

Political Parties of Finland for Democracy – Demo Finland



Annual Report 2018 for the MFA



Finnish MPs during an exchange visit to Mozambique's Parliament in November: Back from left: Odilia Massangaie Marques (MFA), Jaakko Jakkila (MFA), Markus Heydemann (MFA), Anu Juvonen (Demo Finland), Tuulikki Parviainen (MFA) and Hermenegildo Mulhovo (IMD). Front from left: Suna Kymäläinen (sd.), Päivi Räsänen (kd.), Mats Nylund (r.), Saara-Sofia Siren (kok.), Krista Mikkonen (vihr.), Ville Tavio (ps.), Juhana Lehtinen (MFA) and Jonna Haapanen (Demo Finland).

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1 Summary

The state of democracy – and the lack of it – continues rightly being a hot topic. When debating the level of democracy, it is important to consider what do we mean by it. How is it measured? And how can we assess results in democracy support?

In this respect Demo Finland is doing ground-breaking work; it is fair to say that when considering the requests both from the Finnish civil society, MFA as well as our international counterparts, Demo Finland has done crucial work related to analysis and developing a system of results-based management, based on its Theory of Change.

And democracy support delivers. To mention a few key results of Demo Finland's work, it is worth highlighting the following of the many results that are highlighted in the report:

- The number of Myanmar School of Politics (MySoP) alumni has grown over the two years and by the end of 2018, there are more than 200 alumni who have graduated from the MySoP core courses. 27% of the alumni 148 alumni responding collaborate with other political actors at least once a month which is relatively positive result, considering the political context and the short history of multiparty collaboration in the country.
- The self-assessment produced by MySoP Shan State Multiparty Dialogue Platform (MDP) team shows, that a certain level of safe space and institutionalization has been created amongst the political parties at state-level in Myanmar. This has not happened before, nor by the MySoP programme but also not in general in Shan State, based on the reporting the parties give. In MDP special emphasis has been paid to confidentiality, trust-building, cooperation and dialogue in practise. There is evidence of trust building, since members of MPD now freely provide updates about developments in their parties and even share challenges.
- Tunisian School of Politics (TSoP) alumni who indicate that they collaborate with civic actors at least once monthly had risen from 52 % baseline measurement to 70 % in the midterm measurement. This is a positive result highlighting that participation in TSoP increases the participants' collaboration with civic actors and it is crucial considering that there is generally low level of trust among the citizens towards politicians in Tunisia and efforts to increase the collaboration are needed.
- Furthermore in Tunisia, the expected result in relation to inclusiveness is, that local and national level structures of political parties are more cooperative, inclusive and gender equal. Two specific classes on gender and inclusive policy formulation and participation in politics were organised by TSoP in 2018 with 29 participants (15 W, 14 M). Alumni awareness of gender equality mechanisms had risen; before the training 29 % reported good knowledge and after the training 62% reported good knowledge or thoroughly familiar.
- In Tunisian municipal elections in 2018, 61 out of 400 TSoP alumni ran as candidates, out of which 32 were women and 11 alumni (all women) got elected. Once they become part of the municipal council, they have the opportunity to use the dialogue skills in order to influence the decision making.

- In Zambia, the first National Women in Politics Platform was created in 2018. The national level platform has already within a year gotten recognition countrywide such that they are being called by different media houses to discuss gender issues, especially issues affecting women in politics. The platform has also recognised from senior party members and structures both at national and local levels and ZNWL analysed that the cooperation between the political parties' women's wings has been strengthened already at this point both at local and national levels.

Such results have been able to be gained by co-operation with our partner organisations, ownership and expertise of the Finnish political parties, working together with our international partners – and through the hard work of the secretariat of the organisation.

Demo Finland had a year of growth in 2018. Not only is the budget of the organisation recovered to be over the cuts that were made in 2015 – but also in terms of programming. In 2018 the European Union supported democracy programme, led by International IDEA, started in Myanmar, with special emphasis to support the female alumni of the Myanmar School of Politics.

On top of the knowledge production and programming – advocacy remains one of the cores of our work. Key partner on this is the umbrella network European Partnership for Democracy, based in Brussels. European Commission has made a commitment to revise the Council Conclusions (2009) of democracy support, this is likely to take place during the Finnish EU Presidency at the latter half of the 2019. On that note, Demo Finland also gained high-level exposure through its board membership in EPD. We were invited to brief the EU Member States' ambassadors on the Political and Security Committee on democracy support, as well as moderating at the European Parliament's International Day of Democracy event.

Demo Finland is also a founding member and in the board of the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD), through which we have been working closely with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which we are supporting to update their internal guidelines to support political parties. Demo Finland also provides expertise to the MFA related to democracy support; commenting on policy papers, Ambassadors' plans and taking part in different working groups of the MFA.

Co-operation with the Finnish parties and parliament also continued through the Mozambique working group in the Parliament, active participation of the parties in the Board as well as in our annual Democracy Academy and through various events and intra-party trainings that Demo Finland was also invited to take part in.

Demo Finland has a unique role not only in the Finnish foreign, security and development policy landscape but also internationally – through our multiparty and inclusivity focus ensure our growing footprint in the international platforms.

Anu Juvonen
Executive Director

2 Theory of Change of Demo Finland Programme 2018–2021

The overall objective for the Programme of Demo Finland is the strengthened pluralistic and inclusive multiparty system in its operating countries. Demo Finland wants to strive for political systems, where political parties, which are essential and vital for a functioning democracy, are strong and knowledgeable, but also cooperative, open, diverse and willing to support the democratic system and allow and hear people's participation in their own context. Therefore, the political parties are both rights holders as well as duty bearers.

Demo Finland has based its Theory of Change on the objectives defined in its strategy for 2016 – 2021 and has linked these to the desired changes in three different levels: political system, political actor and inclusive political culture levels. These three levels of change entail each their own outcomes as well as expected results – with the respective assumptions. These are explained thoroughly in the Democracy Support Programme 2018-2021 document. The Theory of Change is illustrated in the figure below.

STRENGTHENED AND INCLUSIVE MULTIPARTY SYSTEMS

Demo Finland objective 1: Political parties in partner countries have the ability to cooperate across party

Demo Finland objective 2: Political parties in partner countries have improved their ability to work in an equal and representative way

POLITICAL SYSTEM:

Enabling environment for political parties

Safe and institutionalized space for dialogue between all relevant actors exists

A2: Improvement of rules and regulations create an enlargement of the formal democratic space

Improved trust and familiarity between parties and political actors in place

Intervention: multiparty dialogue forums are created (eg. joint reform agendas for improvement of the democratic framework are set and agreed)

A1: When political parties have better relations and mutual trust, they can jointly analyse and develop better political systems for multiparty democracy

POLITICAL ACTOR:

Responsive and policy based political parties

Political actors voice and monitor voters' interests into party policies

A4: Improved policy development facilitates ability to negotiate for national/state level policies

A5: Clear party identity contributes to issue-based politics

Capacity of political actors to be responsive and play their role in domestic accountability is improved

Intervention: capacity of political parties to develop, influence and advocate policy positions and skills of politicians are improved, with special emphasis on women

A3: When politicians and parties have more capacity, they can formulate responsive policies

POLITICAL CULTURE:

Democratic and inclusive values of political actors

Political actors and parties collaborate with each other in responsive manner

Women & youth participate actively in political parties and political processes

A7: Exposing democratic actors to different norms and contexts can change individual behaviour and create more space for inclusive democracy within and between parties

Trust and relations between political actors is improved

Political parties have gender responsive strategies

Under-represented groups are included more in parties

Intervention: political actors are exposed to knowledge on democratic and gender-sensitive practices. Parties are advocated on inclusiveness. Capacity of women and youth strengthened.

A6: When political actors and parties are exposed to democratic values, norms and the importance of inclusiveness and political rights of all, their capacity to interact is built

3 Main Results and Activities in Programme Countries in 2018

3.1 Myanmar – The Myanmar School of Politics

In 2018, Demo Finland and Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) implemented a process of midterm measurements of the programme outcomes, conducted to follow up on the baseline measurements done in May/June 2016. The main objective was to measure progress towards the longer-term programme outcomes which have been determined in the Multi-Annual Plan for 2016-2020(1). In order to measure the progress, MySoP staff, under the supervision of Demo Finland (based on NIMD/ Demo Finland guidelines) collected data on outcome level indicators using a mixed method approach consisting of survey, self-assessment, document review, focus group discussions and secondary data analysis.

Before the data collection processes, the MySoP team went through two different M&E trainings in April and September 2018, facilitated by the Director of Programmes of Demo Finland. During the trainings, the ME-plan and indicator reference sheets of both outcome and result level outcome indicators were updated by the MySoP team. The updated ME-plan with respective indicators and sources of verification was produced.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political system level:

At the political system level, the outcome statement of the Myanmar School of Politics is that there is a safe (and institutionalised) space for dialogue between all relevant political actors.

One example, how MySoP programme measures political system level change is an indicator on the existence and influence of the safe spaces, being the Multiparty Dialogue Platforms (MySoP-MDP). During the baseline measurement in 2016, there were no multiparty dialogue platforms for political parties, organized or supported by MySoP. In the country in general, dialogue processes related to the nationwide ceasefire and peace negotiations have existed, but all political parties did not fully participate from the multiparty perspective, nor at the state/regional level.

In terms of the creation of multiparty dialogue, there certainly is progress for the system level outcome. During 2017 and mostly in 2018, the first state level Dialogue Platform was established in Shan State by MySoP. This platform is a permanent space for political parties to interact and explore innovative cross-party approaches and solutions to economic, social or political challenges at the state/region level. The participants are capacitated with dialogue skills, based on the Interparty Dialogue Module, created by NIMD and International IDEA earlier. The self-assessment produced by MySoP MDP team shows, that a certain level of safe space and institutionalization has been created amongst the political parties in one State in Myanmar. This has not happened before, nor by the MySoP programme but also not in general in Shan State, based on the reporting the parties give. The parties in Shan State do participate in other democracy trainings, occasions and naturally in the formal decision-making at the State Parliament, but in the MySoP MDP, special emphasis has been paid to confidentiality, trust-building, cooperation and dialogue in practise. The participants are permanent members of the Platform and create sustainability for the processes, while doing the practical policy development in their constituency.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political actor level:

At the political actor level, the outcome statement of the Myanmar School of Politics is, that political actors voice and monitor citizens' interests into party policies. This means in practise that the capacities of state and region level politicians and parties will be built in order for them to better respond to the needs and concerns of their constituencies. This is the impact that the capacity building of politicians and the policy/programme development support of MySoP aims at.

MySoP has carried out a measurement of how political parties reflect the interests of their potential voters or citizens in general in their documentation of communication. In order to carry out the midterm measurement, the MySoP staff gathered the party constitution documents from 31 political parties published in the UEC database since August 2016. From this analysis, we could see that 24 out of the 31 party constitution documents mentioned people, citizens and/or democracy as their important principle/ driving force. At a party constitution level this is quite obvious and therefore not a surprising result. However, there were still some parties that were not able to produce that kind of information in their documentation. In the baseline study carried out in 2016, only 4 out of a sample of 26 political documents made a specific reference to inputs from the party's voter base. The results of the two studies are not fully comparable however, as the sample of documents was a bit different.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political culture level:

At the political culture level, the outcome statement of the Myanmar School of Politics is that political actors and parties collaborate with each other in responsive manner, so that interest in consulting, collaborating, harmonizing exists among the parties.

The number of MySoP alumni has grown over the two years and by the end of 2018, there are more than 200 alumni who have graduated from the MySoP core courses.

To understand the level of engagement MySoP's target group has with other political actors and civic actors, MySoP asked the 148 alumni during the alumni event in Tanintharyi in December 2018: "How many times do you normally collaborate with other political actors (political parties, parliament members, local administration members)?" 40 (forty) respondents out of 148 chose the three biggest categories (6-10 times; 11-15 times; 16 times or more during a period of 6 months), meaning that they collaborate with other political actors at least once a month. Forty respondents in these categories represent 27% of the alumni, which is relatively positive result, considering the political context and the short history of multiparty collaboration in the country.

For the collaboration with civic actors, 29% of the alumni report doing it at least once a month. This is also a relatively positive result, considering the political context and the short history of multiparty democracy and democratic processes in the country.

Analysis of results of 2018 at expected result level:

The expected result at the political system level is that dialogue mechanisms are established between political actors. In 2018, the Multiparty Dialogue Platform conducted five plenary sessions, one parliamentary

visit and one international study visit. At the end of December, the participants had together drafted a law titled “Shan State Law of Food Safety in basic education schools”. The law is expected to be tabled during the first half of 2019.

The expected result at the political actor level is that the capacity of political actors to be responsive and play their role in domestic accountability has improved and that political actors at state/regional level have increased capacity on democratic concepts and institutions to develop and formulate policy ideas into legislation. A total of 59 persons (36M, 23W) which includes 56 state level senior politicians from 21 political parties and 2 male and 1 female official from Election Sub Commission based in Shan State and Kayin State, graduated from the MySoP core courses during 2018. Each of the three 17-day core course trainings given in 2018 contained a full-day training session titled “Gender and politics”.

In Myanmar, the change in the political culture level work is performed through alumni activities. As of December 2018, a total of 200 participants have been involved in the MySoP programme. MySoP furthermore assisted political parties in their efforts towards developing policy positions and distinctive manifestoes, mostly by working with the alumni of our programme. The 2018 alumni event focused on multiparty training sessions on both the technical and thematic side of policy development within the parties.

The expected result in relation to inclusiveness is, that the capacities of promising women, and on the other hand youth, within political parties is built. In order to follow-up how the skills and also opportunities of the underrepresented groups are used in the parties, we asked the female and youth alumni about their perceptions on participating in decision-making in their parties. 51 % of female alumni indicated that they are able to take part in decision making processes much or very much. 34% of the youth alumni indicated that they are able to take part in decision making processes much or very much within their parties.

3.1.1 Coordination with the programme funded by other donors: STEP2 Democracy - Support to Electoral Processes and Democracy in Myanmar

Demo Finland, together with NIMD, started its partnership with the STEP2-Programme, the largest EU-funded democracy support partnership. The programme is implemented through the Myanmar School of Politics team in Myanmar and coordinated by International IDEA. Through this partnership, Demo Finland has a chance not only to coordinate and exchange with other relevant actors in the country but also to complement the MySoP programme with additional activities linked to gender equality and the issue of programmatic parties.

This EU programme of 10 million euros started operations finally in August, after a lengthy planning process at different levels. The overall objective is to contribute to the development of a democratic society founded on broad engagement in democratic institutions and processes. This will be reached through (1) Increased adherence to democratic values and principles in legislation and by the Electoral Management Body of Myanmar (UEC), political parties and CSOs and (2) Increased inclusive participation in democratic processes. The overall target groups of the programme are Civil Society Organisations, Political Parties, Sub-national (State level) governments, Union Election Commission and its sub-commissions and also the voters and public in Myanmar. In addition to International IDEA, NIMD and Demo Finland, the partners of this programme include the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD), Democracy Reporting International (DRI) and

four Myanmar NGOs called Hornbill, Naushawng, Scholar Institute and Panna. International IDEA is in charge of the overall coordination and the main contract partner to the EU and also leads the collaboration with the UEC within the programme. NIMD/Demo Finland will work with the political parties, especially at state and region level and DIPD mainly at national level. DRI and the Myanmar organizations specialize to work in the field of civic and voter education.

NIMD and Demo Finland, will contribute to the following programme level outputs of the programme: (1) Enhanced capacity of the political parties to fulfil their electoral duties throughout the electoral cycle per good regional and international practices; (2) Enhanced capacity of political parties to effectively engage in national and subnational democratic reforms and processes and (3) Improved capacity of political parties and to facilitate the inclusion of underrepresented groups. This will be done through specific training of former MySoP alumni but also other decision-makers at state level parties in interparty dialogue, including mediation and negotiation, as well as on training in programmatic parties and development of policy making. The other important component is the reinforcement of the importance of inclusiveness and especially gender equality in parties and policy making. Demo Finland will contribute to creation of gender equality training module and the implementation of the same with both female political actors' groups as well as mixed groups.

During 2018, after the programme start, the activities were limited to an inception phase during which the re-writing and focusing of logframe, workplans and budgets were made. Two new staff members were contracted to the MySoP team to coordinate the future activities with the politicians.

3.2 Sri Lanka – Cross-party Cooperation of Young Politicians

Due to limited funding Demo Finland could not start new initiatives in Sri Lanka in 2018. Demo Finland's support was mainly linked to identifying the needs and following up the current performance and situation of the partner organization, OTI. Also, consultations with other stakeholders in the field of democracy support in Sri Lanka such as IFES, USAID, EU Delegation, relevant embassies, think-tanks and civil society organisations were held during the mission of the Executive Director in the country in June. Preparative discussions were also implemented with OTI to plan the upcoming EU-funding call in the beginning of 2019.

3.3 Tunisia – The Tunisian School of Politics

In 2018, the following ten political parties have been participating in the Tunisian School of Politics (TSoP): Nidaa Tounes, Ennahda, Machrou3 Tounes, Front Populaire, Parti Union Patriotique Libre, Afek Tounes, Harak Tounes El Irada, Mouvement du Peuple, Parti de l'initiative Destourienne, and Parti courant Démocratique.

Like in Myanmar, also in Tunisia, the year 2018 marked midterm measurements of the outcome level indicators in the joint programme with NIMD.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political system level:

At the political system level, the outcome statement of the Tunisian School of Politics is, that there is a safe (and institutionalised) space for dialogue between all relevant political and civic actors. This means in practise creation and facilitation of a permanent multiparty platform CDPP (Conseil de Dialogue entre les Partis Politiques) as well as monitoring the relevance of the same in policy influencing. The CDPP provides a permanent space for political parties to interact at the party secretary level.

The results on the outcome indicator measurements show progress towards the overall objective of offering a safe and institutionalized space for dialogue between all relevant political and civic to interact and play their roles in influencing policymaking and this progress will be further strengthened through the continuous support of multi-party logic in the activities.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political actor level:

At the political actor level, the outcome statement of the Tunisian School of Politics is, that political actors voice and monitor citizens' interests into party policies. This means in practise that the capacities of politicians and parties will be built in order for them to better response to their constituencies and to be the democratic channel for their own people.

The number of published political documents by political actors (10 political parties, those with three or more seats in parliament) was analysed in the baseline 2016 counting the number which is based on inputs from a defined support base (potential voters), being 37 out of 406 political documents (9,1%). The midterm measurement of 2018 for the same indicator was that 170 out of 520 political documents (32,69%) published were judged to be based on input from a defined support base. This indicator shows a very positive change, but the changes are more or less relative to each political party.

Percentage of TSoP alumni who indicate that they collaborate with civic actors at least once monthly had risen from 52 % baseline measurement to 70 % in the midterm measurement. This is a positive result highlighting that participation in the Tunisian School of Politics activities also increases the participants' collaboration with civic actors. This is crucial considering that there is generally low level of trust among the citizens towards politicians and efforts to increase the collaboration are needed, as stated in the ToC. According to these results TSoP is being able to enhance this collaboration.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political culture level:

At the political culture level, the outcome statement of the Tunisian School of Politics is, that political actors and parties collaborate with each other in responsive manner, so that interest in consulting, collaborating, harmonizing exists among the parties.

When measuring the share of political actors (participants) who indicate that they collaborate with other political actors at least once monthly, in the baseline study 48% of the TSoP alumni responded positively. During the midterm measurement in October 2018, the figure was 80%. This is a very positive result and shows that the Tunisian School of Politics is able to increase greatly the political dialogue across the political party lines even outside the CEMI facilitated events. This also adds to the sustainability of the programme.

Analysis of the results 2018 at expected result level:

The expected result at the political system level is, that there is improved trust and familiarity between political parties and political actors in place, so that the genuine, issue-based collaboration and discussion of the platforms will be influential and that formulation of, proposing to, and approval of jointly formulated policies in parliament securing civil and political rights takes place.

In 2018, 10 permanent multiparty platform CDPP (Conseil de Dialogue entre les Partis Politiques) meetings facilitated by CEMI took place. Four of the meetings were held before the local elections where the efforts concentrated on the respect of the Pact that had been signed end of 2017 regarding the electoral environment and six meetings were held after the elections where new ideas for policies and a possibility of a revision of the political regime were gradually developed and also mediation and dialogue skills learnt.

There were two jointly formulated policies submitted to the Parliament by the ruling and opposition parties taking part in the dialogue platform: one statement regarding the journal of local communities and one charter regarding the electoral climate for the local elections.

The expected result at the political actor level is, that there the capacity of political actors to be responsive and play their role in domestic accountability has improved and that political actors have increased capacity on democratic concepts and institutions to develop and formulate policy ideas into legislation.

Seven weekend training sessions were held in 2018 with the 11th Class group of 44 (23W, 21M) young politicians from 11 different political parties. Average age of the participants was 31 years old. At the training sessions the following themes were discussed and practical tools linked to them offered: 1) State and political regimes; 2) Administration and local government; 3) Citizenship, rights and freedoms; 4) Public opinion and polls; 5) Political communication; 6) Economic and budgetary principles; 7) Political leadership.

In order to analyse the impact of the trainings into links with the constituencies, the new participants were asked on their interaction with the civil society: in the beginning of their TsoP year, 56 % of the new participants stated, that they interacted with society at least twice monthly. After a year, 97 % indicated that they interact with society at least twice monthly, and even 56 % more than five times per month. After the training, 84 % estimated that their capacities to formulate policies was enhanced a lot or very much and 61% assessed that their capacities to formulate policies have helped their Political Party moderately and 33 % a lot.

In December 2018, six (2 W, 4 M) TSoP graduated politicians representing different political parties visited Helsinki for a study visit. According to the feedback all the participants felt that the visit was beneficial and the information they gained was useful: overall grade for the visit was 4,2/5. Especially discussions with Finnish political actors and NGOs were regarded as informational and enlightening.

In 2018, a new activity started based on an assessment of the needs of parliamentarians. Three training sessions were organized where in total 37 participants (20W, 17M) attended at least to one training session. The sessions' themes were prospective and legislative function, analysis of the economic situation and legislation. In addition, 15 training sessions were organised to 45 parliamentarians (19W, 16M) to reinforce

their skills in political communication. An Autumn Academy was arranged in July for 31 of the TSoP alumni (18W, 13M) to meet and discuss with scientists and practitioners on the municipal elections and local affairs.

TSoP also arranges an annual regional seminar where parliamentarians, academics and civil society activists from Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Egypt and Tunisia are invited. In 2018, the theme for the meeting was “public administration and change” including discussions on change management and the role and impact of the civil society. The 40 participants (22W, 18M) found the regional meeting very valuable and useful for them to reflect common and different issues in their countries and they also prepared recommendations for their own countries.

One part of the TSoP programme is the production of policy papers. In 2018, policy papers on the following topics were produced on multiparty basis: 1) Local government; 2) Social and solidarity economy; 3) Voting system reform; 4) International rankings; 5) Amendment of the Constitution between procedural compliance and political desires; and 6) Independent constitutional bodies.

The expected result at political culture level is that trust and relations between the political actors exist. The programme aims to improve the inclusiveness of the political process by improving the level of communication and collaboration between political actors as well as political and civil actors to influence policy issues related to the development of the country.

In order to achieve this objective various informal multiparty dialogue sessions through TSoP and alumni activities were facilitated such as Couscous Politique- sessions, of which 4 sessions were organised in 2018. CEMI reported an increasingly remarkable interest of the ministers to animate the “Couscous Politique” with the TSoP, with an anchoring of familiarity and tradition of dialogue between the cadres of political parties and actors taking place.

The expected result in relation to inclusiveness is, that local and national level structures of political parties are more cooperative, inclusive and gender equal. Two specific classes on gender and inclusive policy formulation and participation in politics were organised in 2018 with 29 participants (15 W, 14 M). Regarding this result, when asking the alumni on their awareness of gender equality mechanisms, before the training 29 % reported good knowledge and after the training 62% reported good knowledge or thoroughly familiar.

NIMD conducted an independent evaluation, Mid-Term Review (MTR) on selected sample of their 2016-2020 country programmes in 2018. Tunisian School of Politics-programme was one of the programmes which was selected this analysis and a field work by external evaluators was conducted in Tunisia in June. During the MTR process, NIMD assessed the extent to which the outcomes being achieved correspond with the outcomes of the country level Theory of Change. The evaluators stated that the TSoP and the multi-party dialogue platform have helped to create important and highly valued spaces that bring together actors from across the political spectrum in ways that are much more grounded in mutual respect and growing trust.

As result of the MTR process, the Theory of Change for the programme was later updated by the CEMI, NIMD and Demo Finland team to better address the changes expected in the actors involved (alumni, political parties and parliamentarians). The programme expected outcomes, were not changed however.

3.4 Zambia – Empowering Women for Effective Participation in Politics

To start the four-year programme “Empowering Women for Effective Participation in Politics” (2018–2021), a baseline study was conducted in 2018. The study was needed to define the level of nine indicators of the programme: Six outcome level indicators, which were planned to be collected in 2018 and 2021 (baseline and final monitoring) and three intermediate level indicators which are collected annually. The programme progress is analysed through comparing the collected monitoring information against the baseline data. An independent consultant was chosen to conduct the baseline study, including a comprehensive report, in close cooperation with the ZNWL team. The data collection methods planned for the study, included a desk study, interviews, a survey and a storytelling analysis. Indicator reference sheets with detailed description of each indicator were prepared by Demo Finland. The ZNWL team was involved in all the phases as they are supposed to collect and analyse the data themselves throughout the programme.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political system level:

At the political system level, the outcome statement of the Empowering Women for Effective Participation in Politics is, that a safe and institutionalised space for female political actors exists in a permanent multiparty setting.

Since 2018 was the beginning of the four-year programme, a baseline study was conducted and baseline levels defined for outcome level indicators. At the beginning of the programme there were 0 dialogue platforms taking place regularly. At the end of the first year there is one national platform and three local level platforms that met three times during the year. Despite that the political situation between the ruling and main opposition party remain tense, women’s wings have been able to cooperate across the political party lines in the programme’s women’s cross-party platforms both at national and local levels.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political actor level:

At the political actor level, the outcome statement of the Empowering Women for Effective Participation in Politics is, that political actors voice and monitor citizens’ interests into policy issues (on political party or local council level). This in practice means that the capacities of local level women politicians – councillors or political party members – are built in order for them to respond better to their constituencies and to function as a democratic channel of their own people. According to the baseline study, the targeted female political actors already interact quite regularly with their constituencies.

Analysis of the outcome measurements at political culture level:

At the political culture level, the outcome statement of the programme is, that women participate actively in political parties and political processes, so that political parties in Zambia would have improved ability to work in an equal and representative way.

Assessment of women's wings role in political processes within the political parties will be studied retrospectively at a later stage of the programme, so that possible changes can be analysed during the project evaluation.

Regarding the assessment of how women involved in politics feel that they are able to take part in decision making processes within their political parties, an academic study will be conducted during 2019. Demo Finland supports a master's thesis student of international politics and social anthropology at the University of Tampere in analyzing this topic in her thesis. The study is based on in-depth- interviews with female councillors, and the data was collected in October 2018 in Zambia.

Analysis of results of 2018 at expected result level:

The expected results at the political system level are that there is: 1) improved trust and familiarity between political parties and political actors in place in order to have influential and issue-based collaboration between political parties' women's wings; and parties formulate policies/proposals jointly.

The first National Women in Politics Platform meeting was held in 2018 as a first step to create a permanent multiparty platform. The platform gathers political parties' women's wings together to enhance cross-party cooperation and dialogue.

The same structure has been created at the local level in three districts, namely Lusaka, Kapiri Mposhi and Kaoma.

In April 2018, a staff training on how to strengthen multiparty dialogue skills, multiparty dialogue platform format and to develop a strategic plan for the national and local platform was held, and a strategy how to reach a safe and institutionalised space for female political actors exists in a permanent multiparty setting was discussed. A draft road map was prepared including a discussion on all these issues.

According to the platform members, all the political party women's wings both at national and local (in all the three target districts) have indicated that they have started to work together also outside the platforms. All the political parties' women's wings at national level indicated that they cooperated one to five times during the last six months' period. This is already a positive sign of the sustainability of the platforms and also the possibility for multiparty dialogue for women politicians despite of the otherwise tense political situation. Also, the participation level was high, as all of the political parties' women's wings were represented both at national and local level in all of the three meetings organised. The national level Women in Politics Platform members were able to issue three press statements on electoral violence, launch of the permanent Women in Politics platforms and the 16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence. The national level platform has already gotten recognition countrywide such that they are being called by different media houses to discuss gender issues, especially issues affecting women in politics.

The expected result at the political actor level is that the capacity of female political actors to be responsive to society (electorate, constituencies, CSOs) is improved at the local level and that the female political actors at local level have increased capacity to develop and formulate policy ideas into legislation based on gender perspective. The capacity building training for local councillors was held and additionally an annual national conference for local councillors was organised, gathering 118 of all the 126 local level female councillors and chairpersons of women's wings from nine political parties at national level for a two-day seminar. Also, there was a separate two-day training for the project district councillors from Lusaka, Kaoma and Kapiri Mposhi where 13 of the 14 targeted councillors attended.

13 women councillors out of 14 in the project areas attended a two day training. Their average knowledge on the training topics was calculated to have increased 31 %. In the National Conference for Women

Councillors 118 councillors were trained nationwide and their average knowledge on the training topics was calculated to have increased 30 %.

The councillors were also in supported meetings with the constituencies within community discussion forums, once in each district per year. In 2018, the forum was held in Kaoma district. The four elected councillors provided an update of their work and heard the needs of the people they represent. About 320 participants attended the community meetings in Kaoma for all the four councillor's meetings (70% were female and 30% male).

The expected results at political culture level are that political parties are implementing gender responsive strategies, and that the women's wings have capacities to monitor the implementation of gender equality plans of the political parties. A training for the political party leadership on the implementation of their gender equality plans and gender sensitive policy making took place in December with 54 participants from all the 9 political parties. One-to-one advocacy work targeting political parties on implementing the gender equality processes was done throughout the year, meeting each of the nine political parties twice a year. 2 out of 9 political parties are implementing their gender action plans. Women's wings' capacities at national and local level were built on advocacy, gender equality, political party structures and strategies as well as intraparty democracy so that their role within the political parties would increase and they could monitor the political inclusion – party policies/manifestos – of their own political parties. However, so far only one women's wing had started advocacy actions.

3.5 Planning new initiatives: Supporting women's political participation in Ethiopia

The phenomena of multiparty system is a fairly new introduction in Ethiopia. Gender representation in political parties shows the strong need to make gender equality (both in terms of women's representation as well as a political issue) within political parties. This calls for strong advocacy and lobbying in addition to targeted consciousness raising among the membership in political parties. In addition to the near absence of women in leadership positions in political parties in Ethiopia, public discussions by political party leaders thus far have not shown much focus on gender issues as among the issues up for discussion.

While these are shared challenges in many parts of the world, the problems are quite severe when it comes to budding democracies like Ethiopia where the opening of the political system is a new phenomenon. As the parliamentary elections are taking place in May 2020, the support for the democratisation of Ethiopia needs to start soon.

In the first quarter of 2019 plans are finalised and the small-scale program starts during the year.

4 Global Development Education, Communications and Advocacy

The overall aim of Demo Finland's development education, communications and advocacy in 2018 – 2021 is to help the organisation in fulfilling its mission and vision set out in its strategy, thus helping it to achieve the goals set for the programme.

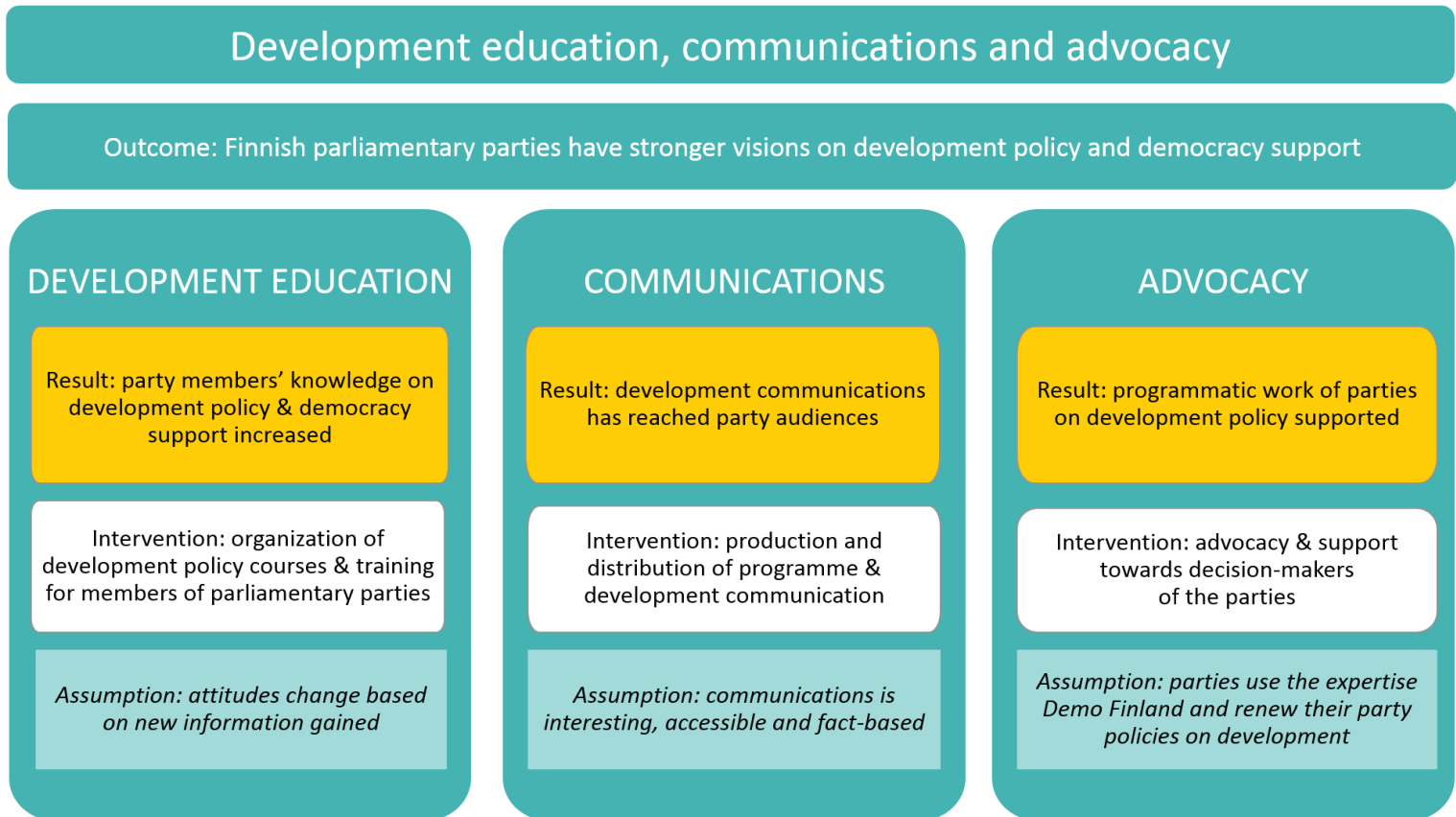
As a joint organisation of the Finnish parliamentary parties, Demo Finland is in a unique position to promote interest and debate on development policy within and between the parties and it offers opportunities for party members to participate in democracy support and expose themselves to the realities of state of development and democracy elsewhere. The constructive cooperation and participation of member parties make a strong foundation and serve as an example in Demo Finland’s work abroad.

Communications, development education and advocacy are based on Demo Finland’s three core messages:

- 1) Support for democracy is support for peace, development, equality and human rights. They are fulfilled in democracies better and more often than in other types of regimes.
- 2) Political parties are responsible for democracy and development. A well-functioning political system is accountable and promotes well-being and stability. In new and developing democracies parties and party systems are often weak.
- 3) The aim of Demo Finland is to support political parties in partner countries to function in an equal and representative manner, across party-borders. The knowhow of Finnish parties and politicians is Demo Finland’s most important resource.

4.1 Theory of Change on Development Education, Communications and Advocacy

Demo Finland’s development education, communications and advocacy are not separate entities. Instead, they overlap and most importantly, they contribute to the same overall goal of strengthening multiparty democracies. These elements of Demo Finland’s work are set out in their own theory of change, illustrated below.



4.2 Development Education – Development Policy Courses for Politicians

The result of Demo Finland's development education as stated in the ToC is Party members' knowledge on development policy and democracy support has increased. Acknowledging Demo Finland's position as a joint organisation of the parliamentary parties, development policy courses, "Development & Democracy Academies", for member party politicians form the cornerstone of development education in 2018 – 2021. These courses continue the legacy of Demo Finland's study visits developing them into more programmatic, informative and influential.

The courses combine two main aims of Demo Finland; they advance debate and knowledge on development and democracy among the member parties, and support democratic development in partner countries since the participants will also typically act as trainers during the study visits that are included in the course curriculum. The courses are well-appreciated by the member parties and their women's, youth and student organisations.

The courses are carefully planned with training days before the study visit and post-course activities to enhance the learning outcomes of the courses. It is also noteworthy that Demo Finland has a reach to politicians from the grassroots to the top decision-making level. Providing development and democracy policy training is important to all levels of the parties, not just parliamentarians, and therefore the target groups of the trainings are versatile. Providing training to different levels at the party organisations contributes to the sustainability and diffusion of the results within the parties.

In 2018 Demo organized the Democracy Academy course for the women's wings of the nine parliamentary parties. The course was organized in cooperation with the MFA, and the number of participants totalled 28. The course consisted of two days of training in Helsinki for all participants, and a three-day study trip to Warsaw for one representative from each women's wing, chosen by the organization itself. Thematically the course focused on development policy and foreign and defence policy and deepen the participants' understanding on the interlinkages between those, and to strengthen the voice and role of female politicians in political discussions and decision-making. In addition, Democracy Academy emphasized the connections between democracy and development and defence policy as well as the importance of democracy support in the current global situation.

The Democracy Academy was a success both in participant satisfaction as well as effectiveness in Demo Finland's work towards increasing party members' knowledge on development policy and democracy support. This was measured with pre- and post-course tests.

4.3 Development Communications

The objective of Demo's development communications is to raise awareness on the importance of democracy and functioning multiparty systems to development and emphasize the role of political parties as the actors responsible for development, contributing to the parties' ability to create stronger visions on development policy. Development communications highlights the interlinkage between democracy and equality, peace, development, stability as well as human rights. The result set in the theory of change is that

development communications created and distributed by Demo Finland has reached and is used by party audiences.

The core material for development communications is gathered from Demo Finland's projects. Additionally, Demo Finland produces material and publications on democracy support and uses material on development and democracy produced by other actors. Thus, development communications combine the voices of Demo Finland's partners and beneficiaries and the organisation's role as the prime expert on democracy support in Finland.

The main communications channels in 2018 were website, newsletter and social media channels (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and LinkedIn). In 2018, number of followers grew in all social media channels; on Facebook the growth was 6,39% increase, on Twitter 14,62 % and on Instagram 34,63 %. Demo Finland does not actively reach to nation-wide media but is active towards political party media as they are not only tribunes of the parties but define the discussion on policy issues within. In the Result Chain the number of media hits in party media is set as one of the indicators; 20% increase annually by 2021. In 2018 the number of media hits grew by 140%.

Events are an integral part of development communications. In 2018 Demo Finland organized numerous events in cooperation with political parties, the MFA and other stakeholders:

- A panel discussion in the World Village Festival with representatives of all nine parliamentary parties
- A panel discussion at SuomiAreena with representatives of all nine parliamentary parties
- Seminar on the International Day of Democracy together with the Parliament
- Seminar on gender equality in Tunisian politics, together with the graduates of the Tunisian School of Politics

Demo Finland was also present at four party assemblies, and other events hosted by the member parties and their organisations.

4.4 Advocacy

Building networks with influential stakeholders is one of the key elements of Demo Finland's advocacy, and in 2018 Demo Finland continued this both on the national and international level.

Demo Finland's European and global networks play a key role in wider advocacy work. Most important networks include the European Partnership for Democracy (EU level), the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (UN and other global actors and donors), the Nordic network of democracy and party support actors. Demo Finland is at the board of the EPD and GPMD. These networks are major influencers in advancing democracy support as part of a wider development agenda. Membership in the networks ensures that Demo Finland has the latest information and best practices of democracy support in its use, and that the Finnish expertise is spread to wider democracy support community, for instance regarding to gender equality in politics.

In Finland, Demo Finland has been monitoring the work done on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 through a membership of 1325 network, and in 2018 it also took a more active role in the Finnish network on Resolution 2250 – Youth, Peace and Security. In December 2018 Demo Finland facilitated a consultation of the political parties' youth wings on Resolution 2250 regarding the upcoming Finland's National Action Plan.

Demo Finland also advocates for women's political participation via publications, and in 2018 together with EPD, Demo Finland produced a "Women in Decision Making" -factsheet.

2018 brought many high-level access points for Demo Finland. Executive Director was invited to moderate a panel on social media and democracy in the European Parliament's International Day of Democracy. Additionally, the Executive Director was invited to brief the EU Member States' Ambassadors informal meeting of the Political and Security Committee on democracy support, organised by the Austrian EU Presidency team. Similarly, ED briefed at the informal high-level regular dinner in Brussels, organised by the leading think-tank on democracy, Carnegie.

5 Programme Monitoring and Evaluation

With its partners, Demo Finland does continuous monitoring, based on its PME framework. This entails collecting data for the result level (intermediate level) indicators and periodically also outcome level indicators but also based on observation of the changes in the political context and possible unexpected results.

In 2018, midterm outcome level indicator measurements were done in Tunisia, Myanmar and also Mozambique, with the intention to provide data on the impact of the programmes so far. This process required a comprehensive training of staff/ partners in collecting the data and updating of methods and indicator reference sheets. The actual data collection was done by Demo Finland/NIMD/MySoP staff in Myanmar and by CEMI and external consultant in Tunisia. The whole process was conducted together with NIMD in September–December.

In Zambia, where the new programme phase started in 2018, a baseline study process was implemented, and some good quality data was collected.

In Tunisia, NIMD conducted a Mid-Term Review (MTR), as one of the countries forming a selected sample of their 2016-2020 programmes in 2018. Tunisian School of Politics programme was one of the country programmes to be analysed and the field work by external evaluators was conducted in Tunisia in June. During the MTR process, NIMD assessed the extent to which the outcomes being achieved correspond with the outcomes of the country level Theory of Change. In addition to the MTR-process, Tunisia was one of the countries where NIMD tested Outcome Harvesting as an approach for conducting the evaluation. The Outcome Harvesting workshop for the CEMI team in Tunis took place in June 2018.

As a result of the MTR recommendations, both in Myanmar and Tunisia the Theories of Change were updated together with NIMD and the country teams/ partners in September, in order to critically review the validity of the original idea of these programmes and their expected outcomes. The ToCs became more actor-

oriented, detailed better the contribution the programme gives to different groups of stakeholders (like alumni, political parties, parliamentarians etc). The updated ToC will be visualized during the first quarter of 2019.

In terms of capacity building of the partners in M&E, Demo Finland trained its partners in several ways: in Myanmar, the Director of Programmes organized two workshops on PME for the MySoP staff, the Programme Manager supervised the baseline process in Zambia and Demo Finland also participated in the PME update training for the Tunisia programme. The Director of Programmes was also requested to facilitate a 2-day-workshop in May for EPD member organizations on Theory of Change.

Mutual learning and common reflection with the partners were also done a lot in the partner countries during the monitoring visits.

The prerequisite for high-quality programming includes also professional financial administration. Demo Finland applies an online accounting system for accounting and monitors the use of the budget consequently. Although budget monitoring takes place on a continuous basis, Demo Finland also conducted thorough quarterly analyses of its general budget and financial implementation.

6 Demo Finland's Finnish and International Networks and Stakeholders

6.1 Demo Finland's Networks in Finland

As an organisation of the parliamentary parties, Demo Finland's task is to contribute to the discussion on and interest in development policy in Finland, as well as to offer opportunities for participation in democracy support for actors in its member parties. Constructive cooperation and participation of the member parties give a strong example and mandate to Demo Finland's work in its partner countries.

Demo Finland's member parties have participated actively in Demo Finland's work through the parties' representation in the board, through the peer exchange and global education programmes. Another important partner for Demo Finland has been the Parliament of Finland.

Demo Finland utilised its knowledge and know-how to the benefit of the development sector by being a member in the networks such as 1325 Network Finland and in the Peace Building Coordination Group, facilitated by the MFA – as well as the Finnish OneWorld Association, a news service focusing on global issues.

6.2 Demo Finland in International Democracy Support Community

Demo Finland was a key actor enhancing the establishment of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD), and continues to be on the board to this day since the beginning of its establishment. In 2018 Demo Finland was active in the working groups of the EPD, namely the Monitoring and Evaluation, Communications, Programming and the recently established working group on EU's internal democracy.

Executive Director participated in the Advocacy Working Group, as the WG consists of the Board members of the EPD; in 2018 Demo Finland participated in the strategic leadership of the EPD through the membership in the Board of Directors.

Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy (GPMD) was officially established in 2016 and gathers together 17 democracy actors from as many countries. The activities of the GPMD focus on advocacy and knowledge sharing as possibly to partnership programmes in the future. The focus of the advocacy efforts is the United Nations system, and specifically the UNDP. During 2018 Demo Finland contributed towards the global network through board membership of the GPMD, as well as being the member of the smaller Working Group of the Board.

Demo Finland is also part of the international network called PPPeer (Political Party Peer network), which also includes for example North American foundations such as International Republican Institute (IRI), and National Democratic Institute (NDI), UNDP, International IDEA, NIMD, and Nordic actors. Nordic actors also gather bi-annually to a Nordic Academy, which brings together organisations such as Oslo Centre, Swedish party affiliated organisations and DIPD, the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy. In 2018 the Nordic Academy took place in Denmark, and Demo Finland participated.

In the programme countries Demo Finland and its partners are contributing to the coordination and information sharing of democracy support organisations such as the German political foundations like Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung as well as the British Westminster Foundation for Democracy, who is also represented in the EPD. In 2018 and in the coming years Demo Finland will continue strengthening its cooperation with International IDEA, especially related to our work in Myanmar.

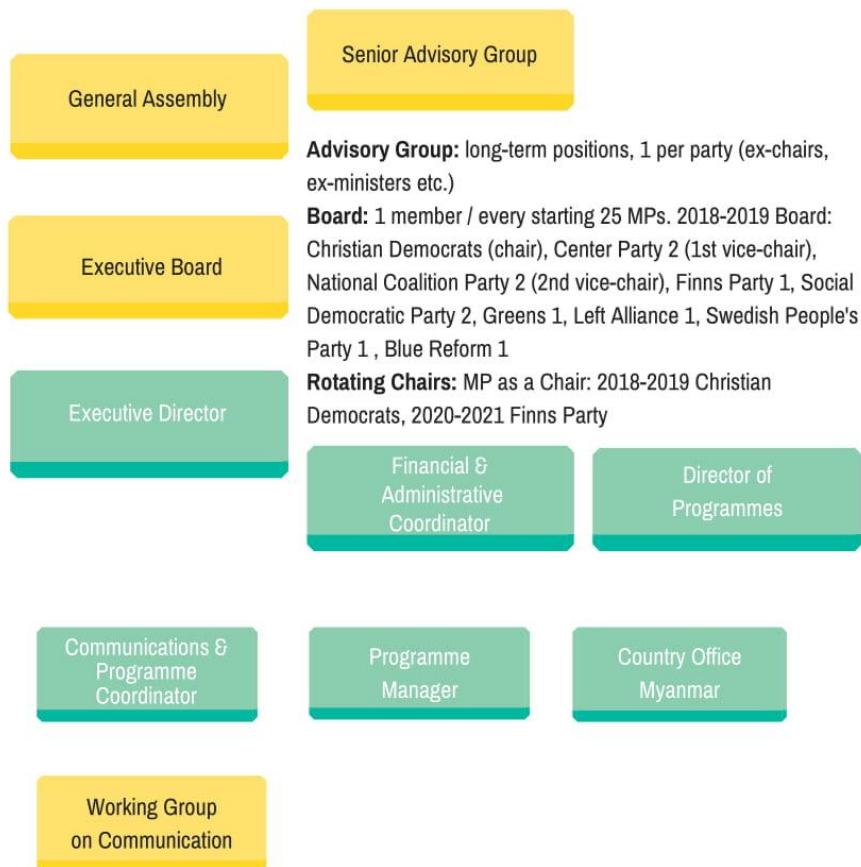
7 Management and Human Resources of the Programme in 2018

7.1 Human resources

Demo Finland's quality work needs professional, committed and staff with high capacities. Demo Finland will invest in a motivating environment that supports a professional attitude, which feeds into committed and retained staff. This will be done through capacity building as well as encouraging mutual learning during the bi-annual partner meetings and of course through a good physical working environment. Opportunities for capacity building include not only support for the increase of knowledge, but also the commitment and wellbeing of staff. During the Programme period starting in 2018, there were 5 staff members working in the Helsinki headquarters, and 8 in the joint project with NIMD in Myanmar office.

As per the rules of Demo Finland, the Board leads the organisation following the rules and decisions of the General Assembly and that the budget is followed. The Board also has a major role in staff recruitment as well as is the decision maker of financial commitments, following the rules of the organisation.

Organogram



Since its establishment in 2005, Demo Finland has utilized the know-how of the Finnish Political Parties to the more hands-on support through their representatives in the Working Groups. During the 2018 all the political parties' communication staff were met, in order to facilitate the establishment of the Working Group on Communications in 2019 after the election period.

7.2 Financial resources

The MFA-funded programme total costs during 2018 were 640 902,84 euros. Demo Finland also received funding from the Finnish MFA for the bilateral Mozambique-programme (cirka 80 000 euros were used in Finland). Together with NIMD, Demo Finland receives funding from the EU for the Step Democracy-Programme in Myanmar, which has an annual budget share of around 307 000 euros, the fiscal year being from August 2018 to August 2019. In 2018, around 3 000 euros of these EU-funds were used directly in Finland.

Demo Finland also collects membership fees from the member parties. In addition, there are some other minor sources of outside funding, such as training fees, participation fees etc.