

NIMD Annual Report 2010

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CHAPTER ONE: Executive Summary

As the year 2010 was expected to be the last year of NIMD's second four-year programming cycle much time and energy was invested in looking forward. Obviously looking forward has required some looking backward, especially an analysis of lessons learned and a reflection on successes and failures.

In the context of reflection NIMD found itself in a favourable position for various reasons. Firstly, the second institutional evaluation was well under way at the start of the year and the evaluators shared their observations with NIMD's staff and management. Secondly, the partners in the various countries and continents provided most useful input in the development of NIMD's vision for the future and on the more practical elements required to implement a successful programme in support of democratisation. Thirdly, the experiences acquired in the past years provided input for the NIMD staff and management to reflect on what contributions and activities had worked in what context, and what part of the programme would require further adjustments and improvements. Fourthly and finally, on the basis of an invitation by NIMD, a group of independent experts shared their views on the way forward for NIMD.

The year 2010 showed a further increase in the level of maturity of NIMD's partners. Most of them are well capable of planning activities without losing sight of the broader objectives. NIMD's partners in programme countries also showed an increasing capacity to prepare realistic budgets and to produce progress and financial reports that provide insights into the programmes.

Despite the time and energy invested in reflections and in planning ahead the focus of NIMD's work has first and foremost been on the country programmes and regional programmes. In contrast to earlier years in which the build up and consolidation of programmes was the key objective the year 2010 also required decision-making on strategies of phasing out or putting on hold. Due to lack of progress it had to be decided to terminate the programme in Suriname. This decision was not taken lightly. The basis for this decision was partly linked to Suriname's political landscape and partly to the weakness of programme management.

Similarly, the decision to put on hold NIMD's programme in Zambia was also linked to the political landscape and to management deficiencies. However, it was decided to see whether the post-elections period will offer new opportunities in the course of 2011.

Many politicians in NIMD's programme countries have continued to appreciate the contacts with NIMD staff. Their eagerness to exchange experience with Dutch politicians is equally unchanged. But an element of increasing importance is the peer learning between politicians in programme countries. The year 2010 saw a number of very fruitful exchanges. One interesting example was the regional exchange on constitutional reform, organised by NIMD's partner in Kenya (the Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya) in May 2010. The rich experience regarding exchanges in Africa has been at the root of the production of an NIMD-booklet describing and analysing the experiences ('Peer learning for political parties').

An element of growing importance in various country programmes is democracy education. It should never be assumed that politicians (or ordinary citizens for that matter) fully understand the functioning of democratic systems, neither in Western countries nor in countries on other continents. Like fish being unaware of the water in which they swim many politicians are not quite aware that politics need not be equated with fighting for personal or group interests, that a winner-takes-all electoral system is not the only system available, that political campaigning can be issue-based and need not be personality-based, etc. In this context NIMD is profoundly aware that democracy education should not be translated in the usual training options of northern-based trainers flying in on short-term missions to explain the what and how of electoral processes.

Democracy education should be based on a profound understanding of political dynamics in different continents and different countries. Examples of successful democracy education can be found in programmes as diverse as the ones in Indonesia, Georgia and Mozambique. In all three countries NIMD and its partners aim to do more than transfer knowledge; the focus on the strengthening of democratic attitudes is key.

Cooperation with sister organisations intensified in 2010. An important example of the synergy created by cooperation is found in Latin America. The joint programme of NIMD and International IDEA in Ecuador (Agora Democrática) has turned out to be very successful. The possibility to expand this collaboration in neighbouring Colombia, in a tripartite arrangement with UNDP, was explored and is expected to lead to a new country programme that would only require modest financial resources from NIMD while generating substantial impact.

At an institutional level NIMD has had to operate in a volatile context. The dialogue with the main funder, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has come to a positive conclusion regarding the NIMD accounts for 2007 and 2008. The conditions attached to the Ministry's decision-making, with far-reaching implications for both the organisational structure and the level of costs of NIMD in the Hague, required an intensive dialogue both within NIMD and with the Ministry. Given the many changes that had to be effected the NIMD Board contracted a transition manager in the last quarter of 2010, charged with the supervision of the process.

Most elements of the reorganisation were completed at the end of 2010, including a Board-approved Reorganisation Plan that will create a leaner structure in 2011, a stronger focus on programme management and a significant reduction in the level of overhead costs.

CHAPTER TWO: Africa

2.1 Africa Regional Programme

Context

The democratisation process continued to make positive strides in a majority of NIMD partner countries in sub-Saharan Africa. While some of the challenges individual countries faced may have been unique and particular to those respective countries, a number of developments were common to these countries. Constitutional reform processes for instance continued to dominate the agenda of a number of NIMD partners in the region. Zimbabwe launched the long awaited constitutional reform process in 2010, which should lead to a constitutional referendum in 2011. Kenya adopted a new Constitution in August 2010 that has ushered in a new political dispensation there. Ghana and Mali in West Africa also pushed further their constitutional reform agendas with the former establishing a Constitutional Review Commission. The general elections in Tanzania were held amid calls, especially from civil society and opposition groups, for a new constitution. Although the constitutional reform process in Malawi that began in 2007 has stalled CMD-M, the NIMD partner, joined forces with other actors to explore ways of resuscitating this process.

Politics of consensus and dialogue remained another widely shared challenge in the region. The inter-party dialogue platforms that have been established with NIMD support are proving to be strategic instruments in addressing this democratic challenge. They have demonstrated to be unique avenues through which political parties can jointly participate in the key reforms that are happening in their respective countries. The experiences being accumulated by these inter-party dialogue platforms continued to receive careful reflection, documentation and showcasing for purposes of sharing of lessons and experiences in the region.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The ARP was and continues to be premised on the understanding that despite the diversity and country specific features that characterize NIMD partner countries in Africa, the democratization agenda faces a number of common challenges. Bottlenecks in one country tend to serve as a signal on what has to be avoided elsewhere, while the best practices provide a good platform to showcase that no problem is insurmountable. Thus, there is a lot that democracies within Africa can learn from each other and can learn together. What often is lacking is a forum or framework through and within which this learning and sharing of experiences can take place. The ARP provided political parties with this much needed platform for learning, by linking them up with fellow politicians and relevant networks in the region, and by providing them with research and training materials. Through the facilitation of exchange visits, the organisation of regional conferences, the production of research papers, and the development of training material and toolkits on issues of common concern, ARP contributed to the effective implementation of the individual NIMD country programmes.

ARP thus served as a supporting, facilitating and networking programme to the individual NIMD country programmes. It collected, assembled and redistributed the knowledge, lessons learned and best practices from the various country programmes, with the aim to stimulate shared learning and prevent NIMD partners from 'reinventing the wheel' in their programme strategies.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: NIMD country programmes strengthened through peer-to-peer exchange on democratic processes

In order to realise this desired change, ARP facilitated a number of peer-to-peer exchange programmes between and among NIMD partner countries in the region on topics that were crucial to the democratisation agendas of those countries.

- In the area of constitutional reform, ARP facilitated a multi-country exchange programme in Kenya in May. The exchange programme brought together politicians, constitutional experts and NIMD partners from Kenya, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Zambia to compare the content, outcome and inclusivity of their respective constitutional review and reform processes. A second exchange visit on this topic took place later in the year, when a delegation of Kenyan politicians and constitutional experts travelled to Mali in order to allow Malian political actors to learn from key actors that were involved in the successful and participatory constitutional referendum process in Kenya, in order to prepare for the referendum process in Mali.
- In the area of electoral management, ARP facilitated an exchange programme between a delegation of Malian politicians and electoral stakeholders in Ghana, in order to deepen their understanding of the Ghana electoral management system. As a result, the political parties in Mali were able to formulate their joint recommendations for the set-up of the new electoral management body in Mali. Furthermore, a delegation from the Ugandan Inter Party Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) undertook an exchange visit to Malawi around dialogue with Electoral Management Bodies. As a consequence, the Ugandan politicians decided to embark upon a dialogue with the Ugandan Electoral Commission, in order to ensure the transparency of their own electoral process.
- A research project was started that explores the existing relations between political parties, NIMD partners and Civil Society Organisations and the opportunities for cooperation. A first draft of the study report, focusing on the relation between political and civil society in Malawi, is available, and possibilities for extending the study to other countries are being looked at.
- In May 2010 NIMD's Africa Regional Conference on 'the electoral cycle and democratic reforms in Africa', took place in Uganda. The conference brought together over 60 delegates, representing more than 25 political parties from nine African countries, and was officially opened by President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. The conference reflected on the important role that Electoral Management Bodies play in the consolidation of democracy, and the role interparty dialogue platforms can play to interact with those bodies.

Desired change 2: Cooperation between NIMD partners and relevant stakeholders in the region enhanced

- In February 2010, the NIMD ARP Coordinator and NIMD partners from Kenya, Ghana and Malawi, participated in a two day workshop on the popularisation of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance in South Africa. Following that workshop, CMD-Malawi has become very active and organised a national workshop on the Charter, which has raised public awareness especially on the part of the political fraternity. In Ghana the Charter got finally ratified and in Kenya, the issue is still on the agenda.
- The ARP Team continued to play an important role in the further development and implementation of the iLEDA (initiative for Leadership and Democracy in Africa), an initiative of IDASA, Africa Forum of Former Heads of State and Government. The ARP Coordinator is part of the curriculum development working group of iLEDA, and member of the iLEDA Steering Committee that provides strategic direction to the programme.
- ARP forged strategic cooperation with the Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA), a South African based likeminded regional organisation. As part of this strategic cooperation, NIMD, through ARP was able to facilitate the participation of some of NIMD partners in an EISA organised conference that focused on "Setting Benchmarks for Enhanced Political Party Performance for Democratic Governance in Africa".

Programme Approach

The Africa Regional Programme was structured around three main areas of intervention:

- a) *Peer-to-peer exchange programmes* offering participating countries the possibilities of learning from each other through tailor made peer to peer exchanges. The exchange programmes have been anchored within the individual country programmes to ensure effective implementation of the lessons learned.
- b) *Regional conferences* providing a platform for political parties to come together, interact, share experiences and address common challenges jointly. By taking place out of relative isolation by the regional conference provided a platform for political parties (governing and opposition) from all persuasions to interact with each other and thereby serving as an informal diplomatic channel.
- c) *Knowledge development and knowledge sharing at a regional level:* offering comparative information and lessons within the region for both political parties and other interested actors on themes that are of relevance to the strengthening of political parties and democratization.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

For the organisation of peer to peer exchange visits and regional conferences and the production of research and training material, NIMD sought active collaboration with organisations in the region. In the exchange visits and regional conferences, apart from political party representatives, Electoral Management Bodies, Constitutional Reform Committees, ministries, universities and research institutes provided their support. Furthermore, ARP continued to strengthen its cooperation with the Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA), and facilitated the participation of NIMD partners in an EISA organised conference.

Through ARP, NIMD continued to contribute towards shaping the strategic direction of iLEDA and the curriculum development for a special political parties' training under the iLEDA Academy and Schools for Democracy programme.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Programmatically, ARP has become increasingly relevant to the NIMD partners and country programmes. The ARP Team has, together with the various country teams, proactively assisted the partners in the preparation, implementation and follow-up of the exchange programmes in 2010. This has resulted in well prepared and high quality programmes, which are well embedded in the national programmes. The results from the ARP evaluation in Tanzania have demonstrated that the exchange visits generally meet the requests and needs of visiting delegations, but that challenge lies in the follow-up and translation of the lessons learned into concrete actions. A close collaboration and information sharing between the ARP coordinator, the Country Teams of the respective country programmes and the partners in the field is key in this regard, in order to ensure that the partners are provided with the necessary support and assistance to follow-up on the lessons learned.

Politically, ARP allows for peer learning and peer exchange amongst politicians from various countries outside most inter-governmental platforms and institutions. By doing so, it provides useful information and a diplomatic channel where opposition and governmental parties from various countries can interact. It is therefore important to ensure that for all activities a balanced representation and required level of political expertise is guaranteed, and that politicians from various parties get the opportunity to participate in the activities.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

In 2010, two missions were undertaken by the ARP Team to discuss programmatic planning and implementation. The first mission took place in March 2010, in Zambia, back-to-back with the Zambia Round Table, where the ARP Team reflected upon the progress so far, discussed the planning and core elements of ARP, and started with the preparations for the ARP regional conference 2010. The second mission took place in November 2010 in Tanzania, and was organised back to back with an evaluation mission to evaluate the impact of the ARP facilitated exchange visits in Tanzania in 2008 and 2009.

In order to monitor the content of the programme and to assist the partners in putting in place proper follow-up mechanisms, a representative of the ARP Team was present during the exchange visit between Ghana and Kenya on constitutional reforms, and during the exchange visits between Uganda and Malawi on electoral management and local government structures.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

The success of the ARP depends largely on the close collaboration and sharing of information between and among the key stakeholders, particularly the ARP Team, the Country Teams and the Secretariat/ Management of NIMD partners (CMDs and other partner organizations). In 2010, the ARP Team continued to actively involve the Country Teams and CMDs in the ARP activities and informing them on possibilities for participation, resulting in an improvement in the level and quality of collaboration between the main stakeholders, and an increased demand for ARP facilitated exchange programmes.

The production of some knowledge products has been delayed (e.g. policy papers on dominant party system study report on the relation between political and civil society) due to a lack of time and human resources on the side of NIMD and its partners to carry out proper research. The ARP Team concluded on the need for a more pro-active role in initiating and following-up on planned research projects in order to avoid further delays and contracting external resource persons where necessary.

Stakeholders

1. ARP Team (ARP coordinator based in Malawi, ARP policy officer at NIMD HQ)
2. Political parties and NIMD partner organisations in the African region.
3. Key national partners (depending on the focus of the ARP activity): Electoral Management Bodies, Constitutional Reform Committees, ministries, universities, research institutes.
4. Key international partners (depending on the type and focus of the ARP activity): EISA, IDASA, Africa Forum.

Country budget

- 1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €460,000
- 1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above): Due to a budget reallocation in September 2010, the ARP budget was revised to € 460,000. The extra funds have been used to invest in the curriculum development for a political parties' training programme under the iLEDA Academy and Schools for Democracy programme. There was a slight under expenditure on the overall budget due to the fact that the ARP Round Table that was planned for the end of the year did not take place.
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): No
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): No

2.2 Ghana

Context

The year 2010 was the second year of the administration of president Atta Mills. The constitution review process that was initiated by the president in the first quarter was high on the political agenda. A commission was appointed to seek the views and issues regarding the functioning of the current constitution (1992), as the current text leaves open for interpretation certain essential clauses or does not reflect the current governance context. The main issues relate to limiting the role of the executive and increasing the role of the legislative branch of government, ensuring the independence of the judiciary, and improving election management. The nine-member review commission collected recommendations nationwide¹ to be put forward in a national referendum, scheduled for mid 2011. The IEA/GPPP Director has been one of the members of the commission.

The overt animosity between the two main political parties NDC and NPP continues to be visible in the political arena. This tension is often played out in the media, of which especially the more partisan outlets have a tendency to exacerbate the situation. A key event where this became clear were the remarks by prominent NDC members and the Attorney General about alleged corruption in the judiciary, with the current NDC Chairman promising 'a purging of the whole system', reminding the opposition alarmingly of previous times in which several judges were assassinated during the 1980s Rawlings period. This political acrimony also has direct policy implications when one party takes over power from the other and all previously developed mid-term plans are thrown overboard. This is especially relevant again with the 2012 general elections in sight.

In 2010 both main parties also saw attempts of breakaway factions that wanted to establish rivaling parties. NDC loyalists to former President Rawlings tried to secede but the former party leader distanced himself from this group thereby neutralising the impact. In the NPP a faction in disagreement with the elected flag bearer Nana Akufo-Addo, broke away and established the United Front Party based in NPP stronghold Kumasi. Both these attempts so far have not resulted in major shifts in the political arena.

Economically, Ghana is approaching the status of middle income country (MIC). This is partly due to the Jubilee oil field which started production, but also to robust growth in other sectors. This continuous economic growth of the past years made it unavoidable for the government to continue to deny Ghana's middle income status. This denial has also increased pressure on political parties and government to deliver equitable development, while at the same time upping the ante due to the increased economic cake that is up for grabs. The 'democracies must deliver' slogan is increasingly reverberated as pressure increases on political leaders to substantiate the new Middle Income Country (MIC) status by providing equitable growth and social development for all Ghanaians.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP) contains two areas of intervention. The first entails the facilitation of an interparty dialogue between the four parliamentary parties. This process is focused on improving the state of democracy and on the consolidation of achievements. The Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper (2008) has been the key product of this process and is the main reference point for democratic reform initiatives that the programme is pursuing.

¹ Over 60,000 submissions of issues were sent in to the CRC for review. Out of these 25 top themes and issues are distilled on which Ghanaians can express their views by text message (!) to be presented in the weeklong Constitutional congress. Some 25 issues are now discussed with related proposals for change

The DCSP presents a SWOT-analysis of the state of democracy and details the principal issues and challenges to consolidate and strengthen the democratic functioning. The review of the constitution was indeed one of the recommendations stemming from the DCSP, which was eventually adopted by the president. For 2010, the programme was tailored to the remaining recommendations not directly covered by the constitutional review process; mainly improving legislation related to public funding of political parties, a general (updated) Political Parties Act, and a Presidential Transition Act.

The second area of intervention deals with strengthening party organisations and their capacity. It is tailor-made for each party and focuses on improving the recognised role of a party in society, including the capacity to develop, draft and analyse policy proposals. The provision of dedicated policy analysts to each of the four parliamentary parties aims to improve this capacity. Moreover, in order to be successful in an interparty process, political stability and the promotion of a culture of accommodation and tolerance between parties is essential. This implies the creation of a safe discussion space and behind-the-scenes mediation.

Due to the improved pressure on political actors to provide equitable growth, a key next step in both these areas of intervention is about bridging the gap that still clearly exists between political society and the developmental actors in Ghana. This relates to linking parties to the national development planning exercises like the new Poverty Reduction Strategy and wider Governance Sector support initiatives by other donors. The absence of opposition political party decision makers in the development of these plans hinders any long term planning. The adversary nature of the relationship between the two main parties enforces this stop/go cycle; with every change in power all previously developed plans by the other party are dropped and new ones developed. By increasing capacity of parties to provide and analyse policies, by promoting parties as elemental partners for these development processes, and by officially cooperating with the national planning commission this trend could be countered.

Results Achieved 2010

Desired change 1: Multiparty political system strengthened – Public funding of political parties secured and framework for political transitions in place

- Constitutional Review (CR) process supported by the GPPP parties with joint statement and communiqué during two seminars, and their position on constitutional reform recommendations presented in public. Moreover, the GPPP programme director was a member of the CR commission, ensuring direct linkage and alignment [outputs 1.1.1; 3.1.1; 4.1.1]
- The draft Presidential Transition Bill that has an official reference to and is almost similar to the IEA/GPPP draft produced earlier, was put forward to parliament for reading [outputs 1.2.1; 12.2; 1.2.4]

Desired change 2: Political parties institutionalized and key roles in society improved – management of parties improved, institutional development of parties improved

- The identified need for improved policy orientation, formulation, and analysis capacity in parties was strengthened by providing each party with a dedicated policy analyst. They are responsible for policy development and analysis, but also to link to the CR process and other development actors, mainly the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC). These analysts will thereby be the focal points for linking the political parties with national development processes. [outputs 2.2.1; 2.2.2]
- Linkage and relations with media, other civil society and donor networks strengthened by invitations to GPPP events and regular communication and participation to other actors [outputs 3.2.1; 4.2.1; 4.2.2]

Programme Approach

The Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP) is implemented through the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) – an unaffiliated economic think-tank and civic driven organisation that works on economic and governance issues with several national and international development partners. NIMD supports its two approaches under the GPPP, one focused on multiparty cooperation through a dialogue process, and one focused on strengthening individual party organisations and their organisational and policy capacity. The strategic liaison with the constitutional review process enabled the programme to link the parties to this process and to entice them to support the shared recommendations. Moreover, the drafted legislations as outcomes of the DCSP (as initiated by the parties themselves), ensured support in parliament with the successful outcome of the adoption of the presidential transition bill. The regular multiparty high-level meetings that take place under the auspices of the IEA/GPPP function as tension-breaker and deal making events focused on the consolidation of democracy.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

Current President Mills has once again emphasised the importance of the interparty dialogue in his State of the Nation Speech in early 2010, expressing the wish that all parties cooperate for the common interest of Ghana thereby referencing the GPPP process. With this support, the most important complementarity – to the government and its priorities – is marked. Moreover, as a key element of the strategic plan is to align the political reform agenda with the national development planning process first steps were made to integrate the democratic reform process with development planning at country level. The GPPP entered into discussions with the leadership of the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) and with other bilateral and multilateral donors in the so-called Governance Group to ensure linkage and cooperation.

Between NIMD programmes (in the Africa Regional Programme), Ghana participated in two exchanges in 2010, one as the hosts and one as the visitors. IEA hosted a delegation from the constitutional reform committee in Mali to discuss issues related to the setting-up of a neutral electoral commission. The exchange offered recommendations on the basis of the successful Ghanaian model for the set-up of a new electoral management body. Conversely, in May a delegation from Ghana participated in an exchange visit to Kenya to learn from their experiences in updating the national constitution and the related referendum. Ghanaian parties learned that a political process of this scope requires adversaries to work together: a sometimes difficult but necessary democratic contest of ideas, which was put into practice in the joint communiqué released by the Ghanaian parties in the second half of the year.

On other levels of complementarity, recently project activities started around the Constitutional Reform Process by IEA with funding from the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF). This project focuses on the promotion of citizens' participation in the review and aims to ensure an inclusive participatory process, ownership and ultimately public acceptance of the review process outcome. Moreover, with European Commission funding (through the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, EIDHR) the IEA, in collaboration with the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) and DEMO Finland, started a project on political participation of women in elections after the strong decrease in the number of female parliamentarians elected in 2008. Both projects link directly to the wider objectives of the GPPP and have been developed with support of NIMD and with strategic complementarity in mind.

Key performance & sustainability issues

The level of reliance on the current programme director may create a disproportionate dependency of the programme on a single person who holds and maintains all key contacts and decides on all management issues. Nevertheless, the implementation of the programme indicates no immediate need for intervention as performance and implementation have once again been satisfactory in 2010.

The chances of attracting further external funding for the programme in the (near) future are promising. The longer term objectives of the GPPP are already complemented by funding of programmes that strive towards similar outcomes, but are funded by other donors. NIMD needs increasingly to play a coordinating and supporting role in this regard. Examples of contributions from other sources include the recently obtained EU funding for improving women elected leaders and the UNDEF grant on citizen's participation.

NIMD Programme Support

The NIMD Country Team backstopped the programme on management and strategic issues, and undertook two monitoring missions focused around multi-stakeholder Round Table conferences. During these missions all four parliamentary parties were visited and consulted, including a visit to field activities implemented under the direct (bilateral) party capacity support provided to them. Furthermore the key national actors were consulted. The audience with the President during the March 2010 mission was a highlight. All key development agencies were visited as well, where the Country Team promoted intensified collaboration and suggested donors to include political parties in their information flows and policy discussion networks. Furthermore NIMD organised two exchanges (one receiving and one partaking) for the GPPP on Constitutional Review processes (visit to Kenya) and on Election Management Bodies (receiving a Malian delegation).

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

The political competition in Ghana remains intense, with clear impact on policy development. This justifies a continued investment in a dialogue process focused on neutrality and facilitation, but also stresses the need to collaborate with other actors to achieve long-term policy coherence. Behind the scenes mediation and appeal for political maturity proved to be important features of the programme. Moreover, the plans of the National Development Planning Commission to include (opposition) parties in decision making processes has provided an opportunity to bridge this policy incoherence (stop/go) gap.

Public support is essential in lobbying for improved legislation. The success of a final draft Presidential Transition Bill, based on the GPPP draft, presented to parliament was accomplished due to the public recognition and apparent need for improvement of the system. The need to take the public onboard is especially relevant when promoting legislation that is at first sight of lesser public importance, such as the public financing of political parties act.

Stakeholders

1. The Institute Economic Affairs (IEA) which manages the Ghana Political Parties Programme
2. All four political parties in parliament: National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's National Convention (PNC), Convention People's Party (CPP)
3. Key national partners: Electoral Commission (EC), National Development and Planning Committee (NDPC), parliamentary caucuses, the National Committee for Civic Education, the Commission for Human Rights and Justice, Security Agencies and the Judiciary.
4. Key international partners include the Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE), European Commission (EC), European Partnership for Democracy (EPD), Demo Finland, UN Democracy Fund (UNDEF), and other NIMD partners/CMDs in Africa.

Country budget

- 1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €460,000
- 1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above): N/A
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): not applicable since all funds go through IEA
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): Approximately €50,000 from the EU (related directly to the GPPP, as IEA also implements other projects)

2.3 Kenya

Context

Two events dominated Kenya's political landscape in 2010: a heavily contested constitutional referendum and the expected indictments by the International Criminal Court (ICC). Both developments were likely to divide the coalition government as it tried to agree on key reforms, but despite this fear and the unavoidable polarisation President Mwai Kibaki's coalition government has remained in place.

Kenya adopted a new constitution in August 2010. By doing so it has created a new political dispensation that tries to address long and deeply rooted ethnic grievances over land and over the distribution of public resources. There is much to welcome in the new constitution, especially its commitment to equal political, social and economic rights and the promise of better checks and balances. Kenya's constitution will also considerably devolve fiscal autonomy to the 42 new country governments and introduce the gender parity principle. In contrast to the 2007 election, the referendum was peaceful and well run by the country's reconstituted election commission.

The government proposed to enact all 49 pieces of legislation envisaged by the Constitution within one year instead of maximum five years. This piled pressure on all the stakeholders, including political parties, who wish to track and provide their input into the new laws before they are taken for debate and enactment in Parliament. The constitution outlines the electoral process as well as the basic requirements for political parties. Democratic principles that were first enshrined in legislation have now become constitutional requirements. This urges parties to become more transparent and accountable and change their structures and functioning accordingly.

Another key development was the fact that the International Criminal Court's chief prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, has named six high-ranking Kenyan politicians, from ODM and PNU, suspected of bearing the greatest responsibility for Kenya's post-election violence in 2007. Optimists are viewing the ICC move as the end of the country's culture of impunity, but pessimists fear it could spark a new round of ethnic violence. According to a recent opinion poll, 60% of Kenyans want these men to be tried. Nevertheless, both PNU and ODM representatives have rallied to defend the suspects along ethnic lines.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

In 2010, the overall programme objective was to strengthen the political parties' involvement and outreach with regard to the democratic reform agenda and to increase the influence of political parties in the implementation of this agenda. The NIMD programme in Kenya was structured around the role of political parties in making the three "R"s of the Annan reform agenda operational: Reform (institutionally, constitutionally and legally), Reconstruction (legitimacy and accountability) and Reconciliation (ethnically and strengthening national identity).

Part of this agenda also entailed the institutionalisation of political parties in order to ensure their sustainable role in influencing Kenya's reform process. Efforts concentrated on contributing to the acceptance and enactment of the long-awaited new constitution and to work towards a peaceful referendum, while strengthening the public profile of political parties in this process. Since political parties cannot influence this process in a vacuum, activities were designed to reinforce the parties' engagement with all the relevant stakeholders - government, faith-based and other civil society organisations.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Contributing to acceptance of Kenya's new constitution in which political powers are constitutionally limited and checks and balances strengthened.

- Political parties developed joint positions and lobbied for shared interests within the constitution reform process. The Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Kenya (CMDK) assisted parties in their analysis of the Revised Harmonized Draft Constitution, facilitated dialogue and shared the recommendations with the Committee of Experts (CoE), Parliamentary Select Committee and Interim Independent Electoral Commission (IIEC).

- Political parties contributed to the national civic education campaign for the national referendum. They mapped the political landscape, developed a nationwide strategy and civic education material. CMDK was registered by the IIEC as one of the eight national referendum committees and posted more than 20,000 polling/counting agents to about 160 out of 210 constituencies countrywide.
- Political parties proposed subsidiary amendments to existing laws in line with the Constitution. CMDK reviewed the Political Parties Act 2007 (PPA) and aligned it with the new requirements. A new draft Political Parties Bill was agreed with member parties and shared with the Ministry of Justice, IIEC, Registrar of Political Parties, and the Kenya Law Reform Commission.

Desired change 2: Improving the financial management system and accountability of political parties, and strengthening voice and accountability of political parties through better articulating citizens interests.

- Political parties are increasingly aware of the new structures created by the constitution and its implications and challenges. CMDK worked with the CoE and IIEC to explain to parties the rationale behind provisions on representation and elections. It reaffirmed the parties' responsibility to develop structures that hold their leaders accountable to the people.
- Political parties have better insight into their financial and leadership accountability role. CMDK provided training on policy-making and developed a party manual on Political Party Finance Management. Through the draft Political Parties Bill parties lobbied for a more robust mandate for the Registrar of Political Parties, new parameters for foreign funding and lower registration fees.
- Political party leaders at county level in six selected counties are better informed about constitutional provisions on county governance, in order to prepare parties for participating in devolved governance and for reorganising their structures. The meetings have given CMDK the opportunity to receive feedback from county level party leaders, identify their needs, and develop recommendations.

Programme Approach

NIMD implemented its programme through the CMDK. Kenyan political parties founded this organisation in 2004 with the support from NIMD. It supports political parties across the political divide through a two-pronged approach. First of all it facilitates the interparty dialogue in order to better align political processes with national reform processes. CMDK also stimulates debate. In addition it monitors political developments on behalf of the parties and it uses the forum to exchange information, seek trust and create peer pressure among parties.

Secondly, CMD-K assists Kenyan parties to become increasingly policy oriented and to create a strengthened support base. Party capacity development strategies are supported and implemented through the provision of technical expertise and assistance. CMDK's added value lies especially in its neutrality and ability to facilitate dialogue and information sharing among political and civil society. Through its network of politicians and its cooperation with reform-minded parliamentarians, key government officials, women and youth groups and the media, it is well placed to mobilize (public) pressure.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

While CMD-K focuses specifically on its niche and work with political parties, it has created partnerships with the government, business community (Barclays Bank and the Rotary), faith-based groups, trade unions and civil society, most notably through the Multi-National Salvation Forum. Around the constitution reform process CMDK has developed effective cooperation mechanisms with the five main media houses and key national stakeholders including the Committee of Experts, the Interim Independent Electoral Commission, Registrar of Political Parties, Kenya Law Reform Commission and Ministry of Justice.

One thematic area around which CMDK developed effective international partnerships is the women agenda. In this area CMDK received support from the Heinrich Böll Foundation (HBF) and UNIFEM. With the Ford Foundation CMDK organised a public debate on the role of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Committee. Under USAID/DAI sponsorship CMDK focused on national security and the role of the Administration Police in Kenya's democratic system.

USAID/DAI also supported CMDK in pushing the reform agenda at the provincial level and to advocate for the ratification of the African Union Charter on Democracy.

Above efforts were complemented by regional exchange activities. Kenyan politicians and CMDK staff took part in an EISA study tour to South Africa and in a joint NIMD/NDI conference on African elections in Ghana. NIMD also facilitated regional exchange around constitution reform processes in Africa. CMDK hosted the Constitution Review Commission from Ghana, the Parliamentary Select Committee from Zimbabwe and representatives from Zambia three months before the referendum. CMDK representatives in turn visited Mali and shared their experiences on the role of parties in a national referendum process.

Key performance & sustainability issues

The next elections, planned in 2012, will put both the constitution and Kenya's political parties adherence to the rule of law to the test. Many of the constitutional provisions still need to be clarified by legislation and parties generally lack the policy capacity to follow these developments on an individual basis. While CMDK work on the implementation of the constitution will continue to be required increased emphasis should be put on party capacity building, also in conjunction with other democracy organisations like the NDI.

Sufficient and sustainable resources are the backbone of CMD-K as an institution that aims to strengthen the role and capacity of political parties. Insufficient funds to carry out its programme are a risk factor, as is overdependence on one partner like the NIMD. Over the past years CMDK has become successful in attracting other sources of funding. This has however had an impact on the role and responsibilities of the CMDK Board. The Board has therefore been asked by NIMD to work out a Plan of Action, to critically review its organisational structures and to strengthen its governance and financial oversight functions.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

Key to the PM&E cycle are two annual round-table meetings at which CMDK and NIMD jointly evaluate progress made and identify follow-up strategies, with input from independent academics. During the spring round-table meeting, representatives of political parties, together with CMDK and NIMD staff, reflected on the programmatic progress made in the first part of the year and on the windows of opportunity ahead. At the same event necessary budgetary adjustments were made. During this mission special attention was paid to CMDK relations with some current and potential donors (USAID/DAI, UNIFEM, HBF, UNDP) to explore and identify opportunities for further collaboration. In addition the audit firm presented its findings over the year 2009 and the RNE was consulted in relation to recent political and security developments.

During the autumn round-table meeting parties and staff collectively reviewed the successes and lessons learnt in 2010. The strategic priorities for CMDK in 2011 were identified and CMD-K and NIMD staff worked out a first draft of the 2011 planning logical framework together with a select group of party representatives. The RNE was visited and NIMD staff also held meetings with individual parties to look at their needs within the new constitutional dispensations. The audit was followed up by the CMDK Board's draft Plan of Action meant to address and resolve some organisational challenges.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

Constitutional reform is a political process requiring adversaries to work together: a sometimes difficult but necessary democratic contest of ideas. While the Kenyan people - mostly represented by business and civil society, religious, ethnic and minority groups, government and community leaders - should be involved as underwriters of the constitution making process, the Kenya case confirms that the commitment of the political leadership remains crucial. Political parties have an important role in negotiating the rules of the game, timing, process, and content of the constitutional debate.

Kenyan parties will need assistance in order to become better informed about relevant constitutional and legal changes and understand their practical consequences. At the same time these parties need to be proactive and inform strategic national players about the political parties' interests and seek alliances with reform minded people and groups in society. In order to counter the traditional power base and vested interests in Kenya, and to prevent delays in the

implementation of the constitution, parties will also need to strengthen the nexus between MPs and their parties and provide space for reform-minded politicians.

The constitution has redefined the power balance and rules of the game, and created a new dimension of governance and political competition at the county level. As a result of this devolution process, parties will be required to fill new elective bodies with credible and capable party representatives, hold regular internal elections and secure special seats for women and marginalised groups. Parties need to respond to new election legislation, to the increase of the number of constituencies and to the fact that independent candidates can now run for elections. Political parties require substantial support to deal with these challenges.

Stakeholders

1. The Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya consisting of 33 qualifying member parties (the selection is based on parliamentary representation and/or at least 5 councillors)
2. Key national partners: academics, faith-based groups, trade unions and civil society, business community (Barclays Bank and the Rotary), the five main media houses and key national stakeholders including the Committee of Experts, the Interim Independent Electoral Commission, Registrar of Political Parties, Kenya Law Reform Commission and Ministry of Justice.
3. Key international partners: HBF, UNIFEM, Ford Foundation, USAID/DAI, EISA, NDI, NIMD partners.

Country Budget

1. Amount financed from BuZa funding: €720,000
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): -.
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): Yes

2.4 Malawi

Context

In 2010 the ruling party DPP continued to display a 'winner takes all' attitude in the National Assembly. Using its overwhelming majority, the DPP has continued to pass some controversial legislation by simply ignoring objections and resistance from the opposition and civil society. President Bingu wa Mutharika, who is currently in his second and constitutionally final term in office, is trying to pave the way for his brother Peter Mutharika to succeed him in 2014. The political manoeuvring within the ruling party has led to the expulsion of the country's Vice President Joyce Banda from the party because of her possible ambitions for the party leadership. The DPP has also expelled other senior party members from the party and Cabinet, which is an indication that the power struggle has continued at the highest levels.

Opposition parties on the other hand continued to be in disarray after their defeat in the 2009 general elections. Up to now the leader of the largest opposition party MCP, John Tembo, has been able to resist the call for change of leadership from within its party, although the party's constitution currently doesn't allow him to stand for the Presidency again. The other main opposition party UDF has not been able to resolve its leadership succession process as yet, after former state President Muluzi indicated in 2009 that he would no longer be the leader of the party (and also no longer its sponsor). The party remains largely paralysed by the intrigues between potential new party leaders (including Muluzi's son) and by lack of financial resources. This has made the party vulnerable for splits. Other smaller opposition parties struggled as well to maintain their base.

Towards the end of 2010 it became clear that the delayed Local Government Elections (LGE, originally planned for May 2010) will not take place in April 2011 because the President expelled the Electoral Commission (MEC) over alleged misuse of funds. It is highly unlikely that LGE will be held in the near future (or even before the next general elections in 2014). This continues to leave the democratic gap at local government level wide open, as Malawi de facto hasn't had democratically elected local government organs since the local councils were dissolved in 2005. Malawi only has held Local Government Elections once (in 2000) since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1994.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

Local government elections were therefore also a main focus of the 2010 programme of NIMD. CMD-M continued its lobby for local elections, and the parties met with the Electoral Commission on several occasions to discuss the delays and the specifics of the electoral roadmap that was published for the November 2010 and later the April 2011 elections. As the process is currently stalled and the commission is de facto non functioning, it is still unclear if such activities can continue.

Despite the hegemony of the ruling party, there are possibilities to achieve consensus among political parties on several political reforms. An important issue is the follow-up on the stalled report and recommendations of the Special Law Commission on Constitutional Review. Around 2005 Malawi had undertaken a rather elaborate consultation regarding areas of the constitution that needed review. Based on the outcome of these consultations the Special Law Commission wrote a comprehensive report with recommended amendments. This report was submitted to Cabinet in 2007. The process requires that after Cabinet scrutinizes the report, this document should be forwarded to Parliament for possible adoption. To date, there has been no indication as to the status of the report and when the process would be finalized.

Another issue that is recognised by all parties is the need to reform the Political Party Registration and Regulation Act. In its current state the Act is very superficial and political parties agreed that the Act needs to be seriously reviewed to make it stronger and more relevant to the present situation

Although incentives for the parties differ, all political parties have identified the need to get "their house in order", to (re)build their party structures and to reach out to the electorate. For the relatively young ruling party (the current President split from UDF to form his own party in 2005) the incentive is to harvest support and develop the party based on the results of government

policies. For the main opposition parties the electoral defeat was a harsh reprimand that forced them to acknowledge their weaknesses and the need to regroup and re-strategise.

Results achieved in 2010

Desired change 1: Playing field for political parties more levelled and participatory democracy at local level enhanced

- CMD-M has continued to work with the Electoral Commission thereby building trust between political parties and the Electoral Management body (output 1.1.2.)
- CMD-M has lobbied for the conduct of local government elections (output 1.2.1.)
- CMD-M undertook a study visit to Uganda to examine the functioning of local government (output 1.2.4)
- CMD-M has continued to lobby the Budget and Finance Committee on the need to revise the public financing regime of political parties (output 1.3.4.)
- CMD-M has raised public awareness to reactivate the Constitutional Review Process and improvement of the Political Party Registration Act (output 1.3.5. and additional output)
- CMD-M has conducted an awareness session for political parties on the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (additional output)

Desired change 2: Internal and external accountability improved

- Comparative study on party constitutions undertaken and debated within CMD-M (output 2.1.1.)
- CMD-M has raised awareness of general public on the role of political parties (output 2.2.2.)
- CMD-M has conducted a joint meeting between civil society organizations and the political parties and they have agreed to continue holding thematic meetings between the civil society and the political parties (output 3.1.1.)

Compared to the annual plan, the Malawi programme needed to adapt to certain changes during the year. The announcement of Local Government Elections and subsequently the delay of the elections to 2011 made it necessary to adapt the programme to these new circumstances. Due to these events CMD-M needed to invest more time and resources in the lobby for elections and interaction with electoral stakeholders (especially the MEC). In the second part of the year, CMD-M has been able to organise several additional activities such as for example a joint stakeholders meeting focused on raising awareness for the stalled constitutional review process and a meeting on the African Charter on Democracy Elections and Governance.

Programme Approach

In Malawi NIMD's partner is the Centre for Multiparty Democracy Malawi (CMD-M). The CMD-M was established in 2005 and has a Board in which all six parliamentary parties and the extra parliamentary parties as a block participate. The Secretary Generals of the parties meet regularly to develop the policy and work plan of CMD-M. The programme is implemented by the parties together with a lean professional secretariat.

The methodology of CMD-M is to engage the parties in a dialogue process. Given the current political landscape with one dominant ruling party, two weak opposition parties and three smaller opposition parties, keeping the parties together as owners of CMD-M is a challenge. The programme focuses on developing shared positions of the parties with regards to issues like the level playing field, free and fair elections, the Constitution Review Process and the Political Parties Registration Act. The parties through CMD-M lobbied for their shared interest and for democratic improvements by engaging other stakeholders like the Malawian Electoral Commission (MEC) and civil society organisations.

CMD-M (like MESN) also brought the political parties together in trainings and meetings aimed at improving the organizational capacity of all the parties. This is done in a multiparty setting, with the aim to lowering the levels of mistrust between the parties.

With support from PSO, NIMD assists CMD-M to develop its PME capacity. In 2010 CMD-M started to develop a results based planning monitoring and evaluation system and a manual that elaborates on the system.

It is expected that this system will be guiding the planning implementation and monitoring of CMD-M's activities and will improve its capacity to track results of the activities.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

In 2010 CMD-M established firmer and broader links with civil society. As a way of strengthening the rooting of political parties in society and also to ensure that the parties are representing the relevant issues that matter to people especially from the grassroots, the link between the parties and the civil society has attracted a deep interest in both the ruling and the opposition parties.

In general CMD-M has an extensive network that the Executive Director (ED) makes available for the political parties in the Board. Cooperation of CMD-M with an independent Radio Broadcasting organisation with a nationwide cover (ZODIAC) and with the Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN) is excellent and resulted in shared activities.

The contacts with international donors are also good, especially with the EU and UNDP. Both have funded CMD-M's activities (for example leadership training for regional party leadership and financial management training) and have indicated their willingness to continue their cooperation. The UNDP has agreed to support a review of the its multiannual strategic plan in 2011.

Towards the end of 2010 CMD-M has also been involved in exploring possibilities for the democracy education programme iLEDA (initiative for Leadership and Democracy in Africa) in Malawi. The Executive Director participated in a strategic brainstorm session on the development of the political leadership for democracy programme and two Malawian MPs (and Board Members) participated in a curriculum development workshop of iLEDA. This will help to ensure that the iLEDA programme is specifically designed to meet the needs and demands of its target group.

Key performance & sustainability issues

The dominant position of DPP as the ruling party and the fragility of basically all major political parties due to succession battles or leadership crises have put pressure on the possibilities for a constructive interparty dialogue within CMD-M. The mere fact that parties continue to meet at SG-level within CMD-M becomes increasingly important in a situation in which democratic space is diminishing.

The postponement of local government elections to April, 2011, and most likely even later, has influenced the effectiveness of the programme. CMD-M has actively (and arguably up to recent events successfully) lobbied for these elections, but will need to readjust to a situation where these elections most likely will not be held before the 2014 general (tripartite) elections. The suspension of the Electoral Commission (MEC) is a serious setback for CMD-M, as relations with the current Commissioners were particularly good and developing positively. It is still too early to tell if and when new Commissioners will be appointed and to what extent the good relation between CMD-M and the MEC will be affected by these changes.

CMD-M as an organisation continues to gain interest from multiple donors besides its relationship with NIMD. The EU and UNDP have funded activities from CMD-M in 2010 and indicated their willingness to continue doing this in the coming years. NIMD will continue to invest in the organisational development of CMD-M by assisting in strengthening and further professionalising its administrative organisation, and build its PME capacity with PSO support.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

The NIMD Country Team undertook two missions to Malawi in 2010. In March the focus of the mission was a strategic planning Round Table on the preparation of the NIMD Multi Annual Plan. The CT met with the board of CMD-M and the parties individually to discuss political developments and plans for CMD-M. Further meetings with several representatives from international community focused on exploring possibilities for additional funding of CMD-M programmes.

In October the mission focused on a planning Round Table for the 2011 annual plan. The mission also took stock of progress in the bilateral programme, and met with civil society representatives to discuss the progress towards the local government elections.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- The context of a very dominant party and weak opposition parties that are experiencing leadership crises makes it difficult to reach significant progress towards several key political reforms of the democratic system. It however remains important to see on what issues the parties can reach consensus and it continues to be relevant to rally them around these themes (improvement of political party legislation, follow up on constitutional review process, popularisation of the AU Charter on Democracy).
- The leadership issues in the political parties have to some extent marred progress in getting the party organisations in order. Still, necessary ground work, such as assessments and trainings of party secretariats were undertaken. Not all developments within a party are hindered by the leader or a leadership crisis. For example UDF was able to undertake a critical reflection of its current state as a party under the bilateral programme.
- The results of the programme and the performance of CMD-M as an organisation can be attributed to the performance of the ED and his staff.

Stakeholders

1. Centre for Multiparty Democracy Malawi (CMD-M)
2. CMD-M works directly with the parliamentary parties AFORD, DPP, MCP, Mafunde, MPP, UDF. CMD-M also cooperates with the extra parliamentarian parties as a block.
3. Key national partners Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC), Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN), Radio Broad Casting ZODIAC
4. Key international partners: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); European Union Mission (EUM); Royal Netherlands Embassy in Lusaka (Zambia)

Country budget

1. Amount financed from MFA funding: €656,000.
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): PSO funding for PME programme: -.

2.5 Mali

Context

The democratic reform process to consolidate and improve the democratic functioning of Mali, as initiated in 2009 by President Amadou Toumani Touré, continued in 2010. The Daba Diawarra review commission compiled over 230 recommendations for legislative and system improvements, which the Commission d'Appui pour les Reformes Institutionnelles (CARI) analysed to propose the key changes to the legislative framework needed (updating and changing laws, including the constitution). The focus of these reforms is to balance power relations between executive and legislature, to improve democratic institutional functioning (parliament), to change from constituency-based elections to a hybrid system, and to improve election management in general. In relation to these reform proposals a national referendum was announced for late 2010, but in the end did not materialise. Since the president is the initiator of the process, he will announce the further steps in the process, with the referendum expected to take place in 2011. This confirms the existing 'super-presidential' status of the current system, with a president that is independent and above the parties but with extensive powers. At the same time, this increases the stakes for the scheduled 2012 elections when the final term of President Touré will come to an end, although some still suspect he will use the referendum to create the possibility of a third term.

If the institutional reforms are to be roughly in place before the general elections, scheduled for early 2012, time is pressing. Similarly, the political parties are warming up for the campaign and they are eager to grab the top position. This increases pressure on the reforms since they will reduce powers of any future president. In 2010, this struggle over the top position was increasingly becoming visible, and will become more intense over the next period. The Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali - Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice (ADEMA-PASJ) -the largest party in parliament- has been manifesting itself as the inevitable party for the early 2012 elections, intending to provide the next president. In response to the apparent strength of ADEMA-PASJ, confidants of president Touré created a new political party, the Parti pour le Développement Economique et la Solidarité (PDES) in mid-2010, but this has not yet resulted in a significant shift of political power or serious competition for ADEMA.

Overall, Mali remains a strongly aspiring nation regarding consolidation of its democracy. The democratic credentials of the president will be put to the test in the coming period with the ending of his term in office. The functioning of the interparty dialogue was very constructive, although parties are still not yet in a position to initiate true reforms just between themselves.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The 233 recommendations aimed at strengthening Mali's democracy as presented by the Daba Diawarra commission and subsequently structured by the CARI, are the starting point for the CMDID-NIMD programme in the mid-term. Subsequently the programme decided to focus its interventions in 2010 on two specific reforms: (i) set-up of a permanent and independent electoral commission and (ii) the improvement of the electoral registrar. The second focus was on improving the general capacity of parties to manage, track and follow-up on the reforms. Furthermore, the CMDID programme addressed the lack of capacity of Malian parties and parliamentary caucuses to develop and subsequently present policy proposals to ordinary citizens and to improve the performance of their role in society.

As for the two concrete reforms, the programme wanted to look at learning lessons from other countries in the region that have an established and well-functioning election system. This objective was concretised by planning an exchange visit to Ghana to learn from and review the legislative framework of the Election Commission there. The Ghanaian system, recognised to be functioning very well and independently, has played a significant role in the two major transfers of power through democratic elections (in 2000 and 2009).

Under the second focus, the reform recommendations by the CARI are the starting point for capacity building. The commission proposed to develop or revise over 30 laws, amongst them the Political Party Law and the Election Law. As most reforms should preferably be implemented before the next general elections, scheduled in the first quarter of 2012, time was and is pressing.

The parties need to proactively take position with regard to the proposed reforms, whilst forming strategic alliances with the media and civil society actors to educate and mobilize supporters. Part of the planned activities dealt with this capacity development. Furthermore, the strengthening of the basic functioning of political party secretariats at the national level and in one pilot region was also part of the plan. Similarly, the link between political and civil society was also a point of attention in order for parties to be better rooted and to improve their listening to citizens' issues. This includes a focus on enhancing the political participation of citizens, women and youth in particular.

Finally, the trend in Mali is that voter turnout during elections is very low², also in comparison with other countries in the region. The fact that many citizens are unaware of the constitutional and legal reforms and the political stakes involved, potentially affects the legitimacy of the system. As a result, political parties have an important role to also inform and engage with the broader public over policy issues. The 2010 programme focused on this challenge as well.

Results achieved 2010

Desired change 1: Multi party political system strengthened through improved institutional functioning and legislative framework.

- The multiparty dialogue produced a joint position of the parties on proposed legal and constitutional reforms by the recommendation commission (CARI), focussed on a new election management framework (one commission instead of three different bodies) on the basis of discussion sessions, seminars and a learning visit to Ghana [outputs 1.1.1; 1.1.2; 1.1.3; 1.1.4]
- Organised three regional debates on the upcoming legal reforms and have a discussion with citizens and parties on the changes and consequences proposed by the Daba Diawarra commission and the later CARI commission [output 3.2.1.1]

Desired change 2: Political parties' functioning and performance of their key roles in society improved, especially in relation to political participation of citizens (women and youth in particular), and by better linking to civil society actors.

- Five party member cadres from the regional level received training and information management support on administrative issues (communication, archiving, IT) [outputs 2.2.1.1; 2.2.2.1]
- Official cooperation agreement signed and linkage established between political parties and civil society organisations in Mali working on social, economic and political issues. Several NGOs and civil society networks are now invited for CMDID events [output 3.1.1.1]

Programme Approach

The independent foundation the Centre Malien pour le Dialogue Interpartis et la Democratie (CMDID) was set up in 2008 by the political parties with support of NIMD to manage the political parties programme in Mali. The executive team (five staff) implements the programme that is proposed and agreed in the supervisory board, consisting of representatives of all main parties in parliament and the group of extra-parliamentary parties. This gives complete local ownership to the parties to prepare and implement the annual plan, although there is close cooperation with NIMD in establishing the agenda and in prioritising the key result areas.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

CMDID's niche is to work with and through political parties on democratic reform, interparty cooperation and capacity building of political parties. However, to enhance the impact of its interventions, CMDID will strategically liaise with key national stakeholders in the legal reform process and the implementation of the constitution. These players include the Comité d'Appui aux Reformes Institutionnelles (CARI), the Malian Ministry of Home Affairs (MATCL), the (to be established) Election Management Body, Parliament, women associations, media and other civil society forums.

² Average is under 30% last two general elections (32.2 and 26.0), and around 36% for presidential rounds. International IDEA Turnout Database http://www.idea.int/vt/country_view.cfm?CountryCode=ML

CMDID can build on a protocol that was signed in September 2010 by CMDID and a number of civil society organisations to structurally cooperate in the field of lobby for legal and constitutional reform, deepening the policy dialogue and civic education.

Other international actors in Mali also support the CMDID's overall objectives, and in 2010 the foundation was successful in signing cooperation agreements with UNIFEM (continuation of 2009), and the Royal Netherlands Embassy, while finishing the project for Norwegian Church Aid (AEN) with good hope for extension. These donors supported activities focused on the promotion of participation of women and youth in politics through complementary initiatives implemented by CMDID. Moreover, with regard to the link between political parties and parliament, CMDID has been strategically cooperating with the RECAN (a UNDP managed structure for parliamentary support).

Key performance & sustainability issues

Institutionally, CMDID managed to attract funding from several other donors, linking closely to the objectives of the NIMD programme. Nevertheless, the institutional capacity of the équipe technique remains a point of attention. 2010 was the last year of long serving Executive Director Augustin Cissé, who handed the baton over to former Deputy Director Moumouni Soumano. As a guarantee for a smooth transition and in an effort to ensure programmatic sustainability, Mr Cissé will remain attached to CMDID as a counsel and advisor at least for 2011.

NIMD Programme Support

The NIMD Country Team was also closely involved in the day to day management and implementation of the programme. This also included two monitoring missions around the planned Round Table conference meetings. During these missions the main parliamentary parties were visited and consulted on progress, vision and priorities for support. The key development agencies and donors were visited and the Netherlands Embassy hosted a reception in recognition of the work of CMDID, inviting all key donor agencies. In its meetings, the NIMD country team focused attention on the role of parties in the development processes besides the obvious democratic governance agenda. Furthermore, daily backstopping and strategic advice and capacity development are part of the programme support. This includes for instance improving reporting and analysis, and a weeklong training offered to the deputy director who is to become the new executive director.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- Since many of the programme's activities were focused on the assumption of a national referendum (time pressure) and the continuation of the reform processes, there was a lot of dependence on external developments in the hand mainly of the president. With the delays in implementation due to the postponement of the referendum, the programme also suffered some delays.
- The exchange visit to Ghana was very successful as the observed situation and strong points of the Ghanaian electoral system were brought home and immediately presented to the CARI to be included in the key reform recommendations. Thus peer exchange proved to be a very effective tool for development.
- The Mali programme was part of the IOB evaluation as a case study. When the results were presented the programme immediately took over some of the recommendations related to the inclusion of civil society. It was good to see the impact of this external review and the feedback cycle back into programming and implementation.

Stakeholders

1. The Centre Malien pour le Dialogue Interpartis et la Démocratie (CMDID)
2. The five main parliamentary parties (ADEMA, URD, CNID, MPR and RPM), two parliamentary coalitions (Parena-Sadi and ACM) and a coalition of 39 non-parliamentary parties (Coalition 39)
3. Key national partners: CARI, Election Management Body, RECAN, MATCL, woman's associations and other civil society organisations, national and regional media houses, University of Bamako
4. Key international partners: Royal Netherlands Embassy, UNIFEM, European Union, AEN

Country budget

1. Amount financed from BuZa funding: Original contract amount €470,000, with later added around €100,000, so total 570,000
2. Additional funds of other donors (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): €0,-
3. State if the partner is received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): € 65,000 from UNIFEM and AEN

2.6 Mozambique

Context

In 2010 the dust from the October 2009 general elections began to settle down in Mozambique. The elections of 28 October 2009 contributed to an increased political supremacy of the ruling party Frelimo, securing its two thirds majority in Parliament, and confirmed the reality of Mozambique as a dominant party state. The election process further polarized the relations between Frelimo, Renamo and MDM (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique), as the distrust between the parties was fuelled by decisions of the Electoral Commission that raised the suspicion that it did not operate as an independent impartial organisation. With the increasing hegemony and strength of Frelimo incentives for the ruling party to foster dialogue diminished, and normalisation of relations between the political parties remained very difficult. However, the emergence of the new parliamentary opposition party MDM introduced an interesting new dynamic between Renamo and Frelimo. Contrary to before, they now share a common interest: a weak and failing MDM.

Despite an increasing level of social discontent, leading to violent riots in September 2010, in response to increased food prices and the general rise in the cost of living, the articulation of political interests and opposing views is still very limited in Mozambique. Compared to the countries in the region, Mozambique is characterized by what the Afro barometer calls “uncritical citizenship” in a society where information is scarce³. The low voter turnout⁴ during elections illustrates the serious lack of involvement of the citizenry in the political democratic system.

2010 was furthermore characterized by the initiation of a process of electoral and constitutional reforms. In his inaugural speech on 14 January 2010 re-elected president Guebuza promised to overhaul cumbersome electoral laws and indicated the start of a process of electoral reforms. A new election law should be approved by Mozambican parliament in its March-May 2012 session, in time for registration and elections in October 2013 and 2014. The political parties have been invited by Parliament to submit detailed proposals for change, and the Parliamentary Committee for Electoral Law Reform held several public hearings in September 2010 during which the extra parliamentary parties and civil society made their reform proposals. The focus of those reforms is the structure and composition of electoral management bodies, and electoral legislation and regulations.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

Given the political reality in Mozambique, fostering interparty dialogue and reaching consensus on meaningful democratic reforms remained a huge challenge in 2010. Dialogue is constrained as a result of high levels of distrust between the political parties in Mozambique, and because the power levels of the parties are so different. The programme therefore made strategic use of a couple of (small) windows of opportunity for a ‘light’ interparty dialogue, with the aim to build up trust to further decrease polarization between the parties.

First of all, the programme continued with the Dialogue Platform between political parties, the electoral commission (CNE) and other electoral stakeholders that was established in the run up to the elections in 2009. During several multistakeholder meetings in the first half of 2010 several aspects of the elections were evaluated and discussed by the participating organizations and political parties. The conclusions of the dialogue sessions were documented, published and disseminated through national newspapers, and submitted to parliament. The dialogue sessions have also been used as a platform for wider debate on the electoral law reforms, and have led to jointly formulated proposals with recommendations for electoral reform on behalf of the political parties.

3 Working Paper No. 91 “Uncritical citizenship in a ‘low information’ society”. Mozambicans in comparative perspective” by Robert Mattes and Carlos Shenga December 2007

4 Voter turnout during the 2009 parliamentary and presidential elections was 44,63% (EISA statistics).

Furthermore, NIMD facilitated informal interparty dialogue meetings on a local level and linked up with already existing initiatives of interparty dialogue on the side of a group of young parliamentarians. By doing so, small incremental steps were made to increase levels of trust between the political parties, and to lay a basis for more structural cooperation and dialogue in the future.

A second focus of the Mozambique programme in 2010 was to promote a democratic culture. In 2009 NIMD decided to embark on promoting active citizenship through a Civic Leadership training for Democracy, by setting up iLEDA Schools for Democracy in Mozambique. NIMD continued with that process in 2010, in order to contribute to creating and training a new generation of young politicians with democratic values and skills who can act as agents of change.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Safe space for dialogue created

- Dialogue between political parties and the electoral commission facilitated, through multistakeholder meetings that promoted information sharing, transparency and increased levels of trust between the electoral commission and political parties.
- The conclusions of the dialogue sessions were documented, published and disseminated through national newspapers, and submitted to parliament.
- NIMD has facilitated two meetings to assist the political parties to formulate reform proposals with recommendations for electoral law reform. The proposal was submitted to parliament.
- Informal interparty dialogue meetings were facilitated on a local level in Manica province between provincial assemblies, political party representatives and a local platform of CSOs, to give voice to civil society organizations to influence political parties' agendas in local assemblies and to improve a culture of dialogue.
- Regular bilateral meetings have been held with senior members from Frelimo, Renamo and MDM to discuss possibilities for dialogue. Senior representatives of the three parties travelled to the NIMD Regional Conference in Uganda, which contributed to higher levels of trust between the parties.

Desired change 2: Contributed to building of a democratic culture and participatory democracy

- After the initial start of the iLEDA Schools for Democracy in 2009 with a Training of Trainers course in Manica Province, the first sequence of trainings took place early 2010. In total 21 citizen leaders were trained and the first five iLEDA trainers graduated in February 2010. The five trainers have trained a new group of 62 participants in Manica province. At the same time NIMD and IDASA (the partner of NIMD in the iLEDA programme) have further developed the curriculum to expand the training course to a four week curriculum.
- In 2010 several donors have shown interest in supporting the iLEDA programme of NIMD in Mozambique, which resulted in the signing of a three year funding agreement between NIMD and the Danish Embassy in Mozambique (approximately €520,000) to expand the iLEDA programme to the Nampula Province. Preparations for the implementation of the Civic Leadership Training for Democracy in Nampula province have started.

Programme Approach

NIMD has implemented its programme in Mozambique through a small country office in Maputo, consisting of a country coordinator, programme officer and financial officer. Given the polarised political reality in Mozambique, the programme focused on the facilitation of informal multi-stakeholder dialogue sessions with political party representatives, electoral stakeholders and CSOs. NIMD also linked up with already existing initiatives for interparty dialogue by women and young MPs and facilitated interparty dialogue sessions on a local level. The country office facilitated debates on issues of concern for all political parties, such as electoral reforms, in order to foster discussion on national reform processes, and at the same time to reduce tensions and stimulate peaceful interaction.

Furthermore, strong relationships with the top-level politicians of Frelimo, Renamo and MDM, were being maintained through regular bilateral meetings between the country coordinator and the party leadership. The added value of the Country Office lies in its ability to function as a neutral, impartial and trusted facilitator of dialogue, and the ability to provide the parties with technical expertise and assistance to address their individual needs and priorities through bilateral support.

NIMD also promoted democratic culture and active citizenship through the iLEDA Schools Civic Leadership training for Democracy. NIMD is implementing the training programme in collaboration with the iLEDA programme team at IDASA. The Country Office takes care of the practical organisation and logistical arrangements of all trainings and the contacts with local partners and donors in Mozambique. To expand the number of iLEDA Schools NIMD has attracted financial support from the Danish Embassy.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

For the facilitation of the multi-stakeholder meetings on electoral related issues and the outcomes of the elections, NIMD worked closely together with a number of research institutes and CSOs, such as IESE, EISA and CEMO. They provided political parties with evaluation reports on aspects of the 2009 elections, such as the functioning of political party funding and the management of candidate lists. The British High Commission acted as a funding partner in this component of the programme.

At a provincial level, in Manica, NIMD engaged with a Platform of Civil Society Organizations, known as Grupo 20, and representatives of the Provincial Assembly, for the facilitation of debates on local policy making.

For the implementation of the iLEDA Schools Civic Leadership Programme, NIMD worked closely together with IDASA and a local CSO in Manica. For the expansion of the iLEDA Schools to other provinces, NIMD is in close contact with several donors, such as IBIS and MASC, and local CSOs.

Furthermore, NIMD maintains good relations with other democracy assistance organizations with programmes in Mozambique such as AWEPA, AMODE, KAS, and FES on the capacity building programmes for political parties and to explore possibilities for further cooperation. In 2010, NIMD also set up meetings with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, Oxfam Novib, the Netherlands Embassy, and OSISA to exchange information on their programmatic areas of intervention.

Key performance & sustainability issues

In 2010 the NIMD programme in Mozambique was further strengthened and expanded. Over the past years NIMD has invested significantly in improving the functioning of the NIMD Country Office. To ensure an effective NIMD programme, some changes in the Mozambican staff of the Country Office have been effected. A new, pro-active Mozambican Country Coordinator as well as a strong and independent Programme Officer have been contracted to complement the Country Office team. The Mozambique programme experienced the benefits from the changes that were made. The Country Office was able to successfully implement all planned programme activities, has implemented some additional activities at the end of the year, and has made effective use of the small openings for interparty dialogue that came up throughout the year.

Financially, the NIMD Country Office has made an important step towards more financial sustainability of the Mozambique programme, by securing funds from the Danish Embassy for a three-year iLEDA School programme in Nampula province. Discussions on a further expansion of the iLEDA Schools programme to other provinces with other potential donors are ongoing.

Politically, the opportunities for an institutionalized dialogue remained limited, but the willingness of the parliamentary political parties to participate in an informal dialogue on democratic reforms shows some positive signs. The successful meetings between the CNE and the political parties in the aftermath of the 2009 elections, and initial discussions on electoral reforms have led to a growing confidence in NIMD as a trusted mediator for dialogue. The fact that the Chair of the Commission in the Mozambican Parliament in charge of rewriting all the electoral laws, has requested the NIMD Country Office to act as a neutral facilitator of a discussion platform for political parties on electoral law reforms, can be considered as a reward for the continuous efforts to build good relations with political society in Mozambique.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

In 2010, two working visits were undertaken by NIMD Headquarters to provide the Country Office with specific political and programmatic input. Early April 2010, the Regional Director Africa travelled to Maputo to conduct job interviews with possible candidates for the position of Country Coordinator, and to reach an agreement with the former Programme Coordinator on his phasing out. After the recruitment of a new Country Coordinator and Programme Officer, the two new employees, together with the Financial Officer visited the NIMD Headquarters in The Hague for an introduction week to get to know NIMD staff and policies as well as to get acquainted with NIMD programme and financial procedures. Their visit was also used for strategic reflections on the political and programmatic outlook of the Mozambique programme.

In November 2010, a member of NIMD's Mozambique Country Team travelled to Mozambique for a meeting with the Country Office and representatives of IDASA to identify and analyse lessons learned in the cooperation between IDASA and NIMD for the implementation of the ILEDA School Programme in Mozambique and to agree upon the planning for 2011. The discussions on the implementation, planning, challenges and bottlenecks, were essential in the light of the increasing donor interest and expansion of the programme in the future.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

Given the political reality in Mozambique fostering interparty dialogue and reaching consensus on meaningful democratic reforms remains a huge challenge. The impact of the Mozambique programme depends for a large part on the willingness of Frelimo to participate in an informal dialogue on democratic reforms, and the ability of the opposition parties to effectively contribute to the reform debates. The careful investment from the side of the Country Office in strengthening good personal relations with the three parliamentary parties at all levels, and in acting as a trusted, neutral and impartial facilitator of dialogue has been paying off, and will remain key for the successful implementation of the programme in the future. Furthermore the facilitation of informative debates, based on in-depth research reports, and involving a broad range of stakeholders from political parties, civil society and electoral institutes, has worked very well, has led to improved interaction between the stakeholders and has offered entry points for influencing and negotiating reforms.

Stakeholders

1. Local implementing agent:

NIMD Country Office Maputo

2. Political parties

FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique)

RENAMO Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)

MDM Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (Mozambique Democratic Movement)

Apart from working directly with the three parliamentary political parties, NIMD includes the extra parliamentary parties in the activities linked to the reform processes.

3. National partners

IESE Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (Institute of Social and Economic Studies)

CEMO Centro de Estudos Mocambicanos e Internacionais (Centre for Mozambican and International Studies)

CPDM-M Centro de Promoção de Democracia Multipartidaria Moçambique

MASC Mecanismo de Apoio à Sociedade (Civil Society Support Mechanism)

AMODE Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento

Provincial assemblies Manica Province

4. International partners

AWEPA European Parliamentarians for Africa

EISA Electoral Institute for Southern Africa

BHC British High Commission

KAS Konrad Adenauer Foundation

FES Friedrich Ebert Foundation

RNE Royal Netherlands Embassy

IDASA Institute for Democracy in Africa

SNV Netherlands Development Organisation

IBIS Education for Development

Country budget

1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €370,000

1b. No significant over- or under expenditure to be expected

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): In 2009 NIMD received an amount of approximately € 25,000 from the British High Commission for a Dialogue Platform on Elections. As not all funds were spent, it was agreed that NIMD would continue with the Dialogue Platform in 2010. Consequently, the Country Office spent approximately €20,000 of BHC funds in 2010. In November 2010 the Country Office signed a three-year funding agreement with the Danish Embassy for a total of € 520,000. Expenditure will only start in 2011 however.

3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): No

2.7 Tanzania

Context

Since independence in the early sixties politics in Tanzania are exemplified by a one party dominant system. The reintroduction of a multiparty democracy in 1992 has not evolved the country into a vibrant competitive political playing field. Reasons for this include the strong historic position of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as the liberation party, as well as the strong and well organized position of the party at grass roots level. But one of the main other reasons is that the broadening of the political playing field has not been matched with a corresponding review of the constitution and the electoral laws. The findings of the 1991 Presidential Nyalali Commission on adapting the legal system towards multiparty democracy remains largely unimplemented. Therefore the current legal framework still favours the ruling party. The 2010 General Elections prolonged the domination of CCM as the ruling party in Tanzania. However, the outcome of the recent elections of 31 October 2010 also indicates a change with the past. In the rural areas CCM earned most of the votes, but in several urban areas the opposition has won by attracting the votes of the youth. Furthermore the voter turnout in general has dramatically decreased from 84 to 42 per cent in ten years time. Many are taking it as a sign that mass support for the ruling party is slowly decreasing and that there is a growing pressure on CCM to reform and to tackle widespread corruption⁵. In this regard the recent announcement⁶ of President Kikwete to initiate constitutional and legal reforms seems to be a sign on the wall. On the other hand CCMs conservative wing is still standing strong, as is testified by the removal of the former speaker of parliament who was known for his vigorous actions against financial misconduct. According to the international community the 2010 elections in Tanzania were competitive with basic freedoms provided for, including freedom of association, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly⁷. Despite start-up problems the introduction of a permanent electronic voter register, the Election Expenses Act and the Electoral Code of Conduct positively contributed to the transparency of the election process and the political level playing field. Furthermore media monitoring indicated that state-owned media TBC provided more balanced coverage of election campaigns, although CCM still enjoyed an advantage in exposure overall. Unlike previous years, the political atmosphere in Zanzibar was peaceful up to Election Day. This has been attributed to the overwhelming endorsement of the July 2010 referendum which paved the way for a Government of National Unity after the poll. Despite extremely low margins in favour of CCM the election results for the Zanzibar presidency were accepted by all parties.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The rationale for the 2010 programme in Tanzania was influenced by the scheduled general elections. As said the Election Expenses Act and the Electoral Code of Conduct were introduced in the run up to the elections with the aim to enhance transparency of the election process and to level the political playing field. Tanzanian political parties generally do not have the capacity to track and follow-up on the implications of these developments and need support to broadly inform their members at all levels of society.

Second, political parties have a clear role in informing their support bases and the general population about elections and the issues at stake. The 2010 programme in Tanzania has provided a platform for political parties in Tanzania to jointly educate and mobilize the electorate, with a special focus on youth and women as underrepresented groups. While doing so it has broadened the scope of political parties by forming strategic alliances with media and civil society groups. An important spill over effect of the platform has been its role in diffusing political tensions and mitigating potential conflict between political parties in the run up to the elections.

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Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Following the programme rationale, NIMD sought to bring about over time two desired changes and a number of specific results achieved in the previous year:

Desired change 1: Enabling environment for peaceful, fair elections secured and democratic culture in Tanzania deepened

- Public debates were initiated on local radio and TV and through newspaper articles to inform the general public (especially women and youth) on the upcoming general elections and to 'get out the vote'
- In cooperation with CCM and CUF a musical festival was organized in the run up to the Zanzibar referendum to mitigate political tensions on the islands

Desired change 2: Level playing field for political parties in Tanzania enhanced

- Political parties were informed on the implications of the Election Code of Conduct and the Election Expenses Act and public awareness in these issues was raised
- Dialogue was facilitated between political parties, media houses and the Ministry of Information to enhance equitable representation of political parties in the media during campaign period
- Individual political parties were supported in the run up to the elections to develop campaign strategies and to train election candidates

Programme Approach

NIMD will implement its programme through the Tanzanian Centre for Democracy (TCD). After NIMD's support to an informal interparty dialogue process in Tanzania 2003 onwards, the TCD was formally launched in 2006. It represents all the parliamentary political parties in Tanzania. The primary function of TCD is to broaden the national policy debate in Tanzania by involving multiple stakeholders – amongst them political parties at the national and regional level, civil society organizations, the media and the general public. With this approach TCD aims to strengthen the legitimacy and the functioning of the multi party political system in Tanzania.

In 2010 the member parties of TCD have jointly agreed to focus on the preparations of the general elections and to work together to level the political playing field. This involvement at the highest political level ensures the impact and sustainability of the programme.

NIMD also gives tailored support to individual political parties to strengthen their basic secretariat functions and develop party policies. Solid administrative and financial management guarantees sustainability, and is a precondition for a functioning party rooted in society. This approach also provides excellent entry points to link parties to wider national development issues.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

Taking into account the modest funding available from NIMD given the scale of the country-wide elections, the programme was designed to focus on strategic high impact areas and to leverage and expand these in relation to other donor initiatives, most notably the UNDP Election Support Programme (ESP) and Deepening Democracy in Tanzania Programme (DDTP). For instance, following up on the Election Code of Conduct that was developed under ESP, a public awareness campaign was developed under the NIMD/TCD programme to inform grass root members of political parties about the implications of the Code. Furthermore TCD implemented a political parties training programme in the run up to the elections that was funded by DDTP (€155,000).

The support TCD received from the Tanzanian Government is an important sign of local ownership and commitment to interparty dialogue. For the third consequent year the Tanzanian Government, through the Prime Ministers Office, provided a financial contribution to TCD. In 2010 the organization received €26,000 mainly for staff salaries and office equipment.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Institutionally, TCD managed to attract funding from several other donors, linking closely to the objectives of the NIMD programme. Nevertheless, the institutional capacity of the secretariat of TCD remains a point of attention. An evaluation of the DDTP programme was critical about the capacity available within the secretariat of TCD. NIMD intends to follow-up on these remarks in 2011 in close dialogue with TCD's board members.

The membership of TCD will be broadened as more political parties have gained parliamentary representation during the 2010 elections. TLP and NCCR Mageuzi have already indicated that they intend to apply for membership of TCD in 2011. They will join CCM, CUF, Chadema and UDP.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

The NIMD Country Team participated in its two scheduled monitoring missions around the Round Table conference meetings. During these missions the parliamentary parties were visited and consulted on progress, vision and priorities for support. The key development agencies and donors were visited to discuss possibilities for cooperation and to harmonize support of NIMD with that of other donors.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

As a platform for political parties, TCD has been able to play its role as conflict mitigating mechanism in the run up to the elections. The Zanzibar musical festival that has been co-organized by CCM and CUF under the auspices of TCD is an example of how constructive cooperation can help to diffuse political tensions.

The voter apathy that characterized the 2010 general elections in Tanzania is a sign that mass support for CCM is decreasing. However, it also indicates that in the eyes of many the opposition is not able to propose credible alternatives. Therefore it is important to continuously invest in the institutional capacity of political parties as well as in development of party policies.

Stakeholders

1. The Tanzania Centre for Democracy, consisting of six qualifying member parties: CCM, CUF, Chadema, UDP, TLP and NCCR Mageuzi (the selection is based on parliamentary representation)
3. TCD coordinates with the National Electoral Commission, Registrar of Political Parties
3. Key national partners: University of Dar es Salaam, Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET), civil society (Legal and Human Rights Centre, Tanzania Women Lawyers Association), media (Editors Forum, Tanzania Media Women Association, Ministry of Information Culture and Sports)
4. Key international partners: UNDP, UK-DFID, Danida, Norway, CIDA, European Commission, Ireland, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland

Country budget

- 1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €355,000
- 1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above) -
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): -
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): €181,000,- (from UNDP and the Government of Tanzania)

2.8 Uganda

Context

2010 was largely dominated by the preparations for the Presidential and Parliamentary elections due on 18 February 2011. The stakes for both ruling and opposition parties at these elections are high and the outcome is likely to be highly contested. Despite the dwindling support for President Museveni and his party the NRM (National Resistance Movement), he will most likely be re-elected.

In the run-up to the elections, the political climate has become more volatile. A number of factors point at significant limitations of the democratic space, including the stalling of critical electoral reforms related to the lifting of presidential term limits and the composition of the Electoral Commission (EC), increased corruption, intimidation and repression by special forces mainly against opposition parties, intimidation of the media including the closing of radio stations etc. A violent post-election scenario is not an unrealistic option as the September riots, in which over 50 people lost their lives, demonstrated. The external threat from Somali extremists from EI Shabaab who claimed responsibility for the bloody bomb attack in July, posed another serious risk to the security and stability situation in Uganda.

Before the elections, only limited scope existed to influence the political reform agenda except for a few (less contested) election related reforms. The recently established Interparty Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) made maximum use of this small and limited reform window by presenting a common position on electoral amendments which were partially adopted by Parliament in April. After the elections, more contentious reform obstacles need to be tackled to further deepen and consolidate Uganda's democracy, including the issue of Presidential term limits, reform of the Electoral Commission (EC), electoral system reform, parliamentary composition and especially quota for the military, the role of traditional kingdoms, land reform and devolution/federalism. Whether the scope exists for this to materialise, will largely depend on the outcome of the February elections and the stability of the electoral aftermath.

With regard to the electoral process, a few positive steps are noteworthy. First, the election registration process has been conducted in a transparent and professional way and has resulted in a high turnout (though questions still remain on the quality of the voter register). Second, the EC has agreed to an open dialogue with the parliamentary parties represented in the inter-party dialogue platform to discuss steps to increase the transparency of the electoral process. Third, the electoral campaign period has been conducted in a relatively peaceful manner with relatively few election related incidences of violence.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The NIMD programme built on the positive trends referred to above to maximise the limited but existing opportunities for reform. Centre stage in its approach was the set up and consolidation of the interparty dialogue process. The rationale behind this platform is that it offers an opportunity for parties to organise around a national reform agenda and to open up opportunities for dialogue with the leadership of all parliamentary parties, including the ruling party. The platform furthermore served as a mechanism for letting off steam and for mitigating conflicts in the run up to the elections and its immediate aftermath. The second part of the programme focused on strengthening the institutional and policy capacities of all six parliamentary parties (mostly centred around the party secretariats and policy development and communication) to formulate issue based campaign messages, which reflect the concerns and needs of their electorate and engaging in a public dialogue to explain these messages to the general public. The strategy underlying this part of the programme is to move Uganda's politics away from personalities and more towards policy.

Results achieved in 2010

Desired change 1: polarization of Uganda's political climate reduced in the run up to the parliamentary and Presidential elections.

- Level of confidence between parliamentary political parties improved through the establishment of the Inter Party Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) platform, its public launch in February and the facilitation of bi-monthly inter-party dialogue meetings at SG level between IPOD member parties to jointly work out a prioritised reform agenda and provide a safe space for dialogue to settle political disputes in an informal and peaceful manner [outputs 1.1.1, 1.3.1, 1.3.2, 5.1.1, 5.2.1].
- Contribution to improved election management through regular dialogue between IPOD member parties and the Electoral Commission and the implementation of lessons learned from the exchange visit to Malawi in July, which aimed to study the election management system and extra-legislative measures (such as timely and transparent information, joint observation of the ballot printing, storing and dissemination process) to enhance the credibility and legitimacy of the electoral process and its outcome [outputs 1.2.1, 1.2.2].
- Contribution made to the reduction of electoral violence through the development of a political parties' code of conduct and an election pledge, the monitoring of pre-electoral violence by the IPOD sub-committee, the development of an election jingle composed by a famous Ugandan singer calling for the peaceful conduct of elections and the set up of an Eminent Persons Group composed of six highly respected Ugandans, which serves as a deadlock breaking mechanism in electoral disputes [output 1.2.3].
- Joint IPOD position on recommendations for electoral reform prepared in partnership with the parliamentary standing on Legal and Parliamentary Affairs and party caucuses and partially adopted by Parliament in April [output 5.2.1].

Desired change 2: Institutional and policy capacity of all six parliamentary parties strengthened.

- Institutional and policy capacities of all six parliamentary parties strengthened through a bilateral support package which aimed to enhance the parties' policy formulation and analysis capacities and to facilitate internal and external party communication, including communication with the regional branches, the organisation of a Policy Making Workshop in September and a contribution towards the printing and dissemination of party manifesto's [output 2.1.1, 2.1.2].
- Party manifesto's prepared in a participatory manner through a series of regional workshops to generate buy-in and support and understanding of party policies amongst the rank and file and party membership [outputs 2.1.2, 2.1.3].
- General public widely informed on the content of the party manifesto's through recorded E-manifesto's aired on radio stations throughout the country and the dissemination of a comparative manifesto summarizing the policy positions of IPOD member parties of key policy issues through newspaper inserts in national newspapers [output 2.1.5].
- Policy debate organised between the Secretary Generals of IPOD member parties during the NIMD Africa Regional Conference in May, aired on national TV. [output 2.1.5].

Programme Approach

The NIMD programme in Uganda is implemented by the secretariat of the Interparty Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) platform, established in September 2009. The Secretariat is in the process of being legally registered as a company limited by guarantee and serves as a field office of NIMD. It is headed by an NIMD field representative and assisted by an administrator, two interns and two support staff.

The programme is structured around two main pillars. The first pillar focuses on the facilitation of a constructive political dialogue at national and local level and the shaping of a medium term IPOD reform agenda. In the run up to the elections, the platform has paid much attention to pre- and post election related violence and the acceptance of the electoral outcome. Under the second pillar, the organisational and policy formulation capacity of party secretariats was strengthened to deepen their understanding of and influence on national development and budget processes and by creating more visibility and ownership of party policies amongst its rank and file and their support base.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

NIMD's programme in Uganda is thematically fully aligned with and receives roughly half of its funds from the Deepening Democracy Programme (DDP), a joint initiative of six donors in Uganda (UK, The Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, and Sweden).

NIMD has also sought complementarity with other actors, including NDI, IRI and FES on the capacity building programmes for the individual political parties. Initial meetings were also held with the APRM National Governing Council to establish conflict mitigation and resolution structures to solve election related disputes. With regard to the harmonisation of IPOD activities with government led mechanisms, it is important to mention the National Consultative Forum (NCF), facilitated by the EC under the Political Parties and Organisations Act (PPOA) and which focuses on election management related issues. After the elections, further entry points for a more institutionalised dialogue with parliamentary committees and civil society actors and networks will be explored, as part of the emerging IPOD reform agenda.

Key performance & sustainability issues

- The outcome of the February elections is unclear and a scenario of post-electoral violence not unreal in case the losing party refuses to accept the electoral outcome. If this scenario unfolds, NIMD will have to reconsider its proposed programme approach, based on an in-depth analysis of the scope and depth of the violence and the possibilities for the continuation of a minimalistic dialogue.
- The risk of destabilisation of the country as a result of external threats from Islamic extremists like the Somali movement of El Shabaab poses a serious threat to Uganda's security and stability situation.
- The Uganda programme is co-funded by the DDP programme. The current grants end in December 2010. In case no follow up funding can be secured, the sustainability of the Uganda programme is seriously jeopardised.
- Relatively little time and effort was invested in setting up the country office and to invest in staff capacity and administrative and financial systems. This was a deliberate choice, to allow all time and energy to be invested in the facilitation of a complex, political dialogue process. For the period ahead, it is important to further professionalise its financial management system in the Kampala office, amongst others by introducing an electronic bookkeeping system and by recruiting additional staff.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

Two regular monitoring missions were conducted by the Uganda country team (in February and in September) with the purpose to monitor progress against the stated objectives, review financial and administrative systems and annual audit and make recommendations for improvement and discuss progress and programme impact with development partners. In March, the Uganda team facilitated a participatory round table to discuss progress and identify priorities for the Ugandan programme in preparation of NIMD's new multi-annual plan 2011-2015.

In addition to these monitoring missions, NIMD staff participated in the annual NIMD Africa Regional Conference that was hosted in Uganda in May and opened by the President, Mr. Y.K. Museveni, and facilitated a Policy Making Workshop for all policy analysts and senior party members of all parliamentary political parties in September, which aimed to pass on practical skills and policy making techniques, with technical input from Mr. Joris Backer, Chairperson of the Programme Committee of D66 and Mr. Jerome Scheltens of the Institute for Political Participation (IPP).

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- The dialogue platform in Uganda was set up in a pre-election year. As a result, NIMD had to invest a lot of staff time and input from The Hague to facilitate the dialogue and help set the dialogue agenda. The late set up of the platform also created high expectations the platform to deliver changes around election related issues (with the risk of disintegration of the platform). NIMD thus took a high risk is engaging at such a late stage in the process. The platform served as pressure cooker and managed to ensure a number of critical quick wins which secured the commitment of all parties.
- Generating a wide buy-in and support beyond the party elites based in the capital and including the regional party leadership and party leagues is critical to avoid the perception that the platform is the preserve and initiative of a few individuals rather than the political parties themselves.
- Exploring possibilities to improve the transparency of the election management process outside of reform of the electoral legislation has been an important strategy to improve the credibility and the legitimacy of the electoral process and the acceptance of its outcome in the short term.
- South-South exchanges have played an instrumental role in shifting the mindset of the opposition parties who had earlier refused to cooperate with the EC and now focus their attention on the electoral process and its lead institution rather than on the individuals of which it is composed.
- Relatively little time was invested in setting up the country office as the political agenda was very demanding right from the start of the programme. As a result, financial management systems have been introduced rather late at the risk of jeopardising financial accountability.

Stakeholders

1. The Interparty Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) secretariat.
2. All parliamentary political parties (National Resistance Movement (NRM), Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Democratic Party (DP), Conservative Party (CP), Jeema.
3. Key national partners: Electoral Commission (EC), security agencies, Parliamentary Committees (especially the public accounts and the legal and constitutional affairs committees and the committee on public service and local governments), academics from Makerere University, civil society groups including Uganda's APRM National Governing Council, the Inter-religious council, Citizens coalition for electoral democracy in Uganda; the anti-corruption coalition of Uganda, and the Uganda local government association.
4. Key international partners: Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Republican Institute (IRI), National Democratic Institute (NDI), European Commission (EU), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

Country budget

- 1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €195,000.
- 1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above). No significant under expenditure is to be expected although it is difficult to assess this in detail at this stage, as the field office is still to account for an significant advance.
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): €200,000 from the Deepening Democracy Programme (DDP).
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): no

2.9 Zambia

Context

Zambia faces general elections in 2011 and throughout 2010 political relations have become increasingly polarized. Relations between President Banda and the main opposition leader M. Sata (PF) are far from constructive. The MMD faces serious internal challenges and, if PF and UPND are able to maintain their electoral pact, also faces an electoral opponent. Whereas such balanced party system in Ghana led to a general recognition of the importance of strong neutral democratic institutions and regulations by all major parties, in Zambia the reverse has occurred. The ruling party has used all mechanisms and state instruments to the advantage of 'his' party. Restricted media legislation, civil society regulation, control over the judicial branch and patronage politics have clearly demonstrated the lack of political will to consolidate Zambia's democracy through constructive inter-party dialogue by Rupiah Banda. Despite its internal challenges, MMD is not likely to split entirely as all sections seem to acknowledge the negative overall political consequences for the party and themselves. The upcoming elections are thus likely to become a challenging competition between two actors that have dominated Zambian politics for over 40 years, organised under increasingly uneven conditions. Whereas MMD is instrumentalising its incumbency advantages to the maximum, the opposition has been discrediting the ruling party in any possible way.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

In 2010, the NIMD Zambia programme found itself at an important cross-road. Due to serious internal governance and financial management problems within ZCID, early 2010 a decision was taken by NIMD to withhold the programme funding to ZCID, and to focus on the institutional challenges:

- Improving the programme management and financial management capacity of ZCID and
- Improving the functioning of the board of ZCID.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Institutional capacity, programme management capacity and governance capacity of ZCID improved.

Desired change 1:

- The participating political parties are operating in a new governance structure, which allows for better financial and programmatic oversight.
- The financial management capacity of ZCID is improved, through the implementation of a Plan of Action that is mutually agreed upon by NIMD and ZCID.

Programme Approach

At the end of 2009 NIMD received signals that ZCID had serious governance problems and that the integrity of ZCID was at stake. ZCID had grown very fast but institutional development did not improve at the same pace. After an NIMD mission to Zambia in March 2010, serious concerns about the financial management of ZCID rose. Therefore it was decided to resolve these problems before carrying out the annual plan, through a restructuring of ZCID. In April 2010, NIMD and ZCID embarked on a process of formulating a Plan of Action to improve the ZCID governance structure, as well as the programmatic and financial management capacity. Various NIMD missions were undertaken throughout the year to discuss the content of the Plan of Action, and to monitor the progress, The polarised relations between the political parties made it difficult however to reach agreements at a ZCID Board level and severely constrained the process of implementation. By the end of the year a final attempt was made to reach an agreement between ZCID and NIMD to translate the Plan of Action into practice. The NIMD Board will decide early 2011 whether sufficient progress has been made, in order to renew the ZCID-NIMD cooperation.

Key performance & sustainability issues

At the end of 2009 NIMD received signals that ZCID had serious governance problems and that the integrity of ZCID was at stake. ZCID had grown very fast but institutional development did not improve at the same pace. There was serious concern about the integrity of ZCID. Therefore it was decided to resolve these problems before carrying out the annual plan through a restructuring of ZCID.

The process was influenced by the polarization between the political parties.

NIMDs monitoring and evaluation missions

The NIMD working visit report of September/October 2009 (round table mission) concluded that for the third consecutive year, ZCID failed to live up to its contractual obligations with NIMD including inadequate financial accountability. Due to these conclusions more missions have been undertaken than originally planned.

The mission at the end of February was a round table mission. ZCID and NIMD jointly reflected upon the results and outcomes of the ZCID strategic plan 2007 – 2010 and discussed a number of priorities and focus areas for a potential renewed ZCID-NIMD Programme in 2011-2015. The problems in programme management and financial management were discussed and several steps were proposed to improve the situation.

At the beginning of April a mission was undertaken by the NIMD Deputy Director and Africa Regional Team Coordinator to have a high level meeting between the Executive Board of NIMD and the Board of ZCID to inform the ZCID Board formally about the problems and to discuss possible ways to resolve them. ZCID and NIMD elaborated a Plan of Action in order to improve the governance, and the programme and financial management of ZCID.

At the end of May a mission was undertaken to discuss with the senior leadership of the major political parties of Zambia the restructuring of ZCID and the implementation of the Plan of Action. In addition, policy priorities for the next 18 months, the run up to the highly contested next general elections, were discussed.

In November 2010 the NIMD Executive Director and Africa Regional Team Coordinator visited ZCID in a final attempt to reach an agreement between the ZCID Board and NIMD to translate the Plan of Action into practice. The Plan of Action was revised, and a timeline for implementation was agreed upon.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- Although the CMD model ensures ownership and can be judged an overall success, it remains vulnerable. ZCID faced a number of institutional challenges over the year and, consequently, the political programme was stalled. NIMD will only be able to resume programme funding after implementation of measurements for improvement.
- The ZCID governance and management performance can only be improved if the ZCID Board is able to reach consensus between themselves on the Plan of Action, and if they are committed to abide to the agreements reached.

StakeholdersNational:

Forum for Democratic Progress (FODEP)

Oasis Forum

Citizens Forum

Church bodies (Zambia Episcopal Conference, Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, Council of Churches Zambia), The Non Governmental Coordinating Council, (NGOCC)

National Women's Lobby Group and Women in Politics.

Electoral Commission of Zambia,

The Ministry of Home Affairs and Finance

The National Registration Office

Zambian National Broadcasting Cooperation

University of Zambia

International

Department For International Development (DFID)

British High Commission

Royal Netherlands Embassy

Danish Embassy

United Nations Development Programme

Cordaid, Simavi and Wemos.

Country budget

1a. Amount financed from BuZa funding: €370,000

1b. There was an under expenditure of €117,417 because the focus in 2010 was on the restructuring of ZCID. Therefore almost no programmatic activities have been executed.

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): no information available.

2.10 Zimbabwe

Context

2010 was the second year of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed on 15 September 2008 by the three political parties (ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC-M) and the second year in which these parties cooperated in the Inclusive Government (IG, since February 2009). The IG was characterised by increased tensions between and within these parties. Ever since its commencement it has been surrounded by pessimism about the lack of progress made on the implementation of the GPA. Throughout the year several outstanding issues remained unresolved despite a SADC facilitated dialogue and international pressure. In November 2010 Prime Minister Tsvangirai decided to file charges against President Mugabe in the Supreme Court because he continues to act unilaterally especially in relation to senior government appointments. Expectations are however that the deadlock will not be resolved easily and soon. In the meantime ZANU PF and MDC-T continued to send out different messages on the likelihood of new elections in 2011. Talk of fresh elections could lead to an upsurge of political violence and could have a negative impact on the fragile economy of Zimbabwe, that was able to slowly stabilise itself throughout 2010.

The pessimism on the lack of full implementation of the GPA however does not mean that no progress was booked this year. After serious delays in 2009, the Constitution making process, managed by the Parliamentary Select Committee (COPAC) took off in 2010 with a country wide public outreach process that ran from June to September. The process went far from smooth. It was marred by disorganisation and disagreement between the international donors and the Zimbabwean Government over funds. The outreach process was also influenced by cases of intimidation and political violence. It remains to be seen if the outcome of the outreach process and the entire constitution making process will meet the necessary standards to deliver a legitimate new constitution. The next steps now will be the aggregation of the results of the outreach and the preparation of a draft constitution. This draft should be discussed at a 2nd All Stakeholders Conference and should subsequently be put forward to referendum. Still, the fact that an enormous project like the public outreach process actually was carried out in the political context of Zimbabwe in itself remains an achievement that should not be overlooked.

This cautious positive sign has also been noticed by South Africa as the designated SADC mediator and facilitator of the GPA. Although 2010 was a year in which SADC facilitation was not able to seriously influence the dynamic between the three parties in the IG, South Africa seemed to gear up to play a more influential role in 2011 by taking the lead in drafting an Electoral Roadmap that is expected to set out the necessary steps, time line and preconditions for the next elections in Zimbabwe (most likely towards the end of 2011 or the first half of 2012). It is expected that the conclusion of the constitution making process (including a constitutional referendum) will be one of the major preconditions in such a document.

The US, UK and EU still remain very reluctant to put their weight behind the political transition process in Zimbabwe as they fear that Mugabe and his ZANU-PF still largely have the upper hand in the current political arrangement. Sanctions and targeted measures against ZANU-PF senior leaders and securocrats remained in place and are expected to remain in place in 2011.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

Zimbabwe faces many challenges. In the long term, the continuing political polarisation and ensuing power clashes between opposing political forces can be overcome only by improving the conditions for power-sharing and by addressing Zimbabwe's political "winner takes all" construct. Therefore, one of the main aims in this programme is to strengthen Zimbabwe's political system in a way that allows for greater and fairer sharing of power. This entails both the GPA in the short-term and potentially similar arrangements once the GPA transpires. The combination of supporting political party institutions and strengthening of interparty dialogue is expected to add to such power-sharing conditions and is a precondition to create consensus and shared acceptance for necessary political reforms.

Improving the cooperation under the GPA already transpires at various levels (COPAC, Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC), and the Organ on National Healing) and

focuses on different topics (constitution, GPA, reconciliation). In 2010 the Zimbabwean partner of NIMD, the Zimbabwe Institute (ZI), and NIMD itself took the first preparatory steps to establish a Zimbabwe interparty dialogue platform. These steps were taken after consultations with the three parties made it clear that they feel the need for such a platform that can transcend the life-span of the GPA. Such a platform is not restricted to any one theme, thus giving it greater flexibility to adapt to emerging political needs.

Finally, there is an imminent need to strengthen ties between political and civil society, if a new and lasting divide between those in government and those outside is to be prevented. Political parties are also beginning to see the added value of aligning instead of alienating civics behind such agendas as the constitutional reform process, if only to prevent a no-vote campaign ahead of the constitutional referendum.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Global Political Agreement (GPA) adhered to and implemented & democratic rules and behaviour deepened.

- Initial agreement reached between three parties for setting up an interparty dialogue platform
- JOMIC supported by ZI to fulfil its monitoring and implementation role as described in the GPA

Desired change 2: New constitution is a true reflection of the desires of an inclusive majority of Zimbabwean society

- COPAC secretariat supported by ZI to lead the constitution making process and specifically the public outreach process
- civil society organisations have been consulted and involved in the constitution making process by COPAC through regular meetings between COPAC and civil society and by bridge building meetings organised by ZI and ZEPAD

Programme Approach

The Zimbabwe Institute (ZI) is NIMD's partner in Zimbabwe. It has a sound track record of facilitating negotiations between the three political parties in the Inclusive Government and has been able to play an important role in the GPA process by giving crucial support to the constitution making process (especially the setup of COPAC) and JOMIC. ZI is currently one of very few organisations, if not the only, that is trusted by all three sides and able to facilitate dialogue between the three parties.

The challenges for Zimbabwe remain immense. Key in overcoming these challenges is the implementation of the GPA and putting in place conditions that allow for free and fair elections and a transfer of power. In 2010 NIMD's approach therefore focused on supporting the work of ZI in facilitation of the main elements of the GPA (negotiations on outstanding issues, JOMIC and COPAC). Based on these elements, NIMD and ZI further invested in the relations between the three parties to see to what level willingness exists among the parties to consider an interparty dialogue that could go beyond the immediate negotiations about the GPA or the cooperation in the IG. In May 2010 a Zimbabwean delegation consisting of high level representatives of all three parties attended the NIMD Africa Regional Programme conference in Uganda. They were able to meet peers from other African countries that are engaged in interparty dialogues. High level consultations by ZI with the three parties led to initial agreement between the three parties on the formation of an interparty dialogue platform that will be pursued further in 2011, depending on new political developments.

Through its partners' experiences in other programme countries NIMD is able to bring in valuable lessons learnt and technical expertise to the constitution making process. In 2010 NIMD facilitated an exchange visit of constitutional experts from Ghana to Kenya and invited the co-chairs of COPAC to participate as to share their experiences. A direct result from this meeting was the organisation of weekly meetings between COPAC and civil society representatives to discuss issues arising from the outreach process. A follow up visit to Zimbabwe is envisaged in 2011.

ZI has continued to support both MDCs to strengthen their capacity as a party, especially in the area of policy development. NIMD assists the work of ZI in this area by supporting two strategic policy officers in the party organisations of the MDCs.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

In addition to NIMD's activities, ZI runs activities with other funding organisations. Its main funders, apart from NIMD, are Norwegian People's Aid, the Swedish Olav Palme Institute, the Danish Embassy and the Norwegian Embassy. NIMD closely consults with ZI and the other partners to ensure coherence and complementarity in ZI's programmes.

Based on NIMD's cooperation with the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) in 2009, cooperation with their Zimbabwean partner the Zimbabwe Europe Partnership for Democracy (ZEPAD) continued in 2010. ZI and ZEPAD have interacted closely on their involvement in the constitution making process and have been able to jointly work on valuable bridge building initiatives between COPAC and several civil society organisations that helped to reduce some of the tensions around the constitution making process.

NIMD also invested in closer contacts with representatives of the international community in Zimbabwe, most notably the Royal Netherlands Embassy, the British High Commission and USAID. Most of the initial confusion that was apparent at the beginning of the year on how ZI's support to COPAC related to the UNDP managed donor basket fund for the constitution making process seems to be resolved. In 2010, ZI continued to coordinate its activities for COPAC with UNDP to ensure effective coordination.

Apart from the ZI-funders, there are a number of other organisations that run political party support initiatives. NIMD has sought contact with the German Foundations and NDI to exchange information on each others' programmes. Their presence on the ground for the moment is however limited and they do not have very concrete possibilities for complementarity, especially focussing on interparty dialogue.

In the Netherlands NIMD continues to actively engage with the other Dutch NGOs that are members of Zimbabwe Watch and also interacts with the Zimbabwe Europe Network. NIMD's aim is to improve the level of information sharing and to start exploring possibilities for complementarity in each others programmes when and where these arise.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Cautiously and cognisant of the risks involved, NIMD and ZI have continued to invest in interparty relations in Zimbabwe, specifically between the three parties that are party to the GPA. ZI has been able to gain trust from the three parties to facilitate several key processes related to the implementation of the GPA such as the constitution making process by supporting COPAC and through its support to JOMIC. First steps have been made towards setting up a more permanent interparty platform. The positioning of ZI as facilitator of cooperation between the three parties is also considered a risk, as tensions between the three parties are bound to rise in the run up to a next election. However at the same time, interparty negotiation and cooperation are expected to be necessary to meet some of the important elements of a roadmap to elections in Zimbabwe and it also remains likely that a form of interparty cooperation will be part of the further democratic transition process of Zimbabwe.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

NIMD's Country Team (CT) focused on improving the day to day communication with ZI and ensuring that the Zimbabwe programme was more in line with the NIMD programme management cycle. The CT also focused on strengthening coordination between ZI's partners and shared experiences and advice with ZI on how to set up an interparty dialogue platform.

The CT members undertook two missions to Zimbabwe, in March and August. In August the mission was combined with a special board meeting of ZI in Johannesburg, South Africa. The CT also attended a strategic partner meeting in London in November.

The March mission focussed on strategic multi annual planning with ZI. The team also focussed on meetings with representatives from the international community and the three parties of the Inclusive Government. During the August mission the strategic board meeting was used to intensively discuss the organisational development of ZI and its programmatic priorities for 2011. The Country Team also visited Zimbabwe for meetings with COPAC and civil society representatives to get a profound understanding of the constitution outreach process.

In November the Country Team attended a strategic partner meeting of ZI in London. During this meeting ZI discussed with its partners how to ensure a sustainable funding base for its programmes, how to control its institutional costs and ensure that these costs are evenly shared between partners.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- Continued and specific attention to bridge building between civil and political society around the constitution making process will remain crucial to ensure a level of legitimacy of the new draft constitution.
- The willingness of parties to engage in a more sustained interparty dialogue in Zimbabwe seems to depend largely on their expectations regarding the outcome and conduct of new elections and the need for interparty cooperation thereafter.

Stakeholders

1. NIMD's partners: Zimbabwe Institute (ZI), Zimbabwe Europe Partnership for Democracy (ZEPAD)
2. NIMD works with the three parliamentary parties: MDC-T, MDC-M and ZANU-PF
3. Key national partners (ZESN, Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), Crisis Coalition, PAPST)
4. Key international partners: RNE, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), Swedish Embassy, Olof Palme International Centre, EU, USAID, British High Commission, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, NDI, Zimbabwe Watch, Zimbabwe Europe Network

Country budget

1. Amount financed from MFA funding: €360,000
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): not applicable
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): yes.

CHAPTER THREE: Asia and Latin America

3.1 Eurasia and New Regions Programme (ENRP)

Context

The EurAsia & New Regions Programme (ENRP) comprises a number of activities aimed at investigating the viability of new programmatic opportunities as well as improving the country programmes recently started. The geographical focus of the programme is on NIMD programmes in Europe, Asia and Post conflict countries.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

ENRP serves as a catalyst for securing new initiatives in NIMD programmes in Europe, Asia and Post conflict countries and improving existing ones. As a number of potential programme countries proved not to be viable during 2009 and as, due to the upcoming Multiannual Plan and reorganization, NIMD had a predominantly internal focus throughout 2010, the scope of the ENRP was rather limited.

Programme Approach

For 2010 the ENRP programme was divided into two sub-programmes, each with a specific aim. The first one, the Post-Conflict & Fragile States Programme, aimed at strengthening NIMD's knowledge and expertise on political party support in post-conflict societies and would serve to assess future programmatic possibilities in post-conflict countries. The second one, New Activities, aimed at providing funding for fact-finding missions to potential NIMD country programmes.

Late 2009 and early 2010 NIMD looked into the possibility to become a partner in a programme aimed at strengthening political parties in Haiti executed by Rights & Democracy, a Canadian organization aiming at strengthening Human Rights and Democracy. However, due to the devastating earthquake that hit Haiti in January 2010 and to internal problems at Rights & Democracy the programme was temporarily cancelled. Throughout the remainder of 2010, no further fact-finding missions were planned under the ENRP programme.

Two other activities that were funded under the ENRP programme proved to be more successful. In March 2010, after 18 months of joint research and experts meetings, Hivos and NIMD launched their publication on the MENA region. This assessment of opportunities for democracy support in the Middle East and North Africa was launched at a seminar organized by the University of Amsterdam. It received positive reviews from experts on the subject. The outcomes will serve the NIMD in designing a strategy for the region in the future.

In September 2010 an agreement was reached between NIMD and the Institute for Public Participation (IPP) to jointly develop a tool-box on strengthening the programmatic capacities of political parties. In the past years NIMD and IPP had cooperated in a number of countries, including Georgia and Burundi, developing tailor-made programmes aimed at strengthening these capacities. The tool-box was to turn these experiences into a generic set of instruments that could be used in all NIMD programmes. The tool-box, developed by a team of experts of both organizations, will be launched early 2011.

Finally NIMD was invited in October 2010 by the Council of Europe to present the Georgia country programme at the Forum for the Future of Democracy. The aim of the forum was to provide guidance on how the Council of Europe could support the improvement of democratic governance in its member states. The case of Georgia served as practical input for the discussion on strengthening political parties in Eastern Europe.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Due to the reorganisation at the NIMD and on the basis of the results of the ENRP, it was decided to make ENRP part of a larger regional programme in 2011. The Asia & Latin America Regional programme would focus on exchanging experiences and best-practices in and between the regions.

Budget

1a. Amount financed from BuZa funding: € 13,084

1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above)

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): € 3,355

3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts):

3.2 Burundi

Context

The year 2010 witnessed a further polarization and paralysis of the Burundian political landscape, fuelled by contested elections in May. Although all five rounds of elections were carried out according to schedule, most opposition parties dropped out of the process following the first round, which they saw as rigged by ruling party CNDD-FDD. This opposition boycott subsequently led to an effective CNDD-FDD domination of the parliament with 80% of all seats, accompanied by only two minor parties.

Following this electoral debacle, the opposition seems more divided than ever. With the leaders of five opposition parties having gone into hiding or underground, the opposition found itself unable to present credible policy alternatives to the ruling party's line. Although key opposition parties united in the ADC-Ikibiri coalition after the flawed communal elections, this ad-hoc group lacks formal institutional representation and is characterised by weak leadership. In addition, it is actively frustrated by the government and receives no support from the international community. Throughout 2010, Burundi's political stalemate continued to persist. Despite efforts by the international community to foster constructive political dialogue, no sincere rapprochement has taken place between CNDD-FDD and opposition parties.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

While noting that the course of events before, during and after the elections would largely be outside NIMD's scope, NIMD and its partner the Burundi Leadership Training Programme (BLTP) set out to contribute to an enabling environment for peaceful and fair elections. As part of this effort, NIMD and BLTP sought to pave the way for constructive and structural interparty dialogue, by installing a number of low-profile working groups under the umbrella of the *Forum permanent des partis politiques*. In addition, NIMD planned to expose the Burundian political parties and CENI members to the experiences of their peers in NIMD partner countries, such as Kenya and Ghana. Moreover, NIMD hoped to contribute to a more content-oriented electoral race, by supporting all Burundian political parties in articulating formulating succinct electoral manifestoes to be distributed to a large audience through various communication tools.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Enabling environment for peaceful, fair elections secured

- No concrete results were achieved to bring closer this desired outcome.

Desired change 2: Voice and internal and external accountability of political parties enhanced

- Nine workshops on formulating electoral manifestoes were organized for a total of 77 representatives of 32 different parties. The intended output of the workshop had originally been formulated as: 'the top cadres of all six parliamentary parties have prepared, with expert input, a policy-based election campaign manifesto'. Weeks before the start of the activity, this output however had to be amended when NIMD was urged by the ruling party to operate through the *Forum Permanent*. This led to: a) a multiparty setting and therefore less opportunity to express manifesto concerns freely, b) less senior participants and therefore weaker mandates to formulate manifestoes, and c) more parties and participants and therefore less time to develop manifestoes in-depth. Nonetheless a large number of party activists were exposed to a practical, hands-on tool to for producing electoral manifestoes.
- A total of 32 parties delegated 57 political party members to participate in the workshop on communicating effectively with the media. In spite of the trying circumstances (time-limit, group size, multiparty setting, training less tailored to specific party needs, limited capacities of smaller parties), the training fostered a better understanding of the media and interparty exchanges during the sessions. The desired output of the training, to have trained all parties running in the elections in communicating effectively with the media, was thus attained. This is not to say that professional communication strategies were developed.

Programme approach

In 2010 the NIMD aimed to contribute to the conditions for violence-free and fair elections, and it planned to do so following different tracks: supporting the process of achieving a broadly accepted and signed code of conduct for the elections; supporting dialogue sessions between the political parties running in the elections and the CENI on electoral matters; setting up an interparty conflict resolution group, expose both the political parties and the CENI to the experiences of their peers in partner countries that have also had to deal with (the threat of) electoral violence; supporting the political parties in developing their electoral manifestoes and in communicating these within their respective parties and to their constituencies. None of these activities could however be successfully implemented. A number of factors help explain how the political context in Burundi closed the window of opportunity for a timely set up of activities.

At the very start of the project it became clear that for the ruling party CNDD-FDD to participate in any of NIMD's efforts, one strict precondition was posed. Implementation would have to run via the then recently established Forum Permanent des Partis Politiques. This Forum Permanent, funded by the Integrated Bureau of the United Nations in Burundi (BINUB) and the Home Affairs Ministry, consisted of 39 parties, the vast majority of which were of little relevance or professionalism in Burundian politics. However, to get the CNDD-FDD on board and thus to have any political party activity approved in a highly polarised pre-electoral period, there was little alternative to working via the Forum Permanent.

For the NIMD programme, the Forum Permanent trajectory allowed for an otherwise impossible set-up in which both ruling party and opposition parties participated, but various side-effects soon appeared. Many of these were related to the rigid position that the executive committee of the Forum Permanent took. Firstly, almost immediately after its foundation, some of the parliamentary opposition parties withdrew from the Forum Permanent, while other parties decided to participate only at a minimum level. Secondly, the many small and insignificant parties in the Forum Permanent structure then refused to be clustered during training sessions and demanded equal representation with their bigger brothers in parliament. Thirdly, the executive committee of the Forum Permanent prohibited working with political parties bilaterally, making in-depth discussions on sensitive issues such as policies, media strategies, campaigning etc impossible. Fourthly, a lack of commitment soon showed when the ruling party and other participating parties delegated middle-cadre politicians to participate in meetings, workshops, and exchanges. Finally, the executive committee began all or nothing negotiations about increasing per diems. These delay tactics finally made the deadline of the communal elections come too near to implement the remainder of the pre-electoral activities, even if the points of discussion would have been solved.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

As a result of the distorted electoral process and the general disappointment with political parties, Burundi currently receives very little assistance for either dialogue initiatives or political party cooperation. NIMD therefore works in a relative niche where it comes to setting up a dialogue platform or facilitating support to legislation on issues such as an opposition statute. As a result of its investments in relationships with the international community in Bujumbura and at HQ, NIMD is now recognised as an indispensable partner in the area of political party support by virtually all western donors. In particular the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, main funder of NIMD's election manifesto-related workshops, became an indispensable partner for NIMD in Burundi.

In the area of democracy education, NIMD finds others on its side, with NDI being the main partner. NDI is also setting up democracy education platforms but focuses on a different target group (young politicians) and geographical area (Bujumbura), and uses different (ready-made) curriculums. NIMD's democracy schools are likely to train active citizens from all corners of society, throughout the country and with locally produced curriculums to ensure greater ownership. Given these dissimilarities, both organisations have decided to work complementary to each other but maintain their separate initiatives for the moment. They, however, work together closely in the development and implementation of their plans and will monitor potential for greater integration of their projects in the longer run.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Political: With the CNDD-FDD having consolidated its control over all state institutions, the opposition being marginalised, and no rapprochement between the two taking place, Burundi's democratic outlook is rather gloomy. Since the Forum Permanent is no longer functioning, it can no longer serve as an umbrella for the NIMD programme. In this context, the sustainability of the NIMD programme in Burundi has become highly questionable.

Financial: With most International Representatives in Burundi being of the opinion that the country suffers from a democratic regression after the last electoral process, not having fulfilled its expectation as upcoming democratic beacon in the region, there is a risk of more donor agencies leaving Burundi. This can have negative influence on the financial position and sustainability of NIMD's partner in Burundi, the BLTP that is dependent on various funders.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

A round table mission was undertaken by NIMD-HQ staff to Burundi in April 2010 to discuss the 2010 working plan and to produce a multi-annual outlook. Three missions by experts of IPP, Radio Netherlands and a political party expert of D66 have been undertaken before the elections to provide the political parties with specific expertise and instruments, amongst others on electoral manifesto. The NIMD representative on the ground monitored political and programme developments, invested in strategic partnerships, and assisted NIMD's partner BLTP in the implementation of activities. The NIMD representative and the BLTP Executive Director both visited NIMD HQ early November for a Round Table.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- The NIMD programme in Burundi continues to be rendered impossible by a lack of commitment of in particular the ruling party, and the political impasse in which Burundi finds itself.

Stakeholders

1. Our country partner: BLTP
2. The type of political parties we work with: parliamentary, extra-parliamentary opposition with sufficient votes in the communal elections
3. Key national partners: Initiative et Changement, Home Affairs Ministry
4. Key international partners: RNE, BINUB, Belgian Embassy & MFA, EC, Dfid, US Embassy, SA Embassy, Chaire Unesco.

Country budget

- 1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €387,000
- 1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons:
Serious under spending due to reasons explained above
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): € 100,000 from the Belgium Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts):

3.3 Georgia

Context

In 2010 a new constitution was adopted by the Georgian parliament, which substantially affects Georgia's political landscape. Significantly amending the distribution of power, the new constitution grants the Georgian parliament the power to directly elect the prime minister, who in turn will yield most influence in the executive branch. Various (extra-parliamentary) oppositional parties have contested the reform process and abstained from direct involvement in the Constitutional Committee's undertakings. Although this lack of inclusiveness, coupled with a weak and personality-centred public political discourse, remains a major obstacle towards democratic transformation, Georgia's political climate seemed less turbulent in 2010 than in previous years.

The relative political calm of 2010 also ties into the outcomes of the May 2010 Local Elections that resulted in a solidification of the ruling party's popularity. While most opposition parties were left confused and lacking strategic vision, it is noteworthy that the Alliance for Georgia was relatively successful in galvanising popular support, with Irakli Alasania obtaining 19% percent of the vote in Tbilisi's mayoral race. Although still marginal compared to the 55% of the vote obtained by UNM candidate Gigi Ugulava, many political observers attribute the opposition leader's increased success as a result of the increasingly constructive and policy-oriented tone of his party. Nevertheless, whether this is a sustained long-term development or not, has yet to be proven. An eventual relapse to personality-based, conflict-centred campaign styles could further marginalise opposition parties, which could eventually even result in a new starting point for de facto single party rule in Georgia.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

Three core issues were at the root of the programme in 2010. The Georgian constitutional reform process was not supported by all parties in the political spectrum, as a number of opposition parties felt they were not taken seriously. There was a need to increase the inclusiveness of the public discourse on key aspects of the of constitutional reform process by a neutral broker. Second, performance of political parties is hampered by structural internal shortcomings with respect to content and institutionalisation. This urgently needed to be addressed following a long-term strategy via the set-up of a strategic planning process. Third, both community and political leaders at various levels lack knowledge and competencies vis-a-vis democratic skills and values. This deficit originates in Georgia's autocratic rule under the Soviet regime. Investing in long-term training and assistance at regional level could be an effective way to tackle that deficit.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Stability of political system enhanced (in particular the constitution: political powers constitutionally better balanced and constitutional reforms supported more broadly)

- Facilitating the formulation and expression of the viewpoints of all the main political parties in Georgia on the constitutional reform process. While the parties represented in the state constitutional commission refer to the commission's recommendations, all political parties not participating in the state commission were encouraged to formulate their positions during in-depth interviews. Simultaneously, regional debates were held with civil society organisations in all regions of Georgia, allowing them to exchange their views on the constitutional reform.
- Publishing two reports detailing the viewpoints of key political parties, civil society organisations and the Georgian public on the constitutional reform, thereby assuring a more inclusive and in-depth public discourse.

Desired change 2: Institutional development of political parties strengthened

- In-depth SWOT workshops carried out with the key political parties of the country, detailing the parties' institutional strengths and weaknesses. This SWOT analysis forms the starting point for a strategic planning process, to be implemented by the political parties in 2011.

Programme Approach

With respect to the first desired change, NIMD was aware that over-ambitious targets regarding the constitutional reform process were neither realistic nor feasible. With political polarisation between the ruling party and opposition preventing the latter from joining the constitutional committee, a multiparty approach was deemed not feasible. Acknowledging this lack of inclusivity of the constitutional reform process, NIMD focused instead on fostering an inclusive public political discourse on said process, by collecting the insights of political parties across the spectre, civil society organisations and the Georgian public. In this sense, this project served its purpose in enhancing visibility of those insights that were not reflected in the committee's constitutional exercise. In addition to achieving that aim, the project was also the first activity undertaken by NIMD after a considerable cessation of activities in Georgia. It thereby also successfully allowed for a testing of the political waters in Georgia.

As concerns the strategic planning process, the programme has made considerable strides in 2010, although the planning process is not as advanced as was foreseen in the annual plan for 2010, partly due to the 2010 local elections that consumed much of the parties' time. All political parties participating are so far enthusiastic about the planning process and regard this as a prime opportunity to develop longer term plans (a novelty for most parties involved in the planning process). Naturally, parties would not be keen to share their internal strategic plans with other parties, so it retained a mainly bilateral character, as intended according to the annual plan 2010. As the political climate proved to be too polarised to pave the way for a parallel multi party approach, consequently - also in close relation to the wishes of the Georgian parties themselves - NIMD chose to emphasise its bilateral programme component in 2010. In this context it should also be noted that some cautious attempts over the course of 2010 to establish an informal inter party dialogue, have not borne fruit in 2010. Attempts to come to an inter party dialogue will be made once a political opening can be found, yet pursuing a bilateral strategy could in the longer run also help in laying the foundations of a renewed impetus for a multi party programme approach.

Concerning the democracy schools, serious steps forward have been made. A group of local democratisation and education experts was mobilised that drafted a mission and vision, and drafted the outlines of course modules. Simultaneously, several roundtables were organised in Telavi, involving local civil society, politicians and citizens, to identify potential school buildings and additional education infrastructure. NIMD hopes to fill a clear void in Georgia with schools, both in terms of political illiteracy amongst the politically active as well as those active in different fields of society. It is estimated that by filling this void the performance of political parties and institutions could also be enhanced. Such programme would also increase democratic knowledge and skills as well as demands of public political accountability.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

NIMD has cooperated with local organisations CRRC (Caucasus Research Resource Centre) and ISFED (International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy) to organise interviews and roundtables on constitutional reform and to publish reports detailing the views of political parties, CSOs and citizens on the reform process. NIMD Georgia is also part of a Technical Working Group facilitated by UNDP which meets to discuss key developments in electoral and technical assistance taking place in Georgia. NIMD Georgia frequently organizes meetings with other agencies in the field of political party assistance to try to bring about a coherent, harmonised approach. Various attempts have been made to ensure cooperation with the NDI in Georgia. This has resulted in good relations but not in joint programme initiatives. Although no additional funding was secured in 2010, NIMD is stepping up efforts to realize this in 2011.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Political: Georgia is a politically volatile country and a sudden political changes, upsurges in polarisation, demonstrations and the like can therefore never be ruled out. In the longer term, the lack of significant political pluralism is a serious concern for Georgia, which is a major reason for NIMD's contribution in the support for strengthening pluralism in Georgia.

As NIMD's approach clearly targets a multiparty dialogue, it will continue to search for opportunities that enable the creation of plural platforms.

Financial: no external funding has been secured in 2010. The fact that Georgia appears to be out of the direct focus of large parts of the international community and receives less attention by, for instance, the European Union, is no positive sign in this regard. Efforts to secure external funding therefore will need to be spearheaded in 2011 to ensure the longer term sustainability of the programme.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

Four missions have been undertaken in 2010. In February a postponed mission of the Regional Director and the Programme Manager was organized in order to agree with the main stakeholders on the annual plan for 2010. In July/August a kick-off of the strategic planning process (see above) took place in Tbilisi; to this end the NIMD Programme Manager was joined by a VVD affiliated expert on strategic planning, who supported a group of Georgian experts to work out the methodology and instruments to be used during the process. In September, NIMD staff, an expert from IDASA (NIMD's partner in the Ileda programme) and the Georgian advisory committee participated in a round table on the establishment of a Democracy School in Georgia. In addition, in May the Georgian NIMD representative visited The Hague to provide his input to the multi-annual planning process.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- A multiparty programme approach remains very difficult to achieve in Georgia; working bilaterally with the Georgian parties is nonetheless still considered useful and could pave the way for a parallel multiparty approach at a later stage.
- Ensuring the commitment of the ruling party to engage (at an ad hoc basis) in meaningful interparty dialogue sessions remains a concern.
- NIMD should further elaborate a clear methodology and a user-friendly tool which political parties anywhere can use for their long-term strategic planning processes. The foundations for such a tool were laid in Georgia in 2010.

Stakeholders

1. NIMD Field Office

2. The type of political parties we work with (parliamentary, all registered etc)

Parties that have cleared the parliamentary elections' threshold and are "qualified" parties

Parties that have gathered more than 7% of votes in 2010 local elections

Seven partner political organizations in total representing parliamentary as well as non-parliamentary political parties

3. Key national partners (EMB, University, civil society groups etc.)

NIMD partners with various local organizations, including the Caucasus Research Resource Centres (CRRC), International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED), the State Constitutional Commission, and local experts in the field of democracy education and strategic planning.

4. Key international partners (RNE, UNDP, German foundations etc)

National Democratic Institute, Council of Europe

Country budget

1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €185,000

1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above). N/a

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): no additional funds received

3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): no additional funds received

3.4 Indonesia

Context

In terms of democratic developments in an Asian context, Indonesia is still a “shining example”. Under the guidance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Indonesia’s democracy is relatively stable and consolidating. Not least because the president himself is actively propagating democracy, amongst others by means of his efforts to further the presidential initiative of the Bali Democracy Forum, or the regular appearance in international forums to sternly advocate the development of democracy¹.

What at the outset of 2010 seemed to become problematic, namely the power of the Anti-Corruption Commission (KPK), has in the course of the past year changed for the better. Those representing something like the “ancien régime” who wished to weaken the KPK have, eventually, been kept at bay and the Commission now seems stronger than ever. This is crucial in a country where corruption is rife and where, according to the President himself, the main threat to democracy is “money politics”. This also continues to influence parties and party politics at a local level. However, judging from the results of the ongoing elections for the executive (governors and district heads) during which parties tainted by corruption, such as Golkar, have been dealt sensitive blows, democracy at this level, despite the tradition of money politics, is increasingly lively and voters’ awareness at the local level is mounting. It does not come as a surprise that some of the less reform-minded political parties have been opting for a change in the election law, whereby governors will again be elected by local parliaments and not directly by the people.

Being part of the parliamentary opposition in Indonesia is, it seems, still something undesirable to political parties. The concept of a “big coalition” or “rainbow coalition” is popular in Indonesia, yet this inclination for political “gregariousness”, does not strengthen the political system as it reduces the influence of parliamentary checks and balances. It also signals that access to power continues to override political parties’ views and content-based politics.

Distrust between civil and political society has not really subsided in 2010, precisely because of political parties’ and prominent political party members’ abuse of power. The widely publicised case of Gayus Tambunan shows in all desirable clarity how politicians and other authorities have become part of systematic bribery and corruption with countless ramifications, while all of those involved would do anything to protect each other from being sentenced. Therefore, the way this case has been, and will be, handled, will be extremely important to the political future of Indonesia.

Rationale behind the country programme

The programme in Indonesia seeks, especially at the regional level, to do away with political illiteracy and create a critical mass of democratically active Indonesians who will join parties, run for office and thus help to improve democratic processes, fight corruption and make political parties accountable. The programme seeks to create a shared agenda between political parties at the national level, focusing on improving the way parties should work as democratic institutions and thus enhancing the political system.

The programme in Indonesia is thus based on two pillars: political education of young Indonesians through democracy schools at a regional level and “Political Party Consultation” (PPC – political dialogue between the parties represented in parliament) at the national level. Incidentally, the political parties are well aware that Indonesian democracy is getting stronger and that, if they want to become strong institutions with a role to play, they will need to change. The PPC is one of the means to achieve such change and is therefore interesting to the parties. They have strongly endorsed the Needs Assessment produced in early 2010, which, generally speaking, will greatly intensify the PPC programme.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Enhanced democratically sound, political participation at local level by means of democracy schools

- Democracy Schools have yet another year produced batches of alumni – gathered in so-called Community Committees or “KKs” – who are well versed in democratic knowledge, values and skills, and who in time will together constitute a critical mass (relative to the number of citizens in a district) of politically active citizens and agents of change.

Desired change 2: Improved mutual understanding and level of trust between political parties at regional and national levels.

- At the regional level this has mainly be achieved through the participants of the democracy schools, a certain percentage of whom are have joined political parties, but also through the KKs, which are actively tackling local problems hands-on, especially through mediation.

Desired change 3: Better functioning of political parties as major democratic institutions by means of formulating a shared agenda, focusing especially on improving the legal framework for political parties.

- A new and revised PPC Programme is being developed.

Programme Approach

NIMD's partner in Indonesia is the *Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* (Indonesian Community for Democracy – KID). By collaborating with and supporting KID, the NIMD implements its programme in Indonesia. Both pillars or both approaches of the Indonesia programme have been continued in 2010. Main results until now have been the formation of critical masses of democratically well-educated groups of young Indonesian on regional levels, by means of democracy schools as well as democratically and politically active alumni groups that seek to address local/regional problems through peaceful, democratic action. These groups have been instructed to act as mediators between all kinds of local stakeholders with the aim to solve local political problems (and *not* as the classical Indonesian advocating NGO, with a distrust of politics and political society). Also considerable numbers of individuals who have enjoyed the democracy education and who are members of the alumni groups, have meanwhile become members of political parties of their choosing and ran for office in elections for the legislative (local and regional parliaments – 2009), as well as for the executive (ongoing elections, so-called *pilkada*). Quite a few have become members of local and regional parliaments, members of regional election committees (KPUD), or village heads. Furthermore, the seven parliamentary political parties (until the elections of 2009) have been in constant dialogue. It was planned that as of 2010, after the 2009 parliamentary and presidential elections, and based on a comprehensive needs assessment, this dialogue would not only incorporate two newcomers in parliament (Hanura and Gerindra), but also expand and intensify in various way – amongst others by means of founding a political academy in the capital, meant for young, aspiring politicians on the national level.

On the institutional level, NIMD's partner KID has taken important steps to professionalize the organisation, inter alia through NIMD's pilot-project, funded by PSO (the Netherlands), to enhance the planning, monitoring and evaluation capacities of both headquarters in Jakarta and implementing agencies in the regions.

The successful democracy education programme has been intensified by means of adding three new schools to the already existing five (in conflict-prone districts in Aceh, West Kalimantan and Papua – incidentally *not* funded by NIMD). Simultaneously, the carrying out of the programme has been enhanced and made more (cost-)effective by implementing major recommendations of the 2009 Programme Evaluation (curriculum enhancement, up-scaling and so on). As for the latter, the expansion of the number of five schools to eight will likely reduce costs per unit.

As for the political dialogue (PPC), the Needs Assessment that was produced in 2010 has functioned as a guide in this part of the Indonesia programme. However, due to slow and somewhat problematic collaboration with *Kemitraan/Partnership*, KID's partner for the enhancement of the PPC, this has not materialized in 2010.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

The *Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* is also supported by the Netherlands Embassy, through cooperation with the Indonesian NGO *Kemitraan/Partnership* – a basket fund to which various international donors contribute. This holds true for both parts of the Indonesia programme (political education at the regional level and political dialogue between parties at the national level).

Referring to the recommendations of the 2009 Programme Evaluation, KID has been seeking closer collaboration with local NGOs, governments and educational institutions, such as local universities. Based on the recommendations of the recent Needs Assessment the KID, supported by NIMD, has been actively seeking collaboration with national (CETRO, DEMOS, FORMAPPI) and international (UNDP, NDI, AusAid, German Foundations) donors and organisations working in the field of democracy assistance.

Key performance & sustainability issues

KID is financially dependent on NIMD for the running of five schools, whereas the running of three additional schools is funded by the Netherlands Embassy, through the basket fund *Kemitraan/Partnership*. In April 2010, a representative of the Netherlands Embassy made clear that the embassy was willing to fund the plans for an enhanced political dialogue programme until mid-2012, also through *Kemitraan*. This has not materialized in 2010, however.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

One mission was undertaken in March/April 2010. NIMD attended a KID seminar on strategic planning in Yogyakarta, took part in the regular Round Table with KID, visited two Democracy Schools with representatives from NIMD's South African partner IDASA/Ileda, and organised a panel discussion on democracy education at the Sixth Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in Jakarta, with representatives of both KID and of Ileda. Other missions, including the regular Round Table in October, were cancelled due to the NIMD reorganisation process. A KID delegation took part in the PME seminar that was organised in January 2010 in The Hague. During their mission meetings were also held with NIMD staff and management to discuss on-going issues.

Stakeholders

1. NIMD's country partner KID
2. KID collaborates with the political parties represented in parliament
3. A key national partner is *Kemitraan/Partnership*; further, (eight) local NGOs which function as Implementing Agencies for the democratic education programme on the regional level

Country budget

1. Amount financed from MFA funding: €590,000
2. From PSO through NIMD: €70,000
3. Additional funds from *Kemitraan/Partnership* (not through NIMD accounts): €355,000

3.5 Latin America Regional Programme (LARP)

Context

Also during 2010 major political debates regarding the development model and democratic reform took place. One of these debates focuses on the link between democracy and the need to ensure free press. Although democracy is now well established in the majority of the Latin American countries, freedom of expression, access to information, ownership of media, (self) censorship, official governmental media channels and media frequencies have raised fierce debate and numerous demonstrations in various Latin American countries including Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, El Salvador and Honduras.

Relative political and social instability continued in the Andean region. The uprising of the Ecuadorian Police on September 30 showed that institutional strengthening of state institutions is still needed to ensure full democratic ruling over public security forces. It also underlined that democratic rule is being backed by a large majority of the population, as contrary to 30 years ago the attempted coup was widely disapproved and President Correa received full backing for his reform agenda. The year ended with large social unrests in Bolivia, as people took the streets to protest against rising food and gas prices. A novelty for President Morales, as he has received large backing from the people that have now taken the streets. More positive news came from Colombia, where President Uribe decided that he would respect the Constitution and step down after his second term. This opened the way for his successor Juan Manuel Uribe, who instantly presented a reform agenda backed by a large majority of the political parties represented in the Parliament.

Although policies to combat extreme poverty have proven to be effective and continue to receive political and financial backing, no dramatic changes in the rampant inequality throughout Latin America are taking place⁸. The absence of political will to engage into comprehensive fiscal reforms across the continent is largely to be blamed. This hampers an increase of public expenditure into strengthening State delivery of social agendas and regional development. Despite many social and democratic reform this issue has been largely absent from the political agenda. The same goes for safety and human security across the region. Absence of the State in large regions across the continent in combination with failing social protection has granted space to illegal actors providing protection and basic services while engaging into illegal practises like drugs or human trafficking. Increasing influence of these groups, acting in a leaner and more flexible way than the large drug cartels of the 1980s, puts pressure on democracy and state delivery.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

LARP is designed as both a facility for supporting regional exchange and a catalyst for supporting thematic policy debates. By doing so it ensures an efficient use of NIMDs ever growing network in the region and cross-fertilisation of programmatic results and lessons learned. By building coalitions with complementary actors in the field of democratisation and media, NIMD ensures its partners, Latin American politicians, are given opportunities to present their views in pluriform national and regional platforms. It also grants possibilities for addressing issues and themes that remain under-addressed in national political debates, ultimately leading to development of new policies at both national and regional level.

Citizens base their understanding and assessment of democracy, and their support for democracy, on the information presented by the media. The media give citizens the tools to understand political developments and shape their assessment of the working of democracy. The Regional Latin American Media and Politics programme, is set up to analyze the kind of information that is offered by the media, the biases, and the information on political developments that is not, or only slightly, covered. Three debates were organized with politicians, journalists and experts on regional Central American Integration and the Association agreement with the EU; Regional integration in the Andean countries compared to the integration process in Central

⁸ Also see UNDPs 2010 Human Development Report for Latin America and the Caribbean

America and Human Rights, Inclusion and Social Cohesion and the way how these issues are covered by the media. By bringing media and political representatives together, the programme also aims to normalize the often strained relation between these those sectors.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Better informed public opinion on political issues in Latin America:

- Journalists and politicians have been sensitized on political developments that are important in the region but got only scarce coverage (i.e. Regional Integration)
- The awareness of the political and media sector has been raised on issues linked to understanding democratic developments
- Understanding and awareness of a selected group of young people and university students regarding the way media coverage shapes their understanding of political developments has been raised

Desired change 2: Field offices or direct partners of the NIMD network directly engaged in institutionalized exchange:

- Annual plan was jointly reviewed and input provided;
- Experiences and lessons learned on various issues (i.e. Including political youth, media & politics, Electoral reform, etc.) have been shared and bilateral exchange initiated

Programme Approach

The follow-up to the successful first phase of the Media & Politics programme consisted of the organization of three debates on Central American Integration and the Association Agreements with the EU, integration in the Andean region compared to Central America, and Human Rights, Inclusion and Social Cohesion and the way these issues are covered by the media. To reach a public beyond the participants themselves, all debates could be heard through live streaming and the main presentation of the third debate was transmitted directly by the Radio the Central American University (UCA) of El Salvador. Furthermore, several interviews were given by the participants that were used by the media, thus ensuring an effect well beyond the debate itself. Moreover a partnership was agreed with UNDP to jointly develop a course on political communication, one of the recommendations of the first phase of the Media & Politics programme. The course will be particularly aimed at political youth and will be developed by the UNDP Virtual Academy.

With regard to activities aimed at supporting regional exchange, a first Latin American regional conference was held. During three days the Latin American Regional team, composed of both partners, country offices and NIMD-HQ staff, gathered in Antigua, Guatemala to exchange best practices, successes and lessons learned, agree on further future exchange and provide input for the NIMD multi-annual plan. It is foreseen to organize similar exchanges on a yearly basis.

In 2010 three initiatives were started to assess the feasibility of two new country programmes and one thematic area. Missions were successfully undertaken to Colombia to do a fact-finding on possible cooperation between UNDP-IDEA and NIMD, as a follow-up to the UNDP-IDEA programme on Democratic Strengthening. This has resulted in a new tri-partite cooperation. In August the first steps towards a possible programme in El Salvador were assessed when a Salvadorian mission visited The Netherlands to see the Dutch Socio-Economic Council work in practice. No follow-up has been given yet to this visit. Finally NIMD engaged in a larger coalition looking into the influences of organised crime on the state, preparing a comprehensive analysis on 6 Latin-American countries and preparing a regional seminar to be held in February 2011 under the auspices of the Centre for International Cooperation of the New York University.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

The LARP programme has over the years proven to be an excellent facility to cooperate with various organisations, national, regional and international. The Media & Politics programme actively pursues working together with other organizations, in order to facilitate links between participating organizations and promote the use of the materials in training and radio programmes.

The three debates were organized together with the Netherlands Embassy in Costa Rica, Radio Netherlands Worldwide (RNW), Radio Netherlands Training Centre (RNTC) and with the Inter American Institute for Human Rights. Furthermore the following institutions were involved in one of the Debates: the Central American University (UCA) of El Salvador, Institute for Press and Society (IPYS) and the Institute for Press and Freedom of Expression.

The increasing scarcity of donor funding in Latin America is one of many reasons to develop joint programmes and aim for serious cooperation. In the Andean Region NIMD has a broad cooperation with International IDEA and has increased its cooperation with UNDP. In Central America cooperation with UNDP is rapidly developing. Late 2010 NIMD engaged into a coalition with New York University, International IDEA and the Open Society Institute to jointly work on a comprehensive analysis of the influences of organised crime on the state. This coalition, created as a result of the Wilton Park Conference on Assessing Assistance to Political Parties, will continue to work on the issue, each complementing the other on different subjects.

Key performance & sustainability issues

The Media & Politics programme contributed to enhanced awareness of the role of the media in support for democracy and the debates raised issues such as regional integration and the association agreements that do not receive a lot of media coverage though they do establish important political developments. The debates also sensitized politicians about the media strategy of their political parties and how they can play an active role in ensuring media attention to important political events and developments.

NIMDs monitoring and evaluation missions

Various missions took place from Guatemala, from where the programme was managed, to other Central American countries to prepare and conduct the Media & Politics debates. For the Latin American Regional Conference partners, country offices and NIMD-HQ staff, gathered in Antigua, Guatemala. Furthermore 2 missions to Colombia were held to do a fact-finding on the feasibility of a new NIMD programme.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

During the Latin American Regional Conference a number of general conclusions were formulated with regard to the NIMD programmes and the inter-action between these programmes. In general it was underlined that politics in Latin America is in crisis, but that the current cycle of political renovation has deep roots in society and therefore strengthens multiparty democracy in itself. As such the NIMD programmes facilitate renewal, as they part from a local vision and are owned by local political parties. More inter-action between the NIMD programmes and actors in the continent and with actors from outside the continent, including political youth, can support deepening of democratic processes in the region.

With regard to the Media & Politics programme all debates have been organized with other organizations in order to reach a broad public. However, the first two debates that were organized in Costa Rica together with the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights, did not receive as much national participation as envisaged. In that sense, the cooperation with the Central American University of El Salvador turned out to be much more successful. The journalists and politicians did not only play a role in the Debate itself but also participated in round tables and seminars that attracted the attention of university professors and students, thus reaching out to a broad public as was envisaged by the design of the programme.

Stakeholders

- Radio Netherlands Worldwide (Department for Latin America and the Caribbean)
- Radio Netherlands Training Centre
- UNDP (Regional Bureau; Country offices in Colombia and El Salvador; Virtual Academy)
- FLACSO
- Inter-American Institute for Human Rights
- Central American University (UCA) of El Salvador
- Institute for Press and Society (IPYS)
- Institute for Press and Freedom of Expression
- International IDEA

Country budget

1a. Amount financed from BuZa funding: €210,000

1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above)

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): € 30,000 from Radio Netherlands Worldwide and € 16,500 from UNDP

3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): -

3.6 Bolivia

Context

2010 started with a newly-elected Pluri-National Assembly (Congress) and a new Senate. In both of them, the MAS achieved a two-thirds majority. Evo Morales and Alvaro García Linera were re-elected as president and vice-president respectively. Whereas they won the 2005 elections with 54% of the votes, they pushed up his electoral support to over 64% in December 2009. This meant that the government started the new mandate in January 2010 with overwhelming support of the Bolivian electorate. In 2010 the MAS made use of its two-thirds majority both in Congress and in the Senate to continue to implement its political agenda. Four important laws among the five fundamental ones foreseen in the Constitution were approved: Electoral Commission (*Organo Electoral*), Electoral Regime (*Régimen Electoral*), Judicial Organ (*Órgano Judicial*), Constitutional Tribunal (*Tribunal Constitucional*).

In the discussions around the Law on Autonomies (*Ley de Autonomías*) the role and importance of politics at the departmental level was brought about. With regard to the legal system there have been conflicts between on the one hand the national system and on the other the communal (indigenous) ones. This continues to be an unsolved clash of jurisdictions between the two systems, both of which are included in the new constitution. Moreover, in the relation between Executive and Judiciary, the MAS (Executive) have been accused of making use of the judicial apparatus for persecution of political enemies. This could be seen as a sign of the institutional weakness of the Bolivian State.

The results of the prefectural and municipal elections of April 2010 consolidated the dominance of the MAS, as the most important political force throughout the country also at the sub-national levels. Among the nine departments, the MAS won the post of governor in six of them. This party consolidated its presence in the executive in municipalities all over the country and political polarization remained high also at these levels.

The political opposition to the MAS started from within its allies: the *Movimiento Sin Miedo* presented itself as opposition in the departmental and municipal elections, winning the post of mayor in El Alto (historically one of the main strongholds of the MAS). Moreover, as high expectations had been generated by the MAS during the political campaigns the country witnessed expression of dissatisfaction among its supporters. Tensions between the MAS and indigenous peoples grew around the process of elaboration of the Law on Autonomies. Also, in the last days of 2010, tensions grew around the announcement by the national government to increase substantially the prices of petrol and diesel. In summary, in 2010 Bolivia's social movements, some working closely with the MAS, started to show that they consider themselves to be autonomous and to protest against the government when their interests are affected. On the positive side, one notes a significant increase in political participation of women in politics, especially its high percentage of representation in the Senate and in the Executive (50% of the ministers is woman).

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The implementation of NIMD's programme in Bolivia has become more challenging because of the political dominance of the MAS. The MAS showed no interest of this political organization to work with the FBDM in its role of promotion of dialogue between politicians of different parties and movements. Although some sectors within the MAS are open to a more plural, multiparty democracy, this is not the prevailing position. However, the implementation of projects (financed by NIMD and/or by other donors) carried out by the FBDM continued normally in 2010. In addition to efforts to further strengthen political organisations, more emphasis was given by the Foundation to civic education within civil society in order to rebuild the base for a functioning democratic multiparty system. Also activities involving young social leaders gained increasing importance in the programme.

The political dominance of the MAS has had important consequences for the institutional life of FBDM: in June the Board of the FBDM agreed unanimously to resign in order for an ad-hoc board to be formed (taking into consideration the results of the national and regional elections). The objective of this board was the preparation of the institutional Assembly that, later in 2010, would choose the Board for a new mandate. The main issue at stake was -and still is- to maintain the multiparty and plural character of the FBDM, within a context of political dominance of the MAS. This situation proved to be more complicated than it seemed when the Board resigned: in 2010, no political compromise was reached between the MAS and the other political forces in order to redefine the objectives, statutes and the direction of the FBDM. In this context, the FBDM put emphasis on some of its strategies, namely:

a) enlarging and strengthening the work at the regional level; b) collaborating with some sectors of the government on the issue of regional Autonomies; c) supporting institutional development of political parties. These initiatives contribute to the achievement of the expected multiannual outcomes of FBDM, such as the inclusion of marginalised groups in politics; democratic culture and behaviour deepened; institutional development of the political parties; greater mutual understanding and enhanced level of trust between civil and political society; reduced polarization of the political climate.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Greater inclusion of marginalized groups in politics.

- Young leaders played a prominent role in the political campaigns at regional and municipal levels.
- New media instruments have been used to increase the visibility of the work carried out by young political leaders.
- FBDM increased its international profile in the work with youth.
- FBDM elaborated a “Strategy for Gender Equity”, which foresees institutional and programmatic initiatives to strengthen the participation of women in politics. This was the first step within the FBDM towards a structured and consistent policy in relation to gender equity and empowerment of women within the institution and in its programmes.

Desired change 2: Political Parties strengthened.

- The FBDM supported financially projects of several political parties on issues such as: organizational development; deepening ideological definitions and choices; improving the capacities of the party’s militants.

Programme Approach

For NIMD and its future support to FBDM, it is essential that the Foundation preserves a plural political representation. In 2010 the FBDM was challenged to preserve its plural character within a context of political dominance of the MAS at the national and sub-national levels.

Even in these circumstances, the FBDM’s work remained consistent with the expected multi-annual outcomes (desired changes), as stated above.

As already mentioned, in the second half of 2010, an ad-hoc board was formed with the specific mandate to re-think the role and the structure of the Foundation, considering the new political landscape that was produced by the last national, regional and local elections. This process was not finalised in 2010 and will continue in 2011. In 2010 the programme also emphasised the importance of its work at the regional level, strengthening the offices in Santa Cruz and the Tarija. Although these initiatives were not new, their strategic importance was strengthened in the course of the year, as a necessary alternative to strive for more political plurality throughout the country.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

The collaboration between the FBDM and other Bolivian institutions intensified in order to deepen the values of democracy, multiparty dialogue, instead of (violent) political confrontation. Also, strengthening the role of democratic institutions, such as the national Congress, has been the object of initiatives of the *Mesa de Cooperantes*, a collaboration among several national and international institutions in which FBDM participates.

The funds of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs represent around 30% of the budget of the FBDM. While on the one hand, the establishment of the Foundation was mostly dependent on NIMD, its consolidation is strongly related to access to other funds, mainly of the Dutch Embassy, GTZ and EU. The support of GTZ in 2010 provided funds for the work with youth, enlarging the number and the scope of projects. NIMD also supported initiatives in this area. The EU focussed the support to spreading information to voters in the pre-election periods. Finally, the Netherlands Embassy (RNE) supported the programme of FBDM as a whole, enlarging its outreach and allowing further organisational development of the Foundation.

The FBDM has developed activities in collaboration with other institutions. For example the UNDP co-promoted activities at the regional level, strengthening one of the main strategies of the FBDM.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Two key political and financial issues had an impact in 2010 and will certainly affect NIMD's programme in Bolivia in the coming years:

- a) The installation of an ad-hoc board of FBDM with the specific mandate to re-think the role and the composition of the Foundation. It proved to be very complicated to reach consensus on how to restructure the Foundation (new board, new statutes). No agreement has been reached in 2010. The modality of the NIMD's support to FBDM may change in the coming years: NIMD may focus its support especially on institutional development of the political parties.
- b) In 2010, the FBDM consolidated a broader base of donors. The financial contribution of NIMD was around 30% of the total budget of the organisation as a result of an increase in the amount and the sources of income of the FBDM. It was the first complete year of institutional support of the RNE to FBDM.
- c) The permanent dialogue between NIMD and FBDM on organisational issues, as well as the professional support offered by NIMD to FBDM (a Dutch consultant working on a voluntary basis), contributed significantly to improved programmatic management of the Foundation from 2010 onwards.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

During the year there has been frequent dialogue (via telephone, skype and e-mail) between the FBDM's Executive Director and NIMD's staff for Bolivia. In March, an NIMD mission was undertaken to Bolivia, mainly for the realization of the Round Table aiming at the preparation of NIMD's Multi-Annual Plan. It counted with the participation of staff members of both organizations, Bolivian political parties and other stakeholders of NIMD's programme in Bolivia. In May, representatives of NIMD's country programmes of Guatemala, Ecuador and Bolivia met in Guatemala in order to continue the elaboration of the Multi-Annual Plan. Finally in October, an NIMD mission to La Paz focused on the challenges that the FBDM has been facing in order to maintain its multiparty approach, considering the dominance of the MAS.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

Please describe the main lessons learnt within the programme in 2010.

- a) The fact that since 2009, much importance had been given to the organisational development of FBDM had a positive impact on the programme: although 2010 ended without a solution for the political impasse in which the Foundation finds itself, the implementation of programmes and projects that benefit the Bolivian political parties and the multiparty system continued.
- b) The process of re-thinking the new political set-up of the FBDM took into consideration a diversity of ideas and proposals of different political colours. Even in a situation of strong political dominance of one of the political parties, diversity and multiparty approach were searched, as it is the pre-condition for NIMD's programmes.
- c) The promotion of multiparty dialogue at the regional level is a necessary complement to the work carried out at the national level, especially in a context in which regions (Departments) see their political role and relevance increased, as a consequence of the new Constitution.

Stakeholders

1. NIMD's country partner: FBDM- Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy.
2. The type of political parties NIMD works with: registered political parties and movements: Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS); Unidad Nacional (UN); Plan Progreso para Bolivia (PPB); Movimiento Sin Miedo (MSM); Alianza Social (AS); Camino al Cambio (CC de Tarija); Agrupación Verde (Santa Cruz).
3. Key national partners: FES – ILDIS; Ministry of Autonomies; Prefectura of the Department of La Paz; Electoral Commission (OEP- Organismo Electoral Plurinacional); OPN – National Political Observatory of the University Gabriel René Moreno; Centre of Superior Studies of the University of San Simón, Cochabamba; Andean University of Sucre, Chuquisaca; Post Graduation Unit of the University Juan Misael Saracho, Tarija.
4. Key international partners: RNE; IDEA; GTZ; UNDP, EU.

Country budget

- 1a. Amount financed from MFA: €280,000 for the programme carried out in Bolivia by the FBDM - Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy.
- 1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above): The resources transferred to Bolivia were fully spent.
2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): No
3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): Yes

3.7 Ecuador

Context

The implementation of the new legal framework resulting from the 2008 constitution remained the centre of political activity in Ecuador in 2010. According to the constitutional mandate, the National Assembly was supposed to deliver the fourteen most important laws (on issues including education, communication, and natural resources) in October 2009. However, the assembly has still not complied with this requirement. One of the main reasons for this delay is the increasing level of polarisation within the assembly and the tensions between the executive and legislative. The tensions between different institutions (in particular between President Rafael Correa and the police force) peaked on 30 September 2010, with a violent confrontation in which ten people died. The confrontation involved a clash between the police force and the army, while rescuing the President, who was held hostage for ten hours by the police in a hospital. This took place in the context of a public demonstration by the police against the reduction of some of their benefits. The provocative attitude of President Correa and his decision not to revise the basic public service law (LOSEP) – not even after intense debates in the assembly – turned the demonstration into a violent one. Although the situation normalised, polarisation levels in politics remained high and therefore the continuation of a political dialogue in Ecuador was even more challenging. The media in Ecuador referred to this event as “the event of 2010” and according to the polls the popularity of President Rafael Correa even increased. In December 2010, the Code of Democracy (combination law for elections and political organisations⁹) was amended in Parliament. The requirements for receiving financial resources from the permanent party fund are now the same for both political organisations and movements. Since its adoption in 2009, there has been a fierce discussion in Parliament on the feasibility of the laws; many political organisations considered the requirements for registering to be too demanding. In registering at the national electoral council (CNE) at least one year before the next planned elections in 2014, the organisations will have to decide if they want to register as a political organisation or movement. Since the amendment, the consequences of choosing for one or the other seem minor now. In order to be able to register all organisations will have to (re)build themselves, especially in aspects such as party discipline, internal democracy, gender equality, mechanisms for accountability, registration of militants and transparency of finances. However, it is expected that the criteria of the Code of Democracy will change in the coming years, but this is not certain. Therefore, until now, the process of registering and fulfilling all requirements is slower than expected. Only a few, political organisations have started. During its first national convention, held in October, the government movement, PAIS, has decided to continue as a political movement.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

In 2010 NIMD tried, through Agora Democrática (a joint venture programme between NIMD and IDEA), to counter the political polarisation in Ecuador by facilitating multiparty dialogue. In order to gain sufficient space to work in this area, Agora has built a good relationship with the ruling movement, without losing the involvement of the opposition parties. It aligns its agenda with the national agenda of the government, following the issues of the political reform agenda.

The main principle of Ágora Democrática is inclusiveness. Without the involvement of at least the most important opposition parties, democracy support activities are not possible. Agora’s strategy is based on two important pillars: the National Development Plan “*Para el Buen Vivir*” (2009-2013) and the Code of Democracy. The content of the agenda for multiparty dialogue platforms is also based on those two documents.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired Change 1: Agora Democrática contributed to a decrease in the polarisation of the political climate in Ecuador.

The violent events of 30 September 2010 once more underlined this priority:

- Level of trust between political actors (national and local) increased by inter-party dialogue through the editorial board of the political magazine “Agora Política”, and two women multiparty platforms, both inside and outside the assembly. Central issues on the agenda included the reform and implementation of the Code of Democracy and the implementation for gender strategies. [Ref. 1.1.1]

Desired Change 2: The programme contributed to enhance the voice and accountability of the political organisations.

- Specific support on one or two of the criteria for registration for political organisations. Bilateral support was provided to Concertación Nacional, PRIAN, and Pachakutik. The support mainly consisted in facilitating an open discussion on the decision to become a movement or organisation, to disseminate the content of the Code of Democracy to militants of these political organisations and movements and on indigenous territorial constituencies. [Ref. 2.1.1]
- Increased knowledge on regulations, rules and procedures in elections through an analysis of the Code of Democracy. The objective was to determine if the new electoral legislation was appropriate for the new political situation. Flavia Freidenberg undertook the analysis. [Ref. 2.1.2]

Desired Change 3: Mutual understanding and level of trust between media and political actors and accountability of political organizations towards electorate improved.

- Increased attention on political issues in media and increased interaction between political actors and journalists of community radios. In cooperation with CIESPAL, Agora is testing a methodology in order to analyse how mass media monitor the activities of political organisations. It seeks to generate a better comprehension of how politicians and political organisations are presented in the media. The methodology has been tested and the results are being analysed. In February 2011, Agora will develop a strategy for media and politics on the basis of these results. Moreover, in 2010 Agora continued its work with strategic partner, CORAPE: a series of modules for journalists focused on the challenging relationship between the media sector and politics in general. This programme will continue in 2011. [Ref 3.1.1]

Programme Approach

In order to deal with the above-mentioned desired changes, the 2010 programme focused on three areas. Firstly, NIMD’s programme, Agora Democrática, actively stimulated and facilitated the multiparty dialogue outside the assembly through different informal platforms: a) the editorial committee of a political magazine, b) the female parliamentarian group (GPPM) aimed at gender awareness in the drafting of new legislation, and c) the multiparty women group (GMM) aimed at the new requirements of the Code of Democracy. Because of high level of polarisation these platforms have become more challenging in 2010, especially after the events of 30 September. Secondly, the programme continued providing technical support for institutions such as the political organisations, the National Assembly and the National Electoral Council (CNE) on the elaboration of legislation and the process of registration of political organisations. This remains necessary because of the weak capacity of such institutions and new requirements as prescribed in the Code of Democracy.

The third desired change focused on marginalised groups, such as youth, in order to contribute to a more inclusive multiparty system. It was expected to start this project with the support of the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, the approval of the project application took place later than expected and consequently, the project will only start in 2011. Meanwhile Agora Democrática did focus on improving the level of understanding between media and political actors.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

Agora Democrática is a joint venture between NIMD and IDEA, and both organisations contribute 50% to the programme. Additionally, the strategy of the programme is very much aligned with the national agenda, especially in terms of cooperation with the multiparty party dialogue platforms such as the GPPM and the GMM. In 2010, Agora Democrática fulfilled a networking role in dealing with strategic partnerships with state institutions such as the CNE, Ministry of Education, SENPLADES, municipality of Quito and the National Assembly.

Moreover on specific themes it has created partnerships in order to increase impact and to harmonise donor initiatives. For example in terms of the media, Agora works with CORAPE, CIESPAL, and Radio Netherlands. On gender issues, it cooperates with local organisations such as AMUNE and AMJUPRE, and international organisations such as UNIFEM and UNFPA. Moreover, some of the gender activities are directly financed by the Spanish cooperation AECI. Finally, on youth issues, Agora has created a new strategic partnership with the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Key performance & sustainability issues

In terms of sustainability of the programme itself, it was expected that a new project focusing on youth participation would have been approved and financed by the Canadian democracy programme, Glynn Berry, in 2010. However, the application and approval process took more time than expected (the three-year contract was finally signed in January 2011). Moreover, Agora has invested substantially in the diversification of financial resources for its programme. In addition to the NIMD contribution, Agora receives funds from IDEA, UNIFEM, UNFPA and AECI. Most donors have expressed a long term commitment of two or three years. In total NIMD's contribution is only one third of the total budget of the programme.

In terms of political sustainability, for the first time since the start of the government movement in 2006 Ecuador has experienced a relatively stable political situation. Since then, major political reforms have taken place while respecting the democratic values. Although polarization levels remain high in Ecuador, it is expected that the government will complete its current term (running until 2014). Agora has excellent relations with this government and constantly adapts its strategy to the sometimes fluid political conjuncture.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

A total of four visits to Ecuador were undertaken in 2010. The first mission took place in March 2010 in order to attend a round table for the formulation of the multi annual plan 2011-2015 for the Ecuador programme. The second mission took place in August in order to be present at the meeting of the Steering Committee of the Ecuador programme. The third mission took place in October 2010 in order to monitor the programme and to formulate the new work plan 2011. The final mission took place in November in order to fulfil NIMD's human resource management responsibilities. In May, part of the office staff in Ecuador attended the NIMD regional meeting in Guatemala. At this meeting, the regional long term strategy for NIMD was formulated.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt (1-2 paragraphs)

- The multiparty dialogue in Ecuador remains very fragile and needs to be approached with great sensibility and flexibility. Especially after the events of 30 September, Agora Democrática has been reluctant with forcing a multiparty dialogue. Its approach is rather pragmatic. However, the women platforms GPPM and GMM experience less polarization.
- Although Ecuador can be considered as innovative in terms of legislation focused on gender equity, a major gap exists between legislation and practice. Therefore, activities focused on gender are still very necessary.
- In the internal structures of the political organizations, women's participation still requires a great deal of empowerment and a better understanding of women's specific rights and challenges.
- The lack of coordination between the legislative and the executive branch about procedures of presentation, debates and approval of new legislation is hindering the advance of various proposed laws. This needs more attention in the coming years.

- Due to other political priorities, a wide scope of time (one year before the next planned elections) and the expectation of political organizations that the Code of Democracy will be amended on certain criteria for CNE registration slows down the process of registration. Thus, there was less urgent need of political organizations for institutional support than expected.

Stakeholders

Political organisations: Movimiento Alianza Pais, Partido de Revolución Institucional Acción Nacional, Partido Sociedad Patriótica, Movimiento Concertación Ciudadana, Movimiento Popular Democrático, Partido Izquierda Democrática, Red Ética y Democrática, Partido Social Cristiano, Unión Demócrata Cristiana.

Local implementing partners: Coordinadora de Radios Populares y Educativas del Ecuador (CORAPE) and Asociación de Mujeres Municipalistas del Ecuador (AMUNE)

National partners: CORAPE, CIESPAL, Municipality of Quito, National Assembly, National Electoral Council and National Electoral Court, various universities.

International partners: IDEA, Glynn Berry Canada, UNIFEM, UNFPA, AECI

Country budget

1a. Amount financed from MFA funding: €160,000

1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above)

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): IDEA € 160,000, UNFPA € 11.120 and UNIFEM € 33,730

3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): AECI 40,000

3.8 Guatemala

Context

In early 2010, the upcoming elections of September 2011 already started influencing and conditioning the performance of political parties and members of Congress. The existing legislative alliances constantly changed; most parties were in the process of analyzing possible coalitions in light of the upcoming elections. This caused more members of Congress to change party in order to become part of the negotiations and of a possibly winning alliance. The legislative work of Congress has been heavily influenced by the negotiations on electoral alliances, putting day-to-day legislative discussions under pressure. And even though 2010 started with an ample agreement in Parliament to implement an urgent legislative agenda (accepted by all parties), the mal practice of interpellation of Government by the opposition hampered the effective implementation. This practice influenced public opinion led to discontent. By putting political pressure on the obstructing parties Parliament was enabled to work on the legislative agenda, appointing the Attorney General, the General Controller, renewing the mandate of CICIG and reforming the Law concerning the national budget. Throughout 2010 also important legislation regarding the security sector was approved, as well as legislation influencing the democratic functioning of the Guatemalan democracy, such as legislation regarding financing of parties and the political party system and rules for the functioning of Congress

In 2010 opportunities for dialogue arose: the increasing fear of all sectors of society for polarization and conflict provoked the necessary conditions for an inter-elite negotiation. This led to agreements on the need for increased inclusiveness around social, economic and political participation. Other positive tendencies are the increasing participation of youth in various public spaces, especially in civic movements, as well as increased participation of women in the renewal of political party organizations. Four women were nominated as Secretary General of their party.

The security situation in the country is a serious threat to its stability and governability. In several provinces drug traffickers have gained territorial control over large areas of the country. This means that they control a territory by force or by providing social benefits. They also form a threat to the government by infiltrating the State, particularly the security forces and the justice system. Increasing support (political and financial) is provided by the US and Europe to counter this phenomenon, but at the same time it brings-up discussions on the underlying problem, originating mainly in the use and demand of drugs in the EU and the US. The (armed military) war on crime that is being fought in Mexico is negatively influencing Guatemala, increasing the regional tensions. However, the work of CICIG is yielding certain results in Guatemala. CICIG identified parallel structures and permitted during 2010 over 150 arrests to be carried out, including a former president, ex-ministers of Defence and Finance, four ex ministers of Security, two ex-General Directors of the National Police, two Attorney Generals and three members of the Supreme Court. Figures that clearly mark the inter-linkages between organized crime and the State.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

In order to enable the country to have an independent, strong and transparent political party system and to have the proper legal instruments to support this development, and also provide governability with security and an adequate combat against crime, continued assistance to strengthen the democratic structures is needed. A first aim is strengthening of the legislative structures, including the negotiation and implementation of the legislative agenda of Congress, providing various commissions instruments to increase the effectiveness of their work. At the same time there is an urgent need to strengthen the links between the Political Parties and their representatives in the Congress, allowing the parties to play a more substantive role in designing and proposing national policies and assisting in the development of legislation to tackle the country's most elemental needs, including social, economic and security policies. This enhanced role can also have a positive influence in matching citizens demands with policies proposed by parties and in seeking consensus between different parties and political actors to back these policies. The link with the local level, where parties are weak, though politics is closed to the constituents, is therefore important to strengthen.

On the other hand, at the national level, there is a continued need to ensure a pact between social, economic and political elites is being formed, to ensure a durable platform for dialogue to support the implementation of the National Agenda.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

Desired change 1: Congress as political institution reinforced

- Technical assistance to Congress facilitated.
- The accountability project with the Finance, Transparency and Procedures Commission was working out well.
- Revitalization of the Institute for Legislative Studies of Congress, as a joint initiative by the San Carlos University, ASIES, LEGIS and NIMD.
- National Planning System promoted, as a joint initiative of the National Planning Institute, the Office of Public Spending, the Finance Ministry, the Finance Commission of Congress and NIMD.

Desired change 2: Polarisation of political climate reduced

- Establishment of a final proposal on the structure and political agenda of the Forum, which was endorsed by almost all secretary generals of the participating political parties.
- Discussions by the Forum's General Assembly and the different thematic commissions (women, youth, indigenous people, regional integration, security) on policy and law proposals facilitated.

Desired change 3: Social dialogue enhanced

- Agreement on the law to establish the SEC was reached within the Promoter Group (unions, business and cooperative sector).
- Law to establish the SEC ready to be presented to Congress.

Programme approach

The NIMD country office in Guatemala has specialised in the last years in the facilitation of democratic dialogue and scenario developments. In 2010 the NIMD team also used these instruments to support the political parties and civil society organisations at both national and local levels in order to reach consensus on development policies and to strengthen congress in its ability to respond adequately to national and international developments.

In Congress NIMD supported the development and implementation of an accountability strategy. As in preceding years the Forum of Political Parties (FPP) and its commissions were the place for interparty dialogue and for the promotion of the participation of women, youth and indigenous people in the political playing field. The most important event of the Foro in the first months of 2010 was the meeting with the Assembly of Representatives in Santa Cruz in March. At the meeting, the members of the Assembly came to an agreement on a new organisational structure and an updated Political Agenda of the Foro. With support of the Esquipulas Foundation, a follow-up meeting was organized with the Secretary Generals of the Political Parties to ensure their buy-in in the process.

In 2010 NIMD also laid the foundations to provide technical assistance on PME to the members of the Forum of Political Parties and the Capacity Building Officers of the parties. They acquired the necessary skills to ensure that their implementation strategy contributes to their planned objectives, taking into account the changing circumstances in the country.

The opening in society for dialogue seen during the National Meeting of Entrepreneurs gave a necessary push to the long on-going endeavours for the creation of a Social Economic Council (SEC). In 2010 the SEC took its biggest hurdle that is the building of trust between the three sectors involved in the Promoter Group. This allowed for reaching consensus on a law proposal for the creation of the CES. The lobby with members of Congress to familiarize them with this initiative and get the support for its presentation is in full swing.

Throughout the year the Advisory Council of the programme gathered regularly to revise the priorities and strategise in light of the political developments in the country.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

In 2010 the NIMD team was involved in the creation of several strategic partnerships with national and international organisations to secure a visible and sustainable impact for the programme. One of them is the "Instituto de Estudios Legislativos del Congreso de la Republica", a training and capacity development institute for Parliament which has started its formal activities with support from the San Carlos University, ASIES, LEGIS and NIMD. The main objective of this Institute is to analyze, discuss, do research and inform Parliament on issues that need legislation. NIMD continued to promote the National Planning System, a genuine State Project at short, medium and long term that strengthens the relations between the Executive and Legislative Powers. This initiative is carried out in cooperation with the National Planning Institute, the Office of Public Spending, the Finance Ministry and the Finance Commission of Congress. Within this framework, NIMD facilitated learning and reflection for members of Congress, their assistants and the technical staff of Congress on performance based budgeting.

A delegation of the Forum of Political Parties took part in an encounter facilitated by the Central American Parliament in August. The resolution that was adopted contained the recommendation "to incorporate within our political parties, the subject of Central American Regional Integration, as special issue in the activities and programmes of the parties, possibly by establishing multiparty mechanisms such as the Permanent Forum of Political Parties in Guatemala". As a result several political parties from Central America showed their interest in the process and in the functioning of the Guatemalan Forum. Therefore, NIMD made a systematization of the interparty dialogue until now, and is preparing a Virtual Forum to exchange experiences between the Forum and political parties in the region.

Key performance and sustainability issues

The political work took place in a climate that became increasingly tense due to the upcoming elections in September 2011. The existing legislative alliance was constantly changing and parties' focus was on defining possible alliances in light of the upcoming elections. Instability was increased by the uncertainty on who will be the presidential candidates, as various candidates presented by the parties face legal or constitutional limitations. The government is fiercely criticized because of its inability to ensure long lasting policies and guarantee their implementation. On the other side it is hampered by the fact that 90% of the budget is spent on fixed commitments and just a limited amount of money is available for the implementation of new or additional policies. This has made it very difficult for the government to make democracy work for the benefit of the poor. It also puts a heavy strain on politicians to come up with policy proposals that take account of the costs involved. The influence of illegal organizations or "parallel forces" on the political and public domain remained high, although most of it hidden. With support from CICIG, more information is now available on criminal networks, how they operate, and which people are involved. This has already led to the arrest of a number of former politicians and high ranking police officials. Regarding judicial power, the selection procedures for the most important posts have been made more transparent and recruitment is taking place based on previously developed criteria.

Despite various attempts no additional funding was acquired in 2010. As additional donor funding is becoming scarce in Latin America, the strategy will have to be refined to ensure this target is reached.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

In March NIMD-HQ undertook a monitoring mission to Guatemala. Apart from an assessment of the work done in 2009, much attention was given to mutual reflection on the plans for the coming years to prepare the new multiannual plan. In May representatives of NIMD's country programmes in Bolivia, Ecuador and Guatemala and of NIMD headquarters met in Guatemala (among others) to jointly continue the process of reflection on the new multiannual plan. The reflections gave a good opportunity to the field office and partner organizations to buy-in into the process for the establishment of the new multi-annual and to contribute to the plan. On the other hand members of the NIMD Guatemala office have visited NIMD on 3 occasions for respectively the PSO-PME seminar; a tripartite meeting with the Netherlands, Guatemalan and Salvadorian SER and the 2010 round table in the Hague.

(Programmatic) lessons learned

The reform of the Political Party and Electoral Law has not yet been approved by Congress. This delay was caused by the difficulties that congress is facing in this pre-electoral year, as explained above. As a consequence, the article in the reform proposal that establishes the technical secretariat and training institute of the Foro (IMEP), including funding through the budget of the Electoral Tribunal, has not become effective. This led NIMD to turn to other options, officially establishing IMEP as indicated in the 2009 Berenschot report. A lawyer is currently preparing a report to advise the Foro regarding its legal inscription.

The introduction of Theory of Change (ToC) as a new tool for PME (supported by PSO) proved very important. With support of NIMD three Commissions of the Foro's held Theory of Change workshops and realized a plan for the coming years. This plan is the basis for the monitoring sessions that will take place three or four times a year to revise if the planned activities are still the best way to reach the objectives or if, in light of political changes, the road to be followed should be adjusted. On the basis of their experiences the PME officers started with the production of the PME Handbook.

Stakeholders

1. Our country partner: NIMD field office.
2. The type of political parties we work with: All legally registered parties working together in the Forum of Political Parties and in Congress;.
3. Key national partners: CES, Forum of Political Parties, Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE), Institute of Legislative Studies, San Carlos and Landivar University, Social Economic Council, ASIES, Myrna Mack Foundation, Fundación Esquipulas, Moloj, Convergencia Cívico Político de Mujeres, civil society and political representatives (CACs) in 27 municipalities in 9 departments.
4. Key international partners: Spanish Development Cooperation, NDI, Worldbank, UNDP, PSO.

Country budget

1. Amount financed from MFA funding: €675,000.
2. Additional funds of other donors are to be expected (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD offices): €61,000 (PSO).
3. State if the partner is receiving additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): N/A

3.9 Suriname

Context

The legislative elections that were held on 25 May were the most important political event in the past year. After a long period of political campaigning and of changing compositions within the different coalitions, the political coalition led by former military leader Desi Bouterse, called the *Mega Combination* (MC), acquired most of the seats, 23 out of a total of 51. The NPS, the political party of former President Ronald Venetiaan, was marginalized to eight seats. For the MC to obtain a two-thirds majority - necessary to elect the President directly - cooperation with other coalitions was necessary. After instable negotiations and some floor crossing, the coalition called the *Volks Alliantie* (VA), led by former president of the Parliament Paul Somohardjo (6 seats), and the *A-Combination* (AC), led by former Jungle commando Ronny Brunswijk (7 seats), decided to join the coalition and become part of the new government. This created a sufficient majority (36 seats) in Parliament to elect a new President in only one round. Desi Bouterse was inaugurated on 3 August 2010. In terms of gender, out of the 51 members of Parliament, only 5 are female. Nevertheless, the elected president and vice-president of the Parliament are, for the first time in Surinamese history, female politicians.

Since the official start of the government, there has been a major shift in staff at the different ministries due to the arrival of other political parties and ministers. In line with tradition all ministries have been divided by all the participating parties in the coalition. Important political events included:

- -a fierce discussion on the appointment, and on his salary in particular, of the new president of the Central Bank;
- -on the 4th of November, Suriname officially joined the UNASUR;
- -the court case on the 'December murders', in which the new President is the main suspect, still continues, but shows slow progress; mainly due to the weak capacity of the judicial apparatus.

Rationale behind the NIMD/country programme

The Board of NIMD decided to stop financial support to the Suriname programme at the end of the year. The Democracy Unit (DU) and the board of the Anton de Kom University Suriname, the official counterpart of NIMD, were informed on this decision in August 2010. The arguments for ending financial support were formulated in an exit strategy. The main arguments were:

-firstly, after an investment of five years in terms of finances and human resources, several internal and external evaluations had concluded that insufficient results had been achieved.

-secondly, the objectives of NIMD and of the DU increasingly diverged over the years.

-thirdly, the political context included hampering elements: a small scale society, an isolated position in the region, the difficult relation between Netherlands and Suriname and the reluctance regarding democratic reforms of political parties. These elements created a narrow margin in which the DU had to operate.

-fourthly, NIMD was not satisfied with the management of the programme in Suriname. NIMD officially had to approach the board of the University to discuss human resource issues but this line of communication turned out to be inefficient. Moreover, the political ownership and sustainability showed no sign of increase over the years. And the programme was relatively expensive as well. Because the level of execution remained very low, institutional costs were unacceptably high, also because NIMD was the only funder of the programme. Neither was the DU able to initiate sustainable strategic partnerships in Suriname in order to increase the output.

-finally, the decision to stop financial support also resulted from the internal discussion and formulation on NIMD's renewed focus on political parties for the new multiannual plan. NIMD concluded that the programme in Suriname no longer matched this focus.

Desired changes being sought at outcome level

During 2010, the main concerns for the programme were the elections on 25 May. The DU put civic awareness campaigns high on its list of priorities. During the first quarter of the year, the DU implemented a multimedia strategy to inform citizens on programmatic issues of political parties in preparation towards the elections. Moreover, other issues on the agenda, such as the development of a law on public financing of political parties, a train-the-trainers programme on democracy and efforts to stimulate youth participation remained dominant on the agenda in 2010.

Desired change 1: increased transparency and accountability of the political society towards the citizens

- Agreement reached on proposed law by political parties represented in the Democracy Unit [Ref 1.1.1.1]. On 24 November, the draft law was presented to the president of Parliament, Jenny Simons Geerlings, former member of the Soundboard of the Democracy Unit.
- Democratic values and practices disseminated within society [Ref 3.2.1]. During 2010, the Democracy Unit has produced a political programme that was broadcast on several radio stations on a weekly basis. Moreover, in cooperation with Desan Productions, multiple inserts were distributed through the *Suriname Times*, to compare political parties on their election programme.

Desired change 2: Political parties are functioning as institutions in-between elections

- Increased political participation of mainly young politicians, and in addition journalists and civil society through a continuation of the train-the-trainer programme in Paramaribo and Nickerie [Ref 2.1.1]
- Platform of young representatives within the Democracy Unit has been institutionalized, as the Young DU [Ref 1.3.2]. This group of young people organized an important debate (one of the first election debates in Surinamese history) in close cooperation with the Democracy Unit.

Programme Approach

In order to increase 1) the capacity for execution and 2) the impact of the programme, the DU sought cooperation with different local institutions such as Desan Productions and the National Youth Institute (NYI). Other strategic partnerships, such as Projekta, a crucial partner in initiating the annually celebrated 'Democracy Month', were less successful. This was also one of the main arguments why NIMD was not satisfied with the progress and with the embedding of the programme in Suriname. During 2010, NIMD has communicated its intentions to the Netherlands Embassy and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Both also advised NIMD to pull back.

Link to other processes (complementarity)

As mentioned, NIMD's and the DU's objectives have grown apart during the years. NIMD continues its focus on institutionalization of political parties, while the DU, from its origin, is more focused on stimulating a public debate on the quality of democracy in Suriname, including research and awareness campaigns. Despite its importance, it is not NIMD's core business. In Suriname, there are other institutions, such as the Organization of American States (OAS) or the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), that are more suitable strategic partners of the DU. On the other hand, while the results of the programme were judged insufficient, the programme did follow the political agenda of Suriname. The sounding board that was set up in 2007, consisted of political representatives of the main political parties in and outside Parliament. The group came together every quarter to determine the direction of the programme. However, political ownership or even a sustainable commitment of the political parties itself to the programme showed no measurable increase.

Key performance & sustainability issues

Since its start, the DU was funded exclusively by NIMD. Though some of the activities were financed on pragmatic basis by private organisations or other donors, no long-term commitment by any other donor evolved during the past years. However, the OAS decided in 2010 to finance an awareness campaign focused on high schools. The project will be implemented until May 2011. Moreover, the board of the Anton de Kom University has expressed its intention to partially support the DU in the coming year in order to continue its work.

NIMD's monitoring and evaluation missions

In 2010 only one monitoring mission to Suriname was undertaken (February). The purpose of the mission was twofold: 1) to evaluate and discuss the functioning of the DU staff with the board of the university, and 2) to negotiate with the board a reduction on specific institutional costs, such as the office rent and a monitoring fee. A second mission was planned in August in order to inform all stakeholders of the programme on NIMD's decision to end financial support to the DU in December 2010. However, the visit would have coincided with the inauguration of the new President and because NIMD did not want to risk that the decision was politicized, it was decided to delay the visit and inform the board and DU by official writing first. After this communication NIMD decided to cancel the visit on recommendation of the DU; according to them there was no need to come over and inform all stakeholders personally on the decision.

(Programmatic) Lessons learnt

- The quality of in-country programme management is decisive for the success or failure of a programme. NIMD's inability to directly manage human resources, but only having indirect influence through the university board, reduced its effectiveness.
- If there is no serious interest of the main political parties in a democratic reform programme focussed on the political parties itself, as was the case in Suriname during the first identification mission and during the set up phase of the programme, no results should be expected.
- Working in a small scale society creates an additional challenge, increasing the need to develop strategic partnerships. If this does not succeed, it is very difficult to book valuable results.
- The sensitive relation between Suriname and the Netherlands also affected the cooperation between NIMD and the DU. This was an additional challenge for equal partnership.

Stakeholders

Political parties in Parliament: Government coalition: Mega Combination (NDP, KTPI, PALU, NS), A-Combination (ABOB, Seeka), BEB, and the Volks Alliantie (PL, Pendawa Lima) and the opposition: Nieuw Front (NPS, VHP, SPA, DA'91) and DOE.

National stakeholders: National Youth Initiative, Desan Productions, Foundation Projekta, Foundation for Economists, Anton de Kom University Suriname, National Women Parliament, Winn Nickerie

International partners: OAS, UNDP

Country budget

1a. Amount financed from Netherlands MFA funding: €188,000

1b. Report possible over/under expenditure (25% or more) and briefly state reasons (these reasons might already be described in the sections above)

An under expenditure occurred because of the low level of implementation capacity.

2. Additional funds of other donors received (money through NIMD accounts, including through NIMD

offices): The Twinning facility of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs financed the youth project of the DU for an amount of 10,000 euro. Of this money, an exchange between young Dutch and Surinamese political representatives took place in 2009 and a series of election debates in 2010. Moreover, the Young DU was institutionalised in 2010.

3. State if the partner received additional funds directly (not through NIMD accounts): In the fall of 2010, the OAS approved a project application of the DU for a total amount of 80,000 US dollars for a project that focuses on creating awareness among youth on democracy in Suriname.

CHAPTER FOUR: Knowledge and Communication

4.1 Knowledge: towards more effective knowledge sharing

(Focus area 1: Lessons learned from democratic reform initiatives can be more effectively shared among (programme and strategic) partners and applied across programmes.

Outcome: Effective use in NIMD programmes of available expertise (acquired knowledge), best practices and lessons learned in other or prior democratic reform initiatives.

As in the previous year NIMD's Knowledge & Communication department had planned to focus its knowledge-sharing activities in 2010 on efforts to

1. further enhance the quality, availability and accessibility of programme information and knowledge products;
2. promote knowledge sharing with strategic partners and other democracy assistance organisations.

However, due to the departure of NIMD's knowledge officer in February 2010, and the subsequent decision by NIMD management to put the recruitment of staff on hold, the department has not been able to achieve as much as intended.

The capacity-building pilot project for the content management of the website of the NIMD office in Guatemala was completed as planned. The department has also continued the production of video clips. A video documentary of NIMD's programme work in Guatemala was one of the highlights in this regard.

The department also continued the series of practical, hand-book style publications – albeit not at the same pace as in previous years.

4.2 Outreach: securing sustained public support for democracy

(Focus area 2: The support base for democracy assistance work cannot be taken for granted but requires a sustained effort to inform policy makers, opinion leaders and the public at large)

Outcome: Sustained political support for democracy assistance work aimed at political parties.

The KC department has managed to increase the production of accessible public information products on demand. For this purpose, an online factsheet generator was developed -at <http://factsheets.nimd.org>– which produces ready-to-print PDF documents on the fly.

Due to the sensitive political environment in which the relations between NIMD and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have unfolded, the KC department has shunned undue media exposure in The Netherlands. Still, the department did continue to encourage NIMD staff and partners to engage in public debates, publish their professional opinions in newspapers, and promote staff participation in radio and television programmes. Co-sponsorship and participation in the annual Africa Day, a major public event organised by the Evert Vermeer Stichting (EVS), continued.

Together with the Forum for Democratic Development (FDO), and the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD), NIMD organised the celebration of the International Day of Democracy in The Hague on 15 September. The event featured a full-day programme including seminars, a democracy debate and the awarding of Democracy Ribbons in three categories by Mr Wim Deetman, president of the recently founded *Huis voor Democratie en Rechtsstaat*.

4.3 List of outputs

Video's

- a vide-report on a regional exchange (Kenya, Ghana, Zambia and Zimbabwe) in Nairobi over constitutionele hervorming –Helmie Dingemans
- People with proposals: supporting local democracy in Sololá, Guatemala – Sjoerd Epe Sijsma, Valentijn Wortelboer
- People with proposals: supporting local democracy in San Pedro, Guatemala – Sjoerd Epe Sijsma, Valentijn Wortelboer
- Tanzania: call to vote, TCD-video
- Kenyans study electoral system in South Africa, video of 2009 visit -Increasing women's participation in decision-making, video Helmie Dingemans
- Ugandan politicians: 'give dialogue a chance', video about the NIMD-support
- President of Guatemala: 'NIMD has helped advance democracy'
- Accountability in Africa, videotaped discussion with African politicians, Marcus Lens van Rijn and Sjoerd Epe Sijsma
- also produced by Lens van Rijn and Sijsma and published in 2010, videos entitled: 'The Obama effect' and 'Leadership in Africa'

Publications

- Peer learning for political parties
- Georgian constitutional reform in the eyes of the public -NIMD magazine
- Annual Report 2010
- Beyond orthodox approaches, assessing opportunities for democracy support in the Middle East and North Africa
- Signing of Memorandum of Understanding for the Interparty Organization for Dialogue in Uganda

CHAPTER FIVE: Other Activities

5.1 International Relations and Strategic Partnerships

5.1.1 Networks

NIMD's contribution to the successful work of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) continued in 2010. The EPD managed to expand its resource base and to establish full-fledged programmes in Zimbabwe and other countries. It therefore became less dependent on the original sources of funding, including the Dutch Postcode Lottery.

The bi-annual conference of the World Movement for Democracy (WMD) in Jakarta (April) was attended by NIMD's Executive Director. While part of the WMD's work is considered to be relevant for NIMD's work the NIMD contribution to the biannual conference was more limited than in the past.

The Community of Democracies (CoD) met in Krakow, Poland, in July to celebrate ten years of existence. This conference, attended by NIMD's Executive Director, saw a reconfirmation of the principles on which the CoD had been founded. The conference was hosted by the Polish government and by the CoD's Permanent Secretariat. Among the many statements that were made the speech by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton drew substantial attention as it reinvigorated the US stand towards democracy in the world.

5.1.2. Broadening NIMD's funding base

The lack of clarity regarding NIMD's future handicapped the search for funding. In the third quarter of 2010 the continuation of NIMD's core funding into 2011 had not been assured and because of this uncertainty complementary funding by other sources was difficult to negotiate.

Some of the efforts undertaken and the results achieved included:

- The joint submission of a programme proposal, with Guatemalan NGO Legis, at the Soros Foundation turned out to be unsuccessful due to limited resources.
- For the last few years the NIMD-IDEA-programme in Ecuador benefited from support by the Canadian government. In 2010 this government decided to continue the assistance as it approved NIMD's application for funding submitted to the so-called Global Peace and Security Fund.
- A study was commissioned by NIMD in the first quarter of 2010 to explore the US-market for democracy assistance. While the report showed some interesting opportunities it was also concluded that the legal and financial implications of these funding mechanisms would require a disproportionate amount of work.
- The funding of NIMD's Uganda programme in the context of the Deepening Democracy Programme (DPP) by various donors continued in 2010.
- NIMD's Malian partner, the CMDID (Centre Malien de Dialogue Inter-Partis et la Démocratie), with assistance by NIMD submitted a proposal to the local office of the European Commission.
- In order for NIMD's programme in Georgia to broaden its financial basis a Concept Note was submitted in order to apply for funding by the European Commission. No answer had been received at the end of 2010
- The British High Commission in Mozambique continued in 2010 to support elements of the NIMD programme.
- A meeting about funding with members of the board of a private foundation in The Netherlands did not produce the funds that NIMD had hoped for.
- Despite the fierce competition for resources at the UN Democracy Fund (UNDEF) the NIMD Field Office in Guatemala decided to apply for funds. The programme submitted in December

involved debates on democratic developments with journalists and politicians. As decision-making at UNDEF is a lengthy process clarity on this application is not expected before July 2011.

- The Belgian government continued its financial support of the NIMD programme in Burundi.
- While the organisation of an informal meeting with various potentially interested western donor agencies was considered it was decided that such meeting would need to be postponed to 2011, after the NIMD's reorganisation process.

Lessons learned in 2010 by NIMD about the possibility of obtaining external funding included:

- the availability of funding has decreased and competition has intensified;
- the strong reputation of NIMD among experts in the field of democratisation experts is an asset in efforts to increase funding from other new sources;
- being a Dutch institute reduces the chances of obtaining external funding as the Netherlands is perceived internationally to have generous resources available for any component of development cooperation.

5.2 Strengthening the support base

NIMD was founded by the Dutch political parties. To put into practice the involvement of the parties, every party present in the Board has political advisors posted in NIMD. The advisors are actively involved in the development of the country and regional programmes.

In 2010, eight of these officers participated in NIMD's activities. NIMD bears a part of the costs related to these officers.

Various activities to strengthen the support base have been undertaken:

- Experts from political parties have participated in discussions with partners improving for instance the knowledge of political parties about how to finance party activities.
- During party congresses NIMD has been present in order to inform party memberships about its activities.
- Presentations on democracy and how to improve democracy were given to various audiences including the Netherlands Defence Academy.
- Information about the activities of NIMD was provided through the websites of the Dutch political parties.

The political parties are involved at all levels of NIMD. Through their contribution, party members, party cadres and party leaders have improved the quality of the programmes. On the other hand, their contribution also affords them a better understanding of NIMD's work, causing them to become NIMD's ambassadors in their parties.

The party members have always participated for free. NIMD highly values the participation of the experts. To make the contributions visible, NIMD registers the contribution and translates it into financial terms. This system was applied from 2007 onwards.

Contribution of political parties' volunteers

The Dutch political parties contribute to the programmes by providing assistance. Training for political parties has been given by members of the political parties. Politicians participated in the various meetings with partners, in order to exchange ideas.

A database has been created of the expertise of politicians in all political parties participating in NIMD. This database makes it easier to find the appropriate expertise to be used in NIMD's programmes.

All contributions of the politicians and others are given in kind.

5.3 Governance

The Board

The NIMD Board is composed of representatives from seven political parties in the Dutch parliament. It has an independent chairperson and (since 2010) an independent treasurer.

In 2010 the Board met ten times. The main topics of discussion included the repayment of an amount to the ministry over the years 2003-2006, the required actions by the Ministry and the preparation of a new multi annual plan that would succeed the multi annual programme 2007-2010.

In order to obtain remission for the amount to be paid back NIMD had to reorganize its head quarters and change the executive board. Therefore the Board started a reorganisation to be completed as per 1 March 2011, reducing staff from 33 fte to 22 fte. Discussions were held with the constituent political parties about the governance structure. The whole process had a deep impact on the organisation and the partners of NIMD and was the main reason for the Board to have so many meetings.

As a part of the reorganisation the members of Executive Board, Mr. von Meijefeldt and Mr. W. Bakker will leave the organisation in 2011.

The Board is very grateful for the hard work of both directors to build and professionalize NIMD.

During a special meeting in June 2010 the Board discussed the multi annual plan for 2011 - 2015 and adopted it. In September 2011 the ministry decided to extend the grant term with one year until 31 December 2011. This means that in 2011 major attention will be given to participate in a tendering procedure that is expected to be opened by the ministry.

The Advisory Council met twice in 2010. It reviewed general trends and monitored NIMD's strategic position. Special attention was given to the proposed multi annual plan and the problems with the ministry.

Various evaluations have been discussed and recommendations have been given. The Council also gave advice on relations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the governance structure of NIMD.

CHAPTER SIX: Institutional Capacity

6.1 Five institutional priorities

A structured dialogue with the NIMD parties in programme countries took place in one round table in the second quarter of 2010. The focus was on an evaluation of the implementation of the work plans. During the round tables, the method of reporting was also discussed, resulting in a further improvement of the reports. Because of the reorganizations at NIMD headquarters it was decided to cancel the round tables in fall. Discussions about the plans for 2011 were held through Skype.

The regional teams aimed to improve the consistency among the programmes in the region, to obtain higher NIMD support quality and a better exchange of information about regional developments among the team members. Much attention has been given to improving the management of the programmes. In addition, attention has been given to the development of various new tools to improve the management of existing Field Offices.

The 'financial and programme control team' has continued to develop the NIMD instruments for planning, monitoring and evaluation.

With the final closure of the outstanding financial issue from the 2003-2006 period still outstanding, the Ministry continued in 2010 to tighten the advance payments to NIMD. Unfortunately, this had a negative affect on the continuation of the funding of the programmes of NIMD partners.

In 2009, together with PSO, NIMD continued to work on a programme to strengthen its institutional capacity (and that of NIMD's partners) in terms of PME. Consultations were continued in 2010 and with PSO a one-year extension of the programme was agreed.

Every four years, NIMD undertakes an external institutional evaluation. In the second four-year cycle the evaluation was organised by the Ministry through the IOB. This evaluation started in the first half of 2009 and was completed at the end of 2010. The findings and recommendations have been used for the preparation of the next multi-annual plan. Part of the evaluation has been undertaken in coordination with programme evaluations of seven other organisations looking into capacity building with southern partners, from the perspective of the partners themselves.

Following a decision by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pricewaterhouse Coopers was given an assignment in 2009 to check whether NIMD complies with the conditions attached to resolving the outstanding financial matters from the 2003-2006 period, while looking into the institutional expenditure of the organisation at the same time. The report was completed in April 2010. It was discussed in NIMD's Board and Advisory Council. Its recommendations were used in the restructuring of NIMD.

In 2010 a protocol for detection of fraud has been developed to be implemented in 2011.

6.2 Composition of NIMD staff

In 2009 NIMD decided to reduce the number of regional teams from three to two. During the year 2010 it became clear that NIMD had to further reduce the size of its staff. During the second half of 2010 a more simple organisation structure was designed with less staff. The proposal was submitted to the 'Personeelsvertegenwoordiging' and their advice was awaited to be given in January. The new structure was expected to be implemented on 1 January but was delayed until 1 March 2011.

In the mean time no permanent job contracts were offered. From 1 September 2010 onwards vacancies were not filled in awaiting the new designed structure filled in with less staff.

Position	Budget 2010 Full time equivalents	Composition at 31 December 2010
<i>Programme Management</i>		
Regional Programme Directors	2,0	2,0
Senior Policy Officers	0,84	0,84
Policy Officers	5,0	5,0
Junior Policy Officers	3,0	3,0
Political Advisors	7,6	7,6
Total Programme Management	18,4	18,4
<i>Knowledge & Communication Department</i>		
Coordinator Knowledge & Communication	1,0	1,0
Knowledge officer	0,8	0
Editor	1,0	0
Total Knowledge & Communication Department	2,8	1,0
<i>General Management</i>		
Directors	2,0	2,0
Secretariat to the General Board and the Board of Directors	1,0	1,0
Sr Policy Officer International Relations	0,8	0,8
Office Management	2,6	2,6
Financial Management	2,8	3,0
Officer Monitoring & Evaluation	1,0	0,8
Coordinator YNIMD		0
Total General Management	10,4	10,2
TOTAL	31,6	29,6

In 2010, NIMD employed a total of ten local employees in various programme countries who are on NIMD contracts. They mostly work for the CMDs during their establishment phase or in the preparatory phase towards the establishment of a CMD. Four NIMD staff members work in the Guatemala, Ecuador and Mozambique field offices as consultants or as NIMD staff.

In 2010 the contracts and labour conditions of these staff were checked and improved in order to fulfil all the national legal and social requirements in the respective countries and to harmonise a minimum standard for labour conditions in all contracts.

6.3 Staffing policy

Upgrading NIMD's professionalism

Various courses have been followed by staff to improve their knowledge about democracy and political parties.

To improve the knowledge of foreign languages various staff members have followed trainings in French or Spanish.

Internships

NIMD recruited one intern to work with the Knowledge Centre.

6.4 Programme management

With the help of the project management system "Sharepoint", all NIMD programmes were intensively managed on a daily basis at NIMD headquarters. The activities comprise support for the formulation of the annual plans and budgets of the partners, drafting contracts, supervise programmatic progress through assessment of narrative and financial reports, budget control and evaluation of the results and programmatic impact.

Support was provided in four different areas: policy and political advice, skills development, expertise in the field of organisational development and finance.

NIMD invested time in helping partners with substantive expertise and managerial support for the programmes. The role NIMD partners play in the complex political reform processes in countries like, for example, Guatemala, Ecuador, Bolivia, Kenya, Ghana, Mali and Zimbabwe puts extremely heavy demands in terms of the political advice requested from NIMD. A lot of attention was paid to the necessary but very difficult challenge to achieve donor harmonisation to support the democratisation processes in NIMD programme countries.

Relation management was also part of the NIMD support. NIMD continues to sustain a broad political network in the partner countries and actively invests in its relationships with the international donor community. Individual meetings with representatives of political parties were planned during every NIMD mission, in order to further strengthen the involvement of the political society with our partners. Visits to institutions that play a key role in the country programme, were on the agenda as well. Finally NIMD aimed at maintaining close contacts with embassies and other international donors, in order to share knowledge and information and to enhance the engagement of important stakeholders with the activities and objectives of the partner programme.

NIMD also provided technical assistance. NIMD assists the partners with the proper use of the interactive assessment methodology for research updates on the political party landscape and editing processes. In addition to this, NIMD provides technical assistance to improve the financial management of the NIMD partner organisations.

A third element of the programme management was to provide assistance to the partners on the planning, monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) of the 2010 programme. This support aims to improve the programme as well as to raise financial and narrative reporting standards. Key to this PM&E cycle are two round-table meetings where the partner and NIMD jointly monitor and evaluate progress made and where they identify follow-up strategies.

6.5 Planning, monitoring and evaluation

NIMD has had a turbulent year in PME. Unfortunately the PME officer left the organization end 2009 and NIMD started in 2010 with delays caused by handover and task reassignments. While the PME post was vacant until July, the main focus within NIMD was on the development of a new results structure and accompanying monitoring framework. A consultant was hired to design this new framework.

A key feature of the consultant's assignment was to innovate our PME system to meet the needs articulated in our earlier assessments. Amongst those was a solution for the need to better link of HQ PME with the partners in the countries and to streamline reporting mechanisms. Also the measurement of articulated results was a great challenge. In particular the qualitative nature of the data and the challenges in establishing solid baselines across the programme were issues for discussion. The consultant delivered also a preliminary results framework which was the basis for further development in the organization.

With the input from the consultant on the above mentioned issues NIMD set out in a heavy and time-consuming process for the Multi Annual Plan. The new insights gained were of great support in developing our structure and setting up a stronger and better tailored M&E system. The process for the Multi Annual Plan and new programme framework has now been put on hold due to the requirement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the according timeline. We will restart the process next year and present the final result in 2011.

The NIMD now finds itself in a reorganization in which also Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation are under scrutiny. This is identified as a window of opportunity to revisit current structures and implement modalities which have been articulated as functioning at a sub-optimal level. In the area of Planning and Monitoring NIMD has had a steep learning curve in 2010 and is looking forward to using this knowledge to improve program implementation in 2011. NIMD has produced extensive documentation on the discussion concerning Results, Planning and Monitoring.

6.6 The production process of the new multi-annual plan

Since NIMD's financing framework was due to end on 31 December 2010, development of a new multi-annual plan for the upcoming four or five years started already in late 2009. Thus, at the start of 2010 NIMD various steps towards the production of a new plan had already been taken including a detailed roadmap for the production process. In the first half of 2010 NIMD had not received any clear instructions from its main funder (the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs) regarding a new subsidy framework that could be used to apply for funding of the next multi-annual cycle, or regarding the extension of the current subsidy framework (Political and Interparliamentary Cooperation (PIPS)). It was therefore decided to base the preparation process on the procedures regarding the application process for Dutch non-governmental organisations under the so-called MFS2-subsidy framework. This framework required the preparation of a series of documents on both organisational elements and on programmatic elements.

In January a two-day session was organised in order for all NIMD-staff to reflect on the lessons learned in previous years and on the implications of these lessons for the future. Seven thematic working groups prepared and presented reflection documents. A series of interesting and fruitful debates was held. In addition, a key member of the team conducting the institutional evaluation of NIMD (coordinated by IOB) used the reflection days to share some preliminary conclusions of the analysis so far, which was also taken aboard in the subsequent development of the new strategic plan..

Subsequent months saw two parallel processes:

*A first working group consisting of the NIMD Deputy Director, the Controller and one of the two coordinators of the multi-annual planning process elaborated the various organisational elements. Their work included, among others, the state-of-affairs of organisational procedures, the application of the so-called Code Wijffels, NIMD's track record in various countries and the PME-mechanisms.

*A second working group consisting of the NIMD Executive Director, the two Regional Coordinators and the two coordinators of the multi-annual planning process managed the production of various policy elements, including the political framework for individual programme countries, the dialogue with partners in programme countries and the description and analysis of broader political trends on each continent.

A series of documents was produced. Most of NIMD's staff members participated in this process in several contexts. NIMD was very much aware that it would be highly undesirable to take an ivory tower approach and to conceive NIMD's priorities for the next few years from its base in the Netherlands only. Therefore much time and energy was invested in a profound dialogue with NIMD's partners in all programme countries, especially at the level of the Centres for Multiparty Democracy. In the course of the second quarter all partners unambiguously confirmed their desire to continue the programmes in their countries, often arguing that the introduction of democratic processes and a democratic culture takes decades rather than years.

The finalisation of various draft documents allowed for a second stage of reflection: the key policy summary of the future plans was discussed with a number of external experts in June. These experts endorsed the lines of thinking expressed by NIMD and added valuable comments. A few days after the meeting with the experts the NIMD Board dedicated a full day to discuss the plans for the future. The critical comments of both the experts and the board members were integrated into the draft policy document, summarizing the main lines of the programme 2011-2015. In a subsequent board meeting at the end of June the NIMD Board endorsed a rewritten version of this document.

The lack of clarity about the financial framework under which a multi-annual programme could be submitted to the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued. In the second half of 2010 the Ministry decided that there would be no continuation of the current subsidy framework, but that funding for 2011 would be extended on the basis of this framework for one year only. In order to limit the number of subsidy frameworks the Ministry was in the process of preparing a so-called Standard Subsidy Framework, to be based on tendering and competition within a specific theme. Various elements of this Framework have been made available to the Dutch parliament. These elements have allowed NIMD to reflect on their possible implications for a future submission.

NIMD has invested heavily (in terms of both time, energy and money) in the preparation of a new multi-annual plan. The series of outputs regarding its organisational elements and its future policies that have been produced in the course of 2010 will be important inputs in the finalisation of planning documents in 2011.

6.7 Quality

Due to the upcoming reorganisation the planned study to check if the quality of the organisation was improved has NIMD was postponed.

6.8 Financial policy

Direct programme funding to NIMD from others than the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lagged behind, but still increased from €560,000 in 2009 to €1,030,000 in 2010. Exploration of various options for diversification of funding continued, both in the context of the development of a new multiannual strategy and in the context of the possible requirement of 25% non-Foreign Affairs funding as of 1 January 2012. The capacity of the Ecuador and Mozambique country offices to raise and manage funds directly was increased, which is expected to enable a further increase of direct programme funding to NIMD in 2011. The Guatemala country office submitted several EU funding applications but did not manage to acquire European funding. The new Uganda country office, funded in large part from Deepening Democracy Programme (basket) funds, increased its activities considerably compared to 2009, but less so than budgeted. NIMD was not yet able to attract other funds for the new Georgian country office, serving a programme that was started up again after the discontinuation of OSCE funding in 2008. The Burundi programme, locally managed jointly by partner organisation BLTP and an NIMD consultant, is still co-funded by the Belgian government, but political development forced a slow down of the programme.

The NIMD funding policy of partner organisations did not change essentially compared to previous practice. Continuation of past practice was partly due to anticipated changes to be made in the new multiannual planning period. Continuity was partly due to changes already having been made in 2009 following the 'Plan of Action' agreed with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the start of that year and to the uncertainty about further funding by the Ministry that continued until autumn 2010. In its letter of 30 November 2010 the Ministry finally committed itself to further funding in 2011, acquitting NIMD of a debt resulting from non-acceptance of the 2006 financial report.

Liquidity needs monitoring and financial management of partner organisations have shown an overall improvement. Nevertheless NIMD had to stop the programme in Suriname, temporarily stall the programme in Zambia and issue a warning to the partner organisation in Kenya for reasons that partly (Suriname) or mainly (Zambia en Kenya) related to weaknesses in local financial management and governance. The reorganisation of NIMD headquarters that was prepared in 2010 and will be implemented in 2011 will include an increase in capacity to support financial management of its partners and country offices by hiring two financial officers for the programme department. An external assessment of NIMD's financial tools and procedures in 2010 identified several possible simplifications and ways to better suit the needs of partners and country offices that will be implemented after the reorganisation. The regular (interim procedural) audit by NIMD's external auditor in December 2010 again showed a satisfactory financial management capacity.

The financial report 2010 shows a financial reserve of €22,873 created from the programme funders' 10% (or less, if agreed with the Ministry) contributions towards the costs of directors and supporting departments at NIMD headquarters.

This reserve is earmarked for guaranteeing the sustainability of NIMD, covering the risk that other funders do not meet their funding commitments because NIMD -in their perception- isn't able to prove that it meets funding conditions).

CHAPTER SEVEN: Budget depletion 2010

	Revised Budget 2010		Actuals 2010	
	Subsidies	Expenses	Subsidies	Expenses
TO BE FUNDED				
<u>Region Africa</u>				
ARP (African Regional Programmes)		495.000		458.436
Ghana		625.000		575.350
Kenya		720.000		616.856
Malawi		656.000		615.315
Mali		710.000		683.505
Mozambique		475.000	16.724	510.209
Tanzania		545.000		488.985
Uganda	200.000	475.000	116.313	331.264
Zambia		370.000		252.584
Zimbabwe		505.000		526.683
Subtotal Africa	200.000	5.576.000	133.037	5.059.187
<u>Region Asia and Latin America</u>				
ENRP (Eurasian & NR Programme)		70.000	3.355	50.291
Burundi	110.000	487.000	26.467	404.714
Georgia		295.000		239.518
Indonesia		801.000		779.292
LARP (Latin America Regional Programmes)		210.000	46.324	288.437
Bolivia		405.000		386.934
Ecuador	220.000	560.000	244.911	651.203
Guatemala		810.000		712.462
Suriname	10.000	308.000	9.618	242.702
Subtotal Asia and Latin America	340.000	3.946.000	330.674	3.755.551
Savings from underspent grants		80.974		
Total programmes		9.441.026	463.712	8.814.738
<u>Cross-cutting activities</u>				
Knowledge sharing, Networking and Outreach		586.000	22.382	371.948
Evaluation of country programmes		108.000		26.643
Subtotal Cross-cutting activities		694.000	22.382	398.591
<u>Reorganisation</u>				
General management		1.110.000		850.887
To be funded		11.245.026		11.002.369
FUNDING				
other subsidies	540.000		486.094	
programme contribution Foreign Affairs	10.475.026		10.327.133	
programme contribution PSO	270.000		212.015	
Funding	11.285.026		11.025.242	
Sustainability reservation		40.000		22.873

Annexes

Annex 1 – Composition of Board, Advisory Council and Staff as per 31 December 2010

Board

B.R. Bot, President
R. Koole (PvdA), Vice President
W. Jacobs, Treasurer
R. van Eijle (CU), Member
J.J.A.M. van Gennip (CDA), Member
C. Meindersma (D66), Member
C.S.L. Janse (SGP), Member
P. van de Stadt (VVD), Member
L. van Hooijdonk (GL), Member

Board members who resigned in 2010

U. Rosenthal (VVD)
J. Maaten (VVD)
F.C. Giskes (D66)

Advisory Council

J.W. Bertens (D66), Chair
T. Ambags (PvdA)
P.J. den Boef (SGP)
L.C. Dekker (CDA)
R. Farla (D66)
L.C. Groen (CU)
R.H. van der Meer (VVD)
G. Nieuwenhuis (SGP)
H.J. Ormel (CDA)
D. Pels (GL)
M.H.A. Strik (GL)
J.M. Wiersma (PvdA)

Advisory Council members who resigned in 2010:

J. C. van Baalen (VVD)
J. Bos (PvdA)
R. van Eijle (CU)
G. Gerbrandy (D66)

NIMD Staff

Executive Board

Mr Roel von Meijenfeldt, Executive Director

Mr Wim Bakker, Deputy Director

Ms Yvonne de Baay, Personal Assistant to the Executive Director

Regional Team for Africa

Mr Jasper Veen, Regional Director

Ms Karijn de Jong, Senior Policy Officer

Ms Brechtje Kemp, Policy Officer

Mr Egbert Pos, Policy Officer

Mr Henk Jan van Schothorst, Political Advisor

Ms Katrien Bardoel, Junior Policy Officer

Ms Anne-Mieke van Breukelen, Junior Policy Officer

Regional Team for Asia & Latin America

Mr Pepijn Gerrits, Regional Director

Mr Will Derks, Policy Officer

Ms. Eliane Faerstein, Policy Officer

Ms Lizzy Beekman, Political Advisor

Ms Lotte ten Hoove, Policy Officer

Ms Annie van de Pas, Political Advisor

Mr Frans Visscher, Political Advisor

Ms Ariëtta van Eck, Team Officer

Ms Doris Cruz, Head of Guatemala Field Office

Ms Heleen Schroyen, Senior Programme Officer Guatemala Field Office

Knowledge & Communication

Mr Maarten van den Berg, Coordinator Knowledge & Communication

Mr Jan Tuit, Senior Advisor International relations

Finance & Administration

Mr Wim Nusselder, Controller

Ms Thelma Doebar, Administrator

Mr Jeffrey Krul, Assistant Administrator

Office Management

Ms Monique Ronza, Office Manager

Ms. Germaine ter Heijden, Office Assistant