



2020:17

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
– Annex A – Case Study Reports

Final Report



Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations

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**Final Report
April 2020**

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Sida Decentralised Evaluation 2020:17

Commissioned by Sida, Department for International Organisations and Thematic Support

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Date of final report: 2020-04-16

Published by Nordic Morning 2020

Art. no. Sida62314en

urn:nbn:se:sida-62314en

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

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Bolivia

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1. INTRODUCTION

This case study covers Sida support to three Political Party Affiliated Organisations (PAOs) operating in Bolivia:

- Building on a 2018 regional program (managed from Argentina), the Christian Democratic International Centre (KIC) implemented national and regional trainings for youth in Bolivia in 2019 as part of the PAO Latin America Programme (PAOLA) programme. In 2019, the funding allocated for the Bolivia trainings was SEK 100,000.
- Swedish International Liberal Center (SILC) supported national and regional trainings in Bolivia in 2018-2019 for youth through a local organisation. Beginning 2019, this activity fell under the PAOLA programme. In 2019, the budget allocated for the Bolivia trainings was SEK 350,000, while an additional SEK 50,000 was invested in a publication and a public event.
- Green Forum has provided sister party support in Bolivia since 2008, though its programme went through a substantial redesign in 2019. The programme budget for 2019 is SEK 170,000.

There are several reasons why Bolivia was chosen as a case study for the evaluation. First, the evaluation team sought to ensure that the three case studies provided diversity in terms of regions selected, social contexts for women's participation and varying levels of political freedom. Second, Bolivia is the only country in Latin America where three PAOs currently work. Third, Bolivia presents the opportunity to study projects that include both multiparty and sister party PAO operations.

Though all three programmes include outcomes related to women's political influence (WPI), gender equality was not their main focus. A review of WPI is still relevant however given that all Sida projects should incorporate gender mainstreaming. This case study will also incorporate consideration of the programme aims (i.e. leadership development) more generally. Additionally, per the evaluation's forward-looking approach, the analysis will include recommendations for strengthening the WPI approach.

This case study report has been developed to form part of an overall evaluation report to Sida evaluating methods to support women's political influence as implemented by the Swedish PAOs in the period 2016-2020.

1.1 Objective/scope of the case study

The main objective of the evaluation - and this case study - is to:

- Identify and assess the relevance and effectiveness of the methods used to enhance women's political influence.

These evaluation questions are also included in Sida's Terms of Reference:

- How have lessons learned been used?
- Which are the underlying assumptions behind the programmes?
- When compared to academic literature, which conclusions about relevance and effectiveness can be drawn about the PAOs' programmes.

The evaluation questions are operationalised in a number of sub-questions, which are listed in an evaluation matrix in the evaluation report.

1.2 Methodology and limitations

The methodology used is detailed in the evaluation report and only summarised here.

The three case studies were preceded by a review of documentation received from the PAOs about their programmes and the approaches and methods to enhance women's political participation. Based on the review, interview guides were elaborated. The four interview protocols were intended to be used in interviews with:

- PAO representatives;
- representatives of national partner organisations (parties, think tanks, civil society organisations etc) and organisations implementing programmes on behalf of the PAOs;
- external experts/stakeholders; and
- individual or focus group interviews with participants/beneficiaries.

For this case study skype interviews were conducted with the secretaries general of SILC and Green Forum as well as the Latin America programme managers of SILC, Green Forum and KIC. Skype interviews were also carried out with KIC's regional implementing partner (*Cultura Democrática*, Democratic Culture, CD, based in Argentina) and the Andean Programme Manager of Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom who has collaborated with SILC in the regional training programme. The Director of Green Forum's partner (*Partido Verde Ecológico*, Ecological Green party, *PVE*) was also interviewed by skype as she would not be in Bolivia during the time of the field visit.

Interviews conducted in Bolivia for each of the PAOs included the following:

- Green Forum- four party leaders and one member
- SILC- local partner staff, five training participants, and a female politician affiliated with the local partner
- KIC – programme coordinator
- Other- Sida Country Director and two staff from International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

The major limitation associated with the case study has been the difficulties associated with interviewing KIC training participants due to the ongoing post-election civil strike and political unrest. Though the evaluator reached out during and after the field visit to request interviews, the partner has been understandably unavailable due to the national strike and subsequent tense transition process. As a result, findings regarding the KIC programme have relied on document review as well as interviews with the KIC Programme Officer, Argentina-based implementer and Bolivia-based coordinator.

Additionally, as the projects have only been operating for around one year, data related to programme outcomes were sparse, limiting the degree to which the evaluator could effectively assess effectiveness. As a result, the evaluation focuses primarily on examination of the relevance of methods chosen and is particularly forward-looking, centring on recommendations for strengthening activities aimed at women's political influence.

Responses may have been affected by courtesy bias, whereby interviewees who have benefitted or expect to benefit from assistance are hesitant to criticise the assistance and may understate any dissatisfaction with programming. The evaluator sought to overcome this by triangulating across multiple interviewees, asking follow-up questions during interviews, and providing a statement of informed consent at the start of interviews to indicate that findings would be confidential and without implications for the respondent.

Information collected prior and during the visit informed the development of a presentation made to Sida and the PAOs – via remote connection—on November 6 as well as the present report. The report has been further revised based on comments received during the presentation as well as feedback provided on a first draft by Sida and KIC.

2. BOLIVIA CONTEXT

Evo Morales' attempt to secure a fourth consecutive term came to an abrupt end on 11 November, when he announced his resignation and sought political asylum in Mexico. His departure followed three weeks of widespread civic unrest and international condemnation grounded in allegations of electoral fraud in the October 20 elections. Though reports are unconfirmed, it appears that the final and decisive nudge came from leaders of the armed forces who 'suggested' that he step down.

This sudden and ignominious downfall belies the deep impact that Morales had on Bolivian politics and culture during his 13 years in office. On the positive side, Morales rhetoric and policies had an undeniable impact on the empowerment of Bolivia's indigenous majority. Thanks to a healthy annual growth rate (5%) and the development of social programmes targeting marginalised populations, Bolivia saw a steep decline in extreme poverty rates from 38% to 17% during his presidency.¹

¹ BBC News, 2019

Yet, most independent observers would also assert that Morales' impact on the country's democratic governance was a net negative. While Bolivia's democratic institutions and processes were never robust, consensus-based political reforms had put in place a stable nonpartisan elections management model that was free of contested election results for at least two decades. In recent years however, the credibility of the electoral tribunal was damaged by political pressure, nominations seen as politically motivated, and the passage of a controversial Political Party Law. The impact of Morales' determined efforts to consolidate power also weakened other democratic institutions as evidenced by the country's overall rating of 'partly free' (67/100),² as well as its rankings on the specific measures of judicial independence³ (140 of 140 countries) and corruption (132/180).⁴

For about the last 15 years, Bolivia's political party system has been characterised as 'collapsed' and deeply fractured.⁵ Morales' party, *Movimiento al Socialismo* (Movement to Socialism, MAS), was itself a grouping of social movements and the only political organisation with a national reach. Over the course of multiple elections, the opposition was incapable of rallying around a single candidate or developing a unified electoral platform. The focus of the highly polarised 2019 campaign was devoid of policy discussions and centred solely on (opposition to or support for) Morales' candidacy, according to observers. In two cases, the opposition candidates represented nascent citizen movements. In another case, the candidate's connection to his party dated back to only two months prior to the election.

Bolivian society is historically highly organised and has included social movements powerful enough to reverse public policies (Cochabamba's water privatisation scheme in 2000) and force presidential resignations (2003 and 2005). Morales enjoyed strong social movement support- particularly from indigenous and popular sectors- in his early years. However, as dissatisfaction grew over time, key social leaders dissented and took their organisations with them. Nonetheless, as Morales' hold on indigenous and rural sectors held largely firm until the end, the country currently finds itself dangerously divided along geographic and ethnic lines and the transitional president as yet seems unable (or unwilling) to bridge the gap.⁶

² Freedom House

³ Schwab, 2018

⁴ Transparency International

⁵ Faguet, 2018

⁶ Kurmanaev and Krauss, 2019

3. CONTEXT OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE

3.1 Women in political institutions and trends over time

Few countries have seen such a rapid increase in the level of women's political representation as Bolivia. Electoral reforms, particularly quotas and parity requirements—have played a critical role in this process. In 1997, Bolivia established a quota of 30% for women and the 2010 electoral law included a parity provision requiring that women account for half of all nominees at the national, state and municipal levels. The significant jump in women's representation of the lower house, for instance, from 22.3 per cent in 2009 to 53.1 per cent in 2014 (+30.8 points) is largely attributed to the 2010 reforms that raised the quota from 30 to 50 per cent and required alternation between male and female names on party lists.⁷

As of the 2014 and 2015 elections, Bolivia achieved parity (or nearly) in the following bodies:⁸

- Chamber of deputies: 53%
- Senate: 47%
- State-level assemblies: 45%
- Municipal councils: 51%

3.2 Principal WPI obstacles

Though the first Morales cabinet under the new Constitution respected the parity mandate, the percentage of women decreased over time. By Morales' last year in office, women accounted for just 25% of government ministers. Additionally, it is important to note that for those positions not covered by the parity provisions, women are vastly outnumbered by their male counterparts. In the 2015 subnational elections, for instance, 29 women were elected as mayors, accounting for only 8% nationwide.

The challenges faced by female politicians do not end with a success at the ballot box. The social context for women's political participation also conditions the extent to which women can effectively exercise their responsibilities.⁹ Female elected officials at all levels are frequently subjected to gender-based political violence. For more than a decade, the Association of Municipal Councilwomen of Bolivia (ACOBOL) worked closely with local CSOs to draft and advocate for the world's first Law against Political Violence and Harassment against Women. The draft legislation languished in parliament for many years until 2012 when municipal councilwoman, Juana Quispe, was found strangled. Her murder heightened awareness

⁷ Inter-Parliamentary Union

⁸ Bolivia TV, 2019

⁹ At .929, Bolivia's Gender Development Index is well-below the regional average of .977. See UNDP 2018 Statistical Update

and gave fresh impetus to the advocacy campaign and the Law passed later that year¹⁰. In spite of the law, violence against women in politics (VAWP) is common across Bolivia. In 2018, ACOBOL registered 117 complaints, an increase of 35% over the previous year.¹¹ Women in rural communities are particularly at risk.

The candidacy and meteoric rise of evangelical pastor Chi Hyun Chung further underscores the level of resistance to gender equality in Bolivia. A political unknown and outsider, Chung finished third and won 8.74% of the vote less than months after declaring his candidacy. Fashioning himself as the Bolivian version of Brazilian President Bolsonaro, Chung spoke out against gender equality and LGBTI rights with promises to stop "the gender ideology from destroying our children."¹²

In addition to the challenges women face in terms of the social context outlined above, the playing field is also unbalanced when it comes to political finance. The cost of campaigns, lack of spending limits and more limited access to media coverage represent key constraints to women candidates.¹³ Though no statistics were available on 2019 campaign coverage, a 2016 study across ten media outlets found that women represented only 26% of news content.¹⁴

Like the broader society, women's groups are organised, but divided. On the one hand, indigenous women's groups (most notably the Bartolina Sisa Indigenous Campesina Movement) from the rural and popular sectors are closely aligned with Morales and focus primarily on land and labour issues. On the other hand, the women's movement also includes a number of primarily urban and middle-class organisations that are feminist in nature, focused on gender equality and either independent from Morales or associated with opposition groups. Though the two groups came together during the 2006-2007 Constitutional Assembly process to successfully press on a number of critical gender equality issues, the level of collaboration deteriorated significantly as polarisation in the country increased.¹⁵ According to interviewees, opposition groups in the 2019 election perceived that the issue of women's political influence was associated with the Morales government and, as a result, they avoided addressing the subject.

3.3 WPI Opportunities

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned challenges, the current context also presents a number of opportunities in terms of support for women's political influence. The outlook for opening civic and political space and the reconfiguration of the political

¹⁰ Within days of assuming office, Quispe began receiving death threats and was subject to intense pressure from her political adversaries to resign. She was illegally barred from participation in town council meetings after she brought charges of verbal and physical abuse against the mayor and other council members.

¹¹ Efe, 2019

¹² Página Siete Digital, 2019

¹³ UNDP, 2014

¹⁴ Coordinadora de la Mujer

¹⁵ UNDP, 2014

party system, for instance, are opportunities to work with the new political movements in developing structures and procedures that mainstream gender perspectives. Additionally, the sheer number and proportion of elected women is an opportunity for empowering women politicians, increasing their engagement with women constituents and supporting them for gender-responsive policy making. Furthermore, the period following the next elections (early 2020) could be conducive to building bridges between women from different political ideologies, particularly between women from the MAS and the new political movements, as well as with women civil society organisations. A number of cases around the world have demonstrated that women politicians may be most capable of brokering tangible policy agreements and political accords, even across polarised party lines.¹⁶ Finally, while the MAS under Morales, and its affiliated women's organisations, were reluctant to engage with international party support organisations, a post-Evo context may possibly bring opportunities for constructive (albeit tentative at first) engagement with the Bartolina Sisas for their empowerment and a shifted power differential vis-à-vis their male counterparts.

4. PROGRAMME BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

4.1 Background

This case study covers the activities of three PAOs. As mentioned previously, 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.

4.2 Green Forum, 2016-2019

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 organisational capacities in order to become a strong political actor

The programme also included the following specific objectives:

- Strengthened leadership for positioning and visibility of the PVE in Bolivian society

¹⁶ Carothers, T, 2016

- 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

With the arrival of a new secretary general and programme officer to Green Forum, the team decided to commission an independent evaluation of their long-time Bolivia partner, PVE, in order to take stock of progress to date and identify areas for improvement. The 2018 evaluation found that PVE had made some organisational inroads in terms of developing a structure at central and departmental levels. However, it also concluded that PVE activities were more centred on environmental awareness raising than on building a political party. Challenges noted by the evaluation included:

- Lack of active networks of young women and professionals;
- Low participant numbers and limited impact of public workshops aimed at environmental education
- Weak positioning and communications strategy
- Lack of strategic vision for building a political party

In light of the evaluation findings, Green Forum shifted its programme focus away from public awareness to focus more squarely on capacity development of party leaders. Additionally, Green Forum strengthened project management through the hiring of a project coordinator. In the 2019-2020 application, programme aims are:

- 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.

The programme's methods include:

- Capacity development
- Engaging men

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

4.3 KIC, 2018-2019

The theory of change employed by KIC in its programmes is based on two key assumptions: 1. changes at the social level require prior changes at the individual level; and 2. capacity is insufficient to produce change; rather willingness and opportunity are also required.¹⁷

¹⁷ KIC "Analysis" prepared for evaluation team

In 2018, KIC's engagement in Bolivia was limited to incorporating a few Bolivians in a training programme in Argentina; however, in 2019, KIC initiated activities directly in Bolivia under the PAOLA programme.

The 2018 regional programme aimed to increase women's political influence in partnership with CD, the CSO partner based in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and focused on democracy and human rights promotion through training and political cultural projects. In 2018, activities related to Bolivia consisted of participation of three Bolivian women civic leaders in a one-week capacity development workshop – Training Program for Latin American Women Political Leaders—in Argentina on themes including leadership, teambuilding, open government, citizen participation, digital democracy strategies, and anti-corruption. One of the Bolivian participants also travelled to Sweden to observe the national elections and attend a training on issues such as 'humanistic values' and political campaign strategies. In 2018, there were no funds transferred to Bolivia or activities implemented in the country.

In 2019, KIC and SILC began implementing the PAOLA Programme in Bolivia under the coordination of the Olof Palme International Centre (OPC). PAOLA's general objective is:¹⁸

- Political parties and organisations in the programme have improved their capacities to address current democratic challenges in Latin America

PAOLA 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.

The programme's methods include:

- Capacity development
- Engaging men
- International exposure/exchanges

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 was conducted independently with different partners.

¹⁸ PAOLA Application

Under the PAOLA framework, KIC continued its partnership with CD for the design and implementation of a new training programme (*Academia de Liderazgo e Innovación Democrática*- Academy of Democratic Leadership and Innovation) that built on and supported the youth network *Red Latinoamerica de Jóvenes por la democracia or Juventud Lac* (Latin American Youth Network for Democracy or Youth Lac). At the time of the fieldwork conducted in late October, the programme had implemented one national training with participants and one regional training for young men and women.¹⁹ Each training lasts between 3-4 days. KIC and CD selected a local partner organisation. As part of their learning process, the 24 training participants commit to carry out a mini-project, with the assistance of a ‘tutor’, aimed at improving their community or strengthening their party. In 2019, the funding allocated for the Bolivian national training programmes was approximately SEK 100,000.

4.4 SILC, 2018-2019

Building on an initial event in 2017, SILC’s 2018 programme in Bolivia was developed in partnership with their local partner. Topics included liberal ideology, liberal economy, human rights and liberal democracy and politics. As part of its academy approach, the partners implemented national training programmes over four weekends for political leaders, journalists and other professionals between the ages of 20-30. The budget allocated for the national training programme was SEK 300,000.

In 2019, under the PAOLA framework, SILC continued this partnership and the academy approach, implementing two national and one regional training programmes (to date). The national trainings included about 30 participants, while four Bolivians were invited to participate in the regional event. As follow-up to the workshops, participants are required to write op-ed articles for publication or circulation via social media. 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.

Like KIC under PAOLA, the programme’s methods include:

- Capacity development
- Engaging men
- International exposure/exchanges

5. FINDINGS

5.1 Relevance

A. Modalities, methods and beneficiaries

¹⁹ An additional national training was carried out in late November.

1. Which methods and modalities have been used to support women's political influence and to what extent are they relevant to the context?

In all three cases, PAOs have adopted subgrant modalities with funds transferred to partners for implementation of activities in Bolivia. Green Forum operates through a sister party approach, while KIC and SILC programmes form part of the PAOLA programme that initiated in 2019.

- Green Forum provides funds to *Centro de Produccion, Promocion y Capacitacion* (Center for Production, Promotion and Training, CEPROCA), a civil society organisation affiliated with the PVE principles and leadership;
- Since 2019, KIC provides funding to its Argentina-based regional partner, *Cultura Democrática*, for implementation of activities in Bolivia
- SILC funding is provided to its partner.

Though training is the principal focus across programmes, there are important variations. KIC and SILC focus on a “youth academy” approach engaging young people in a cycle of trainings aimed at improving their leadership skills. KIC’s national training content focused on open government and transparency as well as ‘social transformations of the 21st century,’ while SILC trainings explored human rights and economics from a liberal perspective. Green Forum’s partner, PVE, developed educational booklets and delivered trainings on topics including sustainable development, mining pollution, water use, environment and health and climate change.

The KIC and SILC programmes also include follow-up methods to reinforce learning by giving training participants an opportunity to put their skills to practice. In the case of KIC, teams of participants design and implement a mini-project aimed at improving their party, organisation or community and receive support from a ‘tutor’ throughout the implementation process. These mini-projects include the following:

- “Help Bolivia” supporting recovery from the fires in the Chiquitanía Region
- Political marketing support
- Development of methodologies for election monitoring
- Development of a municipal plan for the Pando Region

Each SILC participant is expected to write at least one op-ed article on a topic relevant to the trainings. Topics covered by these op-ed include corruption, freedom of expressions and gender quotas.

Networking among participants features particularly in the case of the SILC and KIC programmes. Participants have the opportunity to exchange experiences with activists from other regions of Bolivia and, in the case of the regional training programme participants, with youth from other countries. In both cases, participants used WhatsApp to keep in touch between training events.

Though partners of the three PAOs asserted that WPI was “cross-cutting” in the trainings, there was limited evidence of a deliberate approach to WPI training content. When partners were asked – in open-ended question format—to enumerate the objectives of the programmes, WPI and gender equality were not referenced.

Additionally, while training content may have included some reference to WPI or other forms of gender mainstreaming, a review of the available training programmes and materials revealed the following:

- The training materials provided by Green Forum’s partner did not include WPI references. As presented in the 2018 independent evaluation, “there is no evidence that the party has included gender within the content of training materials and methodologies....Regarding the training methodology, for example, gender dynamics could be included to transmit messages derived from a clearly proposed policy.”²⁰
- The 2018 KIC training programme implemented in Argentina included a strong focus on WPI. When the programme shifted in 2019 to the PAOLA umbrella and a youth-centred approach, there were no more explicit references to WPI in the training programmes.
- While the agenda of the SILC-supported regional training programme included a session focused on gender equality, agendas for the national trainings did not feature topics directly related to gender or WPI.

In the case of all three PAOs, programme content and methodologies were perceived by interviewees as highly relevant to the Bolivian context. Participants expressed appreciation for the dynamic and interactive nature of the courses, drawing contrasts with the standard adult education methodologies in Bolivia, which tend to be lecture-format and heavy on memorisation. KIC and SILC interviewees also valued the opportunity to apply training content through the follow-up activities of the mini-projects and op-ed articles, respectively. Participants gave particularly high marks to SILC’s adaptation and use of a simulation focused on parliamentary decision making.

Given the complexities and challenges of the Bolivian context, PAOLA’s collaborative approach for joint PAO programme design is relevant. Though KIC and SILC implement their programmes separately, there could be future opportunities for connecting their beneficiary groups in joint events, particularly in Bolivia’s new, more open political context.

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?

Per the PAOLA focus, KIC and SILC participants are youth with political engagement or interest. According to the PAOLA programme design, trainings are intended to increase capacity of women and youth 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 engaged with

²⁰ Dockweiler and Cabaleiro, 2018

other allied groups or movements. According to multiple interviewees, this youth-centred approach is wholly appropriate to the pressing need for a new generation of Bolivia political leaders.

From 2016-2018, Green Forum activities supported PVE in engaging with the broader public in activities aimed at environmental awareness. Beginning in 2019 however, the programme shifted to focus on strengthening the leadership skills of the party leaders. While all the trainings are focused across party leadership, there are a few side meetings organised by and limited to the PVE's Women's Wing.

In all three cases, activities include men and women, though women tend to account for a higher proportion of the participants. At about 75%, women's participation was particularly high in the case of the PVE.²¹ On the positive side, the mixed-sex composition ensures that men are also exposed to and engaged in any gender discussions included in the trainings. That is, the programmes break out of the typical dynamic of 'women talking about women's issues.' However, the WPI-related outcomes of the programmes can be further strengthened by designing complementary spaces exclusive to women participants. This can be accomplished, for instance, through the organisation of networking events between women 'graduates' and current women participants, or between women trainees and prominent women politicians and activists.

3. Are beneficiaries fully engaged in all stages of the project cycle, including design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation?

Partners said that they have full participation in key decisions regarding participant selection, training design and implementation.²² Partners are also largely in charge of developing the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) instruments, except for the PAOLA baseline design (developed under OPC's coordination).

Trusting partners to develop programmes is likely to pay strong dividends in terms of relevance to national context and local ownership.²³ One possible trade off however could be limited attention to WPI. On the one hand, Sida's policy is value-based and unequivocal in stating: "Gender equality and the rights and empowerment of women are priorities throughout all Sida-funded development cooperation"²⁴ and "The gender equality perspective should permeate all activities that fall within the framework of this (democracy strategy) support."²⁵ Given that this WPI tenet could be in tension with Sida's commitment to local ownership as an essential element of sustainable development,²⁶ there is need for deeper dialogue and joint assessment between the PAOs and partners on the subject of WPI.

²¹ Dockweiler and Cabaleiro, 2018

²² The only exception was Green Forum's decision to shift support away from public awareness raising to capacity building of party leadership, which was based on findings of the 2018 programme evaluation but not supported by PVE.

²³ For a detailed perspective on this potential conflict, see: Aune, 2019

²⁴ Sida, 2017

²⁵ Sida, 2018

²⁶ Sida, 2016

While partners are fully engaged in all stages of project cycle, there is no evidence that the ultimate beneficiaries (training participants) had input on the curriculum design or methodologies, though they do have the opportunity to provide feedback on course content and presenters. In any event, the partners' understanding of the context and fluid dialogue with ultimate beneficiaries combines to ensure that trainings are relevant to beneficiary needs.

4. To what extent are programmes being changed in relation to the settings in which they are implemented?

Green Forum has sought to support PVE in adapting to the challenging political context, particularly the loss of the party's legal registration and barriers to securing registration again. The independent evaluation and programme redesign, focused specifically on party strengthening, are examples of Green Forum's recent attempts to shift directions in response to the setting.

As SILC's and KIC's partners were active in the 2019 campaign, the programme adapted its scheduling and content-- incorporating a focus on political communication (media training and social media communication) and electoral observation (KIC). To date, the trainings do not include an explicit link however to policy formulation – for instance in terms of party platform development— but is planned in relation to the upcoming campaign periods.

5. To what extent are activities undertaken in coordination with other PAOs and other actors that work for women's political influence?

Green Forum's work is not coordinated with other PAOs. Though Green Forum has expressed initial interest, its partner seems reluctant to work with the major opposition parties.

Under the PAOLA umbrella, KIC and SILC are coordinating for the design of the baseline survey as well as for exchange and tailoring of training methods and content. Though still nascent and under development, the joint programme approach presents a number of potential advantages. First, given the limited resources and distance between Sweden and Bolivia, PAOs could benefit from cost-sharing and exchanging information regarding the political context, local human resources (i.e., presenters) and potential allies in country for coordination. Additionally, the PAOs could choose to reinforce a WPI focus through support for networking and joint events between the women participants in their respective programmes.

Additionally, SILC has coordinated with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) on the regional trainings. SILC and FNF value the contribution for enabling participation of additional participants in the trainings, enhancing the quality of the event and contributing to sustainability.

Specific to WPI, collaboration is limited and there is room for improvement. For the 2018 training, KIC coordinated closely with the women's organisation Resistencia Feminina (Feminine Resistance, RF). Additionally, in 2018, PVE's

public awareness raising included outreach to the grassroots “clubes de madres” (mothers’ clubs).²⁷

It should be noted that Bolivia has a number of national and international organisations with extensive experience in women’s political participation. The civil society organisation, Coordinadora de la Mujer (Women’s Coordination), is internationally recognised for its ground-breaking work promoting the election of women and addressing VAWP. Additionally, International IDEA, Oxfam and UN Women carry out WPI activities in country. International IDEA, for instance, has developed a large-scale leadership training programme for youth, including many of whom were elected in October 2019, as well as political and electoral reform activities aimed at supporting WPI.

Given the distance between Sweden and Bolivia and the complex political environment, PAO contact with other international and national actors present in Bolivia could also prove helpful in providing additional political context and identifying opportunities for coordination.

6. Have activities been undertaken in a comprehensive way and with a content that is clear to participants?

It is important to recognise that the amount of funding available limits the extent to which programmes can be “comprehensive.” At the individual level, the PAOLA trainings are complete in terms of including deliberate participant selection processes, high-quality training content and some opportunities for follow-up engagement.

It is not evident however that the current approach- focused primarily on individual capacity development—will achieve PAOLA’s intermediate outcome of improving political parties’ policy development, strategies, methods and organisational levels. As currently implemented in Bolivia, the programme’s links to impact at the organisational level, in terms of influencing party leadership and party structures are tenuous. This is likely due to the (electoral) timing in 2019 as well as the limited resources.

In the case of Green Forum, the shift to focus on trainings for party leadership is consistent with the expected outcome (“Leadership of green political organizations increase their capacity to reach out to members and hang-arounds with focus on women, youth and indigenous groups and advocate towards green issues”). However, as currently designed, trainings prioritise environmental content, rather than the strategic, organisational and communications issues needed to achieve the objective.

²⁷ As highlighted in the 2018 evaluation, the results of outreach to the mother’s clubs and other groups are unknown as reporting was focused primarily on outputs (numbers trained), rather than outcomes or impacts. Dockweiler and Cabaleiro, 2018

As referenced above, in all three cases, a gender mainstreaming approach would benefit from more systematic attention to WPI within the training content and some women-only networking opportunities.

As raised by external experts and one PAO, the inclusion of a programmatic focus—for instance, on policy formulation from a gender responsive perspective—would also be relevant for the upcoming elections in Bolivia as well as for strengthening the influence of recently elected legislators.²⁸

7. Have activities been undertaken in a one-off or continuous way?

The training approach is continuous in that the same participants are engaged through multiple trainings over the programme period.

B. Strategic direction

8. To what extent do PAOs prioritise countries in which women's political participation and influence is weak?

As a country for PAO support, Bolivia is an appropriate choice on multiple fronts. First, as demonstrated by the recent elections, Bolivia's electoral integrity has been at risk for a number of years, including in terms of the uneven electoral playing field. Experts have pointed out a number of ways in which Morales committed abuse of state resources in order to extend his hold on power. On some aspects, Bolivia was exhibiting characteristics of a closing civic and political space, particularly through use of the judiciary for political ends. Within this context, Bolivia's opposition was acutely in need of resources and international support.

On the issue of women's political influence, the level of women's participation and representation in Bolivia is relatively high. However, while the country has reached parity-levels for some political offices, women's presence in politics does not necessarily equate with influence. Women were generally not perceived as being among the principal decision makers within the Morales government or in the major opposition parties. Additionally, as mentioned above, the gap between the principle of parity and the reality in Bolivia is further underscored by the high levels of gender-based violence, particularly VAWP.

This paradox of high presence, but limited influence makes Bolivia an interesting and relevant context for PAO support. In particular, multiple interviewees highlighted the importance of ensuring that women in politics had opportunities to build their skills and networks in order to exercise power effectively.

9. To what extent are the partners with whom PAOs work the most relevant and consequential ones for women's political influence and participation.

²⁸ At least one of the PAOs is planning to incorporate policy development into the 2020 training programme.

Prior to initiating support, PAOs conducted in-depth assessments of their prospective partners' capacity, reviewing strengths and challenges, including as it applies to gender equality. Importantly, PAOs also reviewed and confirmed partner commitment to key values and principles related to inclusive democratic participation, including as it regards to women and men.

KIC and SILC work with partners that come across as the most relevant and consequential for women's political influence and participation.

Green Forum's partner, PVE, lost its registration as a party in 2014. Though there is growing environmental consciousness in Bolivia, particularly after the Chiquitanía fires, PVE has not been able to position itself as a political actor and did not participate in any alliance during the 2019 elections. At the present time, PVE is not relevant in Bolivian politics. PVE receives no public funding. On the one hand, PVE's precarious financial situation means that Green Forum support (its sole international support) plays a decisive role in the party development. However, this support will only be sustainable to the extent that PVE is able to improve its political marketing, outreach and chart a path toward legal registration.

10. To what extent do activities aimed at supporting women's political participation and influence address deeper social and economic inequalities that may contribute to limit such possibilities?

As already outlined, the programmes in Bolivia do not engage deeply on the issue of women's political participation. However, their training content does address issues related to human rights and civic/political freedoms.

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?

Green Forum showed significant capacity for adaptation by commissioning an independent evaluation and developing its 2019-2020 application based on the results. Specific to the WPI front however, it is not evident that Green Forum has reflected on and applied relevant lessons from its Green Female Politicians Programme, particularly in terms of supporting PVE's women's wing and introducing gender-responsive training content.

PAOLA design has been informed by the Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA), particularly in terms of its multiparty approach, use of 'mini projects,' M&E, and training methodologies. Notwithstanding the very different resource levels, political contexts and social norms, there is room for incorporating PYPA lessons learned regarding WPI, particularly on the creation of complementary women-only spaces and activities oriented at reform of party structures, processes and norms.

An additional example of innovation is SILC's adaptation and translation of a simulation exercise developed in another region and used in Bolivia.

With the exception of the 2018 trip to Sweden by two KIC counterparts, the programmes had not yet – as of October 2019 - engaged Swedish politicians in implementation, most likely due to budget and language limitations.

12. To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?

As the programmes are new, there has been limited opportunity for assessment, learning and adaptation. Based on feedback from participants in a training workshop, SILC has adapted its programme for the next regional workshop and replaced some presenters to enhance participation and space for diverse viewpoints. Another example of adaptation has come from Green Forum's partner: recognising the need to enhance their visibility, PVE is investing in the development of new website and strengthening its social media outreach.

C Adaptation to local needs

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 political influence?

For political and security reasons, PAO support to their partners in Bolivia is necessarily low-profile. Experts consulted were not aware of the PAO programmes. However, there was consensus in terms of the relevance of the approaches, including:

- Focus on youth political leadership development;
- Support for networking and trust-building between youth of different regions of the country
- Use of dynamic/interactive training methodologies
- Support for key political actors

At the same time however, suggestions from local experts, coupled with an exhaustive desk review, also point to the need for strategies on gender and intersectionality (particularly inclusion of indigenous and rural sectors). Additionally, a local expert identified at least two other youth political leadership development programmes that are complementary to the PAOLA programme and might merit coordination or synergies.

14. Is support through PAOs relevant to the expressed needs of women party members and women constituents/voters, including women from marginalised groups?

The women interviewed for this evaluation were unanimously positive regarding the calibre of the trainers and the value of the training processes.

“This space is valuable because discussions of ideological principles are rare in Bolivia.”

“I have appreciated being exposed to diverse perspectives in the workshops. For instance, one of the participants is a strong advocate of feminism and quotas. I don't agree with her viewpoint, but it is important to understand her point of view.”

“This course has been the best thing I've done all year!”

The KIC and SILC focus on youth leadership is an important approach given that sector's relative marginalisation from political decision-making.

Given the fractured nature of Bolivian society, ensuring geographic inclusion is also important. To the extent that resources become available, it would be important for the programmes to consider including additional regions to the training programmes. This should ideally include paying special attention to bridging deep divides beyond gender and age, such as rural/urban; lowlands/highlands; and indigenous/non-indigenous. For instance, bringing in trainees from rural communities around the country and from more highlands/valley states (with higher indigenous populations) would add diversity and strengthen inter-regional networking.

Though the programmes have included the participation of some indigenous trainees, it seems that the proportion was low and that Bolivia's ethnic diversity was not discussed explicitly during the trainings. Of the three programmes, Green Forum-PVE trainings seemed to be the most active in engaging participants from rural and marginalised communities. In order to ensure relevance to Bolivians, including women, from marginalised groups, a focus on indigenous and rural sectors is essential.

D Correspondence to best practices

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?

The PAO theories of change (ToC) did not consider women's political influence specifically. Rather, they focused on (non-gendered) capacity development that involve some combination of the following ingredients:²⁹

- Capacity: Characteristics of individuals in terms of education, skills, knowledge to perform their tasks.
- Willingness: Attitude towards work including motivation, legitimacy of participation, perceived role expectations, job involvement.
- Opportunity: Environmental variables including tools available, materials, organisational policies, rules and procedures.

As further expressed by SILC, trainings increase motivation (willingness) and capacity and broaden perspectives, while continuous communication with party leadership helps to create awareness of under-represented groups as well as supports buy-in and ownership of the training programmes.

As laid out in Green Forum documents, this ToC is grounded in academic studies by Blumberg and Pringle, particularly their Theory of Work Performance.³⁰

²⁹ Green Forum, 2019-2020 Application

³⁰ Blumberg and Pringle, 1982

Additionally, Green Forum's methodology for political party development support is based on the Ladder of Political Maturity -- developed and tested since 2015- which includes three key components:

- Organisational setup and political delivery
- Political Cooperation
- Political Communication

SILC has published research comparing gender policies between liberal, conservative and social democratic parties, entitled "What to Expect When Expecting Equality: A Report on Gender Policy in Political Parties" and to be launched in the region in late 2019 or early 2020. Given the general tendency of Latin American liberal parties to oppose measures aimed at promoting WPI, this publication could potentially be useful in making the connection between liberal principles and gender equality.

16. Do PAOs seem to use available evidence on how to promote women's political influence in their programming?

As highlighted above, the PAOs have not consolidated their WPI strategies or methods yet, much less their metrics or instruments for monitoring WPI progress. The PAOLA programme includes a comprehensive baseline, including a number of key measures related to WPI, that will be useful for measuring change over time.

Given that baseline measurements are generally only revisited after a period of one or two years, it will be important to develop regular monitoring mechanisms that not only track the number of women participants, but also disaggregate satisfaction and progress measures by sex and include some indicators regarding the impact of any gender equality activities implemented.

5.2 Effectiveness

Question 2: How effective is the programme and the methods applied in increasing women's political influence?

17. What is the self-evaluation of PAOs regarding specific methods/programmes? What are the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen?

In general, PAOs are appropriately cautious when asked to make self-evaluations regarding progress. SILC and KIC are pleased with the quality of their trainings and the follow-up activities, but do not have the data necessary yet to speak to any potential changes produced. As M&E tools are still under development for the PVE programme, Green Forum also lacks the necessary information to assess the quality of the programme.

Though the PAO representatives interviewed have a well-developed understanding of the complexities of WPI, their partner organisations shared some assumptions that merit further discussion and clarification, for instance:

- According to at least two partner interviewees, since parity already exists and women have representation in political office, the only pending need is training these women officials so that they may be more effective. This assumption however leaves out the myriad other challenges women face, particularly in terms of the structures, procedures and norms in political parties, subnational governments, legislatures, etc that are biased against women, as well as the larger social norms operating in society.
- When asked about the level of engagement in WPI, multiple partners responded that the issue was “covered” because women had equal participation as staff, trainees and presenters. Equating presence with WPI is, of course, an incomplete view of the broader power dynamics in play.

18. What changes with regard to women’s political influence/impact do target group representatives attribute to the programme?

The programme is too recent, and the WPI component too limited, to discern an impact. One external observer did note that many of the youth participants were particularly active in the 2019 campaign process, including some as candidates.

Quotes from women trainees include:

“We have developed a sense of identity as a group and the networking is helpful. We are giving an example to others in Bolivia on the importance of civic dialogue.”

“I’ve learned how to analyse problems and have shared my knowledge with other women outside the training.”

19. 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?

Comparison is not feasible as, for the most part, the programmes operate in only one sphere:

- The PAOLA programme is focused on young party members and activists
- The Green Forum support is aimed at party leaders

20. How do other party representatives (including party leadership) see activities within the programme? Are they ready to consider adaptation due to lessons learnt or external information?

The Green Forum programme is aimed at party leadership exclusively. PVE leadership is appreciative of Green Forum support, however some members do not seem fully on board with the adaptation recommended by the independent evaluation: shifting away from training communities and focusing instead on strengthening the party structure and leadership.

KIC and SILC have held discussions with party leaders and received assurances that they would follow-up on training activities. Given the intense electoral context however, it was not realistic for party leaders to engage deeply in the types of reform and strengthening activities discussed in the trainings. Once the elections are over, it

would be important to take up the coordination again and secure firm commitments from the leaders on follow-up and support to the youth, as well as on a dialogue and specific benchmarks regarding WPI.

21. Is there evidence of resistance to programme activities, either from party representatives or from other actors (e.g. public ones).

Interviewees insisted that there is not resistance within the parties to either the training process or WPI, in general. Given the context in Bolivia however—as further evidenced by the break-out electoral performance of (Bolivia’s would-be Bolsonaro) Chung—it would be important to identify and track – including via social media-- any potential risks to women for participating in the programme activities. This will become even more relevant to the extent that the trainings begin incorporating women from rural communities and/or indigenous sectors.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The wisdom of the decision to work in Bolivia and support political movements there has been borne out by events of the last few months. Given the context, PAOs have the potential to make an important contribution in strengthening political parties and developing a new generation of leadership.

In all three cases, the programmes’ focus on capacity development, opportunities for networking and quality of the training events are appreciated by participants. Similarly, PAO commitment to local ownership in the three programmes has helped to ensure that training content is relevant to the national context. Follow-up activities within the PAOLA programme, such as mini projects and op-ed articles, provide participants with the opportunity to apply and reinforce skills.

The increased emphasis on the modality of collaboration between PAOs has incentivised KIC and SILC to collaborate on M&E and methods. Programme design reflects lessons learned, particularly in terms of the 2018 Green Forum evaluation and PYPA methodologies and multiparty approach. In terms of WPI, the PAOs could draw additional lessons from the Green Female Politicians Programme, PYPA’s gendered approach findings, and the Swedish experience.

The three programmes have achieved gender balance in terms of participants and presenters. However, across the three cases, other dimensions of women’s political influence are under-developed. Although WPI is not the main focus of the programmes, the Sida mandate of ‘gender mainstreaming’ requires a deliberate and explicit gender approach. While staff across the three PAOs are attuned to the concept and complexities regarding women’s political influence, some partner interviewees in Bolivia hold overly simplified assumptions-- regarding the meaning, obstacles and pathways to WPI—and would benefit from evidence-based reflection and dialogue on the topic.

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. In the case of PAOLA, the training focus is well-suited to build capacity at the individual

level. However, contributions to organisational change require more concerted efforts in the areas of will (of the political leaders) and opportunities for meaningful engagement of youth within the party structures. Green Forum trainings target the highest level of PVE leadership, though it is too soon to assess whether investments in individual capacity development will translate into a strengthened organisational structure.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

In terms of programme effectiveness and relevance, particularly as it relates to women's political influence, the following actions are recommended:

- Carry out reflections with partners (incorporating the women's wings) on women's political influence, including its link with Sida's values-based commitment to gender mainstreaming, relevance to the Bolivian context, critical needs and opportunities and potential entry points
- Linked to the election campaigns and/or support for newly elected officials, incorporate trainings on public policy formulation with a particular focus on gender-responsive policy development
- Consider developing specialised training programmes for newly elected women MPs or local government officials. Given the low numbers, women candidates for mayor or elected women mayors may also be a relevant target group.
- Given Bolivia's fractured political and social dynamics, pay special attention to ensure that programmes contribute to bridging deep divides beyond gender and age, such as rural/urban; lowlands/highlands; and indigenous/non-indigenous.
- Complement the mixed (men/women) trainings with complementary women-only spaces to allow for networking and deeper engagement. These activities could focus on linking past and present women participants.
- Complement the programmes' individual capacity strengthening approach with a bolstered focus on organisational change, including through party leader commitments to participant follow-up, opportunities for dialogue between youth and leaders, and development of organisational benchmarks.
- Consider opportunities for engaging Swedish politicians on WPI topics for instance on a) featuring male gender equality 'champions;' and b) gender mainstreaming in public policy formulation. Given budget limitations, one option to explore is connecting politicians from Sweden (or relevant regional experiences) via webinars in trainings or as a motive for alumni networking events.
- Explore opportunities to bring together participants from the different PAO programmes in joint activities, as well as enhanced linkages with other political leadership programmes operating in Bolivia

- Ensure a ‘do no harm’ approach by identifying and tracking any resistance or backlash to women’s political influence.

North Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina

Author: Marianne Victor Hansen

1. INTRODUCTION

This case study focused on the programmes of Olof Palme International Centre (OPC), Centre Party's International Foundation (CIS) and Jarl Hjalmarson Stiftelsen (JHS) implemented in either Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia or at the regional level covering the Western Balkans.

Jarl Hjalmarson Stiftelsen (JHS) is presently implementing the programme *Regional Programme in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe 2019-2020*. The previous programme was *Regional Programme in the Balkans 2016-2018*. The national partners in North Macedonia (NM) are the conservative and pro-European party *Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity* (VMRO-DPMNE). In Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) the partner is the *Party of Democratic Progress* (PDP) mainly based in Republika Srpska. Three other partnerships with minor political parties have been phased out.

Olof Palme International Centre (OPC) and Centre Party International Foundation (CIS) have entered into cooperation (with OPC as formal lead) on a joint programme called *PAO Western Balkans 2019-2020*. OPC and CIS have a number of separate partnerships and run some activities jointly. OPC's partners are the regional *Central East European Gender Network*, the social democratic party *Social Democratic Union of Macedonia* (SDSM) and the think tank *Progres Institute* (PI) in NM, and in BiH *Social Democratic Party of BiH* (SDP-BiH) and the think tank *Forum for Left Initiative* (FLI). CIS is working in BiH with the party *Nasa Stranka* (NS) and the political foundation *Boris Divkovic Foundation* (BDF), and in North Macedonia with the Liberal Democratic Party, (Liberalno-Demokratska Partija (LDP)), and the foundation Liberal Institute Skopje (LIS).

The joint programme of OPC and CIS include continuation of their previous separate programmes and establish new partnerships and components. A new joint regional intervention called the *Youth Academy for Progressive Politics in Western Balkans* (ProgWeB), is inviting partners of OPC and CIS to a regional academy training. The training and capacity development activities for young liberal and social democratic politicians from 6 Western Balkan countries is composed of 3 modules during a year and include training in gender equality. During 2016-2018, OPC had a global programme, which included a regional programme in the Western Balkans and Moldova. In that programme, OPC was working with the same regional gender network and four partners in the two countries as in the 2019-2020 programme.

During 2016-2018, CIS had an overall programme covering the Western Balkans and Palestine. The programme included partnerships with the social-liberal party *NS*

and the political foundation BDF in BiH. BDF was furthermore the co-implementer of the *Regional Liberal Political Academy* (RLPA) aiming at capacity development of young members of liberal parties in several countries of the Western Balkans.

A summary of partners of each Party-Affiliated Organisation is shown in the table below:

PAO	North Macedonia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Regional
JHS	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE)	Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)	The European People's Party (EPP)
OPC	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) Think tank Progres Institute (PI)	Social Democratic Party of BiH Think tank Forum for Left Initiative (FLI)	Central East European Gender Network
CIS	The Liberal Democratic Party, Liberalno-Demokratska Partija (LDP), and the foundation Liberal Institute Skopje (LIS).	The Liberal Party Nasa Stranka (NS) and the Political Foundation Boris Divkovic Foundation (BDF).	(The programme 2016-2018) did include regional activities particularly the <i>Regional Liberal Political Academy</i>)

In this case study, the programmes refer to the above-mentioned programmes, while the concrete support arrangements and funding agreements between the PAOs (in this case either CIS or OPC) and one partner (political foundation/think tank or regional network) are called projects.

This evaluation's choice to visit the Western Balkan programme and NM and BiH was based on the intention that the three case studies should cover different political systems and contexts and regions and as many PAOs and different methods as possible. This case study covers 3 different PAOs applying very different modalities. All of them have been present in the region during almost a decade. All three programmes include and address gender equality, women's representation and influence both with specific objectives and related activities and as a crosscutting issue throughout the programmes. Despite a very complex context, there has been progress regarding women's representation. Both countries have law-embedded quota systems. Finally, the region was chosen because of the multitude of different and some new methods applied in the region.

This case study report has been developed to form part of an overall evaluation report to Sida evaluating methods to support women's political influence as implemented by the Swedish PAOs in the period 2016-2020.

1.1 Objective/scope of the case study

The main objective of the evaluation - and this case study - is to:

- Identify and assess the relevance and effectiveness of the methods used (in North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and at regional level in Western Balkan) to enhance women's political influence.

These evaluation questions are also included in Sida's Terms of Reference:

- How have lessons learned been used?
- Which are the underlying assumptions behind the programmes?
- When compared to academic literature, which conclusions about relevance and effectiveness can be drawn about the PAOs' programmes.

The evaluation questions are operationalised in a number of sub-questions, which are listed in an evaluation matrix in the evaluation report and guiding the structure of this report.³¹

1.2 Methodology and limitations

The methodology used is detailed in the evaluation report and only summarised here.

Considering that the objective and scope of the evaluation is to identify and assess the methods used to enhance women's participation and influence, this report focuses on the identified methods, and does not pretend to evaluate all part of the programmes, projects and partners.

This case study is one of three case studies. The case studies were preceded by a brief mapping of documentation from the PAOs about approaches and methods to enhance women's political participation.³² The review concluded that the PAOs apply pragmatic approaches in which different methods are simultaneously employed.

This report includes experiences from the three PAOs working in the Western Balkans. It has included a document review of documentation from the PAO programme documents (2016-2018), programme documents/applications and corresponding results matrix (2019-2020) and reporting on the previous programme (2016-2018), final reports as well as annual reports for 2018 and 2017. In the case of OPC, short project documents and results matrix for each of the projects/partners has been available. See Annex 1 for a list of references.

³¹ FCG, Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations, final Inception Report, 2019

³² Ugglä, F., 2019, Mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation and gender equality

All programme documents include objectives, expected results and some indicators and considerations on gender equality and women's representation and influence.

Interview guides were elaborated for the case studies. The four interview protocols (see Annex 2) were used in interviews with:

- PAO representatives;
- Representatives of national partner organisations (parties, think tank/political foundations, CSOs etc) and organisations implementing programmes on behalf of the PAOs;
- Representative from the Embassy of Sweden in BiH as external experts/stakeholders; and
- Individual or focus group interviews with participants/beneficiaries.

For this case study face-to-face interviews were conducted in Stockholm with the Secretary General of CIS, the Coordinator for Political Party Support at OPC and the 3 programme managers from CIS, OPC and JHS. Skype interviews were carried out with one key trainer from JHS, one former programme manager from CIS and with one informant from North Macedonia, who was not available during the field visit.

During the field visit (7th-11th October 2019), interviews were conducted with staff from the 4 partners (3 think tank/political foundations and 1 regional network), former and presently involved party representatives from 4 parties and participants in activities. Furthermore, an interview with a Sida representative and former Sida PAO programme manager from the Embassy of Sweden in BiH was conducted. A total of 28 persons were interviewed for this case study (see Annex 2).

The most important limitations to realise the evaluation and answer all questions included:

- The running programme (2019-2020) has only been implemented for approximately 7-9 months, meaning that reports are not available yet. Fortunately, the finalised programmes had the same partners and enabled an evaluation of the results and outcome achieved during that time span through key informant interviews.
- Part of the reporting on the programmes during 2016-2018 emphasises the overall political development in the countries, however, tend to be weaker on results, outcomes and applied methods of each of the projects.
- No tracer studies or ex-post survey on participants in training courses, workshop, or other activities has been made.
- Activities were not attended or observed during the field visit.

Despite the limitations, it has been possible to collect and analyse information and formulate findings, conclusions and recommendations based on the documentation, interviews and field visits.

The case study report has been revised based on comments from Sida and from PAOs (KIC, OPC and CIS). Comments led to some corrections and revisions, particularly of the findings on relations and exchange between the Balkan and the

Swedish political parties and of the description of reporting and the M&E systems of the PAOs.

2. REGIONAL CONTEXT ANALYSIS

The following section presents a short context analysis, focusing on the general political context.

2.1 Western Balkan

The current political context of the Balkan region is very volatile and fragile. Twenty-five years after the fall of former Yugoslavia, the countries are still in transitional processes to democracy. Tensions are high due to ethnic, religious and nationalist trends. The international situation, particularly tensions with Russia do affect the political situation. The economic situation in the Western Balkan is fragile with high unemployment, poverty and high rates of young people wanting to migrate to other parts of Europe.

The political institutions are weak, corruption high and the popular trust in institutions as well as in the political parties is very low. The political parties are mostly young and not yet consolidated democratic actors. Most challenging are the ethnic cleavages also influencing the political parties. EU accession is high on the political agenda, however, the challenges for EU-integration are different between the countries. The pressure from the EU to implement economic and political reforms are addressed in different ways. There are serious backlashes in some of the countries, while progress in others.

2.2 North Macedonia

North Macedonia is characterised 'partly free' by the Freedom House rating and scores 35 on Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) corruption scale (0-100=low). The system is a parliamentary republic and the electoral system is proportional, without preferential vote. Since 2017, the government is led by the Social Democratic Party SDSM. During the previous 11 years, the country was led by Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski from VMRO-DPMNE. There are deep political and ethnic cleavages challenging the development of the country. The country became a candidate for EU accession in 2005, but due to the name conflict with Greece, the negotiations only re-started after the change of name to North Macedonia.

2.3 Bosnia and Herzegovina

BiH is characterised 'partly free' by the Freedom House and score 38 on Transparency International CPI corruption scale (0-100=low). The system is a representative parliamentary democracy within a complex federal structure. The electoral system is proportional with preferential vote. Twenty years after the end of the most brutal war and the Dayton Agreement, the country is still suffering from deep ethnic split and small signs of progress are presently under pressure. The constitutional decentralised setup of the country implies that many of the political parties are linked to ethnic groupings. The 2018 elections were deeply influenced by

the ethnic cleavages and the nationalist tendencies continue to be a threat to democracy.

3. CONTEXT OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The following section presents a short context analysis, focusing on women's political participation in political institutions and the general obstacles and opportunities for women's political participation³³.

3.1 Women in political institutions

Women's political representation is generally low in the region, but recent trends indicate an increase. Both countries have adopted legal quotation systems to ensure women's representation³⁴.

In BiH³⁵, the share of women in parliament is only 21,4%, however it has increased from 7,1% since 2001. Of 143 municipalities, only six mayors are women. The Law on Gender Equality from 2003 and amended in 2009 mandates that equal representation of men and women exists when one sex is represented with at least 40 percent of the representatives in public sector bodies at state, entity, cantonal, and municipal levels.³⁶ Quotas on the candidate lists require that 40% of the candidates are women and there are regulations on the order, stipulating that every third candidate should be a woman. The quotas on the candidate lists only imply a slow increase, because men are still higher on the list and get elected before the women. The majority of top runners are men, and women are extremely underrepresented in government, ministerial and mayor positions, as well as internally in the parties' leadership structures.

In NM the share of women in parliament reached 38,3% at the latest elections³⁷. Women's representation has increased considerably after the introduction of quotas on the candidate lists, and particularly when the quotas were raised from 30% to 40%. Still, the majority of top runners are also men and women are very underrepresented among the government positions, ministers and mayors, as well as internally in the parties' leadership structures.

3.2 Principal obstacles to women's political influence in the region

Documents and interviews reveal a large number of obstacles to women's political influence in the region. BiH scores 0,924 and NM 0,946 on the Gender Related

³³ Browne, E. 'Gender norms in the Western Balkans', K4D, March 2017. Lazarević, M. and Tadić, K. 'Gender issues in the Western Balkans', CSF Policy Brief, April 2018. 'Political Trends & Dynamics. Gender Politics in Southeast Europe', Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2018.

³⁴ Nacevska, Elena, *The effectiveness of gender quotas in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia*, Teorija in praksa, January 2017

³⁵ Index Mundi: <https://www.indexmundi.com/facts/bosnia-and-herzegovina/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>

³⁶ USAID Gender Analysis Report for BiH – extended summary, November 2016

³⁷ Katerina Kolozova, Marija Savovska: Study on women's representation for Westminster Foundation for Democracy <https://www.wfd.org/2020/02/14/more-women-in-parliament-in-north-macedonia-but-more-needs-to-be-done-to-bolster-political-participation/>

Development Index (GDI) index. The ex-Yugoslavia republic had laws and policies on gender equality and a high percentage of women achieved high levels of education, also within traditionally male-dominated areas such as natural sciences and engineering. In spite of this positive historical past, the current societies are now characterised as male-dominated, traditional and discriminatory.

The reasons for this are both structural, as well as cultural. Men are dominating all levels of society and women are in general suffering from an unequal and inaccessible labour market, higher unemployment rates, lower wages and limited childcare opportunities preventing mothers to enter the labour market.

Other reasons relate to ethnic and gender discrimination, traditions and social norms, where women are blamed if they do not prioritise to take care of their families. The division of labour is said to be traditional, with the women as the sole housekeeper and caretaker of not only children, but also elderly relatives. These patterns are said to be changing slowly in the urban areas and faster among young progressive middle-class career families. The media also presents an unrepresentative coverage of men and women and is generally non-gender sensitive, which contributed negatively to reinforcing gender stereo types.

3.3 Emerging opportunities for women's political influence

Interviews indicate a general conducive context for women's political participation with openings for and attention to the importance of women's participation, representation and influence. The quota system requiring 40% women on the candidate lists is described to affect the political parties internally. The party leaders and other responsible for recruiting aspirants and candidates are forced to look for women candidates. A strong focus on gender equality among the electorate push the political parties to prioritise the issue and to promote women. There is a high level of awareness and accept among top party leaders that gender equality is as an important issue, which has to be addressed by the parties' policies and internally in the parties.

4. PROGRAMME BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

This case study covers three finalised programmes (2016-2018), one from each of the three PAOs (CIS, OPC and JHS) and the present programmes (2019-2020) of JHS, and the joint programme of OPC and CIS.

4.1 The programme of OPC and CIS

The joint OPC and CIS programme for the Western Balkan, with a total budget of 18,8 million Swedish Kroner (SEK) over 2019-2020, 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.”

Among the three indicators for this overall programme objective is “the role that women (and youth) have had in decision-making processes within their parties”. Furthermore, the intermediate Objective 1 of the programme include that “focus on

increasing political participation of women and youth”. Two of three indicators are defined as “increased participation and influence of women and youth” and the last indicator is “increased understanding of party-integrity and work on gender equality, age diversity and multi-culturalism”.

Although the programme’s main focus is on the political diversity, cooperation and progressive alternatives, gender equality is at the core of the programme and mainstreamed through the entire programme document. The programme addresses representation of women and their political influence and focus on parties’ policy development and advocacy for gender equality.

The focus on gender equality and women’s representation and influence is well reflected in the model for the sister party support component of the programme (see Figure 1 below), which has been the model of CIS for sister party support during the finalised programme. The model encompasses a focus on 1) Institutional capacity; 2) Organisational capacity and 3) Political capacity.

Figure 1 - A three-step program for political party capacity development



The 2016-2018 programme of CIS had three objectives, among which the second was to “strengthen the political participation and influence of underrepresented groups, particularly women (and youth)”. The theory of change was that stronger parties will contribute to human rights, democracy and (gender) equality. The programme had a strong and mainstreamed focus on gender equality and women’s political participation and influence.

The 2016-2018-programme of OPC had an overall programme goal: “the social democratic sister parties and their side-organisations involved have improved the internal democracy and are pushing for progressive reforms”. The second (intermediate) objective was that “the influence of women and youth has increased in the sister parties”. It is underlined that the participation is expected to increase “both in the central parties and through the women’s wings”. The aim was to increase the representation of women in leading positions, strengthen the relations between the central parties and the “side-organisations” (such as women’s wings) as well as their

influence on policy proposals. Three of four objectives were focussed on internal democracy including strengthening the participation and influence of women (and youth).

4.2 The programme of JHS

The present programme by JHS is Regional programme for Balkan and Eastern Europe 2019-2020³⁸ with a total budget of 22 million SEK. 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”.

JHS operates with four categories of interventions, which are:

- 1) Training, mainly as academies for a selected group of leaders or potential leaders;
- 2) Regional Round-table conferences;
- 3) Study visits to Sweden during European elections and to the EU-institutions in Brussels and;
- 4) International network-activities in relation to the Europeans Peoples’ Party (EPP) and International Democrat Union (IDU).

In the previous programme (2016-2018) of JHS, one of six indicators were to increase the share of women at different levels of the party, percentage of members, of candidates and to strengthen gender equality in general within the party and get a satisfactory representation of young peoples.” In the indicator matrix³⁹ there is a baseline and targets for the representation of women as members and share of candidates at the parliamentary elections in the four countries, however, the final report on the programme did not include the baseline or reflect on the indicator matrix.

Documents and interviews confirm that gender equality is to a high degree mainstreamed across activities, either as a topic during training and as a key issue during study visits.

5. FINDINGS

In the following chapter, the findings of the evaluation are presented. Where relevant, the evaluation questions are inserted to guide the reader as well as better illustrate where the case study addresses the different questions. The first sections 5.1.1 to 5.1.7 are all related to Relevance, while section 5.2 is related to Effectiveness.

³⁸ The name is in Swedish – translated from *Regionalt program på Balkan och i Östra Europa 2019-2020*

³⁹ JHS application p. 20.

5.1 Relevance of modalities, methods and beneficiaries

1. Which methods and modalities have been used to support women's political influence

i. Modalities

The programmes implemented in the Western Balkans can be divided into two different modalities.

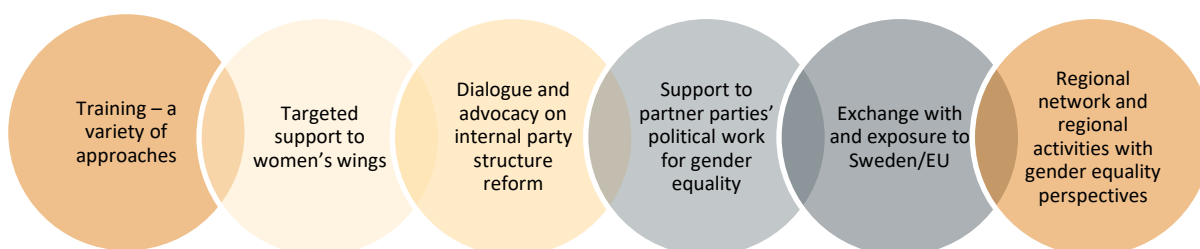
The modality of JHS is to support capacity development of selected partner parties, namely a number of pro-European centre-right parties, through activities such as training, networking and study tours. The participants are selected among the partner parties' key representatives, leaders or young members who are assessed to have leadership potentials. The theory of change is that capacity development of individuals will strengthen the capacity of the parties. All activities include Swedish or European input, such as Swedish or European trainers and study tours to Sweden/EU. Networking and linking the Western Balkan parties to The European People's Party (EPP) is part of the programme and EPP is host for the visit to EU. None of the other PAOs are involved in the programme. It is implemented in close cooperation with EPP and three other international organisations, International Republican Institute (IRI), European Stability Initiative (ESI) and Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies (WMCES).

The modality of the 2019-2020 joint OPC-CIS programme is based on the experiences of both PAOs. Their 2016-2018 programmes were applying quite similar modalities. They have one main sister-party in each of the countries. The PAOs provide their support to a think tank/political foundation closely related to the sister-party. The think tank/political foundations are the implementing partner of the PAO-support and have the direct contact to and contract with OPC and CIS. The think tank/political foundations are closely linked to the partner parties, however, some of them intend to have a broader outreach to other like-minded, often minor parties and to civil society. The think tank/political foundations provide support to the political parties in terms of training, research, policy input and development. The PAO programme manager is in close contact with the think tank/political foundation programme staff on planning and monitoring and the PAO provide kind of technical assistance and sparring to the think tank/political foundation. The PAOs have close contact with the sister parties, who are consulted and involved in the design of the programmes and in the ongoing monitoring. For OPC partners there is some contact and exchange activities between the Balkan parties and the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, while the direct involvement of the Swedish Centerpartiet in the projects is reported to be decreasing after the first years of the transition's intensive contacts. In the concrete projects and partner relations, where other international democracy support organisations, such as the German foundations, Westminster Foundation for Democracy are involved, CIS and OPC report to have a good and close coordination.

ii. *Methods to enhance women's political participation and influence*

The programmes and the partners' projects include a number of different methods and approaches to enhance woman's political participation and influence and methods to support the parties' work for gender equality. The methods identified are activities implemented with purposes related to gender equality. The methods are in some cases overlapping and very often interlinked by an overall strategy or theory of changes beyond the single method. One example is that most of the training implemented is linked to other methods and interventions aiming at internal party reform or policy initiatives that goes beyond the individual capacity development. When training activities has a short-term individual focus to strengthen or empower the individual woman, in most cases this is planned to on long term also affect the party organisation, the policy and the society.

In this report the methods are divided into the following six categories, which will be explored further in the following sections:



Training – a rich variety of approaches

All programmes include a number of training activities. The objectives, target groups, content and follow-up approaches are very different. Training is organised both at local, national and regional level. All programmes run some kind of academy training, where the same group of participants are trained over various training sessions.

The participants are selected by the parties and/or the think tanks/political foundations and in the case of JHS often also in consultation with the PAO. In most cases, there is a close dialogue with the party leadership or women's wing on the training outcome, content and selection of participants in order to ensure it respond to the capacity needs and present situation.

Some trainings are conducted only for women, although most training activities involve both sexes. Interviews confirm the importance of mixed trainings to avoid that women and women's issue are not isolated in their parties. CIS and OPC have been pushing for male party members and leaders to join and commit to training particularly in gender equality. The political foundations/think tanks organise training tailor-made to aspirants, to candidates and to elected representatives. Informants really appreciate the training that is closely aligned to the electoral cycle, activities and specific positions of the individual trainees. Women, who are aspirants,

candidates and elected representatives, evaluate the effect and value of the training very highly. They underline the importance of the inclusion of men, networking opportunities, contact to party leaders, and the practical exercises (through seed funds) as important for their capacity, motivation and commitment and by the end of the day for their political careers. Most training on other topics do include some content on gender equality and gender equality is a prioritised political issue for the partner parties.

In the JHS programme training is planned in close cooperation between the Balkan parties and JHS. Trainers are Swedish party members, leaders and affiliates from the JHS-pool of more than 100 trainers with commitment and experiences in providing training. Part of the training takes place either in Sweden, in a regional setting or in the European Union (EU).

Gender equality is a prioritised topic in the JHS training. The participants on the study visits to Sweden and the EU institutions mention that the exposure to gender equality is one of the highlights and areas where they have been most inspired from the visits. The relevance of gender equality is confirmed by the interviewed party leaders, who give examples of how some of the participants have changed their attitude after the visits, either to be more open to women as leaders or encouraging women participants to run for top level positions.

In the OPC-CIS-programme training is provided in numerous issues. In BiH, the political foundation and partner to CIS, BDF is conducting a number of different training activities in various issues including gender equality. The most outstanding in relation to gender equality is the training related to the *Initiative 50%*, which is an internal and external campaign of the party Nasa Stranka (NS). NS is a new party and decided not to organise a separate women's wing, but to advocate for parity in gender representation at all levels, including candidates and internal leadership positions. The campaign Initiative 50% was supported by CIS during 2016-2018-programme and included training conducted by the BDF. During the first phase, 40 women were trained in politics, campaigning and were prepared to run as candidates. Ten of them were elected at the local elections in 2016. They were trained in local government and other issues and tools relevant for their role as elected local authorities. Furthermore, alumni training during 2018 focused on budgeting, policy development and how to campaign and present the party's political programme and policies.

FLI in BiH has developed an on-line course on gender equality. It has had a high number of trainees and particularly a high percentage of men. According to FLI, the course is particularly designed to teach men about gender equality. Their experience is that many men want to learn about the issue but is not comfortable or willing to prioritise time for signing up for a physical course on the issue.

In the joint and previous programmes of CIS and OPC considerations are made on how to link training to other activities and methods. Both the think tank/political foundations and the regional networks are working to ensure that the training not only target and capacity-develop individual women but reach the objective of strengthening the party and women's wing, as well as women's representation and qualify the policy development and strategies on gender policies. In the training of political candidates, their campaign group is invited to the training. As part of the

training, they are supposed to carry out activities in their local area and can apply for funding of mini projects. After the activities they evaluate their experience, learning and how the group was working together.

A number of different follow-up mechanism to training activities is tested across the projects. Alumni network and alumni activities are supported in several cases. More training, opportunities to apply for funding for mini projects, and mentorship programmes will be launched by both FLI in BiH and by PI in NM. The former participants express that they can and often do contribute to the training of new participants and can suggest and take initiatives to provide more training. In general, there is a very close contact and solid follow-up of the alumni from the political think tanks/political foundations, not least for those who contest at internal elections or run for elected positions.

In all activities of the programmes, the PAOs require equal participation between men and women, which is almost applied and reported to promote the internal equal representation of men and women.

Targeted support to women's wing (forum, union, club)

In the programmes of OPC and JHS, support to women's wings (called women's forum, union, clubs, depending on country) is a strategic approach to enhance women's participation and influence. The partner parties of JHS and OPC in BiH and NM have women's wings and the programmes target and aim at strengthening their members, leaders and structures. Interviews confirm the relevance and effectiveness of the approach to women's wings and give a number of examples on how the women's wings have grown stronger during the last decade.

The women's wing of the JHS partner party VMRO-DPMNE in NM was according to interviewed party leaders established based on inspiration from study visits and exchange with Sweden. The women's wings of the Western Balkans' partner parties are linked to the "network" of women in Moderaterna and exchange of experience, training and study tours has been carried out for a long time. Personal contacts between women party leaders across the countries is appreciated as a result. The purpose of supporting women's wings is to strengthen the representation, voice and influence of women by through their own space and structure. One objective of the JHS support has been to ensure the representation of women's wing in the board of the mother parties, which is accomplished in several cases including in NM.

In the OPC 2016-2018 programme, the so-called "side-organisations" such as women's wings was at the core of the programme and they continue to be a target group in the joint OPC-CIS 2019-2020-programme. The targeted support to women's wings includes several interventions through the think tank/political foundations such as training, regional activities for and network between national women's wings. The strategy behind this is to push for internal party reforms to increase or strengthen the representation of women's wings within the party structure. A number of trainings by FLI and PI are conducted exclusively for women members of the women's wings. FLI will continue in the 2019-2020 programme with an activity to promote women's role and influence, where local women's organisations can apply for funding of activities focusing on the role of women in party's and local communities. The CEE

Gender Network has arranged regional training and exchange activities for and with the women's wings of the parties of the region.

In NM, the OPC-partner Progres Institute (PI) has been conducting a *School for women activism* with the purpose of providing general political education to women members and to strengthen the women's club. In the current programme, it is four modules of weekend-training for 25 participants for 3 months. The training includes gender equality, human rights and general political education. The training ensures a confidential space and establishes networks between the women within the party. The present programme organises alumni-networks and invites the former participants to organise local trainings and to be trainers on new training modules.

Support to dialogue and advocacy on internal party structure reforms to enhance women's representation and influence

Capacity development of individual women members is often the only support-method to enhance women's political participation and influence and tend to ignore that changes only happen when party structures are also changed. The programme and project documents, particularly of CIS and OPC, have focused on the importance of changing internal party reforms and the individual training is linked to and aiming at changing internal party structures, cultures and leadership to enhance women's political participation and influence.

There is no single method for providing external support to internal party structure reforms, however a number of interventions do aim at internal party reforms. Observers of the process in Western Balkan confirm that the international support has had an impact to improve women's participation through the support to advocate for national gender quota legislation and on the party-internal gender balance⁴⁰.

All programme documents mention that the legislation on quota system in both countries has been very influential for pushing internal party reform to adapt internal quotas on women's representation among candidates, elected representatives and in relation to internal leadership positions. The social democratic party in NM did apply quotas before the law dictated it, however the others only did after the law. All informants confirm that the quotas have worked to increase the representation of women.

Although the quota system cannot be directly attributed to the support of the PAOs, interviews clearly indicated that PAOs have contributed positively through the intensive support to gender equality and the dialogue between Swedish parties/PAOs and the Balkan parties. The SDSM in NM has recently adapted an internal 50/50 policy, which is implemented both for government positions and for internal party leadership. The gender parity principle is expected to show results at the coming elections.

⁴⁰ Elena NACEVSKA, Sonja LOKAR: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GENDER QUOTAS IN MACEDONIA, SERBIA AND CROATIA, TEORIJA IN PRAKSA let. 54, 2/2017 p. 394.

The 2016-2018 programme of CIS supported the *Initiative 50%* in the party Nasa Stranka. It is an innovative way of realising internal party reform, focusing on realising gender parity at all level, rather than through reform of statutes etc. It is described as a campaign rather than a (constitutional) internal party reform. The party was from its start committed to gender equality and the leadership agreed to the principles of gender parity. With the support from CIS and other international PAO-like partners, the political foundation BDF has through the *Initiative 50%* been running trainings, networks, dialogue-foras and a variety of support to women candidates in the party. The initiative and campaign have achieved impressive results and succeeded to push for women's participation and influence. Women now constitute 50% of the member base and close to 50% of all elected political positions of the party. At the local elections in 2016, 43% of NS' elected representatives were women and at the general elections in 2018, the figure is 61%. Internally, in all ranks and political bodies within the party there is gender equal participation. The attention and priority to ensure gender equality is adapted to many areas of party life including to monitor that 50% of party funding for electoral campaigns and candidates goes to or focuses on women candidates.

Support to partner parties' political work for gender equality

Support to political foundations/think tanks and through them to the partner parties aiming at policy development and advocacy in relation to gender equality is here defined as a method for enhancing women's political participation and influence. One approach is the political work for electoral reforms and quota laws, another is development of gender equality policies and mainstreaming gender equality into the party's policies.

The political work for electoral reforms and quota systems has been high on the agenda in most of the region and quota systems have been introduced in NM and BiH. During previous programmes, the work and policies for the quota laws have been integrated in the programmes of CIS and OPC. At present, the discussion in the countries revolve around increasing or adjusting the existing quota system. The think tank/political foundations have been providing background research and drafting policies.

According to documents and interviews, the support from and dialogue with OPC has inspired the Social democratic party SDSM in NM to promote the legislation on quotas, and then to increase the quotas from 30% to 40%. The party introduced the quotas internally before they were adapted legally and recently they apply a parity principle aimed to be a showcase for other parties. It is furthermore discussed how to increase women's representation for positions where the existing quota system is not applicable, such as mayors, ministers, other high rank positions etc. and how the order of the list is still discussed. Both the think tank/political foundations and the CEE gender network is providing research, evidence and policy inspiration to the policy development and discussion of electoral reforms and quotas system to enhance women's political participation.

In NM, the Progress Institute and the new programme include a *Forum on Gender Equality*, which continue the policy development on gender equality. It is a

continuation of previous projects providing an inclusive platform for development and promotion of gender equality into public policies.

According to interviews, the partner party of JHS in NM, VMRO-DPMNE, is working for gender equality in a number of other policy areas, as they are not in favour of quotas. According to interviewed leaders, they promote gender equality by developing policies to improve conditions for women such as childcare, health and social care. During the programmes and support from JHS, these issues have been given more attention and priority by the party. Interviews showed that the dialogue with JHS and Moderatarna has been inspiring the party to develop their position on gender equality.

In BiH, the party Nasa Stranka (NS) is supported by the CIS-supported political foundation BDF to continue the work for branding the party as the one practising and struggling for gender equality. NS has been able to work intensively with *Initiative 50%* and gender equality was crosscutting in the activity called *the Law Factory*. Different policies for or considering gender equality have been developed and promoted, i.e. policies on labour market, maternity/paternity leave, access to IVF-treatment, gender-based violence, gender discrimination in education and in society and other areas. NS has succeeded in ensuring that sexual harassment has been defined and addressed in the updated ethical codes in the municipalities. Interviews with party leader and other NS representatives underline that the electorate is responding positively. Interviewees expressed that the increasing popular support for NS in the last elections is to a large extent due to the party prioritising the gender equality agenda and presenting successes in this area.

With support from OPC, the FLI in BiH has worked intensively with mainstreaming gender equality into all policies of the social democratic party. The Women's Forum and invited experts have together with FLI staff worked through most of the existing policies to add and ensure a gender equality approach. The mainstreaming of gender has revealed interesting gaps in the existing policies and raised important discussions about gender equality and confirmed the relevance of applying gender lenses carefully in all policies. According to informants, parts of the suggested revisions have been approved and inserted in the party's policies. However, many of the suggested revisions are still in process of being approved. The mainstreaming of gender into party policies is described to be very comprehensive⁴¹.

Exchange with and exposure to Sweden and European Union

The exchange with and exposure to Sweden and the EU is in this report defined as a method, although it is not only aiming at enhancing women's political participation and influence. For JHS, it is key to the programme to bring partners to either Sweden or the EU to expose participants to democratic political institutions and countries as role models and provide inspiration and spaces for exchange.

⁴¹ Due to language barriers, the evaluator was not able to review party policies.

For the partner party of JHS, the VMRO-DPMNE from NM, the study tours, regional conferences/round table seminar and the training with Swedish trainers is assessed to be of significant importance. All informants expressed appreciation of these visits and gave examples of how the visits have inspired participants or changed behaviour or attitude. Most interviewees mentioned the visits and exposure have contributed to widening their perspectives and providing an international and global understanding which is perceived as relevant when considering the nationalistic tendencies in the region and the priority of connecting more to Europe.

Regarding gender equality, participants mentioned that the exchange showed them practical and real-life examples of gender equality and women as politicians and leaders in practice through the Swedish trainers. They highlighted learning about male party leaders returning from paternity leave, picking up kids in day care etc. as invaluable eye-openers. One informant, however, also expressed that the Swedish model is so different and appears to be an ‘unreachable dream’.

Informants also valued experiencing women and even quite young women as top runners in election campaigns and high-level party leaders in Sweden was mentioned a number of times. The present change of leadership making new spaces for younger generations with a more international outlook is underlined, although still too early to assess the long-term impact.

The high-level officials particularly underlined that the connection with Europe has been very important at the general level and regarding gender equality as well.

JHS informants underline that leaders from Balkans – through the study tours – personally experience equal representation of women in Sweden and Europe. This not only showcases gender equality, but also inspires dialogue between the parties at leadership level. JHS has conducted an analysis of the barriers for increased gender balance. This analysis identified that the middle layer of men in the parties are those who resist to leave positions and share influence with women. As a consequence, they are addressed by being involved in training activities, which is either directly or indirectly on gender equality. The interviews confirmed that the top level leaders in general are positive towards gender equality, while barriers are higher in the middle layer and at the local level of the party.

The OPC exchange project between local branches of the social democratic party in Sweden and a number of local branches of the partner parties in the Western Balkans was not visited during the field trip, however, some informants mentioned it as contributing to increased understanding of gender equality.

In the joint OPC and CIS programme exchange and Swedish input is not mentioned as a very high priority, however, the close relations, visits and exchange between the likeminded parties is continued. The PAO-staff do often push for gender equality, when insisting on parity among participants in activities and more generally. The partners expressed that they highly value and appreciate the dialogue with the Swedish parties and the PAOs. It is perceived as constructive and particularly useful – including ideas from the Swedish context – during the project design phase and monitoring/assessing progress.

Regional network and activities with gender equality perspectives

Support to regional network and activities at regional level is here defined as a method. Both present programmes and the 2016-2018 programmes include regional activities and networks. The aim is that regional networking, training and exchange provide knowledge and inspiration to the participants from the perspective of the different countries' policies and practise on gender equality. The CEE Gender Network has played a role to both advise, inspire and push the national parties to work on and implement internal reforms on gender equality.

The OPC supported the CEE Gender Network, which is a 25-year-old member of the Party of European Socialists (PES), but also include likeminded CSOs and women movements from the countries. With the support from OPC, the CEE network has implemented a huge number of activities on gender equality, such as training and policy development for women's wings and party leaders. The Gender Network had also targeted and ensured exchange between the think tank/political foundations and involved high level male leaders in the training and policy development. An output worth highlighting is the development of a joint regional manifest on gender equality elaborated by the women's forums, which has recently been signed by all the partner parties in the region. With clear policy positions such as commitment to apply internal quotas for parity (50%), initiative to combat gender-based violence, the manifest is a joint point of reference to remind national party leaders about their commitments to take action on gender equality.

The joint OPC-CIS 2019-2020 programme includes a continuation of the support to the CEE Gender Network, which will be based on the past experiences on empowerment of women's wings, policy development and mainstreaming of gender into party policies and will address both the old social democratic partner parties and CIS' liberal partner parties.

JHS implements regional round-table conferences for women politicians where they can discuss the actual political issues and establish networks across the countries and parties. The topics at the conferences include politics, policies and the challenges for women politicians to find a balance between political and family life. According to JHS, the networks and conferences is strengthening the increasing number of women elected politicians and leaders from both parties and women's wings.

The *Regional Liberal Political Academy* supported by CIS was an academy model for young politicians from the Western Balkan countries included gender equality as an issue. The participants were organised in an alumni network, which is mentioned by reports and interviews as very important for the participants in their continued involvement in the parties. Reports emphasise that the contact across countries has not only broadened perspectives for the participants, but also provided them with references on policies in other countries, which has been useful in advocacy work in home country.

The new joint OPC-CIS-programme introduce a joint liberal social democratic academy called *ProgWeB*, which also includes regional networking, training and related activities on gender equality. It is too early to assess the effect and results of the new cross-party network.

*iii. Findings on intended beneficiaries and their involvement***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?**

The large number of different programmes, projects and activities in the three PAOs programmes on the Western Balkan do have very different beneficiaries and approaches as analysed in the previous chapters. The intended beneficiaries are mostly the involved participants, such as empowered women and youth, but the aim is to benefit the parties by the capacity development of members, leaders, aspirants and elected representatives.

There is a variety including activities targeting either women only or both sexes and even a few activities mainly targeting men. The FLI has launched an online gender equality course, which surprisingly is attended by a high number of men, who presumably want to learn about gender equality, without having to attend a course in person.

Some of the courses for women only are “traditional” campaign or political courses, which could include men as well, however, the women seem to appreciate the proper space, at least for in the initial training. Training to raise their self-confidence; how to be assertive, speak in public and deal with media is appreciated to be for women only. On the other hand, in relation to training and activities about gender equality it is deemed important that men and particularly party leaders are included. It is described as a huge success that men and party leaders attend a number of these courses or contribute with motivational speeches.

3. Are beneficiaries fully engaged in all stages of the project cycle, including design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation?

The partner institutions are fully engaged in all stages of the project cycle. In the case of the OPC-CIS programme, the think tank/political foundations are the main actors responsible for their part of the programmes. They engage continuously with the sister parties, the women’s wings, youth wings, and other relevant actors. There is a very good and close dialogue based on a common understanding of the division of roles and responsibilities. The direct beneficiaries, who are understood to be the parties benefitting from the interventions, are involved and consulted when relevant.

*iv. Findings relating to implementation of activities, coordination and involvement of stakeholders***4. To what extent are programmes being changed in relation to the settings in which they are implemented?**

There is an on-going and close dialogue between PAOs and the partners, which ensures that the programmes are being adjusted and improved during the implementation.

One example of on-going dialogue and adjustment of activities is the OPC-CIS programme, where the training is implemented by the think tank/political foundations or the regional gender network with local trainers, experts and party leaders. The

participants evaluate and the two PAOs have an ongoing dialogue with the think tank/political foundations on the development of the training and minor changes are made on a regular basis while maintaining the initial learning outcome. The programme coordinators monitor, provide feedback and contribute with ideas. The PAO-support is appreciated for the close dialogue and openness to changes and the high level of flexibility.

5. To what extent are activities undertaken in coordination with other PAOs and other actors that work for women's political influence?

In the Western Balkan region, there is a good cooperation and coordination between the many democracy promoters, however mainly within “the ideological families”. The JHS-programme is being implemented with the International Republican Institute (IRI), the European Stability Initiative (ESI) and the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies (WMCES).

The new joint programme between OPC and CIS include joint activities, which imply new close cooperation and coordination across the “ideological families”. A number of activities such as the training and work of the think tank/political foundations invites other actors, women's movement and civil society actors.

There is limited coordination or knowledge sharing between the PAOs, their partners and Sida in the countries. Sida supports a UNDP-led programme for Women's political participation in BiH, and the support from the PAOs and Sida is complementary.

6. Have activities been undertaken in a comprehensive way and with a content that is clear to participants?

All interviewed participants express high satisfaction with the activities and reflect a good understanding of what the aim and content of the activities supported by the PAOs were. The interviewed participants who have participated in study tours and trainings implemented by JHS were all aware of the purpose of the study tours and confirmed the relevance with a number of examples on learning, change of attitudes and positions they saw as a result of their participation.

7. Have activities been undertaken in a one-off or continuous way?

All the programmes in Western Balkan were initiated before the recently finalised programmes (2016-2018) and some of them date more than a decade back. A lot of experiences and knowledge, which is considered and used in the development of the programme has been gained during several phases of cooperation between the Swedish PAOs and their partners. Activities have been continuous, and programmes are well aligned to the dramatically changing context.

Many of the participants do continue as participants in follow-up activities or other activities implemented by the party or the think tank/political foundations. In BiH, the interviewed women trained by the *Initiative 50%* has continued, either as trainers or as participants in activities targeting elected representatives or positioned themselves for internal elections. The think tank/political foundations implement between 8 and

12 interlinked activities within the projects supported by the PAOs and a number of other related activities supported by other funding sources.

v. Strategic direction

8. To what extent do PAOs prioritise countries in which women's political participation and influence is weak?

The PAOs that are involved in Western Balkans have prioritised the region and the countries because of the political opportunities, not particularly because of women's participation and influence. The fact is that women's political participation and influence is weak in the region, but there are positive tendencies in several of the countries, which can be pushed and influenced. The Western Balkans is a very relevant – and particularly promising – region to work on gender equality in. All three PAOs are prioritising support to the enhancement of woman's political participation and influence to a very high degree. Gender equality is a key issue, included in objectives, expected outcomes and results, as well as indicators. Furthermore, gender equality is mainstreamed and included in most interventions and activities in relation to other issues and objectives.

9. To what extent are the partners with whom PAOs work the most relevant and consequential ones for women's political influence and participation.

The PAOs have chosen their “natural” partners in the two countries based on similar or likeminded ideological positioning. The support is mainly provided through related think tank/political foundations, which provide professional inputs, organise training and events, reach out to other organisations, etc. The think tank/political foundations do reach out to other relevant organisations such as the women's movement and academia, when relevant. The think tank/political foundations in both countries have experiences with processes on formulating policies on gender equality including and inviting other relevant actors. The party-to-party partnerships, where Swedish parties and PAOs get access and add value to their partner parties because of being parties and part of same regional or global ideological family contribute to their possibility for influencing in a way, that other actors would not be able to.

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?

Some of the projects and partners do address deeper social and economic inequalities. Mostly the social democratic parties, however also the other partner parties do address childcare, labour market, health as barriers to gender equality and women's participation and influence and have developed policies for that.

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?

There is a fruitful and on-going development of the programmes inspired by experiences from earlier phases, as well as from other PAOs or other democracy support institutions. Both CIS and OPC gave examples of changes of the programme because they are now doing a joint programme. Experiences from the regional gender network supported by OPC and the regional academy for youth (RLPA) supported by CIS are both mentioned as providing inspiration to the new ProgWeB programme. There is a solid basis for more innovation and mutual inspiration, when the programmes have been implemented for a little more time and have achieved more results to learn from. There is an openminded dialogue between the PAOs, which hopefully will be mirrored in the relations between partners in the region, when they start working together.

12. To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?

In general, there is a good on-going development and adjustments of activities and projects both involving “beneficiaries”/parties, other key stakeholders, local programme staff and the PAOs. The very close partnerships and high level of confidence, which is also based on the “ideological kinship” ensure a fruitful ongoing dialogue about the relevance of the programmes. The programmes are “owned” by the partners and the partners are very committed to achieve expected results and fulfil objectives.

On-going evaluation and minor adjustment of running activities is working well. New ideas are also introduced and training approaches, tools and methods are updated, e.g. e-learning. However, there is a need for more spaces to apply a helicopter-view on the projects and activities, questioning which activities could be the most relevant and effective to achieve the overall goals and objectives of the programme. As in other PAO programmes and projects, there is a tendency to report and reflect most on activities and therefore rather adjust, than innovate and initiate more radical changes. The risk is that effectiveness is taken for granted. More frequent reflections on outcome (harvesting) and effectiveness could be conducive for more innovation.

vi. Adaptation to local needs

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 political influence?

Besides Sida and the party representatives, no local experts were interviewed during the field trip. The Sida representatives, who have formerly worked with the PAO-programme assessed the PAO contribution to be very relevant in the democratic processes taking place in BiH and at Western Balkan. Many actors are working on gender equality with different roles and approaches. The advantage of the PAOs support is that they get access to the political parties, who are key when it comes to political influence.

14. Is support through PAOs relevant to the expressed needs of women party members and women constituents/voters, including women from marginalised groups?

The women party members, leaders and participants interviewed for this evaluation appreciated the PAO-support and valued the activities as relevant and responding to their needs. The activities, particularly the training seems to be well-designed for the target group, be it leaders, aspirants, candidates, elected or others including women from (non “marginalised groups”) rural areas with less education or less resources. Some of the interviewed aspirants and candidates expressed a need for more training on campaigning, social media, personal branding etc. Other women express a need for addressing the men and the top leaders, as well as staff working on talent spotting and deciding on candidates to be more aware of women’s participation and influence.

The needs of the women’s wing to be strengthened was discussed in several interviews. It is often said that the women’s wing is an important entrance for weaker women to the political parties.

It is observed that the most educated and wealthier women party members/activists/candidates seem to benefit a lot from networking and follow-up activities. They continue the contact and are able to strengthen and support each other in various ways and internal processes in the party.

vii. Correspondence to best practices and learning

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?

PAO ToCs and interventions are to a high degree aligned with scholarly and policy evidence on ways to further women’s political influence. PAO staff refer to lack of time for keeping updated with scholarly and policy evidence.

Regarding quotas, in the Balkans candidate quotas seems to achieve increased representation as a short term result, however BiH is far from reaching the representation they aim at. The most important result is that the parties are influenced internally. They are forced to search for women candidates and start reflecting and addressing barriers for women to run, participate and influence party politics. Some academic literature underline the importance of the electoral system for enhancing women’s representation. The proportional system in Balkan is, compared to first past the post systems, an advantage for women’s representation. In BiH, the preferential vote has been introduced recently. Among partners it is discussed whether the preferential vote will be conducive for increasing women’s representation if campaigns to vote for women candidates could succeed. However, there is a risk that even more voters might prefer to vote for men, because of the existing gender norms, and can imply a decrease in women’s representation. An in-depth analysis of the electoral systems would be relevant for the PAOs and their partners.

According to UNDP and NDI the most effective strategies to enhance women’s political influence are to **combine reforms to political institutions with targeted**

support to women party activists.⁴² Other effective strategies are, according to OSCE, reforms of internal party rules, institutionalisation of gender equality in party documents, to set up women's wings and to initiate cooperation with men who are prepared to support them.⁴³ (See case study on PYPA and EWIP.) The PAO programmes do include elements of most of the approaches. JHS mostly work with the individual capacity development of women leaders, rather than directly addressing internal party reforms. The joint and previous programmes of CIS and OPC do include components of the different approaches and they are well interlinked. There is no in-depth analysis of each party and the barriers for increasing the women's political participation and influence.

16. Do PAOs seem to use available evidence on how to promote women's political influence in their programming?

PAOs are using some available evidence to improve the programmes, however, academic literature and "evidence" seems not to be the first source for informing programme design and revision. Most of all, activities are evaluated, stakeholders dialogue and programme staff bring ideas into the process. PAO and project staff, i.e. of the think tank/political foundations, have knowledge of gender equality and promotion of women's participation and influence, however, none of them have an expert only dedicated to that area. OPC has recently hired a staff member, who will work on methods and might include methods on women's participation.

In general, there is room/need for more systematised sharing and reflection on learnings that should be based on improved routines for collecting, analysing and disseminating experiences about methods on how to promote women's political influence seem to be in place.

5.2 Effectiveness of programme and methods applied

How effective is the programme and the methods applied in increasing women's political influence?

17. What is the self-evaluation of PAOs regarding specific methods/programmes? What are the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen?

The self-evaluation of PAOs in the final reports and applications regarding specific methods/programmes is limited. In general, there is little justification or considerations on the choice of methods, which are described, but rarely justified or discussed. An exception is the support to the *Initiative 50%*, which is not described as

⁴² UNDP & NDI, Empowering women for stronger political parties, 2012

⁴³ OSCE/ODIHR, Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties, 2014

“a method”, but a concrete approach invented by the partner party with the support of CIS and others.

Another underlying assumption is that once a critical mass of trained women and/or youth is achieved changes will follow. Although that is questioned by scholars⁴⁴, some informants argue that it is exactly what is happening in Balkan after the quota system. OPC call it the “ketchup effect,” when long term engagement and support to training, coincide with the legislation on quotas, and have implied that the representation of women has increased dramatically.

18. What changes with regard to women’s political influence/impact do target group representatives attribute to the programme?

A number of changes with regard to women’s political influence/impact are attributed to the PAO-programmes according to informants. Particularly, the larger programmes of CIS and OPC is reported to achieve deep and long-lasting and visible changes in women’s representation and influence.

The high-level representatives of SDSM in NM mention the importance of the programme, exchange and the contact with OPC and Sweden as very important for the strengthening and positioning of the party, which was among several factors for being able to win the general elections and change the political direction in NM. Their assessment is that the support has contributed significantly to form and strengthen their top-placed women politicians, who are playing key roles in the political development. Furthermore, the support to the development of gender equality policies is reported to promote changes.

Target group representatives from Nasa Stranka and the political foundation BDF emphasise that the variety and well interlinked interventions supported by CIS have improved women’s representation significantly. At the local elections in 2016, the percentage of women among the elected representatives were 43%, which was a very good result. The percentage even went up to 61 % of the elected NS representatives on all levels at the general elections in 2018. The success of NS to ensure that sexual harassment has been defined and addressed in the updated ethical codes in the municipalities is reported to be an important outcome and positively affecting women to feel safe about entering the political arena. Other important policy development initiatives related to gender equality such as work on law of mothers, improve access to public transportation are mentioned by informants and reports.

Almost all interviewed participants in training or network activities mention a number of results at individual level; they have gained higher positions, do better campaigns, have knowledge of politics and policies and they have gained increased self-confidence, including daring to speak in public and aiming for higher positions in the parties.

The partners of JHS programmes do attribute their increased focus on gender equality to the programme and they underline the importance of meeting active

⁴⁴ See section 4.2 in case study about PYPA and EWIP.

women leaders during study tours. Informants express that the support from Sweden and the inclusion of women members and potential leaders has contributed to ensure space and leadership positions for women in the party. The programme 2016-2018 list a number of indicators and have a baseline for gender equality, however, the final report does not include or reflect on the original results framework.

For FLI and SDP in BH, the mainstreaming of gender equality into all policies of the Social democratic party is attributed to the programme. Furthermore, some of the outcomes of the programme are mentioned in the chapters on methods. The reporting of OPC and CIS mention a number of results including at outcome level, such as increased representation of women, the strengthened positions of WWs in the mother parties, the internal party reforms or running campaigns for 50% representation, which in some cases has been pushed by the regional manifesto on gender equality, the regional alumni network still continuing after the RLPA academy training impact the former students to continue in the political parties and struggle for positions.

19. 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?

It is very difficult to assess whether the different spheres of influence have varying perceptions of the level of effectiveness of the programmes. Less than a week in the field does not really provide sufficient ballast to judge on that. Both party leaders appear to value the programmes for effectiveness and results, however, the participants and direct beneficiaries tend to assess the outcome and effectiveness even higher.

20. How do other party representatives (including party leadership) see activities within the programme? Are they ready to consider adaptation due to lessons learnt or external information?

In general, the party leaders and most party representatives assess the programmes and activities very positively. They can give a number of examples of results and in very general terms they appear to be very open for adaptation and changes. During field visits it became clear that in some of the parties, it is a party-internal “HR”/human resource department, which exert important influence based on “technical” criteria on the selection and branding of aspirants and candidates. It seems important to address and involve these peoples more in the programme when it comes to training and preparation of candidates.

21. Is there evidence of resistance to programme activities, either from party representatives or from other actors (e.g. public ones).

JHS’ analysis indicate that the middle layer of male members, local leaders, not-top but running candidates, of the party is one of the obstacles to increase women’s participation. Otherwise, no evidence of resistance has been observed during the evaluation, although the question was asked during interviews. The inclusion of men into many of the activities i.e. in NM might overcome the resistance that male members who could feel threatened by women combatants to leadership positions or

running for nomination as candidates. Otherwise, the reason might be that mostly high-level representatives were interviewed.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In spite of a very complex political context in the Western Balkan, there are clear signs of progress when it comes to women's political representation and influence. Women's share of elected representatives at national, regional and municipal level has increased significantly during the last 10 years. The gender balance for positions without quota legislation such as government positions and mayors are still very unequal, but women's share is increasing slowly. Women's share of candidates, top runners and leadership positions within the partner parties to the Swedish PAOs has increased faster. In the case of the CIS-partner party Nasa Stranka in BiH even 61% of elected representatives at the latest general elections were women. Nasa Stranka is an inspiring showcase for which results and effect a focused campaign applying a number of different but well linked methods can achieve. SDSM in NM indicate that the support from OPC and with the expertise of PI has contributed to their emphasis on gender equality, their work for national legislation on quotas and their internal adaptation of gender parity principles. It is concluded that the PAO-programmes have contributed to enhance women's participation and influence in the case study countries.

The overall conclusion is that gender equality and women's participation and influence is and has been a high priority focus area in the past and present PAO-programmes. The document review and the interviews confirm the strong focus in line with the Sida strategy and policy. All programmes have immediate objectives, expected outcomes and indicators for enhancing women's political participation and influence both externally in society and internally in the political parties. Gender equality is mainstreamed throughout the programmes and in different ways included in most of the activities related to other issues. In total there are numerous activities either aimed at or including gender equality as a crosscutting issue. Furthermore, all activities funded by PAOs require equal participation of men and women.

The list of barriers and the emerging opportunities clearly confirm what scholars and academic literature reveal; namely that interventions to enhance women's political participation and influence must be multifaceted and rely on a number of different but simultaneous methods. The often-exclusive focus on capacity development and empowerment of (individual or groups of) women must be closely linked to interventions on internal party reform, particularly procedures for candidate nomination, advocacy for political initiative law and structural reforms, and addressing men as well as women. It requires thorough analysis and detailed strategies of each country context, as well as of each partner party ensure progress in enhancing women's political participation and influence.

The programmes are deemed relevant by partners and target group, including top party male leaders and women's wings. Women's political participation and influence has been addressed by applying very different methods, often well interconnected. Six different methods have been identified from documents and interviews:

1. Training – in a variety of forms

2. Targeted support to women's wings
3. Dialogue and advocacy on internal party structure reform
4. Support to partner parties' political work for gender equality
5. Exchange with and exposure to Sweden/EU
6. Regional network and activities with gender equality perspectives

All present programme documents include considerations and some analysis of the present gender equality context both at national and party-internal level and identify measures to address barriers. One example is the analysis of JHS which assess middle layer men to be the most important hindrance for women. However, all the programme documents could include a more thorough analysis of the party-internal barriers for women's participation and influence. That should include analysis of the impact of nomination procedures, campaign funding, statutes, quotas, party leadership attitudes, capacity development needs, women's wings role and position, etc. The party NS has done part of such an analysis and the approved overall strategy for reaching gender equality/parity at the internal level, which also include that party funding to candidates should be distributed equally to men and women.

All programmes have focused on both the capacity development and empowerment of individual women and of women's wings. Most of the training programmes offer some follow-up activities after the training such as alumni activities, replication, mini-projects, mentorship programmes, etc. The follow-up activities are crucial for the effectiveness, as they ensure that the trainees apply the learning and that the new capacity benefit the party. Particularly alumni networks tend to contribute to maintain women in the parties and strengthen them in their fight for positions and political careers.

The follow-up on and documentation of results, particularly on activities targeting individuals (women) i.e. on training, exchange and network could be more systematised. A tendency to evaluate too narrowly on the activities rather than take an overall look at whether the activities are the most effective is observed. Tracer studies on participants years after they attended training and other activities would inform the learning of the PAOs on relevance and effectiveness of the different methods.

Targeted support to women's wing is appreciated and the PAOs and partners report increased influence and strengthened position of the women's wings. Still, the women's wings are also reported to struggle with weaknesses and tendencies to develop into silos, where women and "softer" policy issues are isolated. Neither documents, nor interviews discuss whether and under which conditions women's wings are an effective way to enhance women's political participation and influence.

The OPC-CIS programme includes a multitude of methods addressing women's political participation and influence. They are well interlinked and both PAO-programmes have reached solid results in previous phases of the programmes. The think tank/political foundations involved ensure a high professional level and a close relation to the parties.

The academies and the online training on gender equality show good results. The focus on gender equality policy development in several programmes and the efforts to mainstream gender into all policies of the social democratic party in BiH also serves

as inspiration. There is a fluent learning and development of methods, which deserves to be known and inspire other PAOs.

Connection between the Balkan parties and the Swedish parties is not a high priority in the present OPC-CIS programme document, however, it still takes place in different ways, including long-term contact and exchange between a number of local branches of the Social Democratic parties and, according to CIS, there is frequent contact between the liberal parties. According to some of the interviewees, there were more exchange and visits directly between the parties in previous phases than during the transition time.

The JHS programme ensures a very close relationship between the Balkan and the Swedish and European parties. The implemented study tours, exposure and the regional network activities are highly appreciated, and are reported and have provided good results during the finalised and on-going programme, particularly at the individual level. The Swedish trainers and party leaders are said to bring important European perspective and be personal showcases on gender equality to the participants. The cross-country party to party cooperation open doors and adds value to the partner political parties, which are normally inaccessible for other kind of actors.

The JHS programme could gain from considering applying more methods with a more institutional, rather than individual, focus. Interventions implemented locally without Swedish input could be considered. A more systematised dialogue with party leadership on internal party structure reforms to strengthen women's political participation and influence within the party would be relevant.

All the PAO-programmes in the Western Balkans have close relationships to their partner parties, including think tank/political foundations and regional networks and the PAOs are appreciated for adding value and strengthening their partners through long standing cooperation. The access to political parties and particularly the high-level leaderships is unique. Their influence on internal changes and party reform is difficult to measure, however, party leaders themselves describe the influence and inspiration as relevant and important for positive changes towards women's enhanced participation and influence.

The programmes have produced important results and outcome both at societal, political institutional/organisational and at individual level.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following actions are recommended:

- Consider monitoring and evaluation approaches such as outcome-harvesting etc., which can collect, discover on the changes achieved during and by the programmes and provide important learning for the development of the programmes.
- Monitor long-term effect of individual training with both tracer studies and key indicators on institutional strengthening of the parties. Linking the individual training and capacity development to the desired changes on party- and society level is crucial for reaching the goals of the programmes.

- Continue the focus on follow-up activities to training, such as regional and national alumni-network, mentorship, action groups, mini-projects and policy-development.
- Support more individual training, which is tailor-made to the electoral cycle, with a timing well in advance of call for aspirants, internal nomination of candidates, election campaigning and provide training to elected representatives.
- Support more innovative training approaches for certain purposes, such e-learning for men on gender equality, shorter courses for head of families, training of the internal party staff with responsibilities for nomination of candidates.
- Support to work out in-depth analysis or self-assessments of the parties on barriers to enhance women's representation and influence, including the internal nomination procedures, elections of leaders at all levels and work out party-specific strategies.
- Support to in-depth analysis of impact for women's representation of the electoral systems, particularly the preferential vote, and support to elaborate strategies follow up on the recommendations of the analysis.
- Support to work out in-depth analysis of or self-assessment tools for the women's wings on how they contribute to enhance women's representation and influence. The analysis should include considerations on advantages and disadvantages of having a separate women's wing.
- Elaborate inspirational material on the campaign of the CIS-partner party Nasa Stranka in BiH, the *50% initiative* resulting in almost parity between men and women representatives.
- Prioritise and exchange experiences between parties and PAO on the support to the political parties' policy development on gender equality and mainstreaming of gender into party programmes and policies. Test policy development processes inviting experts, citizens, men and women, CSOs into the process. Plan to ensure formulated policy is discussed and formally approved or rejected by the party.
- Support the development of and campaigning on issue-based policies with particular interest for women – defined by women, women's wings, etc.
- Create space for mutual exchange and learning, particularly on methods and outcomes between the PAOs and between Sida, other relevant actors and the PAOs. Sida and other actors working on women's political participation and influence in each of the countries could strengthen complementarity between programmes and benefit from increased knowledge sharing.

PYPA and EWIP

Author: Agneta Gunnarsson

1. INTRODUCTION

This case study covers the *Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA)*, a programme that was initiated in 2012 and presently comprises 16 countries in West, East, southeast and southern Africa. The Christian Democratic International Center (KIC) leads the programme and is the contracting partner with Sida. KIC implements PYPA in partnership with the Olof Palme International Center (OPC), the Centre Party's International Foundation (CIS), the Green Forum (GF)⁴⁵, Education for Training Unit (ETU) in South Africa and Institut pour la Gouvernance et le Développement (IGD) in Burkina Faso. In East Africa, the regional manager is hired through his company, Distinct Leadership Consultants (DLC), and represents KIC. GF has recently initiated cooperation with Center for Young Leaders in Africa (CYLA).

There are several reasons why a programme explicitly targeting youth, not women, was chosen as the focus for this case study about methods for enhancing women's political influence. The main reason is that PYPA is considered to be one of the most innovative programmes the PAOs are working with. It should also be noted that youth in this context is a woman or a man under the age of 35,⁴⁶ which means that young women are included in the case study. Furthermore, PYPA has more tools and resources for monitoring and evaluation than other, similar programmes. This implies that it should be possible to identify methods that are of interest to other programmes as well.⁴⁷

The case study also draws on experiences and innovations from a new programme with a focus on women's political influence, *Empowering Women in Politics (EWIP)*. Starting in 2019 in Burkina Faso and Kenya, from 2020 EWIP is implemented in four African countries, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Uganda. 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 and DLC in Uganda.

⁴⁵ GF joined in 2016 after some years as observer.

⁴⁶ The African Union's definition of youth is below the age of 35.

⁴⁷ See also Ugglå, F., 2019, Mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation and gender equality (conducted as part of this evaluation)

EWIP builds on experiences from PYPA as well as from other current and former CIS-programmes, such as Palestine, Initiative 50, an EU-funded project in Benin, work with a local NGO in Burkina Faso and external research. The programme budget for 2019 was MSEK 5.4.

This case study report has been developed to form part of an overall evaluation report to Sida evaluating methods to support women's political influence as implemented by the Swedish PAOs in the period 2016-2020.

1.1 Objective/scope of the case study

The main objective of the evaluation - and this case study - is to:

- Identify and assess the relevance and effectiveness of the methods used to enhance women's political influence.

These evaluation questions are also included in Sida's Terms of Reference:

- How have lessons learned been used?
- Which are the underlying assumptions behind the programmes?
- When compared to academic literature, which conclusions about relevance and effectiveness can be drawn about the PAOs' programmes.

The evaluation questions are operationalised in a number of sub-questions which are presented in the evaluation report and which this report is structured according to⁴⁸

1.2 Methodology and limitations

The methodology used is detailed in the evaluation report and only summarised here.

This case study is one of three case studies, which were preceded by a brief mapping of documentation from the PAOs about approaches and methods to enhance women's political participation.⁴⁹ The review concluded that the PAOs apply pragmatic approaches in which different methods are simultaneously employed.

Based on the review, interview guides were elaborated. The four interview protocols (see Annex 2) were intended to be used in interviews with:

- PAO representatives;
- representatives of national partner organisations (parties, think tanks, CSOs etc) and organisations implementing programmes on behalf of the PAOs;
- external experts/stakeholders; and
- individual or focus group interviews with participants/beneficiaries.

For this case study, face-to-face interviews were conducted with the secretaries general of KIC and CIS as well as the programme managers of both organisations.

⁴⁸ FCG, 2019, Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations, final Inception Report,

⁴⁹ Uggla, F., 2019, Mapping of approaches and methods to further women's political participation and gender equality

Skype interviews were carried out with representatives of the implementing partners in southern Africa and in West Africa, ETU and IGD, and with one of the evaluators who is assigned to evaluate PYPA.

The selection of country to visit for the case study was not straight forward. After deliberations, it was agreed, however, that Uganda would be the best choice, not least for practical reasons. KIC's regional coordinator and two other persons who work part time with PYPA as well as the consultancy company for which the regional coordinator is the CEO are based in Kampala.

In Kampala interviews were conducted with 13 present or former PYPA participants, six women and seven men. Several of them now hold important positions in the public administration or in their parties, such as district resident commissioner, chief administrative officer and manager of the Government Citizen Interaction Center. Interviews were also conducted with the executive director of the Uganda chapter of Women's Democracy Network, and the executive director of the women's organisation Femme Forte. A meeting with the gender equality expert and the programme officer for democracy and human rights at the Embassy of Sweden also took place. In Nairobi a meeting with a representative of the Oslo Center, the organisation that implements EWIP in Kenya, was arranged. Another meeting took place with a representative of Groots, an organisation that works to enhance women's political participation, especially in rural areas in Kenya.

The information collected was analysed and triangulated, primarily with programme evaluation reports and other information available from KIC and CIS, before a report was drafted.

A challenge was to combine PYPA and EWIP in this case study. EWIP is a new programme and it was not possible to visit Burkina Faso, where implementation of EWIP had started as the focus was on PYPA and Uganda was selected as the most appropriate field visit country. This means that the case study does not cover EWIP enough to draw firm conclusions on progress in implementation so far.

A further limitation was that there was only one field visit to a PYPA country although PYPA includes 16 countries and is the largest PAO programme in terms of funding. In addition, it was not possible to interview the regional coordinator for PYPA East Africa or to participate in and observe an event, such as the implementation of a mini-project.

The evaluator took all opportunities to compensate for the limitations, such as arranging meetings in Nairobi with relevant stakeholders and conducting Skype interviews with regional coordinators in southern Africa and West Africa.

The case study report has been revised based on comments from Sida and from PAOs (KIC, OPC and CIS). Comments led to major revisions and of this report. The chapter on methodology has been extended, efforts have been made to more clearly separate between PYPA and EWIP, and the different methods that are used by the two organisations are more extensively described and analysed.

2. REGIONAL/COUNTRY CONTEXT

2.1 Africa

Recently there has been notable democratic progress in several African countries, but also increasing threats to freedom in others. Angola and Ethiopia experienced dramatic openings in 2018. The leaders, President Joao Lourenco and the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Prime Minister Ahmed Abiy, both emerged from the respective countries' dominant political parties, but expressed a commitment to reforms. If the new administrations are able to dismantle the repressive legal and political frameworks they inherited, they may serve as important role models for their neighbours.⁵⁰

Some other countries also made rapid democratic gains while the space for political activity continued to close in several others. In Uganda president Yoweri Museveni's administration attempted to constrain dissent by implementing new surveillance systems and instituting a new tax on social media use.⁵¹

Amnesty International draws attention to the ongoing attack on human rights defenders in Africa. Between January 2018 and June 2019, appeals for protection of human right defenders accounted for 71 per cent of all appeals issued to state parties by the African Commission.⁵²

Poverty in Africa has fallen substantially, from 54 per cent in 1990 to 41 per cent in 2015, according to a new World Bank publication.⁵³ Over 80 per cent of the people who are poor live in rural areas and earn their living in farming. Poverty is a mix of chronic and transitory poverty and fragile and conflict-affected countries have higher poverty rates.⁵⁴

2.2 Uganda

Since the case study field work focused on Uganda, this section includes a background section on Uganda.

General political and social context

Uganda gained independence from Great Britain in 1962. The country, which has 36 million inhabitants, has been ruled by the same party and president since 1986. According to Freedom House, the ruling party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), retains power through the manipulation of state resources, intimidation by security forces and prosecutions of opposition leaders. In Freedom House's categorisation, Uganda declined from "partly free" to "not free" in 2019. The main reason was attempts by President Yoweri Museveni's government to restrict free expression. The government implemented a controversial social media tax, requiring

⁵⁰ Freedom House, 2019, Sub-Saharan Africa: Historic openings offset by creeping restrictions elsewhere

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Amnesty International, 2019, The state of the African Regional Human Rights Bodies and Mechanisms

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Beeble, K., & Christiaensen, 2019, L, Accelerating poverty reduction in Africa, World Bank

users of a number of social media platforms, including Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp to pay a daily fee. A Constitutional Court ruling removed the presidential age limit of 75, potentially clearing the way for the president to be re-elected. Corruption continues, despite scandals, intense media attention and laws and institutions to combat it.

In the 2016 presidential contest, Museveni won with 60 per cent of the vote, according to official results. The opposition Forum for Democratic Change was second, with 35 per cent. International and regional observers agreed that the elections were undermined by problems including the misuse of state resources and flawed administration by the Electoral Commission.

Political party system

A total of 426 Members of Parliament were chosen in the 2016 legislative elections. Of them 289 were elected in single-member districts, 112 to reserved seats for women and 25 to represent special interest groups (the military, people with disability, trade unions etc.) The ruling party, NRM, won an absolute majority with 293 seats.

Altogether some 30 political parties are registered in Uganda.

Civil society

Civil society is active and several NGOs address politically sensitive issues. However, their activities are vulnerable to various legal restrictions, burdensome registration requirements and threats. NGOs that work on human rights issues have reported break-ins of their offices in recent years.⁵⁵

LGBTI are subject to violence, homophobic rhetoric and threats to introduce death penalty for “grave” same-sex acts.

There is a rather strong women’s movement, but women face discrimination in public and political life. This discrimination starts at young age when traditional attitudes, early marriages, pregnancies and domestic chores constitute obstacles to girls’ education. Independent journalists are frequently critical of the government. They risk arrest, harassment and assault.

3. CONTEXT OF WOMEN’S POLITICAL INFLUENCE

3.1 Women in political institutions and trends over time

Women’s political representation differs between countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In Burkina Faso 13 per cent and in Cote d’Ivoire 11 per cent of the Members of Parliament (MPs) are women. In Uganda, 35 per cent are women and in Kenya 22 per cent. A common denominator for countries with a high share of women MPs is that

⁵⁵ Freedom House, 2019

they have adopted some kind of quotas (see also Correspondence to best practices, Question 15 about quotas). In countries with reserved seats for women the proportion is higher.

In Uganda there has been a significant increase in the number of women in Parliament and in politics in general. This was pointed out by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) already in 2010, when the last report on CEDAW from Uganda was assessed by the Committee. However, in its concluding observations the Committee also noted obstacles to the advancement of women, mainly at senior levels and in decision-making positions.

Almost ten years later the situation remains more or less the same. Overall the figures look good; about 30 per cent of government ministers, 40 per cent of local councillors and 34 per cent of the MPs are women. The latter figure, the highest in East Africa after Rwanda, is primarily explained by the reserved seats for women. If only open seats in the Parliament to which men and women compete were taken into account, there would only be 19 women MPs (4 per cent).⁵⁶

Several interviewees highlight the increasing commercialisation of elections as a risk to women's further advancement. High nomination fees have to be paid and large amounts of money are needed to set up and run a campaign.⁵⁷ One reason for this is that the salaries for MPs are quite high, which means that people are willing to pay to be elected. Women, who earn less than men and generally possess fewer fixed assets and young people are negatively affected.

3.2 Principal obstacles to women's political influence

People interviewed who were met in Uganda and in Nairobi as well as those who were interviewed on Skype or WhatsApp mentioned a large number of obstacles to women's political influence. These obstacles were fairly coherent across countries, sex and age. There was a slight tendency, however, that women put more emphasis on self-esteem and the need for support from the family, while male interviewees emphasised financial constraints, such as high nomination fees. Both sexes more or less equally emphasised discrimination, traditions and attitudes in the society:

"I suppose it is a matter of everything," a young woman who is the chairperson of her party's youth wing says. "We have to deal with a lot of issues simultaneously."

The executive director of a women's organisation highlights economic reasons, especially when it comes to campaigning for a seat in Parliament. Men can sell a piece of land or take a loan. Women seldom own land and therefore have no collateral.

⁵⁶ Personal communication, 2019, Women's Democracy Network

⁵⁷ This is also a problem in other East and West African countries, Kenya is one example.

Women have many roles in the family and the community and hesitate to take on another one, especially if they do not have full support from the family. The communities' attitudes are often negative. For instance, they question that a woman should try to win an open seat: "You have the women's seats, they point out." Influential leaders in the parties think that men have more chances of winning and therefore give them favours. Women who have participated in PYPA are met with suspicion:

"They say we are rebels," one of them notes.

The media's way of describing female candidates' appearance rather than the topics they want to address, also make women hesitate. Abusive language in social media and sexual harassment add to the disincentives.

At the same time, it was noteworthy how enthusiastic several of the young women who were interviewed in Uganda were about the mini-project they had been involved in – training on human rights for youth in a small town – and how eager they were to continue contributing to something they considered as valuable not only for themselves but for the country.

3.3 Emerging opportunities

Despite the obstacles, more and more women are elected or reach influential positions in the parties. This constitutes an emerging opportunity:

"People start to see women in new roles. They see that the women do a good job. Then the women become role models," a representative of a women's organisation says.

This, in turn, happens in a context of increasing numbers of projects and programmes for leadership training of women in Uganda as well as in other African countries, interviewees point out. PYPA and EWIP are two examples, there are also many other. For instance, members, mostly women politicians, of the Uganda Chapter of Women's Democracy Network, conduct trainings for political parties and local council members. They also organise forums for communities in which they can hold local leaders to account.

Sida supports UN Women with leadership training for young women and other interventions to strengthen women's position in the society.

4. PROGRAMME BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

4.1 Background

A Youth Academy in Kenya, which was supported by KIC, was made regional after the violent elections in 2007 in an attempt to diffuse tensions. It developed into a broader regional programme, supported by the Democratic Institute (NDI), an American organisation that works for democracy, but NDI decided to withdraw,

which led to a deeper involvement of KIC. The Regional Youth Leadership Academy (RYPLA) became PYPA.

PYPA is a multiparty, transnational African capacity development programme for young women and men, 18 to 35 years old, who are active in a political party. PYPA aims at strengthening the youths' capacity to contribute to a more democratic, representative, non-discriminatory political system in four regions (East, West, southern and southeast Africa). Altogether 16 countries are covered. Since the start in 2012 about 900 youth have been trained, of them approximately 400 are women.

EWIP's programme objective is to increase the participation and influence of women in politics.⁵⁸

The programme builds on experiences and lessons learnt from PYPA and several other programmes run by CIS. The main strategies used are capacity and confidence building of women, active in politics, and workshops with party leadership and other relevant stakeholders, such as husbands of women in politics with the aim of making them more receptive of the specific needs of women,

4.2 Overview of objectives

According to KIC's application to Sida for 2019-2020 the programme objective of PYPA is:

- Young people active in political parties have increased their participation and influence within politics and work for democracy, gender equality and human rights.⁵⁹

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
- Participants have worked for the fulfilment of human rights.

About 160 young women and men who are engaged in party politics per year will participate in PYPA's trainings.

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.

Approximately 120 women per year will participate in trainings and other activities in 2020.

⁵⁸ CIS, 2018, Application for funds in the framework of the Strategy for Special Democracy Support through Swedish Party-Affiliated Organisations 2019-2020

⁵⁹ KIC, 2018, Program for young politicians in Africa

In contrast to those of PYP A, 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.
- The management of political parties and other stakeholders are more receptive to the specific needs of women.⁶⁰

5. FINDINGS

5.1 Relevance

A. Overview of modalities, methods and beneficiaries

1. Which methods and modalities have been used to support women's political influence and to what extent are they relevant to the context?

The modality of PYP A is multi-party. PYP A is implemented by four PAOs, KIC, CIS, OPC and GF and the training institutes ETU in South Africa and IGD in Burkina Faso. KIC is lead and contracting partner with Sida. GF has been implementing without a local partner, but has recently initiated cooperation with Center for Young Leaders in Africa (CYLA) one of the PYP A alumni organisations. The regional manager in East Africa, who represents KIC, is hired through his company, DLC.

Of the amount of MSEK 18.7 that KIC receives from Sida for PYP A in 2019 about MSEK 4.5 is sub granted to CIS and MSEK 1.1 to IGD. OPC receives about MSEK 4.8 and ETU MSEK 3.2. GF and its new partner receive MSEK 3.6. The Secretaries General of the PAOs negotiate the budget, based on previous costs.

The four PAOs constitute the Steering Committee in which decisions regarding PYP A are taken. In addition, annual Partnership Days are organised to which the PAOs, the implementing partners and the CEO of DLC are invited. Findings from the annual evaluation report as well as how to improve methods and approaches are discussed, partly with the external evaluators as facilitators. EWIP also uses the multi-party modality. It is implemented by CIS and KIC with CIS as contracting partner with Sida. IGD is implementing EWIP in Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire. A Norwegian NGO, the research and training institute the Oslo Center is contracted to implement EWIP in Kenya. DLC implements EWIP in Uganda.

As for EWIP, CIS and KIC meet on a monthly basis to follow up on the work that has been done. Partnership Days to which local implementing partners are invited and long-term decisions are taken are organised for EWIP as well.

As shown in Table 1, PYP A and EWIP include a variety of different methods to support women's political influence.

⁶⁰ CIS, 2018, Application for funds in the framework of the Strategy for Special Democracy Support through Swedish Party-Affiliated Organisations 2019-2020

Table 1: WPI methods identified in the case study countries

Areas of support:	PYPA	EWIP
1. Capacity development		
• Women only spaces	X	X
• Post-course follow up application (i.e., mini-projects, ops)	X	
• Training for candidates on campaign strategies	X	X
• Training for women elected officials	X	X
• Alumni activities	X	
• Networking (in courses)	X	X
2. Engaging men		
• Mixed group trainings	X	
• Targeted workshops for male party leaders, husbands of women in politics, etc		X
• Mother party activities, workshops, events etc.	X	X
3. Internal party strengthening		
• Support to women's wings, clubs and fora		X
• Promotion of internal quotas		X
• Gender analysis/mainstreaming of internal steering documents and policies	X	X
• Awards/incentives for gender equality initiatives		X
4. External policy development		
• Advocacy for legislative or constitutional reform		X
• Develop and lobby for gender equality perspectives in policies with particular interest for women		X
• Develop and advocate for gender equality perspectives in other policies		X
5. International exposure/exchanges and networks		
• Study visit to Addis Abeba		X

In PYPA, the most frequently used methods are different kinds of participatory and interactive trainings. The training sessions include subjects such as human rights and gender equality but also practical subjects, tailored for a politician, for instance campaigning and resource mobilisation. The subjects are listed in an implementation handbook⁶¹ and in the PYPA training manual.

The most prominent method after capacity development is the mini-projects where the participants in PYPA learn how to “walk the talk”. The mini-projects are a way to allow the participants to practice what they have learnt; plan the activity, administer a budget, write a report etc. In southern and southeast Afrika each party has one team, in East and West Africa country groups work together. The most common project is

⁶¹ KIC, CIS, OPC, GF, 2019, Handbook for the implementation of PYPA

to set up training for youth, thereby conveying some of the new insights they have acquired to more young people.

PYPA applies both women-only and mixed groups, while EWIP, in its training component, only works with women-only groups. In activities related to party management EWIP also puts less emphasis on capacity development than PYPA, assuming that this has already been done, for instance in other leadership trainings or in PYPA, according to interviews with key stakeholders. The activities for women in EWIP mainly consist of trainings to raise their self-confidence and capacities; how to be assertive, speak in public and deal with media. Special trainings are offered for women who compete for political offices.

Several methodological innovations are being piloted in EWIP in West Africa; activities for husbands in order to enhance the understanding for their wives' political work, an award ceremony to reward the party that has done the most to promote women's influence and analysis of parties' governing documents from a gender perspective. In the EWIP programme a study visit for a limited number of participants to the African Union's headquarters in Addis Ababa is also planned.⁶²

Promotion of networking across parties and countries is a method that is used by both programmes. Alumni activities in PYPA are advanced trainings, national meetings for exchange of experiences, mini-projects and support to networks. There are three official Facebook groups connected to PYPA and moderated by PAOs and local implementers. In addition, participants set up WhatsApp groups. In EWIP, special activities for female participants, such a multiparty women-only networks and trainings are planned.

Mentoring and general awareness-raising campaigns are methods that figure less prominently in PYPA than other methods.

If and when appropriate given national elections, specific trainings to encourage and support women to compete for political office will be arranged. They will be followed by specific training and coaching for declared women candidates.⁶³ For PYPA in Uganda, few participants have competed for a position as MP or local councillor so far. The high nomination fee and other costs is a main reason for this. In Tanzania, the situation appears to be different, as reportedly six former PYPA participants are Members of Parliament, although it has not been possible to confirm the exact number.

The cross-party (meaning that there are participants from across the political spectrum) and multi-country approach is appreciated by the youth. Several interviewees among former participants in the PYPA trainings in Uganda point out that they gained a new understanding of, for instance, what tolerance is:

⁶² CIS, 2019, Updated activity plan for EWIP (May 2019)

⁶³ Ibid

“Before I saw members of other parties as enemies. Now I know them and we are almost like a family. We are one people and should work together for the development of the country.”

The opportunities to meet young women and men from Kenya and Tanzania is also highlighted by present participants in PYPA:

“I had never been to these countries before. Now we keep in touch through social media.”

Most PYPA participants, former participants and other stakeholders who were interviewed in Uganda agreed that women are still disadvantaged and need special women’s networks and activities to enhance their self-esteem. There are, however PYPA alumni who disagree:

“In my opinion this is not so useful, we need to have the men on board. They need information about how we see things. And they need to see that women are as good as men.”

Parallel to EWIP’s training for women active in politics, IGD, the implementing partner in Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire, has held workshops targeting the husbands of women active in politics. These workshops, with practical exercises, lectures about gender equality and information about politicians’ roles and responsibilities, are very useful, according to recent reports.

The 13 participants in a workshop in Burkina Faso in December 2019 all considered that the exchange had allowed them to better understand the real needs of women in politics. One of them said:

“This session made me understand that women need to be relieved of their household chores to be competitive in the same way as men in politics.”

In 2020 EWIP will continue holding husbands-only workshops, and will also arrange workshops for both the husbands and their politician wives. The 13 participants in a workshop in Burkina Faso in December 2019 all considered that the exchange had allowed them to better understand the real needs of women in politics. One of them said:

“This session made me understand that women need to be relieved of their household chores to be competitive in the same way as men in politics.”⁶⁴

⁶⁵ EWIP, 2019, Activity 1.2 Workshop with representatives of management of political parties

EWIP also arranges activities for potential female candidates to upcoming elections. Parallel to this, there are activities that target decision makers, mainly men, such as workshops about gender equality for the senior management of parties.

“In the invitations, we will not say that the workshops aim at teaching the men something. We say we want to exchange ideas and discuss actual challenges, but in reality the aim is to teach them new ways of looking at things,” one of the responsible for the EWIP planning says.

After a workshop in Ouagadougou in July 2019 one of the participants stated:

“I now understand that my commitment has not been sufficiently considering the scope of the obstacles that limit women’s participation. I will now resolutely work towards a gender policy both in theory and in practice within my political party.”⁶⁵

With such promising statements it will be interesting to follow the developments of the programme and whether words will be translated into deeds.

Financial constraints are highlighted by several key informants who were interviewed for this case study. KIC and CIS mention a number of activities related to this challenge: Fundraising is on the curriculum in West Africa, in East Africa workshops on money in politics were organised in 2018, the evaluators discuss the issue in their reports and in EWIP it is covered when inheritance laws are taught. Considering the size of the problem, it would be useful to take stock of these activities and their effects and consider further measures.

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?

The beneficiaries of PYP A are men and women who are active in politics and are between the ages of 18 and 35. Each year about 40 participants from each of the four regions are admitted, making a total of 160 participants per year.

According to plans, the beneficiaries of EWIP are about 60 women in 2019 and 120 women in 2020 as well as husbands and party management representatives. In East Africa, women who have already been elected, for instance to local councils, are targeted while in West Africa women who are not yet leaders will benefit from the program. It remains to be seen whether this difference in recruiting makes any difference when it comes to the contents of the trainings and the women’s political career after finalising the training.

⁶⁵ EWIP, 2019, Activity 1.2 Workshop with representatives of management of political parties

3. Are beneficiaries fully engaged in all stages of the project cycle, including design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation?

The ambition to strengthen young peoples' political influence is highly relevant in Uganda as well as other African countries, considering youth's limited space in politics. Awareness about this situation led to the setting up of Youth Assembly, a national programme that started in Kenya. Following contested elections in 2007, which caused riots and a large number of deaths, the regional Youth Political Leadership Academy (RYPLA) was set up. KIC supported the initiative and invited other PAOs to cooperate in what became PYPA.

No information is available as to whether beneficiaries were directly involved in these early stages, but in the development of both PYPA and EWIP their opinions have been considered in programme design and implementation. Local stakeholders, such as the implementing partners, provide information about the beneficiaries' views as do the empirical findings of the ongoing and learning evaluation.

For EWIP, according to the project planners, their opinions have also been considered in programme design and implementation. One of the reasons why EWIP was started was that IGD noticed that women who had graduated from PYPA still felt that they needed more training and opportunities to discuss sensitive issues without the male participants being present.

The political parties that are involved in starting up EWIP in Kenya are developing a report about the specific needs of women politicians. By inviting the parties to contribute with suggestions for this report, the Oslo Center hopes to develop a sense of ownership for the implementation of EWIP.

Monitoring and evaluation of PYPA to a large extent builds on the participants' self-assessments after the last training session. The results, summarised, gender disaggregated and compared with previous years' figures, are presented in the various reports that are produced.

In addition, interviews are conducted with and questionnaires are distributed to former participants (alumni), mother party representatives and other key persons. In the Programme Evaluation Report, a number of quotes from this data collection are presented. An analysis of the findings and a comparison with the self-assessments would provide more systematic information for the M&E system.

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

4. To what extent are programmes being changed in relation to the settings in which they are implemented?

The four regions where PYPA is implemented plan and organise trainings and other activities as long as they stay within the common core. For instance, they decide in which order to deal with the subjects that are to be covered, which facilitators to invite and how to organise the mini-projects. Changes have taken place over the years; inter-party dialogue is a new subject that has been introduced recently in some regions. Gender equality has been included in the curriculum from the start, but has been moved from one of the last subjects to one of the first to be dealt with in West Africa..

One reason for the need for flexibility is the different histories of the regions. Southern Africa has experienced violent conflicts during the last decades, which for instance means that the political parties in Mozambique find it difficult to collaborate.

When the Green Forum joined PYPA in 2016, the Steering Committee decided that it was time to establish a common basis while also allowing regional differences. To this end an implementation handbook was produced.

It is too early to assess this question in relation to EWIP.

5. To what extent are activities undertaken in coordination with other PAOs and other actors that work for women's political influence?

CIS and KIC, two PAOs with long experience from work in the region, have been working together since 2012 in PYPA. KIC leads the programme in which also OPC and, since 2016, GF participate. PAOs emphasise the good cooperation, which has steadily improved as the partners have got to know each other. Minutes from the Steering Committee confirm constructive and lively discussions.

KIC has the main responsibility to liaise with other stakeholders, such as NDI, IRI and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. When other political foundations organise capacity development activities for youth KIC is invited. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung has attended PYPA training sessions for learning purposes.

PYPA has a MoU with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). The IDEA module on interparty dialogue has also been included in the trainings in two of the four regions. KIC has had exchange meetings with the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD), which runs training programmes similar to PYPA. CIS leads EWIP and implements the programme in Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire while KIC has the main responsibility for implementing programme activities in Kenya and Uganda. CIS' partner in West Africa is IGD, an institute with over ten years of experience in promoting good governance, democracy and sustainable development. IGD is implementing both PYPA and EWIP in West Africa.

KIC cooperates with the Oslo Center in Nairobi for the implementation of EWIP in Kenya. The Oslo Center was set up by a former Norwegian Prime Minister, with the aim of promoting democracy. Among others the centre works to identify mechanisms for dialogue, consultations and citizens' engagement. KIC cooperates with DLC for the implementation of the programme in Uganda.

6. Have activities been undertaken in a comprehensive way and with a content that is clear to participants?

For PYPA, activities seem to be undertaken in a comprehensive way; in accordance with the implementation handbook and activity plans. A detailed programme is sent to the participants before the training sessions. The expected outputs are produced (see also question 18).

This question has not been assessed for EWIP.

7. Have activities been undertaken in a one-off or continuous way?

Annual reports as well as interviews with PYPA participants in Uganda indicate that activities are conducted in a planned and continuous way. The young women and men who are admitted to PYPA participate in trainings 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.

A trainer of trainer concept has also been introduced, but is still a small component of the programme. Former PYPA participants are trained to conduct trainings for other youth, thereby multiplying some effects of PYPA.

B. Strategic direction

8. To what extent do PAOs prioritise countries in which women's political participation and influence is weak?

The PAOs that are implementing PYPA and EWIP prioritise some countries where women's political participation and influence is weak, such as Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire. Apparently, however, this is not the only criterion for prioritisation. In Uganda 35 per cent of the MPs are women and there are more women in the Government and in public administration than in many neighbouring countries. Prioritisations are in most cases based on factors such as PAOs' knowledge about the country and established contacts rather than woman's political influence.

However, the evaluator agrees with KIC that presence in Uganda is still justified; if it were not for the quota there would be very few women MPs. Furthermore, formal representation and actual influence are not the same thing and Uganda is struggling to overcome numerous challenges - regarding WIP and women's rights in general.

9. To what extent are the partners with whom PAOs work the most relevant and consequential ones for women's political influence and participation.

Whether the partners with whom the PAOs have chosen to work are the most relevant ones is not possible to establish as the assignment only included a short visit to Uganda and time did not allow for a comprehensive mapping of possible partners. However, the present implementing partners, IGD and ETU, as well as the women's organisations in Uganda that are involved in PYPA as facilitators are all highly qualified and appreciated by the participants.

10. To what extent do activities aimed at supporting women's political participation and influence address deeper social and economic inequalities that may contribute to limit such possibilities?

Activities that further women's political participation and influence take to a limited extent deeper social and economic inequalities into consideration. The qualification criteria for PYPA mean that those who can apply represent the upper middle class or above, not the poor and people who are marginalised. One of the interviewees even labelled PYPA an "elite project". To compensate for this, visits are organised to shanty towns where the participants conduct interviews and, thereby, are supposed to learn and understand the realities there.

There are some training modules about related topics, such as economic, demographic and social indicators, development, human rights and sustainable development and the environment, but none that directly addresses social and economic inequality. The issue does not seem to be much debated among participants.

The Education and Training Unit, the implementing partner in southern Africa, refers to the human rights-based approach (HRBA), which implies that the participants in PYP A are not only rights-holders but also duty-bearers. This means that it is included in their tasks to work for improved conditions for the poorest segments in society, according to ETU.

The implementation handbook points out that the training is not only about training the participants to become skilful politicians, but also to guide and mentor them into becoming responsible and accountable leaders. It would be interesting to know if this happens. Are former PYP A participants different from other politicians? This would be a challenging subject for a carefully design research project.

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?

There is evidence of innovation, for instance Southern Africa has introduced trainings in collaboration with youth wings of political parties, thereby allowing more youth to reap benefits from PYP A trainings.

EWIP is probably the most prominent example of innovation of programme as the programme uses lessons from PYP A as well as other sources to, for instance develop mother party activities and workshops for husbands of women politicians.

12. To what extent has lessons learned from what works well and less well been used to improve and adjust project/programme implementation?

Lessons learned in 2016-2018 have been used to improve the 2019-2020 PYP A as well as to inform the development of EWIP . Notably, the interactive and participatory training methods, which caused discussion some years ago, are now firmly established, in West Africa where the resistance was considerable:

“For some it was difficult to abandon traditional teaching methods, but that is not an issue anymore,” one of the members of the Steering Committee says.

Present and former beneficiaries agree; several of them stress that they found group work, round table discussions and other interactive methods very useful – and different from the teaching they had experienced before.

Another lesson learned is to involve the participants’ political parties, the mother parties. Increasingly, it has been realised that it is not enough to focus on building the capacity of young women and men, also the parties need to be involved and supportive. In PYP A, representatives of the parties are invited to workshops and events and participate in panel discussions.

EWIP is also the result of yet another lesson learned, namely that there is a need for a programme that focuses only on women. There have been requests for this from both participants and partners. EWIP has two outcomes, corresponding to two complementary strategies, one focusing on strengthened capacities and confidence of women and one focusing on the need for the management of political parties to be more receptive to the specific needs of women. Lessons learned are discussed in the Steering Committee.⁶⁶

C Adaptation to local needs

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 political influence?

In 2015-2016 the Women's Democracy Group (WDG), a coalition of five women civil society organisations, conducted a study that sought to map out the position of women in the electoral structures and processes in Uganda.⁶⁷ Findings revealed that more women are becoming more interested in the electoral process. There is also a positive trend regarding community attitudes towards women's engagement, but the change is marginal; the electoral processes are still considered as a primarily male space.

According to the study, the key drivers to increased women's interest are: Sensitisation by NGOs, acquisition of leadership skills, support from family and community, improvements in education and relative political vibrancy. Most of these areas are included in the PAOs' programmes, which indicate that they are relevant in view of women's and local experts' opinions.

The director of a women's organisation points out that training for women politicians is of utmost importance:

"They do a good job. The population can see it. They then become role models."

The same tendency is observed in Kenya, according to information from Groots, an organisation that works with WPI. However, beyond these examples in Uganda and Kenya, only anecdotal evidence can be provided.

14. Is support through PAOs relevant to the expressed needs of women party members and women constituents/voters, including women from marginalised groups?

The women party members (and present or former PYPA participants) who were interviewed in Uganda for this study all think that PYPA was relevant to their needs:

⁶⁶ Consisting of representatives of the four PAOs that are implementing the programme.

⁶⁷ Women's Democratic Network, 2016, Women in Uganda's electoral process, Mapping positive trends and persistent deficits in 2016 general elections

“I never had an opportunity like PYPA. It was really amazing. The togetherness... We are like a family now,” says the vice chairperson of a youth league.

“The training was so practical. Theory and then group work. We learnt and practiced,” another youth wing chairperson notes.

As for constituents/voters, including women from marginalised areas, indirect benefits, such as more knowledgeable female politicians who address their concerns, would be a way to make the support relevant.

As the above-mentioned study indicates, there seems to be a positive trend regarding community attitudes towards women’s engagement. Women are considered to be more trustworthy and caring than men.⁶⁸ Whether this is connected to increased availability of leadership trainings, such as PYPA, is not clear.

D Correspondence to best practices

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?

On an overall level, PAO Theories of Change and interventions are in line with scholarly and policy evidence on ways to enhance women’s political influence. However, PAO staff do not regularly keep updated about research and experiences from other organisations, which they attribute to lack of time.

Regarding legal rights and formal rules scholars agree that they matter, but design is essential.⁶⁹ One example is quota laws, where academics point out that they are not a uniform concept. The three most common quota provisions are reserved seats, legislative quotas and party candidate quotas. The former two are mandatory quotas. Reserved seat quotas stipulate that a certain number of the members of parliament are women. Legislative quotas require political parties to put a minimum of percentage of women on their candidate lists. Party quotas are voluntarily adopted.

Quotas are sometimes referred to as a jump-start mechanism for enhancing gender equality in parliaments. However, the literature indicates that quotas might, but do not necessarily, have a positive impact on women’s numerical representation. The introduction of reserved seats is more likely than other types of quota to increase the representation of women.⁷⁰ First past the post systems on the other hand, in other

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ O’Neil, T. & Domingo, P., 2016, Women and power, Overcoming barriers to leadership and influence, ODI Report

⁷⁰ Bjarnegård, E. & Zetterberg, P., 2011, Removing Quotas, Maintaining Representation, Overcoming Gender Inequality in Political Party Recruitment

words single member districts where the voting is rather for person than for a party, are considered to be one of least favourable systems for women.⁷¹

Studies indicate that when women participate in politics via quota, they risk discrimination. In a report about the Democratic Republic of Congo it is pointed out that women on reserved seats can be considered as "not real MPs".⁷² A CIS staff member was co-author of this report. Apart from this, no work of the PAOs or opinion on the issue of quotas in an African context has been found.⁷³

Academics and NGOs agree that family attitudes are key to women's engagement in politics. Donors should work with locally anchored organisations and with families and communities, not only women.⁷⁴ This is in line with recent initiatives in the PAO-funded programmes, especially EWIP.

According to UNDP and NDI the most effective strategies to enhance women's political influence are to combine reforms to political institutions with targeted support to women party activists.⁷⁵ Lack of finances is a main deterrent to women entering politics. Therefore, they need to be made aware of effective techniques for campaigning and communicating with their constituencies.⁷⁶ According to KIC this has been part of the PYPA curriculum since the start. Other effective strategies are, according to OSCE/ODIHR, reforms of internal party rules, institutionalisation of gender equality in party documents and to initiate cooperation with men who are prepared to support them.⁷⁷ The topics highlighted by OSCE are piloted in West Africa.

Several of the PYPA participants who were interviewed have experience from youth wings. Very little about the effectiveness of them is said in programme documents, though, and no academic research on youth wings has been found.

16. Do PAOs seem to use available evidence on how to promote women's political influence in their programming?

In programming PYPA and EWIP use available experiences from ongoing interventions and, to some extent, research. However, the PAOs consider that they have too limited time to keep updated on academic and policy literature. There also seems to be room for taking more experiences from large non-governmental organisations, UN agencies and other stakeholders into account.

⁷¹ IDEA; 2007, Designing for equality

⁷² Liedholm-Ndounou, M., & Saxeby, V., 2019, Study on Women's representation and influence in politics in DRC Congo

⁷³ One PAO representative explains that it is not the role of PAOs to express opinions when working in a multi-party environment. However, the external evaluators have questioned whether quotas for women are always correlated to influence. They have encouraged PAOs and local implementers to widen the dialogue and training focus so that it does not only cover "zebra rules".

⁷⁴ O'Neil, T. & Domingo, P., 2016, Women and power, Overcoming barriers to leadership and influence, ODI Report

⁷⁵ UNDP & NDI, 2012, Empowering women for stronger political parties

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ OSCE/ODIHR, 2014, Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties. The handbook has a global perspective when it elaborates on what different groups can do to promote women's participation.

5.2 Effectiveness

17. What is the self-evaluation of PAOs regarding specific methods/programmes? What are the underlying assumptions on how the intended changes are to happen?

The self-evaluation of PAOs regarding specific methods/programmes that are applied by PYPA and EWIP seems rather limited. The applications to Sida for funding contain descriptions of what has been achieved. PYPA's excellent results in relation to outcomes are highlighted (see question number 18) and PAOs and implementing partners emphasise EWIP's innovative interventions. There are discussions around challenges, for instance:

- At the Partnership Meeting in 2019, PYPA partners recalled their limited possibility to influence the actions of mother party seniors. However, participants and alumni have to find strategies for this as they come back to their mother parties after graduation, the meeting concluded.
- Another challenge for PYPA and the PAOs is how to deal with is the commercialisation of politics. In 2018, alumni workshops were organised in East Africa on the topic "Money in politics – what does it mean for youth participation?" Since PYPA was initiated in 2012, participants have repeated a request for training in entrepreneurship and fundraising, but it has not been considered possible to extend the curriculum. At the workshop a new idea was launched; to set up a special fund for young candidates.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, there is limited information about how the results have been produced, what methods have been used and to what extent these have contributed to the achievements.

PYPA's Theory of Change emphasises that it sees change as a process that starts with individual awareness of the need for change, then moves to social interactions and relations, which ultimately can lead to change on a societal level, which affects power structures and democratic participation.

"Within the scope of the program we expect change to occur mainly at the individual level and the organisational level, possibly also at the societal level", the ToC points out. The PYPA ToC also acknowledges that change requires knowledge as well as will and opportunities.⁷⁹

The basic assumption in CIS's ToC is that political parties have a unique competence and potential to contribute to democratic development by working with other political parties. The programme's focus is on increasing women's access to decision-making positions. *"Once a critical mass of women in decision-making positions will be reached, influence will come more easily."*⁸⁰

⁷⁸ PYPA, 2019, Programme Evaluation Report 2016-2018

⁷⁹ KIC, 2018, Program for Young Politicians in Africa – Theory of Change. Application to Sida, Appendix 4.

⁸⁰ Ibid

Scholars question some of the assumptions in these ToCs. The underlying assumption that capacity development at an individual level will lead to organisational and societal change is found to be too narrow. It is important to work for changes at the individual level, but doing without simultaneously strengthening organisational structures and policies and contributing to national policy development and advocacy would not bring about the desired changes, according to this line of reasoning. More attention has to be paid to contextual factors. In addition, there are diverging views among scholars and the research literature on whether a critical mass of women in decision-making positions facilitate influence.⁸¹

18. What changes with regard to women's political influence/impact do target group representatives attribute to the programme?

Achievements with regard to women's political influence that can be linked to the programmes are, as always with attribution, difficult to establish. Young women who were interviewed for this study do not attribute changes regarding women's political influence or other changes at outcome level to PYPA. When asked about the most significant results almost all of them refer to results at individual level; they have gained increased self-confidence and dare to speak in public:

“Now I can speak to one, five or ten persons. It doesn't matter how many. That was not possible before,” a PYPA participant says.

Almost since the programme was initiated in 2012, two evaluators from an independent consultancy firm have been monitoring PYPA (so-called ongoing and learning evaluation). The evaluators have attended training sessions and alumni activities in the four PYPA regions. They have also conducted interviews with participants and other stakeholders. The evaluators submit an annual evaluation report,⁸² which primarily presents evidence from participants' self-assessment questionnaires, completed at the last training session. Results in relation to the four outcomes (see section 4.2, Overview of objectives) are presented. The evaluation also collects data from interviews with former participants and questionnaires and interviews with mother party representatives.

Generally, the results of the self-assessments are very positive and surpass expected achievements. For instance, outcome 1 is: “Participants have increased their participation and/or influence in political parties or politics.” According to the

⁸¹ Personal communication Elin Bjarnegård and Magnus Öberg, November 2019 and February 2020, which form part of the academic expert panel for this evaluation. There are, however, other studies that maintain that women's presence among the party leadership is the single most important mechanism for initiating women's gains in parliament (Niven, D, 1998, Party elites and the shape of bias)

⁸² Eccola also elaborated PYPA's Programme Evaluation Report 2016-2018

Programme Report 2016-2018 the results attained in 2016-2018 were that 90 per cent had increased their participation and 84 per cent considered that they had increased their influence.

The presentation of results would benefit from clearly specifying how the data has been verified by other stakeholders to dispel the issue of potential self-selection and courtesy bias.⁸³ The programme report would also benefit from a discussion as to whether it could be possible to track more long-term results, such as former PYPA participants who compete for nomination in elections, are elected as MPs or councillors or are given new tasks within their parties.

More examples of higher level results can be found in KIC's Programme Report 2016-2018. Three PYPA alumni were elected as MPs in Senegal in 2017, a former PYPA participant from Togo launched a mentoring programme to support youth and so on. To provide a view of programme results also at organisational level, such examples should be collected systematically and presented annually.

In 2018, the Steering Committee decided that it needed a better aggregated picture of the political positions of the PYPA participants. Therefore, the political positions of the alumni and whether these positions had changed after attending PYPA were monitored. In early 2019, regional staff managed to reach about one third of the respondents in all the regions except Zambia and Malawi, where the corresponding figure was 87 per cent.

Generally, many of the alumni had reached higher positions, but there were large differences between the regions. In southern Africa 69 per cent had a higher position than before PYPA, in West Africa 56 per cent and in East Africa 51 per cent. In Zambia and Malawi only 35 per cent had a higher position. This could be explained by the fact that these countries joined PYPA later.⁸⁴

In West Africa, the efforts to reach former participants continued and based on responses received in September 2019 the proportion of West African alumni who had a higher position than before PYPA was 76 per cent. The response rate had increased to 73 per cent.

This evidence does not necessarily show that there is a linear progression from attending PYPA or EWIP trainings and reaching a higher position in the party. However, it is plausible that the knowledge, skills and other resources acquired during the training sessions can contribute the efforts of reaching a higher position in the party.

From a WPI perspective, gender disaggregation of data is important. This is not done consistently in PYPA. In the Annual Evaluation Reports all data separate between women and men, while in the Programme Report no information is provided as to, for instance, how many of the new MPs in Senegal are women and men respectively.

⁸³ After communication with KIC and Eccola, the evaluation team understands that the discussion of bias has taken place in the Steering Committee. Nevertheless, this has not been documented clearly.

⁸⁴ KIC, 2018 Monitoring of the political positions of alumni, Application to Sida, Appendix 2

19. 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?

The only programme for which a comparison between different spheres is feasible is EWIP, which operates in three spheres; women politicians, their husbands and party management.

As the programme has recently been initiated it is too early to draw any conclusions, but reports from a few activities in Burkina Faso indicate that they are well received and could produce results in due time.

For PYPA, this was also difficult to assess because PYPA primarily operates in one sphere of influence, namely young politicians. Another limitation was that the short field visit only allowed for consultations with few stakeholders who are not directly connected to the programme.

20. How do other party representatives (including party leadership) see activities within the programme? Are they ready to consider adaptation due to lessons learnt or external information?

In West Africa, EWIP has started to target party representatives and leadership in a systematic way. Seemingly, this approach is successful; the party officials appreciate being invited to workshops and events and the reports from performed activities indicate a positive tone:

“I know now that even in Africa things are evolving and our perception of women must evolve too”, a participant in a workshop stated.

Present and former participants in PYPA from Uganda testified about very different work environments in their mother parties after finalised training. Some were promoted or given new assignments in their parties, others more or less ignored or even met with some hostility. The reasons for this could not be further investigated, and all representatives consulted with (in connection with visits to their offices to interview PYPA alumni) were positive to PYPA. ”

21. Is there evidence of resistance to programme activities, either from party representatives or from other actors (e.g. public ones).

“Maybe unemployment is the principle obstacle we face,” says a representative of one of PYPA’s implementing partners. “Young people attend PYPA, they are trained and they are committed. But because of lack of resources it is difficult for them to compete for political posts. To do that you need resources.”

In addition, some political parties lack democratic standards and/or are corrupt, some of the interviewed present or former participants in the PYPA training

programme noted. This means that there are limited opportunities for the young women and men who have attended the PYPA trainings to overcome resistance.

For women, cultural constraints and responsibility for domestic chores are added to these challenges. In addition, women who engage in politics often face sexual harassment. Even during PYPA training sessions, which are supposed to be “safe spaces” there has been cases of abuse. Women politicians also risk being attacked in social media.

“We advise the women about threats on social media, for instance what they should do to avoid that photos are manipulated. We also organise informal meetings to discuss sensitive issues with female participants,” a PYPA trainer says.

However, if PYPA and EWIP continue to develop towards more focus on nurturing a conducive environment shifts in norms might affect resistance and abuse.

6. CONCLUSIONS

These conclusions are primarily focused on PYPA, with some emerging from EWIP.

Enhancing the capacity of youth to engage in politics is highly relevant in many African countries, not least Uganda, where there is a general desire for change and migration is often seen as the only solution to lack of power and unemployment. The Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) was started in 2012. In the past eight years it has managed to become established and well-known in political circles in the four regions of Africa where it is implemented. A participatory and interactive training method combined with relatively good resources, which make it possible to use the best lecturers and other resource persons, are important factors behind this.

Relevance

The methods used in PYPA are relevant, as confirmed by interviews with present and former participants and through academic literature. The relevance of the training sessions (three-four weeks spread over one year) is confirmed in interviews with present and former participants. They appreciate the subjects, both technical and thematic ones, but also the joint trainings for young politicians from all participating countries in each of the regions, which make it possible to get to know colleagues from neighbouring countries as well as from other parties.

The mini-projects are an opportunity for PYPA participants to practice what they have learnt. In groups they plan, implement and report a small project, often training for youth on human rights, gender or a similar topic. The mini-projects are immensely popular among the participants and probably respond to a wish to do something that is “meaningful”.

Networking plays an important role for the participants, especially after finalised training. Through social media the PYPA alumni can keep in touch with colleagues –

young politicians from neighbouring countries – as well as experts and activists, and help each other, for instance in times of elections.

Mother party activities, an established part of PYPA and even more significant in the work of EWIP, gain in importance as stakeholders realise that in order to enhance women's political influence it is not enough to build their capacity, also activities that target the mother party leadership are needed. Innovative methods, such as workshops for husbands of women politicians and awards to the parties that have done the most to further gender equality, are employed in West Africa.

PYPA is implemented in coordination with other PAOs and actors that work for women's political influence. KIC leads the programme and is contracting partner with Sida while CIS, OPC and GF are subcontractors. Decisions are taken in a Steering Committee, which consists of representatives of the four PAOs. The development of a common handbook has helped to establish a "core" concept that applies to all the regions, but also allows some flexibility.

At an overall level, the PAO interventions correspond with scholarly and policy evidence regarding women's engagement in politics. Representatives of the PAOs, however, regret that they have limited time to keep updated about academic research and policy development.

As several methods are used more or less simultaneously and participants are not encouraged to reflect on the methods used, it is difficult to distinguish between them; their relevance as well as effectiveness.

Theory of change

The PYPA Theory of Change emphasises activities at individual level that are supposed to lead to changes at organisational and societal level. An assumption in CIS's ToC is that when a critical mass of trained and committed women and/or youth is achieved there will be change. There are however diverging views among scholars and in the research literature on whether a critical mass of women in decision-making positions facilitate influence and some scholars question these theories of change are too narrow.

Lessons learned

Lessons learned have been used to improve PYPA; some of them are also reflected in EWIP. The lessons learned that are applied in EWIP primarily concern three issues: The importance of the interactive training methods, the need for separate trainings and other women-only activities and the need to not only target the women but also the mother parties and husbands.

Effectiveness

Financial constraints are crucial when it comes to women's opportunities to engage in politics. The PYPA partners maintain that the issue is addressed as part of the training, but they should consider taking stock of present activities and assessing whether these should be complemented with other measures that actually contributes to increasing access to finance for women engaged in politics.

PYPA participants note that have gained increased self-confidence as a result of their training. In addition, the monitoring and evaluation system of PYPA provides evidence that participants have increased participation and/or influence in political parties, have worked for democracy and human rights and have cooperated with other political parties. However, this participant self-assessment data would benefit from being clearly triangulated with other data collected from former participants in PYPA, representatives of mother parties and other stakeholders. The system would also benefit from a more systematic tracking of long-term results, such as former PYPA participants who become MPs or councillors or reach influential positions where they can promote women's participation and rights, and ensuring that all such data is consistently disaggregated by gender. This would provide better evidence of the contribution of PYPA to reaching a higher positions within political parties.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

In terms of programme effectiveness and relevance, particularly as it relates to women's political influence, the following actions are recommended:

- With EWIP, new methods for enhancing women's political influence are being introduced. Measures should be taken by the implementing partners to ensure that experiences and lessons learned are more systematically collected, analysed and disseminated so that they can benefit other programmes as well.
- Opinions from women politicians highlight the need to complement mixed training sessions with separate activities for women. The relevance of such women-only spaces is debated, however. In order to increase a knowledge base, the implementing partners and the evaluators could consider collecting and comparing information from relevant programmes in all the four regions.
- The PAOs and their partners should attempt to expand their monitoring to look systematically for results at higher levels. In the Program report 2016-2018 several examples of possible results at organisational level are briefly described: CYLA Malawi managed to make all political parties sign a communiqué where they commit to increase youth participation in their structures, in Senegal three PYPA alumni were elected as MPs in 2017 and a former participant from South Africa helped to set up and run a Young Women's Desk in the ANC Women's League. Such results could be tracked by the ongoing and learning evaluation on an annual basis or as a separate exercise. This would allow PAOs to more systematically test their theories of change and their contribution to women's political influence.
- To ensure that continuous analysis women's political influence as a result of PYPA and EWIP, M&E data collected should always be disaggregated by gender.



Evaluation of Democracy Support through Swedish Political Party Affiliated Organisations

Part II: Methods for supporting women's political influence – Annex A – Case Study Reports

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 findings, conclusions and recommendations from the three case studies conducted in Part II of the evaluation are presented. The case studies are Bolivia; Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia; and one that comprises the Programme for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) and Empowering Women in Politics (EWIP) programmes.

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