Also, as with other programmes, the selection of national and academic associates with weak delivery capacity (i.e. CPST; Clarion) has limited the ability of the programme to deliver as it was originally envisaged because the chosen associates have little field experience with county assembly elected members, and civil society organisations are still nascent, according to external stakeholders. The programme was re-designed in 2013 with a focus on fewer county assemblies, and training of staff and MPs in the ten counties commenced in January 2014.

Two regional programmes in the **MENA Region** were also evaluated:

- The **Policy Development Programme** was observed as not having sufficient impact through its activities. This can be attributed to the fact that WFD attempted to engage national MPs and national think tanks at the regional level without any specific context analysis, any identification of common issues and any corresponding national follow up. Secondly, it is not clear if the beneficiaries are in fact the right parties to engage in order to promote a more

evidence-based approach to research in support of parliamentarians. As was observed in Jordan, other parliamentary assistance implementers are working nationally through parliamentary groups and political parties to promote similar objectives and, by most accounts, with more impact. It is through these political institutions, and not individual MPs, that parliament and parliamentarians are likely to use any credible research produced by think tanks.

- As for the **Women’s Leadership Programme**, WFD’s work points to the limits of any regional approach. Any indication of national MPs and CSOs collaborating to influence legislation related to domestic violence has been where WFD has national (i.e. Tunisia) and sub-national (i.e. Kurdistan) programmes with the respective parliaments, thus enabling local field staff with a permanent contact to the key actors to support them when they return from regional forums¹⁹. For example, as a result of the January 2014 regional workshop, the common declaration agreed amongst MPs and some civil society representatives on domestic violence is rather general in nature and will require national follow up if it is to have any impact.

The second component of the programme – the development and delivery of training modules for women MPs by the Arab Institute for Parliamentary Training and Legislative Studies (AIPTLS) – is still underway, but may result in a series of modules that may have some benefit for Arab women MPs. However, the training of women MPs in the Arab Region is a field of parliamentary development that is well populated. Given that there are a number of much larger programmes addressing this issue, such as IRI’s Arab Women’s Leadership Institute (AWLI)²⁰, iKNOW Politics²¹ and various programmes by UN Women, it is not clear what will be WFD programme’s added value. Another thing that might need looking into, in order to make WFD’s intervention impactful, will be capacity building tools and mentoring to ensure the knowledge provided through the seminars is utilized and applied in the parliaments for which the women are elected.

3.2. Civil Society

Evaluation Indicators	
Contribution to the citizen’s engagement with parliaments and political parties	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of examples where CSOs have the skills to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders (e.g. national and local government, citizens, as appropriate). • Number of examples where women’s groups have the skills to engage with parliaments, political parties and other stakeholders (e.g. national and local government, citizens, as appropriate). • Number of bills initiated thanks to policy oriented research institutes, including those related to gender issues • Number of CSOs that have developed and implemented advocacy campaigns. • Percentage of participating CSOs who declare that citizen’s advocacy and proposals has been factored into legislation and budget decisions and that MPs are engaged with citizens at the constituency level. 	

Expected Output/Assessment Criteria: Civil society organisations in 5 countries, and women’s groups in 3 countries, engaging effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.	Partially Meeting Expectations
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Evaluation questions (EQ)	Conclusions	Evidence
4.3.1 Are the PA & PPA projects/ programmes activities contributing to the citizen’s engagement with parliaments and political parties?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited evidence of citizen engagement as a result of WFD interventions with parliaments or parties. • Almost no evidence of new laws being initiated as a result of policy oriented research. • Some evidence of CSO advocacy campaigns. • Limited evidence of CSO acknowledgement that WFD interventions have resulted in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of consistency in engagement of CSOs in MENA Programmes • Jordan PA Programme has engaged civil society, but lacks linkage to parliament • Only evidence of new laws from civil society engagement is domestic violence law in Tunisia (not verified) and anti-corruption law in BiH (by social democratic actors) • Kenya CSO advocacy campaign • DA in South Africa and social democratic

¹⁹ WFDs work in Tunisia is outside the scope of this evaluation as it is funded externally; no evidence was obtained to indicate the impact of the regional programme’s work in Kurdistan.

²⁰ <http://www.arabwomenleadership.org/home>

²¹ <http://iknowpolitics.org/ar>

	<p>citizens' perspectives being considered in legislation.</p>	<p>actors in Serbia have developed programmes that engage civil society to build party capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MENA Programmes have engaged CSOs, but with limited success
<p>4.3.2 Are the WFD activities contributing to the ownership and to the building of political and mutual understanding?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear evidence of MPs, parliamentary staff and party officials maintaining linkages developed from regional networks. • Limited evidence of MPs and parliamentary staff acknowledging specific results in their country as a result of WFD interventions regionally. • Strong evidence that party officials have used knowledge gained from regional networks to alter their actions and gained results nationally from WFD interventions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western Balkans network is strong and owned by MPs and committee chairs • ALN and DUA in Africa are strong networks with growing bilateral engagement amongst member parties • Lack of consistent membership has limited acknowledgement of results by MPs from MENA PA Programmes • Some MPs in Western Balkans network have returned with new ideas that are attributed to WFD work • ALN member parties have made significant adjustments in party structure, communication and policy based on network engagement • DUA network member parties have contributed to peaceful electoral transitions in two countries as a result of network

Of the five parliamentary assistance programmes evaluated as part of the MTE, three had components that related directly to building the capacity of civil society (Kenya, Jordan and the MENA Women's Leadership Programme). To date, the impact of WFD's work with CSOs has been limited. The reasons for limited impact include poor project formulation that results in the selection of civil society partners that may be incapable of absorbing the capacity development being offered; a lack of mapping of what others are doing in the same field, thus diluting the impact of their own efforts; finally, it also is a result of – in some cases – absence of national field staff that is able to build trust with national actors through daily contact and, in turn, the provision of timely technical assistance in support of such actors.

- In **Jordan**, WFD determined in 2012 that it would support, through a national CSO, the development of youth leaders to build their capacity and to eventually support them in engaging the Parliament of Jordan to advocate with regard to youth issues. The national partner has established a group of 32 youth leaders to build their skills. However, the programme suffers from two critical issues. Firstly, the ultimate objective is to have the youth leaders to engage with parliament; however, with one year remaining in the programme, there is little evidence of this being accomplished. Secondly, the programme is replicating a lot of what is already being done in Jordan by some of the other, larger actors. The NDI office in Jordan has been implementing a very similar programme since 2010, but on an exponentially bigger scale (4,500 participants per year).
- In **Kenya**, the programme is to provide capacity development to the civil society organization CLARION and its local branches located in counties in which WFD is supporting the county assemblies. The ultimate objective is for the local CSOs to have the skills and knowledge to use appropriate tools to advocate for the needs and concerns of local citizens, including youth, at the local assemblies. Based on the field observations, this support has resulted in no relevant impact to date. CLARION and its local branches seem to have limited capacity to absorb trainings and technical support. There is currently no concrete evidence of the local branches in the ten counties providing systematic and organised advocacy towards local elected officials.
- In the **MENA Women's Leadership Programme**, WFD is to provide support to national women MPs and national women CSOs, through a regional network with a series of workshops, the knowledge and support to have the MPs and CSOs collaborate towards a change in legislation or policies related to key issues affecting women. Through the evaluation it was observed that the regional network, without national follow up, has had minimal impact. A common challenge for any regional network or forum is to find a way to domesticate the lessons learned regionally.

The work of WFD with regard to **political party assistance** has had some engagement with civil society, including:

- In **Serbia**, the Labour Party's support to social democratic actors has included specific projects to engage trade union activists, in order to build a broader coalition against proposed labour legislation;

- In the **Western Balkans**, Labour has been encouraging social democratic parties in the region to engage the trade union movement, in hopes of establishing a long-term partnership between these key worker institutions and the respective parties in each country;
- The Democratic Alliance (DA) in **South Africa** actively recruits on an annual basis non-party member youth to be a part of the Young Leaders Programme, which is starting to build lasting connections between the party and various civil society groups.

Based on these observations, the EET notes that the Foundation’s work with civil society, as part of the work of the parliamentary wing, lacks a linkage between the support to the CSOs and the work with parliaments. Given the mandate of WFD with regard to building the capacity of parliaments, one would expect to see any support for civil society to be focused on their role in engaging parliaments – as advocates, technical advisers and aggregators of public opinion. However, based on the programmes reviewed, there is almost no evidence of how support to CSOs has resulted in an impact on their respective parliaments.

With regard to assistance to political parties, the objective of WFD is to make the parties more participative and engaging with civil society. Though by no means universal, there are clear examples of sister parties, based on inputs from UK parties, designing initiatives that have resulted in the parties engaging citizens on a regular basis and in developing outreach programmes to build relations with and seek input from like-minded CSOs.

3.3. Political Party Assistance

Evaluation Indicators
<p>Contribution to the improvement of political parties’ internal and organisational structures, and processes at regional, national and local levels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of parties that have amended or revised party policy and rules to promote internal democracy, transparency and policy-orientation. • Number of parties that have developed on their own political parties "tools" to improve their internal functioning and to build connections between political parties and voters (e.g. political parties planning's and actions plans, leadership models, external communication and media management models etc.); <p>Contribution to the improvement of democratic attitudes during elections at national, regional, and local levels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of parties that have revised their internal rules to encourage youth and women participation as candidates during elections; • Number of parties that have developed and disseminated their electoral code of conduct towards citizens and public opinion; • Number of political party that have participated in interparty/multiparty dialogue with general public interventions/consultations during an election. • Number of political parties developing and delivering coherent policy-based messages to citizens. <p>Contributing to political parties’ accountability and transparency:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political parties accessing and sharing experiences within the framework of regional and international networks of like-minded parties. • Number of parties that have developed and implemented issue-based campaigns and advocacy policies between elections; • Number of consultations with general public between elections.

<p>Expected Output/Assessment Criteria: Minimum of 10 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, having strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.</p>	<p>Meeting Expectations</p>
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Evaluation questions (EQ)	Conclusions	Evidence
<p>4.2.1 Are the PPA national and regional projects contributing to the improvement of political parties’ internal and organisational structures, and processes at regional,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of parties that have amended internal rules and procedures. • Significant evidence of parties that have developed ‘tools’ to better address their relationship with citizens and marginalized groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal rules amended by PDP and SDA in BiH • Internal rules for candidates revised in Botswana by BMD • Social democratic actors in a country have established programmes to build youth and women capacity within parties

<p>national and local levels?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social democratic actors in Serbia have developed a youth leadership programme • SDA in BiH has developed a strong network of youth members • PDP in BiH has strengthened youth forum and women’s council • ACDP in South Africa has a new outreach programme for churches
<p>4.2.2. Are the PPA national and regional projects contributing to the improvement of democratic attitudes during elections at national, regional, and local levels²²?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant evidence of parties that have developed internal rules and procedures to promote more youth and women as candidates; • No evidence that parties have developed and disseminated their electoral codes of conduct towards citizens; • Some evidence of multi-party dialogues during an election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DA in South Africa has a detailed youth leadership programme that has resulted in youth being elected as MPs • SDA in BiH has elected a number of youth to local councils • PDP supported new BiH quota law as a result of enhanced capacity of women within party • Lack of proactive engagement by UK parties has limited ability to develop electoral codes of conduct • DUA in Africa has used the network to promote peaceful transitions after elections • PDP and SDA have been in dialogue for centre-right policy declaration for upcoming BiH election
<p>4.2.3 Are the PE/PPA projects/ programmes activities contributing to political parties’ accountability and transparency?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong evidence of parties that have developed and implemented issue-based campaigns and developed policy between elections. • Evidence of public consultations between elections by parties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manifesto development in Ghana with NPP • ALN in Africa has adopted and pushed for promotion at national level of key liberal policies • Social democratic actors in Serbia have developed a clear position on the new labour law and engaged trade unions • ACDP has engaged like-minded citizens as part of outreach and preparation for election • ALN in Africa has supported national parties in establishing social media sites and is monitoring their use

There are four primary models upon which assistance²³ is provided to political parties. These are:

- **Multi-Party Technical Support:** Donors, primarily bilateral donors, provide funding to international NGOs and foundations to work with several political parties in a given country, offering support in the development of internal structures, communications, campaigning and policy development. Key actors that use this model include IRI and NDI²⁴;
- **Multi-lateral Technical Support:** This model is primarily used by UN agencies (i.e. UNDP; UN Women) in which support is provided to a parliament or an electoral system that includes support to the relevant political parties that are engaged with those institutions²⁵;
- **Sister-to-Sister Party Support:** The model used by European party foundations, including WFD, the German Stiftungen and the Swedish PAOs, in which parties work bilaterally with their sister parties in a given country to build their capacity to manage elections, develop policy and engage citizens; and
- **Multi-Party Dialogue:** This model is used by some European institutions (i.e. NIMD; International IDEA), in which the objective is to use their role as a facilitator or third party moderator to encourage an ongoing dialogue on topics of relevance to the given country²⁶

²² During the Inception Phase of the evaluation an indicator was developed (and approved by WFD) that measured the parties’ engagement in electoral codes. Upon completion of the MTE it is clear that this was not a relevant indicator for the work of the parties under this Corporate Programme.

²³ For a more detailed review of political party assistance, see: Political Party Aid, Carothers, T., 2004, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC; Supporting Political Party Systems, SIDA, 2005, Stockholm; Donor Support to Parliaments and Political Parties, Power, G., 2008; Political Parties in Democratic Transitions, DIPD (2013), Copenhagen

²⁴ See USAID’s 1999 paper: Political Party Development Assistance

²⁵ See UNDPs 2006 A Handbook on Working with Political Parties and the 2012 UNDP/NDI joint publication Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties

There are strengths and weaknesses to each model. In 2011, DFID and FCO commissioned a study by the Overseas Development Institute – *International Assistance to Party Systems and Political Party Development*²⁷ - in which an analysis is provided as to the current state of political party assistance, the key findings of which are relevant to this report and the work of WFD:

- Political party assistance must be underpinned by a strong context analysis, not only of the party that may receive assistance, but of the entire political system in which such assistance will be operating;
- Political party assistance in any given country should be focused on the development of the political system and not just on one or two parties within that system;
- Long-term engagement of political parties is critical to having an impact on their capacity and their transformation to democratic standards;
- Support to political parties must be based on the needs of the specific party receiving support and not on a template or blueprint approach to such work;
- Political engagement and networking can be a more effective means of support than formal programmes; and
- Monitoring and evaluation is generally weak in the field of party assistance and must be enhanced.

The report also notes the challenges of sister-to-sister party work. In particular, it raises concerns about how such work is implemented and that it has a tendency to rely on partnerships with parties that do not necessarily define themselves as ideological. The report also notes that many of the implementers have a challenge in being seen as trusted partners to the parties they are trying to support.

WFD's Support to Sister Parties

Based on the 2011 report *International Assistance to Party Systems and Political Party Development* produced for DFID and FCO, one can measure the work of the UK's parties against the criteria outlined for effective party assistance:

Strong context analysis – the UK's parties all have some form of context analysis upon which they base their projects; however, the quality of the analyses is varied and focus almost exclusively on the parties with which they will work (not the broader political system). Given that the parties have not received any training on this issue, any capacity to conduct these is most likely based on their staff's political acumen;

Long-term engagement – Where the UK's parties have had the most impact is where they have built long-term, trusting relationships with their sister parties;

Needs-based assistance – In almost all projects observed, the UK's parties are attuned to and regularly monitor the needs of their sister parties to ensure they are adapting their support to their needs;

Political networking – In addition to organised activities with sister parties, the UK's parties have established and maintain strong networks, both bilateral and multi-lateral, in which the sister parties receive knowledge, exchange experiences and can seek peer-to-peer support. The political networking conducted by the UK's parties is an essential component to the impact they are having on their sister parties.

M&E – The UK's parties are using forms of monitoring and evaluation that have resulted in adjustments to their support with respective sister parties; however, the methods can be improved (they are less formal, not consistently used or not consistently recorded). Where the parties have started to use more formal methods and records are more complete, one can see that the work of the parties is also more impactful.

Political System Development – UK parties primarily provide assistance to one sister party within a national political system and there is no evidence (within this corporate programme) of the parties working towards or intentionally impacting the entire system in which their sister parties operate.

There were challenges to sister-to-sister party assistance where there was a –

- Lack of ideological connection: Where an impact of the parties' work was noted, there was also some process by which the UK's parties were verifying the ideological basis of their sister party (context analysis; risk assessment; policy development); however, where we saw limited or no impact from the work there was a lack of an ideological connection that is key to sister-to-sister party assistance.
- Lack of trust: Unlike most party assistance implementers, the UK's parties have developed and maintained trusted relations with their sister parties that have resulted, at times, in a greater transfer of knowledge and the adoption of reforms. Where there was a lack of a long-term, multi-faceted, bilateral relationship that created a trust between the UK parties and their partners, we also saw limited to no impact from the assistance.

²⁶ See the recent publication of NIMD on how it operates: *The Power of Inter-Party Dialogues: Our Stories*, NIMD (2014)

²⁷ Wilde, L. Foresti, M. and Domingo, P. (2011) Overseas Development Institute, London, UK

Reflecting on this study, WFD has a comparative advantage over other political party assistance implementers because the assistance provided by the UK's political parties to its sister parties creates a level of trust and collaboration unmatched by other implementers. Through this MTE, it was clear that most of the sister parties that receive support from WFD place a strong value on their relationship with their partners from the UK. Many used a similar term in describing the relationship that is akin to a family relationship. And there is concrete evidence that this trust-based relationship has resulted in political parties receiving high quality assistance.

However, a key measure of success for WFD's support to political parties is if such support has an impact beyond the specific parties supported - an impact that extends to the entire political system within a country²⁸. The evidence of whether or not this special relationship between UK parties and their sister parties is having an extended impact is less clear. There are recent studies that have pointed to the impact of one party adopting a policy-oriented approach to campaigning having a longer-term and infectious role in changing an entire political system²⁹. Thus, work to build the capacity of one party and to change its approach to politics may have a longer-term impact on the entire political system.

- In **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, the **Conservative Party** has built a strong relationship with the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Party of Democratic Progress (PDP) in the Republic of Srpska. As a result of assistance provided to both parties for several years, and based on domestic initiatives, the Conservatives have supported the establishment of a dialogue between the two parties (plus two other Croat parties) that has resulted in the formulation of common policy objectives to which they pledged to adhere to after the forthcoming election. This collaboration, being facilitated by the Centre for New Initiatives (CNI), was described as "innovative" by other development implementers.
- The Conservative Party assistance has also changed the internal structures of the two parties. The PDP has a much stronger women's forum and a youth wing as a result of the support provided. By their own account, PDP has more women candidates and stronger advocacy from the women's forum.
- The SDA has seen a significant increase in the number and empowerment of its youth members. In a party that describes itself as "hierarchical", the support provided has resulted in the development of networks of youths who have maintained horizontal communication resulting in a more open structure. The network has also been mobilized internally to allow for more youth candidates, some of whom have assumed elected positions at the local level after the 2012 local elections.
- The **Liberal Democrats** have provided significant support to the **Africa Liberal Network (ALN)** – a group of 35 political parties in Africa that self-identify as liberal. Since 2012, the ALN secretariat has been relocated to South Africa. Support from WFD has resulted in a network that meets annually to discuss and promote policy. The Network also provides workshops in which party staff is provided with access to new campaign and communication techniques.

With regard to the annual policy forums, the ALN has used these to build a consensus as to what it means to be a liberal party in Africa, resulting in a clear set of principles through an ALN Constitution and a Pan-African Liberal Manifesto that all members have endorsed. More specifically, in 2013, the ALN adopted a clear and specific policy on the promotion of free trade amongst African nations. In addition, in a bold move considering the realities on the continent, the ALN has started to promote the rights of homosexuals in Africa.

Critical to the success of the ALN is that it does not just work at the regional level. At the 2014 general assembly, ALN members adopted a 5-point plan on jobs and growth. The declaration sets out 4 key policy priority areas that they will champion in relation to free trade and increased intra-African trade on the continent. Each member of the network is expected to develop and implement a version of that policy within the party structure.

Since 2013 it has started to follow up its policy advocacy and workshops with direct national support for political parties that are members of the network. In Botswana, in 2013, the ALN provided capacity development to the BMD. This included direct coaching and mentoring with regard to market research techniques, campaign management and party messaging.

It is the national follow-up activities of the ALN that have and will produce a significant impact. Regional networks on their own can advocate and encourage parties to campaign based on policies or to promote new techniques for

²⁸ It is important to note that the corporate logframe does not reflect the need for the parties to work at the level of the political system, but it can be said that such engagement is key to the broader development of democratic governance in a country.

²⁹ Herbert Kitschelt, et.al., *Research and Dialogue on Programmatic Parties and Party Systems*, International IDEA, 2012, Stockholm

campaigning and internal party structures. However, it takes that next step – direct national support through trusted partners – that can turn knowledge and ideas into concrete, tangible changes in the methods by which a party campaigns and, in turn, is held accountable for its ideas. The ALN has taken this next step and its impact is clearly measurable as a result.

- A similar observation can be made of the **Democratic Union of Africa (DUA)** a network of 13 right-of-centre political parties in Africa supported by the **Conservative Party**. Like the ALN, the DUA receives financial and technical resources from a UK party. The secretariat for the DUA is based in Accra, Ghana, in the offices of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), a member of the network. The network provides a series of network-wide and regional workshops for youth party members, women within the member parties, campaign directors and an annual leaders' event. This regional work is coupled with national interventions by the Conservative Party, including on campaign techniques, campaign messaging, and election manifesto development and voter registration.
- Both the DUA and the ALN are strong examples of WFD using its trust-based relationship with like-minded parties to coax them towards a more policy-oriented and inclusive approach to their work. There is stronger evidence that the ALN is proactively pursuing a policy oriented network that reflects common values and principles, but both networks are examples of how regional and national interventions can be combined for maximum impact.
- Further, there is evidence that the Conservative Party has used its trusted relationship with the DUA network member parties to promote peaceful transitions from government to opposition. In 2008, when the New Patriotic Party (NPP) lost government in the Ghanaian national elections, the Conservative Party played a key role in helping the NPP to accept the results and concede defeat without resorting to violence. This was repeated once again in the 2012 Ghanaian national elections when the NPP lost another very close election and resorted to a court challenge instead of violence. In turn, it was the NPP that reached out to the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) – both members of the DUA – to encourage them to take similar action after their election loss in 2012³⁰. These are critical precedents being set in Africa and a sign that the DUA is having a critical impact on the establishment of peaceful elections and post-election transitions.
- Also in South Africa, the **Liberal Democrats** are providing support to the **Democratic Alliance Youth Leadership Programme**. This programme, initiated by the Democratic Alliance, is a gold standard in intra-party youth leadership development. The party selects between 15 and 22 youth each year – some of them party members, but many non-members – and provides each participant with a life coach and party mentor to support participants for the year-long programme. In addition, each participant must develop and implement a small community-based project. The Liberal Democrats' role is to support at least one of the five weekend workshops held throughout the year and to provide a master class on political organizing for the three top participants in London. The programme has resulted in a rejuvenation of the leadership of the DA, with significant numbers of the participants that have graduated since 2007 assuming leadership positions in the party and in elected office. The Liberal Democrats are now working with the DA to replicate this model for other liberal parties in Africa.
- In **South Africa**, the **Smaller Parties Group** of WFD supported the Democratic Unionists Party (DUP) to provide assistance to the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), and the result has been a rejuvenated party. The ACDP had poor election results in the last national and provincial elections (2009). Its membership was demoralised and its resources were limited. In 2012, the DUP started to provide a series of workshops to support the ACDP in developing a more strategic approach to its internal structure and its campaign efforts. These workshops were informal and allowed for a free exchange of ideas and solutions. The DUP provided knowledge about its experiences and how it is organised.

Through the workshops and the follow up by the DUP and the WFD, the ACDP was able to adjust and revitalise its fundraising strategy, its media and communications strategy and its outreach strategy.

A critical factor that resulted in the impact of the support was, once again, the trust between the ACDP and DUP. The staff and activists interviewed in the ACDP all noted that based on the bond between the two parties, the ACDP was highly motivated to follow up on the workshops. The use of a series of workshops that showed a programmatic approach to the support also had an impact on the results of the assistance, as the DUP scheduled return visits to follow up on previous workshops and to build on what was already discussed.

³⁰ <http://thinkafricapress.com/sierra-leone/elections-sierra-leone-and-ghana-two-sides-same-coin>

Best Practice: The Africa Liberal Network

The assistance provided by the Liberal Democrats to the Africa Liberal Network (ALN) has provided some clear examples of good practices that could be replicated, not only within WFD, but more broadly in the field of political party assistance.

As a network of 35 political parties in Africa, the ALN is working regionally to promote a set of values that reflect liberalism. This has included the adoption of a clear manifesto and specific policies, such as free trade and economic growth. It has also been courageous in initiating a debate amongst member parties on the rights of the LGBT community in Africa. Through a series of formal and informal means of monitoring the actions of the members' parties, expectations are placed on them to adhere to these policies and liberalism more broadly. There has even been an attempt to assess the parties that are members of the network to determine their commitment to liberalism.

In addition to regional policy development, the ALN has provided specific, high quality technical advice to its members on topics related to election campaigning. This has included the use of social media for campaigning.

However, as importantly, the ALN builds on its regional support with national follow up with its member parties. This has included medium-term technical assistance focused on communications, message development, candidate selection and polling, all done through a process of mentoring and coaching. Some of this work is done by member parties in assistance to other member parties and not all by the Liberal Democrats directly.

Finally, the placement of a field office with a network coordinator has had an impact on the ALN. There is a high level of ownership amongst the member parties and the coordinator has an integral role in managing the network on a day-to-day basis and monitors the follow up done by the members after their attendance at knowledge events.

- The **Labour Party** has provided support to social democratic actors in **Serbia** for more than a decade. Since 2012, it has supported the social democratic actors in their attempts to build a broader coalition of supporters, including youth and trade union activists. Based on initiatives designed by social democratic actors, Labour has provided resources to implement weekly meeting of party youth members and like-minded non-members who receive knowledge about social democracy and political activism and spend some time putting into practice what they have learned. This programme has resulted in a revitalized and active youth wing within the party and in a significant group of youth in Serbia who see political engagement in a positive light.

Social democratic actors are also using WFD support to engage public sector trade unions. This has been quite timely, given recent legislation to amend Serbia's labour laws to the perceived detriment of trade unions. Parties are providing capacity support to the public sector unions and their members to support them in political activism. The obvious, yet indirect, benefit to the Party is the expansion of its supporters and the promotion of its policy initiatives.

There is evidence that the UK's parties, through WFD, are delivering some projects that are having the unintended consequence of creating change to the political system in which they are operating. Political systems are more effective when the parties within the system are prepared to present concrete policies that differentiate the parties based on ideas to which they will be held accountable by the voters within the system. It also requires parties to effectively communicate their policies and positions to ensure citizens are well aware of the choices they have in a given election, beyond choices based on personalities or votes based on clientelism.

To date, the projects that are impacting political systems seem to be the exception rather the rule, which would be expected, given that WFD is being funded to provide assistance to individual political parties and not the entire systems (as described in Output 2 of the corporate logframe); however, these projects already show the key elements that may be required to allow the UK's parties to more consistently deliver support that can impact on an entire political system.

- In **Africa**, both the **Conservatives** and the **Liberal Democrats** have built strong networks of like-minded political parties from a number of African countries. The impact of this work can be seen on the political systems in which the sister parties operate. For example, the decisions to challenge elections in court and not to resort to violence for member parties of the **DUA** (e.g. Ghana; Sierra Leone) is clearly having an impact on the political systems in those countries. The adoption of strong, concrete policies by member parties of the **ALN** will ensure those parties will be promoting significant policy options in upcoming elections, which, in turn, may result in a shift away from clientele politics in those same countries. Finally, by providing technical advice with regard to party organisation and campaigning, the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats are building the capacity of sister parties to be effective alternatives to governing parties. This ensures a more robust political system in these countries, in which elections will be well contested and voters will have serious options when deciding how to vote.

There are key elements as to why these two projects have enabled the assistance from the UK’s parties to transcend support for just one party:

- **Trust:** By leveraging their trusted relationship with these parties, both UK parties are making significant progress in how their sister parties are structured and politically motivated, including the use of policies and techniques that make these sister parties more accountable to voters. It is only as a result of this trust that the sister parties are prepared to listen to and seek advice from their UK counterparts for more substantial matters that can impact on the entire political system;
- **Long-term engagement:** This trust has been built through long-term engagement with the sister parties that addresses their needs which are constantly being re-assessed by the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats;
- **Medium-term technical support:** Beyond the regional networks, the direct national (and sub-national) engagement and technical advice given to sister parties has provided the means to transfer the knowledge and skills required to be effective parties that are able to fully compete in election campaigns; and
- **Risk taking:** As a result of the above key factors, the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats are willing and able to take risks and to encourage new approaches and values for their sister parties that may not otherwise have been considered as options by those sister parties.

Therefore, an impact can be discerned from the support provided by the UK’s political parties through WFD, primarily to their sister parties. But it is important to note that the impact of such work could have been more substantial and systematic amongst the parties. As mentioned above, the trust built between the UK’s parties and their sister parties was not fully maximised in a number of cases and this limited the impact of the work. For example, in some of the projects observed, the respective UK party was content to focus on campaign techniques and communications and limited the use of the relationship to promote policy development and policy-based campaigning – both critical factors in transitioning parties and a political system to a stable democracy.

Parliaments work best when there are parliamentary groups (also known as party groups or caucuses) that are well organised and understand their roles in government and opposition, with respect to the roles of the other groups. In addition to the UK parties’ support during elections, their further support within the parliament to build the parliamentary groups of their respective sister parties would be highly beneficial to the long-term sustainability of the democratic system in which these sister parties are working. Coordinating the support provided by both wings of WFD would allow for a more effective, and possibly transformational, approach to political governance reform.

WFD Party Assistance – Challenges Remain

Though this report provides strong evidence of the impact of the work of WFD with regard to political party assistance, there are still challenges that are preventing the UK parties from delivering to their full potential:

Context analysis – the UK’s parties have not received any training on conducting effective analysis. They have been able to produce adequate analyses, but they could be better and more consistent amongst all the parties. In addition, the context analyses lack any analysis of the broader political and democratic system within which they are operating.

Technical expertise – There is evidence of some party assistance not including technical expertise from the UK’s parties, and this is a challenge. The parties are most effective when they use their trusted position to transfer knowledge that results in reforms, but this requires technical assistance, and all work of the UK’s parties should be formulated around such expertise.

M&E – A more formal and consistent approach to M&E is required by the UK’s parties. This should not lead away from the less formal methods currently used by the parties, but should complement them.

Short-term projects – There is evidence that the UK’s parties are starting to move towards long-term programming, but the current system within WFD results in an excessive number of shorter-term projects (more than 150 in two years) and this limits the ability of the UK’s parties to manage their work towards their outputs and less towards their project activities.

Political Systems – Greater impact will come when the parties are directed to and work towards system-wide reforms.

3.4. Corporate Structure

Expected Output/Assessment Criteria: Enhanced WFD’s strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepening WFD’s technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management, communication tools, etc.); reforming WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD’s

Partially Meeting Expectations

Change Agenda.

Progress has been made by WFD in creating an organisation that operates in a more programmatic manner. There are clear indications that WFD is operating in a systematic manner; however, there are also clear indications that the Foundation has not changed its internal structure, which is required to ensure its work consistently results in an impact on its beneficiaries.

On the positive side, the hiring of the senior programme and M&E staff has made a significant difference in the work of the Foundation. It can be observed that the parliamentary assistance work is more consistent amongst regional teams, and reporting has become routine. Many of the programmes that were designed prior to the arrival of these staff have been reviewed and redesigned. WFD staff seems to understand the concept of development and are adapting their work to reflect the new reality that the Foundation must implement its work through a programmatic approach.

With regard to political party assistance, the changes have been less consistent. For some parties and groups the adoption of a multi-year and programmatic approach to their work is measurable, particularly for the Liberal Democrats and the Smaller Parties Group. However, not all of the UK's parties have adopted a more consistent and systematic approach to their programming.

The impact from these changes is not as significant as one may have expected. This is partly due to the fact that the required changes in the Foundation's organizational culture towards a fully programmatic approach have not yet taken place. The Foundation is still based on two quasi-autonomous wings – parliamentary assistance and political party assistance (See Chapter 3 for a more detailed analysis of this point). As noted above, the potential for higher impact if both wings collaborated in any given country is significant.

Secondly, the Foundation's parliamentary assistance work is still primarily based on short-term, training-oriented interventions. Its experts are almost exclusively available for less than seven days and conduct the work *pro bono*. This seems to be a significant barrier to WFD moving towards medium-term capacity development tools such as coaching, mentoring, attachments and other forms of technical assistance.

With regard to the work of the UK's political parties within WFD, the use of more medium-term forms of assistance is more common and this is likely a key reason for the greater impact measured for this work. However, the parties are less likely to have produced and shared a strategy upon which they can rationalize and design their support. Further, their monitoring and evaluation tends to be less formal and not consistent. Where it has been used effectively (i.e. ALN, ACDP) it has resulted in adjustments to their programming, particularly where they have started to use some formal methods of monitoring and evaluation.

Thirdly, there is ample scope of improvement in capturing the impact of WFDs work. There is indication that, for some programmes in parliamentary assistance, the lack of monitoring and evaluation has resulted in capacity development through coaching and mentoring not having been recorded (e.g. Kenya). In others, the beneficiaries have noted a desire for more in-depth assistance, but this information was not captured by WFD (e.g. Western Balkans). For the political party assistance work, most of the parties, to date, have been unable to identify the impact of their work. The parties must continue their recent efforts to work programmatically by looking beyond organising activities and focusing more on broader outputs that can be measured and monitored.

3.5. Lessons and Learnings

Key Findings of the Evaluation	Lessons Learned by WFD	Further Recommendations
WFD's work with civil society needs to be more closely linked to its work with parliaments.	Progress has been made in integrating the work with civil society with that with parliaments and will continue as country and regional programmes are revised.	Continue with revision of country and regional programmes to reflect more integration of civil society and parliamentary support.
Regional networks lack impact without a national component for follow up. Impact has occurred where national and regional work is integrated.	Political party assistance has routinely used an integrated regional and national approach to programming.	As WFD revises its parliamentary assistance country and regional programmes it should consider how to coordinate and integrate its work at both levels.
Political parties have a formula that is working – long-term, trusted	WFD has not, as yet, found a way to transfer this formula to the entire	WFD must recognise the unique and effective delivery method used by

<p>relationships with partners, access to high quality expertise, needs-based programming and peer-to-peer capacity development – but this approach has not been applied by WFD for its work in parliamentary assistance.</p>	<p>Foundation or to use such trusted relationships to benefit its other work.</p>	<p>political parties. WFD must develop an integrated operational strategy that reflects the benefits of the parties’ delivery method and apply it, where possible, to its other work.</p>
<p>Impact of WFD’s work is limited by lack of unified programming that addresses political governance systems (party system; parliamentary system)</p>	<p>Despite limited examples outside of the Corporate Programme, WFD has not been able to incorporate those lessons into its core work.</p>	<p>DFID, FCO and WFD must ensure the corporate programme outcome addresses political systems. WFD must design integrated programmes that strive to achieve political system reform</p>
<p>WFD lacks a culture that embraces M&E – progress has been made in creating procedures, but limited signs that the Foundation has adjusted its delivery as a result of M&E</p>	<p>WFD has made progress in establishing the need to plan and report on activities; however, WFD has not moved to a corporate culture in which all staff understand the benefit of M&E and ensure such reports are analysed and result in adjustments to programming, where necessary.</p>	<p>WFD must create a system where staff routinely analyse the reports that are being produced and adjust programmes based on lessons learned from activity, quarterly and annual reports.</p>

Chapter 4: Relevance

Evaluation questions (EQ)	Conclusions	Evidence
<p>1.1 Whether and how PA/PPA project/programme design builds upon and reflects the context analysis?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence that the majority of programmes and projects had some form of context analysis but not of sufficient quality • No SWOT analysis: PPA and PA programme proposals have insufficient qualitative baseline; no information on different actors to engage on policy and political dialogue to identify possible drivers of change. • No analysis of the most adequate levels of intervention put into perspective with country governance analysis to track changes in relation with the programme objectives • PPA projects are mainly demand driven, but not always put into perspective within the context of democratic needs; • Where PPA projects did have context analysis, the quality was good and the projects reflected on what was found and was related to local needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western Balkans and MENA parliamentary programmes. Some context analysis exists, but there is no comparative analysis of similarities and differences reflecting on the specific history, particularities and dynamics of each region • All PA and several PPA programmes (Bosnia, Serbia) have no systematic qualitative baseline analysis that is put into perspective with country governance analysis to track changes in relation with the programme objectives (e.g. no detailed analysis of possible drivers of changes; most appropriate level(s) for interventions) • PPA Serbia, Bosnia programmes designed on beneficiary demands • No common shared context analysis, no shared lessons learned from previous experience among PA/PPA wings in Western Balkans, Kenya
<p>1.2 Whether and how WFD has adapted different programmatic approaches to specific contexts?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of clear, measurable PA programme activities with logframes, but no explicit link between activities and programmes objectives • PA programmes did not sufficiently reflect local context • Evidence that PA work is being adjusted as work progresses but no guidance document determining the way in which WFD interventions on PA and PPA support should transfer knowledge in a long-term perspective • PPA work is adjusted based on flexible implementation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PA programmes (Kenya and MENA) have adopted programmatic approaches, but no evidence that content of activities (trainings) has been adjusted to the context and to the beneficiaries' capacity building needs to reach the objectives • Programmatic approach in Western Balkans has been adjusted to enhance transfer of knowledge and ownership but not necessarily in relation to the PA reality/influence into the context and to the existing donors programmes • PPA work in Bosnia is adjusted internally by the respective political parties
<p>1.3 Whether and how WFD consulted all relevant stakeholders in developing specific programmes for each country/ region?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed evidence that stakeholder mapping conducted before and during implementation of PA programmes; • Most WFD work lacks coordination with external implementers and other UK actors; • Lack of synergy, exchanges of information between PPA/PA programmes in the same country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jordan PA programme did not reflect on what other implementers are doing in the country • Kenya programme duplicates many programmes by other key stakeholders such as SUNY (USAID), UNDP • No formal structure within WFD to share information and to coordinate work between PA and PPA programmes
<p>1.4 Were beneficiaries' needs and priorities for PA/PPA support explicitly addressed in WFD programmes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PPA projects are almost always developed based on needs of beneficiaries and as a result of ongoing engagement and dialogue with national partners • Some PPA projects have adopted a process of adjusting to long-term programmes based on feedback from beneficiaries • Most PA programmes lack evidence of being formulated based on local demands (the exceptions is Western Balkans) • No WFD guidance document determining the way in which WFD interventions progress in terms of beneficiaries' ownership and the implementation of transfer of knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of PPA Bosnia/Serbia programmes are based on sister to sister party demand • ALN, DUA, Bosnia social democratic actors all had evidence of adjusting programmes based on feedback • Kenya programme is based on trainers' feedback rather than beneficiaries' feedback and external stakeholders' analyses • The majority of MENA programme participants are not permanently involved into all programme activities. Such volatile attendance cannot create ownership

4.1. Strategic Relevance

As mentioned in the introduction, WFD has undergone a period of strategic renewal over the past years (i.e. adding cross-party and parliamentary assistance to its portfolio; setting new corporate targets and quality standards). This

was done in an attempt to bridge the divide between the work done by the UK's political parties and by WFD's parliamentary assistance team. However, there are clear indications that the rapid ascent of democracy promotion has not yet been properly internalized by WFD. There is a conceptual and operational ambiguity as to what WFD stands for and how best it can fulfil its mandate. This lack of clarity can relate to a variety of key aspects such as: (i) the definition of WFD's identity, the meaning (and limits) of WFD acting as a change agent; (ii) the scope of WFD's outputs (e.g. the distinction between political, parliamentary and civil society support and their possible linkages); (iii) the concrete linkages between WFD's outputs and the WFD corporate programme's outcome; (iv) strategies, approaches, tools and methods to be used to promote democracy in different contexts; (v) the roles to be played by the different partners and beneficiaries in designing and implementing programmes; and (vi) the identification of relevant and feasible indicators and assessment processes for monitoring and evaluating progress.

Within the Foundation there seems to be a lack of clarity over the concept and operationalization of what democracy development really means for WFD's strategy. This is particularly true at the decision-making level. Interviews conducted with several Governors revealed a wide range of different perceptions. The Board should be responsible for establishing WFD's overall strategic direction within the policy and performance framework; however, there is a general recognition among Governors that the Board is still overly focused on operational matters. As a result, issues such as how to promote a shift from considering democracy as being a "self-standing sector" to democracy being seen as a "cross-cutting issue" (which, in turn, would result in the joint political parties-parliamentary programmes) have not been considered by the Board.

Secondly, there is a **lack of clear and consistent guidelines for supporting political parties, parliaments and civil society in a coherent manner integrating the two wings of political party and parliamentary assistance.** Whilst there is an absence of organisation-wide consensus on how to address the key WFD objectives, the UK's political parties seem to have a clearer vision of their objectives and methods of capacity support. Each of the parties has developed its own strategies and, collectively, the political parties have contributed to the PPA component of WFD's corporate strategy, but more is required if the work of the Foundation is to become integrated. If WFD is to achieve better results and have a greater impact on democratic governance in the countries and regions within which it works, the integration of its work with parliaments, civil society and parties must go deeper and result in a unified operational strategy and a new culture. This level of engagement has not yet been achieved by WFD. For example, it was found that WFD staff and political party officers tend to work in 'silos' and that neither of them expects to gain maximum leverage from the output of the other wing. This was noted in WFD's work in the Western Balkans, where the parliamentary programme was providing support to at least one MP who was also receiving support from one of the political parties, yet there was no common understanding of how the work of both wings of WFD could be combined to increase the capacity and, in turn, the effectiveness, of elected officials receiving such support.

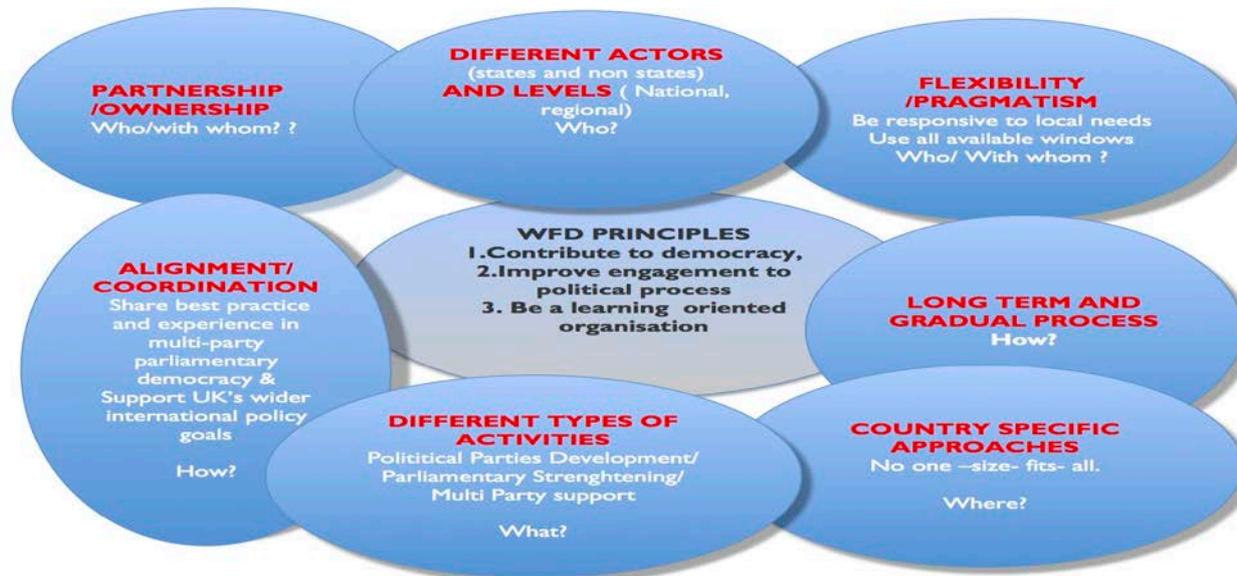
The **process by which WFD selects locations and thematic proposals** is a major opportunity to specify the overall intervention strategy of the Foundation. However, evidence collected suggests that there was generally limited reflection and dialogue at both the strategic and operational levels of the organisation. This has had a negative impact on the overall quality of programming (e.g. missed opportunities to support relevant dynamics and actors). For instance, there are examples in the past of where WFD has been able to deliver sound programming that has included both parliamentary and political party assistance (e.g. Macedonia), but this has generally come about as a result of a specific request from a donor and was not due to an identified opportunity from within WFD.

However, there are indications that strategic analysis is taking place during programme implementation by the political parties on how best to use WFD assistance, given the context of a specific country or sector. For example, the evaluation has identified a (recent) number of political party good practices reflecting a shift towards a more strategic and participatory programming. Through its Africa Liberal Network (ALN), the Liberal Democratic Party has launched a survey on the perceptions and needs of its sister parties. Also, the Conservatives who have a long-standing relationship with parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, have recently re-assessed their engagement based on the results achieved so far and the needs of their sister parties. Nevertheless, there is a lack of conceptual and operational clarity on **the potential added value of WFD as a whole within the context of its unique combination of political party and parliamentary expertise.**

In short, the integration of the two wings under the umbrella of WFD has not yet led to a strategic reorientation effectively combining political party and parliamentary assistance. There is evidence that the work of the UK's political parties, through WFD, is having an impact (as will be discussed further in Chapter 5) on the sister parties to whom they provide support. But given the unique relationship and trust that has developed between the UK's parties and their sister parties, there is a lot of potential to go beyond supporting one party and to increase the impact that could

be achieved by: (i) building capacity for multiple political parties simultaneously (i.e. enhancing the political system³¹); and (ii) working with parties and parliaments in an integrated manner to increase the resilience of political governance within a given country.

The analysis of existing policy documents makes it possible to discern the fundamental building blocks of WFD's approach to promoting governance, as illustrated in the WFD corporate plan 2011-2015 (see below).



4.2. WFD Programme Management

The gap in strategic positioning, as noted above, creates challenges for the management of WFD programmes. Some of the acknowledged obstacles to greater management coherence and coordination within WFD derive from the institutional set-up that defines separate roles and competences of each WFD wing, resulting in different views and priorities between and among the political party and parliamentary wings. The challenges include the following:

- **Lack of a unified management structure** that result in (i) a clear disconnection between the staff of the UK's political parties and WFD's parliamentary programme staff; and (ii) the variation in implementation methods. The necessary links between the operational levels and overall WFD policies and strategies remain vaguely defined, resulting in each wing tending to act as an operational "island". This was particularly so in the Western Balkans, where the political parties have a long-term presence, yet there is no evidence that the parliamentary and the party wings were engaged in discussions with regard to how their respective work could lead to synergies.
- **Overall intervention logic is not coherent** with a well-targeted and strong democracy focus encompassing the links between parliament and political party programmes, thus resulting in a lack of integrated programmes. Since 2012 and up until the mid-term evaluation, a portfolio of 170 programmes in 42 countries has been approved and implemented by WFD. Notwithstanding the fact that many of the political party programmes are a series of smaller interventions in progressively engaging sister parties, this approach creates challenges with regard to the WFD's hierarchical and logical structure, the capacity for and quality of programme/project cycle management as well as coherence, complementarity and synergy between those projects.
- **Intelligence gathering and diagnostics is limited.** There appears to be no formal institutional mechanism for sharing information. The insufficiency of detailed analytical information may reflect weaknesses in information gathering and interpretation. There appears to be no institutionalised mechanism for information diagnosis and analysis within the Foundation's Headquarters, with the result that there is a strong reliance on information from field programme managers and political party officers. All WFD programme proposals and the field visits revealed that collaboration with the main external actors in the field is lacking. For example, as regards collaboration with external stakeholders, the WFD Kenya programme manager participates in donor working group meetings, but the WFD programme does not avoid duplication and does not complement the work of the main implementers in the field, such as UNDP and SUNY (USAID). Also, although the Western Balkans programme aims to strengthen the

³¹ A political system is the framework within which politics occurs within a given country. This would include the political actors, such parties, the culture and perception of politics, the legal rules within which elections are held and parliaments function and the role played by formal and less formal institutions and processes.

role of parliaments in improving the competitiveness and stimulating economic growth of the countries, WFD does not collaborate with the European Union (EU) on the pre-accession process or with EU parliamentary twinnings, which have similar objectives for those countries.

- **The ‘institutional memory’ is dispersed**, with no apparent formal mechanism for documenting and sharing experiences and lessons across sectors and projects or over time. While the Foundation has implemented several parliamentary and political party programmes and projects, it has failed to capitalise on these experiences. There is a lack of information available within WFD on the outcome and impact of programmes. At the mid-term stage, the narrative reports only provide very limited and generic narrative sections on output (i.e. only tracking project progress) and are not, or minimally, addressing the need to assess outputs, outcomes, impact and visibility.
- **WFD’s Monitoring and Evaluation unit** does not adequately capture the Foundation’s work with political parties, though since the start of the MTE, there has been progress in establishing a more systematic approach to M&E for the parties³². In addition, M&E appears to be mainly treated as a mechanical task focused on outputs rather than outcomes. There is a lack of an M&E culture that ensures M&E being integrated into the programming approach to its work and allowing the Foundation to move from “ticking boxes” to actually using the feedback to adapt its work to be more effective.

How can this ‘dilution effect’ from an ambitious democracy agenda to a low-profile management approach be explained? An interesting perspective is provided by the separate analysis of each parliamentary programme and party project, which confirms that what is missing, is a centre of gravity in the entire management structure. However, this is far from stating that each parliamentary programme and political party project is irrelevant. The paradox is that the contribution to promoting democracy through the majority of political party projects is rather indirect. By contrast, evidence gathered for this MTE demonstrates that most of the parliamentary programmes evaluated did not find their niche and lack a clear definition of what is required for a political governance organisation to achieve parliamentary development objectives. This was observed in the MENA Policy programme, where the programme was created to engage individual MPs and to provide them with evidence-based research that they could use in their parliamentary work.

Roadblocks to Effective Programme Management

If WFD is to be a truly effective political governance implementer, one must acknowledge the roadblocks that are currently preventing the Foundation from maximizing the impact of its two areas of work to create synergies that will go beyond a given parliament or political party.

- **Sharing of information** is a key challenge. Beyond the *pro forma* completion of reports and proposals, the Foundation lacks a culture in which information and knowledge are shared amongst all stakeholders.
- There is **no formal structure for communication** between the two wings of WFD, except at the Board of Governors. There was a sub-committee of the Board, the Projects and Planning Committee, which allowed for the regular exchange of ideas and discussion of projects and proposals, but this was eliminated in 2012. If this were re-established (or a similar formal method was established) it would allow for the **exchange of knowledge and intelligence** that is being gathered by both wings.
- Joined up work must start before a programme is designed. The two wings of WFD must **cooperate in conducting context analyses and formulating programmes**. This would ensure that the skills of both wings are brought to bear on the programmes and the context upon which they are designed.
- Given the current **lack of adequate intervention logic**, it is only natural that the two wings are not cooperating. The UK’s parties are delivering to the output they are expected to, according to the corporate logframe and business plan, as is the parliamentary wing. There is a need to reconsider the ultimate objectives of the work of each wing to ensure WFD is focused on the broader goal of system reform and democratic governance reform.
- Though progress has been made, WFD still lacks **unified corporate and operational procedures**, allowing for a consistent approach to such issues as context analyses, priority entry points for support and M&E.

4.3. Programme Relevance

Promoting democracy implies changes to long-standing practices, entrenched interests, and cultural habits, even social and religious norms. Positively influencing such change processes also implies having the capacity: (i) to

³² There is some evidence of the political parties attempting to systematize M&E within the party assistance wing of WFD as far back as 2009, with mixed results. All parties are doing some form of monitoring of their work, some using less formal methods, but there is no consistent approach to M&E as yet.

assess the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of governance processes in a particular context; (ii) to identify possible drivers of change; (iii) to elaborate country-specific response strategies in a long-term perspective; and (iv) to be flexible in how to deliver such strategies. There are substantive insufficient details (e.g. evaluation matrix indicators) that make it difficult to trace the relevance or impact on most of WFD's programmes implemented, including:

- **Insufficient assessment of the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of needs/ processes in a particular context:** This includes: a) a recurrent disconnect between the overarching context analysis and the intervention logic for the various programmes (e.g. no data put into perspective with country governance analysis to track changes in relation to the programme objectives; no clear, realistic measurable programme outputs in relation to the programme objectives); b) a lack of clear criteria for selecting in which countries to work; c) engagement with international networks has not yet been systematically mapped or evaluated; and d) most of the programmes do not contain a detailed analysis or strategy on how to engage with beneficiaries (i.e. weak baseline needs assessment; lack of effective indicators). This was particularly noted in the Jordan parliamentary and political party programmes.³³
- **Inconsistent use of long-term support and beneficiary ownership:** One of WFD's weaknesses is the contrast between the breadth of its ambitious programmes and the scale of available resources. In this respect, evidence gathered demonstrated that the political party projects were, in many cases, able to forge long-term relationships with their sister parties in the Balkans (i.e. Conservative and Labour Party) and in Africa (Liberal Democrats and Smaller Parties) with a clear focus, generally operated within the context of ongoing party-to-party relationships. This continuity, along with the participatory nature of the work with their sister parties, has contributed to the creation of confidence and trust. All political parties were able to draw on experiences from across the UK's political spectrum when assessing needs. Training, mentoring and support are conducted by technical experts with inside knowledge and experience of political parties (e.g. party agents, councillors, MPs, party HQ staff).

By contrast, the parliamentary programmes' relationships with partners and the use of expertise appear to have been more "off-the-shelf" than adapted to the beneficiaries' needs. The parliamentary assistance wing of WFD has a large network of short-term technical experts, but there is no evidence that this expertise is used in an effective way to respond to the complexity of the needs in specific contexts. Evidence gathered demonstrated that most of the evaluated parliamentary programmes were more oriented towards technical aid delivery than based on a participatory approach. Although most of programmes were re-adjusted at the mid-term period, there is little evidence that those adjustments are based on relevant needs and issues of ownership. For example, beneficiaries during the MENA conference held in January 2014 constantly stressed that the delivery of broad training content does not address their needs. In Kenya, the WFD programme interviewees who attended one training module on the devolution process stressed that knowledge did not mean skills.

- **Nature of activities & linkages:** WFD has mainly been confirmed as an organiser of knowledge transfer workshops. While some of these activities can be part of a concerted strategy to contribute, for example, to transfer information on specific electoral campaign strategies or parliamentary development, some forms of raising awareness did not have a clear strategic relevance. This included, for example, generic awareness-raising activities on parliamentary functioning, without consideration of the specific weaknesses of a given parliament. For example, in the MENA conference held at the end of January 2014, most of the attendees participating in the event who the evaluator interacted with underlined that generally the presentations on various parliamentary policies, though interesting, did not take into consideration the reality of MPs in Arab countries.
- **Coherent coordination and partnerships:** WFD has not yet created a strategy for coordination with UK and non-UK stakeholders. As a consequence, WFD's programmes, particularly in the field of parliamentary development, are mostly run in parallel with the activities of other agencies at regional and country levels. Such a mapping of the main actors intervening in the field of political governance could be achieved with limited effort. According to feedback received, WFD has only limited and, in some cases non-existent, operational relations with UK embassies and DFID in the countries they operate. For example, with regard to collaboration with UK representatives in the field, WFD in the Western Balkans has no interaction with the UK embassy in Serbia, which is directly implementing a parliamentary programme with the Serbian National Assembly. In Kenya, WFD has no explicit collaboration with DFID who has a strong parliamentary programme and no interaction with the High

³³ Since December 2013, WFD has updated its reports and forms to attempt to capture the right information for a better analysis; however, as this was implemented only as the MTE was commenced, this report cannot comment on whether or not this has been effective.

4.4. Lessons and Learnings

Key Findings of the Evaluation	Lessons Learned by WFD	Further Recommendations
There is a need for a coherent vision and strategy with regard to the work of WFD	Beyond the broad corporate strategy, WFD has not adopted its work to reflect this lesson.	WFD must establish an integrated operational strategy and culture that establishes and promotes a unified vision and approach to its work.
There is a lack of a formal process whereby the two wings of WFD can meet and exchange information and coordinate their work	WFD has not yet adapted this lesson	Consideration should be given to a formal structure within WFD where senior PA and PPA staff meet on a regular basis to exchange information and coordinate their work.
WFD's corporate logframe and intervention logic entrench parallel work in assistance to parliaments and political parties	WFD has made efforts to revise its logframe (though no changes, as yet, have occurred)	Revise corporate logframe and intervention logic to reflect an integrated approach to capacity development for political governance institutions.
Context analyses are inconsistent and often lack key understandings that are required to design effective programmes	WFD has not yet adapted this lesson	<p>DFID and FCO must provide guidance to WFD on the development and use of effective context analyses.</p> <p>Both wings of WFD should conduct context analyses jointly.</p>

Chapter 5: Value for Money

It is critical to not only evaluate the effectiveness of a funded programme, but to assess the value for money of the intervention. This includes three separate components– inputs (economy); outputs (efficiency); and outcome (effectiveness). Ultimately, it is important to determine if the various components, from inputs to outcome, have an impact on the targeted beneficiaries – the citizens of a country – and this is measured as cost-effectiveness.

5.1. Economy

The critical question with regard to the economy of a programme is to determine if the inputs of the programme are of sufficient quality and the right price. In the case of WFD, one must look at two separate sets of inputs – those of the parliamentary wing and those of the political parties – to ascertain if the inputs are economical. This can be measured with both quantitative and qualitative methods.

5.1.1. Parliamentary Assistance

Looking at the final accounts of WFD for fiscal year 2012-13 and the preliminary accounts for fiscal year 2013-14, there are some clear indications of the costs incurred in delivering the programme inputs.

In 2012-13, the total budget for this programme was £4,561,446. Of that expenditure, £1,793,328 was spent on parliamentary programming³⁴ (38.12% of the total budget). Another £747,752 was paid for overhead costs³⁵, primarily operational staff based in London and other corporate and overhead charges (13.10%). (See Chart 1) However, WFD attributes programming staff based in London to the programming budget. According to data provided by WFD, 65% of the time spent by London programme staff can be allocated to administration (versus direct programming). If these costs were associated with administration (i.e. overhead + programming staff based in London), the cost would increase to 18.06% of the total budget.

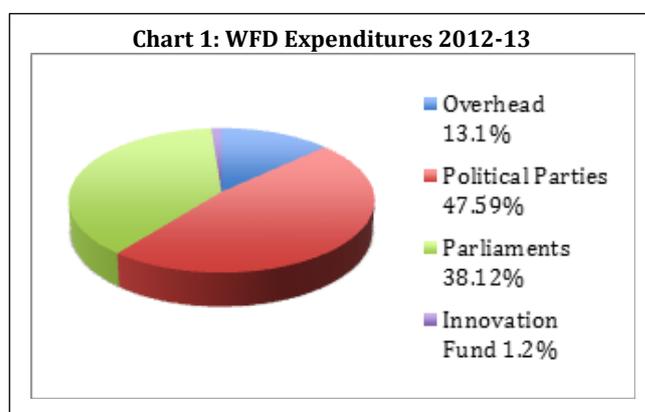
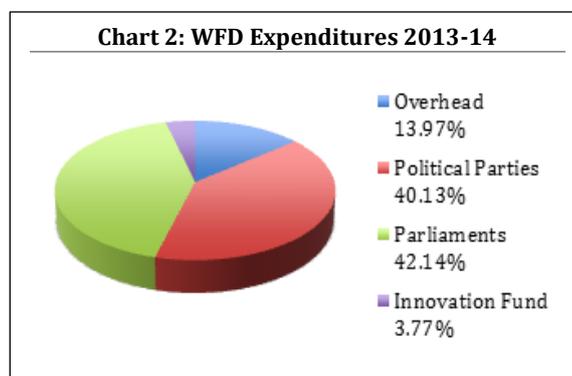


Table 1: Corporate Programme Revenue and Expenditures

FY	Total (£)	Revenue		Expenditures ³⁶			
		FCO	DFID	Parliaments	Political Parties	Innovation Fund	Net Overhead ³⁷
2012-13 Actual	4,561,446	3,499,911	1,061,534	1,738,613	2,170,742	54,714	597,377
2013-14 Forecast ³⁸	5,407,841	3,500,000	1,907,840	2,278,623	2,170,000	203,999	755,219

In 2013-14, the total budget for WFD’s corporate programme was increased to £5,407,840, of which £2,288,624 was spent on parliamentary programmes (40.12% of the total budget) and £831,083 was spent on overhead (15.36%). (See Chart 2)³⁹ Again, as with 2012-13, if we disaggregate costs for programming staff based in London and add to overhead costs, the total administrative costs would increase to 19.97%.

If we look at all administrative costs for both political party and parliamentary assistance, we see that non-programming costs⁴⁰ in



³⁴ This includes staffing of those programmes, such as field staff and programming staff based in London.

³⁵ Overhead costs include some costs that would be attributable to the political party assistance (finance; corporate governance).

³⁶ All expenditures may not total 100% of revenue, as for simplicity, certain charges allocated in the final accounts have not been included in this Table.

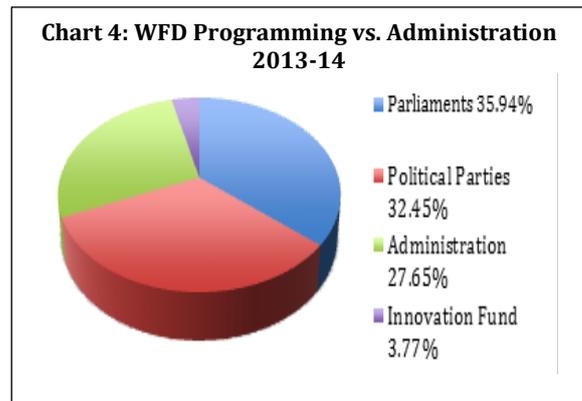
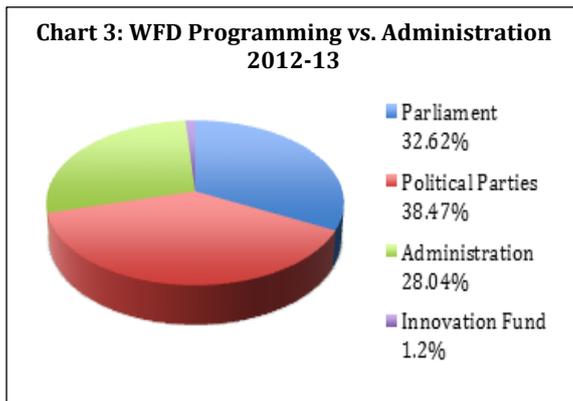
³⁷ Net Overhead is the cost of overhead minus any cost recoveries

³⁸ Based on 11 months of actual costs

³⁹ Based on a forecast as of April, 2014 (and extrapolated from 11 months of actual costs)

⁴⁰ For purposes of this report, any staffing costs attributed to field staff will be considered programming costs as they are based in the field and primarily delivering direct programming.

2012-13 were 28.04% of the entire expenditures. (See Chart 3) For 2013-14, it is projected that the cost of administration for all programmes will be 27.65%. (See Chart 4)⁴¹



Having reviewed the financial accounts of WFD with regard to its work with parliaments, it is also crucial to look at the work in qualitative terms to determine if the inputs paid for were of sufficient quality and at the right price.

Based on the sample of parliamentary programmes evaluated for the MTE, there is a limited economy gained from the inputs provided. Previously in this report we analysed the impact of the work of WFD with regard to parliamentary assistance, but it can be stated here that the funds for the inputs for the delivery of parliamentary assistance could be used more effectively.

A primary example in support of this conclusion is that the parliamentary assistance work of WFD is being delivered through a mix of short-term, *pro bono* technical advisers and paid technical consultants. This methodology, *prima facie*, is acceptable with regard to the delivery of capacity support and one would expect to see these technical advisers being used to build capacity through a variety of methods. However, based on the review of documents and discussions with beneficiaries and some of the consultants, the support provided by the advisers is focused too heavily on short-term, knowledge event interventions. In the **Western Balkans**, consultants were hired to produce and present papers at the regional workshops. To the credit of the programme, the papers have become less academic and more practical, but are still static interventions. In **Kenya**, the hiring of former staff and MPs to provide training to county elected representatives is a good practice, but based on observations of their work, their primary focus is on the delivery of two day training workshops, with only limited follow up and mentoring after the events.

5.1.2. Political Party Assistance

Based on a funding agreement within the Foundation, the parties receive a set amount of the funds allocated to WFD (£2,170,000/annum) and this includes the primary administrative and staffing costs of the various parties in delivering their activities under Output 2 of the corporate logframe. In addition, there are some administrative charges (i.e. finance; corporate governance) that can be partially attributed to the parties' work. Having said that, there are standard administrative costs allocated to the political parties to implement their programmes. The Conservative and Labour Parties have an administrative charge equal to 16% of their funds and the Liberal Democrats and the Smaller Parties Group have a charge of 25%⁴².

There are key differences in how WFD delivers political party assistance, compared to parliamentary assistance, including the method of delivery and the type of expertise. A key difference for the UK's political parties is that they are able to implement their programmes with fewer staff based in London. The parties are also relying less on full-time staff and more on short- and medium-term consultants to deliver their programmes. The vast majority of the consultants used by the parties do so on a *pro bono* basis. Importantly, many of these consultants are used more than once for each country, allowing for the building of relationships between the consultants and the sister parties. Based on the detailed reports provided by many of the technical experts and the feedback from sister party officials, it is clear that the experts were providing the transfer of knowledge through a peer-to-peer approach. Examples of this approach included the **DUP-ACDP projects in South Africa**, where the knowledge of the DUP with regard to political campaigning and its capacity to operate as a small party with limited resources, was valuable to the ACDP. Another example would be the workshops conducted by the Liberal Democrats on communication for the **Africa Liberal**

⁴¹ Based on a forecast as of April, 2014 (and extrapolated from 11 months of actual costs)

⁴² It is important to note that these costs do not include the fact that the Parties also subsidize the work with sister parties through the provision of office space, processing of all financial bills through their respective finance departments, IT support, telephones etc.

Network. Based on the feedback from participants and the post-workshop reports of the technical experts, one can see that the use of current party staff and MPs provides sister parties with access to cutting-edge knowledge at a minimal cost.

It is also important to note that the quality of the consultants used by the UK's parties is high. Where the parties provide technical support and advice to their sister parties, the latter generally acknowledge the value of the knowledge transferred. This was particularly noted by officials from sister parties such as NPP (Ghana), BDM (Botswana), and ACDP (South Africa). Based on a review of documents and materials produced and the progress made by sister parties based on UK party technical interventions, it can be observed that the consultants employed were knowledgeable in the topics they were chosen to deliver and the content was up-to-date.

5.2. Efficiency

Evaluation questions (EQ)	Conclusions	Evidence
2.1 What is the cost-benefit of the activities implemented?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No evidence of WFD employing rules and standards that have encouraged cost effective programming. PA work is based on short-term interventions with little linkage or progress expected between events. PPA projects are more likely to benefit from long-term relationships with partners and seem to be generally based on expected progress between activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No standard rules or practices observed to ensure activities are delivered cost-effectively. Jordan PA Programme relies on short-term events Western Balkans PA Programme has not transitioned to mentoring and coaching as follow up to workshops MENA Programmes are a series of short-term events with limited follow up only in countries where WFD has national programme. Conservatives' DUA and LibDems' ALN built on long-term relationships Labour has maintained lasting partnerships in BiH and Serbia Smaller Parties have used limited resources to deliver results-based capacity support over an extended period
2.2 Were adequate and cost efficient resources applied?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WFD does not use the dominant model for PA work, which includes management of programmes from the field with HQ backstopping. Access to short-term expertise for PA work has limited expansion into medium-term and more results-oriented types of capacity development. PPA projects have found the right mix of HQ and field staff and the use of high quality technical experts – both short and medium-term. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As NDPB, WFD has limited flexibility to hire paid consultants Lack of medium-term technical expertise and willingness to hire the same Short-term consultants used in Jordan PA Programme noted short-term notice of mission and lack of support from HQ PPA projects use party officials and MPs for short and medium-term interventions Parties have smaller contingent in HQ and more reliance on capable technical experts
2.3 Was the division of responsibilities between WFD and its implementing partners clear and appropriate?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structured partnership with national actors. Inability to maintain field presence has limited effectiveness of PA work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evidence of MOUs in Western Balkans; Jordan and Kenya PA Programmes Western Balkans programme has field staff, but limited authority for such staff to manage programme MENA Regional Programmes managed from HQ, until recently Turnover in field staff in Western Balkans and Jordan (and extended periods without field staff) have limited capacity to deliver programmes The best party projects (DUA; ALN) have field staff with autonomy to manage projects.

Building on the assessment of the inputs of WFD, the next step in the value for money assessment is to consider the efficiency of the work of WFD. In particular, this means considering how well WFD converts inputs into outputs.

5.2.1. Parliamentary Assistance

In the Annual Review of WFD for 2013 it was noted that the Foundation needed to move from its overreliance on trainings and short-term interventions towards a more medium and long-term approach to capacity development. To date, there is little sign of this transition and this has hampered the ability of WFD to deliver on its outputs.

As has been observed and adopted as a strategy by other parliamentary development implementers, capacity development of parliaments, parliamentarians and civil society requires hands-on, peer-to-peer, intensive engagement with highly qualified and effective technical advisers. Specifically, this can take the form of coaching and mentoring in-country, attachments with peers in other countries and piloting procedures, such as public hearings, to provide practical advice and expertise. It also requires long-term, in-country field staff that is able to build trust with national actors and to continuously adapt programming and activities based on the demands of the actors and the political context.

WFD's over reliance on short-term interventions and consultants prevents it from achieving results with regard to its parliamentary development work. WFD has faced challenges to hire and maintain field staff with the authority and capacity to deliver the programmes. The EET observed field staff for the projects in **Kenya** and the **Western Balkans** who had extensive experience and were perceived to have the capacity to deliver programming from the field, but they also seemed to have limited authority and flexibility to manage and, therefore, adapt the programmes to the ever-changing political context within which they operate. However, a key concern is the turnover of field staff, often times with a significant gap in time where the posts are not filled, as was seen in Jordan, thus limiting the delivery of programmes and the ability of WFD to have a firmer understanding of the context within which it is operating.

In addition, the inability of WFD to provide the technical backstopping that is generally accepted as a key function of an institution's headquarters has limited the effectiveness of the assistance provided. The lack of senior technical expertise based in London has prevented the Foundation from having the capacity to provide analysis, technical advice to field staff and access to short and medium-term expertise to support the work of WFD.

Until WFD develops a cadre of high quality local technical advisers that can be deployed to provide practical advice and knowledge through more results-oriented techniques (e.g. attachments, mentoring) the Foundation will be restricted to deliver on its outputs related to parliamentary development. The House of Commons Committee on International Development also acknowledged this concern in a recent report.⁴³ So far, WFD has been unable to implement this shift, which is considered vital to becoming an effective parliamentary development institution.

A third issue relates to the number of programmes being implemented by WFD's parliamentary assistance wing. Currently, the Foundation is managing eleven programmes – four regional and seven national (and sub-national). Observing the five programmes evaluated for the MTE, it seems that the resources of WFD – both financial and human – are not sufficient to provide the in-depth assistance that is required to have an impact on its beneficiaries. For example, in the Western Balkans, there is demand from network MPs to receive more substantial support in-country; yet the current contingent of staff and the funding provided does not seem to allow for this next level of support.

Country Case Study: Kenya

In 2012, WFD, together with the Centre for Parliament Studies and Training (CPST), Clarion (a national CSO) and the Transitional Authority developed processes and produced resources that would support the devolution process in Kenya. WFD developed a curriculum with the Centre for Parliament Studies and Training (CPST) to create internal ownership of parliamentary reform and the devolution process. This material was used as reference for the WFD programme focusing on public financial management (PFM) and oversight and "recognising that an effective and viable devolution process required County Assemblies to have expertise in financial development and oversight⁴⁴". The programme aims to provide an opportunity for elected county representatives and civil society organisations to gain an understanding of the PFM budgetary process at the local level. Following needs assessments in designated counties, WFD initiated, in January 2014, a series of two-day trainings sessions in ten counties aimed at elected county representatives and civil society organizations. The evaluators made an analysis of donors' documentation on PFM and met with a very broad range of international stakeholders as well as the WFD programme manager based in WFD's field office in Nairobi, WFD local associates (Clarion and CPST) local trainers and the principal beneficiaries - representatives in Isiolo county (e.g. Isiolo elected representatives, the Isiolo County Chairperson and civil society organisations).

⁴³ *Report of the International Development Committee: Democracy and Development in Burma*, Ninth Report of Session 2013-14, House of Commons, 2014, p.39-40

⁴⁴ WFD revised programme design on 2013

In general terms, those interviewed were of the opinion that the long-term impact of the programme could be considerable. It was generally agreed that the WFD training programme provides a good opportunity to increase knowledge of the budgetary process and creating effective financial management at the county assembly level. However, the documentation with regard to the PFM process in Kenya as well as the interviews with several external actors involved in similar areas have stressed that the programme's effectiveness and relevance could be considerably improved taking into account the following key issues:

1. Interviews with other donors involved in similar areas considered that the WFD programme is partly a duplication of larger donors' programme components (USAID, DFID, and UNDP). With its limited financial and human resources, WFD needs to look for its niche in the devolution process. The Government of Denmark notes in its PFM support programme⁴⁵ that *"more than 10 development partners are active in the PFM 'sector' providing both technical and financial assistance. Key among these are IMF, World Bank, EU, USAID, GIZ and the Embassies of Sweden and Denmark"*. For instance, USAID has committed USD 50M and DFID has allocated £4,362,219 through DFID Kenya Accountable Devolution (KAD) programme to devolution including PFM. The annual review of DFID Kenya Accountable Devolution (KAD) programme⁴⁶ assesses that DFID is providing largely technical assistance and county trainings on PFM through the World Bank to support the transition to devolved government in Kenya. Other programmes such as DFID's Kenya Bridge devolution programme⁴⁷ made in collaboration with USAID included trainings of staff of the county executive, county public service and Members of the County Assemblies on public financial management and oversight. For instance the Canadian Development Agency (CIDA)⁴⁸ who supported CPST curriculum in collaboration with WFD assessed that one of the main risks is *"the looming lack of coordination in the field of County Assembly work...there are now no less than twelve known entities that are running programs on county assembly support"*. The analysis of donors' documentation demonstrates that many donors' programmes working with key government and non-government stakeholders associated with PFM intend to create social demand on behalf of civil society. For instance, the UNDP Amkeni Wakenya Contribution⁴⁹ to Democratic Governance in Kenya programme intends to provide an opportunity for citizens to hold county government to account.
2. The WFD programme was mainly seen as transfer of PFM academic knowledge and was not responding to local needs and to the local realities. As observed by many donors *"a serious impediment to effective devolution is the weakness of local institutions intended to play a major role in the accountability framework"*⁵⁰. In this respect, establishing knowledge without any formal government system is not a sufficient condition for an applied budgetary process and good governance at the devolved level. It was evident in discussions that the Isiolo County is not institutionalized yet – the administrative staff of the county assembly continues to come from Nairobi. Elected county members' capacity building needs have not yet been properly assessed. In April 2013, each county submitted county level budgets, but the trainings were held only in January 2014. At present it is not clear from interviews with CSOs and elected members that they need to know the overall PFM process to present budgetary laws. Establishing CSOs knowledge is a necessity, but not a sufficient condition for supporting civil society initiatives at the devolved level. Demand-side social accountability initiatives by CSOs do not imply the understanding of the overall PFM process. The accountability and transparency of budgetary system towards civil society is not only linked with a deep understanding of PFM process. In this respect, the understanding of the existing practices is also important. In a similar way, it is not clear on how PFM knowledge builds local accountability of counties elected members and staff into the new county system and how this knowledge builds a framework for the devolution process. Those elements are likely to be critical determinants of the success of PFM and oversight. To date no specific budgetary initiative was presented by Isiolo County interviewees since the county budgetary law adoption. In general, it was found that they need capacity building support on how to formulate policies, as a priority need. For its part, civil society appeared embryonic and lacked cohesion and consistency. For instance, it is interesting to note that the trained CSOs in Isiolo did not see their civil society role in the budgetary process. No demand-side social and financial accountability initiatives were undertaken so far by CSOs in Isiolo. Trainers and Clarion interviewees were not able to cite any concrete activities or proposals linked to local financial accountability requested by CSOs trained in various counties. Related to this, the EET observed critical failures in follow up with partners impacting on the effectiveness of programmes in the field. Clarion and CPST are well known organisations but they have little development experience in the field. While the trainers were appreciated by Kenyan beneficiaries, the interviewees in Isiolo did not mention any specific relationship with Clarion. The technical team of facilitators/trainers - composed of six (6) former Members of the Budget Committee in the Parliament and an expert from the Treasury - has a recognised expertise on budgeting and oversight. Although the WFD programme has planned a series of workshops based around staff availability and the requirements of the devolution process, it is not clear on how the academic knowledge will be mentored. Although trainers are dedicated persons, the apparent mentoring required by the county elected representatives that will allow the county members to quickly apply PFM knowledge into a system is not yet structured.

⁴⁵ Government of Denmark, Kenya Governance Support Programme 2010- 2015, Public Finance Management (PFM) Component, March 2014

⁴⁶ DFID annual review, Kenya Accountable Devolution Programme (KADP), November 2013

⁴⁷ DFID business case and intervention summary, Kenya Bridge devolution programme, N°4182764,

⁴⁸ Canadian Development Agency (CIDA), Final Project Narrative Report March 2011 – May 2013, Support to Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST), P28, July 2013

⁴⁹ This programme is funded by the Embassy of Sweden, The Norwegian Embassy, and the Embassy of the Royal Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Embassy of Japan and the European Union has disbursed about USD 22 million to close to 250 civil society Organizations in Kenya, UNDP report, 2013, P66

⁵⁰ Business Case and Intervention Summary, Kenya Accountable Devolution Programme

3. The programme does not currently provide for regular performance evaluation mechanisms, to qualitatively assess participants' contributions, to measure the effective transfer of knowledge, and for participants to provide structured feedback regarding the programme itself. This would again provide a useful tool for WFD to monitor the programme's effectiveness and impact. The evaluators therefore recommend the creation of a formal system of tracking former participants, in order to monitor and analyse the qualitative effectiveness and impact of the programme.

5.2.2. Political Party Assistance

Based on the same question of how inputs are translated into outputs, the work of WFD with regard to political party assistance has been more effective, but not consistently so. In summary, the output of political party assistance relates to the need to build the capacity of political parties so that they are able to be inclusive and responsive, both internally and externally.

Overall, the UK's political parties have been able to go further towards achieving their assigned output where they have directed their resources towards medium-term technical assistance interventions, such as peer-to-peer coaching, mentoring and attachments. By ensuring that such interventions are delivered by high-quality consultants and adjusted to the beneficiaries' needs, the parties are able to go beyond short-term, low impact activities such as workshops and trainings. This has included working directly with sister parties to produce campaign messaging, election manifestos and outreach strategies and has been illustrated through support to Ghana's NPP by the Conservatives and support to Botswana's BDM by the Liberal Democrats.

Furthermore, the trust built and maintained between the UK's political parties and their sister parties is a critical factor in their ability to turn inputs into outputs. This has been achieved by two means. Firstly and primarily, the parties have used their full-time staff to maintain regular communication with their sister parties and have responded to their needs in a manner that has confirmed and expanded the relationship based on trust. This was observed with the work of the Smaller Parties Group and the engagement of the DUP with the ACDP in South Africa, in which regular communication and follow up from the UK led to adjusting the project and the support to the needs of the sister party.

Secondly, some of the parties have supported field staff attached to regional networks which has allowed for a greater level of ownership of the work of those networks by the participating sister parties. This was best exemplified through the Liberal Democrats' ALN network, in which a full time staff person works out of one of the sister party's offices and that staff person maintains regular contact with focal points of the member parties of the network.

It should be noted that the effectiveness and ultimately the ability to deliver on outputs has not been as effective where the political parties have relied primarily upon the provision of accountable grants and have not attempted to provide technical advice. Though grants may result in less commitment of human resources, it also does not leverage the trust relationship to deliver the type of results that come close to meeting the output.

An example of this is the support provided by the Labour Party to social democratic parties in one country. Labour spent more than £90,000 on two projects – one in support of youth in the selected parties and one on women in the same parties. These projects were part of a broader engagement of the Labour Party with several left-leaning nascent parties. Based on a context analysis conducted by the Labour Party, the overriding objective was to promote social democratic values and, eventually, the unification of the parties under one structure. Labour provided funding for the series of workshops and conferences and the development of materials, but had almost no technical input into the development of the content and or the delivery of the knowledge. As a result, it was a challenge to see the linkage between the individual project outputs and the broader long-term objective.

5.3. Effectiveness

Evaluation Question "The extent to which the WFD programme interventions' objectives were achieved, or are expected to be achieved, taking into account their relative importance" (Output 4)?

Expected Output/Assessment Criteria: More effective accountable and representative parliaments and political parties in the countries in which WFD works.	Partially Meeting Expectations
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Evaluation questions (EQ)	Conclusions	Evidence
3.1. Was the WFD intervention logic appropriate to reach the PA/PPA programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No evidence of system-wide tools and templates that have encouraged the necessary cooperation to ensure effectiveness. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No formal structure within WFD for PA & PPA staff to coordinate (BoG sub-committee at which this occurred has been dismantled) In Western Balkans and Jordan, no

objectives?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information and knowledge is not adequately shared between programmes. 	communication between work of PPA and PA work of WFD
3.2 Have the efforts of coordinating PA and PPA programmes furthered the effectiveness of WFD support in each region/country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A lack of coordination and integration of PA and PPA work has limited effectiveness. No evidence that the trust developed between UK's parties and their partners has been transferred to more effective parliaments in the countries in which WFD works. No jointly implemented programmes within current corporate programme. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evidence of PA & PPA wings working with same partners but without coordination in Balkans and Jordan Parties are not using trusted relationship with sister parties to press for greater reforms in Serbia (LibDems; Labour) and another country (Labour) Parties focus on sister parties through electoral cycle and not parliamentary cycle No evidence of joined up work between PA & PPA under corporate programme

The final stage of the process of evaluating a programme with regard to value for money is to measure its effectiveness. In particular, have the outputs from a particular intervention achieved the desired outcome? In the case of WFD's corporate programme, the desired outcome is:

“More effective, accountable and representative parliaments and political parties in the countries in which WFD works”

Measuring the effectiveness of a programme is challenging in the best of circumstances, given that the outcome is influenced by many political risks and variables that are beyond the control of WFD and given that achieving the outcome is a long-term process. Noting these caveats, the effectiveness of WFD can only be assessed by looking at the overall programme in a holistic way. Even if one part of the work of the Foundation has been relatively efficient on delivering of outputs, it is important to consider the overall work of WFD and whether the Foundation has made progress towards its stated outcome.

To start, the lack of economical inputs and delivery of outputs by WFD with regard to parliamentary assistance, as noted above, is a major barrier to the Foundation achieving its outcome. As was seen in the five parliamentary assistance programmes evaluated for the MTE, programmes were formulated and implemented in a less than optimal manner. For example, the regional programme in the **Western Balkans** was designed without any consideration for national interventions and this goes against what has worked in the field of parliamentary development based on the experiences of others (and, indeed, the experience of WFD from previous projects). The programme is achieving most of the outputs as provided in its logframe, but without an investment in more complex technical support for the MPs and committees that are part of the network, it is unable to deliver concrete results (i.e. - MPs and committees conducting oversight), meet the requirements of the corporate log frame with regard to the parliamentary assistance output or the overall outcome of the corporate programme.

In the **MENA Policy Programme**, the decision to engage individual MPs, instead of parliamentary groups or parties, as a means of developing evidence-based parliamentary work, was a missed opportunity for cooperation with the UK's parties and indicates a limited contextual understanding with regard to how best to have such research promoted within a parliament.

The work of the Foundation related to political party assistance has been more effective at assisting its partners towards being more accountable and representative political parties. This has been achieved where the political parties have used their resources to provide practical, peer-to-peer technical advice on a medium-term basis through a relationship with their sister parties that is based on a unique level of trust. Two specific examples of this are the work of the **Conservatives** and its sister parties in **Bosnia-Herzegovina** and the **DUP's** engagement with the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) in **South Africa**. In both cases, the trust between the UK party and its sister party allowed for a greater transfer of knowledge and skill than would otherwise have been possible.

With regard to the need for both PA and PPA work to be better coordinated, one can see in more than one programme, where the PA and PPA wings are working with the same interlocutors, yet there is no knowledge of what the other wing is doing in support of the partner, let alone any communication. In one country, both the parliamentary programme and the Labour Party project engaged the same MP, with no knowledge from either side that the other was engaging him.

There was a previous structure for discussion and communication between the two wings of WFD. As a sub-committee of the Board of Governors, the Projects and Planning Committee had a role to play in formally bringing together the UK's parties with HQ staff on a quarterly basis to consider new projects. But this was also an opportunity to discuss ongoing matters and was used, *de facto*, to coordinate the work of both wings.

However, if the Foundation is to be truly effective in the establishment of a strong political governance system within a country, it must find a way to have these two forms of assistance joined up, thus yielding a greater impact by providing capacity development to two or three key actors (i.e. parliament, parties, civil society) at the same time. This can occur within WFD as a means of bolstering the Foundation's capacity to deliver support to parliaments. In particular, the work of the UK's political parties could be significantly more effective if they were willing and able to use their trusted relationships and skilled advisers to provide support to national political and parliamentary systems, as compared to currently providing them to political parties only.

There are some examples of how this may look in practice:

- Establishing a formal structure within WFD for regular communication between the two wings of the Foundation and to coordinate work accordingly, such as reconstituting the Projects and Planning Committee and the creation of the post of a political party senior adviser within WFD HQ, to lead the development and implementation of joined up work.
- Given that the political parties have established regional networks of like-minded parties, the parliamentary wing should be coordinating its regional work with such networks, drawing on participants for regional workshops and using UK party technical experts to provide technical expertise at the national level, where appropriate.
- Identifying strategic entry points for WFD's work globally with political governance and ensuring such work builds on the strengths of WFD. These may include:
 - Political parties would build integrated programmes in a given country with each other and with the parliamentary assistance wing of WFD. For example, work with parliamentary groups within a parliament is now generally accepted as a key entry point for more effective parliaments, yet it is often not developed programmatically by other implementers because the work is seen as being too politically sensitive. An increase in such a type of project would be a natural fit for the two wings of the organisation⁵¹.
 - Work with MPs with regard to constituency relations, allowing the work of the political parties to be brought to bear on the capacity of parliamentarians to engage their electorate in a dialogue on an ongoing basis⁵².
 - Promoting dialogue amongst parties in the parliament, as a means of reducing conflict or fragility;
 - Promoting the role of effective and respectful government and opposition benches in a parliament to ensure the efficient operation of the institution.
- Starting at the formulation stage of a programme, ensuring UK parties are engaged as full partners and drawing on their political acumen to develop strong context analysis and designing programmes that meet the needs of the national partners.

By using the trust and the skills developed by the UK's political parties to increase the Foundation's capacity to build the capacity of parliaments, parliamentarians and parties, WFD will move much further towards its identified outcome of more effective, accountable and representative parliaments and parties and the broader objective of an enhanced democratic system.

5.4. Lessons and Learnings

Key Findings of the Evaluation	Lessons Learned by WFD	Further Recommendations
Current outputs and outcome to which WFD is delivering its work do not reflect the need to have the entire Foundation working towards one core objective – stronger political governance systems in a given country.	Given that this objective is not well articulated in the original intervention logic and business plan, WFD has not, as yet, addressed this lesson.	DFID, FCO and WFD should consider a revision to the intervention logic and originating documents to reflect the new outcome directed at political systems.
There is a need for one pilot joined up	WFD has recognised this	Formulate and commence work on a

⁵¹ Indeed, WFD itself has already implemented such work. See a brief evaluation of the Macedonia Programme implemented by WFD in *The Challenges of Political Programming: International Assistance to Parties and Parliaments*, International IDEA 2011 (Stockholm)

⁵² The political parties have previously provided support to their sister parties with regard to constituency relations, but this type of work has not been done through the development of the parliamentary system.

<p>programme where both wings of WFD collaborate in all aspects of the programme – from formulation to implementation to evaluation.</p>	<p>lesson as a priority and has initiated the development of a pilot programme.</p>	<p>joined up country level programme by the end of 2014.</p>
<p>The limited authority and use of field staff to manage programmes on a day-to-day basis is negatively influencing the impact of WFD's work.</p>	<p>WFD recognises the use of field staff as a key lesson and has made efforts to install field staff, where feasible. However, field staff working within parliamentary assistance still has limited authority to manage programmes.</p>	<p>Reduce the vertical nature of programme management within the parliamentary assistance wing. Ensure staff has the capacity to manage programmes from the field.</p>
<p>A lack of medium-term technical expertise is limiting the ability of the parliamentary wing of WFD to deliver results.</p>	<p>WFD has not, as yet, adopted its programming and structure to address this lesson.</p>	<p>WFD must develop an intervention logic and annual work plans that recognize the benefit of substantial capacity development and identify entry points for such work. WFD should create a roster of technical experts from which it can draw upon to deliver substantial capacity building to its partners.</p>

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1. Conclusions

This section provides an overall assessment of the WFD and fully takes into account that WFD is in a process of strategic reorientation. Four broad, closely interrelated conclusions can be drawn from this MTE:

1. Institutional constraints undermine the potential impact of the WFD programme.

Institutional and organisational constraints within WFD are an important hurdle for WFD to fully realise the impact that their programmes can have and to achieve its organisational mandate.

Specifically, the Foundation is still based on two quasi-autonomous wings – parliamentary assistance (PA) and political party assistance (PPA). It appears that this systemic divide is related to the two identities that WFD displays in its mandate, i.e. being both a political player and a development actor. The effective delivery of democracy support to third countries depends – to a large extent – on continuous coordination and cross-fertilisation between the two wings and the related set of competencies and working cultures. One of the requirements is that WFD’s headquarters staff needs a more solid understanding of political processes and dynamics effecting the uptake of its assistance at the local level. On the other hand, development methodologies need to be better integrated into the interventions of the political parties. The success of both wings in achieving WFD’s overall outcome is dependent on an effective collaboration and design of holistic, joined up programming. However, this report provides evidence that these two identities are still largely acting in isolation with each other.

This is reflected in (i) an absence of an organisation-wide consensus amongst Governors and staff on what WFD’s mandate really means and on how to address the key WFD objectives; (ii) limited interaction between the staff of the UK’s political parties and WFD’s parliamentary programme staff particularly in the programme design phase; (iii) different approaches to dealing with the parliamentary, political party and civil society support at country and regional levels; and (iv) limited reflection and dialogue at both the strategic and operational levels of the organisation for supporting political parties, parliaments and civil society in a coherent manner integrating the two wings of PA and PPA.

Although WFD has made major efforts to adopt new development methodologies, tools and approaches that help to support democratic processes in a more integrated manner, evidence collected during the desk and field phase of the MTE links the weaknesses in doing so to the prevailing organisational divide within the WFD.

2. Major gaps still exist between stated WFD principles (e.g. corporate plan 2012-2015) and actual programme formulation and implementation practices in the field.

The EET found evidence (across desk and field studies) that the majority of WFD programmes do not yet provide a clearly formulated, comprehensive approach, embedded in solid political analysis; translated into the required ‘policy mix’ for a given country/region and permeating PA/PPA and civil society of interventions; reaching out to a variety of actors; implemented at different governance levels and articulated in a long-term perspective. The following (closely inter-related) gaps have been observed:

- The analysis of *beneficiaries’ needs* in perspective of their local environment is key to promoting democracy. The majority of programmes and projects had some form of context analysis, yet not a standard to be expected for political governance work. In general, PPA and PA programme proposals have insufficient qualitative baseline and a lack of information on different actors to engage on policy and political dialogue in order to identify possible drivers of change.
- *Weak ownership*: The evaluation team found that ownership of WFD programmes is not always clear, in particular for most PA programmes (with the exception of Western Balkans). This deficit can primarily be attributed to the design and implementation process of governance interventions, including (i) a lack of a genuine, multi-actor dialogue on the precise content and priorities of programmes; (ii) insufficient consideration of overall local demands; and (iii) limited political, institutional and risk analysis, including on the existence of sufficient commitment and incentives for change.
- *Lack of long-term and integrated approaches to supporting democracy*: WFD policy documents recommend different types of activities and long-term, gradual and process-oriented approaches (e.g. WFD corporate plan 2011-2015) to support political, parliamentary and societal transformation. Yet, a large share of WFD resources is

used for short-term training-oriented interventions; in a similar vein, WFD does not yet dispose of an appropriate ‘toolkit’ to perform key functions for longer-term, more in-depth support programmes (e.g. tools such as coaching, mentoring, attachments and other forms of technical assistance).

All this points to the need for WFD to revisit some of the fundamental premises of its strategy such as: How does political and societal change occur and how to better understand the local context? How can WFD effectively contribute to changing complex political situations? Who are the actors or likely drivers of change that should be involved and through what type of process? How to ensure genuine ownership (beyond formal commitments)? Which approaches and instruments help to build genuine ownership and local accountability?

3. Substantial progress has been made in dealing with new tools, mechanisms and instruments (e.g. corporate log frame, M&E) but impact on systematically changing working practices is yet to be fully felt

Three major ‘positive developments’ in providing PPA/PA and civil society support have been identified in this report, albeit with important variations in the actual practice according to the PPA/PA wings. The box below presents a panoramic view on the main trends and developments (with supporting evidence).

Positive developments	Elements of Evidence
A WFD policy framework is gradually being constructed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall justification for investing in PPA/PA and civil society support is clearly spelled out in programme proposals • WFD has defined a set of guiding principles through the WFD corporate plan 2011-2015 to work on democracy (e.g. partnerships/ownership, alignment/coordination, different types of activities, different actions and levels, flexibility/ pragmatism, long term and gradual process, country specific approach) • Growing recognition of the need to promote PPA/PA at different levels (local, national, regional) through partnerships with a variety of actors • Growing recognition of the need to work on long-term objectives
Experimentation with new tools and working practices, particularly in M&E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption and use of a corporate logframe as an instrument for periodic PA reporting and M&E • Adoption of M&E processes (e.g. many of the PA programmes that were designed prior to the arrival of senior staff have been reviewed and redesigned) • Effort to combine WFD headquarters and WFD regional teams for PA activities (e.g. more consistent work on parliamentary assistance amongst WFD headquarter and regional teams) • Efforts for operating in systematic manner (reporting has become a routine,)
Some capacity development takes place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in number of specialised staff (particularly at M&E level) • Increased number of WFD permanent regional teams for PA (e.g. Kenya, Balkans) • Learning-by-doing takes place (some parliamentary programmes were re-adjusted at mid-term period against programme objectives) • Active WFD staff participation in related instruments (e.g. use of indicators)

WFD has heavily invested, and progress has also been made, in moving towards a multiyear programmatic approach (in terms of conceptual understanding, establishment and use of M&E) alongside the corporate logframe. While programmatic changes have been less consistent amongst the UK’s parties, some of them have adopted a more systematic approach to their programming.

However, the adoption of a programmatic approach linked with M&E alongside the corporate logframe has had limited value and, in turn, impact, due to the following impeding factors: (i) limited opportunities for an effective exchange between the different wings, technical assistance staff, regional actors; (ii) the lack of a solid institutional memory; (iii) the limited availability (both in terms of quantity and quality) of specialised staff (with relevant training and years of experience), particularly at the level of WFD’s headquarters; (iv) the value of strengthened M&E still needs to be realised; and (iv) evidence presented in this report suggests that the corporate logframe was mainly treated as a mechanical task focused on parliamentary assistance outputs rather than outcomes. Yet there is a need to strengthen the internal capacity of the WFD to deliver sustainable institutional development support in a long-term perspective aimed at systemic change (e.g. by further refining strategies, approaches, tools for promoting organisational change etc.) as well as to monitor capacity building outcomes.

4. Limited progress on effective application of Coherence, Complementarity and Coordination (the 3 Cs) with others stakeholders

Much also remains to be done for ensuring proper Coherence, Complementarity and Coordination with UK Government departments and the broader community of political governance implementers. The concept of ‘mutual accountability’ is yet to be operationalized in WFD’s cooperation with third countries. The evaluation’s evidence suggests that the WFD is still working to define its place, role and added value in the arena of international democracy assistance. There is a need to ensure the work of WFD is well coordinated with that of other implementers to avoid duplication and to help WFD to find its own niche in relation to its human and financial capacity.

It is worth noting that overall, WFD has made significant progress in involvement of local partners in implementing its programmes. Yet, in order to make the most of these collaborations, further learning and experimentation is required, particularly on how to: (i) define a national partnership agenda ‘from the bottom-up’ through an inclusive, multi-actor dialogue process; (ii) better assess and support the capacity of the different partners in a given country or region so as to enhance their contributing to WFD’s outcomes; (iii) focus dialogue on concrete challenges; and (iv) enhance the leverage of the WFD in dialogue processes (e.g. greater flexibility in supporting multi-actor dialogue processes and partnerships).

6.2. Recommendations for the WFD

In this final chapter, a set of recommendations are proposed, based on the findings related to the main conclusions.

Timeframe for implementation:

Short-term (0-3 months): 

Medium-term (4-12 months): 

Long-term (>12 months): 

6.2.1. General

1. WFD needs to ensure a consistent and adequate approach to ensuring a thorough political context analysis before it works in any given country (Short Term)

The Foundation currently is not able to consistently and thoroughly produce quality context analyses before formulating projects and programmes in a given country or region. Indeed, there is little evidence that there has been a concerted and systematic effort to ensure the Foundation has the capacity and commitment to conduct such analyses before designing its programmes. This applies to all aspects of WFD’s work.

2. Where a decision is made to provide support in a country or region, WFD must conduct a thorough and consistent needs assessment and mapping of current work in this field, to ensure the Foundation can identify entry points for support and outputs that do not conflict or create redundancies with other implementers’ work. (Short Term)

Once WFD makes a decision to work in a specific country or region, it has shown limited capacity for determining the specific type of support that should be provided. This must include a needs assessment of a given partner and a mapping of what other implementers are doing with that partner. There are specific examples of WFD designing programmes that are redundant with work being implemented by others or support that is not focused on strategic entry points.

3. WFD needs to develop one corporate strategy with regard to how and with whom it provides assistance. (Medium Term)

Without one overall strategy to the work of WFD combining parliamentary and political party assistance, all other aspects of its work are isolated, resulting in a reduced impact due to an insufficient realization of synergies. In order to ensure that WFD is able to maximise the cost-effectiveness and value for the funds it receives, it must be able to “speak with one voice” as to how it accomplishes its work.

4. WFD needs to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the Board of Governors, the executive management and the parliamentary and political wings of the Foundation within the organisation. (Medium Term)

As WFD gets more deeply involved in the democracy “arena”, it is increasingly confronted, like other organisations, with a wide range of strategic, conceptual and implementation challenges that require more sophisticated responses.

WFD should therefore gradually consolidate and deepen its policy and institutional framework for supporting its objectives. This is a key condition for ensuring that its overall policy response and capacity matches its priorities. In turn, such a move should reduce the perceived gap between policies, actual decision making and implementation practices.

5. WFD needs to establish a formal venue/processes where information and knowledge can be shared amongst PA and PPA staff. (Medium Term)

WFD did have a subcommittee of the Board of Governors, known as the Projects & Planning Committee (PPC), which was a venue where the WFD programme staff and the political party focal points met to discuss funding proposals and to exchange information about their respective work. This subcommittee, or some alternative formal venue, should be re-established to allow a space for the senior staff of both wings to exchange information, coordinate work and to address operational issues between the two wings. This should also free up the time of the Board of Governors to address more strategic issues and spend less time on operational issues.

6. The exchange of information through all aspects of the programme must be systematised. (Medium Term)

There seems to be genuine lack of agreement as to what documents are to be shared and with whom. This is particularly so for the work of the political parties, but also applies to the work of both wings. Systems are required to ensure all documents, from pre-assessment reports and context analyses to activity reports to monitoring and evaluation outcomes must be submitted and exchanged on a timely basis.

7. WFD must reduce the breadth of its work, both globally and within any given programme. (Medium Term)

The Foundation has a tendency to be too ambitious in identifying the amount of work it can deliver. Based on the assessments noted above, the Foundation needs to be more realistic and focused in its outputs, thus allowing for a more in-depth and substantial deployment of resources in a smaller number of programmes and in programmes that are right-sized. This would also allow more resources to be allocated to fewer programmes and, thus, a greater emphasis should be placed on more results-oriented methods of capacity development.

8. To maximise the impact and the value of the work of WFD, the Foundation must find strategic entry points where the work with parliaments and political parties intersects to provide real results. (Long Term)

Though there are signs of value and impact in the work of WFD with regard to political party assistance, such value and impact has been limited by a lack of cooperation between the UK's parties and the parliamentary assistance wing of the Foundation. All stakeholders within WFD must consider their work in light of the need to synergize their efforts and to find entry points in parliaments and political governance that can allow for greater value and impact, not only on the respective parts of the system, but on the overall political system.

6.2.2. Parliamentary Assistance

1. Trust between WFD and its partners is critical to ensuring a significant transfer of knowledge and, in turn, results that achieve outputs and outcomes. (Short Term)

In political governance assistance, trust is critical in order to ensure a consistent transfer of knowledge, skills and ideas and to ensure that political institutions (i.e. parliaments; parties) are willing to apply best practices with regard to their role in a more open, transparent and participative democracy. The trust that has been created based on the UK's political parties with their sister-to-sister approach to political party development is visible and a comparative advantage that must not be underestimated within WFD. A similar approach should be developed, as much as possible, for all of WFD's work.

2. WFD must adopt new and results-oriented methods of capacity development if it is to achieve its outputs and outcome with regard to parliamentary assistance. (Medium Term)

WFDs parliamentary assistance work is still too heavily relying on short-term, event-based activities that are delivering knowledge in a static manner. National partners and beneficiaries may be learning from these activities, but there is no way of measuring the impact. Also, without practical, peer-to-peer support, the results of these activities will never be as impactful. In order to achieve this change in how WFD implements its work, there are a number of specific changes that are required:

- **Establish a roster of technical experts that can work in the medium to long-term with national partners:** WFDs current database of experts almost exclusively consists of *pro bono* MPs and staff that are only available

for short-term (i.e. less than 10 days) missions. This has limited the ability of WFD to deliver medium to long-term technical advice.

- **The human resource protocols need to be more flexible in order to allow for the timely hiring of technical experts:** Current human resource protocols within WFD seem to limit the Foundation's flexibility to hire medium-term consultants to deliver more substantial support.
- **Field staff needs the authority to manage programmes:** Currently programmes are managed more from London and less from the field, resulting in an overly bureaucratic and time consuming approach to programme management that prevents the flexibility and adaptability that is required for work in political governance.
- **WFD requires senior technical expertise based in Headquarters to backstop and monitor the implementation of parliamentary assistance programmes:** There is currently a lack of capacity in the parliamentary assistance wing to fully understand parliamentary development and the experience to understand the key drivers of change for a parliament. This is visible in all aspects of the work of the Foundation with regard to parliamentary assistance and is a major deterrent in achieving results.

3. Regional programming must be coupled with national interventions to support partners in applying the knowledge they have gained through regional activities. (Medium Term)

Regional programmes have a limit as to their impact on the political institutions that are at the core of WFD's work. Such programmes may work initially to create space for dialogue and an exchange of perspectives amongst MPs and party officials, but must eventually be linked to and followed up with country-based activities that ensure substantial support for those same actors when they return to their respective countries and want to apply what they have learned regionally.

4. In formulating a parliamentary assistance programme, WFD must pay greater attention to ensuring ownership and commitment by national partners and beneficiaries. (Long Term)

From the earliest stages in the programme cycle, WFD must instil a sense of ownership on its national partners to ensure there is commitment to the support that is offered and to ensure WFD's proposed work is based on the needs and demands of those partners. This can be achieved by maintaining regular communication between WFD and its partners and would be greatly facilitated by field staff that has the capacity and authority to manage such relationships.

6.2.3. Political Party Assistance

1. Develop frameworks for each party's work that includes indicators and other measurements that capture the long-term, qualitative nature of party assistance. (Short Term)

The political parties have started to move towards longer-term programming and where they have the results have been significant. However, in order to expedite the transition, the political parties need to develop frameworks that identify the indicators and intervention logic that will ensure that the parties are managing towards longer-term objectives.

2. WFD political party assistance must focus on the provision of technical advice. (Medium Term)

The UK's political parties have proven that they can have an impact on the structure, capacity and ideas of their sister parties, but only where they engage them beyond the provision of funding. There is evidence that the use of timely and high quality technical advisers has a significant impact on sister parties and all UK parties should be designing all their programmes and projects to ensure this expertise and advice is at the centre of their work.

3. In future programmes, the primary output for the work of the political parties must be focused on political system reform and not just individual party reforms. (Long Term)

The assistance provided by the political parties can achieve greater results than they are currently encouraged to do. Where the parties use the right methodology they can and should be pursuing reforms to an entire political system and not just one or more parties within that system. This can be achieved only where the output to which they are being measured reflects this new paradigm.

4. WFD must be more proactive in using the UK parties' trust-based relationship with sister parties to promote development objectives. (Long Term)

WFD must find a way to further leverage the comparative advantage it has from the trust created between the UK’s parties and their sister parties. Currently, there are examples of proactive engagement with regard to achieving the overriding outcome of the parties’ work (i.e. more effective, accountable and representative political parties), but this is by no means consistent. UK parties, as implementers under WFD, should be considering how their relationship with sister parties can result in structural changes to the parties, the adoption of policy-oriented election campaigns and nudging sister parties towards best practices that encourage parties to be a positive influence in creating sufficient democratic space in a country and to enhance the entire political system.

6.3. Recommendations for Partnerships and Management

1. WFD has to become better at sharing information and coordinating its work with donors and implementers. (Short Term)

During the implementation of programmes there is a need to ensure the work of WFD is well coordinated with that of other implementers. There is consistent evidence that a lack of coordination with UK Government departments, other UK implementers and the broader community of political governance implementers is systematic and has an impact on WFD’s reputation.

2. WFD must decentralize its operations if it is to achieve results in its work with parliaments and political parties. (Long Term)

The key to successful parliamentary development is having capable and capacitated field staff that are able to work daily with national partners and have access to technical expertise on a short and medium-term basis to deliver strategic and substantial interventions through a variety of capacity building tools (e.g. workshops, toolkits; mentoring; attachments; coaching). WFD must move towards this model by ensuring field staff have the authority to manage the implementation of programmes.

6.4. Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, logframes Recommendation

1. The monitoring of WFD’s programmes needs to be more coherent and a culture of M&E still needs to be established in the Foundation. (Medium Term)

There were clear indications from this evaluation that the systems that have been put in place internally to monitor the implementation of the Foundation’s programmes and projects are not being consistently applied. In some cases, interactions between technical experts and beneficiaries are not being fully recorded and, in turn, the impact of such work is not known. In other cases, there is little evidence of capturing feedback from activities.

2. Results from monitoring by WFD need to be better reflected in how future programming is implemented. (Medium Term)

Even where WFD is capturing feedback from those that participate in activities, the use of that feedback is inconsistent. In some cases, the feedback has been used to adjust programming for future activities. In other cases, there is no sign of the feedback making any difference to the implementation of a programme.

3. Any future logframe needs to be properly elaborated and used by WFD itself with explicit links between activities / outputs and outcomes (Medium Term)

Even the corporate logframe is not the panacea when it is not properly used, it is a useful instrument to trace the intervention logic and to see the extent to which the links are coherent and explicit amongst activities/results and objectives of the programmes.

6.5. Recommendations for DFID & FCO

Recommendations	Priority
Provide more comprehensive and specific guidelines to WFD, so as to facilitate the coherence and harmonisation of activities between FCO/DFID and WFD	Medium
Prioritise objectives, themes, activities and the geographical scope of programmes, with <i>absolute priority</i> to be given to FCO/DFID strategic and priority countries, and ensure that these priorities are communicated to WFD’s beneficiaries	High

Require systematic mapping of a country or region based on clear criteria before formulating a programme (e.g. areas where the best results can be achieved, FCO priorities)	Medium
Ensure that WFD country and regional programmes apply context-specific approaches	Medium
Ensure that programme proposals provide specific success criteria and indicators of effectiveness and impact	High
Ensure that the WFD objectives with regard to its individual programmes are regularly reviewed, to reflect the national and regional contextual changes	Medium
Initiate and facilitate communication and collaboration with a full range of institutions and stakeholders in the field, in order to better harmonise and coordinate policies, priorities and programmes relative to “democracy development” issues	High
Provide training to WFD and political party staff on what is expected by DFID & FCO with regard to conducting context analyses and M&E	Low

Annexures

Annex 1: MTE Terms of Reference

Mid-term Evaluation – Terms of Reference and Scope of Review

Objective

1. To evaluate, at the midway point, the progress of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) in achieving the results and outcomes envisaged in the Business Plan submitted and approved in 2012; and
2. To reflect upon key questions that are relevant to the functions and form of the WFD as support to the required triennial review of NDPBs to be conducted by FCO

Background

FCO has been providing annual grants to WFD since the 1990s. Following one of its evaluations of WFD, conducted in 2009, there was a push to have the organisation become more structured in its support to political institutions with which it works. In 2011, WFD developed a long-term strategy that included core objectives outlined in the Corporate Plan for the years 2011 to 2015, and a Business Plan that was subsequently submitted to FCO and DFID in 2012.

The development of these documents and core objectives for the structural development of WFD resulted in the agreement to provide, for the first time, multi-year funding to WFD to support its transition based on its Corporate Plan. To support harmonisation and to avoid WFD managing multiple results frameworks, DFID support (this programme) is measured through the WFD corporate logframe, which includes the following specific results:

Impact: Strengthened democracy, stability and good governance and improved citizen engagement, in the emerging/developing democracies and post-conflict countries and fragile states in which WFD works.

Outcome: *More effective, accountable and representative parliaments and political parties in the countries in which WFD works.*

This outcome is to be achieved through four **outputs**:

1. Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertaking their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.
2. Minimum of 10 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, having strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.
3. Civil society organisations in 5 countries, and women's groups in 3 countries, engaging effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.
4. Enhanced WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepening WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management, communication tools, etc.); reforming WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda (December 2011).

Given that WFD has two government departments under which it is funded, there are reporting requirements for both departments that must be met. For DFID, it is expected that at the midway point of the life of a funding cycle there will be a Mid-term Evaluation (MTE). For FCO, every three years, all Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs) must be reviewed with regard to form and function. The midway point in the life of the WFD funded programme will be in the first quarter of 2014, while the triennial review (TR) of WFD needs to be completed before the end of the current fiscal year (March 31, 2014). DFID has contracted the evaluators to conduct, inter alia, the MTE, while FCO has concluded that it will conduct the TR through an internal process. However, given that the two reviews will take place virtually simultaneously and that there are some overlapping questions to be answered and recommendations to be concluded, DFID, FCO and the evaluators have agreed that the evaluators will conduct the MTE with an eye to the overlapping issues and conduct limited extra research and analysis to support FCO's internal TR process.

Purpose

- a. Determine at the midpoint of the multi-year programme how effective WFD has been in delivering results and meeting its overall outcome; and
- b. Based on the MTE and the evidence gathered during the assessment:

- (i) Provide limited analysis on the continuing need for the Westminster Foundation for Democracy in terms of its functions and forms; and
- (ii) Briefly consider alternative delivery arrangements with regard to how the UK Government funds democracy assistance.

Scope

The scope of the review will be based upon WFD's incorporating documents, including any memorandum of association and bylaws, defining the organisation's functions and mandate, as well as the 2012-15 Corporate Plan (as approved by DFID and FCO, including any revisions) that sets out the Foundation's strategy and priorities, including business areas and geographic focus.

Methodology

While the MTE and TR workload may overlap, the purpose of the two reviews is slightly different and the evaluators must first consider the purpose of the MTE and the TR:

- The purpose of the MTE will be to assess the progress of WFD in achieving the outcome and outputs enunciated in the organisation's Corporate Plan and logframe; the MTE will provide useful insights into the WFD operating model in comparison with other donors/political foundations operating in this field - However the MTE conclusions/recommendations will be drawn on the original situation and will not give us a potential WFD alternative model.
- The TR aims to go one step further. The TR will, if necessary, identify realistic options for the delivery of the UK government's objectives for democracy assistance.

It is proposed that there be two components to this review:

- (i) MTE Evaluation, Reporting and Analysis; and
- (ii) TR inputs

1. MTE Evaluative Work

1.1 Measuring Progress against the WFD Outcome and Outputs

The first step in the MTE will be to consider in detail if and how WFD is meeting its obligations under the current programme. The evaluators will review each output and the country-level programmes (in selected countries) that have been developed to implement results under each output, to answer the following questions:

- Is WFD achieving the expected results for each output?
- If not, what needs to be done programmatically to ensure results are achieved by the end of the programme?
- Are changes required to the corporate structure to ensure results are achieved?
- Must the logframe for the programme be amended to reflect new and more realistic results?
- What changes, if any, must be made to the monitoring and evaluation plan to achieve results?

The ultimate objective of this component of the review is to provide WFD with concrete recommendations and technical advice as to how it can adjust its programmes and corporate operations to ensure it is on track to achieve the results expected from its programme.

1.2 Methodological approach and tools

Data Collection: Starting in December 2013, the evaluators will initiate the process of collecting data and information with regard to the current state of WFD. This will include up-to-date information on the results achieved by the Foundation under each of the four outputs through a sample of programmes being conducted nationally and regionally in select countries. It will also include quantitative and qualitative information with regard to the current governance structure of WFD and its effectiveness in delivering the expected results.

The following tools will be used to collect the data and obtain the information required:

- **Desk Review:** The evaluators will review all documents, reports and other relevant materials to ensure they have an up-to-date knowledge of the current activities of WFD.
- **Interviews:** Bilateral discussions will be held with programme, operations and monitoring staff of WFD, focal points for political parties, national counterparts and other stakeholders to gain from their perspectives on the

current capacity of the Foundation to meet its obligations and to understand more fully how the Foundation could improve on its current capacity.

- **Surveys:** In order to collect significant quantifiable data, the evaluators will develop and distribute surveys to WFD field staff, national partners and stakeholders to gather information about the perception of WFD. This will also allow the evaluators to aggregate the data from the surveys to provide a more scientific and evidence-based approach to the work of WFD.
- **Field Visits:** The review will include visits to three regions to:
 - Observe how WFD is implementing the programmes at the national and regional levels; and
 - Discuss with other national stakeholders how effective WFD has been in achieving results in comparison with other organisations or initiatives with similar activities and what could be done to increase the Foundation's capacity and effectiveness;
 - Discuss with others donors who have similar activities how they implement their own programs in specific context of the selected country/region.

It is proposed that the field visits be conducted in Kenya, South Africa, Jordan, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, thus allowing for geographic diversity and, given the expected outputs for each country/region, a programmatic diversity as well, including programmes related to parliaments, political parties and CSOs.

It is anticipated that all data and information will be collected prior to mid-February 2014.

1.3 Analysis:

The review will be conducted in an open and inclusive manner, with the evaluators working closely with WFD, DFID and FCO, while keeping interested parliamentary committees informed. It will engage with a broad range of stakeholders throughout the process.

It is anticipated that the first draft of the MTE will be available for review by DFID and FCO by 14 March 2014.

2. TR Inputs

2.1 Questions to be addressed by Evaluators in support of the TR

Once the MTE analysis has been completed, the evaluators can commence with the limited analysis in support of FCOs Triennial Review. In accordance with the UK Cabinet Office's *Guidance on Reviews of Non Departmental Public Bodies* (2011) and direction from FCO, the evaluators will consider the following sets of questions:

- (a) How well do WFD's functions contribute to core business of the NDPB and the sponsor Department;
- (b) Is there a demand for the function or activity from users? (e.g. bringing in the views of beneficiaries);
- (c) How well is WFD currently delivering its function?
- (d) Is WFD providing value for taxpayers' money; and
- (e) Are the freedoms and flexibilities inherent in the NDPB model being used to deliver the function in an adequate manner?

In addition, analysis that could provide an answer to the broad question of whether or not the function WFD has been set up to deliver could be moved out of central Government. The specific questions that could be addressed include:

- (a) Can the function be delivered by local government, by the voluntary sector or by the private sector;
- (b) Is there an existing provider (or providers) in the local government, voluntary or private sector that could deliver this function;
- (c) Can the function be privatised or delivered under contract by the voluntary or private sector;
- (d) Can the function be delivered by a mutual, Community Interest Company or social enterprise; and
- (e) What are the risks and benefits of moving the function out of central government?

Outputs

At the end of this process the evaluators will produce the following:

1. Mid-term Evaluation of WFDs programme for DFID
2. Limited analysis in support of the Triennial Review of WFD by FCO

Process of action plan and Timeframe for triennial review

Process action plan	Activities	Timeframe
Evaluative Process MTE		
MTE	Desk Review & Research	01 December - 10 January
MTE	Field Visits Week 1: South Africa (Evaluators 1 & 2) Week 2: Kenya (Evaluator 1), Jordan (Evaluator 2) Week 3: Serbia (Evaluator 1), Bosnia-Herzegovina (Evaluator2)	13 January – 07 February
MTE	Field Visit Reporting (four days per country)	10 – 28 February
MTE	MTE 1 st Draft Submitted	10 March
Inputs to TR		
TR	Inputs Submitted	24 March

Annex 2: WFD Programmes Evaluated for MTE

Project Title	Relevance	Efficiency	Effectiveness	Impact	Sustainability
Kenya Parliamentary Assistance (PA)	Project is addressing a need identified by Kenyan Government and County Assemblies; formulation fell short by identifying national partners (CPST; Clarion) that lacked capacity to deliver. Nature of activities redundant with those of other donors who have bigger capacity to deliver	Delivery towards outputs has been slow, as a result of delays in delivering capacity development, weak national partners and reduction in the number of assemblies to receive assistance.	Programme has the potential to be effective, if assembly members and staff can receive peer support beyond trainings, but no evidence of this as yet.	Limited. Despite slow start to implementation, there are signs that this programme could have an impact if adjustments made to delivery methodology.	Given weak capacity of national partners (CPST; Clarion), the gaps between the contents of trainings and the priority needs of county representatives and CSOs, limited possibility of sustainability.
Western Balkans PA	Programme was designed to focus only on regional network. Without national component, it will have limited results. Topics for the network are relevant and responding to the needs of MPs.	Outputs of the programme are being achieved, though too much reliance on static knowledge events (conferences, study tours) that are less results-oriented. Significant costs.	Without a national capacity development component to the programme, the regional network will not be effective.	Limited. MPs and staff are gaining knowledge from the network, but lack of practical technical support will mean few concrete results.	Network is fully owned by MPs and there is a good possibility that it can be maintained beyond scope of the programme.
MENA Policy PA	Poor design. Poor choice of methodology and selection of actors.	Significant funds are being expended with little to no results. Outputs not being met.	No chance this programme will deliver results that will meet the outcome of WFD.	None. Serious consideration should be given to ending this programme.	Lack of consistent actors and commitment of MPs and think tanks means there is almost no chance this can be sustained.
MENA Women's Leadership PA	Programme design is adequate; However, the objectives are similar to many other regional programmes by other actors, which shows the design may not have been demand-driven.	Outputs of programme will likely be met, particularly the development of the curriculum. However, cost of the programme is high.	There is a limited opportunity to achieve the stated outcome of WFD through this programme. Likely to occur where WFD has national component to follow up on regional activities.	Limited. Women MPs will likely receive training. To date, no evidence that programme has generated concrete results.	Little chance that this programme is sustainable. Lack of consistency in selecting MPs and ownership by CSOs will limit long-term prospects.
Jordan PA	Work with parliament is well designed; Work with youth is poorly designed and shows a lack of mapping prior to formulation of the programme.	Lack of field staff for several months has delayed work with parliament; youth leadership activities are redundant with other work in Jordan and too costly.	Only opportunity for this programme to achieve stated outcome is to focus on in-depth capacity building of a small number of parliamentary committees and to support establishment of	Limited. Work with parliament, to date, has had no impact, but this may change if resources focused on this aspect of programme. Youth leadership will have no impact.	If a research unit can be established as a result of this programme, it could be a long-term benefit of the programme.

			research unit in parliament.		
Bosnia SDA Conservatives	Context analysis and project design are adequate. Projects could be more output oriented.	Evidence that outputs are being met with limited costs incurred. . Policy development through dialogue with other parties is innovative.	Evidence that the SDA is more representative and accountable as a result of WFD interventions.	Moderate. SDA is more open and less hierarchical. Party is using new communication methods and tools based on Conservative inputs.	Changes to SDA may continue in the long-term, but given many variables, hard to determine. Increased role of youth seems to be permanent.
Bosnia PDP Conservatives	Context analysis and project design are adequate. Projects could be more output oriented.	Evidence that outputs are being met with limited costs incurred. Policy development through dialogue with other parties is innovative.	Evidence that the PDP is more representative and accountable as a result of WFD interventions. Women party members that have received support are advocating within the party for greater leadership roles.	Moderate. PDP now has active youth and women’s wings. Party is using new communication methods and tools based on Conservative inputs.	Changes to PDP may continue in the long-term; increases in number and activism of women and youth within Party seem to be permanent.
Africa DUA Conservatives	Context analysis and project design are adequate. Projects could be more output oriented. Combined with national sister party support, this project meets needs of parties.	Outputs are being met if regional network activities are considered as part of a broader set of capacity building activities, including national capacity building.	DUA is contributing to the overall outcome of WFD through capacitating parties and particularly the youth and women party members.	Good. Evidence that parties receiving support are using new tools, promoting policies and more peaceful.	DUA Secretariat is based in Africa and receives some funds from party members, but no transition plan as yet from WFD funds.
Bosnia social democratic actors Labour	Project design is based on social democratic actors’ needs; Part of a long-term relationship with social democratic actors; Projects are activity-oriented with some reflection on long-term output.	2/3 of outputs were met; limited technical advice from Labour a critical omission. Costs limited. Introduction of draft laws on anti-corruption is a key result.	Social democratic actors’ leadership is committed to greater diversity and speak publicly about fighting corruption, but beyond draft laws, no other evidence of how these projects were effective.	Moderate. Support to social democratic actors lacks programmatic approach. However, some evidence that the social democratic actors did promote new policies as a result of project (Anti-corruption)	Some evidence, that project will result in permanent changes to social democratic actors, if considered as part of the broader, long-term engagement.
Serbia social democratic actors Labour	Project design is based on needs; Lack of technical assistance limits results; Projects are activity-oriented.	Outputs were met, primarily as a result of commitment of social democratic actors. Costs limited.	Social democratic actors’ work with youth and public trade unions is changing how they work with and relate to two key groups of stakeholders.	Moderate. Social democratic actors are being strategic in use of WFD support. This is showing some traction with youth and trade unions through well-	Too soon to determine if the work with youth and trade unions will have a long-term effect.

				designed activities.	
Serbia social democratic actors Labour	Project responding to demand from social democratic actors; Use of ToT by national partners; Projects are activity-oriented.	Some evidence that social democratic actors benefited from project in the short-term; lack of technical advice from Labour limits potential results. Costs limited.	Limited evidence that the projects with social democratic actors improved their capacity to be representative or accountable, given new social media accounts established.	Limited. Beyond short-term changes in use of social media, some sign that the project had a medium or long-term impact on the social democratic actors through a cultural change in how actors communicated with voters.	650 members, including candidates and elected officials, received training, but limited evidence that this will have a long-term result on social democratic actors.
Western Balkans Labour	Project seems to have been demand-driven from Balkan SD parties; project addresses a key issue for SD parties. Activity oriented.	Some, but not most, of the SD parties could get agreement with their national trade unions as a result of the project. Costs limited.	Limited evidence, primarily in Serbia, that project made a difference towards SD parties being more engaged with national trade unions.	Limited. Some trade unions and SD parties signed agreements, but very little evidence that this impacted on parties or democratic governance in any given country.	As an activity-based project, limited evidence that this type of work has resulted in longer-term relationship between SD parties and trade unions..
Unnamed country, social democratic actors	Design is based on demand from social democratic actors in country, but needed more technical inputs from Labour to be well designed. Part of a longer-term strategy by Labour in the country.X.	Costs were high for a project that did not include any technical inputs from Labour. Project delivered outputs, but quality is questionable.	A lack of technical support by Labour, as part of the project, means the project was implemented with poor quality materials and trainers whose capacity is questionable. Limited effect by establishing youth and women's engagement with social democratic actors.	Support for actors should be based on a long-term development strategy. The link between this work and such a strategy is not evident, so impact is minimal.	If youth and women who received training establish formal networks within the social democratic actors, there is a chance of a long-term result.
Africa ALN LibDems	Context analysis and project design are very good. Project is output oriented and moving towards outcome oriented. Combined with national sister party support, this project meets needs of parties.	Outputs are being met if regional network activities are considered as part of a broader set of capacity building activities, including national capacity building. Policy development and proactive advocacy of ALN are very good.	ALN is contributing to the overall outcome of WFD through capacitating parties and particularly the youth and women party members. Promotion of consistent policies (and some cutting edge policies).	Strong. Evidence that parties receiving support are using new tools, and promoting policies developed by the ALN.	ALN Secretariat is based in Africa and receives some funds from party members; Transition plan being developed to plan for work of the network beyond WFD funding.

<p>South Africa DA LibDems</p>	<p>Project is well designed and meets a need from sister party.</p>	<p>Cost of project is limited and builds on DA programme for youth. Output is being achieved.</p>	<p>Highly effective programme of developing youth leaders within DA. Contributes to WFD achievement of its stated outcome for this programme.</p>	<p>Strong. Many examples of newer youth members assuming key roles within the Party.</p>	<p>Sustainable, primarily because the bulk of the youth leadership programme is funded directly by DA and project is an important add-on.</p>
<p>Serbia LDP LibDems</p>	<p>Context analysis and project design are adequate. Projects could be more output oriented. Based on demand from LDP.</p>	<p>Costs are limited; However, no clear evidence that project is changing LDP for the better.</p>	<p>Lack of long-term programmatic approach to work with LDP has limited project's effectiveness.</p>	<p>Limited. Support for LDP should be based on a long-term development strategy. This is not evident, so impact is minimal on Party.</p>	<p>No evidence that project will result in permanent changes to LDP.</p>
<p>South Africa ACDP Small Parties</p>	<p>Context analysis was excellent and project was well designed. Work reflects needs of sister party.</p>	<p>Outputs of project and of WFD were met with limited costs incurred.</p>	<p>Some evidence that ACDP is a more effective and representative political party.</p>	<p>Strong. Project resulted in ACDP being more effective at fundraising, outreach and communication. Key achievements for a small party.</p>	<p>Model used to deliver support shows what can be done with limited resources and primarily through knowledge events and still have a longer-term impact on a sister party.</p>

Annex 3: 2013 WFD Annual Review Recommendations

The following is a suggested list of prioritised recommendations provided by the evaluation team:

Recommendation Priority: Red highlight = high; Yellow highlight = medium. No highlight = low.	Timeframe	Responsible for Action
STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT: 1. Ensure a more strategic alignment of WFDs work and outcome with those of FCO and DfID. 2. Ensure 80% of new party funding proposals are related to the overall outcome of WFD's corporate logframe, including through alignment of geographic parameters	As soon as possible As soon as possible	WFD WFD (Parties)
COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE: 3. More clearly define WFD's niche in the field of P&PPA to enable it to build its reputation as a top-tier implementer. This will likely include the need to map and identify strengths and weaknesses and to develop the right communication strategy.	2014	WFD
CONTEXT DRIVEN INTERVENTIONS: 4. Develop an organisation-wide procedure for conducting political context analyses prior to designing programmes, which is updated throughout the implementation phase of each programme and reflected in the individual programmes. 5. Utilize coordinated needs assessments or scoping visits before any WFD engagement in a specific country or region. This should help WFD ensure it has clear cut, evidence-based explanations with regard to (i) the selected beneficiaries to be supported; (ii) the suggested approach and iii) WFD's added value alongside others interventions	As soon as possible As soon as possible	WFD (Programmes & Parties) WFD (Programmes & Parties)
INTEGRATED INTERVENTIONS: 6. Formulate 1-2 pilot projects that integrate WFD's work with parliaments, CSOs and political parties. (i.e. – common needs assessments, complementary activities between P& PPA). 7. Noting the benefits of enabling sister party work (the need to maintain trust between sister parties and the competitive nature of politics), ensure greater inter-party and intra-organizational integration and cooperation of party and parliamentary assistance.	As soon as possible As soon as possible	WFD (Programmes & Parties) WFD (Programmes & Parties)
MULTI YEAR, MULTI TOOL SUPPORT: 8. Reduce the organisation's reliance on training and partnerships with training institutions as a means of meeting outputs, by transitioning to long-term capacity development tools, such as coaching, mentoring, and piloting, which can deliver greater results 9. Transition away from capacity development towards a focus on institutional reform - altering incentives and behaviour. 10. Continue to build (and expedite) country and regional programmes that have the human resources and work plans to deliver substantial and on-going support to parliaments, in order to achieve the results expected by the end of Year 3 of the project. 11. Ensure the agreed multi-year approach to party assistance is reflected in programming.	On-going As soon as possible As soon as possible As soon as possible	WFD (Programmes & Parties) WFD (Programmes & Parties) WFD WFD (Parties)
MOINITORING AND EVALUATION: 12. Develop flexible and iterative performance monitoring plans that are able to take into account both changing programme delivery goals and unexpected challenges given the country situation.	2013-15	WFD (M&E, programmes and Parties) for all

<p>13. Integrate flexible performance assessments into project design and implementation [e.g. WFD baseline assessments] to ensure a clearer picture of what needs to be achieved.</p> <p>14. Develop frameworks for each party's work that includes indicators and other measurements that capture the long-term, qualitative nature of party assistance.</p> <p>15. Ensure a more effective investment in international networks of political parties by more systematic mapping and evaluation of the impact of this support.</p> <p>16. Ensure that outputs are communicated to potential beneficiaries, and that beneficiaries are actively encouraged to undertake a broader range of activities.</p> <p>17. Ensure WFD record-keeping includes concrete outputs of beneficiaries' activities.</p>	<p>2013-15</p> <p>2nd Half of 2013</p> <p>2014</p> <p>On-going</p> <p>2014</p>	
<p>COORDINATION OF INTERVENTIONS:</p> <p>18. Regular meetings (monthly/quarterly) between senior management staff and parties, and between programme teams and parties as a means of ensuring a greater sharing of information and coordination between the party and programme wings of the organisation.</p>	<p>2013-15</p>	<p>WFD (Led by CEO)</p>
<p>UK STRATEGY:</p> <p>19. Finalize and adopt an overall government (FCO-DFID) strategy to work in the field of political party assistance.</p>	<p>By end 2013</p>	<p>DfID & FCO</p>
<p>LESSON LEARNING / BEST PRACTICE:</p> <p>20. Conduct research/ operational investment on the "How to" of party assistance. This should include an analysis of the benefits and lessons learned from sister party support and overall best practices in political party assistance.</p> <p>21. Evaluate the long-term benefits of party-to-party assistance, even if done so in a retrospective manner, to ensure there is a solid evidence base as to how the work of the party wing of WFD is having an impact.</p> <p>22. Producing WFD evidence based policy product on best practice in party assistance.</p>	<p>2014</p> <p>2014</p> <p>2014</p>	<p>WFD (Parties)</p> <p>WFD</p> <p>WFD</p>
<p>UK GOVERNMENT SUPPORT:</p> <p>23. Continue to ensure close cooperation and coordination between FCO and DfID in support of WFDs organizational development.</p>	<p>2013-15</p>	<p>DfID & FCO</p>

Annex 4: Presentation of revised intervention logic developed for the MTE

11 focus areas were identified under the four outputs of WFD's programme that inform the overall programme impact (Source. Extract of the inception report)

Output 1: Parliamentarians, including female parliamentarians, in 10 legislatures undertake their key legislative, oversight, financial scrutiny and representative roles.

1. The representative effectiveness of the legislature (number of laws initiated by beneficiaries, number of bills supported by policy research papers, public consultations, ability to intervene into the budget vote, etc.);
2. The internal capacity of the legislative services (parliamentary committees open to CSOs, media and public, the transparency of the budget etc.);
3. The level of public confidence (number of MP meetings held in constituencies, etc.).

Output 2: Minimum of 10 political parties, in countries selected by WFD, have strengthened internal structures and external networks, enabling them to formulate, communicate and campaign on policy-based messages that offer a genuine choice to citizens.

4. The improvement of political parties' internal and organisational structures (financing the electoral campaign, definition in their constitutions, principles or ideology, revision of their internal rules, etc.);
5. The improvement of political parties' democratic attitudes during elections at national, regional, and local levels (women candidates, ideological electoral programmes in line with national economic and social priorities, etc.);
6. The improvement of political parties' accountability and transparency (consultations with the public between elections, interparty/multiparty dialogue with public through consultations between elections, development of policy-based platforms, etc.).

Output 3: Civil society organisations in 5 countries, including women's groups have better access to and are trained to engage effectively with parliaments, parties and other stakeholders.

7. Citizens' engagement with parliaments and political parties (CSOs advocacy meetings with MPs, Number of bills initiated thanks to policy oriented research institutes, CSOs advocacy papers "on gender equity", budget adjustments as a result of CSO interventions, etc.).

Output 4: Enhance WFD's strategic focus and strengthened coordination, including party-to-party, parliamentary and cross-party work; deepen WFD's technical expertise and professionalism (drawing on best practice, learning and development, improved programme management tools, etc.); reformed WFD structure and governance arrangements, as set out in WFD's Change Agenda (December 2011).

8. WFD programme design built upon and reflecting context analysis (political economy analysis, mapping of stakeholders, etc.);
9. WFD tailored approaches to specific contexts (SMART indicators, planning; benchmarks of progress contextualised, operational coordination with other organisations to leverage effect, correlation of the implementation of activities, expenditures of resources with measure of results; etc).

Added to these are:

10. Strengthening ownership of beneficiaries to enhance the transfer of beneficiaries' knowledge into practices; and
11. Building political and social understanding between actual and future leaders within civil society as real watchdogs to enhance the democratic dynamic within a country or region.

Annex 5: Evaluation Matrix (from the Inception Report)

Criteria: Relevance		
Issue: “The extent to which the objectives of a programmes/ project interventions are consistent with beneficiaries’ requirements, country/ regional political and economic context and others donors’ policies” (Output 4)		
Evaluation questions (EQ)	Indicators (quantitative/qualitative)	Sources
1.1 Whether and how PE/PPA project/programme design builds upon and reflects the context analysis?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of ex ante country/regional context and stakeholder analyses of the main ‘structural/contextual’ factors; Existence of data or research that is put into perspective with country governance analysis to track changes in relation with the programme objectives (e.g. detailed analysis of party structures and functioning effectiveness of PPA strategy, mapping of parliamentary institutional powers, party history and electoral framework, the relationship between the legislature and executive); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of regional strategies Analysis of business plans Analysis of the strategic country and regional programmes Analysis of PE project cycle document and reports Analysis of PPA fact findings missions reports Interviews with stakeholders
1.2 Whether and how WFD has adapted different programmatic approaches to specific contexts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of clear, realistic measurable programme activities directly linked with objectives (e.g. use of SMART53 and SPICED54); Existence of PE/PPA Planning, including the existence of explicit risk analysis and assumptions put in perspective with activities planned; Development of a strategy to collect data to measure progress during programme life (e.g. monitoring systems including frequent collection of information on functionality of partnerships, budget monitoring, factors contributing to outcome). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of PE & PPA programme inception reports used in each country/ region Analysis of PE/PPA documents including PE/PPA proposals, budget, log frames⁵⁵, monitoring reports Interviews with WFD programme managers based in the field Interviews with stakeholders
1.3 Whether and how WFD consulted all relevant stakeholders in developing specific programmes for each country/ region?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of a checklist on all relevant actors (including implementers, donors, similar organisations operating in the field) consulted in each region/country to assess how WFD programmes complement other democracy assistance efforts, particularly in relation to political parties and parliaments; Percentage of projects/ programmes coordinated at the operational level with other implementers in each in each region/country; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of PE & PPA inception documents that should reflect mapping of interventions with beneficiaries Interviews with WFD programme managers based in the field Interviews with stakeholders
1.4 Were beneficiaries’ needs and priorities for PE/PPA support explicitly addressed in WFD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of beneficiary needs assessments including the rationale of beneficiaries’ priorities in relation with each programme’s overarching outcomes. Percentage of beneficiaries involved in detailed elaboration of activities (including validation of findings of a needs assessment mission), delivery and management of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of PE/PPA documents including PE/PPA proposals, budget, log frames, monitoring reports Analysis of Beneficiary Needs Assessments

⁵³ specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and time-based objectives

⁵⁴ subjective, participatory, interpreted, cross-checked, empowering, diverse/disaggregated

⁵⁵ WFD Political Parties do not use programmes logframes

programmes	programmes from the early stage;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews with stakeholders including beneficiaries
Criteria: Efficiency		
Issue: “A measure of how efficiently resources and inputs (i.e. - funds, expertise, time) are converted to cost efficient results”		
Evaluation questions (EQ)	Indicators	Sources
2.1 What is the cost-benefit of the activities implemented?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of WFD management guidelines facilitating cost effective programming; Correlation between the implementation of activities and the expenditure of resources to measure results. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Board meeting and sub-committee minutes and reports Analysis of PE/PPA documents including PE/PPA budget, monitoring reports Interviews with programme managers based in London Interviews with stakeholders including WFD experts and implementing partners
2.2 Were adequate and cost efficient resources applied?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Workload of long-term technical expertise based in the field; Number of short-term local experts coming from fragile states engaged by programmes and the evolution of this number over time; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of WFD programme budgets Interviews with stakeholders Interviews with programme managers
2.3 Was the division of responsibilities between WFD and its implementing partners clear and appropriate?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of standard contracts/ MoUs/agreements clarifying the division of tasks with any implementing partner, including in relation to the number of human resources allocated to each programme; Existence of a standard workload framework between WFD and programmes managers in UK and in the field, clarifying the division of tasks in relation to the programme implementation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structure of responsible units/ personnel Analysis of agreements/ MoU signed between WFD/ partners TOR for field-based programme managers' contracts
Criteria: Effectiveness		
Issue: “The extent to which the WFD programme interventions’ objectives were achieved, or are expected to be achieved, taking into account their relative importance” (Output 4)		
Evaluation questions (EQ)	Indicators	Sources
3.1. Was the WFD intervention logic appropriate to reach the PE/PPA programme objectives?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nature and frequency of information sharing, including lessons learned, across individual interventions; Quantity and content of analytical tools, guidelines and templates developed for designing longer-term, strategic interventions under outputs 1 to 3; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desk study of WFD progress and monitoring reports, WFD documentation Analysis of context documentation Interviews with WFD PE/PPA programme managers
3.2 Have the efforts of coordinating PE and PPA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of programmes jointly implemented by the PE/PPA wings; Number of programmes able to leverage the party-to-party support into lasting change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desk study of WFD progress and monitoring reports, WFD documentation

programmes furthered the effectiveness of WFD support in each region/ country	in parliamentary groups within the parliament? (PE/PPA).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis of data collection • Interviews with WFD PE/PPA programme managers
Criteria: Impact		
Issue: “The extent to which the WFD programme interventions’ objectives made a difference to the beneficiaries” (Outputs 1,2 and 3)		
Evaluation questions (EQ)	Indicators	Sources
4.1 PE programmes’ impacts reached in Output 1?		
4.1.1 Were the PE programmes’ activities contributing to the key representative role of parliamentarians including female parliamentarians?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of citizen engagement by MPs and parliamentary committees; • Development of Regulations/ rules and procedures on policy development consultations between MP, PE staff and CSOs; • Number of questions to ministers or amendments to laws introduced as a direct result of consultations with CSOs by MPs, parliamentary groups or parliamentary committees; • Existence of communication and outreach strategies on gender issues for female parliamentarians to encourage engagement with CSOs and media. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PE wing documentation • Evidence of advocacy (i.e. White Papers, proposed drafts of laws, etc.) • Interviews with beneficiaries and implementing partners • Focus Group discussions • Surveys
4.1.2 Are the PE programmes activities contributing to key legislative role of parliamentarians?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of substantial legislative initiatives emanating from female MPs, or committees • Number or percentage of legislative bills drafted by the executive that are substantively amended by the legislature or a committee; • Number of new laws that, as bills, were introduced by an MP or Parliamentary committee on a specific WFD topic (i.e. - financial scrutiny and transparency, European integration on competitiveness and economic growth, etc.); • Percentage of MPs and parliamentary staff who declare that they were able to obtain interesting/ accurate information through WFD support; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PE wing documentation • Evidence of advocacy (i.e. White Papers, proposed drafts of laws, etc.) • Interviews with beneficiaries and implementing partners • Focus Group discussions • Surveys
4.1.3 Are the PE programme activities contributing to oversight and financial scrutiny?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of interventions (e.g. – amendments, questions, etc.) during the annual state budget approval process; • Number of evidence-based budget analyses during the review of the state budget; • Percentage of PE’s budget devoted to modernisation and reform of parliamentary research capacity; • Percentage of MPs and staff who declared that they can conduct oversight processes more effectively as a result of WFD interventions; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PE wing documentation • Evidence of MP and PE staff advocacy (i.e. White Papers, proposed drafts of laws, etc.) • Interviews with beneficiaries and implementing partners • Focus Group discussions • Surveys

4.2 PPA programmes/projects impact reached in output 2?		
4.2.1 Are the PPA national and regional projects contributing to the improvement of political parties' internal and organisational structures, and processes at regional, national and local levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of parties that have amended or revised party policy and rules to promote internal democracy, transparency and policy-orientation; • Number of parties that have developed on their own political parties "tools" to improve their internal functioning and to build connections between political parties and voters (e.g. political parties planning's and actions plans, leadership models, external communication and media management models etc.); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PPA wing documentation • Evidence of supporting document advocacy initiated by political parties (i.e. political parties' internal rules, revised party policy, etc.) • Interviews with political parties and MP (if joint activities) • Focus Group discussions • Surveys
4.2.2. Are the PPA national and regional projects contributing to the improvement of democratic attitudes during elections at national, regional, and local levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of parties that have revised their internal rules to encourage youth and women participation as candidates during elections; • Number of parties that have developed and disseminated their electoral code of conduct towards citizens and public opinion; • Number of political party that have participated in interparty/multiparty dialogue with general public interventions/consultations during an election. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PPA wing documentation • Evidence of supporting document initiated by political parties towards voters (i.e., political party programmes etc.) • Focus Group discussions • Surveys
4.2.3 Are the PE/PPA projects/ programmes activities contributing to political parties' accountability and transparency?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of parties that have developed and implemented issue-based campaigns and advocacy policies between elections; • Number of consultations with general public between elections; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PPA wing documentation • Evidence of supporting document advocacy initiated by political parties (i.e. public opinion survey etc.) • Focus Group discussions • Surveys
4.3. PPA programmes/projects impacts reached in Output 3?		
4.3.1 Are the PE/PPA projects/ programmes activities contributing to the citizen's engagement with parliaments and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of CSOs groups who participate in public consultations; • Number of bills initiated thanks to policy oriented research institutes;, including those related to gender issues • Number of CSOs that have developed and implemented advocacy campaigns; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of WFD/PE and WFD/PPA wing documentation • Evidence of supporting document advocacy initiated by CSOs and policy research institutes (i.e. gender guidelines, political

<p>political parties?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of participating CSOs who declare that citizens advocacy and proposals has been factored into legislation and budget decisions and that MPs are engaged with citizens at the constituency level; 	<p>parties' internal rules, revised party policy etc.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews with MP and PE staff, political parties members and staff, media, CSOs, policy oriented research institutes (if joint activities) Surveys
<p>4.3.2 Are the WFD activities contributing to the ownership and to the building of political and mutual understanding?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political Parties members and MP and parliamentary staff who participated in regional programmes that are still linked to each other and exchange on practices and challenges; Percentage of MP members and staff participating in country/regional programmes who confirm that WFD expertise supported them to play a key role in their country and can name concrete benefits to their work (oversight, financial scrutiny, representativeness, PE internal management systems); Percentage of political parties members and staff participating in country/ regional programmes that confirm that political parties expertise delivered did help them to play a key role in their country and can name concrete benefits for their work (party organisation, elections, accountability to voters, etc.); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews with MP and PE staff, political parties members and staff, CSOs, policy oriented research institutes, (if joint activities) Focus Group discussions Surveys

Criteria: Sustainability

Issue: Issue: “The extent to which the WFD programme/ project intervention benefits were sustained after funding ceased” (Outputs 1, 2, 3 & 4)

Evaluation questions (EQ)	Indicators	Sources
<p>5.1 Were the benefits of WFD PE and PPE programmes sustained after the funding ceased?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of centralised knowledge management across the individual projects/ programmes organized; Existence of knowledge management measuring the level of transfer knowledge management to partner institutions' staff to effectively manage on their own assistance projects the individual projects/ programmes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of WFD/PE and WFD/PPA wing documentation Interviews with WFD/PE and WFD PPA wing members and programmes managers) Interviews with involving partners and beneficiaries
<p>5.2 Were there unintended effects?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lessons learned have been passed along stakeholders that will continue to be involved (including measure success and failure of PE and PPA, measures of unplanned effects, measure of the contribution of individual WFD programmes/ projects in relation to others developments partners involving in democracy areas). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of WFD/PE and WFD/PPA wing documentation Interviews with WFD/PE and WFD/PPA wings members and programmes managers) Interviews with WFD programmes managers based on the field Interviews with involving partners and

		beneficiaries
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Annex 6: List of Documents Reviewed for MTE

No.	Country/Region	Project	Relevance to Evaluation	
1.	South Africa	2 LibDem Projects with the Democratic Alliance (DA Youth Leadership Programme Master class; DAYLP Workshop)	LibDem Political Party Programming Approach (Output 2)	<p>ZA13A30D South Africa Young Leaders Project Proposal Overview of DA - Liberal Democrats cooperation in 2013 London Master Class November 2013 Programme Graduates Biographies DA Young Leaders Programme - Roundtable discussion, August 2013 London Participant list PPT Presentation 3rd Retreat 2012 – Final Report 3rd Retreat 2012 – Final Report 4th Retreat, July 2013 Agenda DFID Assessment Visit Programme 28 - 29.1.2014</p>
2.	Africa Regional	3 LibDem Projects with the Africa Liberal Network (ALN Communications Best Practices; ALN Reputational Risk Assessment; ALN Secretariat Support)	Political Party Regional Approach (Output 2)	<p>AA14A108D Africa Liberal Network Communication Best Practice Project Proposal Final Report ALN Coordinator Report Participants Feedback Forms Trainer Report Guest Speaker Report - Simon Hughes MP Partner Report Workshop Programme ALN Best Practice in Political Communication Guide, 2013</p> <p>AA13A106D Africa Liberal Network Risk Assessment and Policy Audit Project Proposal Final Report, 2013 ALN policy Audit AA13A103D ALN Support for the Secretariat Project Proposal ALN General Assembly Programme Wilmot James Presentation - FNF workshop The ALN Declaration for Jobs and Growth in Africa</p>
3	Serbia	3 LibDem Projects in Support of LDP (Election Support for the LDP; and Women & Youth Programme)	LibDem Approach to Party Development (Output 2)	<p>SE12E101D Serbia Election Support for the LDP 2011-2012 Project Proposal, 2011 Workshop Course programme, March 2012 Hand-outs, March 2012 Participants evaluation 25.3.2012 Briefing for trainers, March 2012 Logistical briefing, March 2012 Final Report, 2012</p> <p>SE13E104D Serbia Woman and Youth Project Proposal Summary - Activities and Outputs Final Report, 2013</p> <p>Women: Data from feedback questionnaires, February 2013 Participants, February 2013 Trainers Report, February 2013</p> <p>Youth: Briefing for trainers, July 2012 Course programme, July 2012 Workshop slides, July 2012 Hand-outs, July 2012</p>

No.	Country/Region	Project	Relevance to Evaluation	
				Trainer Report, July 2012 Participants evaluation summary, July, 2012
4.	South Africa	DUP's ACDP Support Programme	Smaller Parties' Approach to Party Development (Outputs 1&3)	ZA13A26S ACDP Support Programme Internal communications post-activity report ACDP Project Summary
6.	Bosnia	2 Country Programmes in Support of social democratic actors (Diversity Workshops; and Anti-Corruption Workshops)	Labour Party Approach to Party Development (Output 2)	BA 12 E 74L: Diversity Workshops Programme Log Project Proposal Approval Letter Final Report Anti-Corruption Workshops BA14E82L Project Proposal Approval Letter Programme Log Quarterly Report September 2013
7.	Western Balkans Regional	Strengthening Trade Union Relations in the Western Balkans.	Labour Party Regional Approach to Party Development (Output 2)	13E107L Political Parties and Trade Union Cooperation Project Proposal Approval Letter Programme Log Trade Union Programme Log Weekend Academy Quarterly Reports Trade Union, 2012-2013 Quarterly Reports Weekend Academy, 2012-2013
8.	Serbia	4 Country Programmes (social democratic actors Online Communication; campaign materials; social democratic actors Trade Union Relations and Weekend Academy; and Communications Training for Elected Members)	Labour Party Approach to Party Development (Output 2)	SE12E98L Online Communication Project Proposal Approval Letter Final Report SE12E99L campaign materials Project Proposal Approval Letter Final Report SE13E106L Communications Training for Elected Members Approval Letter Programme Log Project Proposal Final Report SE13E107L Trade Union Relations and Weekend Academy Project Application Approval Letter Programme Log Project Proposal Final Report
9.	Africa Regional	Action Plan for the Women's Academy	Labour Party Regional Approach (Output 2)	AA11A87L Africa Wide Social Democratic Woman's Academy Resolution for the establishment of the Academy, July 2011 Report, August 2011 Workshop Agenda, February 2012 Participants List AA13A105L Africa Wide Secretariat for Women's Academy Agreed Action Plan, 2013-2014 Africa Labour Action Plan for WAFA, 2013-2014 Agenda General Assembly, 2 September 2013 List of Participants Report, August 2011 Report, November 2013
10.	Africa	DUA Women	Political Party	Programme application: Democratic Union of Africa – Skills

No.	Country/Region	Project	Relevance to Evaluation	
	Regional	Regional Candidates' Workshop	Regional Approach (Output 2)	Development of the Centre Right Network Programme, 2012 Programme application: Democratic Union of Africa – two year programme, 2013 Final Report: Democrat Union of Africa (DUA) Africa wide Programme, July 2013
11.	Bosnia	5 Projects in Support of SDA and PDP (PDP Training and Capacity Development Programme; SDA Local Campaign Training; PDP Local Campaign Training; Election campaigning and communications workshops; and Party Building and Development Programme)	Conservative Party Approach to Party Development (Output 2)	Final Report Bosnia Assessment Visit, November 2010 Bosnia Country Briefing, December 2013 Final Report Bosnia PDP Economic Round Table, February 2012 Western Balkan Centre-Right Development Programme, 2012-2013 BA13E80CSDA SDA Local Campaign training Proposal, 2011 Programme Application Local Campaign Training Seminars Final Report SDA Local Campaign Training, June 2012 Programme Application: Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and Party of Democratic Progress (PDP): Party Building and Development Programme BA13E81C SDA Local Campaign Training Programme Application
12.	Kenya	Devolution Support Project (Kenya - Governance Improvement Programme)	Assessment of WFD's Country level Approach to Parliamentary Assistance (Outputs 1&3)	Kenya Devolution Support Project Support to County Assemblies in Devolution Process 2012-2015 Project Design Document Kenya Activity and Resource Schedule V 7 171213 Consultancy To Coordinate And Support The Delivery Of The Kenya Governance Improvement Programme (K-Gip) On A Temporary Basis, Agreement, Scope of work, Revised Logframe, Overview of steps to be undertaken, December 2013 AGREEMENT between The Westminster Foundation for Democracy Africa Programme And CENTRE FOR LAW AND RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL (CLARION) Visit Report Kenya, December 2013 Activity report, October 2013 Report of the workshop for the Speakers and Chairs of Budget and Appropriation Committee for the County Assemblies of:- Homa Bay, Bomet, Laikipia, TanaRiver, Taita Taveta, Nyandarua , West Pokot , Tharaka Nithi, Bungoma and Kitui, October 2013 International Symposium Peer Review the Curriculum of the Kenya Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training, September 2012 Activity report: Preparatory meeting of the Technical Team of Facilitators, September 2013 Activity Report Transition Authority Workshop For Commissioners, September 2012. Programme Manager Activity Report Transition Authority Workshop For Parliamentary Committees, October 2012 Minutes of the Parliamentary Donor Support Group Meetings, 2012-2013 Weekly Reports, September 13 to December 2013 Quarterly Report July 2013, October 2013 Kenya Annual Report, June 2013 Training Materials Outline Of The Guide On Mandates And Procedures For

No.	Country/Region	Project	Relevance to Evaluation	
				County Governments, 2012 Edition Proposal of Country Assembly Staff, 2012. The county Governments Regulations, 2012 Concept Note to Parliamentary Service Commission on Support to County Assemblies, October 2012
13.	Jordan	Developing skills of Jordanian Youth Leaders and Support to the Parliament	VfM; Country Level Parliamentary Programme Approach (Outputs 1 & 3)	Project: JO13M11X Training Materials and Reports, 2013. Terms of Reference for Consultants. Training Materials The Westminster Consortium Improving financial oversight: A guide for parliamentary staff. The Westminster Consortium, 2011 Personal Development Plan. Quarterly Report, July 2013. Quarterly Report, October 2013
14.	MENA Regional	Enhancing Women's Leadership in MENA	VfM; Parliamentary Regional Programme Approach	Agenda on women London regional conference, November 2012 Report on women London regional conference, November 2012 Regional Training Workshop for CSOs 2013 WFD Training Workshop Facilitator Biographies 2013 WFD Training Workshop Training Materials Agenda for policy training November 2013 for women's CSOs Draft Activity Report for November 2013 Training WFD Training Workshop ODI and INASP Report Final, 2013 Agenda regional conference, January 2014 London Conference Participant-Feedback-Forms, 2014 1314Q1 - Quarterly Report 1314Q2 - Quarterly Report
15.	MENA Regional	Strengthening links between policymakers and policy research	VfM; Parliamentary Regional Programme Approach (Output 1 and 3)	Agenda for 1-4 November - MENA Policy - Workshop CRCC Facilitator Biographies Workshop in Amman 1-4 November 2013 – for training purposes only Defining Desired Outcomes: Suggestions for Consideration Geoff Langsdon: Supporting Participatory Democracy in the MENA region Some of the main messages from a recent analysis of Global Case Studies Geoff Langsdon: The Policy Process Workshop in Amman 1-4 November 2013 – for training purposes only „Smoking in Jordan“ Pre-Workshop Questionnaires For Policy Analysts WFD Training Workshop ODI and INASP Report Final Conference : Supporting Approaches For Collaborative Policy Making & Legislation In Arab Parliaments 28 – 30 January 2014 - Participants List - Agenda - Policy Papers Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Yemen, Tunisia 1314Q1 - Quarterly Report - MENA Policy, July 2013 1314Q2 - Quarterly Report - MENA Policy, October 2013 MENA - HoP - October-December 2014 Final MENA - HoP Quarterly Report, October 2013 MENA - HoP Quarterly Report
16.	Western Balkans Regional	Parliamentary Network on Economic, Finance &	VfM; Regional Approach to Parliamentary Development	Bilateral meeting Serbia Montenegro Letter to the Speaker, September 2013 Conclusion from the regional conference in Becici, Montenegro, June 2013

No.	Country/ Region	Project	Relevance to Evaluation	
		European Integration Committees	(Output 1)	<p>Conclusions from Bilateral meeting Macedonia, Serbia 15.11.2013</p> <p>Key Summary And Next Steps From The Brussels Meeting, 12.04.2013</p> <p>Minutes Board Meeting, July 2nd 2013</p> <p>Minutes Board Meeting, October 11th 2013</p> <p>Minutes Network Brussels Meeting, April 12th 2013</p> <p>Report on Regional Conference on Oversight of IPA funds, October 2013</p> <p>Competition Policy in Western Balkan Countries - Research Publication.</p> <p>Instrument for Pre-Accession and its Parliamentary Oversight. Published by WFD, September 2013.</p> <p>Competition policy in western Balkan countries. Slavica Penev. Andreja Marušić, Ahmet Mancellari, Nikola Milović, Fikret Čaušević, Dorarta Hyseni. Published by WFD, 2013.</p> <p>Regional Conference on Parliamentary oversight of IPA Funds. Short Brief on IPA and Parliamentary Control over the use of EU funds in the countries of Western Balkans, 2013.</p> <p>Western Balkans, Strengthening the Role of Parliaments in Promoting Competitiveness and Economic Growth, Quarterly Report, June 2013.</p> <p>Quarterly Report, October 2013.</p>

Annex 7: List of Stakeholders Engaged for MTE

Field Visit Matrix		LibDem – South Africa	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Marike Groenewald	DA Strategic Markets Director	Semi-Structured Interview	Review of LibDems Support and Impact of Support
Jonathan Moakes	DA CEO	Semi-Structured Interview	Quality and level of technical assistance from LibDems and Impact
Ebrahim Fakir	EISA	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of DA and change in capacity
DAYLP Luncheon	DA	Structured Group Discussion (10 participants)	Perspective of mentors in young leaders programme
Marieke Groenewald	DA Young Leaders	Semi-Structured Interview	Relevance of LibDems Support and Impact of Programme
Field Visit Matrix		LibDem – Africa (ALN)	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Aimee Franklin	ALN Coordinator	Semi-Structured Interview	Review of LibDem Support and Impact of Support
Gomoleo Motswaledi	BMD (Botswana Party) Leader	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of support for ALN from member
Jonathan Moakes	DA CEO	Semi-Structured Interview	Trainer perspective on ALN
Stevens Mokgalapa,	DA MP	Structured Group Discussion (3 participants)	Impact of support on ALN from member
Tim Harris	DA MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of support on ALN from member
Ebrahim Fakir	EISA	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of ALN and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		Smaller Parties (DUP) – South Africa	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Steve Swart	ACDP MP	Structured Group Discussion (3 participants)	Impact of DUP support from perspective of beneficiary
Cheryllyn Dudley	ACDP MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of DUP support from perspective of beneficiary
Rosita Barends	ACDP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of DUP support from perspective of beneficiary
Cllr. Rev. Wayne Thring	Vice President of ACDP	Structured Group Discussion (3 participants)	Impact of DUP support from perspective of beneficiary
Jo-Ann Downs	ACDP's National Chairman	Structured Group Discussion (3 participants)	Impact of DUP support from perspective of beneficiary
Ebrahim Fakir	EISA	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of ACDP and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		MENA Parliamentary Regional Programme (Policy Development)	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
	Morocco Counsellor and MP	Structured Group Discussion (3 participants)	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Ibtisham Abdelrahman Hajrass	Algeria MP	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Mohamed Outaiel Dhraief	Tunisia Independent policy Analysis	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Haïfa Sayeh	Tunisia Independent policy Analysis	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity

Amira Bouaouina	Tunisia Independent policy Analysis	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Riadh Dridi	Tunisia Independent policy Analysis	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Hanadi Ehmedat	Representative from Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling, Palestine	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
	Egypt , Arab Forum for Alternatives	Semi-Structured Interview	Trainer perspective on WFD support
Sadeq Jaafar	Bahrain, administrator	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Emad Sheikh Daoud	Executive Director, Dar il Khibra		
Geoff Langsdon	Bridge Partnership, UK		
Ibrahim Sobhy-Al Shahahdeh	Jordanian MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Jeffrey Lilley	IRI Jordan	Semi-Structured Interview	External perspective of implementer
Field Visit Matrix		MENA Parliamentary Regional Programme (Women MPs' Empowerment)	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Sanaa ElSaied	Egypt, former MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Nada Abbas Hafaz	Bahrain, MP and Media spokesperson	Semi-Structured Interview	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Nayayem Al Eadat	Jordan, MP Head of Women Committee and Family Affairs, and member of Foreign Affairs Committee	Structured Group Discussion	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Ahmed Benthala	Morocco, MP	Structured Group Discussion	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Khadija Bladi	Morocco, MP	Structured Group Discussion	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Abdelali Mohammed Hilali	Morocco, MP	Structured Group Discussion	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Naima Rabbaa	Morocco, MP	Structured Group Discussion	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Naima Ben Yahia	Morocco, MP	Structured Group Discussion	Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity
Marguerite El-Helou	Professor at The Lebanese University, Women Expert		
Amira Houssein EL Kataf	Bahrein, Media spokesperson		
Ibtisham Abdelrahman Hajrass	Bahrein, MP, Chairperson of the Women and Child Committee at the Council		Semi-Structured Interview Participant perception of conference content, trainings and change in capacity

	Trainer	Semi-Structured Interview	Trainer perspective on WFD support
Field Visit Matrix		Labour Party In Country	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Social democratic actor		Structured Group Discussion (20 participants and trainers)	Perception of national partner.
Country Representative	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partner and change in capacity
Country Representative	IRI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partner and change in capacity
Politician		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Field Visit Matrix		Jordan Parliamentary Assistance Programme	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Hala Al Salem	National Partner	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Youth Leadership Programme Participants	Beneficiaries	Structured Group Discussion (12 participants)	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Niti Shehu	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Jeffrey Lilley	IRI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Ibrahim Sobhy-Al Shahahdeh	Jordanian MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Jamil Al Nimri	Jordanian MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Azmi Shuaibi	Trainer		Trainer perspective on WFD support
HMA Peter Millet Laura Demetris	FCO	Semi-Structured Interview	British Interlocutor perspective on WFD programme
Greg Powers	Global Partners Governance	Semi-Structured Interview	British implementer perspective on WFD programme
Field Visit Matrix		Kenya – Parliamentary Assistance Programme	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Hope Muli	Programme Manager	Semi-Structured Interview	Review of WFD Support and Impact of Support
William Robinson	FCO	Semi-Structured Interview	British Interlocutor perspective on WFD programme
Leonard Ochieng	CLARION WFD partner and trainer of CSOs	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Lisa McLean	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Dr Dabar Abdi	Transition Authority members	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Simeon Pkiyach Pkatey (member)	Transition Authority members	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Mary Ndeto	Transition Authority members	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Angeline A. Hongo	Transition Authority Vice chairperson	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Ibrahim Hussein	IPYF County elected member in Isiolo	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Abdia Boru	Isolo Social Audit Group	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Francis Astuka	IPYF, Isolo	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Musa Shunky	Isolo Social Adit Group	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Adhe Dida	Isolo Social Audit Group	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary

Jamila Bashir	Call for Change, Isolo	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Fozia Hussein	Premap, Isolo	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Nuria Guyo	PHWE, Isolo	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
M. Molu Halake	Clerk to Isolo county Assembly	Structured Group Discussion	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Christine M. Mwambua –	WFD Partner- Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST)- assistant deputy clerk	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Phyllis Makau	Parliamentary Budget Office -	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Mary M. Tch	WFD Trainers -Technical Team	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Sophia Abdi Noor	WFD Trainers -Technical Team	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
David Koech	WFD Trainers -Technical Team	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Elias Mbau	WFD Trainers -Technical Team	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Joyce Deloge	UNDP	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Zephania Aura	USAID - Senior elections specialist governance , rights and democracy office	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Charity Wakaba	CIDA- Canadian Parliamentary Center	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Geoges Kogolla	British Council, programme & business manager	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		Bosnia – Conservative Support to SDA	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Senad Sepic	Vice President of the Party and Head of their Training College from SDA	Structured Group Discussion (4 participants)	Impact of Conservative support from perspective of beneficiary
Nenad Simovic	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of SDA and change in capacity
Amer Obradovic	CNI	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Conservative support from perspective of beneficiary
Field Visit Matrix		Bosnia – Conservative Party Support to PDP	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Igor Crndak	PDP Party Organiser	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Conservative support from perspective of beneficiary
Mladen Ivanic	PDP President	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Conservative support from perspective of beneficiary
Branislav Borenovic	PDP MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Conservative support from perspective of beneficiary
Amer Obradovic	CNI	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Conservative support from perspective of beneficiary
Nenad Simovic	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of PDP and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		Bosnia – Labour Support to social democratic actor	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Miroslav Zivanovic	President of Forum of Left Initiative	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary

Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Nenad Simovic	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		Serbia – Labour Support to social democratic actor	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Tom Kelly	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception and change in capacity
Zorica Vojinovic	NDI Senior program coordinator	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Ana Manojlovic	FES	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		Serbia – Labour Support to social democratic actor	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Tom Kelly	NDI	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception and change in capacity
Zorica Vojinovic	NDI Senior program coordinator	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Ana Manojlovic	FES	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception and change in capacity
Field Visit Matrix		Serbia – LibDem Support to LDP	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Kenan Hajdarevic	LDP MP	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of LibDem support from perspective of beneficiary
Dusan Gamser	International Officer	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of LibDem support from perspective of beneficiary
Milos Kuzmanovic	Organiser women youth programmes	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of LibDem support from perspective of beneficiary
		Western Balkans – Labour Support to social democratic actor	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Social democratic actor		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of Labour support from perspective of beneficiary
Field Visit Matrix		Western Balkans – Parliamentary Network of Economic, Finance and European Integration Committees	
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies

Danijela Martinovic	NPC Board Member Parliamentary Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Mira Grgic	NPC Board Member, Deputy Speaker of Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Vesna Kovac	Deputy Speaker National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Rade Obranic	MP National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Branislav Borenovic	NPC Deputy Board Member, Chair of the European Integration Committee National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Aleksandar Damjanovic	Parliament of Montenegro, NPC board member	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
		Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Vladanka Avirovikj	MP From Macedonia, NPC board member	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Vladimir Marinkovic	NPC Chair of Board, MP National Assembly of Serbia	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD support from perspective of beneficiary
Biljana Ledenican	UNDP (Serbia)	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Jelena Manic	UNDP (Serbia) Programme Manager		
Tom Kelly	NDI Resident Senior director	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Zorica Vojinovic	NDI Senior program coordinator	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Anna Manojlovic	FES (Serbia)	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of national partners and change in capacity
Zuzana Papazoski	NDI Regional parliamentary programme coordinator	Semi-Structured Interview	External perception of regional stakeholder
HQ Meetings			
Key Stakeholder		Methodology	Relevance/Purpose-based on desk studies
Meg Munn, MP	Former Governor	Semi-Structured Interview	Perception of former Governor and current MP
Bronwen Manby	Governor	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD assistance from perspective of Governor
Ann McKechin, MP	Governor	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD assistance from perspective of Governor
Andrew Rosindell, MP	Governor	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD assistance from perspective of Governor
John Osmond	Governor	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD assistance from perspective of Governor
Greg Powers	Global Partners Governance	Semi-Structured Interview	Impact of WFD assistance from perspective of external stakeholder

