



2020:16

Sida Decentralised Evaluation

FCG Sweden and Tana Copenhagen

# Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations

Part II: Methods for supporting women's political influence

Final Report



# Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations

## Part II: Methods for supporting women's political influence

**Final Report  
April 2020**

**Agneta Gunnarsson  
Kristen Sample  
Marianne Victor Hansen  
Jonas Lövkrona**

**Authors:** Agneta Gunnarsson, Kristen Sample, Marianne Victor Hansen, Jonas Lövkrona

The views and interpretations expressed in this report are the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida.

**Sida Decentralised Evaluation 2020:16**

Commissioned by Sida, Department for International Organisations and Thematic Support

**Copyright:** Sida and the authors

**Date of final report:** 2020-04-16

**Published** by Nordic Morning 2020

**Art. no.** Sida62313en

urn:nbn:se:sida-62313en

This publication can be downloaded from: <http://www.sida.se/publications>

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

Address: SE-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden. Office: Valhallavägen 199, Stockholm  
Telephone: +46 (0)8-698 50 00. Telefax: +46 (0)8-20 88 64  
E-mail: [info@sida.se](mailto:info@sida.se). Homepage: <http://www.sida.se>

# Table of contents

|                                                            |           |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Abbreviations and Acronyms .....</b>                    | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>Executive Summary.....</b>                              | <b>5</b>  |
| <b>Sammanfattning.....</b>                                 | <b>10</b> |
| <b>1 Introduction.....</b>                                 | <b>15</b> |
| <b>2 Background.....</b>                                   | <b>16</b> |
| 2.1 Evaluation purpose .....                               | 16        |
| 2.2 Objectives.....                                        | 16        |
| <b>3 Methodology .....</b>                                 | <b>17</b> |
| 3.1 Overall approach .....                                 | 17        |
| 3.2 Selection of case studies .....                        | 18        |
| 3.3 Data collection .....                                  | 19        |
| 3.4 Analysis and QA .....                                  | 19        |
| 3.5 Limitations .....                                      | 19        |
| <b>4 The case studies.....</b>                             | <b>21</b> |
| 4.1 Bolivia.....                                           | 21        |
| 4.2 Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia .....       | 23        |
| 4.3 PYPA and EWIP .....                                    | 24        |
| <b>5 Global overview .....</b>                             | <b>25</b> |
| 5.1 General observations.....                              | 25        |
| 5.2 Approaches .....                                       | 25        |
| 5.3 PAO partners.....                                      | 26        |
| 5.4 Modalities and methods.....                            | 27        |
| <b>6 Synthesis of case studies .....</b>                   | <b>29</b> |
| 6.1 Overview of modalities, methods and beneficiaries..... | 29        |
| 6.1.1 Modalities.....                                      | 29        |
| 6.1.2 Methods .....                                        | 30        |
| 6.1.3 Beneficiaries .....                                  | 34        |
| 6.2 Relevance .....                                        | 35        |

|          |                                                      |           |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 6.2.1    | Focus on WPI.....                                    | 35        |
| 6.2.2    | Choice of countries and partners .....               | 35        |
| 6.2.3    | Programme design and quality .....                   | 36        |
| 6.2.4    | Comprehensiveness and continuity of activities ..... | 37        |
| 6.2.5    | Local ownership .....                                | 38        |
| 6.2.6    | Adaptation and innovation .....                      | 39        |
| 6.2.7    | Complementarity with others .....                    | 40        |
| 6.3      | Effectiveness .....                                  | 41        |
| 6.3.1    | Documenting and reporting on results .....           | 41        |
| 6.3.2    | Change at the individual level .....                 | 43        |
| 6.3.3    | Change at organisational level and beyond.....       | 44        |
| 6.3.4    | Factors influencing change.....                      | 45        |
| <b>7</b> | <b>Conclusions .....</b>                             | <b>47</b> |
| <b>8</b> | <b>Recommendations.....</b>                          | <b>50</b> |
| 8.1      | Recommendations to Sida .....                        | 50        |
| 8.2      | Recommendations to PAOs.....                         | 50        |
|          | <b>Annex 1: Terms of Reference.....</b>              | <b>52</b> |
|          | <b>Annex 2: Evaluation matrix .....</b>              | <b>62</b> |
|          | <b>Annex 3: Data collection instruments .....</b>    | <b>65</b> |
|          | <b>Annex 4: Documentation.....</b>                   | <b>74</b> |
|          | <b>Annex 5: List of interviewees.....</b>            | <b>78</b> |

# Abbreviations and Acronyms

|         |                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACOBOL  | Association of Municipal Councilwomen of Bolivia                                                                                                                 |
| BDF     | Boris Divkovic Foundation                                                                                                                                        |
| BiH     | Bosnia and Herzegovina                                                                                                                                           |
| CD      | Cultura Democrática ( <i>Democratic Culture</i> )                                                                                                                |
| CEEGN   | Central East European Gender Network                                                                                                                             |
| CEO     | Chief Executive Officer                                                                                                                                          |
| CEPROCA | Center for Production, Promotion and Training                                                                                                                    |
| CIS     | Centre Party International Foundation                                                                                                                            |
| CMD     | Center for Multiparty Democracy                                                                                                                                  |
| CSO     | Civil Society Organisation                                                                                                                                       |
| CYLA    | Center for Young Leaders in Africa                                                                                                                               |
| CWI     | Council of Women's Initiative                                                                                                                                    |
| DLC     | Distinct Leadership Consultants                                                                                                                                  |
| EPP     | European Peoples' Party                                                                                                                                          |
| EWIP    | Empowering Women in Politics                                                                                                                                     |
| FES     | Friedrich Ebert Stiftung                                                                                                                                         |
| FLI     | Forum for Left Initiative                                                                                                                                        |
| FNF     | Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom                                                                                                                         |
| GF      | Green Forum                                                                                                                                                      |
| HRBA    | Human Rights-based Approach                                                                                                                                      |
| ICLD    | The Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy                                                                                                             |
| IDEA    | International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance                                                                                                   |
| IDU     | International Democrat Union                                                                                                                                     |
| IFES    | International Foundation for Electoral Systems                                                                                                                   |
| IGD     | Institut Général Tiémoko Marc Garango pour la Gouvernance et le Développement ( <i>Général Tiémoko Marc Garango's Institute for Governance and Development</i> ) |
| IRI     | International Republican Institute                                                                                                                               |
| JHS     | Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation                                                                                                                                       |
| KIC     | Christian Democratic International Centre                                                                                                                        |
| M&E     | Monitoring and evaluation                                                                                                                                        |
| MAS     | <i>Movimiento al Socialismo (The Movement for Socialism)</i>                                                                                                     |
| MP      | Member of Parliament                                                                                                                                             |
| NDI     | National Democratic Institute                                                                                                                                    |
| NIMD    | Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy                                                                                                                   |
| NM      | North Macedonia                                                                                                                                                  |
| NS      | Nasa Stranka ( <i>Our Party</i> )                                                                                                                                |
| OSCE    | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe                                                                                                             |
| OPC     | Olof Palme International Centre                                                                                                                                  |
| PAO     | Party-Affiliated Organisation                                                                                                                                    |
| PAOLA   | Political Party Affiliated Organisations Latin America Programme                                                                                                 |

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

|            |                                                                                        |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PDP        | Party of Democratic Progress                                                           |
| PI         | Progress Institute                                                                     |
| ProgWeB    | Youth Academy for Progressive Politics in Western Balkans                              |
| PVE        | Partido Verde Ecológico ( <i>Ecological Green Party</i> )                              |
| PWWSD      | Palestinian Working Women's Society for Development                                    |
| PYPA       | Programme for Young Politicians in Africa                                              |
| RF         | Resistencia Feminina ( <i>Feminine Resistance</i> )                                    |
| RLPA       | Regional Liberal Political Academy                                                     |
| RYPLA      | The Regional Youth Leadership Academy                                                  |
| SDP BiH    | Social Democratic Party of BiH                                                         |
| SDSM       | Social Democratic Union of Macedonia                                                   |
| SEK        | Swedish Krona                                                                          |
| SILC       | Swedish International Liberal Center                                                   |
| ToC        | Theory of Change                                                                       |
| VAWP       | Violence Against Women in Politics                                                     |
| WB         | Western Balkans                                                                        |
| VIF        | Leftist Party International Forum                                                      |
| VMRO-DPMNE | Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Org – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity |
| WPI        | Women's Political Influence                                                            |

# Executive Summary

## Introduction

According to the Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organisations 2016-2020 (revised in 2018), the support should contribute to the development of well-functioning democratic multi-party systems and support sister parties or related political movements or organisations. One of the Strategy's eight goals is to increase power and influence of groups in society that are underrepresented in political processes and decision making, with a particular focus on the participation of women and youth.

This evaluation was commissioned to add knowledge, highlight lessons learnt and provide support for improvements based on an assessment of, firstly, the present strategy, the application process and the programming cycle, and secondly, the relevance and effectiveness of the methods used for supporting women's political influence (WPI). In this report, the results of the second part of the evaluation are accounted for.

## Method

The evaluation methodology was developed based on the questions and provisions defined in Sida's ToR, as further developed in the inception report of the evaluation. The evaluation follows a utilisation-focused approach whereby the participation of the intended users (Sida and PAOs) has been ensured in all stages of the process. Data was collected in two steps: 1) through a comprehensive global mapping of the geographical distribution of PAO programmes as well as a mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation and gender equality, and 2) three case studies (Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, Bolivia, and the Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) and Empowering Women in Politics (EWIP) programmes). An Academic Expert Panel was formed to compare findings with available research on different methods for promoting women's political influence.

## Conclusions

The evaluation shows that, in general, PAO programmes place strong emphasis on women's political participation and gender equality. This is evident from the global mapping of approaches and methods as well as from the three case studies carried out as part of the evaluation. While one of the programmes studied (EWIP) has WPI as the overall goal, others have gender equality as one of several objectives and tend to at least partly aim at promoting WPI. In all programmes studied, women, including aspiring and elected politicians, constitute a key target group.

A key finding from the global mapping is that PAO programmes are characterised by a high degree of methodological versatility. Some conceptual tools have been used by some PAOs and there are a number of common approaches identified in this study, however, each of the programmes constitute a mix of entangled strategies and activities, in most cases designed to the specific local context and in close dialogue with counterparts. In addition, some programmes are not designed with WPI as the main focus. This means that it has been difficult how programmes “fit” with recent academic and policy literature, especially at the global level. In the case studies, specific approaches and methods have been identified, and, when possible, compared with such literature.

The global mapping indicates that a common approach to promote WPI among PAOs is to strive for a gender balance in programme activities. Some programmes have specific activities for women (and in a few cases also for men), and a few have the ambition to change the political and cultural structures that may hinder WPI. Typical activities include training, networking/international meetings, and study visits and exchanges. The three case studies provide examples of these type of activities, although not all approaches are found in all cases.

While capacity development through training is the dominant method in the programmes in Bolivia, the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia reveals a multifaceted strategy. Training is only one of several different methods and training activities are well linked with support to internal party reform and external policy development and advocacy for WPI and gender equality. This includes support to political parties’ women’s wings, analysis of parties’ governing document, structures and internal recruitment procedures from a gender equality perspective, regional manifestos on gender equality pushing national parties to perform (on gender equality), and study visits and exchanges. In EWIP, there is also an ambition to venture beyond training programmes.

All programmes assessed as part of the case studies are based on lessons learnt from what works. The design of the current Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia programmes draws on years of previous experience in the region. This is also the case with PYPA, which has evolved with each subsequent phase informed by the previous, and EWIP and the Political Party Affiliated Organisations Latin America Programme (PAOLA) in Bolivia, which partly build on the PYPA model. Similarly, all PAOs demonstrate an ability to, through consultative processes with their partner organisations, adapt their programmes and take on new ideas in response to emerging opportunities and other contextual changes.

PAOs have applied programme design processes that, apart from reflection on lessons learnt, include the development of theories of change, organisational assessment of partners, and partner inputs. In the case study programmes that include other activities than training, activities are generally found to be strategically linked and mutually enforcing. Even in programmes that are limited to training there is an understanding, conveyed by the theories of change, that individual capacity development is not enough to affect change. At the same time, some training programmes, including in Bolivia, have outcome statements that signal a perception that individual training alone will lead to the organisational strengthening of sister

parties. In these cases, there seems to be a mismatch between theory and implementation thus far.

Relatedly, the evaluation notes that there are a number of emerging issues – including political finance and violence against women in politics (VAWP) – that merit additional attention. While some PAOs seem to have made some analysis in relation to gender barriers in party structures, there is no internalised process of conducting comprehensive gender analysis as a basis for programme design. Ideally, these analyses should be carried out together with the political parties and include recommendations concerning the measures the party can take internally, as well as shifts needed within broader society to eliminate barriers to WPI.

The general perception of the stakeholders interviewed is that the PAO support is both relevant and effective. This can be seen as an indication of the high level of local ownership. In all case studies there is evidence of local partner participation in design, management, implementation and monitoring of programmes. This is generally a very positive feature of the support although, as indicated by the global mapping, it might mean a more versatile approach in which activities, methods and stakeholders are mixed and not always clearly identifiable.

Individual activities are generally comprehensive in terms of how they are designed, implemented and followed-up. This particularly applies to the training programmes that make use of an academy approach, participatory and interactive pedagogics, and are complemented by follow-up activities, such as mini-projects and networking, all of which is in line with contemporary training theory and practice. Some but not all trainings have specific sessions relating to WPI and gender equality; in others WPI and gender equality is sometimes addressed as a topic in sessions with another focus.

The case studies indicate that the choice of countries and partners is generally justified, and also offer many good examples of cooperation and coordination with other actors. At the same time, the choice is not primarily informed by considerations related to WPI. Very few of the existing implementing partners and other stakeholders engaged are specialised on WPI. There is an un-tapped potential to explore opportunities for collaboration, synergies with and learning from such specialised organisations, as well as between PAOs, their partners and the Embassy of Sweden.

Assessing the effectiveness of PAO support to WPI has not been the primary focus of this evaluation. The case studies suggest that the capacity of PAOs to monitor change varies. Only one programme, PYPA, has a monitoring and evaluation system that reliably can capture change at an aggregate and programme-wide basis. However, given that PYPA is a training programme, the monitoring system focuses on tracking the effects on the performance of individuals, and not the change brought about at organisational and societal level. The joint Olof Palme International Centre (OPC) and Centre Party International Foundation (CIS) Western Balkan programme has a results framework, which provides a basis for monitoring organisational and societal changes. None of the programmes appears to systematically monitor change at these levels (e.g. contribution to internal party reforms, influence on structural barriers to WPI beyond what is found within political parties, etc.). At the same time,

the evaluation recognises the inherent challenge of assessing progress in situation where programmes are mostly focused on individual capacity building, have limited budgets, and, in some cases, operate in volatile contexts. In addition, the programmes assessed in Bolivia as well as EWIP are still new.

In the case of PYPA, the ongoing monitoring and learning evaluation shows that the training has contributed to increased participation and influence in political affairs and motivated participants to work for democracy and cooperate with other political parties. The Western Balkan programmes have greater aspirations for organisational and societal change. The case study on Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia indicates that progress has been made when it comes to WPI in the region as a whole, including in terms of women's representation at the national, regional and municipal level. While there are several examples of how PAO programmes have promoted this development, the level of contribution is difficult to measure for the above-mentioned reasons.

### **Recommendations to Sida**

1. Sida should promote sharing of innovative methods employed by the PAOs, particularly those that complement capacity development through training, such as mentoring of women standing for elections, activities focusing on engaging men, support to internal party reform, and gender-sensitive policy development and campaigning. Relatedly, Sida could facilitate PAO capacity development and knowledge sharing on methods for gender analysis, theory of change development, and gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation.
2. Sida should consider commissioning the Helpdesk on Democracy and Human Rights to prepare an annotated bibliography of recent academic and policy literature, evaluations and similar analyses and reports focusing on theories and practice for promoting women's political influence. This could include support to women's wings of political parties, the impact of different electoral systems and quota legislation, prevention of violence against women in politics, and the difference/challenges between increasing women's representation and influence. This bibliography could be shared with PAOs at a joint learning event.

### **Recommendations to PAOs**

1. PAOs should ensure that their programmes are based on a gender audit of the targeted political parties (done together with the political parties) and, depending on the scope of the programme, a more comprehensive, country-level analysis of barriers to WPI, as an input to programme theories of change and strategies to mainstream gender. Whenever possible, existing country-level gender analysis could be used.
2. PAOs should, based on the gender audit/country analysis, assist local partners in identifying opportunities for reform and advocacy in support of WPI at both the party and societal level. In the former case, methods and learning should focus on generating opportunities for political will within parties,

- including leader commitments to participant follow-up, dialogue between youth/women and leaders, and development of organisational benchmarks.
3. PAOs should ensure that they have monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) systems that allow for the systematic assessment of programme effectiveness, including the contribution to WPI at the organisational and, when relevant, societal level. This would include the consistent use of comprehensive theories of change and result frameworks, MEL plans and budgets, monitoring of potential risks to women participants, and quality assurance mechanisms for partner reporting.
  4. PAOs should explore partnerships and complementarities with global, regional and national organisations specialising on WPI, and find ways of benefitting from their expertise.

The case study reports include a number of specific recommendations of particular relevance to Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, Bolivia and the PYPA and EWIP programmes.

# Sammanfattning

## Bakgrund

Enligt strategin för demokratistöd genom svenska partianknutna organisationer (PAO:er) 2016-2020 (omarbetad 2018) ska stödet bidra till uppbyggnaden av välfungerande flerpartisystem på demokratisk grund samt ge möjlighet att stödja systerpartier, närliggande politiska rörelser eller organisationer. Ett av strategins åtta mål är ökad egenmakt och inflytande hos samhällsgrupper som är underrepresenterade i politiska processer och beslutsfattanden, med särskilt fokus på kvinnors och ungdomars politiska deltagande.

Utvärderingen beställdes för att tillföra kunskap, lyfta fram lärdomar och ge förslag till förbättringar baserat på en bedömning av, för det första, den nuvarande strategin, ansökningsprocessen och programmeringscykeln, och för det andra, relevansen och måluppfyllelsen av de metoder som används för att främja kvinnors politiska inflytande. I denna rapport redovisas resultatet av den andra delen av utvärderingen.

## Metod

Utvärderingsmetoden utgår från de frågor och riktlinjer som presenteras i Sidas uppdragsbeskrivning, och har vidare utvecklats i inceptionsrapporten. Utvärderingen har genomförts i enlighet med ett användarfokuserat tillvägagångssätt där intressenters deltagande (Sida och PAO:er) har säkerställts i alla delar av processen. Information samlades in i två steg: 1) genom en omfattande global kartläggning av den geografiska spridningen av PAO-stödet samt en kartläggning av de ansatser och metoder som används för att främja kvinnors politiska deltagande och jämställdhet, och: 2) tre fallstudier – Bosnien och Hercegovina (BiH) och Nordmakedonien, Bolivia och Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) och Empowering Women in Politics (EWIP) programmen. En akademisk expertpanel har bidragit med kunskap och synpunkter baserat på forskning som om metoder som används för att stödja kvinnors politiska inflytande.

## Slutsatser

Utvärderingen visar att PAO-programmen i allmänhet lägger stor tonvikt på kvinnors politiska deltagande och jämställdhet. Detta framgår tydligt av den globala kartläggning av ansatser och metoder samt de tre fallstudier som gjorts inom ramen för utvärderingen. Ett av programmen (EWIP) har kvinnors politiska inflytande som den primära målsättningen; i övriga fall utgör kvinnors politiska inflytande oftast en av flera målsättningar. Samtliga program som omfattas av fallstudierna har kvinnor inom politiken som en viktig målgrupp.

En slutsats från den globala kartläggningen är att PAO-programmen varierar betydligt iförhållande till vilka metoder som används. Även om vissa PAO:er har använt sig av teoretiska koncept i några fall, och det finns en viss grad av samstämmighet mellan de ansatser som använts, utgörs många program av en blandning av strategier, aktiviteter och partners. Därtill är kvinnors politiska inflytande inte en huvudmålsättning i många program. Detta gör det svårt att, på global nivå, identifiera specifika ansatser och metoder, och än svårare att bedöma i vilken utsträckning programmen ligger i linje med de senaste forskningsrönen och policylitteraturen. Detta har dock varit möjligt i viss utsträckning inom fallstudierna.

Den globala kartläggningen visar att ett vanligt sätt att främja kvinnors politiska inflytande inom PAO-programmen är att försöka uppnå en balans mellan kvinnligt och manligt deltagande i aktiviteter. Vissa program har särskilda aktiviteter för kvinnor (och i begränsade fall även för män), och några har ambitionen att påverka politiska strukturer och kulturer som hindrar kvinnors politiska deltagande. Bland de vanligaste aktiviteterna är utbildningar/kurser, nätverkande/möten på internationell nivå samt och studiebesök och utbyten. De tre fallstudierna ger exempel på dessa aktiviteter, även om alla ansatser inte återfinns inom alla program.

Medan kapacitetsutveckling genom utbildning är den dominerade metoden inom programmen i Bolivia, har programmen i Bosnien och Hercegovina och Nordmakedonien en mer mångfasetterad strategi. Fallstudien visar här att utbildning är endast en av flera olika metoder och att utbildningen kopplas samman med andra aktiviteter för att stödja reformer av partistrukturer samt framttagande av policiys och påverkansarbete för kvinnors politiska inflytande i samhället i stort. Programmen i Bosnien och Hercegovina och Nordmakedonien inkluderar stöd till politiska partiers kvinnoförbund, analyser av partiets stadgar och andra styrdokument från ett jämställdhetsperspektiv, regionala manifest samt studiebesök och utbyten. Även EWIP-programmet har ambitionen att stödja reformer av politiska partier.

Alla program som faller inom ramen för fallstudierna har utformats baserat på lärdomar från tidigare program. Programmen i Bosnien och Hercegovina och Nordmakedonien bygger på många års erfarenhet av liknande verksamhet i regionen. Detta gäller även PYPA, som utvecklats över tid, samt EWIP och Political Party Affiliated Organisations Latin America Programme (PAOLA), som delvis inspirerats av PYPA-modellen. Alla PAO:erna uppvisar även en förmåga att, genom en nära dialog med lokala partnerorganisationer, anpassa sina program och ta in nya idéer när möjligheter ges.

Som en del av processen med att ta fram nya program har PAO:erna, förutom att dra lärdomar från tidigare erfarenheter, tagit fram förändringsteorier, gjort kapacitetsanalyser av lokala partners, och säkerställt lokala partners input. I de program som omfattar olika typer av aktiviteter finns det i allmänhet tydliga kopplingar och synergieffekter mellan dessa aktiviteter. Även inom de renodlade utbildningsprogrammen finns det, som framgår av förändringsteorierna, en förståelse för att utbildning inte är tillräckligt för att åstadkomma förändringar. Samtidigt har några av dessa program, som i fallet Bolivia, resultatformuleringar som signalerar en förväntan att utbildningen ska påverka systerpartiernas organisation. I dessa fall finns en tydlig skillnad mellan teori och praktik.

Utvärderingen framhåller att det finns flera nya frågor och problemställningar, som till exempel partifinansiering och våld mot kvinnor inom politiken, som behöver uppmärksammas. Även om det finns exempel på analyser som har gjorts av hinder för ökad jämställdhet inom partistrukturer, verkar ingen av PAO:erna ha system som säkerställer att en grundlig jämställdhetsanalys görs som en del av arbetet med att utforma nya program. Sådana analyser bör företrädesvis göras tillsammans med systempartier och resultera i förslag på vad partierna kan göra internt såväl som externt, och inom samhället i stort, för att överbrygga hinder för kvinnors politiska deltagande.

Den allmänna uppfattningen bland de aktörer som har intervjuats är att PAO-programmen är både relevanta och effektiva. Detta kan ses som en indikation på en hög grad av lokalt ägarskap. Alla fallstudier visar att lokala partners medverkar i utformandet, styrningen, implementeringen och uppföljning av programmen. Även om detta främst ska ses som positivt kan, som den globala kartläggningen antyder, den lyhördhet och flexibilitet som PAO:erna uppvisar gentemot lokala partners önskemål göra det svårt att tydligt identifiera vilka metoder som har använts.

Aktiviteter utformas, genomförs och följs i allmänhet upp på ett sammanhållet sätt. Detta är tydligast inom utbildningsprogrammen, som alla bedrivs som akademier, använder sig av interaktiv pedagogik, och åtföljs av aktiviteter, som exempelvis mini-projekt och nätverkande, vilka möjliggör för deltagare att applicera sina kunskaper och utbyta erfarenheter. Denna modell ligger väl i linje med nutida inlärningsteori och praxis. Några, men inte alla utbildningar, har särskilda moduler om jämställdhet och kvinnors politiska deltagande. I vissa fall ingår jämställdhet och kvinnors politiska deltagande som en del av moduler med ett annat fokus.

Fallstudierna visar att valet av länder och samarbetspartners i nästan alla fall är berättigade, och ger många bra exempel på samarbete och samordning med andra aktörer. Samtidigt spelar överväganden kring jämställdhet och kvinnors politiska inflytande ingen avgörande roll i valet av länder och samarbetspartners. Få partnerorganisationer och andra aktörer som PAO:erna interagerar med är specialiserade inom kvinnors politiska deltagande. Det finns en utforskad potential för samarbete, synergier med, och lärande från, sådana specialiserade organisationer såväl som mellan PAO:erna själva, deras partners och Sveriges Ambassadr.

Att bedöma vilka resultat som har uppnåtts inom programmet har inte varit ett primärt fokus för utvärderingen. Fallstudierna indikerar att PAO:ernas kapacitet att följa upp och dokumentera resultat varierar. Endast ett av programmen, PYPA, har i nuläget ett system för uppföljning och utvärderingen som på ett tillförlitligt sätt kan fånga upp förändringar på en aggregerad programnivå. Detta system fokuserar dock i huvudsak på att dokumentera effekter på individ-nivå. Det gemensamma Olof Palme International Centre (OPC) och Centre Party International Foundation (CIS) programmet som implementeras i Bosnien och Hercegovina och Nordmakedonien har ett resultatramverk som inkluderar resultat på organisations- och samhällsnivå. Inga av de övriga programmen verkar på ett systematiskt sätt följa upp förändringar på dessa nivåer (till exempel i fråga om programmets effekt på interna reformer eller på övergripande samhällsstrukturer som hindrar kvinnors politiska inflytande). Samtidigt betonas att sådana effekter kan vara mycket svåra att mäta då programmen i huvudsak

fokuserar på kapacitetsutveckling på individnivå, har en begränsad budget, och, i vissa fall, genomförs i instabila kontexter. EWIP och programmen i Bolivia är dessutom nystartade.

Vad gäller PYPA visar den följeforskning som görs att utbildningen har bidragit till att deltagare har blivit mer involverade och skaffat sig mer inflytande inom politiska partier, samt att utbildningen har motiverat deltagare att arbeta för demokrati och samarbete över partigränserna. Programmen på västra Balkan har högre ambitioner och eftersträvar förändringar på organisationsnivå samt inom samhället i stort. Fallstudien om Bosnien och Hercegovina och Nordmakedonien betonar den positiva utvecklingen som ägt rum vad gäller kvinnors politiska inflytande i regionen i stort, inklusive det ökande antalet kvinnor med politiska befattningar på nationell, regional och lokal nivå. Även om det finns många exempel på hur PAO-programmen har främjat denna utveckling är det svårt att bedöma graden av inflytande.

### Rekommendationer till Sida

1. Sida bör främja erfarenhetsutbyte av de nyskapande metoder som används av PAO:erna, särskilt de metoder som går utöver kapacitetsutveckling genom utbildning, såsom mentorskap för kvinnor som ställer upp i val, aktiviteter som fokuserar på att engagera män, stöd till reformer inom politiska partier, och stöd till policy-utveckling och kampanjarbete med fokus på ökad jämlikhet. På liknande sätt kan Sida främja kapacitetsutveckling och utbyte av metoder för jämställdhetsanalys, förändringsteorier och appliceringen av ett jämställdhetsperspektiv på uppföljning och utvärdering.
2. Sida bör överväga att uppdra åt Helpdesken för demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter att utarbeta en annoterad bibliografi över akademisk och policyorienterad litteratur, utvärderingar och liknande analyser och rapporter med fokus metoder för att främja kvinnors politiska inflytande. Detta kan inkludera stöd till partianknutna kvinnoförbund, effekten av olika val- och kvoteringsystem på kvinnors deltagande, motverkande av våld mot kvinnor inom politiken samt relationen mellan kvinnors deltagande och inflytande. Denna bibliografi kan presenteras och diskuteras på ett seminarium med PAO:erna.

### Rekommendationer till PAO:erna

1. PAO:er bör säkerställa att deras program är förankrade i en jämställdhetsanalys av de politiska partier som utgör målgruppen för stödet (en analys som kan göras tillsammans med dessa politiska partier) och, beroende av programmets omfång, en mer omfattande jämställdhetsanalys på nationell nivå som berör hinder för kvinnor politiska inflytande. I det fall befintliga jämställdhetsanalyser finns kan dessa användas.
2. PAO:er bör, med utgångspunkt i jämställdhetsanalysen, hjälpa lokala partners att identifiera möjligheter för reformer inom politiska partier samt politiskt påverkansarbete för att främja kvinnors politiska inflytande på både parti och samhällsnivå. När det gäller reformer bör fokus ligga på att öka den politiska

viljan att följa upp utbildning, upprätthålla en dialog mellan ungdomar/kvinnor och politiska ledare samt ta fram interna riktlinjer.

3. PAO:er måste säkerställa att de har system för uppföljning, utvärdering och lärande som möjliggör en metodisk bedömning av programmets måluppfyllelse, inklusive hur de har bidragit till kvinnors politiska inflytande på organisationsnivå och, när det är relevant, även på samhällelig nivå. Ett sådant system bör omfatta gedigna förändringsteorier och resultatramverk samt uppföljnings- och utvärderingsplaner med motsvarande budget, uppföljning av risker för kvinnliga deltagare, och kvalitetssäkring av partnerrapportering.
4. PAO:er bör undersöka möjligheter till komplementaritet och partnerskap med globala, regionala och nationella organisationer som är specialiserade på kvinnors politiska inflytande och hitta sätt att dra fördel av denna expertis inom befintliga program.

Mer specifika rekommendationer för Bosnien och Hercegovina och Nordmakedonien, Bolivia samt PYPA- och EWIP-programmen återfinns i fallstudierapporterna.

# 1 Introduction

Swedish support through Party-Affiliated Organisations (PAOs) was initiated in 1995. Since 2012 it has been pursued within the framework of multi-year strategies adopted by the Swedish Government.

The overall objectives of the democracy support through Swedish PAOs are to contribute to democratisation, increased respect for human rights and equal opportunities for women and men. The current strategy for 2016-2020 was adopted in 2015 and revised in 2018. According to the revised strategy the support should contribute to the development of well-functioning democratic multi-party systems and support sister parties or related political movements or organisations.

This evaluation consists of two parts, which are accounted for in separate reports. The results, conclusions and recommendations of part II, which is about the relevance and effectiveness of methods used by the PAOs to enhance women's political influence, are presented in this report. The report is based on a global mapping and three case studies, which are synthesised in this report (the complete versions of the case study reports are included in a separate Annex).

## 2 Background

### 2.1 EVALUATION PURPOSE

This evaluation is mandated by the revised strategy which prescribes that an external evaluation of the implementation of the strategy should be conducted after the initial programme period. The evaluation is intended to feed into the strategy beyond 2020. In particular it should generate knowledge and recommendations guiding Sida's contribution to the new strategy. The Terms of Reference (Annex 1) stipulate that the evaluation should add knowledge, highlight lessons and provide support for improvements based on an assessment of:

- Part I: The present strategy, the application process and the programming cycle;
- Part II: Methods for support to women's political influence.

The primary intended users of the evaluation are Sida's Democracy and Human Rights Unit, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Swedish PAOs.

### 2.2 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this part of the evaluation is to assess the relevance and effectiveness of the methods used for supporting women's political influence by the Swedish PAOs and implemented during 2016-2020. The ToR define the following questions to be answered by part II of the evaluation:

- Which methods do political party affiliated organisations use in supporting women's political influence in programs that have been/are implemented in the period of 2016 – 2020?
- To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?
- What are the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen (theory of change and change management, including formal as well as informal aspects of how political parties function)?
- How relevant and effective are these methods, according to political party affiliated organisations and their partners?
- How do these methods compare to recent academic and policy literature?

In the initial phase of the evaluation these questions were further developed and operationalised by the evaluation team (see Evaluation Matrix in Annex 2). The questions constitute the basis for the synthesis of the case studies.

# 3 Methodology

## 3.1 OVERALL APPROACH

The overall approach for the evaluation is based on the ToRs and was, in cooperation with Sida and the PAOs, developed during the inception phase.<sup>1</sup>

In line with the ToR, an important point of departure has been that the evaluation should have an overall approach that is utilisation-focused. This means that the method has been worked out to satisfy the users' needs and in a way that encourages the participation of stakeholders, especially the PAO representatives. Specifically, this has meant that Sida, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the PAOs were invited to a seminar at Sida where tentative findings from the three case studies were presented by the evaluation team.<sup>2</sup> The utilisation focus also means that Sida and the PAOs have the opportunity to comment on the inception report and draft evaluation reports. In the interviews, open-ended questions that promote dialogue and exchange of perspectives have been used.

A gender-responsive approach is applied, meaning that the evaluation team has attempted to identify and analyse the power structures that may be at the root cause of marginalisation and gender inequality. This is captured in the context analysis for each case study.

The evaluation team employed a comparative approach that combined attention to the totality of the PAO programme with an in-depth study (case studies) of PAO programmes in specific country settings. This allowed the team to study both the programmes and their activities in the aggregate and a sample that would serve to deepen, validate and develop findings with reference to concrete projects and the modalities, partners and approaches on which they rely. Hence, the two stages of Part II of the evaluation were:

1. A comprehensive, global mapping of the geographical distribution of PAO programmes as well as a mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation<sup>3</sup> and gender equality, performed through document studies complemented with interview data (presented in a summarised format in Chapter 5), and

---

<sup>1</sup> FCG Sweden, 2019, Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations. Final Inception Report

<sup>2</sup> FCG & Tana, 2019, Workshop on Component 2: Methods for supporting women's political influence, Preliminary findings, conclusions and recommendations – and joint reflection on them, 6 November 2019, 13.00-16.00

<sup>3</sup> The evaluation distinguishes between 'women's political participation' and 'women political influence'. 'Women's political participation' is used as a broader concept that encompasses the extent to which women are represented in, participate in and influence political decision-making.

2. Case studies, primarily based on interviews with programme and project participants and beneficiaries, representatives from parties involved as well as outside observers and experts.

Throughout, the evaluation team has compared findings with available evidence on the relative effectiveness of the different methods and processes in promoting women's political influence. This has been realised through the participation of an Academic Expert Panel, consisting of Elin Bjarnegård, Associate Professor in political science, Uppsala University, and Magnus Öhman, IFES Director at the Regional Europe office. The Academic Expert Panel have participated in the workshop organised as part of the evaluation and commented on the draft case studies and the evaluation report.

## 3.2 SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES

The selection of case study countries was based on the geographical mapping done during the mapping phase. However, the dispersed character of the PAO programme made it difficult to identify countries in which a large number of activities were undertaken and had been going on for some time. Nevertheless, the following selection criteria were agreed:

- Countries in which several interventions aimed at gender equality, preferably from different PAOs, were undertaken.
- Countries which represent different social contexts for women's political participation.
- Countries offering a variation of political freedoms, allowing for a study of PAOs support to female political participation in different contexts.

A number of different alternatives were considered and repeated deliberations with PAOs took place. The final selection, as presented below, was a compromise between a number of different priorities, a tight budget, and considerations relating to security and logistics:

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and North Macedonia. In these countries programmes of the Olof Palme International Centre (OPC), the Centre Party's International Foundation (CIS), and the Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation (JHS) are implemented.
2. Bolivia, where Christian Democratic International Center (KIC), Swedish International Liberal Center (SILC), and Green Forum (GF) have programmes.
3. The Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA), which is implemented by KIC, CIS, OPC and GF in 16 African countries, and the programme Empowering Women in Politics (EWIP), implemented by CIS and KIC in four African countries.

The original intention was to select three geographical locations (countries) but based on the global mapping of approaches and methods it was considered important to cover PYPA and EWIP, which both are innovative programmes when it comes to promoting women's political influence.

### 3.3 DATA COLLECTION

The data collection was based on review of documentation and, especially, interviews with representatives of the PAOs, partners, political foundations and other implementing organisations, participants (beneficiaries), government officials and other stakeholders in Sweden and in the countries and regions where the programmes are implemented (See Annex 3 for data collection instruments and Annex 5 for a list of interviewees).

Most of the interviews were conducted during the visits to Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Uganda and Bolivia or on Skype or WhatsApp. Two meetings also took place in Nairobi, Kenya for the PYPA and EWIP case study.

The review of documentation included applications, annual reports, evaluations, theories of change and a number of other documents. It also included selected academic and policy literature about women's political influence (Annex 4).

### 3.4 ANALYSIS AND QA

The collected information was categorised per evaluation question in the evaluation matrix and triangulated to the extent possible. The need for additional information were identified and the missing information collected. Subsequently, the evaluation team agreed on a structure for the case studies as well as structure for the evaluation report.

The draft evaluation report, including the full case studies, was peer reviewed, submitted to quality assurance and then shared with Sida and the PAOs. Feedback was received from Sida and three of the PAOs. Based on these comments the report was significantly revised, both in terms of structure and contents. A final quality assured draft was submitted on 2 March.

### 3.5 LIMITATIONS

The case study approach used has presented a number of challenges and limitations in terms of providing an overall picture of the relevant and effectiveness of the methods used by the PAOs to support women's political influence.

Although a global mapping was carried out (both of the geographical distribution of PAO support and the approaches and methods with regard to supporting WPI), most of the data in the report relate to the three case studies. This means that the findings are not necessarily representative of the overall PAO programme.

The global mapping had its own limitations grounded in the limited availability of documentation on PAO programmes in general, and methods in support to women's political influence in particular. While the ToR foresees a relatively detailed mapping, e.g. of how the support is distributed at the capital/national/head office level as well as regional or local level, existing applications and reports tend to contain only general information. Although complementary interviews have been carried out with staff of Swedish PAOs, it has not been possible to systematically map all aspects of the support.

As noted above, the selection of case studies also presented a number of challenges. Because of the scope of PAO support, two of the case studies (Bolivia and PYPA/EWIP) mainly focus on capacity development through training. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, the PAO programmes have a wider approach. In addition, in Bolivia, two of the programmes are new, which meant that it is too early to assess effectiveness and capture experiences. This is also the case with EWIP<sup>4</sup>.

Another limitation associated with this Bolivia case study was difficulties associated with interviewing KIC training participants due to the ongoing post-election civil strike and political unrest. Relatedly, despite repeated attempts, the regional coordinator for PYPA was unavailable for an interview throughout the evaluation period.

---

<sup>4</sup> In addition, the case study did not include a visit to a country where implementation of EWIP had actually started.

## 4 The case studies

This section describes the programmes evaluated within each of the three case studies.

### 4.1 BOLIVIA

This case study covers the activities of three PAOs. Two of the programmes have operated for only about one year. While Green Forum has a longer history in the country, the programme was evaluated in 2018 and focus shifted beginning in 2019. Though all three programmes include outcomes related to WPI, gender equality was not their main focus.

#### GF

GF has provided sister party support in Bolivia since 2008. According to Green Forum's application for 2016-2018, the programme objective for the Bolivia programme was *"to ensure that the green party partner (PVE) by the end of the period has improved their role, individual competencies, democratic culture and organizational capacities in order to become a strong political actor"*.<sup>5</sup> The programme also included specific objectives of strengthened leadership for positioning and visibility of the PVE in Bolivian society and a developed communication strategy that creates citizen awareness of the need to take care of the environment in order to achieve political action amongst citizens as well as the party.

In 2019, the programme went through a substantial redesign. Green Forum shifted its programme focus away from public awareness to focus more squarely on capacity development of party leaders. In the 2019-2020 application,<sup>6</sup> the programme aims are defined as follows:

- Objective: Political organisations have strengthened their capacity in organisational development and member management favouring inclusion and diversity
- Outcome: Leadership of green political organisations increase their capacity to reach out to members with focus on women, youth and indigenous groups and advocate towards green issues.

---

<sup>5</sup> Green Forum, "Sida Application VO1 2016-2018"

<sup>6</sup> Green Forum, "Proposal for Green Political Organizations Programme 2019-2020"

In 2018, the budget was SEK 125,000 while in 2019 it increased to SEK 230,000.

### KIC

In 2019, KIC and SILC began implementing the PAO Latin America Programme (PAOLA) in Bolivia under the coordination of the Olof Palme International Centre (OPC). The PAOLA programme's general objective is<sup>7</sup> *“Political parties and organisations in the programme have improved their capacities to address current democratic challenges in Latin America”*. PAOLA's intermediate objectives are:

- Political parties and organisations in the region have the capacity to work efficiently with policy development, strategies, methods and political skills.
- Women and youth have the capacity to influence parties and organisation and participate in decision making
- Political parties and organisations in the region have closer cooperation, stronger networks and seek broader strategic alliances.

Operating under the same regional framework, SILC and KIC, along with OPC, carried out joint programme design and exchanged information on training methods. However, programme implementation is conducted independently with different partners.

In 2018, KIC's engagement in Bolivia was limited to incorporating a few Bolivians in a training programme in partnership with *Cultura Democrática*, Democratic Culture (CD), the CSO partner based in Buenos Aires, Argentina; however, in 2019, KIC initiated activities directly in Bolivia under the PAOLA programme. KIC continued its partnership with CD for the design and implementation of a new training programme (*Jóvenes por la Democracia* - Youth for Democracy). KIC and CD selected a local partner organisation for this programme.

In 2019, the funding allocated for the Bolivian training programmes was approximately SEK 100,000.

### SILC

SILC supported national and regional trainings in Bolivia in 2018-2019 for youth through a local partner organisation. Beginning 2019, this activity was integrated with the PAOLA programme.

Building on an initial event in 2017, SILC's 2018 programme in Bolivia was developed together with the same partner. As part of its academy approach, the partners implemented national training programmes for political leaders, journalists and other professionals between the ages of 20-30. In 2019, under the PAOLA programme, SILC continued this partnership, implementing two national and one regional training programmes (to date).

---

<sup>7</sup> Olof Palme International Center, "PAO Latin America Programme 2019-2020"

The budget allocated for the national trainings was SEK 350,000, while an additional SEK 50,000 was invested in a publication on the Sustainable Development Goals in Bolivia and a public event on open government and democratic challenges in the region.

## 4.2 BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND NORTH MACEDONIA

The Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia case study covers Sida support to programmes implemented by three PAOs. The case study includes three 2016-2018 programmes and two 2019-2020 programmes.

### JHS

JHS is implementing *Regional Programme in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe 2019-2020*<sup>8</sup>, which follow the previous *Regional Programme in the Balkans 2016-2018*. The overall objective is to “strengthen partner parties and their ability to push for a reform-oriented policy through training - and advisory interventions” and the first of four specific objectives is “stable and democratic party structures” with the outcome “the share of women and young peoples (as members) has increased and so has the share of female candidates”<sup>9</sup>. The present programme has a total budget of SEK 22 million.

### OPC & CIS

The new joint OPC and CIS programme for the Western Balkans has the following overall objective “*The Liberal and Social Democratic sister parties in the Western Balkan represent progressive political alternatives and, thereby, strengthen the political diversity as well as cooperation in the region.....*”<sup>10</sup>. The programme includes a number of partnerships formed in previous programmes, which included Western Balkans as region and the two case study countries. CIS and OPC support projects implemented by political foundations/think tanks in cooperation with political parties and their internal structures, such as women’s wings. Furthermore, a new joint regional intervention inspired by PYPA is called the *Youth Academy for Progressive Politics in Western Balkans* (ProgWeB) inviting partners of OPC and CIS to a regional academy training. The training and capacity development activities designed for young liberal and social democratic politicians from six Western Balkan countries is composed of three modules during a year and include training in gender equality.

The joint programme has a total budget of SEK 18.8 million for 2019-2020.

<sup>8</sup> The name is in Swedish – translated from *Regionalt program på Balkan och i Östra Europa 2019-2020*.

<sup>9</sup> JHS - *Regional Programme in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe 2019-2020*.

<sup>10</sup> Programme summary for Joint OPC-CIS programme in the Western Balkans 2019-2020.

### 4.3 PYPA AND EWIP

While this case study is not location specific, the findings are mainly drawn from a field visit to Uganda, coupled with some interviews in Nairobi, Sweden and remotely.

#### PYPA

Initiated in 2012 and presently covering 16 countries in Africa, PYPA is a multiparty capacity development programme for young women and men 18 to 35 years old, who are active in a political party. KIC implements PYPA in partnership with OPC, CIS, GF<sup>11</sup>, Education for Training Unit (ETU) in South Africa and Institut pour la Gouvernance et le Développement (IGD) in Burkina Faso.

The programme objective is: *Young people active in political parties have increased their participation and influence within politics and work for democracy, gender equality and human rights.* The expected outcomes are:

- Participants have increased their participation and/or influence in political parties or politics;
- Participants have worked for improved democracy within youth wings and/or political parties and/or other organisations;
- Participants have worked for gender equality, and;
- Participants have worked for the fulfilment of human rights.<sup>12</sup>

The annual budget of PYPA is SEK 18.7 million.

#### EWIP

Starting in 2019 in Burkina Faso and Kenya, EWIP will be implemented in four African countries (Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Uganda) in 2020. CIS leads EWIP and implements the programme in West Africa together with IGD and KIC implements the programme in East Africa together with the Oslo Center in Kenya.

EWIP's programme objective is "*the participation and influence of women in politics in four countries in sub-Saharan Africa have increased so that women can contribute to democratic change in politics and society*". In contrast to those of PYPA, EWIP's specific objectives emphasise both women's and the political parties' roles: "*the capacities and the confidence of women active in politics have been strengthened*", and "*the management of political parties and other stakeholders are more receptive to the specific needs of women*".<sup>13</sup>

The annual budget of EWIP is SEK 5.4 million.

<sup>11</sup> GF joined in 2016 after some years as observer.

<sup>12</sup> These are the expected outcomes for 2019-2020. Work for gender equality replaces cooperation with other political parties in this programme period.

<sup>13</sup> CIS, 2018, Application for funds in the framework of the Strategy for Special Democracy Support through Swedish Party-Affiliated Organisations 2019-2020

## 5 Global overview

One of the first steps in the evaluation was a global mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation and gender equality. The mapping drew on reports and material from the PAOs and selected interviews.

### 5.1 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The mapping indicates that PAO programmes are characterised by a high degree of strategic and methodological versatility. Although there are elements of conceptual tools or common practices in some individual instances (e.g. the “ladder of political maturity” applied by Green Forum or the ADKAR model employed by OPC), programme documents are generally characterised by their broad approach in which different activities, methods and counterparts are mixed and entangled within the same contribution. The emphasis differs between different PAOs, and in most cases there is not a specific methodology based on easily identifiable approaches or methods. However, CIS has developed a model for capacity development at three levels, organisational, institutional and political capacity development, which is also applied as a joint approach in the OPC-CIS-programme.

Most programmes are found to be based on a general model with a mixture of locally conducted trainings, awareness raising activities, exchange visits and regional/international conferences (among other activities). The mapping indicates that reasons for this lack of identifiable approaches can be tied to individual PAOs or the fact that programmes are designed in cooperation with local partners, and largely respect their preferences.

Similarly, the mapping shows that references to academic studies or to recognised best practices are generally absent. To the extent that elements of learning are mentioned these are mostly internal, i.e., drawn from the PAOs' own experiences or from joint programmes in which they have cooperated.

Another notable similarity found between PAOs programs through the mapping is the strong emphasis that they all place on women's political participation and gender equality. In general terms, there is no difference between PAOs in this regard as they all affirm their attachment to these values, and give them pride of place in their respective programs. While there are programs that have a specific focus on promoting women's political influence (the most prominent current example of is EWIP), in no case does a PAO program document lack reference to these issues.

### 5.2 APPROACHES

Even though PAOs generally embrace gender equality and strive to promote women's political participation, the perspectives which they apply to this work differ somewhat. The mapping identifies three main approaches:

1. *Equality, or “the 50-50 principle”*: A common approach among PAOs is to promote equal participation from men and women in activities and events. For certain PAOs (e.g. SILC, KIC, and to a certain extent JHS) this is their main approach to furthering female participation.
2. *Difference, by designing special activities for women*: The creation of specific programmes for female politicians is prominent in CIS’ work (not least with the EWIP programme), and sometimes feature among other PAOs as well, e.g. from SILC. In general, this approach seems less common than the previous one.
3. *Structural change*: Even less common are programmes that explicitly aim to change the political and cultural structures that may hinder women’s political influence. In this perspective, simply ensuring female participation is not enough, as their influence even when they reach positions is likely to be less than that of their male colleagues. Hence, to achieve this goal, the party structures and statutes need to be addressed in a more transformative manner. The main example of such an approach again comes from EWIP and from several interventions in the Western Balkans (such as the Initiative 50% in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the focus on gender equality in government politics in North Macedonia, and the CEE Networks’ work to push national parties to comply in their parties with agreed gender manifestos).

### 5.3 PAO PARTNERS

The PAO programmes are naturally aimed at political parties. Even so, the direct counterparts in PAO interventions show substantial difference. The following categories can be detected:

- *NGOs*: Certain PAOs include non-party organisations in their programmes. That is the case, for instance, in GF’s Latin American program, in which the two NGOs with which it cooperates work within the green movement, but without being political parties. Similarly, in some cases, PAOs are forced for legal reasons to channel money to NGOs rather than to political parties. In most such cases, the organisations in question are associated with a party, but there are also cases in which such a relationship appears rather weak. There is also the example of women’s organisations being supported, i.e., CIS’s support to PWWSD in Palestine, a case in which the organisation in question nevertheless works actively to further women’s political influence.
- *Individual politicians/activists*: Several programmes rely on working with individual politicians (or civic activists) rather than with political parties per se. Such has been the case in the PYPA programme, for instance, in which the emphasis is on supporting young and aspiring politicians of both genders in a number of African countries (the more recent PAOLA programme led by the OPC applies a similar approach). In such cases, though, there seem to be a growing awareness, reflected in the programme documents, that such action needs to be combined with attention to their respective parties in order to ensure the programme’s sustainability by making party elites more favourably disposed towards reforms advocated for by graduates from the programme.

- Youth wings or women's wings (belonging to specific parties): In certain cases, the PAO's counterparts can be a youth wing or a women's wing of a particular party. Such is the case with OPC's support to UJSARIO in Western Sahara, for instance. Generally speaking, the choice of a specific branch of a political party as direct partner is rare, however, possibly due to the fact that it may elicit adverse reactions from the rest of the party. It is seemingly more common to ensure to meet such groups within a general support to their respective party.
- Political foundations/think tanks linked to one political party or a few likeminded parties: In the Western Balkans, the PAOs mainly work with political foundations/think tanks, linked to political parties and their close allies. The political foundations/think tanks are formally independent organisations that run projects, training, research, provide technical and political advice to candidates etc. Some trainings are announced publicly so that also not-party-members can apply and participate.

## 5.4 MODALITIES AND METHODS

As mentioned above, the mapping shows that PAOs tend to simultaneously employ a varied mixture of methods, something that makes it difficult to tie specific modalities to individual interventions. However, the following categories are found to cover the vast majority of interventions (these categories are neither mutually exclusive nor do they exhaust all possible activities):

- Training: Different forms of knowledge transfer are the main form of intervention for all PAOs. Such events are sometimes led by foreigners (often Swedes, but could also be regional or international experts), and can address a broad variety of themes. Several of these involve purely technical themes (e.g. campaigning, communication, leadership), but it is also common for PAO programmes to address ideological and thematic issues, and among them gender equality and women's rights.
- Training-related support: Apart from training, some PAOs work with more direct forms of support through the coaching and mentoring of individual politicians and candidates (e.g. GF's program 2016-2018 which included mentoring as a method). In some cases, training is tailor-made to the electoral cycle, aiming at capacity development of aspirants for the internal nomination, candidates in tools for campaigning, and elected representatives in how to be a responsive and professional politician. Confidence-building can possibly also be placed under this heading.
- Networking/international meetings: Another common method consists of bringing different politicians together, sometimes within a country (as done by SILC and JHS in the Caucasus), but more commonly at a regional (such as in PYPA) or global level. The intention is that such mutual exchange will contribute inspiration, ideas, and support to participants. Some PAOs arrange such events specifically for women politicians (e.g. the CEE Gender Network supported by OPC). Such events can also be combined with training.

- Study visits and exchanges: Study and exchange visits (primarily to Sweden, but also to destinations such as Brussels (e.g. JHS 2016-2018)) are part of the programs of several PAOs. This can be combined with the use of the Swedish example regarding gender equality and women's rights which also features prominently in the work of some PAOs (particularly JHS).
- Information campaigns: Although PAO's generally abstain from directly intervening in the discourse of partner countries, there are examples of activities aimed at society in general, as with the national information campaign in pro of women's rights that was a part of CIS's support in Palestine.

## 6 Synthesis of case studies

This chapter presents a synthesis of the three case studies attached in full in a separate annex to this report. The structure and contents of the synthesis is informed by the evaluation questions defined in the ToR, as further elaborated on in the evaluation matrix presented in Annex 2.

### 6.1 OVERVIEW OF MODALITIES, METHODS AND BENEFICIARIES

#### 6.1.1 Modalities

A wide range of modalities is applied by the PAOs across the case studies. The support is framed within a variety of joint as well as individual PAO programmes, either with a country focus or regional focus, or both. While some programmes make use of local partner organisations as intermediaries, others are based on direct cooperation between the PAOs and their sister parties. In line with the revised Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish PAOs 2016-2020, an increasing share of the programmes are jointly implemented by two or more PAOs and geared towards supporting multi-party systems.

The case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia deals with two PAO programmes of a very different nature. In the OPC-CIS Western Balkans 2019-2020 programme the support is targeted to sister parties but channelled through think tanks/political foundations, acting as implementing partners. At the same time, the PAOs have close contacts with the sister parties, which are consulted and involved in the design of the programmes and in the ongoing monitoring. In the second programme – Regional Programme on the Balkans and in Eastern Europe – JHS provides direct capacity development support to selected sister parties, i.e. a number of pro-European centre-right parties. All the activities in this programme draws on Swedish and/or European comparative experiences; either in the form of Swedish/European trainers or study visits to EU/Sweden.

In Bolivia, the PAO support was earlier framed within three individual PAO programmes. Since 2019, the KIC and SILC programmes have operated under the since 2019 OPC-led PAOLA programme, while GF continues to operate alone through a sister-party approach. All the programmes have adopted a sub-grant modality whereby funds are transferred to regional and national partner, including NGOs and think tanks.

The PYPA and EWIP programmes are two joint PAO programmes with a regional scope. PYPA involves four Swedish PAOs (KIC, CIS, OPC and GF), with KIC as the lead agency, as is implemented in cooperation with regional training institutions. GF has until recently implemented its component without a local partners, but has recently initiated cooperation with one of the PYPA alumni organisations. Starting in

2019, EWIP is similarly a joint PAO programme (involving CIS and KIC). While CIS is the lead agency, the activities in Kenya and Uganda are coordinated by KIC. While a Norwegian research and training institute has been contracted to implement the programme in Kenya, activities in Uganda are implemented by the local consultancy firm that is also implementing parts of the PYPA programme.

### 6.1.2 Methods

From the three case studies it is clear that capacity development through training is the primary method used by PAOs, also for promoting women's political influence. In Bolivia and in the case of PYPA, essentially all activities are centred on training. Although training is also a dominant method in the programmes implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, it is complemented by other activities that seek to bring about change at the organisational level, within parties, as well as in the context of legislative reform and national policies. EWIP also includes activities targeted at internal party reform.

In general, as also shown by the global mapping carried out as part of the evaluation, it is difficult to identify distinct approaches and methods within the support to WPI. For the benefit of this summative analysis of the three case studies, five different categories of activities, which to some extent are overlapping, have been defined. These categories are presented in Table 1 below and further elaborated on in the subsequent sections.

**Table 1: WPI methods identified in the case study countries**

| Areas of support:                                                             | BiH & NM | Bolivia | PYPA | EWIP |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|------|------|
| <b><i>Training:</i></b>                                                       |          |         |      |      |
| Women only spaces                                                             | X        |         | X    | X    |
| Post-course follow (i.e. mini-projects, op eds)                               | X        | X       | X    |      |
| Mentorship component                                                          | X        | X       |      |      |
| Training for candidates on campaign strategies                                | X        |         | X    | X    |
| Training for women elected officials                                          | X        |         | X    | X    |
| Alumni activities                                                             | X        |         | X    |      |
| Networking (in courses)                                                       | X        | X       | X    | X    |
| <b><i>Engaging men:</i></b>                                                   |          |         |      |      |
| Mixed group trainings                                                         | X        | X       | X    |      |
| Targeted workshops for male party leaders, husbands of women in politics, etc |          |         |      | X    |
| Mother party activities, workshops, events                                    |          |         | X    | X    |
| <b><i>Activities in support of internal party reform:</i></b>                 |          |         |      |      |

|                                                                                 |   |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Support to women's wings, clubs and for a                                       | X |   | x |
| Promotion of internal quotas                                                    | X |   | x |
| Gender analysis/mainstreaming of internal steering documents and policies       | X | X | X |
| Awards/incentives for gender equality work                                      |   |   | X |
| Internal campaigns for gender parity at all levels                              | X |   |   |
| <b><i>External policy development and advocacy for gender equality:</i></b>     |   |   |   |
| Legislative or constitutional reform (i.e., quotas, political finance, etc)     | X |   | x |
| Development of and advocacy for policies with a gender equality focus           | X |   | x |
| Development of and advocacy for a gender equality perspective in other policies | X |   | x |
| <b><i>Networking/international meetings and study visits/exchanges:</i></b>     |   |   |   |
| Support to regional networks                                                    | X |   |   |
| Study tours and exchange visits                                                 | X |   | X |
| Exposure to Swedish and European policy and practice through trainings          | X |   |   |
| Networking through regional trainings                                           | X | X | X |

### ***Training***

The case studies indicate that there are several similarities across case study countries and programmes with regard to training methods, including the academy approach and an emphasis on participatory and interactive pedagogics. However, there are also many differences, such as with regard to target groups, content and follow-up approaches.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, training is organised at the local, national and regional level. All the programmes run training academies, where the same group of participants are trained over various training sessions. There are experiences with regional training, where the most recent initiative of the OPC-CIS programme is the ProgWeb Academy training of bringing young politicians from both social democratic and liberal parties from six countries together. Most but not all training includes some content on gender equality and some trainings are conducted only for women (although most training activities involve also men). The participants are selected by the political parties and/or intermediary (political foundations/think tanks), in the case of the JHS programme also in consultation with the PAO. There is

a close dialogue with the party leadership or women's wing on the training content, selection of participants, and follow-up activities, to ensure that the training respond to their capacity needs. Political leaders are also invited to address participants at trainings. In some cases, alumni networks and alumni activities are supported, including mini-projects. There are also plans for mentorship programmes.

In Bolivia, the PAOLA programme is (similar to the regional programme in the Western Balkans, ProgWeb), based on a "youth academy" approach engaging young people in a cycle of trainings aimed at improving their leadership skills. It also includes follow-up activities, such as mini-projects, to reinforce learning by giving training participants an opportunity to put their skills to practice. Networking among participants is promoted through the creation of WhatsApp groups. Though the local partners interviewed asserted that women's political influence was "cross-cutting" in the trainings, and while some trainings have included sessions on gender equality, there is limited evidence of a deliberate approach to WPI training content. The case study suggests that local partners are fully involved in decision-making regarding participation selection, training design and implementation.

The PYPA programme divides training into two or three sessions, totalling 25-28 days over a year-long period. The training includes modules on human rights and gender equality, along with more technical subject matters. As in the case of the PAOLA programme (and some of the activities implemented Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia), the trainings are accompanied by mini-projects allowing the participants to practice what they have learnt. The EWIP programme conducts advanced training for women to strengthen their capacities and self-confidence. However, the programme also includes workshops for party-management to make them more receptive to the specific needs of women, and for husbands of women active in politics.

### ***Engaging men***

While in all but one of the case study country and programmes mixed group trainings are conducted for both women and men, there are relatively few examples of men-only activities. One exception is EWIP, which in addition to women-only and mixed activities, has a deliberate strategy to organise workshops targeted to male party leaders and husbands of women in politics. Men are also engaged to a varying extent in other, non-training, activities that are geared towards promoting gender equality.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina and the North Macedonia, there is a variety of activities targeting either women only or both sexes and even a few activities mainly targeting men. Some of the activities aim at advocating for women's participation and influence among the, mainly male, leadership of political parties. For instance, the regional CEE Gender Network, supported by OPC, has involved high level, male party leaders in training and policy development, resulting in the development of joint regional manifest on gender equality. Similarly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the gender equality campaigns supported by CIS, including the *Initiative 50%*, have been able to approach and commit male leaders. There is also a new on-line course on

gender equality, developed by the OPC partner FLI, which is reported to have a high number of male participants.

Trainings in Bolivia include men and women, though women tend to account for a higher proportion of the participants in trainings, especially in the case of the programme supported by Green Forum. In the PYPA programme, a fairly balanced representation of women and men have been achieved in training programme (of the about 900 youth who were admitted until 2019 400 were women). In addition, a gender lens is applied to the training topics and provisions are made to facilitate for women with small children to participate in the trainings. As noted above, the EWIP programme focuses on women-only trainings but also include workshops and other activities that target male leaders of political parties.

### ***Activities in support of internal party reform***

In the Western Balkans programmes, and to some extent in EWIP, PAO support is being provided to promote reform for enhancing gender equality within political parties. This includes capacity development of women's wings (or similar), promotion of gender quotas, and related support to campaigns, regional manifestos and other types of advocacy for changing party structures and leadership.

Both the OPC partners and JHS programmes implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia (and the wider Western Balkan region) target and involve women's wings (or similar clubs, unions and forums), which in several cases suffer from capacity constraints and structural weaknesses that affect their ability to influence their mother parties. The support is provided through political foundations/think tanks and regional networks, and includes training, different types of regional activities, networking advocacy, and study tours. A number of trainings are conducted exclusively for the members of the women's wings of the OPC partner parties. Although no specific activities have been geared towards advocating for and implement internal party quota systems, quota systems have been a recurrent topic in the dialogue between PAOs and their partners. The *Initiative 50%* is another examples of an activity, or rather campaign (supported by CIS), aiming at achieving gender parity within a political party (Nasa Stranka in Bosnia and Herzegovina). The *Initiative 50%* has involved trainings, networks, dialogue foras and a variety of support to women party candidates.

In EWIP workshops are organised on the need for internal quotas and policies with a gender equality focus – and on the need to advocate for changes on the societal level, such as legislative and constitutional reform.

### ***External policy development and advocacy for gender equality***

As part of some of the PAO programmes in the Western Balkans support is provided to local partners' (i.e. political foundations, think tanks and parties) external work on policy development and advocacy for promoting gender equality. This has involved lobbying for electoral reforms such as quota laws and other legislative reforms of relevance for WPI, such as political finance reforms and measures aimed at reducing political violence against women.

In North Macedonia, the OPC-CIS programme includes a *Forum on Gender Equality*, a platform for development and promotion of gender equality in public policies. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, supported by CIS through a national think tank, the party Nasa Stranka (referred to above) has branded itself as a champion for gender equality. Nasa Stranka has promoted and contributed to the development of policies related to labour markets, maternity/paternity leave, gender-based violence, gender discrimination in education, access to IVF-treatments, etc. JHS' sister party in North Macedonia is working to advance policies promoting women's rights, especially in the social sectors.

### ***Networking/international meetings and study visits/exchanges***

International networking and exposure is a salient feature of many PAO programmes, and is also used as a method for promoting WPI. This includes support to regional organisations and activities, networking between training participants from different countries, and study visits and other exposure to international, European and Swedish policy and practice.

The cooperation between and support from OPC to the Central and Eastern European Network for Gender Issues (CEE Gender Network) is a prominent example of support to regional networking. Established under the auspices of the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, the CEE Gender Network seeks to promote political, civic and social empowerment through initiatives and tools such as people-to-people learning, peer support and social networking especially among women politicians and their male colleagues on the centre left. JHS organises regional round-table conference for women politicians. In addition, exchange with and exposure to Sweden and the European Union is a core feature of the JHS programme. This includes study and exchange visits as well as trainings facilitated by Swedish or other European political party members.

In other cases (Bolivia, PYPA, and ProgWeb), international networking is particularly promoted through regional trainings whereby participants are encouraged to keep in touch in-between and after trainings through social media.

### **6.1.3 Beneficiaries**

In almost all of the case study countries and programmes the intended beneficiaries are politically active youth and women.

The different programmes implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia and the wider region of the Western Balkans do not have a uniform target group but engage a variety of individuals, organisations and institutions. However, training seminars and other events tend to target women and youth, including political party members, leaders, candidates and elected representatives.

In Bolivia, the PAOLA programme similarly targets youth and women with political engagement or interest. The trainings are intended to increase the capacity of the participants to influence political parties and organisations and participate in decision-making. Many of the training participants are already involved with the PAOs' sister parties, while others are part of allied groups and movements. The GF programme specifically focus on strengthening the leadership skills of party leaders.

Likewise, the beneficiaries of PYPA are men and women who are active in politics and below the age of 35. As already mentioned above, EWIP is mainly focused on women but also includes activities for men.

## 6.2 RELEVANCE

### 6.2.1 Focus on WPI

All the programmes give significant attention to promoting women's political influence. While most programmes have the overall objective on strengthening sister parties, gender equality, women's participation and women's political influence are commonly found among the outcome statements.

The OPC-CIS Western Balkans 2019-2020 programme explicitly seeks to strengthen the internal capacity of political parties with regard to gender equality, including increasing political participation and influence of women (and youth). In the JHS programme increasing the number of female political party members and female candidates are among the anticipated outcomes.

In Bolivia, the PAOLA programme has women's (and youth's) capacity to influence parties and organisation and participate in decision making as one of the intermediary outcomes. The programme implemented by Green Forum did previously not have any explicit gender-related objectives but this changed in 2019 when a new outcome statement was defined, focusing on the capacity of political party organisations to reach out to members with a focus on women (as well as youth and indigenous groups).

PYPA has a focus on young people in general although one of the outcome statements, new from 2019, specifically addresses beneficiaries' work for gender equality. The EWIP programme is the only programme that has the principal objective of increasing the participation and influence of women in politics, and which has outcomes statements referring to both women's and political parties' roles in this regard.

### 6.2.2 Choice of countries and partners

In general, the choice of countries and partners appear to be relevant. Although the situation with regard to WPI has not been an explicit selection criteria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Bolivia and the countries targeted by PYPA and EWIP all present critical challenges as well as opportunities for WPI. With one exception (Green Forum's partner in Bolivia), the local partners are well-positioned to influence policy but, as indicated in Chapter 6.2.7, may not be specialised on WPI.

The case study on Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia shows that the Western Balkans, including Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, present many challenges as well as opportunities on which PAO programmes can be address and build upon. Although the region has not been targeted primarily because of the situation with regard to women's political participation. At the same time, it is noted that women's political influence is generally weak and that, in several of the countries, there are positive tendencies that can be capitalised on. With regard to the choice of partners, the PAOs are found to be working with actors having a similar ideological perspective and a strategic approach to policy development and advocacy.

Bolivia is similarly deemed to be an appropriate choice for multiple reasons, including the shrinking civic and political space and the paradoxical situation with a relatively high level of women's political representation but limited political influence. It is noted that capacity assessments have been conducted of prospective local partners, including their capacity and commitment to promote gender equality. While the PAOLA programme is found to engage the most important and consequential opposition movements, questions are raised about the positioning of Green Forum's partner, which lost its registration as a political party in 2014. As noted in section 6.2.7, Bolivia has a number of national and international organisations with extensive experience in women's political participation with which partnerships could be explored.

PYPA and EWIP target some countries where women's political participation and influence is weak (such as Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire) but also countries like Uganda with some of the highest levels of women's participation in Africa. Like in the case of the Western Balkans and Bolivia, the choice of countries is found to be mainly based on other criteria than the situation of WPI. Nevertheless, the case study suggest that the choice of countries can still be justified from a WPI perspective, including by noting that there are many challenges remaining in countries like Uganda to ensure WPI in practice. Although the case study did not allow for an in-depth assessment of the choice of partners in PYPA and EWIP, it is noted that the existing implementing partners, as well as the women's organisations in Uganda that are involved with PYPA as facilitators are highly appreciated and deemed as qualified by the interviewed participants.

### 6.2.3 Programme design and quality

The quality of programme design varies across the cases. The strongest design processes include reflection of lessons learned, development of theories of change, organisational assessments of partners, and partner inputs. The use of gender-responsive analysis also varies, based on the level of programme resources and the degree to which WPI is a principal focus of the programme.

The design of the current Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia programmes draw on years of previous experience in the region and is well-aligned to the shifting context. Gender equality and women's political influence are clearly reflected in programme theories of change and models, and, particularly the OPC-CIS programme integrate multiple methods in ways that are strategically linked and mutually reinforcing. For instance, the OPC-CIS programme training activities are linked to internal party reform, such that short-term individual results contribute to longer-term organisational improvements. The programme is well in line with recent academic research on WPI, when it focus on internal party reform, address the exclusion and challenges of women during the entire electoral cycle, target men and top leaders on gender equality and analyse the constraints for women in the parties, as well as in the societies and political sphere. The quality of programme design is also enhanced by partners' close relationship with the political parties and their women's wings.

In the case of Bolivia, key programme assumptions underlying the three programmes are in line with academic literature, particularly in terms of recognising that capacity is insufficient on its own to achieve change and must be coupled with will and opportunity. Furthermore, design reflects lessons learned, such as the use of the 2018 Green Forum evaluation, PYPA methodologies and multiparty approach. Prior to initiating support, PAOs also conducted in-depth assessments of their prospective partners' capacity, identifying strengths, challenges, and principles. On the downside however, programme design lacked the level of gender-responsive analysis or planning needed in order to ensure effective gender mainstreaming and achievement of the programme's WPI-related outcomes. Additionally, there is limited evidence that the programmes collect data or apply analysis that would facilitate the participation of indigenous groups or youth from rural areas.

PYPA builds on a KIC-supported training programme initiated in 2007 and has, since the start in 2012, evolved with each subsequent application presenting new activities and reflecting lessons learned. For instance, input from partners and local stakeholders is used to ensure that programme design is appropriate to the context and addressing beneficiary needs. Although the applications to Sida include a context, problem and stakeholders analysis, no systematic gender analysis across countries is presented. EWIP started in 2019. The programme builds on experiences from PYPA and is also inspired by programmes in other countries as well as by long-standing support to capacity development of women local councillors in West Africa.

Overall, the case studies indicate that programme design benefits from and builds on lessons learned in previous PAO projects. However, design processes do not generally employ instruments for WPI-specific assessment and planning. In particular, there are a number of emerging issues - political finance and violence against women in politics (VAWP) — that merit additional gender-responsive analysis and review vis-à-vis academic literature.

#### 6.2.4 Comprehensiveness and continuity of activities

The PAO programmes assessed through the case studies are generally deemed to be comprehensive and continuous in terms of how activities are designed, implemented and followed-up. At the same time, it is clear there are limits to how much impact programmes focusing on individual capacity development can have at the organisational level and beyond, as well as with regard to influencing structural barriers to WPI.

As indicated above, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, the PAO programmes include different types of activities of which many are inter-linked as well as connected to other activities conducted by the think tanks/political foundations and political parties. Almost all activities were initiated during the previous programme cycle (2016-2018) or earlier, and some started more than a decade ago. Interviews indicate that many of the people participating in trainings, study tours and other activities continue to be engaged in the parties as leaders or candidates and many do contribute to various capacity development initiatives. For instance, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, women trained as part of the *Initiative 50%* have been engaged as trainers or been standing as candidates for internal party

elections. By and large, the OPC-CIS Western Balkans programme is well designed to achieve the pre-defined outcomes, while the JHS programme tend to expect outcomes above what the programme can achieve with the planned activities.

The case study on Bolivia shows that the trainings conducted under the PAOLA programme are designed in a comprehensive manner, including in terms of deliberate participant selection processes, high quality training content and some opportunities for follow-up engagement. Training is also continuous in that the same participants are engaged through multiple trainings over the programme period. It is not evident however that the current approach – focused primarily on individual capacity development – will achieve the PAOLA’ programme’s intermediate outcome “political parties and organisations in the region have the capacity to work efficiently with policy development, strategies, methods and political skills”. As currently implemented in Bolivia, the programme’s link to impact at the organisational level, in terms of influencing party leadership and party structures are tenuous. In the case of Green Forum, the shift to focus on trainings for party leadership is consistent with the expected programme outcome. However, training prioritise environmental content, rather than the strategic, organisational, and communication issues needed to achieve the objectives.

As with the other PAO programmes, PYPA activities are implemented in a planned and continuous way, in accordance with the PYPA implementation handbook and activity plans. The young women and men who are admitted to PYPA participate in training that altogether last three to four weeks and take place on two or three occasions during one year. When they graduate many of them join alumni networks, of which some are very active. PYPA and EWIP are the only case study programme where the gender equality perspective has been mainstreamed. This implies that a gender perspective is applied to the issues addressed in training, mindfulness of domination techniques, and routines for ensuring that women who are caring for small children can participate.

In general, the extent to which training addresses WPI varies across the different case study programmes. Some but not all trainings have specific sessions on gender equality; in others gender equality is sometimes addressed as a topic in training sessions with another focus. Irrespectively, comparative international experience and available research show that increasing women’s political influence requires more than individual capacity development. While the PAOs seem to have made some analysis in relation to gender barriers in party structures, there is no internalised practice of conducting a comprehensive gender analysis as a basis for programme design. Ideally, these analyses should be carried out with party partners and include recommendations concerning the measures the party can take internally as well as the shifts needed within the broader society to eliminate barriers to women’s political influence.

### 6.2.5 Local ownership

In the West Balkans and Bolivian case studies, the level of partner participation in programme design, management and implementation is high. The same can be said about ETU, a training institute that has been an important actor in South African

politics since the fall of apartheid, and IGD in Burkina Faso, which has long experience from projects, not least in cooperation with CIS, relating to good governance, local democracy and gender equality.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, the OPC-CIS sister parties and implementing think tanks/political foundations are active owners and have a close dialogue with the PAOs in all stages of the project cycle, including on participant selection and programme design. For JHS activities, training content and participant selection are developed in close dialogue with party leadership or women's wing representatives. CIS and OPC engage directly with think tanks closely linked to partner parties and the division of responsibility is clear. Playing a technical cooperation role, PAOs work closely with the think tank partners on planning and monitoring, with sister parties providing input throughout the process.

In the case of PAOLA/Bolivia, partners have full participation in key decisions regarding participant selection, training design and implementation. Partners are largely in charge of developing the monitoring and evaluation instruments, except for the baseline design. In the case of Green Forum, the local partner organisation took responsibility for design of the training content and materials. However, PVE did not play a role in determining the training participants. Based on the results of an external evaluation, GF made the decision to focus capacity development on party leadership, rather than community organisations requested by PVE.

PYPA decision making is the responsibility of the four PAOs through the Steering Committee. The partner organisations, ETU and IGD, participate in design and learning, among others through annual Partnership Days. The situation of EWIP is similar to PYPA: partner for this programme is again IGD. Cooperation has also been initiated with the Oslo Center, a Kenyan NGO.

Partner participation is an important element of programme relevance and effectiveness in the case studies analysed. Partner engagement contributes to ensuring that design is relevant to local context, while also increasing ownership and prospects for long-term sustainability. The case studies also indicate some potential trade-offs, however. For instance, to the extent that some partners identify with specific geographic, class or ethnic factions, they may not choose to select or be effective in engaging with participant cohorts from other groups. In addition, it should be noted that as programmes become increasingly multiparty (across PAOs), the push for more consolidated methodologies and instruments may be in tension with the principle of local ownership.

#### **6.2.6 Adaptation and innovation**

Through consultative processes with their partner organisations, PAOs have demonstrated the ability to adapt their programmes and take on new ideas in response to the emergence of new developments and opportunities. At the same time, the limited scope of the programmes and the difficulties involved with outcome-level monitoring (see Chapter 5.3.1) present a challenge for adapting programmes in a way that maximises impact at the organisational level and beyond. Additionally, as referenced in other sections, the adoption of innovative methods is hindered by limited engagement with academic experts and other specialised international

organisations, particularly as it relates to addressing complex dynamics around social norms (i.e., VAWP, media) and the broader political context (i.e. policy formulation, political finance, electoral reform).

In the Western Balkans, on-going and close dialogue between PAOs and the partners helps to ensure that programmes are jointly monitored and adapted as needed. For instance, based on review of participant evaluations by the PAOs and their partners, the CIS/OPC programme is adjusted on a regular basis while maintaining the initial learning outcome. Programme coordinators monitor, provide feedback and contribute with ideas. The NS's *Initiative 50%* and its focus on gender parity at all levels of the party is an example of innovation emerging based on the evolving party context and women's role within it. Similarly, SDSM's adaptation of its 50/50 policy was done in response to opportunities identified in the electoral context. Finally, the programmes' selection of prioritised topics – such as childcare, labour market and health – is made as a result of an understanding of the shifting political context and windows of opportunity.

Though still quite new, the PAOLA programme already shows capacity for adaptation. During 2019, the programme content and participant profile were consistent with and relevant to the highly charged electoral context. Since the October 2019 elections and subsequent presidential resignation, KIC and SILC are in the process of further adapting their programme to the shifting and unpredictable context. The use of an external evaluation for design and decision making is an example of Green Forum's ability to adapt its programme based on an assessment of the context, challenges and opportunities. While GF seems committed to further adapting the programme in order that PVE becomes a relevant political actor, it is not yet clear if the local partner will itself be able to make the changes required to take advantage of the more open political context.

Although PYPA is managed across regions according to a common core curriculum, the programme has made some important adaptations based on shifts in context and feedback from participants and partners. For instance, inter-party dialogue was introduced as a module, while the sequencing of training modules has also been revised by moving gender equality to be one of the first subjects addressed in West Africa. In the southern Africa region, PYPA was further adapted to engage with youth wings of political parties. The creation of EWIP could also be seen as an example of adaptation. Through the PYPA experience, PAOs recognised the need to work with women politicians more directly and to address their mother parties. Rather than seeking to revamp PYPA or develop an 'add on' for women, the PAOs opted to design a new gender-tailored programme, EWIP.

### 6.2.7 Complementarity with others

While coordination is typically more of an issue related to efficiency and effectiveness, the extent of complementarities sought with other actors also have implications for the relevance criterion. The case studies suggest that, while there are many good examples of cooperation and coordination, synergies have not always been identified and explored. This includes the cooperation and coordination that takes place within as well as across joint PAO programmes. In addition, existing

cooperation with external actors tend to be within a rather limited group of organisations, few of which are specialised on WPI.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, as well as in the wider Western Balkans region, JHS, OPC and CIS work with other democracy-oriented institutions and organisations but mainly those that are part of their “ideological families”. For instance, the JHS programme is implemented with the International Republican Institute (IRI), the European Stability Initiative (ESI) and the Wilfred Martens Centre for European Studies (WMCES). The new CIS and OPC programme in the Western Balkans include joint activities, which promote cooperation and coordination also across such “ideological families”. The case study shows that the local partners of the programme are also supported by other actors, with which cooperation and coordination also takes place. At the same time there is limited coordination and knowledge sharing between the PAO programmes, their partners and the Embassy of Sweden.

The Bolivia case study notes indicates that KIC and SILC have coordinated activities under the PAOLA programme, including in the context of the baseline survey and the exchange and tailoring of training methods and contents, and that the joint programme approach presents a number of potential advantages (that remain to be tapped). Beyond this programme, some specific activities have been coordination with other organisations. However, the collaboration related to WPI presents significant room for improvement, especially as Bolivia has a number of national and international organisations with extensive experience in this area.

PYPA is known to be one of the best examples of cooperation and coordination between PAOs. CIS, OPC and KIC have been working together on this programme since 2012, and has since been joined by GF. The case study indicates that the cooperation has steadily improved over the years. It is noted that PYPA liaises with relevant external stakeholders and has a MoU with International IDEA. The International IDEA module on interparty dialogue has been included in trainings in two of the four regions. The case study indicates that, in addition to what is already taking place, there is room for more collaboration with other actors beyond political foundations.

All in all, it is clear that by working jointly amongst each other and building partnerships with other organisations, PAOs may be able to develop complementary programmes that address more systemic and structural factors influencing WPI.

## 6.3 EFFECTIVENESS

### 6.3.1 Documenting and reporting on results

PYPA is since many years monitored with the help of two evaluators from a Swedish consultancy firm. The consultants participate in training sessions, alumni meetings and other events and analyse the questionnaires that are filled in by the participants after the final training session. They also conduct interviews with participants and other stakeholders, such as mother party representatives. The consultants submit an annual evaluation report where the answers to the self-

evaluations are presented and compared with results from previous years. A number of recommendations are also provided.

The programme reports drafted by KIC are informed by the consultants' reports and provide illustrative examples of how the training has influenced the behaviour of former participants. This means that there is a relatively good basis for assessing the impact of the training, although mainly at an individual level. In this regard, it is noted that the 2018 annual report of the above-mentioned monitoring consultants includes a recommendation to PYPA partners to "pay more attention to strategic reflection in the group on why and how things are done, how results, experience and knowledge can be (re)used and what the longer term outcomes or outputs are expected to be."

The monitoring and evaluation system of EWIP, including templates and procedures for reporting, is still being developed.

The two programmes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia for 2019-2020 include results frameworks and brief descriptions of monitoring procedures (no reports have been issued as yet since the programmes were only 7-8 months old at the time of the evaluation). The results frameworks provide for more systematic tracking of results than before, although the indicators are not always specific and measurable. Reporting on previous programmes (2016-2018) include analysis on changes in the society and the political context, as well as changes within the partner parties. In the case of the JHS programme, the final report does not assess progress made against the indicators established in the baseline presented in the programme document<sup>14</sup>. Limited attention is paid to determining whether, to which degree and how the programmes' activities have contributed to the changes achieved at organisational and societal level. The annual and final reports of the CIS and the OPC 2016-2018-programmes do reflect on how the activities has contributed to societal and organisational changes, however, this analysis is relatively brief.

In the case of Bolivia, the PAOs have not consolidated their metrics or instruments for monitoring WPI progress. However, the PAOLA programme applied a comprehensive and standardised baseline with a number of key measures related to WPI that will be useful for measuring change over time. KIC and SILC also use participant feedback forms that could provide sex-disaggregated data on participant satisfaction with the trainings. For the PVE programme, M&E tools are still under development. Beyond monitoring the number of trainings and participants, Green Forum lacks the necessary information to assess the quality of the programme. The use of an external evaluation in 2019 was a valuable input for assessing the 2016-2018 programme and defining key areas in need of change.

---

<sup>14</sup> JHS application for 2016-2018.

### 6.3.2 Change at the individual level

PYPA is clearly the programme that has progressed the most in terms of defining and measuring the impact of training (see above). The Programme Evaluation Report 2016-2018<sup>15</sup> shows that:

- In 2018, 98 per cent of the participants considered they had increased their participation in the parties they are engaged in (against a target of 55 per cent);
- 84 per cent maintained they had increased their influence (against a target of 55 per cent), and;
- 70 per cent reported they had worked for democracy (target: 70 per cent) and 63 per cent (target: 50 per cent) have cooperated with other parties.

In other words, the targets have not only been met by widely exceeded in most cases. It is noteworthy that the Programme Evaluation Report does not include a discussion on limitations, such as potential courtesy bias, of the self-assessment methodology.<sup>16</sup> The evaluation would also benefit from stating how the interviews are used for triangulating the self-assessments and how the evidence from alumni and other stakeholders are brought into the analysis.

In 2018, the monitoring also involved questions about the PYPA participants' positions in their respective parties and whether these positions had changed after attending PYPA<sup>17</sup>. This monitoring showed that, in Southern Africa, 69 per cent of the participants had a higher position than before the training. For West African and East Africa the corresponding percentages were 56 per cent and 51 per cent.<sup>18</sup> Continued efforts in West Africa in 2019 to reach former participants resulted in a higher proportion, 76 per cent, who have a higher position than before PYPA.

Almost all the interviewed participants in training activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia mention changes at the individual level, both in terms of better knowledge and skills, and steps taken to assume leadership positions or contest as candidates at different levels. Individual evaluation forms are filled out by participants prior to and after the training, and is analysed with a view to identify needs for improvement. The CIS annual programme reports do specify the number of trainees who contested and won positions after an intensive training academy for aspirants. Other programme reports also mention trainees who have changed positions or been elected etc. However, no systematic tracer studies have been carried out after training programmes.

The PAOLA programme baseline applied by both SILC and KIC will permit assessments of individual-level progress in terms of role within the party and level of engagement on gender issues.

<sup>15</sup> Eccola, 2019, Programme Evaluation Report 2016-2018.

<sup>16</sup> KIC notes that possible bias has been discussed with them and Sida.

<sup>17</sup> KIC, Monitoring of the political positions of alumni, 2018, Appendix 2 Report to Sida

### 6.3.3 Change at organisational level and beyond

Identifying and corroborating results at the organisational level (i.e. in terms of changes in political party structures, policies and practices with regard to WPI) and societal level (e.g. with regard to political work on WPI-related laws and policies and the impact of these laws and policies) is generally more difficult. One reason is that the monitoring and evaluation systems that PAO use (or have been using) in most cases are not geared at systematically tracking and documenting change at this level. It should also be recognised that the programmes are mostly focused on individual capacity building, in some cases have limited budgets and/or operate in volatile political contexts with a high range of uncontrollable factors.

The case studies suggest that, in reality, change at the organisational level and beyond with regard to WPI have mostly been limited to Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia. This could be explained by the long-term focus on WPI and more multifaceted nature of the support in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, as compared to in Bolivia and PYPA, which focus mainly on individual capacity development. In addition, the programmes assessed in Bolivia are still new.

Prominent examples of results reported from Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia include:

- In Bosnia and Herzegovina, CIS cooperation with Nasa Stranka has reportedly contributed to the party's growth as well as the strong representation of women within the party achieved through the *Initiative 50%*. Evidence suggest that some 60 percent of all elected representatives in the 2018 general elections from NS were women, the vice president of the party is a woman and almost 50 percent of the members are women.<sup>19</sup>
- As a result of *Initiative 50%* and the *Law Factory* (inclusive policy-development processes) the ethical codes of municipalities have been updated, and now includes aspects of preventing, prohibiting, addressing and defining acts of sexual harassment and abuse.
- The social democratic parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, as well as Nasa Stranka, are also reported to have promoted and contributed to the development of policies related to labour markets, local transport, maternity/paternity leave, gender-based violence, gender discrimination in education, access to IVF-treatments, etc.<sup>20</sup>
- In North Macedonia, SDSM has, with OPC support, actively promoted quota legislation and then an increase of the quota from 30 to 40 per cent. SDSM

---

<sup>19</sup> Interviews during field visit and CIS annual programme report 2017, annual and final programme report 2018 and project report "on implemented activities CIS/Nasa Stranka partnership January-December 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Interviews during field visit and OPC, as well as CIS, annual programme reports 2017, annual and final programme reports 2018, CIS project report "on implemented activities CIS/Nasa Stranka partnership January-December 2018, OPC project format with Progress Institute 2019.

has also adopted an internal 50/50 policy and mainstreamed gender into all its internal policies.<sup>21</sup>

- As a result of the OPC support to the CEE Gender Network, a regional manifest on gender equality has been adopted whereby party leaders have committed themselves to important aspects of gender equality, such as 50% women in leadership and in parliaments, gender analysis of policies that the parties develop, etc.<sup>22</sup>
- The party VMRO-DPMNE was the first party in North Macedonia to present a woman as candidate to the 2019 presidential elections. They further report to JHS that the women's wing has been strengthened and the share of women in the steering bodies of the party has increased to 20 percent by the end of 2018 programme.<sup>23</sup>

#### 6.3.4 Factors influencing change

In the context of the PYPA and EWIP programmes, as confirmed by scholarly evidence, changes in WPI are to a large extent affected by the support, or lack of support, the woman gets from family and community. It is common that the negative attitudes are present in the family or community as well as in society at large, including in the woman's mother party. Violence against women in politicians is another factor that negatively affects women's will to challenge a male-dominated political space. Financial constraints also play a role. Considerable resources are required for campaigning for a seat in Parliament and women tend to have less access to land and other assets than men. Finally, WPI is influenced by existence of laws that deal with discrimination and quota laws, the space women are provided in media, as wider issues related to discrimination, traditions and attitudes.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia a number of factors influence change with regard to WPI. The fragility of the young democracies is characterised by strong nationalistic tendencies as well as the religious and ethnic cleavages. Furthermore, the region is suffering from high indices of social and educational inequality and high level of unemployment. The social and gender norms are generally not conducive for increasing WPI. The regional programmes are implemented in very different countries and contexts. The three PAOs have a solid knowledge and insight in the region, not least based on the long-term relations with sister parties and projects.

In the case of Bolivia, the overriding issue to consider is the highly volatile and polarised context. Prior to October 2019, PAO partners were wholly focused on defeating Evo Morales at the ballot box. The charged electoral context conditioned parties' ability to address their own organisational challenges and to develop programmatic or policy-oriented messages. Additionally, attention to WPI concerns

<sup>21</sup> Interviews during field visit and OPC, annual programme report 2017, annual and final programme report 2018.

<sup>22</sup> OPC annual programme reports 2017, annual and final programme reports 2018, and OPC project reports from CEE Gender Network 2018 and project format/results framework 2019.

<sup>23</sup> JHS final report on programme 2016-2018 (p. 15)

in Bolivia is (paradoxically) limited by the high level of women's representation in legislatures and at the municipal level. Although some party leaders assume that women's presence in these bodies indicates that WPI issues are 'resolved,' the existence of persistent structural barriers is evidenced in multiple ways, including lack of women mayors/governors, high VAWP levels, disproportionately less media coverage, stereotypical portrayals in the media, class/ethnic inequalities. On the internal side, the PAOs face at least two key constraints. First and foremost, the level of resources allocated to the Bolivia programme is far lower than the funding channelled to the other case studies included in this evaluation. Additionally, the distance and language barriers affect the level of PAO monitoring as well as the degree to which Swedish politicians can be effectively engaged for support.

## 7 Conclusions

The evaluation shows that, in general, PAO programmes place strong emphasis on women's political participation and gender equality. This is evident from the global mapping of approaches and methods as well as from the three case studies carried out as part of the evaluation. While one of the programmes studied (EWIP) has WPI as the overall goal, others have gender equality as one of several objectives and tend to at least partly aim at promoting WPI. In all programmes studied, women, including aspiring and elected politicians, constitute a key target group.

A key finding from the global mapping is that PAO programmes are characterised by a high degree of methodological versatility. Some conceptual tools have been used by some PAOs and there are a number of common approaches identified in this study, however, each of the programmes constitute a mix of entangled strategies and activities, in most cases designed to the specific local context and in close dialogue with counterparts. In addition, some programmes are not designed with WPI as the main focus. This means that it has been difficult how programmes “fit” with recent academic and policy literature, especially at the global level. In the case studies, specific approaches and methods have been identified, and, when possible, compared with such literature.

The global mapping indicates that a common approach to promote WPI among PAOs is to strive for a gender balance in programme activities. Some programmes have specific activities for women (and in limited cases also for men), and a few have the ambition to change the political and cultural structures that may obstruct WPI. Typical activities include training, networking/international meetings, and study visits and exchanges. The three case studies provide examples of all these types of activities, although not all approaches are found in all cases.

While capacity development through training is the dominant method in the programmes in Bolivia, the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia reveals a multifaceted strategy. Training is only one of several different methods and training activities are well linked with support to internal party reform and external policy development and advocacy for WPI and gender equality. This includes support to political parties' women's wings, analysis of parties' governing document, structures and internal recruitment procedures from a gender equality perspective, regional manifestos on gender equality pushing national parties to perform (on gender equality), and study visits and exchanges. In EWIP, there is also an ambition to venture beyond training programmes.

All programmes assessed as part of the case studies are based on lessons learnt from what works. The design of the current Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia programmes draws on years of previous experience in the region. This is also the case with PYPA, which has evolved with each subsequent phase informed by the previous, and EWIP and the PAOLA programme in Bolivia, which partly build on

the PYPA model. Similarly, all PAOs demonstrate an ability to, through consultative processes with their partner organisations, adapt their programmes and take on new ideas in response to emerging opportunities and other contextual changes.

PAOs have applied programme design processes that, apart from reflection on lessons learned, include the development of theories of change, organisational assessment of partners, and partner inputs. In the case study programmes that include other activities than training, i.e. in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia and the wider Western Balkans region, activities are found to be strategically linked and mutually enforcing in a way that promotes longer-term organisational improvements. Even in programmes that are limited to training there is an understanding, conveyed by the theories of change, that individual capacity development is not enough to affect change. At the same time, some training programmes, including in Bolivia, have outcome statements that signal a perception that individual training will lead to the organisational strengthening of sister parties. In these cases, there seems to be a mismatch between theory and implementation thus far.

Relatedly, the evaluation notes that there are a number of emerging issues – including political finance and violence against women in politics (VAWP) – that merit additional attention. While some PAOs seem to have made some analysis in relation to gender barriers in party structures, there is no internalised process of conducting comprehensive gender analysis as a basis for programme design. Ideally, these analyses should be carried out together with the political parties and include recommendations concerning the measures the party can take internally, as well as shifts needed within broader society to eliminate barriers to WPI.

The general perception of the stakeholders interviewed is that the PAO support is both relevant and effective. This can be seen as an indication of the high level of local ownership. In all case studies there is evidence of local partner participation in design, management, implementation and monitoring of programmes. This is generally a very positive feature of the support although, as indicated by the global mapping, it might mean a more versatile approach in which activities, methods and stakeholders are mixed and not always clearly identifiable.

Individual activities are generally comprehensive in terms of how they are designed, implemented and followed-up. This particularly applies to the training programmes that make use of an academy approach, participatory and interactive pedagogics, and are complemented by follow-up activities, such as mini-projects and networking, all of which is in line with contemporary training theory and practice. Some but not all trainings have specific sessions relating to WPI and gender equality; in others WPI and gender equality is sometimes, but not always, addressed as a topic in sessions with another focus. PYPA and EWIP are clearly the case study programmes where the gender equality perspective has been mainstreamed the most.

The case studies indicate that the choice of countries and partners is generally justified, and also offers many good examples of cooperation and coordination with other actors. At the same time, the choice is not primarily informed by considerations related to WPI. Very few of the existing implementing partners and other stakeholders engaged are specialised on WPI. There is an un-tapped potential to

explore opportunities for collaboration, synergies with and learning from such specialised organisations, as well as between PAOs, their partners and the Embassy of Sweden.

Assessing the effectiveness of PAO support to WPI has not been the primary focus of this evaluation. The case studies suggest that the capacity of PAOs to monitor change varies. Only one programme, PYPA, has a monitoring and evaluation system that reliably can capture change at an aggregate and programme-wide basis. However, given that PYPA is a training programme, the monitoring system focuses on tracking the effects on the performance of individuals, and not the change brought about at organisational and societal level. The OPC-CIS Western Balkans programme has a results framework, which provides a basis for monitoring organisational and societal changes. None of the other programmes appears to systematically monitor change at the organisational level (e.g. contribution to internal party reforms) or societal level (e.g. the influence on programmes on structural barriers to WPI beyond what is found within political parties). At the same time, the evaluation recognises the inherent challenge of assessing progress in situation where programmes are mostly focused on individual capacity building, have limited budgets, and, in some cases, operate in volatile contexts. In addition, EWIP and the programmes assessed in Bolivia are still new.

In the case of PYPA, annual monitoring reports from so-called ongoing monitoring and learning evaluation show that the training has contributed to increased participation and influence in political affairs and motivated participants to work for democracy and cooperate with other political parties. Reports also indicate that PYPA participants have been nominated as candidates in local or national elections and have been elected as MPs or councillors. The Western Balkan programmes have greater aspirations for organisational and societal change. The case study on Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia indicates that there are signs of progress has been made when it comes to WPI in the region as a whole, including in terms of women's representation at the national, regional and municipal level. While there are several examples of how PAO programmes have promoted this development, the level of contribution is difficult to measure for the above-mentioned reasons.

# 8 Recommendations

## 8.1 RECOMMENDATIONS TO SIDA

1. Sida should promote sharing of innovative methods employed by the PAOs, particularly those that complement capacity development through training, such as mentoring of women standing for elections, activities focusing on engaging men, support to internal party reform, and gender-sensitive policy development and campaigning. Relatedly, Sida could facilitate PAO capacity development and knowledge sharing on methods for gender analysis, theory of change development, and gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation.
2. Sida should consider commissioning the Helpdesk on Democracy and Human Rights to prepare an annotated bibliography of recent academic and policy literature, evaluations and similarly analyses and reports focusing on theories and practice for promoting women's political influence. This could include support to women's wings of political parties, the impact of different electoral systems and quota legislation for women's representation, prevention of violence against women in politics, and the difference/challenges between increasing women's representation and influence. This bibliography could be shared with PAOs at a joint learning event.

## 8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS TO PAOS

1. PAOs should ensure that their programmes are based on a gender audit of the targeted political parties and, depending on the scope of the programme, a more comprehensive, country-level analysis of barriers to WPI, as an input to programme theories of change and strategies to mainstream gender. Whenever possible, existing country-level gender analysis could be used. The gender audit of the targeted political parties should be conducted in a participatory manner together with local partners. Specific attention may be given to emerging issues (violence against women in politics, women's challenges in accessing political finance).
2. PAOs should, based on the gender audit/country analysis, assist local partners in identifying opportunities for reform and advocacy in support of WPI at both the party and societal level. In the former case, methods and learning should focus on generating opportunities for political will within parties, including leader commitments to participant follow-up, dialogue between youth/women and leaders, and development of organisational benchmarks.
3. PAOs should ensure that they have monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) systems that allow for the systematic assessment of programme effectiveness, including the contribution to WPI at the organisational and, when relevant, societal level. This would include the consistent use of

comprehensive theories of change and result frameworks, MEL plans and budgets, monitoring of potential risks to women participants, and quality assurance mechanisms for partner reporting.

4. PAOs should explore partnerships and complementarities with global, regional and national organisations specialising on WPI, and find ways of benefitting from their expertise in existing programmes.

# Annex 1: Terms of Reference

## **Terms of Reference for the Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organizations:**

- **Implementation of the current Strategy**
- **methods for supporting women's political influence**

Date: March 27, 2019

### **1. Evaluation object and scope**

The evaluation object is:

- 1) the current Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016- 2020, and
- 2) methods for supporting women's political influence as implemented by the Swedish political party affiliated organizations 2016-2020

The Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016-2020 ("Strategi för särskilt demokratistöd genom svenska partianknutna organisationer") covers eight goals whereof one specifically focuses on increased power and influence of groups in society that are underrepresented in political processes and decision making, with a particular focus on the participation of women and youth. Through the Strategy Sida supports increased participation by women in political processes, specifically in leading party positions. The efforts by partners include both mainstreaming of gender equality in all projects as well as targeted activities and programs.

In March 2018, the funding mechanism of the strategy was changed. Previously, 70 per cent of the funding was allocated by Sida to Swedish political party affiliated organizations based on their mother parties' number of seats in Parliament. The remaining 30 per cent was allocated according to Sida's regular assessment process. The new funding mechanism is fully competitive, that is, the party affiliated organizations apply for funding through Sida based on criteria in the Strategy.

The application process ended up being highly competitive due to the fact that the total amount which the party affiliated organizations applied for by far exceeded the amount that was allocated to Sida by the Government of Sweden. Decisions were made by Sida in mid-February 2019.

Seven Swedish political party affiliated organizations entered into agreements with Sida end February/early March 2019, covering programs to be implemented in 2019 and 2020. Funding levels for these two year agreements range from SEK 8 million to 50 million per political party affiliated organization. These seven political party affiliated organisations are:

Center Party International Foundation (website:  
<https://www.centerpartiet.se/lokal/cis/start sida> )

Christian Democratic International Center (website: <http://kicsweden.org/>) Green Forum (website: <http://greenforum.se/>)

Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation (website: <https://www.hjalmarsonstiftelsen.se/>)

Leftist Party International Forum (website: <http://www.vansternsinternationellaforum.se/>)

Olof Palme International Center (website: <https://www.palmecenter.se/om-palmecentret/>)

Swedish International Liberal Center (website: <http://silc.se/om-silc/>)

The scope of the evaluation is 1) the Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016-2020 as implemented during the most recent application process October 15, 2018 (deadline for applications) through March 1, 2019 (deadline for entering into agreements with Sida), including its broader implications during the activity and agreement period, and 2) methods for supporting women's political influence used by the seven political party affiliated organizations in programs that have been/are implemented in the period of 2016 – 2020. These methods include training of women candidates or elected leaders, capacity development of women's wings of political parties, networking with peers etc.

The scope of the evaluation and the intervention logic or theory of change of the project/programme shall be further elaborated by the evaluator in the inception report.

## **2. Evaluation rationale**

The Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016-2020 ("Strategi för särskilt demokratistöd genom svenska partianknutna organisationer") states that an evaluation is to be concluded in 2019, subject to consultation with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The findings and recommendations of the evaluation will ultimately feed into the form and content of a future Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations to be drafted and adopted by the Government of Sweden.

## **3. Evaluation purpose: Intended use and intended users**

The intended use of the evaluation is to produce knowledge and recommendations to be utilized by Sida in fulfilling a future assignment by the Government. The Government of Sweden is likely to request Sida to contribute to the form and content of a future Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations, which is to be drafted and adopted by the Government of Sweden.

The purpose of the evaluation is to:

- 1) help Sida and its partners to assess the current Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016-2020 as implemented during the most recent application process October 15, 2018 (deadline for applications) through March 1, 2019 (deadline for entering into agreements with Sida) as well as in relation to its broader implications for programs implemented by the political party affiliated organizations

- 2) help Sida and its seven partners among Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations to assess methods used for supporting women's political influence in programs that have been/are implemented in the period of 2016 – 2020.

The primary intended users of the evaluation are Sida's Democracy Unit, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Swedish political party affiliated organizations, including their boards. The secondary intended users are other Sida Units that have agreements with the political party affiliated organizations, Sida's advisors on democracy and gender equality respectively, and the partners of political party affiliated organizations.

Other stakeholders that should be kept informed about the evaluation include Members of the Parliament of Sweden and the International Department of Parliament; partners of Sida engaged in supporting women's political influence (such as UN Women, Inter-Parliamentary Union, and Women's Learning Partnership); and other development partners

The evaluation is to be designed, conducted and reported to meet the needs of the intended users and tenderers shall elaborate in the tender how this will be ensured during the evaluation process.

During the inception phase, the evaluator and the users will agree on who will be responsible for keeping the various stakeholders informed about the evaluation.

#### **4. Evaluation criteria and questions**

The objectives of this evaluation are to:

- Produce knowledge, generate learning and suggest recommendations with regards to the relevance and efficiency of the revised application and assessment process for Swedish political party affiliated organizations under the Strategy for Democracy Support through political party affiliated organizations 2016 – 2020, as implemented during the most recent application process October 15, 2018 (deadline for applications) through March 1, 2019 (deadline for entering into agreements with Sida)
- Produce knowledge, generate learning and suggest recommendations with regards to the relevance and efficiency of the current strategy/mechanism in relation to its broader implications for programs implemented by the political party affiliated organizations
- Produce knowledge, generate learning and suggest recommendations with regards to the relevance and effectiveness of methods used by Swedish party affiliated organizations and their partners in promoting women's political influence

The tentative evaluation questions are:

1. The Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016- 2020 as implemented during the most recent application process:
  - Which aspects of the application process were relevant and efficient? Which aspects could be improved, and how, to strengthen relevance and efficiency? Key aspects could include time- frames, relations between Sida and the political party affiliated organisations, and within the group of political party affiliated organisations.

- To what extent were key documents fit for purpose and user-friendly during the application process (Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016-2020; Sida's guidance, 'anvisningar'; and related templates including agreement template)? How could the wordings of key documents be improved to increase relevance and efficiency? To what extent is Sida's guidance (anvisningar) actually needed?
  - To what extent is the current Strategy, including its funding mechanism, relevant and efficient in general? What, if anything, needs to change to improve relevance and efficiency?
  - To what extent is the current set up relevant and efficient with regards to the full cycle of programs run by the political party affiliated organizations?
2. Women's political influence:
- Which methods do political party affiliated organizations use in supporting women's political influence in programs that have been/are implemented in the period of 2016 – 2020?
  - To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?
  - What are the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen (theory of change and change management, including formal as well as informal aspects of how political parties function)
  - How relevant and effective are these methods, according to political party affiliated organizations and their partners?
  - How do these methods compare to recent academic and policy literature on 'best fit'?

Questions are expected to be developed in the tender by the tenderer and further developed during the inception phase of the evaluation.

## **5. Evaluation approach and methods for data collection and analysis**

It is expected that the evaluator describes and justifies an appropriate evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection in the tender. The evaluation design, methodology and methods for data collection and analysis are expected to be fully developed and presented in the inception report. A gender responsive methodology, methods and tools and data analysis techniques should be used. A clear distinction is to be made between evaluation approach/methodology and methods. The evaluator should also identify limitations and constraints with the chosen approach and method and to the extent possible, present mitigation measures to address them.

The evaluator is expected to use key informant interviews, surveys, focus groups, workshops et cetera as primary methods of information gathering. This is due to the fact that existing documentation (funding proposals and narrative reporting from political party affiliated organizations) tend not to include details on specific methods used to promote women's political influence. In addition, interviews, surveys, workshops et cetera will be necessary to capture stakeholders' views on the relevance and efficiency of the current Strategy, including its funding mechanism.

The evaluator is expected to map and systematize methods used by the political party affiliated organizations in supporting women's political influence according to the following suggested aspects, but not limited to only these:

- 1) approach (mainstreaming or direct approaches such as training, mentoring, networking et cetera);
- 2) purpose (such as mobilizing more women to run as candidates; getting more women candidates elected; promoting the influence of elected women candidates/women's caucuses/women's wing of a party; improving internal democracy, changing the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of male political candidates and leaders; changing norms around whose voices are heard and listened to; changes in policies or legislation; gender based quota et cetera);
- 3) target groups (individuals/groups within a party/the whole party; budding candidates for office; candidates, elected representatives; networks across parties or regional and international networks);
- 4) geographical level (capital/national/head office level; regional or local level);
- 5) degree of innovative/experimental/learning focused approaches used by political party affiliated organisations and their partners

Methods mapped should be validated against state of the art research and policy literature (Annex A). Sida's approach to evaluation is utilization-focused, which means the evaluator should facilitate the entire evaluation process with careful consideration of how everything that is done will affect the use of the evaluation. It is therefore expected that the evaluators, in their tender, present i) how intended users are to participate in and contribute to the evaluation process and ii) methodology and methods for data collection that create space for reflection, discussion and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

Evaluators should take into consideration appropriate measures for collecting data in cases where sensitive or confidential issues are addressed, and avoid presenting information that may be harmful to some stakeholder groups. A limited number of field visits could be proposed by the evaluator, should field visits be relevant to the proposed method.

## **6. Organisation of evaluation management**

This evaluation is commissioned by the Unit for Democracy and Human Rights at Sida head office. The intended users are Sida's Democracy Unit, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Swedish political party affiliated organizations.

The Unit for Democracy and Human Rights at Sida will designate an internal steering group of Sida staff and managers. The steering group is a decision making body. It will approve the inception report and the final report of the evaluation. The steering group will participate in the start-up meeting of the evaluation, as well as in the debriefing/validation workshop where preliminary findings and conclusions are discussed. The steering group will consult with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs ahead of key steps of the evaluation, and as appropriate with the Swedish political party affiliated organizations through a dedicated reference group.

## **7. Evaluation quality**

All Sida's evaluations shall conform to OECD/DAC's Quality Standards for Development Evaluation<sup>1</sup>. The evaluators shall use the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation<sup>2</sup>. The evaluators shall specify how quality assurance will be handled by them during the evaluation process.

Evaluators shall ensure that any of its employees, agents and subcontractors, as well as any informant to an evaluation, whose personal data are transferred to Sida, promptly receive and take note of the information provided in Sida's Privacy Policy: <https://www.sida.se/English/About-us/about-the-website/privacy-notice/>

Evaluators shall promptly inform any of its informants if their names and organisational affiliation will be included and published in the final report of an evaluation, which will be made available in Sida's publication database and in Open Aid, a web-based information service about Swedish international development cooperation.

<sup>1</sup> DAC Quality Standards for development Evaluation, OECD, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management, Sida in cooperation with OECD/DAC, 2014.

## 8. Time schedule and deliverables

It is expected that a time and work plan is presented in the tender and further detailed in the inception report. The Strategy for Democracy Support through Swedish Party-affiliated Organizations 2016-2020 ("Strategi för särskilt demokratistöd genom svenska partianknutna organisationer") states that an evaluation is to be implemented and concluded in 2019.

The evaluation shall be carried out in two phases. The first phase, focused on the funding mechanism (application process, implementation, monitoring and evaluation), will start the week of May 6th – May 10th, 2019, and end early October, 2019. The second phase, focused on women's political influence, will start the week of May 6th – May 10th, 2019, and end December 20, 2019. The timing of any field visits, surveys and interviews need to be settled by the evaluator in dialogue with the main stakeholders during the inception phase.

The table below lists key deliverables for the evaluation process. Deadlines for final inception report and final report must be kept in the tender, but alternative deadlines for other deliverables may be suggested by the consultant and negotiated during the inception phase.

| Deliverables                          | Participants                                                | Deadlines                        |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Start-up meeting (virtual/on site) | Steering group of staff and managers of Sida                | Week of May 6th – May 10th, 2019 |
| 2. Start-up meeting (virtual/on site) | Reference group of political party affiliated organizations | Week of May 6th – May 10th, 2019 |

|                                                                                                                    |                                                                              |                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3. Draft inception report                                                                                          |                                                                              | Week of May 27th – May 31st   |
| 4. Comments from intended users to evaluators (reference group and steering committee)                             |                                                                              | Tentative                     |
| 5. Inception meeting at Sida                                                                                       | Reference group meeting, followed by steering committee meeting              | Week of June 10th – June 14th |
| 6. Data collection, analysis and report writing: phase 1 (Strategy including current funding mechanism)            | Evaluators                                                                   | Tentative                     |
| 7. Debriefing/validation workshop (meeting) with regards to phase 1 (Strategy including current funding mechanism) | Reference group meeting, followed by steering committee meeting              | Tentative                     |
| 8. Draft evaluation report phase 1 (Strategy including current funding mechanism)                                  |                                                                              | Tentative                     |
| 9. Comments from reference group, steering committee plus relevant staff and managers of Sida                      |                                                                              | Tentative                     |
| 10. Final evaluation report phase 1 (Strategy, including current funding mechanism)                                |                                                                              | Early October, 2019           |
| 11. Data collection, analysis and report writing: phase 2 (women's political influence)                            | Evaluators                                                                   | Tentative                     |
| 12. Debriefing/validation workshop (meeting) with regards to phase 2 (women's political influence)                 | Steering committee, relevant staff and managers of Sida, and reference group | Tentative                     |
| 13. Draft evaluation report phase 2 (women's political influence)                                                  |                                                                              | Tentative                     |
| 14. Comments from steering committee, relevant staff and managers of Sida, and reference group                     |                                                                              | Tentative                     |

|                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 15. Final evaluation report phase 2                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                               | December 20, 2019                   |
| 16. Presentation of full report at Sida head office                                                  | Target groups for Sida presentation: Relevant staff and managers of Sida, and representatives of political party affiliated organizations                                                     | Presentation at Sida: February 2020 |
| 17. Presentation at an external event in Stockholm, focused on phase 2 (women's political influence) | Target groups for external event: representatives of political party affiliated organizations, including their boards; Members of Parliament; policymakers engaged in political party support | External event: March 8, 2020       |

The inception report will form the basis for the continued evaluation process and shall be approved by Sida before the evaluation proceeds to implementation. The inception report should be written in

English and Swedish and cover evaluability issues and interpretations of evaluation questions, present the evaluation approach/methodology, methods for data collection and analysis as well as the full evaluation design. A clear distinction between the evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection shall be made. A specific time and work plan, including number of hours/working days for each team member, for the remainder of the evaluation should be presented. The time plan shall allow space for reflection and learning between the intended users of the evaluation.

The final report on the funding mechanism (phase 1) shall be written in Swedish with an executive summary in English and be professionally edited and proof read.

The final report on women's political influence (phase 2) shall be written in English, including an executive summary in Swedish and English, and be professionally edited and proof read.

The final reports should have clear structure and follow the report format in the Sida Decentralised Evaluation Report Template for decentralised evaluations (see Annex C). The executive summary should be maximum 3 pages. The evaluation approach/methodology and methods for data collection used shall be clearly described and explained in detail and a clear distinction between the two shall be made. All limitations to the methodology and methods shall be made explicit and the consequences of these limitations discussed. Findings shall flow logically from the data, showing a clear line of evidence to support the conclusions. Conclusions should be substantiated by findings and analysis. Recommendations and lessons learned should flow logically from conclusions. Recommendations should be specific, directed to relevant stakeholders and categorised as a short-term, medium-term and long-term. The reports should be no more than 30 pages each excluding annexes

(including Terms of Reference and Inception Report). The evaluator shall adhere to the Sida OECD/DAC Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation<sup>24</sup>.

The evaluator shall, upon approval of the final reports, insert the reports into the Sida Decentralised Evaluation Report for decentralised evaluations and submit it to Nordic Morning (in pdf-format) for publication and release in the Sida publication data base. The order is placed by sending the approved report to sida@nordicmorning.com, always with a copy to the responsible Sida Programme Officer as well as Sida's Evaluation Unit (evaluation@sida.se). Write "Sida decentralised evaluations" in the email subject field. The following information must always be included in the order to Nordic Morning:

- 1 The name of the consulting company.
- 2 The full evaluation title.
- 3 The invoice reference "ZZ610701".
- 4 Type of allocation "sakanslag".
- 5 Type of order "digital publicering/publikationsdatabas".

## **9. Evaluation Team Qualification**

One team member shall have the role as the Team Leader (Core Consultant - Level 1) with the overall responsibility for the evaluation. At least one team member should be Level 2 Consultant.

In addition to the qualifications already stated in the framework agreement for evaluation services, the evaluation team shall include the following competencies:

- At least one team member shall have full proficiency in Swedish
- At least one team member shall have documented knowledge and prior experience from at least three evaluation assignments related to women's political influence

In addition to the qualifications already stated in the framework agreement for evaluation services, it is desirable that the evaluation team includes the following competencies:

- At least one team member should have documented skills and prior experiences of facilitating multi-stakeholder workshops and processes
- At least one team member should have political experience such as having served as president of the youth league/regional or council level branch of a political party; member of a standing committee of a political party – at national, regional or local level of the party; or staff member of the national or regional secretariat of a political party, preferably with a focus on organizational development.
- At least one member should have documented knowledge and experience of the aid and development effectiveness agenda, including aid modalities for civil society support

---

<sup>24</sup> Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management, Sida in cooperation with OECD/DAC, 2014

A CV for each team member shall be included in the call-off response. It should contain a full description of relevant qualifications and professional work experience.

It is important that the competencies of the individual team members are complimentary. It is highly recommended that local consultants are included in the team if appropriate.

The evaluators must be independent from the evaluation object and evaluated activities, and have no stake in the outcome of the evaluation.

## **10. Resources**

The maximum budget amount available for the evaluation is SEK 1 500 000.

The contact person at Sida is Helena Bjuremalm, deputy head of Sida's Unit for Democracy and Human Rights. The contact person should be consulted if any problems arise during the evaluation process. Relevant Sida documentation will be provided by Helena Bjuremalm.

Contact details to intended users (cooperation partners, other donors etc.) will be provided by Sida.

The evaluator will be required to arrange the logistics around field visits, interviews or workshops with representatives of political party affiliated organizations and Sida, including any necessary security arrangements.

*Annex A: List of key documentation*

*Annex B: Data sheet on the evaluation object*

*Annex C: Decentralised evaluation report template*

## Annex 2: Evaluation matrix

The Evaluation Matrix presents the evaluation questions presented in the ToR and the sub-questions developed as part of the inception phase. The questions are categorised by evaluation criteria and accompanied by information on methods and source of information.

| Key Evaluation Questions (from the ToR)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Evaluation criteria | Sub-questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Methods & sources of information                                                                                          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><u>Component 2:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Which methods do political party affiliated organizations use in supporting women's political influence in programs that have been/are implemented in the period of 2016 – 2020?</li> <li>To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and</li> </ul> | Relevance           | <p><u>A. Modalities, methods and beneficiaries</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Which methods and modalities have been used to support women's political influence, and how relevant are they in light of scholarly evidence on factors that promote women's political participation and influence?</li> <li>2. Who are the intended beneficiaries of the programme/activity, and how are they expected to benefit from it? Do activities aimed at gender equality and equal political influence target both men and women?</li> <li>3. Are beneficiaries fully engaged in all stages of the project cycle, including design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation?</li> <li>4. To what extent are programmes being changed in relation to the settings in which they are implemented (i.e. willingness to reconsider, adapt and avoid blueprint solutions)?</li> <li>5. To what extent are activities undertaken in coordination with other PAOs and other actors that work for women's political influence?</li> <li>6. Have activities been undertaken in a comprehensive way, and with a content that is clear to participants?</li> </ol> | <p>Mapping<br/>Interviews with PAO reps<br/>Desk study of applications, reports, etc.</p> <p>Interviews with PAO reps</p> |

| Key Evaluation Questions (from the ToR)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Evaluation criteria | Sub-questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Methods & sources of information                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen (theory of change and change management, including formal as well as informal aspects of how political parties function)</li> <li>• How relevant and effective are these methods, according to political party affiliated organizations and their partners?</li> </ul> |                     | <p>7. Have activities been undertaken in a one-off or a continuous fashion?</p> <p><u>B. Strategic direction</u></p> <p>8. To what extent do PAOs prioritise countries in which women's political participation and influence is weak (evidence from quota laws/female participation in parliament)?</p> <p>9. To what extent are the partners with whom PAOs work the most relevant and consequential ones for women's political influence and participation (addressing issues such as size of sister parties and other organisations involved)?</p> <p>10. To what extent do activities in pro of women's political participation and influence address deeper social and economic inequalities that may contribute to limit such possibilities?</p> <p>11. Is there evidence of innovation and re-formulation of programme goals and activities in view of previous experiences and/or the experiences from other PAOs?</p> <p>12. To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?</p> <p><u>C. Adaptation to local needs</u></p> <p>13. How relevant are the PAO contributions estimated to be in view of what local experts deem to be the main needs in the area of women's political influence/the main restrictions for women's political influence?</p> <p>14. Is support through PAOs relevant to the expressed needs of women party members and women constituents/voters, including women from</p> | <p>Desk study of applications, reports, etc.<br/>Objective data on social, political and economic conditions.</p> <p>Interviews in case countries<br/>Expert interviews<br/>Interviews with party reps<br/>Publications, studies</p> <p>Interviews with PAOs, partners, and experts</p> |

| Key Evaluation Questions (from the ToR)                                                                                                               | Evaluation criteria | Sub-questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Methods & sources of information                                                                                                                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How do these methods compare to recent academic and policy literature on 'best fit' (ref. Annex A)?</li> </ul> |                     | <p>marginalized groups (as far as their opinions are available in previous surveys or can be represented by women's movements in civil society)?</p> <p><u>D. Correspondence to best practice</u></p> <p>15. Do PAO interventions and their theories of change correspond to agree with scholarly and policy evidence on relevant ways to further women's political influence?</p> <p>16. Do PAOs seem to use available evidence on how to promote women's political influence in their programming?</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <p>Selected research/policy publications</p> <p>Academic expert group</p>                                                                                                   |
|                                                                                                                                                       | Effectiveness       | <p>17. To what extent have lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?</p> <p>18. What is the self-evaluation of PAOs regarding specific methods/programmes?</p> <p>19. What changes with regard to women's political influence/impact do target group representatives attribute to the programme?</p> <p>20. How does the level of perceived effectiveness vary across different spheres of influence, including within the party, as candidates, as elected officials, as civil society advocates/activists and as engaged constituents/voters?</p> <p>21. Is there evidence of resistance to programme activities, either from party representatives, or from other actors (e.g. public ones)?</p> | <p>Interviews with PAOs, partners, beneficiaries, and external experts</p> <p>Selected research/policy publications</p> <p>Project reports</p> <p>Academic expert group</p> |

# Annex 3: Data collection instruments

## Interview guide (protocol) for PAO staff regarding regional/national case study programmes

**Country/Regional program subject of case study:**

**Date of interview:**

**PAO representatives**

| Name | Role/position | PAO |
|------|---------------|-----|
|      |               |     |

### Introduction

Explain focus and scope of evaluation, specify period as 2016-2019. Seek informed consent. Explain rights to confidentiality.

### Background

Please give background on your own role within the PAO and your engagement with the country/regional programme in. How long have you worked on the country/regional programme?

Please describe your vision of the objectives of the country/regional programme and the main ‘beneficiaries’? (probe if necessary for: a) objectives related to increasing women’s political influence and b) clarify if it is sister-party or broader approach).

How many ‘beneficiaries’ are there? How many men/women?

Please describe the theory of change (for women’s political influence) of the programme? What are the key assumptions implicit in your ToC?

Please describe the methods, strategies and activities in the programme. (As needed, probe if the programme includes: a) party organisation reforms, b) measures targeting individual women, and c) special support during election times. Do strategies differ during election period?)

To what extent is there any engagement/coordination with other PAOs? What works well and what could be improved? What are the lessons for future projects?

### Design/relevance

How and why did you decide to do and prioritise these activities (in a context of limited resources and wide-ranging needs)? Which stakeholders were involved in the planning and how?

What type of assessment did you and your partner undertake to develop this programme aimed at enhancing women’s political influence? Describe example.

To what extent were the program design methods and modalities inspired by recent academic and policy literature?

Does the programme reflect lessons from your (PAO’s) previous experiences? Was the program design informed by any other type of learning/lessons?

To what extent did design reflect experiences from the Swedish parties? Which role do they play in each programme?

Beyond gender, does programme design take into account other types of inequalities or divisions present in the country and reflect an intersectional approach?

### **Effectiveness**

What do you consider to be the major achievement(s) of the country/regional programme thus far?

Please give an example of a (significant) change in women's political influence that these programmes have contributed to? Evidence of results? Attribution?

What are the reasons for successes or progress achieved to date?

Which are the principal obstacles to achieve results in the programmes?

How do you address resistance? Have there been any examples of backlash against women participating in the programme? How do you ensure women aren't put at risk by participating in the programme (i.e. do no harm measures)?

To what extent does the programme engage or seek to influence male stakeholders?

To what extent are efforts made to coordinate with other interventions to strengthen women's political influence? Is there coordination with other PAOs? Is there coordination with Sida projects? With other projects of development cooperation?

Who are your most important allies/partners? Examples?

### **Monitoring/evaluation/learning**

How do you monitor and evaluate the projects? Who does the monitoring? How are the methods used assessed?

Have you made any adjustments to programming based on evidence or feedback collected? Examples?

How do the PAOs assess which input, experiences and learnings from the Swedish party are relevant for enhancing women's political influence? Are Swedish female or male party members or leaders engaged in activities, how and with which results?

To what extent are the lessons from the programme shared effectively—internally and externally?

Have lessons learned from methods that have worked well and less well in 2016-2018 been used to improve and adjust implementation of the 2019-2020 programmes?

Please, give examples!

### **FINAL**

Do you have any cost information that you can share with me? In terms of overall project cost and cost/participant?

Beyond what we've discussed, do you have any other lessons or recommendations from this regional/country programme experience?

Interview guide (protocol) for national partner organisations (parties, think tank, CSO, etc) and persons implementing projects on behalf of the PAOs regarding regional/national case study programmes

**Country/Regional program subject of case study:**

**Date of interview:**

**Partner/sister party representatives :**

| Name | Role/position | organisation |
|------|---------------|--------------|
|      |               |              |

### **Introduction**

Explain focus and scope of evaluation, specify period as 2016-2019. Seek informed consent. Explain rights to confidentiality.

### **Background**

**Please give background on your role** within the organisation and your engagement with the country/regional programme in question. How long have you worked on the country/regional programme?

Please describe the objectives, strategy and methods of the programme. Are there specific methods for enhancing women's influence? If yes, describe how they are different and whether they aim at strengthening individual women, making political parties more accommodating to women and/or obtaining concrete policy change. .

### **Design/relevance**

How was the programme designed, who influenced it and how was priorities done? What are the basic assumptions regarding women's political participation?

### **Effectiveness**

What do you consider to be the major achievement(s) of the country/regional programme thus far?

Please give an example of change in women's political influence that this programme has contributed to?

What are the reasons for the success, the achievements or progress achieved to date?

Has party leadership participated in any activities of the programme? Examples?

Are Swedish experiences relevant and are they included in the programme?

To what extent does the programme engage or seek to influence male stakeholders, (including but not limited to fathers and husbands)?

Which are the principal obstacles and resistance to women's influence? Have there been any examples of backlash against women participating in the programme?

Are efforts made to coordinate with other interventions to strengthen women's political influence? Who are your most important allies/partners on the ground?

If the program includes collaboration with other PAOs, what works well and what could be improved?

**Monitoring/evaluation/learning**

How do you monitor and evaluate the projects? Who does the monitoring? How are the methods used assessed?

Have you made any adjustments to programming based on evidence or feedback collected? Examples?

Have lessons learned from methods that have worked well and less well in 2016-2018 been used to improve and adjust implementation of the 2019-2020 programmes?

Please, give examples!

Beyond what we've discussed, do you have any other lessons or recommendations from this regional/country programme experience?

**Interview guide (protocol) for external experts/stakeholders regarding regional/national case study programmes**

**Country/Regional program subject of case study:**

**Date of interview:**

| Name | Role/position | organisation |
|------|---------------|--------------|
|      |               |              |

**Introduction**

Explain focus and scope of evaluation, specify period as 2016-2019. Seek informed consent. Explain rights to confidentiality.

**Background**

Please give background on your role within your organisation and any engagement you have had with the country/regional programme in question.

Please describe your understanding of the objectives of the programme and the main 'beneficiaries'?

**Design/relevance**

In your view, what are the principal challenges limiting women's political influence in this country?

In your view, what are the principal opportunities for increasing women's political influence in the country?<sup>25</sup> (probe if necessary, for opportunities relevant for political parties or partner in question)

In what ways are political parties from other countries positioned to contribute to strengthening women's political influence? Why and how?

To what extent do you sense that the objectives of this programme correspond to the critical challenges/opportunities?

Does the programme build on previous experiences/lessons learned in the country?

---

<sup>25</sup> Could include: a) party organisation reforms, b) measures targeting individual women, and c) special support adapted to electoral cycle.

Do you see (PAO and local partner) as organizations with experience and credibility in the area of women's political influence?

### **Effectiveness**

What do you consider to be the major achievement (s) of the country/regional programme thus far?

Have you seen a (significant) change in women's political influence that this programme has contributed to? Evidence of results? Attribution?

What do you see as the foremost benefits of this programme?

What are the factors behind the achievements or progress achieved to date?

What do you see as the programme's principal weaknesses or challenges? Have you seen any negative impacts of the programme?

If are aware of other programmes in the country (Swedish or other countries) that are focused on women's political influence, how would you say this programme differs from those?

Have you seen any efforts made to coordinate this programme with other programmes aimed at strengthening women's political participation, including with Swedish (and other) development cooperation? Who are current or potential allies/partners on the ground?

Beyond what we've discussed, do you have any other lessons or recommendations for this regional/country programme experience?

### **Focus Group Protocol (i.e. for training participants)**

Country/Regional program subject of case study

Date of focus group:

| Name | Role/position | organisation |
|------|---------------|--------------|
|      |               |              |
|      |               |              |
|      |               |              |

### **Introduction**

Explain focus and scope of evaluation, specify period as 2016-2019. Seek informed consent. Explain rights to confidentiality.

### **Background**

Please tell me your role within your organisation and your engagement with the programme? (how many trainings x how many days)

### **Effectiveness**

What did you find most useful from the programme? What sessions/content stood out for you? (Prompt for/ask about gender if they don't mention)

What has changed for you because of the programme? Have you applied the knowledge? Shared it with others? Would you be able to give an example/tell a story about something you or your party/organisation did differently because of the

programme. Have you shared what you learned/gained with others in your party/community/organisation?

Has your role or position in the party changed after participating in the programme?

Was the content relevant for your work with the movement? Is your party leadership informed/engaged?

How were you chosen/applied for the training? What do you think of the composition of the training?

Has there been follow-up post training (mini-projects or other)?

Have you stayed in touch with the other trainees? Did you already know them?

Have you been to other political trainings/academies before? How was this one different?

What could have been improved to make the programme more beneficial? (probe for security measures, training content, coordination, participant selection, engagement of leadership, logistics, etc as needed).

**Global-level interview guide (protocol) for PAO representatives about methods for supporting women's political influence**

PAO representatives

| Name | Role/position | PAO | Programme |
|------|---------------|-----|-----------|
|      |               |     |           |

**Introduction**

Explain focus and scope of evaluation. Seek informed consent. Explain rights to confidentiality.

**Background**

Please give a background to the PAO's present programmes. Main objectives? Beneficiaries?

**General questions relating to the PAO's work to support women's political influence**

1. What is your most common strategy or Theory of Change regarding women's political influence? What are the assumptions implicit in your ToC?
2. What are the most common types of projects you implement to achieve the ToC? (Support directly to women? Support to reform of the internal party organisation? Other stakeholders involved?) Which are the most common methods and modalities for delivering the support?

**Specific checklist/mapping of types of activities regarding women's political influence per programme?**

3. We will now take a look at the details. (Go through the programmes/projects/activities the PAO is supporting/funding with the help of questions 3.1 – 3.23. Describe with as much detail as possible the activities and

methods to enhance women's political influence. Please, also reflect upon the results and outcomes of the relevant methods, according to your assessment.)

Reforms of internal party organisation:

Does the programme seek to:

- 3.1 Enhance the party's capacity for a gender focus?
- 3.2 Take measures relating to founding and governing documents?
- 3.3 Gender-responsive planning?
- 3.4 Set up/strengthen women's wing?
- 3.5 Increase women's representation in the leadership of the party/decision-making structures?
- 3.6 Influence gendered social norms and/or reduce discrimination towards women?
- 3.7 Strengthen cross-party caucuses?
- 3.8 Forge/strengthen strategic partnerships with men (male party members, MPs, husbands etc)? Strengthen connections between women politicians and their constituencies.

Measures targeting individual female politicians/candidates:

For these activities please reflect upon whether the interventions have benefitted/created results and outcomes beyond the individuals, i.e. the party:

- 3.9 Training or other knowledge transfers. (Capturing Swedish experiences?)
- 3.10 Networking and international meetings (exchange in country, region or at international level).
- 3.11 Coaching and mentoring of individual women politicians/candidates?
- 3.12 Study visits and exchanges (to Sweden or other destinations)? Topics? How are they decided?

Special support during election periods:

- 3.13 Capacity building of female candidates (for primaries or general elections). Fundraising, name recognition etc.
- 3.14 Advocacy for/implementation of voluntary or mandatory quotas for women candidates?
- 3.15 Influencing the funding of campaigns. (Internal funds for women, limit on campaign expenditure, earmarked funding etc).
- 3.16 Media related activities? Describe.
- 3.17 Measures to decrease gender-based political violence (for women as candidates, elected officials or voters)
- 3.18 Build the capacity of women to monitor elections and/or take on other responsibilities during election periods?
- 3.19 Mobilise and/or educate voters?
- 3.20 Strengthen civil society's capacity for gender responsiveness. Build connections between parties and civil society.
- 3.21 Links with international organisations.

Other activities:

3.22 Activities to strengthen women's political influence that you implement, which I did not mention?

### **Relevance of methods**

4. What type of assessment do you and your partner undertake to develop programmes aiming at enhancing women's political influence? Describe example.
5. How do you and the partners assess the relevance of the chosen methods?
6. Describe the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen?
7. Does the programme change over time depending on if it is pre-election period, election period or post-election period?
8. Are there cases where methods and modalities chosen have been inspired by recent academic and policy literature?
9. Are experiences from the Swedish parties relevant? Which role do they play in each programme? How do the PAOs assess which input, experiences and learnings from the Swedish party are relevant for enhancing women's political influence? Are Swedish female or male party members or leaders "used" in activities, how and with which results?

### **Effectiveness**

- 10 How do you monitor and evaluate the projects? Who does the monitoring? How are the methods used assessed?
11. Can you give an example of a significant change in women's political influence that these programmes have contributed to? Evidence of results? Attribution?
12. Which are the principal obstacles you face in the programmes? How do you address resistance?

### **Learning and coordination**

13. How is expertise and knowledge (capacity) on women's political influence developed/updated within the PAOs?
  14. Have lessons learned from methods that have worked well and less well in 2016-2018 been used to improve and adjust implementation of the 2019-2020 programmes? Please, give examples!
  15. Are efforts made to coordinate with other interventions to strengthen women's political participation, including in development cooperation? Examples?
- /.

## Workshop agenda

### Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations (PAOs)

#### Workshop on Component 2: Methods for supporting women's political influence

*Preliminary findings, conclusions and recommendations – and joint reflection on them*

**6 November 2019, 13.00 – 16.00**

| Time        | Agenda item                                              | Details                                                                                                                            |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 12:30-13:00 | Arrival                                                  | Welcome!                                                                                                                           |
| 13:00-13:15 | Introduction                                             | Purpose of the workshop.                                                                                                           |
| 13:15-14:00 | Case studies about women's political influence           | Presentation of main findings from three field visits: Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, Bolivia and Uganda and Kenya.   |
| 14:00-14:20 | Discussion.                                              | Comments, questions, additional views etc.                                                                                         |
| 14:20-14:30 | Coffee break                                             |                                                                                                                                    |
| 14:30-15:00 | Reflections from the academic expert panel               | Lessons learned, underlying assumptions, links to recent academic and policy literature.                                           |
| 15:00-15:30 | Group work on tentative conclusions and recommendations. | What do the case studies tell us about relevance and effectiveness of the methods used to enhance women's political participation? |
| 15:30-15:50 | Sharing in plenary                                       | Short presentations (flip-charts). Discussion.                                                                                     |
| 15:50-16:00 | Wrap up.                                                 | Comments from the evaluation team. Next steps in the evaluation process.                                                           |

# Annex 4: Documentation

## General literature

Aune, K, "When Two Orthodoxies Clash? A Study of Gender Mainstreaming and Participatory Development at Sida" Masters' Thesis, Uppsala Universitet, May 2019

BBC News, "Evo Morales: Bolivian Leader's Turbulent Presidency," 10 November, 2019

Amnesty International, 2019, The state of the African Regional Human Rights Bodies and Mechanisms

Bjarnegård, E., Zetterberg, P., 2011, Removing quotas, Maintaining representation, Overcoming gender inequality in political party recruitment

Blumberg, M and Pringle, C, "The Missing Opportunity in Organizational Research: Some Implications for a Theory of Work Performance," 1 October, 1982

Bolivia TV, "Bolivia Se Consolida como el Segundo Pais del Mundo en Paridad de Género en el Ambito Político," 3 August, 2019

Beeble, K., Christiaensen, L., 2019, Accelerating poverty reduction in Africa, Wold Bank

Carothers, T, "Democracy Support Strategies: Leading with Women's Empowerment," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 14 September, 2016

Dockweiler, M and Cabaleiro, P. 2018 "Final Evaluation: Green Forum Project for Democracy Strengthening- Bolivia"

Eccola!, Johansson, M., Questa, Ekström, E, 2019, Programme evaluation report, 2016-2018

Efe, "Concejales Bolivianas Rompen el Silencio ante un Incotenable Acoso Político," 27 May, 2019

Faguet, J, "Why Do Stable Political Party Systems Sometimes Collapse: Some Intriguing Insights from Bolivia," blogpost, 18 December, 2018

FCG, 2019, Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations, final report

FCG, Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations, final Inception Report, 2019

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2019," consulted 22 November, 2019

Freedom House, 2019, Sub-Saharan Africa: Historic openings offset by creeping restrictions elsewhere

Government Offices of Sweden, undated, Strategy for Sweden's development cooperation with Uganda 2018-2023

Inter-Parliamentary Union & Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, 2018, Notinmyparliament – Sexism, harassment and violence against women parliamentarians

Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review."

Kurmanaev, A and Krauss, C, "Ethnic Rifts in Bolivia Burst into View with Evo Morales," New York Times, 17 November, 2019

Kato Thyia, G., 2017, Grassroots norming structures take shape as political parties waiver; towards realizing women's right to political representation in Kenya

Liedholm-Ndounou, Sacby, V., 2019, Study on Women's representation and influence in politics in CRC, Congo

Nacevska, Elena, *The effectiveness of gender quotas in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia*, Teorija in praksa, January 2017

NCG, 2015, Utvärdering av SILC's stöd till politiska partier 2012-2014

NDI and UNDP, "Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties - A guidebook to promote women's political participation", February 2012

Niven, D, 1998, Party elites and the shape of bias

O'Neil, Tam and Domingo, Pilar, Women and Power, "Overcoming barriers to leadership and influence", ODI, February 2016

OSCE/ODIHR, "Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties", 2014

Página Siete Digital, "Chi Cierra su Campaña en Santa Cruz y Dice que Dios Será Quien Governe en Bolivia," 16 October, 2019

Schwab, K. "The Global Competitiveness Report 2018," World Economic Forum, 2018,

Sida, "Changed Strategy for Special Democracy Support for Swedish Affiliated Organisations, 2016-2020," 3 August, 2018

Sida, "How Sida Works with Gender Equality," May 2017

Sida, "Policyramverk för Svenskt Utvecklingssamarbete och Humanitärt bistånd," 14 December, 2016

Tadros, Mariz, "Women Engaging Politically: Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways", Pathways Policy Paper, October 2011

Transparency International, "Bolivia," Consulted 22 November, 2019

UNDP, "Strengthening women's political participation", 2016

Uggla, F., 2019, Mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation

UNDP & NDI, 2012 Empowering women for stronger political parties

UNDP, “Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Update: Bolivia”

UNDP, “Promoting Gender Equality in Electoral Assistance: Lessons Learned in Comparative Perspective, Country Report for Bolivia,” 2014

Women’s Democracy Network, 2014, A Guide to Enhance Gender Equality in Political Parties in Uganda

Women’s Democracy Network et al, 2016, Women in Uganda’s Electoral Processes

### **Programme documents and reports**

CEPROCA, “Aplicación 2016-2018”

CIS and OPC – programme summary for *PAO Western Balkans 2019-2020 and resultsmatrix, 2018*

CIS, 2018, Annual report 2018/Final report 2016-2018

CIS, 2019, Updated activity plan for EWIP

CIS, 2018, Workshop for female local councillors and their husbands in Plateau Central in Burkina Faso

CIS – Application for PAO-Programme 2016-2018

CIS, 2018, Application for funds in the framework of the Strategy for Special Democracy Support through Swedish Party-Affiliated Organisations 2019-2020

CIS, Application for funds in the framework of the Strategy for Special Democracy Support through Swedish Party-Affiliated Organisations 2019-2020

CIS – annual Report 2018/Final report 2016-2018, annual report 2017, annual report 2016

CIS – Annual partner report from Nasa Stranka to OPC model 2016, model 2017, model 2018

Green Forum, “Aplicación del Proyecto 2019-2020”

Green Forum, “Green Political Organisation’s Programme 2019-2020 proposal to Sida”

JHS – application for PAO-programme 2016-2018

JHS- Final report 2016-2018

JHS, 2015, Verksamhetsområde 1, Regionalt program på Balkan

JHS – Regional Programme for Western Balkan and East Europe 2019-2020

KIC, “Analysis,” text prepared by KIC PO for Evaluation Team

KIC, “Sister Party Support Programme Report 2016-2018” 15 May, 2019

OPC – Programme application for support to PAO-programme 2016-2018

OPC – final report on programme 2016-2018  
 OPC – annual report 2017  
 Overall impact for the Palmecenter and its partners – dated 2019-05-10  
 PAO Latin American Programme, 2019-2020 Application  
 PYPA; Application 2019-2020  
 PYPA; 2019, Annual Evaluation Report 2018  
 PYPA; Appendix 4, Theory of Change  
 PYPA, 2019, Handbook for the implementation of PYPA  
 PYPA; 2019, Program report 2016-2018  
 PYPA; 2018, Results matrix 2019-2020  
 PYPA; 2018, Strategies within PYPA  
 Silc, "Gender Mainstreaming Policy"  
 Silc, "What to Expect When Expecting Gender Equality: A Report on Gender Policy in Political Parties," 2016  
 VIF, Programansökan: Demokrati Underifrån 2019-20  
 KIC, CIF, OBC and GF, 2019, PYPA Program report 2016-2018  
 For the 3 partners to OPC; FLI, PI and CEE Gender Network, there are budget, results framework and two documents for each partner project: "short description and portfolio of the organisation" and "party to party support application"

## Websites

[www.sida.se](http://www.sida.se)

[www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org) 2019, Uganda

Coordinadora de la Mujer, "Las Mujeres Representan Solo 26% de Cobertura Informativa de los Medios de Comunicación" webpage, Observatorio de Género

## Annex 5: List of interviewees

Beyond the list below, a handful of additional representatives of local partners were interviewed.

| Name                 | Position                                            | Organisation               |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Abdoul Karim Saidou  | Regional Coordinator                                | PYPA                       |
| Adam Olsson          | Bilateral Associate Expert                          | Embassy of Sweden, Kampala |
| Adelaida Salazar     | Secretary of Organisation                           | PVE                        |
| Aleksandar Spasov    | Advisor to government                               | SDSM                       |
| Alfonso Ferrufino    | Senior Political Advisor                            | International IDEA         |
| Ana Marietta Colanzi | Bolivia Coordinator                                 | Cultura Democrática        |
| Anela Lemes          | CEO                                                 | BDF                        |
| Annika Rigö          | Deputy Secretary General                            | KIC                        |
| Ariel Aldana         | Social Media Coordinator                            | PVE                        |
| Beatie Hofmeyr       | Reg Coordinator, PYPA                               | Director, ETU              |
| Besima Borić         | Representative in Presidency                        | SDP BiH                    |
| Birgitta Wistrand    | Key trainer                                         | JHS                        |
| Carol Mpagi          | Vice Chair, Youth League                            | PYPA participant           |
| Carolina Floru       | Programme Officer                                   | International IDEA         |
| Carolina Ruarte      | Accounts Reviewer                                   | Cultura Democrática        |
| Catherine Isaksson   | Secretary General                                   | CIS                        |
| Cayetana Muriel      | Programme Officer                                   | KIC                        |
| Charity O Ahumuza    | Programme Officer                                   | Embassy of Sweden, Kampala |
| Damjan Manchevski    | Minister of Information, Society and Administration | SDSM                       |
| Dasa Silovic         | Coordinator                                         | CEE Gender Network         |

## ANNEX 5: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

|                        |                                                   |                             |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| David Opii Alira       | Secretary General                                 | People's Progressive Party  |
| Duncan Abigaba         | Dep Director, Gov Citizen, Interaction Center     | NRM                         |
| Edita Sulejmanović     | Woman Forum in Canton Sarajevo                    | SDP BiH                     |
| Edvard Agrell          | Secretary General                                 | KIC                         |
| Emily Maranga          | Programme Officer                                 | Groots                      |
| Evans Bendaki          | PYPA participant                                  |                             |
| Fred Mutiba            | Dep Chief Adm Officer, PYPA participant           | Forum for Democratic Change |
| Freddy Salcedo         | Project Coordinator                               | PVE-GF Project              |
| Fredrik Lindahl        | Head of Political Party Cooperation               | OPC                         |
| Fredrik Ugglä          | Head of Office                                    | Embassy of Sweden, Bolivia  |
| Godfrey Okwi           | Youth league treasurer, Former PYPA participant   | UPC                         |
| Hamza Pecar            | Project Assistant                                 | FLI                         |
| Hristina Runceva Tasev | Former MP, JHS-contact                            | VMRO-DPMNE                  |
| Hussein Musisi         | Volunteer                                         | Conservative Party          |
| Irene Nyafwono         | Student leader                                    | PYPA participant            |
| Irhana Čajdin          | Youth Forum, former Councilor in Bugojno          | SDP BiH                     |
| Isabella Akiteng       | CEO                                               | Femme Forte Uganda          |
| Ismail Kirya           | President, Youth League, PYPA participant         | Democratic Party            |
| Jasmina Mrso           | Participant and local politician                  | NS                          |
| Jelena Pekic           | Director                                          | FLI                         |
| Jens Ahl               | Deputy Secretary General and Programme Officer WB | JHS                         |

## ANNEX 5: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

|                           |                                                |                             |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Johan Norqvist            | First Secretary                                | Embassy of Sweden, Sarajevo |
| Johanna Eliasson          | Chairperson                                    | VIF                         |
| Jonas Andersson           | Programme Officer WB                           | OPC                         |
| Jonna Manneberg           | Programme Officer WB                           | CIS                         |
| José Hugo Antelo          | Training participant                           |                             |
| José Muñoz                | Project Coordinator for Andean Region          | FNF                         |
| Katerina                  | Programme Director                             | PI                          |
| Laura Brenda Villa Tellez | Training participant                           |                             |
| Luis Fernando Calatayud   | Training participant                           |                             |
| Lynnet Nanyonjo           | Chair, Youth platform, former PYPA participant | PPP                         |
| Malena Liedholm-Ndounou   | Senior Programme Officer                       | CIS                         |
| Marco Rios Ruiz           | Training Materials Developer                   | PVE                         |
| Margot Soria              | President                                      | PVE                         |
| Maria Aguilar             | Secretary of Women                             | PVE                         |
| Maria Claudia Pers        | Training participant                           |                             |
| Maria José Ibañes         | Training participant                           |                             |
| Martin Angeby             | Secretary General                              | SILC                        |
| Mia Immelback             | Former Programme Officer WB                    | CIS                         |
| Micaela Hierro            | President                                      | Cultura Democrática         |
| Monica Johansson          | Evaluator                                      | Eccola!                     |
| Kalinka Gaber             | State Secretary for EU affairs                 | SDSM                        |
| Neira Kujovic             | Project Manager                                | FLI                         |
| Nina Karađinović          | Repr. Woman Forum                              | SDP BiH                     |
| Pauline Namyanzi          | Chief Adm Officer, former PYPA participant     | Forum for Democratic Change |
| Per Olsson                | Programme Officer                              | SILC                        |

## ANNEX 5: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

|                     |                                                       |                                |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Perry Aritua        | CEO                                                   | Women's Democratic Network     |
| Predrag Kojovic     | Party leader                                          | NS                             |
| Radmila Shekerinska | Minister of Defence                                   | SDSM                           |
| Samuel Odongo       | District Resident Comm                                | NRM                            |
| Sarah Adong         | Chair, District Youth League, Former PYPA participant | Democratic Party               |
| Sofia Madueño       | Training Participant                                  | PVE                            |
| Stephen Maribie     | Special Advisor                                       | The Oslo Center                |
| Therese Näsman      | Secretary General                                     | Green Forum                    |
| Todor Koneski       | Study visit participant                               | VMRO-DPME                      |
| Vasyl Sehin         | Member                                                | Council of Women's Initiatives |
| Victor Reyes        | Programme Officer                                     | Green Forum                    |
| Vildana             | Council member Sarajevo                               | NS                             |
| Vladimir Gjorcev    | MP and International Secretary                        | VMRO-DPMNE                     |



# Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations

## Part II: Methods for supporting women's political influence

Swedish support through Party-Affiliated Organisations (PAOs) was initiated in 1995. The support should contribute to the development of well-functioning democratic multi-party systems and support sister parties or related political movements or organisations. This evaluation was commissioned to add knowledge, highlight lessons learnt and provide support for improvements based on an assessment of, firstly, the present strategy, the application process and the programming cycle, and secondly, the relevance and effectiveness of the methods used for supporting women's political influence (WPI). In this report, the results of the second part of the evaluation are accounted for. The report is based on a global mapping of PAO methods and approaches to WPI and three case studies (Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, Bolivia, and the Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) and Empowering Women in Politics (EWIP) programmes), which are synthesised in this report.

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

Address: SE-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden. Office: Valhallavägen 199, Stockholm

Telephone: +46 [0]8-698 50 00. Telefax: +46 [0]8-20 88 64

E-mail: [info@sida.se](mailto:info@sida.se). Homepage: <http://www.sida.se>

